

Why is the clutch slipping?

Developing clarity, capacity and culture for Citizen and Community Engagement

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Executive Summary

Everyone involved in police leadership, governance and policy seems to strongly support and advocate citizen and community engagement. It is such an important democratic principle, and is said to produce so many benefits that it would be impossible to do anything else. Upon speaking to practitioners and leaders, examining practices and documents it becomes clear that many different and conflicting concepts are in view. This lack of clarity of thought and vocabulary at all levels may be leading to some tokenistic and unproductive activity. Worse still, it is bringing into disrepute an exciting and powerful idea, which should be at the core of policing. Many operational officers now consider it to be just a 'buzzword' and the groan, "Don't mention the 'E' word" is a common refrain in police stations and social media.

Some of the contemporary risk and vulnerability failures such as child sexual exploitation, 2011 riots, radicalisation, street grooming and chronic repeat victimisation can be seen as gaps in our engagement capability. They demonstrate inability to elicit information from the community about risk and failure of organisations to act upon information provided by communities, or a failure to harness or develop effective community resistance to these problems.

"The process of enabling the participation of citizens and communities in policing at their chosen level, ranging from providing information and reassurance, to empowering them to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions" (Myhill 2012 pg1)

Using this definition of community engagement, first published by the NPIA in 2006, and other theoretical models, it is evident that a great deal of current activity fits only at the very lower levels. Most of it would be better described as consultation than engagement or participation. The implication that community engagement involves the transfer of power and decision-making to citizens and communities has either not been fully grasped, or is being resisted. Authoritative reports and academic literature over many years have consistently asserted that the purpose of neighbourhood policing and community engagement is not just to improve the safety of communities but also to change the way that decisions are made within policing.

A review of a sample of force engagement strategies and policies showed;

- Engagement was not well described. The police service definition in use since 2006 did not feature in almost half of the sample. There were not always clear pathway from the definition to activities described. Other definitions, of unknown provenance, are also in use. Better understanding and practice will result from a widely shared, clear explanation.
- Engagement is often led and performance managed by the corporate communications function. It could be argued this positions it as a branch of corporate communications rather than as a cross-cutting attitude, approach and skillset integral to every aspect of policing. Consideration could be given to appropriate lines of accountability and leadership to ensure it is not seen as a specialist field, only for communications or neighbourhood teams.
- Levels of engagement are at the lower end of the scale, in many cases equated with consultation, giving information to the public and gathering views on local issues. Roles for citizens are passive or limited in scope, such as self-help crime prevention measures or providing information to the police. Strategies about digital social media were aimed at informing the public and, to a lesser extent, receiving their feedback, but with no clear mechanism for ensuring that feedback is appropriately managed or directed.
- The purpose of engagement is often couched in terms of *understanding local issues* or *ensuring the service meets the needs of service-users*. This is an important function but it

maintains the client relationship with citizens and does not promote an ambitious vision of recognising capacity, responsibility and desire within communities for greater involvement. Another, almost universally included, purpose is raising public confidence. Again, it is a worthwhile output, but may be better seen as instrumental in achieving more substantive outcomes. Some police forces now see 'co-production' of community safety as the end game of engagement.

- Because of the legacy of the "single performance target" performance measurement of engagement focuses on surveyed levels of confidence as its main quantitative outcome. This may signify a vision of impressing, rather than involving, citizens and conflate engagement and public relations work. Once appropriate levels of confidence and legitimacy are established there may be other ways to measure progress towards the vision of enabling participation and social action. These require greater scrutiny of our assumptions around engagement and theories of change. Realist evaluation techniques and understanding links between procedural justice, opportunity reduction and social capital theories may provide a basis for a more useful approach to measuring engagement.

Large impacts upon some well-documented aspects of police culture and working practice will be needed if citizen and community engagement is to become widespread throughout policing or achieve its potential and stated aims. A foundation needs to be built, comprising empathy, communications skills, and a sense of common identity with citizens. Promising practice in this field includes evaluated communications skills programmes for operational officers in the Greater Manchester and Thames Valley forces which showed that levels of self-awareness, empathy and skills can be raised, resulting in a more satisfactory experience for victims. Upon this foundation there needs to be clear understanding about engagement, including guidance and training about the responsibility of all public-facing staff to negotiate with citizens the level of participation they want.

In more challenging neighbourhoods where social disintegration, harm and risk are concentrated there needs to be an additional layer of effort and activity aimed at seeing the community from their own perspective and networking the police with existing community assets in a process of intensive engagement. Currently there is a desire and willingness amongst operational staff to do this work but the most appropriate skills are found outside policing in the fields of community organising and development. Some promising models of effective practice in the early stages of evaluation have been identified. They all have in common the feature of external training, support and accountability which help practitioners overcome some of the unhelpful scripts within police operational culture, such as emergency action and cynicism, which hinder such work. More development of theory and practice is needed to discover and refine models that are sustainable within austerity and public sector contraction and are seen to meet the needs of police organisations as well as communities.

The three elements needed to achieve significant change appear to be clarity, capacity and culture and I recommend these as the priorities for action.

Recommendations

1. The development of conceptual **clarity** about citizen and community engagement through events, discussions, information products and adaptation of existing learning programmes.
2. The maintenance and development of **capacity** for effective citizen and community engagement. In most forces this is likely to include learning programmes and specialist support.
3. The development of a **culture** at all levels in policing that understands and values citizen and community engagement and supports its implementation.

Introduction

The objective attached to the College of Policing “Engagement and Participation” work stream is to *“Provide implementation support and evaluation advice to forces piloting targeted engagement against risk, threat, harm and vulnerability in neighbourhoods”*. The year one priority is to share learning from pilots and other identified good practice.

The process was to analyse the information gathered during the course of the Local Policing Survey in 2013, in which all forces were sent a detailed questionnaire about various aspects of local policing and most responded. This information was confirmed and triangulated with visits to many of the forces, and examination of strategy, policy and practice documents provided by forces. Promising practice was identified and monitored throughout the period.

All police forces are carrying out engagement activity and everyone involved in police leadership, governance and policy seems to strongly support and advocate citizen and community engagement. It is such an important principle, underpinning most of our concepts of neighbourhood policing, and is said to produce so many benefits that it would be impossible to do anything else. However, whilst that orthodoxy has some solid foundations it is evident that there is a lack of clarity in policy and practice about what it is, how it is done and what it can achieve.

So much has been written about engagement over the past 10 – 15 years that some will ask why any further guidance is necessary. This is a fair question only if we believe that community engagement is widespread throughout policing, that it is of high quality and is achieving its objectives. Many forces had concerns about their approach to engagement and were reviewing thinking and practice. Concerns included lack of clarity about performance, whether engagement was being effectively targeted and whether it was having any impact upon key measurable indicators like crime reduction or reducing threat harm and risk in any concrete way. Many forces are able to quantify formal engagement opportunities such as beat meetings, advisory groups and surgeries, estimate how many citizens have been involved, even have records of what topics were discussed and what action was taken as a result. However, there was little confidence that this quantitative data was saying much about the level of engagement, or whether it was effective.

Most definitions of community engagement start like this, **“... engagement is a process....”** That is, not an end in itself but a process towards, and a means to achieve, worthwhile outcomes.

If we consider the outcomes to be;

- more citizens actively participating in challenging and shaping police services
- more citizens being confident in their local police, seeing them as legitimate and willing to work with them
- more citizens actively involved in community safety oriented volunteering within agencies or in their communities
- more citizens taking power and responsibility for identifying, defining and solving local problems,

then we may be hard pressed to justify our assumptions that we are “doing community engagement” in a meaningful or effective way. In part this is because we may not have developed outcome measures for engagement in the way we have developed activity measures. But in many places it is also the case that the kinds of engagement we are carrying out do not often produce these outcomes. Engagement and participation often leads up to a point of citizens telling the police what local problems they, and their partner agencies, need to solve.

Engagement – A reality check

- Most forces are reducing the resources specifically allocated to community engagement related work at the neighbourhood level – mainly PCSOs. (Grieg-Midlane 2014, pg 14-15)
- Engagement with representatives of community groups in English cities did not apparently reveal networks of child-grooming gangs, sexually exploiting young people in plain sight. Or if they did this did not translate into effective action.
- Engagement with children's groups, young people's forums and statutory and voluntary agencies working with them did not apparently reveal the scale of sexual exploitation being suffered. If it did then the structures for upward transmission of this information were defective, in which case the engagement was tokenistic at best.
- An All Party Parliamentary Group for Children report (APPG 2014) found that fear and mistrust characterise children's perceptions of the police, that groups with a lot of contact with the police especially share this perception and the very influential first contact a child has with police is often a negative one. Schools outreach work which creates positive impressions and relationships is not universal and is threatened by budget reductions.
- It is still the case that huge numbers of people are unaware of their local policing team and only a small proportion of residents participate in engagement events such as PACT meetings (Bullock 2014, pg 392.)
- In many force engagement strategies is not clear what engagement is or it is conflated with consultation and corporate communications. An impression is given that it is a specialist field delivered only by neighbourhood policing and corporate communications staff.

This briefing presents the findings of the field work, document reviews and desk top research. It exposes some aspects of police thinking about engagement that is holding back the agenda. However, it also highlights practice examples and ideas about engagement within policing, academia and other professions and points to an emerging consensus about the value of general engagement skills for the whole workforce and specific, specialist, intensive engagement activity with vulnerable communities and neighbourhoods. The challenge that is presented throughout is the opening up of the police to outside influences and the evolution of a culture that re-orientates the police service towards the end result of community engagement, that is, a new relationship with citizens, more widespread participation and a vision for self-policing communities.

Reviewing the landscape

During the course of field work and the Delivering Neighbourhood Policing Stock Stake in 2013 - 14 all forces were surveyed about a range of local policing topics, many forces were visited and a large number of relevant documents were examined (Perry 2014.) Amongst these were engagement practices, policies and strategies. Some forces include this material in their neighbourhood policing guidance rather than separate documents. Analysis of these documents and discussions with forces highlighted some good practice, tactics and techniques, most of which were similar across the country, arising from the reassurance policing pilots and the Neighbourhood Policing programme but also some concerns. Some common themes about engagement arising from the stocktake were;

- The majority of forces identified it was an area where improvements could be made, with several forces either reviewing their engagement, piloting new techniques or outlining problems with it.
- The need for a consistent approach based on evidence-based practice, identifying community priorities and managing the KINs system.
- Most forces identified that they use public meetings for setting their priorities. There were good examples of well-organised and valuable meetings, but several forces felt the approach was not effective, the meetings did not promote a sufficient degree of accountability and did not adequately reach minority communities and people with protected characteristics.
- Forces found it difficult to measure performance and effectiveness of engagement activity and were not satisfied they were capturing the value of neighbourhood policing officers and PCSOs to their communities. (Perry 2014 pg 52 – 64)

In some documents no definition of engagement is provided and others use independent definitions that do not seem to be based upon any known source or theory. Since Myhill's definition (Myhill 2006 & 2012) has been the "official" one in policing for 8 years and is used in Approved Professional Practice it is strange that it appears in few force policy or strategy documents. This reinforces the impression that, whilst we all use the same term (engagement), it is possible that the same thing is not always meant. This impression was confirmed in some of the discussions with force representatives. Some themes that emerge from our conversations and analysis of strategies are listed and explained below.

Ownership and leadership

In many forces the engagement strategy is devised, led and managed by the Corporate Communications function. This has the effect of placing engagement as a sub-set of the communications strategy rather than as a core element of all public-facing policing activity. The corporate communications function is primarily concerned with general communications, dissemination of corporate messages, consultation and managing the reputation and image of the organisation. This function may not be compatible with the gritty, two-way, operational-level dialogue that secures practical public involvement in policing. It may be worth considering additional lines of accountability and performance management of strategies if engagement is to be seen as more than a communications matter.

Levels of Engagement

The levels of engagement envisaged within most strategies and guidance is at the lower end of any hierarchy or ladder of participation. In many cases it is almost entirely equated with consultation or levels of participation that do not go much beyond giving information to the public and gathering their views on local issues. Where a role for the citizen is described it is often passive or fairly limited in scope, such as self-help crime prevention measures or providing information to the police. This is an example from one force's guidance;

"During each engagement officers should look for opportunities to discuss Neighbourhood Priorities, issues of local concern, intelligence, Community Messaging, Immobilise and Crime

Prevention. Consideration should also be given as to whether to person should be included on the Key Individual Network (KINS).

This activity is also useful from a Crime Reduction perspective as knocking on doors may also provide opportunities to identify where active criminals are residing or other useful intelligence.”

Nearly all of the activity included in guidance and strategies about digital social media were likewise aimed at informing the public and, to a lesser extent, receiving their feedback. Usually no clear mechanism is outlined for ensuring that any feedback is directed to the appropriate place or that the participant is updated.

The purpose of engagement

Some hints could be found in the strategy documents about how the programmes of engagement were supposed to achieve the purposes or outcomes but in none of them was there a clearly explained theory of change to tie the activities and steps in the process to the outcome. Some vague notions are expressed about how increased public cooperation, intelligence and better partnership working will facilitate better interventions. Whilst the public rhetoric about engagement indicates great ambition, this lack of a theory of change may be the result of low expectations within the service as to what engagement can actually deliver. Even more indicative are the purposes for community engagement that are found in such documents.

- A commonly stated purpose for engagement strategies is to *ensure that the service meets the needs of the service-users*. It is also explained as *understanding local issues that matter to communities*. This is a customer focus which can be expected to elicit feedback about experiences of the public, victims, witnesses and callers but maintains the service and client relationship and does not promote a vision of greater active participation of citizens in community safety.
- Another, almost universal, purpose is raising confidence. Many engagement strategies were generated in 2008-2010 during the “single performance target” regime. Even those that have been revised more recently show this pedigree in their emphasis on raising public confidence in policing. Many strategies give the impression that raised public confidence is an end in itself rather than something instrumental to achieve other more substantive outcomes such as safety, harm reduction or crime prevention.

