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**Community Planning, Community Safety and Policing: a local case study of
governance through partnership**

By Gareth Addidle

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University in partial fulfilment for a degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

The Local Government in Scotland Act (2003) introduced Community Planning as a statutory responsibility in Scotland. The main aims of community planning are described as “making sure people and communities are genuinely engaged in the decisions made on public services which affect them; allied to a commitment from organisations to work together, not apart, in providing better public services” (Scottish Executive, 2003a). For the police, this implied the need to create ‘local solutions to locally identified concerns’ (Strathclyde Police, 2004, p2) and to adopt a holistic approach to community safety which is problem oriented rather than organisation led (Crawford, 1998, p10). The specific and often local nature of problems put forward by communities, is therefore allocated a dominant role in determining the nature of the solution (Goldstein, 1990).

This thesis has explored the implementation of community planning and associated community safety policies within a case study area of the former Strathclyde Police. The processes of partnership working and community engagement were found to be central to this approach. Meta- bureaucracy has been used to describe the partnerships activities and linkage to national outcomes presented in this thesis. That is to say, partnership working in this research does not represent a clear growth of ‘autonomous’ networks and governance arrangements as set out by Rhodes (2000) but rather an extension of bureaucratic controls. State actors such as the police service remain pre-eminent within increasingly formalised systems of partnership.

Issues of voice, leadership and pragmatic culture were all important findings for the implementation of community planning in practice. However, an implementation gap was identified between the rhetoric and lived experience of those entrusted to deliver these policy goals. Compared to more recent developments of a national police service, issues of professionalisation, operational autonomy and reduction of effective local accountability – all supported police focus on enforcement led policing as

opposed to partnership working and community safety more broadly.

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"Let us be grateful to people who make us happy, they are the charming gardeners who make our souls blossom." (Marcel Proust).

Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

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Signed..... Dated.....

Chapter 1

General Introduction

The duty of the Police service in Scotland as laid out in the Police (Scotland) Act 1967 was 'to guard, patrol and watch so as to prevent crime' (Scottish Parliament, 2011, p8). This notion is as relevant in modern 21st Century policing as ever before, although the environment in which the service operates is continuously changing. One significant change has been the introduction of Community Planning in Scotland. Community planning was considered a crucial component in the wider programme of public service reform and modernisation for local government and public service delivery (Scottish Executive, 2006). Though not a new concept, Community Planning represents a process of co-ordinated policy making and joint service delivery between the police service, local authorities, public agencies, representatives from the local community, voluntary and private sector.

The emphasis of Community Planning lies in the 'creation of local solutions to locally identified concerns' (Strathclyde Police, 2004, p2). This stresses a need to adopt an holistic approach to community safety which is problem oriented rather than organisation led (Crawford, 1998, p10), whereby the specific and often local nature of problems put forward by communities, is allocated a dominant role in determining the nature of the solution (Goldstein, 1990). In support of this notion, the Strathclyde Policing model¹

¹ The Strathclyde Policing Model integrates and co-ordinate the National Intelligence Model, Problem Solving

formulated in 2003 provided a framework for policing which had incorporated Community Planning and a problem solving approach, as two of its core components. According to Strathclyde Police (2004, p2):

‘One of the key areas of engaging in Community Planning is through the Tasking and Co-ordinating process, described by the Strathclyde Policing Model, where tactical decisions can be made to access available resources, including those from the public, voluntary and business sectors. It is in everyone’s interests to ensure that common partnership objectives, identified through the collective recognition of community concerns, are addressed using a corporate and co-ordinated approach’.

Furthermore, there have been several changes to police modes of working, particularly associated with Community Policing reforms which have extended the philosophy and practice of partnership working and community engagement in Scotland (MacKenzie and Henry, 2009). In these operational contexts, policing has been set out as a series of practices associated with a more diverse range of community problem-solving tasks which transcend those of managing crime and disorder to deal with community safety and reassuring the public. In their submission to the Justice Committee review of Community Policing (2008, s4) and building upon their previous report in 2004 *Policing the Community*, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) placed ‘Community Planning, Community Safety Partnerships and more generally, partnership work as core to Community Policing in Scotland’.

More recently there have been broader changes following the Police and Fire Reform Act 2012 - creating a national police service in Scotland, replacing the former eight separate

Policing, Divisional Call Handling Units, Briefing and Debriefing, Business Planning and Performance Management, Best Value and Community Planning into an overarching model of policing.

forces of which Strathclyde Police was the largest. Due to the timing of these national developments and completion of the PhD not until 2015, it was felt necessary to include these into the analysis which in turn would help contribute to the debates on national-local policing.

1.1 Specific background literature

Partnerships involving the public and private sectors, including the 'community' and the pursuit of 'joined-up' working (particularly at the local level), are characteristic of the 'Third Way' in public service reform in Britain (Rummary, 2006). There was an increasing expectation amongst policymakers that public services should be organised and delivered locally through multi-agency partnerships. It was envisaged that these partnerships should include relevant public sector service providers, private sector agencies and organisations, as well as representatives of local community interests.

Partnerships were established in numerous social policy fields, many of them having potentially overlapping aims and objectives. There were Urban Regeneration Partnerships, Social Inclusion Partnerships and partnerships concerned with health issues. There were also partnerships that purported to reflect the interests of particular groups and constituencies in society including young people and ethnic communities (Donnelly, 2008). In sum, partnerships had become something of a pervasive feature of the social policy landscape throughout the UK (Crawford, 1997; 1998; Gilling, 1997;

Hughes, 1998).

As an approach community safety has three key elements. It tends to be localised, to have a broad focus on social problems beyond simply crime and disorder and to be delivered via 'partnership' (Newburn 2002, p108). An underlying theoretical justification for this is the belief that responses to community safety problems need to be 'multidimensional and multi-agency in character' (Newburn 2002, p109). Crime prevention and community safety are considered to lie beyond the competency of any one agency (Crawford 1998, p170). Broadly speaking these theoretical propositions constitute the framework for the statutory duty on the police service, local authorities and other partner agencies, within community safety partnerships, to formulate and implement community safety interventions under the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003.

Partnership working is not always appropriate and has its own disadvantages. A body of research had raised concerns about possible problems and limitations of this approach in practice (Blagg et al., 1988; Pearson, et al., 1992; Crawford and Jones, 1995; Audit Commission, 2000; Gilling, 2005; Crawford and Cunningham, 2015; O'Neill and McCarthy (2012); see chapter two).

In relation to police and partnership working, Newburn (2002) noted three major problems for police services within Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs) in England and Wales. Firstly, there was the problem of inter-organisational conflict. This may arise over conflicting ideologies, purpose and aims, interests and, notwithstanding the planning process, priorities. As the police had traditionally held the monopoly over crime control,

crime prevention and safety of communities (Garland, 2001); they would have to adapt to an environment of working in partnership with others in dealing with community safety issues. Secondly, there was the issue of differential power relations between the partners. This may be exhibited in material and human resources, access to, and sharing of, information and expertise, and in legal powers.

For example, there may be possible issues of 'mistrust' in information sharing i.e. one agency may be suspicious of another using the information for their own organisational aims; or the police may have more resources for dealing with community safety issues than some community groups or local businesses, therefore it may be difficult to get certain groups to participate in partnership working. Thirdly, there was the problem between blurred boundaries between the roles and functions of partners with a possible concomitant loss of autonomy. All of which, highlight possible challenges the police service and partner agencies would have to overcome.

More specifically, police services required changes not only in the objectives, management and provision of policing, but crucially, also in the internal culture of the organisation itself (Hughes et al, 2002). Police culture has long been considered an important topic, in part because of the difficulties associated with reforming the police. In fact, the police service have been perceived as being resistant to change and it has often been assumed that it is down to the beliefs and attitudes of those it employs (Vito et al, 2005). One important distinction is that drawn by Ianni and Ianni (1983) who talk about 'street cops' or operational police officers and 'management cops' or strategic and managerial level police officers as representing distinct, ideal types of police culture. They

suggest that both 'street cops' and 'management cops' traditionally share organisational goals; however, they differ in the ways in which they believe this should be delivered.

This, in turn, may have a possible effect on the commitment of officers at different levels to changes in their roles and to how policies are translated into 'actual' practice.

Phillips et al. (2002) study on CDRP's in England and Wales highlighted a range of problems encountered in partnership working. Many of these were linked to capacity issues such as the lack of data sharing and the inability to set SMART² targets in local community safety strategies. However, one of the major problems was the 'tendency, when identifying possible initiatives, for practitioners to rely upon past experience rather than following the rationalistic logic of the problem solving approach' (Gilling 2005, p740).