For these reasons those forces that report and publish performance information about their engagement strategies generally rely on victim satisfaction rates and surveyed levels of confidence in policing as their main quantitative outcome measures. Choosing these proxies to assess the effectiveness of engagement may signify a vision of pleasing, rather than involving, citizens. Both satisfying customers and improving confidence are worthwhile purposes and outcomes for engagement activity, especially given that there are strong links between confidence, legitimacy and procedural justice. However, after establishing and maintaining a strong base of confidence and legitimacy the next challenge is to build active citizen and community participation, cohesion, volunteering, social-capital building and co-production of community safety and crime prevention. These can only be developed by intense, focussed citizen engagement, not by communication alone, and should be considered the end game for engagement.

Resourcing Engagement

There is no robust data to suggest what proportion of resources are spent specifically on community engagement. This type of work is generally the responsibility of neighbourhood policing teams, but again, it is impossible to say how much of their time is given over to such activity. The reality is that engagement work is carried out alongside response and investigation and so it will always be difficult

to distinguish.

In our field work discussions with people involved in reorganisation programmes there was a tension between choosing to reduce numbers of warranted officers or PCSOs. The value of PCSOs in raising confidence and delivering engagement work was widely recognised but they were seen as less flexible resources for meeting response and investigation demand. In general it is thought that PCCs were more in favour of maintaining numbers of PCSOs than police managers were. Research conducted by Cardiff University shows a significant fall in PCSO numbers in the past 3 years and further falls predicted. Very few forces have increased their PCSO numbers (Grieg-Midlane 2014.) Changes in police officer pay scales as a result of the Winsor reforms mean that PCSOs can be more expensive resources than young police officers, especially over a 2 – 3 year budgeting cycle.

In forces that are seeking to maintain PCSO strength many are looking for ways to increase their skills and the type of work they are deployed to. As a result, it does not follow that maintained or increased PCSO cohorts actually gives capacity for more engagement since their workload is becoming more varied and time responsive, meaning there may be less opportunity for scheduled, specific, targeted engagement.

Some local policing teams completely integrate response, investigation and engagement functions at sector level. In these cases it can be difficult to establish if, and how much, “mission drift” of engagement resources is taking place. This can be as a result of the relative urgency of the two types of work. However, it can also result from well-established police cultural scripts that value action and enforcement above more deliberative and community focussed work. One of the activities that is thought to take up a lot of PCSO time in a non-flexible way is scene-guarding. Some forces are looking for other ways to resource this, in recognition that it is not a good use of skills and interferes with community engagement activities. Dorset are outsourcing scene-guarding to a security company with appropriate training, contracts and service level agreements.

It is very difficult for police managers to view engagement as demand, in the same way that responding to calls and investigating crime are. It is clear that high risk business is both important and urgent, whereas some longer-term development activity is important but not urgent. There are no clear and present dangers in not attending engagement opportunities, unlike altercations at licensed premises. However, the downstream risks, such as disengagement, reduced legitimacy, lack of cooperation, public anger and civil unrest, which our policing models have so far managed reasonably well, mean that we need to see proper, good quality engagement as demand and ensure appropriate resources. The best examples, especially of intensive engagement, we have seen have been those where practitioners have had very strong support and advocacy from supervisors and middle/senior managers to carry out their programmes, with as few interruptions and abstractions as possible.

Observations

- Strategies for citizen and community engagement should be based upon robust definition and understandings that are shared throughout the organisation and that underpin the vision and theory of change that is held by the leadership.
- Consultation should be seen as a specific and low-level form or stage of engagement and treated as such in policy and strategy documents.
- Management of engagement performance should be viewed as the responsibility of operational commanders rather than corporate communications.
- In the search for efficient models of local policing, due regard should be given to the need for adequate resources and scheduling for engagement activity.

Defining and understanding citizen and community engagement

What is community?

The word 'community' is over used and can be problematic in other ways, being very general in scope. We most commonly use it to describe the populace who live in a defined geographic area. However, we recognise that their location is often the only characteristic that they share. Their identity, affiliations, interests and experiences may be very different and any meaningful attempts to engage must be specific and targeted. It can be helpful to think of community in three ways;

- Communities of place – people who live in the same area or neighbourhood
- Communities of interest – people who share interests such as business people, sailors, football players
- Communities of identity – people who share a sense of identity on such grounds as ethnic background, gender, age, sexual orientation

There is further diversity and segmentation within each of these communities. It is impossible for any one person or small group to adequately represent the views and concerns of any community. However, when we sweep the surface of communities we may come across easy-to-reach people who want to do just that. Some structures and forms of police engagement have facilitated and strengthened this type of symbolic and tokenistic representation. This phenomenon has also positioned community engagement within policing as a specialist field, involving only relatively few officers and staff, mainly within Neighbourhood Policing and Corporate Communications, rather than a whole-force attitude and approach that encompasses every public-facing role. In 21st Century Britain, it might be helpful if the police service could dispense with the notion of homogenous communities, with identifiable, representative leaders and get to know more about the diverse views and concerns within them.

What is a citizen?

Aside from its most functional, concise dictionary definition, citizenship involves several elements. These include;

- Residential, legal and social rights
- Legal obligations and maybe other responsibilities
- Opportunities to participate in political decision making

It is common to hear expressions like "rights and responsibilities" in discussions about citizenship. Some of those responsibilities may be enforced, such as obeying the laws. Others may be thought of more as moral obligations or norms, in which behaviours that benefit society are encouraged rather than legislated.

Citizenship is often a way of describing an individual's relationship to the state and society rather than just a legal way to define a person's residential or immigration status. That is, most aspects of citizenship apply to visitors, temporary residents and migrants. For the past 20 years or so the police service has developed an ethos of customer service, in which people are seen as consumers of a service. In many ways this has been positive in raising standards of behaviour and communication and improving performance in many areas of police business. However, there are some concerns that seeing the public in this light may also have unintentionally diminished some of the responsibilities and opportunities of citizens to participate in formal and informal policing activities, decision making and partnerships. Some 'customer-focus' initiatives have been renamed 'citizen-focus' but this does not necessarily alter the client relationship that underlies them.

In post-modern society there are also many citizens who do not consider themselves to be part of any particular community of place or identity. If this is the case then community engagement via proxies, groups, meetings or representatives may be ignoring the needs and opportunities of many people and other models are needed to harness the participation of individuals who are not affiliated in any conventional way. More attention may need to be paid to all police encounters with citizens so that their views can be considered because they may not be expressed through any representative group.

What is engagement?

In everyday English the word engage or engagement means many different things, for example;

- When a romantic friendship becomes an intention to marry the couple is **engaged**
- When we want to connect the power train and wheels of a vehicle so that they move in response to the engine we **engage** the gears.
- When soldiers are in battle they are said to be **engaging** the enemy
- When an employee or contractor is taken on we are **engaging** that person or their services.
- People, conversations, films and books are **engaging** if they hold our interest and attention
- When people are involved, or participating in activities they are **engaged** in them.

These diverse applications all have in common the concept of relationship, being connected, joined, or held together in a mutual enterprise or activity, perhaps even extending to the idea of a contract. We often use the last of the above meanings, participation or involvement, when we speak of community engagement but it may be that we also need to focus on the relationship as well as the involvement of the public in processes and activities.

The current understanding of community engagement comes from detailed and scholarly work throughout the last 10 years or so;

The process of enabling the participation of citizens and communities in policing at their chosen level, ranging from providing information and reassurance, to empowering them to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions

The police, citizens, and communities must have the willingness, capacity and opportunity to participate. The police service and partner organisations must have a responsibility to engage and, unless there is a justifiable reason, the presumption is that they must respond to community input. (Myhill 2012, pg1)

In this explanation, it is a police responsibility to inform, enable and empower citizens and communities to influence and participate in policing decisions and activities. Although the word engagement is often used to describe all encounters, however fleeting or insignificant, between the police and the public, real engagement is much more than this. The N8 Research Partnership suggest,

“...community engagement should be understood as a wider, longer term and planned ‘process’ of collaboration between police and members of the local community.”(Lister et al 2014 Pg2)

Putting these principles together we can envision a policing approach that seeks to build upon random, planned and contingent encounters with individuals and groups, from the point of contact, into two-way communication, engagement and participation. A police force, even a local policing team, will have meaningful contact and conversations with many more victims, witnesses and

suspects in the course of a year than people who attend beat meetings and surgeries yet we call one type of activity community engagement but not the other. The difference is that we are generally treating victims, witnesses, even suspects, as single issue “customers” and are confining our communication with them to the matter giving rise to the contact. In fact many of these contacts will have a more general interest in policing and safety and may be willing to participate more actively *if they are asked*. In particular, victims are statistically more inclined to participate in neighbourhood policing activities and so the crime reporting and investigation process provides opportunities for participation and empowerment for the victim as well as reassurance (Bullock & Sindall 2014 pg 401.)

Levels of engagement

Engagement takes place at every level from the national to the individual. The three-way division shown below is often used to express this and identify the opportunities within each level. There are obviously significant overlaps between these levels and there is also a need to ensure that the products of engagement are passed between levels.

- **Democratic mandate**
This level of engagement sets the dominant philosophy for policing. The public have the opportunity to question and better understand the legitimacy of police actions and hold the police to account for the effectiveness and quality of their services. This happens at the national political level, in higher level courts and in the engagement work carried out by PCCs.
- **Intermediate strategic**
This includes engagement around policy, planning and critical incidents. Engaging communities at this level enables greater understanding of how policing may affect individuals and communities, either as part of equality analysis or to influence strategic priorities and decisions. This can be used to design and deliver effective, efficient and legitimate services. It is carried out at the PCC and force strategic level.
- **Neighbourhood policing**
This level focuses on securing community participation in relation to local priorities and problems. Neighbourhood policing has shown that public confidence improves when local people are involved in decisions about the issues that most concern them. This level of engagement could include involvement in local activity as well as decisions and extends to volunteering within the police or the community. Recent explanations of this level of engagement prioritise the development of social capital within communities.

Why is it important?

- To ensure that services provided by the police meet the needs of the people who use them. Design and delivery of any public facing services should be shaped by effective and honest community engagement, especially with the people who are likely to use them. This can be the difference between solving problems, moving them to someone else, or continuing a cycle of responding to similar incidents.
- To improve the confidence of the public in policing and strengthen the perception that the police are a legitimate institution, worthy of respect and cooperation. The impact of poor

police and community relations on public perceptions should not be underestimated. Negative pre-existing opinions of the police are a predictor of dissatisfaction with contact and services. Fair decision making and positive public interaction and engagement can improve these perceptions and increase 'institutional trust', thereby enhancing police legitimacy.

- To reduce demand, crime and disorder. Some clear thinking is needed to ensure that we know the mechanism by which the type of engagement we are doing will actually impact upon crime. Without this clarity tasking and tactics around CCE may be very unfocussed. More detail is provided in the section about performance measurement but some mechanisms by which crime may be impacted include;
 - Procedural justice. Criminologists have long argued about why some people commit crime. More recently this has become a discussion about why people do not commit crime, why they comply with the law and society's norms. A sense that the law and the authorities are fair and legitimate seems to enhance people's willingness to comply with the law and cooperate with the police (Myhill & Quinton 2011.) Perceptions of fairness are key to police legitimacy, and to encouraging effective engagement with communities. It is important that fairness is demonstrated in all aspects of policing, including arrests, searches, disposal decisions and in the resolution of incidents.
 - Social Capital and Collective Efficacy. Good quality, intensive engagement with citizens which is focused on the needs of the community rather than the police can develop bonds and bridges within communities and strengthen a sense of obligation. This social reintegration holds out the prospect of more widespread preventive and informal social control, reducing reliance upon formal policing responses.
- To provide genuine local accountability. Honest engagement with all sections of the community can provide a means by which local residents and service users can let the police know how they are performing. Good community engagement includes the means for citizens to advocate on behalf of their community or neighbourhood and informally hold their local police to account.
- To uncover and tackle unreported and hidden crime, harm and vulnerability within communities such as gang affiliation, street grooming and radical ideology. Sensitive and skilled engagement, together with active partnership working holds out the best prospect of getting to grips with these problems that especially affect young people.
- To discover and address unequal experience of crime and safety, access to, and impacts of, police service upon communities. Huge social and cultural changes within many cities have left some ethnic and cultural communities adrift from any meaningful contact with agencies and established populations. In many cases they do not report crimes and other problems and have little advocacy or support in conflicts with other groups in their neighbourhoods.
- To build a broader "policing and community safety family." Some research reports have identified that large numbers of people are willing to be more involved in community safety than they are currently (Casey 2008 pg 7) (Boyd 2012 pg 39.) Most forces have direct volunteering schemes such as Special Constabulary, Police Support Volunteers and Volunteer Police Cadets. There are also many other community based volunteering opportunities which support policing and community safety objectives. Harnessing this public support in an active way requires better engagement with the public, making it clear

that they are needed and are welcome.

- To develop a different relationship with the public. Some police leaders have come to the view that seeing people as customers or consumers, and the police as providers, of services may not be leading to sustainable problem-solving and can create dependency. (Fahy 2014) Whilst vulnerable people must be zealously protected all citizens need to be encouraged and empowered to reduce their own risks and participate in collective responses to local problems. On this understanding policing becomes a mission of facilitating rather than delivering community safety outcomes and engagement is among the most important skills and priorities.