Furthermore, a number of questions have also been asked about conceptions of 'community safety'. For example, a survey by the Local Government Management Board of community safety initiatives in England and Wales found that the most common community safety investment involved closed circuit television (CCTV) projects (LGMB, 1996). Virtually all such CCTV schemes were in town centres, where commercial interests in 'safer shopping' appeared the objective, rather than community safety itself. This hardly suggested a particular 'balanced' approach to community safety development, nor one in which every community safety 'interest' carried equal weight (Squires and Measor, 1996; Coleman, 2004). Community safety is about the safety of everyone and not merely the safety of certain groups.

²SMART targets are Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Timed.

What is more, and arising most directly from the last point, questions have to be asked regarding whether all sections of the 'community' have been equal beneficiaries of community safety. Evidence already exists, in England and Wales, suggesting they have not (Hope, 2000; FitzGerald, 2001; McGhee, 2003; Coleman, 2004).

Community safety, like citizenship, implies a holistic or inclusive ideal, something to be worked towards, therefore the idea that some might be benefiting more than others, or even at the expense of others, implies a major weakness. According to Squires (2006, p4) 'it has always been an implicit goal of the community safety movement that new priorities should be allowed to emerge'. However a national evaluation of consultation by CDRP's in England and Wales (Newburn and Jones, 2002) suggested that relatively few new priorities had emerged. This further suggests 'community safety' consultation might simply represent a process of legitimisation whereby existing local interests continue to demand and to receive a larger share of funding resources while new and emerging issues are largely ignored.

From the above, it can be seen that partnership working and community safety raise important questions about power, voice, occupational culture and how the roles and resources of different organisations are negotiated among partners to tackle community safety. It remained to be seen how community planning as a partnership framework for addressing community safety problems would overcome some of the above issues in practice; or whether such problems were applicable within a local Scottish context. These considerations formed the starting point for the current thesis.

1.2 Aim of the thesis:

This thesis aims to explore the implementation of Community Planning and associated Community Safety policies within a case study area of Strathclyde Police.

1.3 Objectives of the thesis:

- To explore the impact of community planning and community safety policies for policing in Scotland in the context of the UK and other jurisdictions;
- To explore the implementation of these policies in one local case study area;
- To consider the implementation and possible limitations of Community Planning and community safety policies in the broader context of community involvement and organisational factors.
- To consider the impact of a national police force for Community Planning and Community Safety in light of the research findings.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

Chapter two - provides a review of the relevant and existing literature on partnership working and community engagement. The aim was to locate the present study within this literature, while drawing out, and giving emphasis to, the most significant issues and themes that subsequently underpinned the research. In order to do so, the chapter determines how partnership working and community engagement have come to be defined, against a backdrop of theoretical propositions and literature on the experiences of these practices in Scotland and elsewhere.

Chapter three - plots the development and origins of Community Planning in light of literature on governance and explores the wider changes in governing through communities. Furthermore, provides an account of the distinctiveness of the Scottish approach to local governance – demonstrating a historical relationship between Strategic Planning, Urban Regeneration, Social Inclusion and Community Planning in Scotland.

Chapter four - brings together the key themes of governance and Community Planning from chapter three into the realm of community safety development. It plots the development of police to policing, developments of crime prevention and community safety and the (re)development of community focused policing initiatives from both a UK and Scottish perspective. As such, it unravels the policy developments in this domain, presenting how these connect with developments of ‘policing’ in Scotland. Furthermore, it provided how community safety has come to be conceptualised in Scotland.

Chapter five - provided an account of the research process and research framework employed in this research. It draws attention to the importance of qualitative research for studying police partnership working and sets out how the research came to adopt both evaluative and 'adaptive theory' approaches in order to carry it out. This chapter also provides justification for the use of a case study approach and the research strategies employed; alongside presenting reflections on the researcher experience.

Chapter six – presents the architecture, processes and strategies of Community Planning in Glasgow. In doing so, the chapter provides a narrative setting out and unravelling how the components of Community Planning come together with community safety partnership working in the case study area. This is presented in a rather prescriptive 'top down' construction, setting out the remits, functions and duty of each level (and partners) of the Community Planning structure – arguably portraying what 'ought to be' and the vision for Community Planning in Glasgow. However, this was contextualised and balanced with the support of previous research and empirical data from interviews with those involved in developing the Community Planning and community safety processes. Providing how these processes and structures were socially constructed.

Chapter seven – focuses on the lived experience of those involved in developing and delivering community planning in practice. This chapter brings together the key themes from the research into an analysis and discussion focusing on representative and participative democracy; observation of partnership meetings; multi and inter-agency politics; safety politics; and police culture. Central to these discussions were issues of

voice, leadership and changes to police culture that were explored in light of the research findings.