It is possible that community engagement may not be the best, or most useful, term for what we want to achieve or move towards. This is especially so given that, in police circles, it is often equated with consultation and is often thought of as directed towards defined communities of identity or place. It may be that more specific terminology needs to be developed. In the definition of community engagement above, Myhill incorporates “enabling the participation of **citizens and communities**” and this appears to be a useful inclusion. In this paper I shall be using the term Citizen and Community Engagement (CCE) to make the connection with this definition explicit.

Some of the difficulties in theorising and implementing CCE appear to stem from a lack of common understanding about what policing is, an overemphasis on the role of formal policing and a lack of recognition of informal policing carried out by citizens and institutions in the course of their daily lives. The role of formal policing has always been contested and many models have been proposed to describe the diverse range of tasks thrust upon them by the public and government. The current government has made it clear that their emphasis for the police is crime fighting, that is, preventing crime and bringing offenders to justice. Whether a politician can really specify what is the true or main purpose of an ancient constitutional institution has not been challenged. Most arguments have been about what the purpose is rather than who decides. This appears to be generating some cognitive dissonance within police leadership as it seeks to position the multitudinous demands and aspirations of the public within a paradigm of crime prevention. On this account claims are being made for neighbourhood policing, community engagement and other aspects of police work that may not be substantiated.

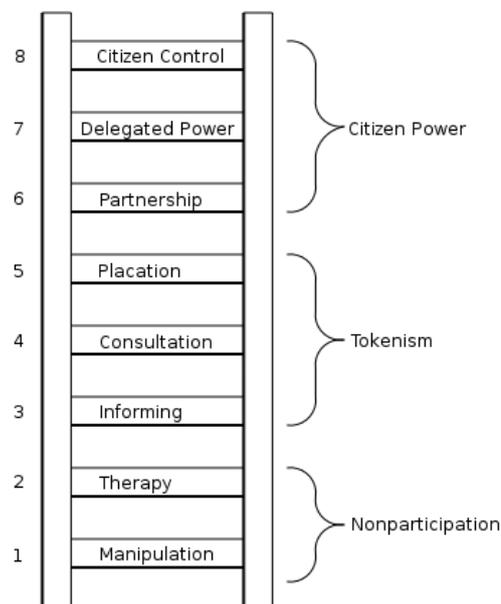
Informal policing may be a way to describe the social control, crime prevention and harm reduction carried out within communities, families and institutions without the involvement of formal policing. This formative and corrective action is generally earlier, more effective, less intrusive and causes less unintended harm than formal policing interventions. For example, a young person whose offending behaviour is prevented or curtailed by his family, school or other institution has a huge advantage over a young person whose behaviour is dealt with by formal action by statutory agencies, including arrest, criminal records and social stigma. It is readily observable that most neighbourhoods throughout the whole of England and Wales require very little regular police input and just a few small areas take up a disproportionate amount of each police force’s resources. Whilst there is strong correlation with areas of deprivation this is not always the case. It seems that some neighbourhoods are more able to prevent, resist or manage crime and disorder. This is sometimes called ‘collective efficacy.’ Collective efficacy refers to the way in which collective goals, such as informal control of crime and disorder, are achieved as a result of bonds of trust and shared expectations within a neighbourhood. Collective efficacy can also be understood as similar to, and a result of, social capital. This “refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.” (Putnam 2000, pg 19)

In current thinking there is still an emphasis on engagement as a way of telling people helpful information or finding out what the public want the police to do. Often this is connected with outcomes such as raised confidence and satisfaction. These should not be seen as the end game for engagement but rather some of the steps on the way to developing social capital and collective efficacy in neighbourhoods where its absence is creating risk and vulnerability.

Modelling Citizen and Community Engagement

Many theories and models of engagement are built upon Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969) which shows extent to which citizens have power to influence the end products of a public service. Whilst there are post-Arnstein understandings of participation it remains an influential construction and is useful in modelling the kind of engagement we are concerned with. Arnstein's underlying assumption is that "...citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power." This is problematic for the police service in that a huge amount of the rhetoric and policy around engagement is usually couched in terms of supporting the police, defusing community tensions, adding capacity, acting as eyes and ears, having their say, and similar expressions. All of these imply responsabilisation and mobilization of the public in the service of policing rather than cession of power to citizens by the police. Whether this can be reconciled within currently held positions on the role of the police is an open question.

Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein 1969, pg2)



This model is useful because it demonstrates that citizen involvement in public services is on a variable scale rather than in simple categories. In the police context it shows that a great deal of what is called engagement is at the lower or intermediate levels of the scale. The higher levels involve a much different attitude to, and relationship with, the public. Participation at these upper levels involve different structures and skills on the part of the agencies as well as citizens. Arnstein's primary concern was the participation of citizens in development and implementation of policy, decision-making and service design. Whilst these are also very relevant in policing and, arguably, should be the priority for involving citizens, the model does not fully take into account the additional ways in which citizens are likely to participate in policing such as volunteering, active citizenship, social action and co-production. Similarly, Arnstein's model, in itself, does not consider the journey that individuals make up that ladder from passivity to power. Further work is needed to understand what constitute corresponding levels of engagement in policing, how police organisations can facilitate dispersal of power, and how citizens can achieve the levels of participation that they want.

Proposing an operational model of engagement

It may be that new, widely understood vocabulary is needed to plot citizen and community engagement within the policing landscape. Other words are frequently used interchangeably with engagement. These include ‘communication’, ‘involvement’, ‘participation’ and even ‘co-production.’ However, if we consider that engagement is more than simply communication and is a means, not an end in itself, these words are better at describing some of the consequences or outcomes of engagement rather than the process itself. In the police context a sample process might look like this;

 Police - Relationship and empowerment develops	What comes next?	It could even be the case that some matters formerly considered police responsibility are entirely handed over to citizens and community groups.	 Citizen - Commitment and impact develops
	Co-production	When citizens and communities are empowered to identify and solve problems the possibility of co-production arises; the joint design, planning and delivery of services as equal partners with community safety as a shared responsibility.	
	Involvement	This is a similar idea to participation but a better way to describe the more active playing of a part in policing and community safety by volunteering within the community or with the police or another agency or community group	
	Participation	As interest and dialogue develops into action by attending a beat meeting or contributing to discussions about local policing priorities in other forums. This may lead to more committed and specialist forms of participation, including scrutiny and oversight	
	Engagement	Sometimes communication extends beyond the original matter, there is genuine interest by both parties in continuing dialogue about policing and safety issues	
	Communication	A two-way dialogue about the matter leading to the contact	
	Contact	Initial contact as suspect, victim, witness, informant, complainant, enquirer, random encounter, outreach target	

In this model the key to greater engagement, participation and involvement is developing the relationship with those who come into contact with the police. This could be a contact initiated by the citizen or by the police but that evolves into a productive partnership. How does it work in practice? Terminology, and the way we describe what citizens do in relation to community safety, is important and deserves more consideration than we usually give it. In the below 3 examples, different forms and levels of involvement are described. Consider whether they are dealing with the same phenomena and why we might want to explain them in distinct terms. The terms used in these typical scenarios are not intended to be definitive.

Example 1 – Participation

Jancis experienced some crime and antisocial behaviour in her street. She had initial **contact** and **communication** with her local police team about her specific complaints. As a result of the ongoing **communication** with the local PCSO she became more generally interested in local problems. Now there is a productive **dialogue** and the **relationship** between Jancis and the PCSO can be described as **engagement**. This deepens when Jancis starts to attend beat meeting and contributes to discussions about local problems and priorities. Sometimes she disagrees with the local police sergeant about what is required and challenges her to think of new tactics. She has also attended her ward councillor’s surgery to raise some environmental issues that are causing problems for local residents. Jancis is now **participating** actively in her community, policing and local democracy. There

is now a window of opportunity for the police, the council and other local agencies to respond to Jancis' **participation** and harness her enthusiasm to build community bonds and develop strategies to improve the neighbourhood. **Participation** is a very general term and can include a wide range of roles, from being consulted to being fully integrated into policing as a Special Constable, member of the Police and Crime Panel, Independent Advisory Group, or an Independent Custody Visitor.

Example 2 – Involvement

Garry had not experienced any crime recently but had a general interest in police work. He had recently retired, with skills in administration, management and marketing. Garry was a passive member of the neighbourhood watch, receiving community messages, which was his only **contact** and **communication** with the police. He received a message advertising volunteer posts with his local police team, carrying out local consultation, research and communication with the attendant administration work. Missing the stimulation of a workplace, and starting to get bored with golf, his process of **engagement** began when he applied for the **volunteer** role and began to **assist** his local police team by adding capacity and expertise to their community profiling work. He is now a valued member of the local team and contributes much more than the 3 hours per week asked of Police Support Volunteers in that force. He has boosted the numbers and diversity of residents attending meetings and surgeries. The Divisional Information Analysts draw upon his local work and ask for his opinions about improving the flow of community intelligence in other neighbourhoods. Garry is not particularly interested in policy or governance but is practically **involved** in policing, bringing his skills and knowledge of his local area, making the police more appropriate and responsive to that community. Other people may seek **involvement** through schemes such as Community Speedwatch, Street Pastors or Victim Support Scheme.

Example 3 – Co-production

A high density housing complex in an inner city location suffers from antisocial behaviour and acquisitive crime such as thefts of bicycles and items from parked cars. The residents' association, set up to resolve environmental and estate management problems, spends most of its meetings complaining to the police representative about crime and disorder; they are **engaged**. Some problem solving has been done but lack of funds for expensive environmental changes limits their effectiveness. Some residents are willing to **participate** and get **involved** by starting a "Street Watch" citizen patrol scheme. The local Police Inspector is supportive but helps them draft a code of practice and accountability for members. She provides reflective tabards and notebooks and the Housing Association makes available a meeting room for training and briefing. The Street Watch members come to an agreement with the local police team that if PCSOs patrol the area at peak crime times on 2 evenings per week the Street Watch will provide visible cover and crime prevention advice for 3 evenings. The police provide an email briefing of real-time crime trends each afternoon and the watch members provide intelligence and occurrence reports by email at the end of each shift. The residents' association, through its active members is **co-producing** neighbourhood safety and security with the police. The patrol members have become more aware of the needs of local young people as a result of their interactions and are lobbying for additional facilities for them. 2 other residents have offered to run a homework café in the Street Watch meeting room on 2 afternoons per week in term time. Rather than just being involved in, or replicating, police services **co-production** can include a bigger vision and a wider range of activity to benefit the community.

This approach potentially represents a major shift in understanding the police role towards, and relationship with, citizens. Some of the groups the police have regular contact with are not usually seen as targets for engagement, rather as service users. It is not common to hear police officers speak about engagement with suspects/offenders and victims and yet these relationships are conducive to the type of engagement that can lead to improved communities and collective efficacy.

Victims

Victims of crime are statistically more inclined to participate in neighbourhood policing activities and so the crime reporting and investigation process provides opportunities for participation and empowerment for the victim as well as reassurance (Bullock & Sindall 2014 pg 401.) Most forces have robust processes for keeping victims informed, supported through other agencies such as Victim Support and other specialist services, and reassured by neighbourhood police teams. However, we have not come across any programmes in which victims are specifically asked if they want to get involved in volunteering, community activism, or other participation opportunities, apart from joining a neighbourhood watch scheme.

A number of studies have shown that simply being asked is a major trigger and driver for becoming involved in volunteering or other participation (Brodie et al 2009 pg 29.) The Casey Report found that huge numbers of people are willing to play a more active part in preventing crime if there are opportunities and if they are asked (Casey 2008 pg 72-75.) Policy Exchange found that large numbers of people would like to attend a Citizen Police Academy if there was one in their area (Boyd 2012, pg 38-39.) It would be helpful for call handlers and officers to be aware of the value of inviting people to participate in relevant activities. It is not self-evident to many victims and complainants that attending a PACT meeting, joining a neighbourhood watch scheme, or finding some other local outlet for social action might meet their needs for support, reduce their vulnerability and improve the efficacy of their neighbourhood. A deliberate focus on this tactic, working with other providers such as Victim Support, hate crime support groups and witness care units to develop and signpost participation activities for victims, might lead to greatly improved engagement, involvement and capacity within a short time.

Suspects and offenders

Academic literature of the past 50 years has been generally consensual about many aspects of police culture. Reiner summarises some of the research from the 1960s to 1980s and draws out certain characteristics of the police mind set. These include tendencies to cynicism, pessimism and a sense of mission. It can be seen that these traits may gravitate against good community engagement of any kind but the manner in which he describes how police categorise people is even more problematic. Taxonomies include terms such as “asshole,” “police property,” and “rubbish” (Reiner 1992 pg 115-120.) Some have disputed the current relevance of these perspectives but they have been confirmed in more recent observational studies. Suspicious persons, suspects and offenders are seen as people to be distrusted, detected, caught, controlled and have authority imposed upon them (Loftus 2009 pg 4-12.) They are seen as categorically different from non-offending citizens.

This has important implications for citizen engagement work since approximately one third of all adult men have, or will have, at least one criminal conviction by the time they are 53 (MoJ 2010 pg 4.) The proportion is much higher than this in some demographic groups, especially in the challenging neighbourhoods where disengagement, crime risk and vulnerability are greatest. The author’s own experience and observation indicates that discrimination against people with offending or intelligence history is the last acceptable overt prejudice within policing. Current police station vocabulary for convicted or suspected criminals includes slags, scrotes, villains, scum, and the almost universal term of “nominals.” This originates from the presence of a “nominal record” on a crime information system and is not pejorative *per se* but serves to label the individual as someone who is “known to the police.” Thinking about offenders tends to be binary; they are a villain or they are not. There is not much nuance, such as inactive offenders, rehabilitated or reformed offenders, retired or former criminals etc. Moreover, people with criminal history are almost wholly defined by their offending status. It is not generally recognised that they perform other roles in their families,

communities and social circles. With most police officers personally and professionally detached from any offender-facing support services, the concepts of inclusion, redemption and rehabilitation of convicted criminals are not well known or recognised. This could be addressed by awareness training by, or visits and attachments to, some of the many support and advocacy groups affiliated to CLINKS.