Chapter eight – provides an informed and critical assessment of the findings from the fieldwork compared to more recent developments across Scotland with a national Police service.

Chapter nine – brings together all of the issues/concerns/ideas of those entrusted to implement community planning in practice and will provide connections with the type of governance that is being practiced in reality. Overall, it presents community planning as a structure within meta-bureaucracy through an examination of literature on co-governance and meta-governance. Further to this, the chapter highlights that there is an implementation gap between the narrative and discourses of community planning – the vision (as set out in chapter six), and what occurs in the lived experience – contested by counter narratives as presented in chapter seven. It is this contestability between the narratives that provides for this gap. It also draws on discussions of national developments and the potential/actual impacts of these on local policing, Community Planning and Community Safety.

Chapter 2

In Scotland, since the policy statements of the Scottish Home and Health Department (SHHD, 1975) and the Scottish Development Department (circular 6/1984), the development of crime prevention – community safety in particular – had become bound up with the proliferation of a ‘partnership approach’ (Monaghan, 1997). The notion of partnership working was viewed as an important way of tackling community problems associated with crime, disorder and community safety. Both ‘partnership working’ and the need for ‘community engagement’ developed from the community policing movement (Brogden, 2002, Hughes and Rowe, 2007³) and have been evidenced in earlier Home Office documents such as the Circular 2/1984 and the Morgan Report in 1991. These concepts were then enshrined in legislation such as the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 in England and Wales, and more *broadly* with the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 in Scotland (see chapter 4 for further exploration of these developments in Scotland).

The purpose of this chapter is not to attempt an exhaustive review of this terrain – that task being ably achieved by a combination of other commentators (Crawford, 1997; 1998; 2007; Crawford and Cunningham, 2015; Gilling, 1997; 2005, 2007; Hughes, 1998; 2007; Hughes and Edwards, 2002; Hughes et al., 2002; Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994, Loveday, 1994, 2003, 2004, 2006; O’Neill and McCarthy, 2012; Pease, 1997; 2002; Tilley, 2005). Rather, the aim of the chapter is to locate the present study within this literature, while drawing out, and giving emphasis to, the most significant issues and themes which

³ Community policing is referred to as ‘neighbourhood policing’ more recently in England and Wales.

prompted and have subsequently underpinned it.

The first section will begin with a discussion of the literature which aims to define the term 'partnership', before moving on to setting out that while there is agreement about the importance of partnership working, the concept itself is indubitably interpreted and implemented in a variety of ways. The remainder of this section examines the literature on the roles played by partners and partnership processes in community safety. The aim of this is to outline the key findings of the research into the working of partnerships in practice, identifying the points of concern and the nature of concerns observed, as well as the ways in which these have been found to be played out and/or managed, and what this means for thinking about partnership working in general. However, it is important to note, there is relatively little contemporary academic research available which specifically focuses on community safety partnerships in their more mature developed state. It would be fair also to say that very little research has been undertaken on the effectiveness and impact of community safety partnerships as standalone entities. Most of the academic and policy literature tended to focus on the barriers and benefits of partnership working and how to get it to work, as set out in this chapter.

The second section focuses more specifically on issues relating to engagement between partnerships and communities, individuals and citizens. This includes a discussion of the literature which aimed to define engagement with communities alongside providing an overview of the theoretical underpinnings and typologies used to support engagement. The section then provides an examination of the literature on engagement in practice. In doing so, the aim was to provide an appreciation of how community engagement had

been played out in practice and to shed light on what this may mean for thinking about community engagement more generally.

2.1 Definitions of partnership

The Audit Commission (1998, p16) refers to the term partnership as a 'slippery concept'. Across the broad literature on the topic⁴, there is no one agreed definition of what exactly is meant by 'partnership'. Clarke and Glendinning (2002, p33) see this non- specificity as having some advantages politically in that it provides a 'key, overarching and unifying imagery' to governing (see chapter 3 for further discussion) and like the ideal of 'community involvement', who could disagree with the principle of working in partnership? Furthermore, Powell and Glendinning (2002, p2) maintain 'in government circulars and ministerial policy pronouncements, partnership is largely a rhetorical invocation to a vague idea'.