Whilst they are rarely described as such, and recognising the power imbalance, the following interactions are, or can be, forms of engagement with suspects and offenders;

- Custody booking-in process
- Interviews under caution
- Intelligence interviews
- Custody bail or release process
- Integrated Offender Management processes
- Bail check visits
- Restorative justice or community resolution processes

At the intensive engagement sites in Durham neighbourhood officers conducted focus groups with both youth and adult offenders to gain their perspectives on the local area; positive aspects, problems and policing issues. They found them not significantly more difficult to engage than others, and mainly had similar perspectives to other sections of the community, even about crime and disorder. They were pleasantly surprised that the police wanted to know what they thought. Officers gained useful insights about how they were seen by currently and recently active offenders. This included observations that they often found the attitude and communication of younger male officers to be arrogant and disrespectful. Involving more officers in activity which obtains such valuable feedback as this can be useful in internalising concepts of procedural justice and the need to treat offenders as citizens with agency and responsibility rather than as a sub-class to be controlled.

Some offenders are willing to disclose a great deal about how they commit crimes and dispose of property. This can be very valuable intelligence and can be used to tailor investigative, opportunity reduction and diversionary interventions. To avoid ethical dilemmas and conflicts of role it may be better if such work is done in partnership with local academic institutions and interviews conducted by social science researchers. A good recent example of this approach was provided by Merseyside Police (Merseyside Police 2014a & 2014b.)

It is self-evident that the people who have most influence on crime rates are the currently active criminals themselves, most of whom are able to make choices, to some extent, as to whether they offend or not. Traditional policing paradigms are based on the assumption that fear of being caught and punished may alter their perception of risk and reward, influencing their choices. However, it is less recognised that developing shared values, believing that the laws and their enforcers are fair, and feeling a part of a community are also important in securing compliance with laws and norms. There is no necessity for these two motivations to be in conflict. However, when enforcement is seen to be unfairly implemented, disproportionate, or the only thing the police are interested in then some people will base their ideas and behaviour upon an assumption that society is unfair or that they are excluded from it. Increasing the ratio of positive interactions with sometime offenders can be a part of the process to reintegrate them into responsible community life.

Formal volunteering

“Volunteering is the ultimate form of community engagement. Whilst professional services are absolutely essential, the criminal justice system should not be seen as something only delivered by paid professionals for communities. Communities should and need to take some ownership of those services themselves. Individuals must feel empowered to create local solutions to local problems, and this can be achieved, at least in part, through volunteering.” (Neuburger 2009 pg 8)

For some people the pathway to participation in policing will lead to individual social action, voluntary sector services, community activism or lay oversight of policing practice and decision making. However, many citizens have useful skills and a desire to volunteer directly with the police. Most forces now have well established programmes for at least three types of formal volunteering; Special Constabulary, Police Support Volunteers and Volunteer Police Cadets. Our success in this form of engagement can be judged by the numbers of citizens supporting the police in these ways, their productive deployment, the sections of the community from which we recruit them, and the extent to which we allow them to influence our organisations. Some volunteer programmes emphasise the value of volunteering for the police but it can be even more helpful to consider how volunteers can directly provide value for communities. Many initiatives such as local justice panels and crime prevention advice volunteers do this and create greater capacity and collective efficacy. These roles also have the advantage that they do not generally coincide with paid staff jobs and consequently do not damage industrial relations.

The Police Service Portfolios for Special Constabulary and Citizens in Policing have recently been merged to create a Citizens in Policing ‘Community of Practice.’ This draws together stakeholders involved in formal volunteering as well as informal volunteering, community action and active citizenship. The Community of Practice has identified robust theory and practice around volunteering and has produced some resources to help forces develop this arm of citizen and community engagement, including a detailed briefing and a self-assessment tool (Simmonds 2015.)

Involving the whole organisation and all its service users

In developing a model of CCE, in which all citizens are seen as potential participants, it is necessary to ask the following questions;

- Who is to be engaged?
- By whom?
- By what means?
- For what purpose?
- To what end?

The figure below is a matrix showing how all sections of society can be engaged by answering the above questions. It can be seen that some cultural change and learning is required; to see all citizens on a continuum of engagement from disengaged to actively participating, and for all staff to see their responsibility to encourage citizens along that continuum at every opportunity, enabling them to participate at their chosen level.

Citizen and Community Engagement Matrix

Of whom	By whom	By what means	For what purpose	To produce what
General population	PCC Force Leadership Communications & PR Local leadership	Mass media Publications, websites Events & outreach Digital Social media Community messaging Representative groups Independent advisory groups	Raise confidence Reassure Obtain feedback Obtain intelligence Inform and raise awareness	Legitimacy Cooperation Crime prevention
Neighbourhood Residents	Local Policing Teams Local leadership Response officers	Newsletters, local media Meeting and surgeries Personal contact Community profiling Intensive engagement Targeted outreach Community Messaging Digital social media Partnership networks Participatory budgeting Focus groups/World Café events	Set priorities for local policing Identify and solve local problems and priorities Raise levels of involvement Involve volunteers in the community and in police Obtain intelligence Assess community impacts Develop community assets	Legitimacy Confidence Relationship Cooperation Collective efficacy Co-production Crime prevention Quality of life
Victims and witnesses	Call handlers Response officers Local Policing Teams Investigators Witness care units Criminal Justice Units Victim support schemes Victim call back volunteers	Personal contact Telephone contact Letters and emails Track-my-crime systems Reassurance visits Targeted engagement	Obtain evidence Obtain views e.g. restorative justice Raise satisfaction levels Empowerment Prevent repeat victimisation	Legitimacy Justice Cooperation Collective efficacy Harm reduction Vulnerability reduction Confidence & satisfaction Crime prevention
Suspects and offenders	Local policing teams Response officers Investigators Custody officers and staff	Personal contact Custody processes Investigation processes Intelligence interviews Restorative justice Referral to other agencies Offender Management work	Obtain evidence Detect crimes Procedural justice Prevent repeat offending Integrate into community Obtain intelligence	Justice Legitimacy Reduction of harm Crime prevention
Local community safety activists and volunteers	Local Policing Teams Local leadership	Personal contact, visits Meetings and surgeries Problem solving sessions Digital social media Intensive engagement activity	Develop community assets Raise skills and expertise Learn from local experts Develop co-production	Crime prevention Harm reduction Demand reduction Legitimacy Social capital Co-production Collective efficacy
Third Sector/Civil Society	PCC via umbrella groups Chief/Senior officers via partnership forums Local leadership Local Policing Teams Specialist police teams, DV, CP	Partnership Forums, Boards Networking Strategic level working groups Local partnership action groups Individual casework/referrals Joint working, co-production	Expand influence into more communities, individuals Develop positive vision for neighbourhoods Access expertise of specialists Improve engagement with excluded groups	Crime prevention Harm reduction Demand reduction Vulnerability reduction Legitimacy Social capital Co-production
Other statutory agencies	PCC Chief/Senior Officers Local leadership Local Policing Teams Specialist police teams	Partnership Forums, Boards Networking Strategic level working groups Clinical commissioning groups Local partnership action groups	Develop partnership responses to crime and disorder Improve efficiency and effectiveness by pooling resources and expertise Tackle “wicked problems”	Crime prevention Harm reduction Demand reduction Vulnerability reduction Confidence Legitimacy

Barriers to Citizen & Community Engagement

The N8 Police Research Partnership identified the following barriers to participation **within communities**;

- personal characteristics e.g. having insufficient time, poor written or spoken English skills, poor education, disabilities and health problems
- lack of confidence in the police, possibly linked to poor relations with the police historically
- fear of crime, undermining trust in other members of the community and preventing engagement with the police because of fear of reprisals
- lack of awareness both of neighbourhood structures and opportunities to participate in policing
- cynicism that any public input would bear substantial impact or influence on police decisions
- public apathy and frustration with the time consuming and bureaucratic processes which have to be followed before police are able to consider their concerns and views
- absence of suitable civic structures (Lister et al, 2014.)

The question is unresolved as to how much responsibility the police have to address these deficits of human and social capital before effective and meaningful engagement can take place. However, if the police aspiration is for greater collective efficacy to support both formal and informal policing they need to work out how it is to be done because other agencies may not prioritise this focus. Some of these barriers may be overcome by strategic and practical effort on the part of the police and many of them are amenable to action by voluntary and community groups and other statutory agencies. Developing a specific strategy for improving skills and capacity in particularly needy areas might be one place to start. Citizen Academy may be a framework for such work (Simmonds 2014.)

However, there are also significant barriers **within policing**. These include;

- the increasing social, ethnic, cultural and political diversity of neighbourhoods
- the often transient deployment of police personnel to local policing teams
- the status within the institutional and occupational cultures of police compared to other types of work
- the costs associated with providing enough capacity and training to perform community engagement effectively, and supporting the full range of engagement methods to ensure representative and inclusive participation
- community engagement training is often classroom based or on placement, which is less effective than training experienced in a situated workplace environment (Lister et al, 2014.)

In some ways these are more intractable than the obstacles within communities. Attempts to moderate police culture, open policing up to the public and raise the estimation of community focussed work have all had some success over the past 10 years. However, there is some evidence that austerity programmes, especially the merging of response, investigation and neighbourhood functions may be increasing the direct competition for resources and organisational priority. Even for PCSOs there seems to be pressure to act upon police cultural scripts rather than the role they were recruited for. The Leverhulme report into PCSO roles identifies at least one way in which this occurs;

What was striking, however, was how this social capital was viewed and valued by the organisation. On the surface, the role of the PCSO is one of community support (as their title implies), in which PCSOs serve the interests and needs of the local community. However, when it came to internal police priorities, those PCSOs who provided the most intelligence about suspected criminals in the local area were the mostly highly praised and valued. This means that PCSOs are filling two conflicting roles – one as community supporter and one as police intelligence gatherer (O'Neill 2013 pg 6.)

In additions to the issues of resourcing and culture, some of the obstacles identified above refer to deployment decisions and skills gaps. Our field work revealed that some of the comprehensive training courses, developed between 2006 and 2010, for officers going into neighbourhood policing were no longer in use or had been reduced. In many cases warranted officers received no specific training in neighbourhood policing, albeit PCSOs were trained in community engagement and similar work. One finding in the Leverhulme PCSO report that gives cause for concern was that many PCSOs do not think their supervisors understand their role or their work. This especially applies to those coming into neighbourhood policing from other branches or functions (O'Neill 2013 pg 7,13-14.)

It is doubtful whether there is currently, within policing, the skills and capacity to take officers and staff to the next level in understanding and delivering citizen and community engagement that results in enhanced social capital, collective efficacy or co-production. As Lister identified, situated and supported workplace training appears to be more appropriate than a classroom based course. Certainly, the best examples of intensive engagement we have observed are those models that make use of outside expertise from community organising/development professionals to initially train the staff, supervisors and managers. Their ongoing development is through supported practice, action learnings sets and refresher training.

Some of these models, though very effective, may be quite expensive for some forces at this time. Some further work is required to calculate what can be done to gain economies of scale through collaboration or smarter targeting and prioritisation of effort. Alternatively, it may be worth exploring the benefits of bringing appropriate expertise into police organisations on an employed, rather than contracted, basis.

Intensive Engagement

In some neighbourhoods that are especially vulnerable or where levels of engagement and social capital is low some forces are using techniques and methods from the world of community organising and community development to improve participation. Collectively, these approaches could be described as intensive engagement. Common features include the following;

- They are often based upon Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) methodology. More information on such theory is available (Russell 2010 & www.mutualgain.org). The starting point is to identify and understand the existing structures, assets and power within a community rather than problems. People, institutions and facilities are viewed as assets for achieving the positive visions that residents have for their area. Some techniques for research and analysis such as appreciative inquiry (see below) and positive deviance often go hand in hand with ABCD approaches as they arise from a similar starting point.
- They concentrate on positive social development, building social capital and raising aspiration rather than control or suppression of symptoms of crime and disorder. However, in many cases, local residents' vision and aspiration will include a desire to reduce certain types of crime and disorder and these approaches have the potential to impact upon crime and antisocial behaviour.
- Underlying philosophy is more likely to be some concept of the good life in community rather than the kinds of moral theory that support most police work such as duty and rights (enforcement, criminal justice and compliance) and utility (peace-keeping, harm reduction, offender management etc.) This means that police officers involved in intensive engagement usually need to re-orientate their thinking to see things the way local people do and re-frame what they see as the issues into a context that local residents can enthusiastically support. Techniques such as participatory learning, mapping and visualising ("rich picturing") and immersion in the local culture may be helpful in achieving this change in perspective.
- Other theoretical bases may include Social Contract, Social Capital, Public Sphere, Reflective Practice, Pro-social Modelling, Discourse Ethics, Positive Deviance and Broken Windows theory (but not the intensive enforcement practice which is sometimes equated with this theory.)
- Individual and small group casework to enable members of the community, to maximise their potential and create "assets" is often involved. Since existing people and institutions are the resources for achieving aspirations the key part of the work is facilitating personal growth, development, confidence and empowerment of engaged individuals and creating the opportunity for innovation. This can leverage and multiply effort and expand capacity. Some adult learning methods may be used but motivational interviewing and other approaches are often more appropriate.
- Building capacity of citizens and community groups to understand and use problem-solving approaches and techniques.
- Since the above features contain many skills and concepts that are not common currency within policing, some of the tasks may not be considered as "real police work," expertise from outside may be needed. Some of the schemes currently showing promise make use of external consultants for training, on-site supported learning and ongoing mentorship and development. Training and awareness is needed at many levels, especially middle

management, to ensure that this type of work is understood, supported and resourced.

- In addition to the general barriers identified above intensive engagement practitioners report additional obstacles that become evident when working at their detailed scale.
 - Lack of skills – within the police and the public
 - Apathy and dependency in communities caused by a client relationship with agencies
 - Some visible and symbolic barriers such as operational police uniform and equipment which points to a different purpose than engagement
 - Thinking of engagement as an initiative or a project rather than an attitude and approach
 - Absence of a philosophy about what constitutes a good life in a community
 - Levels of knowledge within policing about social capital and its importance
 - Scripts and norms with police culture presents challenges
 - command and control, especially in leadership
 - pragmatism and action orientation – need to be seen to do something
 - low priority for engagement leads to abstraction of key staff for other duties

Techniques

Methods of engagement tailored to meet the needs and preferences of the community will enable them to fully participate and ensure that the most cost effective, efficient channels are used. For neighbourhood level engagement, decision making needs to be devolved to allow beat officers flexibility in tailoring approaches. Methods and techniques that can help with engagement and participation include these listed below. Some are useful for general engagement whilst others are better suited for more intensive applications. Some of them require skills and training that are not yet widespread within the police service and may require investment and external expertise.

- Open meetings
As required by the Police Reform & Social Responsibility Act 2011 Police and Communities Together (PACT) meetings, also known in some areas as beat meetings or neighbourhood forums, are held regularly in most neighbourhoods. Awareness raising, marketing and skilful facilitation seem to be key to securing good attendance and widespread engagement. In some areas, webs-streaming and social media broadcasting are used to enable more people to participate in such events.
- Appreciative enquiry
This methodology for improvement seeks to solve problems by starting from the positive; identifying strengths, advantages and things that are working well in this situation and seeking to build upon them. This often has the effect of re-framing a situation in such a way that it can be improved with existing resources. By concentrating on a positive vision it is often possible to harness more enthusiasm and support for change than if the focus is on a problem.
- Participatory budgeting
This process enables members of a community or interest groups to share decisions about how public money or charitable grants are spent. It provides a focus and opportunity for a level of participation that goes far beyond consultation and draws on the insights and

expertise of people who are nearest the point of service delivery.¹ This is a genuine channel for citizen power since these are decisions that are normally made by elected members or officers of statutory agencies.

- **World Café events**
This is a way of getting people to share about topics that matter to them. Small groups of 4-6 people sit around a table and discuss a question of importance to them. After a certain period people rotate to other tables and move on to other topics. For a concise powerpoint explaining the process use [this link](#) .
- **Street walking and door knocking**
As an alternative to formal meetings, consultation and engagement can be carried out in public areas, combining visual environmental audits with in-depth discussions with residents.
- **Targeted events**
As an alternative to open meeting, events can be tailored to attract particular demographics. Provision of certain activities or entertainment may create access for young people. Child-minding, play sessions or face-painting enables parents of young children to participate. Creating space for engagement opportunities within other, existing community events can also be an efficient way to target engagement.
- **Focus groups**
When a particular issue, identity group or theme is being focused upon, groups of people with knowledge, interest or views are brought together in a facilitated conversation. Ideas are shared, explored and challenged and the learning is recorded.
- **Citizen Academies**
These community and police learning opportunities may be police-led and aimed at raising citizens' levels of knowledge about policing so they can hold them to account more effectively, work with them more knowledgeably, or find out more about volunteering activity. Other, more progressive models may be led by community experts and include police practitioners as learners along with other participants (Simmonds 2014.)

Current Practice Examples

Greater Manchester Police

GMP have been using the services of a company called Mutual Gain to help them develop a different approach to community engagement. The aim is to gain a much more citizen and community orientated view of crime and disorder problems and to harness the skills and assets found within communities to build upon existing assets and tackle local problems. As the relationship between the community and the police develops there is an element of "responsibilisation." That is, conversations in which it becomes appropriate to say to local residents, "This is what we expect of you." This is in contrast to the prevailing neighbourhood policing approach, based upon a service provider and client relationship, which is "We asked - you said - we did."

The intended outcomes are building of social capital within neighbourhoods and better relationships with the police, co-design and co-production of services and the reduction of vulnerability. Through

¹ <http://www.pbnetwork.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Policy-briefs-from-the-PB-Network.-Democratising-Policing-low-res.pdf>

the recovery or development of social bonds and integration it is believed there is a real prospect of bringing down levels of crime. Confident and already-engaged sections of society are not ignored but there is a strong emphasis on those who are not currently engaged such as people adversely affected by police decisions and actions, criminals and other ignored individuals and groups. Those involved in offending and the frequent victims of crime often have the best ideas for reducing it. In order to encourage attendance at participation events, small cash payments or other incentives are sometimes provided. A feature of the GMP programme has been the development of the skills and confidence of local residents to become valuable community assets. In some cases this takes quite intensive one-on-one or small group work and requires investment of staff time. It is this type of work that may conflict with operational and performance pressures and requires strong leadership and supervision to enable and ensure it happens. This social capital and capacity building provides some of the strongest qualitative and anecdotal evidence for the efficacy of this approach.

Where funding is available participatory budgeting events are used as a focus of early activity to create impetus and develop networks and collaboration. The process of groups preparing bids builds capacity amongst the local voluntary sector. The event itself is a powerful expression of trust in the local residents in which they have the opportunity to allocate public funds which would normally be done by elected officials or public servants without their input. The implementation of small local programmes funded through this process maintains the capacity and impetus into the next cycle.

Most of the work is based in specific neighbourhoods and aimed at the full range of local policing matters but the same approach is being trialled with a groups of PCSO's dispersed across the force to carry out intensive engagement work in neighbourhoods influenced by organised crime groups. The aim is to strengthen local social structures and develop alternative networks, reducing the space occupied by OCGs. Through the action learning processes the PCSOs are learning how to operate in this mode whilst detached from other colleagues familiar with the methodology. It is reported there is some evidence of improved intelligence gathering and community support for policing.

The explanations and rhetoric around this approach encompass a wide range of community development concepts and potential benefits. However, there is also a strong rationale and structure to the work, supported by a rigorous programme of learning and development for practitioners and community assets. The action learning approach ensures that the programme aims are regularly reinforced, learning captured, obstacles identified and implementation issues escalated. Assertive leadership is provided by the chief officer team and the approach is supported by other force-wide developments such as the communications training highlighted elsewhere in this report (Wheller et al 2013.)

Durham Constabulary

Durham has a strong neighbourhood policing function and vibrant volunteer involvement within the organisation and in community safety related activism in the community. A positive vision for community improvement, rather than an identified need, generated interest in intensive engagement methodology. There is a desire to harness more public involvement as a way of further increasing confidence, legitimacy and capacity but also to empower and enable citizens and communities to take more responsibility for local problems and solutions. The lead officer is also Chair of the Local Strategic Partnership and there are strong links to the local strategic plan (One Darlington 2014.) This linkage appears to be very important for the integration and sustainability of the approach. They were drawn to Mutual Gain as they could assist with several aspects of their ambition; build capacity, encourage communities to deliver for themselves, and develop staff and agencies to listen better and support them. The programme is accountable to the Force Leadership

and PCC through the Citizen Journey Programme Board. The force is leading the work but the PCC is very supportive. Whilst it is being managed as a project they see it more as an approach and an attitude and the current work as something to kick start a greater cultural change.

The two areas chosen as pilots are ones which suffer high levels of deprivation and where confidence in, and relations with, the police are lower than most areas. Training and participation events to start the schemes involved councillors, residents, agencies and neighbourhood policing teams. Most of the range of participation and inquiry tools are in use and a major participatory budgeting event has recently been held in one of the areas. This attracted money from the government and the county council as well as the police, providing a substantial resource for the community to disburse to local projects. The ongoing support and training is highly valued as it provides; scheduled training and programme of community events, keeping organisations and practitioners to a timetable, learning sets to enable reflection, learning and adapting, and external expertise and accountability. Practitioners have found the additional skills, techniques, support and resulting opportunities for collaboration very motivating.

Managing the intensive engagement alongside core policing requires balance and judgment because senior leadership believe the approach, however worthy, cannot result in the organisation being unable to service its demand. It is believed that operational benefits are beginning to be seen. Opportunities to reduce threat, harm and risk are resulting from increased reporting, better understanding of tensions within and between communities and previously hidden hate crime is being reported within the LGBT community. In one of the areas which had seen real hostility between young people and the police, including stones being thrown at police vehicles, relations are improving greatly. Through working with interested residents new youth diversionary activities have been started, including a football league on Friday evenings, a sea fishing club and healthy eating/lifestyle group. Practitioners in both areas reported that they had wanted to engage better but had not had the skills or awareness. They were now confident to facilitate focus groups, initiate individual conversations they did not have to dominate, plan and deliver effective events in cooperation with residents. Significantly, a different relationship with offenders was described. Focus groups with people currently or previously involved in crime had helped officers to understand two important things; that many had strong pro-social tendencies, confining offending to thefts from stores or companies as they cause less personal harm, and that, outside of the police, offenders are not solely defined by their offending status but have other roles. As a result of a focus group two former thieves volunteered to act as “mystery shoppers” and identify crime opportunities so appropriate prevention advice could be given.

An evaluation methodology was agreed at the outset and is being carried out by Durham University. The summary report for the first 6 months’ data is available (Mutual Gain 2014) and a journal publication with more detailed analysis will be published in due course. This adds significantly to our knowledge of how this approach can enhance local policing.

Northamptonshire

A valuable and interesting strand of intensive engagement has emerged in Northampton, from a collaboration between Northampton University and the police. A lecturer with practical and academic expertise in community organising has been working with local policing units, in particular with PCSOs to develop their understanding of social capital and community dialogue. They have created a methodology and toolkit which they call Locally Identified Solutions and Practices (LISP). The “objective... is to equip PCSOs and members of the public to work together towards mutual solutions, the co-production of community safety. It is not a process owned by the Police, but rather

a way for the Police to help organise other stakeholders to help achieve their goals. It is built around a core strategy of 'rich picturing', which allows communities of which PCSOs are a part to explore how each other perceive a community problem and develop joint solutions for the challenges neighbourhoods experience." (Curtis & Bowker 2013 pg 4)

There is a belief that the usual practice of interpreting all neighbourhood issues as neat, police-defined categories such as crime types, or antisocial behaviour deny the reality of messy, everyday community living. Whilst such framing and the application of police/partnership SARA problem-solving is appropriate in many or most cases, some "wicked" issues really are wicked. These need to be acknowledged and kept as such, not simplified to bring them within a single or multi agency tasking and coordination process that solves bits of them, or the police statistical aspects of the problem. An observable strength of the Northampton model is the clear thinking and process around "wicked" problems. Whilst the skills and approach are thought to assist in all aspects of local policing the intensive methodology is only thought to be necessary in areas exhibiting the following three characteristics; areas identified by Vulnerable Localities Index (VLI), where long-term high levels of reported crime and disorder exist and where there are complex problems or crime patterns involving several stakeholders. Having identified the police framing of the problem, this is then suspended and the perspectives of the residents and stakeholders are foregrounded to get a community-centric view of any issues.

As it is a strength- or asset-based approach a key element is the development of community profiling or asset mapping and network building. These community facilities, structures and groups become stakeholders in defining and explaining the problems and in finding appropriate, sustainable solutions. A wide variety of techniques and events are used to facilitate citizen involvement. Several local champions have been found, or developed, and are mobilising wider community and agency resources. The team managers and training the practitioners believe that the approach is useful for all in policing but that PCSOs seem to "get it" more than police officers. It is believed this is because of different cultural scripts and modes of operating. Other research also suggests that PCSOs in some areas are less affected by the action and enforcement ethos of police officers (O'Neill 2013 pg 28.)

In addition to police occupational culture and operating modes of "action, projects and initiatives" other obstacles observed have been;

- Apathy and dependency; many communities and groups are used to agencies doing things for them or to them.
- Organisational and operational pressures upon PCSOs to draw them away from engagement and problem solving
- Police and other agencies' view of residents as service users/consumers rather than assets and citizens with agency and responsibility.

These all require time, skills, persistence and leadership to change. Some individual and small group change work is needed and this is provided using techniques such as motivational interviewing.

The police-facing emphasis is problem solving, demand reduction and tackling harm and threats. However, these often do not chime with the priorities of private citizens or community groups. Social capital, and shared visions of a good and connected life in the public sphere are more of an impetus to long term neighbourhood improvement than crime prevention. This provides potential dilemmas for police professionals as tasking decisions are generally made on operational or performance grounds and finding the boundaries for police involvement are not straightforward. There are always likely to be compromises between what is desirable and what is organisationally possible. The Northampton model operates at the grassroots of both the community and the police organisation, is lighter on funding and resources than some others, and is potentially sustainable in a

number of formats and settings. The challenge will be to drive change at higher levels within the police and other agencies operating in the same theatre.

Gloucestershire

The Barnwood Trust is an ancient charity, founded in 1794 within the asylum movement. It ran institutions from the 1820s until the mid-20th century. Self-funded by endowments it delivers services for vulnerable people throughout Gloucestershire. As well as providing services and giving grants they have re-orientated their operations to improve the circumstances of their clients within their own neighbourhoods. Barnwood's deep listening and research showed that the people were defining themselves as "service-users" whose quality of life depended on an organisation providing a service for them, rather than informal networks and community structures. They did not see themselves as having agency or responsibility and their social and emotional needs were not readily met by public services.

Because their funding is not subject to time limits or political decision-making they are able to invest for the long term and chose to prioritise the development of networks and social capital in communities where clients live. As this process began it was clear that a lot of this work had benefits for the wider community; many residents without any overt vulnerabilities were suffering from the same isolation and lack of networks.

Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) was the chosen methodology and consultancy and training is provided by Cormac Russell. Community Builders have been funded for development work at 8 sites, mainly in deprived neighbourhoods. These are considered to be "learning sites" to test the methodology. Since the accountability is to the board of a charitable trust there are primary intended beneficiaries, that is, Gloucestershire residents with mental health problems and learning disabilities. The main focus of evaluation will be its impact upon them and families. However, the trust are aware of the potential for wider benefit and are considering some form of social impact measurement that will take a broader view of the value of the work. The work is strongly supported by the PCC, who has provided some funds, and the constabulary, albeit with no formal contractual obligations but a recognition of the synergy of their operations.

Practitioners including local policing staff and officers were provided with ABCD training and developed networks with the Community Builders. They immediately began to use these approaches and resources in their problem-solving work, learning very early that they had become accustomed to asking the wrong questions and suggesting solutions. The strapline is, "Focus on what is strong, not what is wrong." Some of the case studies provided showed a genuine orientation towards re-framing local problems from a residents and community perspective. A narrower range of engagement techniques was in evidence than other methodologies but they are considering the use of participatory budgeting in 2015. A significant feature is a regular series of 13 community learning opportunities called "You're welcome Workshops." They are held in local community buildings and cover such themes as inclusion, exclusion, ABCD, social reporting. As well as being valued by the residents they are also highly spoken of by police and local authority staff such as housing officers. Public servants attend many of the workshops but not as experts, or in any privileged capacity; it is a genuinely shared learning exercise. This seems to be an effective way to address some of the capacity gaps in the community and also to bring the police conversations more into alignment with the discourse within local society.

The Community Builders start with known groups and build up maps of assets and networks which they seek to open up to the police and agencies. This is described as "gate opening" rather than "gatekeeping" which some similar third sector initiatives are sometimes accused of. Some good

examples were provided of bonding social capital (connections within communities) but less in terms of bridging capital (connections between groups.) There are strong links and some types of accountability through the LSP to the local authorities, health, mental health and public health services. Public health leadership see it as a very promising development in view of its potential in the happiness, well-being agenda, providing citizens with the personal and community resources to cope when things go wrong without state intervention. Community Builders use social media extensively and intensively, linking offline events with online information. The emphasis is upon trying to connect people through positive themes rather than negative ones such as crime and ASB. The Community Builders and their networks are encouraged to think about capacity and responsibility in terms of;

- What communities can do for themselves
- What communities need support with, temporarily or permanently
- What communities cannot do themselves and need the police/agencies to do

They see real possibilities to reduce vulnerability of victims of crime by integrating them into supportive networks and building their capacity to reduce re-victimisation.

Community Builders work closely with PCSOs. Some “get it” more than others and the PCSOs with local connections are especially valued. There appears to be an added layer of trust and legitimacy with the PCSOs who are from the area and who are known from their other roles and identities. Surprisingly, both Community Builders I interviewed believe that their job could actually be carried out by a PCSO with the right skills, and most of it could even be done in uniform. Presumably this would depend on background levels of confidence and trust in policing.

The Barnwood Trust’s work is a significant addition to the landscape. Its independence of statutory agencies but willingness to further the agendas of all of them by repairing and reintegrating communities provides a unique template that is worthy of consideration in areas where a suitable funding and delivery vehicle exists. The objectives may be challenging for current thinking in the police around role, priorities and performance as any links with crime prevention and demand reduction are slightly remote and as yet have no robust theory of causation.

Summary

All of these approaches have many more similarities than differences. They all assert the value and capability of most communities to reduce isolation, vulnerability and dependency upon statutory services without much risk of democratic deficit or lack of accountability. They all created great enthusiasm and motivation amongst the staff who were trained and supported in its delivery. It is unanimously agreed that these ways of working are suitable for mainstreaming within policing and the main obstacles are organisational structures, cultures and decision making. It is difficult for policing to accept that it lacks the skills and knowledge to “do community engagement” but all parties who have participated in such initiatives have found that it takes people without a police mindset, with experience of community development in non-police settings, on an ongoing basis, to assist them to perceive people, problems and power differently. Since the activities themselves bear some resemblances to mainstream neighbourhood policing activities there is a tendency, and danger, that many police officers, managers and leaders believe that they are already operating in this way. The building of understanding will be a challenging process in view of the widely acknowledged elements of cynicism, action and pessimism within police occupational culture (Loftus 2009 pg 6.) The obvious benefits of intensive CCE are most directly for more challenged communities but these learning pilots are demonstrating a capacity to change police perspectives and decision-making in a more general way, potentially producing a better, more procedurally fair, collaborative and legitimate service.

Evaluation, performance measurement and management

Engagement is neither an activity nor an outcome and therefore cannot be directly measured. Selecting appropriate proxy measures for engagement performance is particularly difficult because of the lack of clarity about what it is, how to do it and what it produces. The lack of clarity raised earlier in this paper about the purpose and effects of engagement causes difficulty in measuring, managing and evaluating performance.

Approved Professional Practice defines engagement as; ***“The process of enabling citizens and communities to participate in policing at their chosen level...”*** From a performance perspective this presents the difficulty of gauging the level at which citizens and communities are participating and whether this is their chosen level. It raises at least three questions;

- Are citizens and communities enabled to participate?
- At what level is this participation?
- Is this their chosen level?

It is clear that some of this needs to be measured qualitatively rather than just quantitatively and a fairly sophisticated basket of indicators or index may be needed. The simple solution is to consider what **activities** and **outputs** are most indicative of engagement and which are being, or can be, measured? Since we claim to value feedback about weaknesses and failures as well as strengths we should include data that indicates challenging as well as supportive engagement. Some of this may be hard to interpret. For example an increase in complaints against police may indicate that citizens are more willing and able to engage with the organisation about police performance. On the other hand a reduction in complaints may point to better engagement by officers with citizens.

Measuring engagement **activity**

- Engagement events
 - o Numbers and types of event
 - o Include numbers of people attending events such as PACT meetings
- Interactions
- Door knock conversations
- Suggestion box entries
- Communication materials
 - o Newsletters
 - o Social media messages
 - o OWL/Alert Community messages
 - o Website hits
- Social media activity – providers can say how “connected” or “influential” you are
- Completed surveys
- Conversations at outreach events
- Restorative justice and community resolutions to crimes

Many, or most, of these are measured in some police forces and are the main indicators of whether engagement is happening, albeit they say nothing about the level, quality or effectiveness of the engagement.

Measuring engagement **outcomes**

What outcomes are most indicative of effective engagement? What are we currently able to measure that would tell us something about people’s willingness to participate in and contribute to policing and community safety?

- Survey results, especially those indicating legitimacy, confidence & satisfaction
- Community intelligence and information reports
 - o Directly reported to the police
 - o Third party reporting initiatives e.g. DV, hate crimes etc. this could also include channels led by other national agencies such as Childline, Stop-it-now etc.
 - o Crimestoppers reports
- Complaints against police and letters of thanks.
 - o Complaints about misconduct could be seen as engagement about operational issues
 - o Complaints about direction and control could be seen as engagement at the strategic level
 - o Positive letters and emails could be a primary indicator of effective engagement
- Feedback and adverse reports from Independent Custody Visitors
- Victims and witnesses refusing to provide statements, or withdrawing from criminal proceedings
- Citizen arrests
- Citizen activism
 - o Numbers of schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch, Street Watch, Street Pastors
 - o Numbers of people involved in community volunteering in such schemes
 - o Numbers of volunteers involved in (or applying for) Special Constabulary, Police Support Volunteers, Volunteer Police Cadets
- Feedback from focus groups or similar
- Offences admitted in interview could be a valid indicator of good engagement with suspects
- Restorative justice resolutions show joint engagement of suspects, victims and the police

Some claims are made about the possibility that good community engagement can reduce crime, demand, ASB, harm and vulnerability. However, these claims are often made upon grounds of fairly complex chains of causation, the steps of which are not often well evidenced or connected. For example;

- **Procedural justice theory.** On this account, the improved relationship between the citizens and the police will result in greater perceptions of legitimacy of the police and the law and people will be motivated to voluntarily comply with the law and cooperate with the police.
- **Increased intelligence.** In this pathway improved engagement will result in more intelligence being reported to the police or Crimestoppers; the police will act upon it and the resulting additional investigation, enforcement and criminal justice interventions will impact upon the rational choices and behaviours of the potential offenders.
- **Diversion.** The additional activities generated through engagement will occupy and stimulate young people who may otherwise commit crime and ASB through boredom or frustration
- **Social capital, happiness, well-being.** With the police and partners facilitating better and more positive bonds within and between communities, the ability of people to deal with strain and overcome personal problems is enhanced and their likelihood of committing crime is reduced. Better community care and support for vulnerable people will reduce victimisation. Academic work such as Innes and Jones' "3R's of urban change" can provide more explanation of these pathways. (Innes & Jones 2006)
- **Opportunity reduction.** The justification for neighbourhood watch type activity is generally that the police have "eyes and ears" within the community, guardianship of public and private space is improved and suspicious behaviour is identified and reported early, enabling the police to act in a preventive mode.

As well as the difficulty in proving causation there are other, practical and ethical, issues. Firstly, increased engagement, especially amongst less-heard groups can lead to **increases** in some hidden crime types such as hate crime, child abuse and domestic violence. There may also be other victims who now believe that the police are interested in their problems and report more crimes. Secondly, it is taking principled values such as democratic policing, procedural fairness and inclusion and turning them into instrumental values, with crime prevention positioned as a higher value. It seems unethical to place principles and practices, which arise from the rights of citizens and social contracts, at the mercy of notoriously variable crime statistics. The ultimate test of this proposition is that we would continue to think that procedural fairness, community engagement and respect are important even if it could be proved they did not have any effect on crime at all.

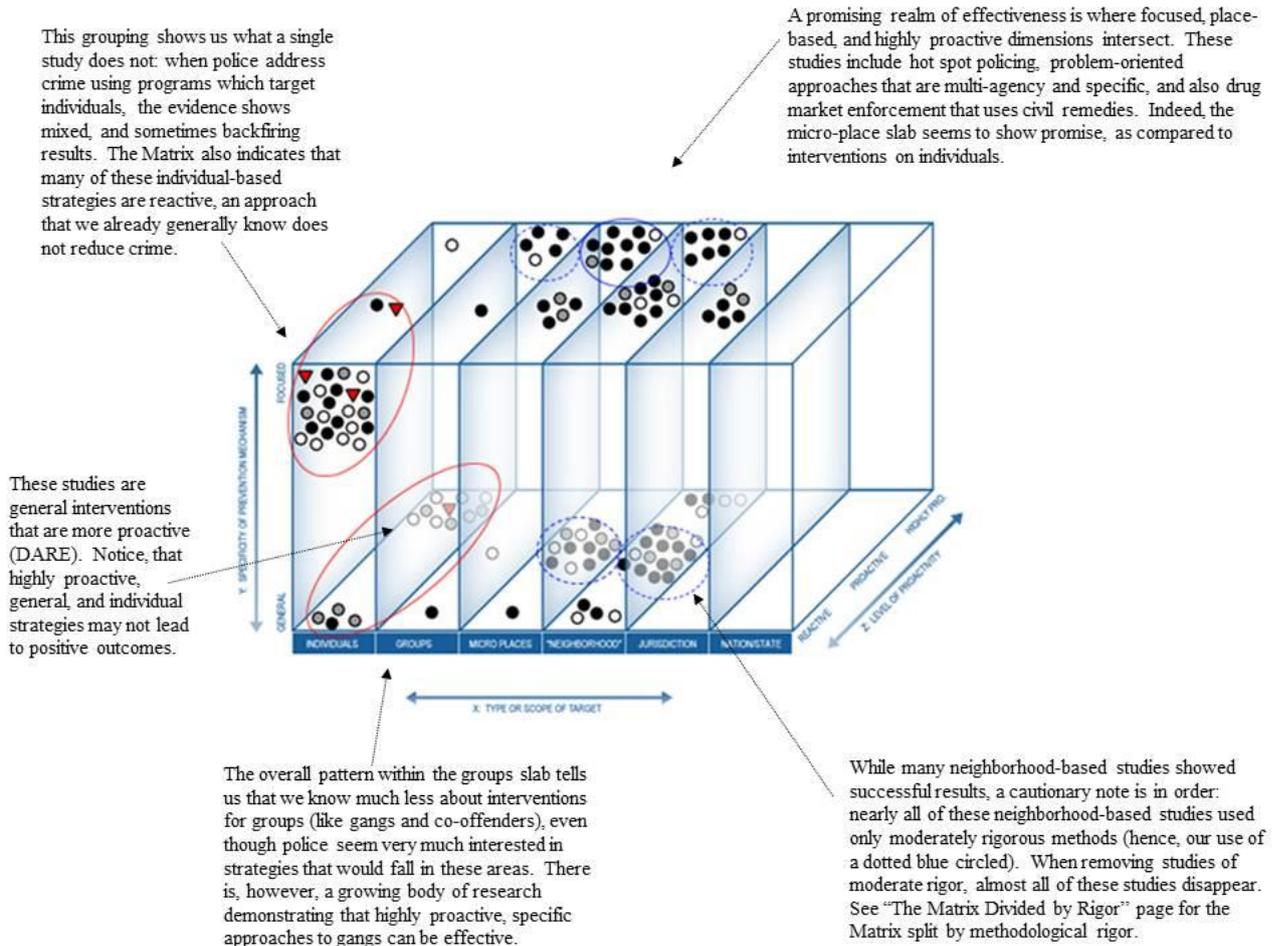
If we have a theory of change, such as those above, that links citizen and community engagement with some of our more traditional performance measures such as reduction of crime, antisocial behaviour and calls for service, these may also be appropriate measures. However, unless we have a clear idea of how we expect our engagement to act upon these statistics the results are probably too remote from causation and may not be valid. It would also be necessary to specify the mechanisms by which the engagement activity has impacted upon the crime, ASB and demand figures. A theoretical basis for developing evaluation and performance measurement that may be useful in this context is Realist Evaluation.

“Realist evaluation seeks to discover what it is about programmes that works for whom in what circumstances and in what respects, and why.” (Pawson & Tilley 2004 pg 19)

The logic behind realist evaluation is; when social programmes or projects are initiated they are “theories incarnate”. That is, there is a theory about how social change can be achieved and the programme is an attempt to test the theory by bringing about changes of thinking, behaviour and choices. Because programmes can produce different mechanisms for change depending upon the participant and context the process of evaluation needs to be flexible and deliberative enough to ascertain what aspects of the programme worked and how. Simply believing that a programme had the effect of reducing crime is not very helpful in deciding whether and how to implement it elsewhere.

If crime prevention is the desired priority performance outcome Lum’s evidence-based policing matrix (Lum 2009 pg 9) provides a rationale for understanding how and why intensive citizen and community engagement could be effective. This methodology uses a 3 dimensional graph to visually position evaluated effective, and non-effective, practice in relation to three values; Generality or specificity, geographic or demographic scope, and proactivity of interventions. It can be seen from the below figure that “a promising realm of effectiveness” is at the nexus of focussed, place based and highly proactive values. Deep engagement of citizens concentrating on neighbourhood or micro-place provides a good opportunity to develop the depth and breadth of understanding of local problems that would enable interventions to be focussed and highly proactive at the neighbourhood or micro-place level. The level of detail about crime problems would be much richer than that obtained by crime pattern analysis tools and could suggest a wider range of tactics to address them. Such interventions could be based around opportunity reduction, collective efficacy and social disintegration theories, or a combination.

The Evidence Based Policing Matrix



(Lum et al 2012)

One of the intensive engagement programmes examined has developed an evaluation template in collaboration with Durham University to assess progress and performance. The theory of change centres on the increase of social capital and the development of collective efficacy as the mechanisms to reduce crime and demand. Consequently the evaluation includes measurement of social capital as well as crime and demand reduction. This enables examination of causation as well as correlation. The formal publication of the initial evaluation is pending but an early summary paper conclusively indicates that the two areas using intensive engagement generated both increases in social capital and statistically significant reductions in crime, antisocial behaviour and calls for service when compared to control areas (Mutual Gain 2014.) The publication of the full data will be a significant step towards understanding how these changes were achieved, and what other benefits and impacts resulted.

Summary

Most police organisations are able to measure and manage performance in quite complex areas of business but it always requires clarity about the purpose and outcomes, the theory of causation and the activities that are carried out. In the absence of such clarity the best that can be achieved is counting numbers of activities and survey results. Any attempts to link activity with real world impacts upon the police or public, such as crimes and antisocial behaviour experienced or calls for service received will be poorly evidenced and lack credibility. Conversely, a robust theory of change, supported by credible strategy, performance management and tasking can galvanise and motivate

managers and staff within the organisation to prioritise the approach, attitudes, behaviours and activities commensurate with CCE. The following seem to be the minimum required to deliver this;

- A vision for what CCE can achieve
- A theory of change about how it can be achieved
- An evaluation or performance framework based upon 'realist' methodology
- A strategy and delivery plan, appropriately accountable, led and managed
- Orientation and training of staff cohorts to understand and deliver
- Nudges and triggers to address cultural barriers
- A range of techniques and activities appropriate to the staff and communities
- Systems to record, review, learn and improve

Conclusion

An examination of the engagement landscape gives cause for encouragement as well as concern. The resources, determination, organisation, and leadership that were invested in the concept of citizen and community engagement in the neighbourhood policing initiatives of 2006-2008 created structures, impetus and momentum that continues to 2015 in many places. This is evidenced by good practice in all force areas. However, two linked ideas, deeply embedded in police management thinking, have eroded some of its potency;

- The pursuance of performance around confidence in policing seems to have skewed the emphasis and purpose of engagement away from benefits for the community such as reduced crime, improved physical and social environment and self-reliance, towards perceived benefits for the police such as improved survey results and more intelligence received. Engagement came to be seen as marketing and public relations activity rather than core business. Despite the removal of the “single performance target” the ethos of improved confidence for its own sake seems to have survived. In some places it is no longer seen as instrumental in achieving some other purpose but a result in its own right rather than an opportunity to be exploited.
- The customer service ethos in which the public were viewed as consumers of police services rather than as citizens with agency and responsibility seems to have had a similarly detrimental effect. Opportunities to harness the ideas, skills and enthusiasm of citizens were overlooked in the worthy aspiration to deliver the best possible service to them. This may have inadvertently created a client relationship which is not the stated desire of anyone in police or political leadership. It created a false impression that the professional police service, with partner agencies, would solve local crime and disorder problems and it changed expectations and perceptions about the respective roles and responsibilities of the police and the community.

One of the obvious results of austerity has been the re-evaluation of the role of citizens, communities, other agencies and volunteers in delivering policing services. There are two subtly different approaches, or emphases, evident amongst senior police leaders and PCCs. The first is to secure the greatest amount of citizen effort to support formal policing, such as large recruitment campaigns for Special Constables, Police Support Volunteers, Volunteer Police Cadets. This is often accompanied by efforts to expand crime prevention activity in the community by opportunity reduction and increased intelligence. The second emphasis is more about the police supporting citizens and communities. Some leaders and managers are actively encouraging staff, sometimes investing valuable resources and outside consultancy, to be the facilitators of social change in their neighbourhoods rather than just collect information and dispense interventions. This is aimed at increasing the numbers of active citizens and volunteers operating within the community as distinct from within the police. New sets of skills, techniques and theories are needed for officers and staff to create new frames of reference for their work of building capacity, growing social capital and supporting citizens to improve the resilience and crime resistance of their areas. These two approaches are not conflicting or mutually exclusive, indeed they may be effectively combined, making use of formal volunteers to leverage efforts in the community.

There is a growing awareness of the concept of procedural justice and the need to demonstrate and communicate fairness to all citizens, as a duty in itself but also in the hope that it will improve cooperation and compliance with laws and social norms. This is driving positive changes in the way staff are trained and orientated. There is less awareness of the importance of social capital, collective efficacy and the role of informal policing, that is, the social control and crime prevention that takes place in everyday life by citizens performing their roles as family members, neighbours, workers, teachers, community activists and volunteers. Innovative ways of perceiving community

issues and developing social capital such as Asset Based Community Development need to have more place in police thinking; not as an alternative to problem solving models but as a way of enhancing them. As the neighbourhood policing teams continue to be the primary channel for citizen and community engagement it is important that the rest of the organisation supports, or at least does not hinder, their efforts. Many forces are developing and delivering training programmes for front facing staff to expand their capacity for empathy, improve legitimacy and elicit more information from citizens. This is an important step but, again, it is an opportunity not a result. Improved communications skills need to be matched by an improved awareness of the roles and opportunities for the public to participate in community safety and social change. To return to our definition of engagement, all managers and front facing staff must understand what is involved in *“enabling the participation of citizens and communities at their chosen level”*. For those involved in more intensive engagement in particularly challenging or vulnerable communities, specialist skills, training, support and expertise from other disciplines are likely to be needed for some time as some of the work does not easily fit with the cultures, working practices and values often found in local policing.

Most of the issues identified in our review arise from a lack of clarity and robust thinking about citizen and community engagement. The language of engagement has been embedded and internalised but with significant gaps in understanding on the part of many practitioners and leaders. This ambiguity had eroded support for this vital aspect of all policing operations and in the minds of many staff engagement is simply a management buzzword used to describe any non-specific work with the community. If these conceptual matters are addressed it is likely that a more clear and ambitious vision will emerge about the roles of the police and communities, the relationship between them and structures to enable co-production of neighbourhood safety. An urgent priority is the need for proper strategies and theories of change that specify what needs to be done, by whom, to achieve what result. This will give greater focus to considerations about what resources are needed to do the work and how they should be configured.

The extent to which progress on this agenda can be helped or hindered by leadership and culture should not be underestimated. Police organisations are generally centrally controlled, command structures. Staff are usually well consulted but rarely are power and decisions dispersed to those most affected by them. Yet, there is widespread rhetoric about expecting staff to do exactly that with citizens and communities. Some way must be found to address or reconcile this dissonance to maintain the support and enthusiasm of sceptical staff. In tracing the history of Black Police Associations a model can be seen in which self-organising, empowerment and engagement within the police became a valuable resource in improving engagement in external communities (Holdaway 2004 & 2014.) Dealing with other cultural scripts about the value of engagement in competition with enforcement and response duties is likely to take some time and probably starts with training, briefing and tasking of supervisors and first line managers.

Recommendations

4. The development of conceptual **clarity** about citizen and community engagement through events, discussions, information products and adaptation of existing learning programmes. Initial priorities should include;
 - 4.1. What we mean by engagement
 - 4.2. The purposes of engagement
 - 4.3. Tasking – who needs to do what
 - 4.4. Performance frameworks and accountability that reflect the desired outcomes
 - 4.5. Academic conferences to do further work on theories, models and evaluation

5. The maintenance and development of **capacity** for effective citizen and community engagement. In most forces this is likely to be learning programmes and specialist support;
 - 5.1. General engagement skills for all staff
 - 5.2. Specialist skills for some neighbourhood staff
 - 5.3. External expertise and support – as and when needed
 - 5.4. Further work about the sustainability of current pilots and how the learning and principles can be mainstreamed.

6. The development of a **culture** at all levels in policing that understands and values citizen and community engagement and supports its implementation. Essential elements are;
 - 6.1. Strong consistent vision and leadership
 - 6.2. Engagement valued as core police work
 - 6.3. Engagement seen by management as important demand upon resources
 - 6.4. Internal engagement encouraged as training and leadership by example

Bibliography & summary of research sources

Source	Main relevant points
APPGC (2014) "It's all about trust": Building good relationships between children and the police. London. National Children's Bureau http://www.ncb.org.uk/media/1164355/appgc_children_and_police_report_-_final.pdf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All Party Parliamentary Group for Children report - Lack of trust and fear characterise relationships with police - Need to be treated as children first - Children with other disadvantages/vulnerabilities especially affected - First contacts with police very significant – often this is stop/search - Need for positive engagement, such as schools work
Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35(4): 216-224 via Lithgow-Schmidt.dk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A model for understanding that participation/engagement is on a scale - "...citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power." - Lower levels of participation amount to manipulation of citizens - At higher levels it is possible for citizens to determine etc.
Barnwood Trust (a) (2014) <i>What we've been up to 2013-14</i> . Barnwood Trust Annual Report	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Description of current activity and priorities - You're welcome workshops.
Barnwood Trust (b) (2014) You're Welcome Workshops. You're Welcome Workshops via Barnwood Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Catalogue of community learning workshops
Bennett, R, Cooper, B, Simmonds, & Pelletier, J. (2014) <i>Evaluation of the Thames Valley Police Pilot of Procedural Justice Training in Oxfordshire</i> . TVP. Via POLKA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Surveyed perceptions of participants after a drama based training programme was delivered to officers - Had some effect in shaping beliefs that listening was important - Thought to be effective at raising awareness of CSE
Bovaird, T (2007) "Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services." Public Administration Review Volume 67, Issue 5, pg 846–860, Sept/Oct 2007 via Wiley Online	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arnstein doesn't consider complexity of provider-user relationships. - Models for understanding range of provider-user relationships - Case studies of various types of co-production - Issues of accountability, blurring of boundaries between sectors - The need for new public service ethos to facilitate and support co-p - Need for new type of public servant – co-production development officer
Boyd, E (2012) <i>Policing 2020: What kind of police service do we want in 2020?</i> Policy Exchange - Policing 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crime & disorder prevention emphasised. Neighbourhood policing should be recast as crime prevention - The need to secure public cooperation and involvement - Improved willingness to intervene. - Citizen police academies to assist public to participate better
Bradford, B, Jackson, J & Stanko, E (2009) Contact and confidence: revisiting the impact of public encounters with the police. <i>Policing and society</i> , 19 (1). pp. 20-46. http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/21535/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of confidence data from CSEW - Growing dissatisfaction with personal contact - Poorly handled encounters with police have significant negative impact on subsequent confidence - Some evidence that good contacts can have a small but positive impact - High visibility and feeling informed produce greater confidence in policing - Communication of information, fairness, respect & presence important
Braga, A.A. & Clark R.V, (2014) "Explaining High-Risk Concentrations of Crime in the City: Social Disorganization, Crime Opportunities, and Important Next Steps" <i>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency</i> 51(4) Pg 480-498 Via Sage Pub	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Critique of Weisburd, Groff & Yang's (2012) book - Supports development of ideas bringing social disorganisation theory into crime hot spot analysis - Argues for more research and better metrics for situational variables and for measures of social disorganisation and collective efficacy - Queries whether collective efficacy can be improved at the street or micro-place level
Brodie, E, Cowling, E, Nissen, N. (2009) <i>Understanding Participation: A Literature Review</i> . NCVO & IVR via Institute for Volunteering Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literature review of wide range of public participation. Main chapters; - Historical & Current Drivers, The Activities, The Actors, The Concepts - Very comprehensive and accessible source
Bullock, K (2014) <i>Citizens, Community and Crime Control</i> . Palgrave Macmillan http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/doi/10.1057/9781137269331	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comprehensive description and analysis of role of citizens in crime control and police roles in restricting and facilitating it. - Raises doubts about whether neighbourhood policing as currently practised is addressing democratic deficit it was meant to address. - Puts the current citizens participation landscape in historical and political perspective
Bullock, K & Leeney, D (2013) "Participation, 'responsivity' & accountability in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Critical analysis about the extent to which neighbourhood policing fulfils its purposes of improving accountability at local level

<p>neighbourhood policing". <i>Criminology & Criminal Justice</i> 13(2) 199-214 http://cri.sagepub.com/content/13/2/199.full.pdf+html?hwoaspck=true</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dangers of vocal minority dominating discretionary police agenda, decreasing social equality.
<p>Bullock, K & Sindall, K (2014) "Examining the nature and extent of public participation in neighbourhood policing." <i>Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy</i> http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10439463.2013.844130</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation arises from knowledge of opportunities and local policing team etc. and levels of knowledge are low. Need raising as antecedent to greater participation - Victims more likely to participate therefore this group should be targeted for encouraging participation - Concerted efforts to act with respect & fairness – procedural justice – strengthen bonds, enhance trust & encourage participation in identifying problems setting priorities etc.
<p>Casey, L (2008) <i>Engaging Communities in Fighting Crime</i> Casey Report via Ourwatch</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Highlights public concerns about crime, victims, criminal justice etc. - Identified that large numbers of people are willing to be engaged (75% willing to play an active part in fighting crime.) - That punishments should include more by way of payback to communities - Importance of providing regular accurate information to the public
<p>College of Policing (2013): <i>Engagement Approved Professional Practice - Engagement</i> Approved Professional Practice - Engagement</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Approved Professional Practice – Communication & Engagement - Rationale for community engagement - Fairness, legitimacy, benefits of, effective management of etc. - The confidence cycle - Neighbourhood profiles, community impact, threat, risk & harm - Transparency & accountability, levels of participation
<p>Curtis, T & Bowker, A (2013) <i>Locally Identified Solutions and Practices: A guide to Intensive Community Engagement</i>. University of Northamptonshire http://lisptoolkit.weebly.com/</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collaboration between Northampton Police & University - Toolkit, linking intensive community engagement and neighbourhood policing problem-solving practices in use within Northants - Emphasises community driven responses to community identified issues - Strength based methodology – ABCD ish.
<p>Fahy, P (2014) Ferguson is not another country... Blog entry 15 Dec 2014 https://gmpolice.wordpress.com/</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Blog about styles of crime control, need for more community self-policing and reduction of dependency
<p>Flanagan, R (2008) <i>The Review of Policing Final report</i>. Flanagan Report via Gov archive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responding to the complexity of modern policing - Identifies Treat, Harm & Risk as the 3 key, sometimes conflicting, objectives - Neighbourhood management approach for local partnerships - Involving local people in accountability and priority setting
<p>Fraser, C, Hagelund, C, Sawyer, K & Stacey, M (2014) <i>The Expert Citizen</i>. London. Reform. Reform - The Expert Citizen</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need to enable citizens to develop expertise – use of community assets - Reform of neighbourhood policing – make it whole force emphasis - Importance of legitimacy - Structural reform & culture change
<p>Gilster, M. E. (2012), "Comparing Neighbourhood-Focused Activism and Volunteerism: Psychological well-being and social connectedness." <i>Journal of Community Psychology</i>, 40: 769–784. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jc.20528/abstract</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compares subject benefits of 2 modes of social action – volunteering e.g. in organisations, to informal local activism. - Psychological benefits better in some ways for volunteering – less feelings of hopelessness - Activism produces local social ties, contact with officials and empowerment - Should be treated as different categories for research purposes
<p>Grieg-Midlane, J. (2014) <i>Changing the beat. The impact of austerity on the neighbourhood policing workforce</i>. Cardiff University. Changing the beat via UPSI</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Approaches of different forces to austerity in how they reconfigure neighbourhood policing resources. Welsh forces increased PCSOs - All except a handful of forces have reduced numbers of PCSOs - Number of PCSOs overall has fallen and expected to fall further
<p>Holdaway, S & O'Neill, M (2004) "The Development of Black Police Associations." <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> (2004) 44 (6): 854-865. Via Oxford Journals</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Charts development of BPA from original self organised support movements - From being seen by police leaders as problematic to being seen as an asset with external as well as internal relevance
<p>Holdaway, S (2014) <i>Community Engagement within an organisation is related to community engagement beyond it</i>. www.events-public-i.tv/core/portal/webcast_interactive/137593#</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Online video of TEDx talk given at Policing Social Citizens conference, builds upon previous research and publications by Holdaway - Development of BPA seen as an example of internal community engagement that impacted upon internal culture but also paved the way for better engagement with the same communities of identity outside the police.

HORR 61 Delivering Neighbourhood Policing in Partnership HORR 61 via gov.uk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Home Office Research Report examined NP partnerships in 6 areas - Identifies benefits and barriers to local partnerships from perspectives of police, partners and the community - Different models, including staff configurations work well and no single model is identified as superior
Innes, M, Roberts, C & Innes, H. <i>Assessing the Effects of Prevent Policing</i> . ACPO Via ACPO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Useful matrix showing 4 modes of cooperation with communities, respectively led or delivered by communities or police.
Innes & Jones (2006) Neighbourhood security & urban change JRF 2006 Neighbourhood security & change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Based on analysis of data from 4 of the NRRP pilots - Concepts of risk, resilience and recovery - Signal crimes perspective - Process of recovery of collective efficacy etc.
Jacobsen, J et al (2014) <i>Crime and 'Community': Exploring the scope for community involvement in criminal justice</i> . London. ICPR ICPR 2014 Crime & Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community Justice defined; <i>local communities which have mutual trust and a sense of collective self-interest can and should play an active part in addressing problems of crime and disorder.</i> - 3 aspirations of this and last governments - (a) Helping communities to acquire or sustain a sense of commonality or shared values which enables them to exercise informal social control. - (b) Encouraging communities to shape and hold to account local criminal justice services - (c) Encouraging communities to become (formally or informally) involved in the delivery of local criminal justice services.
Lister, S, Platts-Fowler, D & Staniforth, A (2014) <i>Community Engagement: Evidence Review</i> . Leeds. N8 Research Partnership N8 Community Engagement Evidence Review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defining community engagement - Barriers, benefits - Effective practice - Flags up need for new skills in police and in communities
Loftus, B (2010): "Police occupational culture: classic themes, altered times" <i>Policing and Society</i> , 20:1, 1-20 Via tandfonline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observational and interview research into local policing - Establishes many of the cultural archetypes detected by earlier writers are still in evidence albeit less potent
Lum C, Koper CS, & Telep CW, (2012) The Evidence Based Policing Matrix website. Evidence Based Policing Matrix Lum, C (2009) Translating police research into practice Police Foundation - Evidence into Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Methodology for visualising validated evaluations of police tactics and patrol strategies using a 3 dimensional graph - Shows most promising "realm of effectiveness" is at the nexus of highly pro-active, focussed activity at the micro-place, neighbourhood or group level. - Use of the evidence base to plan and implement crime control strategies
Mazerolle L, Bennett S, Davis J, Sargeant E, Manning M. <i>Legitimacy in Policing: A Systematic Review</i> . Campbell Systematic Reviews 2013:1 http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/141/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Procedural justice – 4 components - Citizen participation prior to an authority reaching a decision - Perceived neutrality of the authority in making the decision - Showing dignity & respect to citizens throughout interaction - Whether or not the authority conveyed trustworthy motives - Policing tactics targeting legitimacy generally had positively impact on satisfaction/confidence, legitimacy & compliance/cooperation
Merseyside Police (2014a) <i>Talking to Offenders: Practical Lessons for Retail Crime Prevention</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Merseyside Police and Deakin Carmichael Research Services. Interview data obtained from convicted prolific shop thieves. Uses existing methodologies and models to analyse and propose prevention tactics - Available from Jennifer.E.Sims@merseyside.pnn.police.uk
Merseyside Police (2014b) <i>Responses to retail crime</i> .	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outline strategy for reduction of retail crime based upon offender interview research. Jennifer.E.Sims@merseyside.pnn.police.uk
MoJ (2010) <i>Conviction histories of Offenders between the ages of 10 and 52 England and Wales</i> . Ministry of Justice Statistics Bulletin via Gov.uk Uploads	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calculations and estimates of offenders in population much of it based on the cohort of men and women born in 1953
Mueller, A (2014) <i>telephone Befriending Service Final Evaluation</i> . Bristol. RVS & Avon and Somerset Police.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluation of befriending service for high volume callers to the police. - Royal Voluntary Services provide trained volunteers - Value delivered but not successful for highest volume callers
Mutual Gain (2014) Practice Note	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initial evaluation of results of intensive engagement work at 2 sites in Durham, with control and treatment sites compared for development of social capital and police performance – crime & ASB reduction
Myhill, A (2012) <i>Community engagement in policing: Lessons from the literature</i> . London. NPIA NPIA 2006 & 2012 Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definition of community engagement - Lessons from NRPP - Analysis of literature

Myhill, A & Quinton, P (2011) <i>It's a fair cop? Police legitimacy, public cooperation, and crime reduction</i> . London. NPIA http://www.college.police.uk/en/docs/Fair_cop_Full_Report.pdf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interpretive commentary - Suggests perceived legitimacy of police was motivating factor in compliance with laws and cooperation with police - Trust & shared values key aspects of legitimacy - Fair decision making and positive communications
Neuberger, J (2009) <i>Volunteering across the criminal justice system</i> Neuberger Report - Volunteering across CJS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Huge scope of volunteer roles in CJS currently and potentially - Cultural and attitude barriers to volunteering in public services - The distinctive value that volunteers bring that employees can not - "Volunteering is the ultimate form of community engagement." Pg 8
Neyroud, P (2001) <i>Public Participation in Policing</i> . London IPPR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 4 Tracks of participation; - Consultation, active citizenship, complementary policing, lay oversight and audit,
One Darlington (2014) <i>One Darlington: Perfectly Placed. Darlington's Sustainable Community Strategy</i> . One Darlington Strategy via Darlington.gov	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2008 – 2026 Strategy of LSP - "Building strong communities" strand of strategy emphasises social capital, responsabilisation, collective efficacy etc. - Feeds into and supports Mutual Gain's approach.
O'Neill, M (2013) <i>PCSOs as the Paraprofessionals of Policing: findings and recommendations from a research project</i> . Dundee, University of Dundee. PCSO Report via Dundee University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leverhulme funded study of 6 NPTs in 2 forces in Northern England - Lack of understanding of their role/value within organisation but valued in communities - Social capital is crucial to PCSO work - Need for regular external training to maintain emphasis and skills - 15 recommendations re deployment, training & professionalization
Pawson, R & Tilley, N (2004) <i>Realist Evaluation</i> . London. Cabinet Office. http://www.communitymatters.com.au/RE_chapter.pdf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One chapter summary of Realist Evaluation – theory and principles - Increases learning and understanding - Very challenging intellectually – the need to think through every step
Perry, C & Pascoe, J (2013) <i>What is working well in Local Policing. Interim report of survey findings</i> . College of Policing (unpublished)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Results of local policing survey with analysis - Highlights forces' perceptions that engagement was an area that could be improved and need for ways of evaluating neighbourhood policing performance as distinct from general performance management
Putnam, R (2000) <i>Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community</i> . New York. Simon & Schuster	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Classic explanation of social capital through tracing the decline of affiliations in 20th century USA
Reiner, R (1992) <i>The Politics of the Police</i> . 2 nd Edition. Hemel Hempstead, Simon & Schuster	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Classic explanation of history, psychology, ethnography and discourse of UK policing - Chapter on "cop culture" used in this paper
Russell, C (2010) Asset Based Community Development. Cormac Russell explanation of ABCD http://vimeo.com/15218724	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brief explanation of ABCD approaches
Simmonds, D (2014) <i>Citizen Academy: Contemporary developments in England and Wales</i> . College of Policing. Citizen Academy via POLKA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion paper about current understandings and intentions of three forces in relation to the concept of citizen police academies
Simmonds, D (2015a) <i>Improving the involvement of citizens in policing</i> . College of Policing. Via POLKA soon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Detailed briefing paper of issues in volunteering - Self-assessment tool for police organisations to check progress and facilitate continuous improvement
Stevens (2013) <i>Policing for a Better Britain</i> Stevens Report 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recapturing the social purpose of policing – not just fighting crime - Re-engineered "Peelian Principles" for 21st Century - Social justice model of neighbourhood policing - Focus on crime prevention partnership working - New form of democratic governance – abolish PCCs & governance will be by a Policing Board and increased powers for lowest tier local authorities.
Tuffin, R, Morris, J & Poole, A. (2006) HORS 296. <i>An evaluation of the impacts of the national reassurance policing programme</i> . London. Home Office Home Office NRPP Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pg 63 – 76 Engagement activity - NRPP model produced improvements in perceptions of police engagement and public awareness - Inconclusive on other things like visibility, listening - Positive improvements in fear about crime etc.
Victim Support (2014) <i>Left in the dark: Why victims of crime need to be kept informed</i> . London. Victim Support Scheme. Victim Support - Left in the Dark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Routine failures of police to keep victims updated - Impact upon confidence and satisfaction of inadequate communication

<p>Weisburd, D, Groff, E.R, Yang, S (2014) The Importance of Both Opportunity and Social Disorganization Theory in a Future Research Agenda to Advance Criminological Theory and Crime Prevention at Places <i>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency</i> 51(4) Pg 499-508</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Considering place for social disorganisation theory in explaining urban crime hot spots - Makes a case for developing interventions to address social disorganisation as well as crime opportunities in urban micro-places - Potentially provides a framework for combining crime opportunity theories with social disorganization theories for more holistic intervention strategies
<p>Wheller,L, Quniton, P, Fildes, A & Mills, A (2013) <i>The Greater Manchester Police procedural justice training experiment</i> Ryton-on-Dunsmore. College of Policing Via College of Policing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluated communications skills training for operational officers - Testing whether empathy, procedural justice and legitimacy can be enhanced by a programme of communication training