Nevertheless, the Health Education Board for Scotland (2001, p3) offered a working definition of partnership as 'partnerships are formed where two or more organisations make a commitment to work together on something that concerns both, to develop a shared sense of purpose and agenda, and to generate joint action towards agreed targets'. Adding to this, Stern and Green (2005, p270) provide what they call a 'pragmatic

⁴ Partnership working is not limited to the field of crime prevention and community safety. There is a wealth of literature across social policy and public sector reform (see Boydell 2007; Rummery and Glendinning, 2000; Lymbery, 2006).

definition' in which a partnership is 'a programme that has a high level of commitment, mutual trust, equal ownership and the achievement of a common goal'. More recently, Berry et al, (2011) make reference to a simple term, 'as a co-operative relationship between two or more organisations to achieve a common goal' (Berry et al, 2011 p.1).

Furthermore, terms such as collaboration, cooperation, coordination, coalition, network, alliance and partnership are often used in the literature and in practice (Huxham 1996; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Keast, 2011). Different forms of working together may occur along a continuum with isolation and integration as the extreme points. Isolation refers to the absence of joint activity and integration refers to organisations being ready to form a unitary relationship (Powell and Exworthy 2001). What is more, the terms multi-agency and inter-agency are used interchangeably in the literature, however they have quite different meanings and, perhaps more importantly, different outcomes. Crawford (1999, p120) distinguishes between the two concepts as follows:

- Multi-agency – the coming together of a variety of agencies in relation to a given problem;
- Inter-agency – entails some degree of fusion and melding of relations between agencies (see section 2.6 for further discussion).

As can be seen, there are a range of ways of describing what constitutes a partnership approach however, it can be described in simple terms as a cooperative relationship between two or more organisations to achieve a common goal. In line with this and for the purpose of this thesis, the researcher will be using the Health Education Board for

Scotland definition (2001, p3) as this can be considered similar to the key ingredients of community planning in Scotland, as set out in chapter 3.

2.2 Social and wicked issues – Community Safety

The need for co-ordination and integration in partnership stem in part from the proliferation of 'wicked issues' (Rittel and Weber, 1974) confronting modern society such as health, regeneration, crime and community safety, poverty and social exclusion which cannot be contained neatly within traditional boundaries. Rather, they bridge, cross and weave between organisational, sectoral, professional and jurisdictional boundaries. The term 'wicked issues', introduced in the UK by Stewart (1991, in Newman 2001, p59), refers to problems with the following characteristics:

- they are subject to competing definitions about the nature of the problem;
- the relationship between the different factors contributing to the problem are hard to assess;
- interventions do not fit into single-policy frameworks;
- effective intervention requires collaboration both in policy formulation and delivery.

Wicked issues are often the subject of multiple framing because different partners (or

stakeholders) have different views on the causes of and solutions to these problems and they are highly complex in nature because of the large number of connections and interdependencies between them (Audit Commission, 1998). These are the reasons given by the Audit Commission for forming partnerships in the first place.

Most importantly, wicked issues are not capable of being managed by organisations acting independently. This conclusion was emphasised by Kooiman (2000, p142) in the following manner:

“No single actor, public or private, has the knowledge and information required to solve complex, dynamic, and diversified problems; no actor has an overview sufficient to make the needed instruments effective; no single actor has sufficient action potential to dominate unilaterally”.

For the police therefore, in many senses, they are required to work in partnership with other agencies due to the interdependent nature of the problems that they are called upon to deal with. These cooperative relationships extend from health, housing, social and youth services to education, probation, penal institutions, voluntary sector organizations, commercial businesses, and community groups (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015). As a result of the breadth of the police mandate and the fact that the police are a ‘24 hour’ service shaped in response to citizen demands, crime fighting and law enforcement are only a relatively small part of police work (Bittner 1970). Many crime and policing issues are by their very nature ‘wicked problems’ that demand the engagement of multiple actors and agencies. Policy problems are referred to as ‘wicked’ where they have multiple

causes and many of them are interdependent (Rittel and Webber 1973⁵). Solutions are similarly interconnected and, in some cases, contradictory. The challenge when addressing such 'wicked' issues is how to combine effectively the contributions of diverse knowledgeable and competent actors and organizations towards a clear understanding and confidence in how to proceed (Conklin 2006).

It must be noted that the term 'community safety' is used here to include all crime reduction activity which attempts to address crime, disorder and the fear of crime. This does not ignore the tension between the terms 'crime prevention', 'community safety' and 'crime reduction' highlighted by some academics, (Crawford, 1998, p8, Gilling, 2005, p738, Hope, 2004, Hughes, 2002, p1).

As presented in section 2.1, Partnership working is not exclusive to the field of crime and disorder. However its theoretical nature can be overshadowed by the complexities which are associated with tackling crime and community safety. In light of this and its centrality to this research, the theoretical nature of partnerships will be considered next.

2.3 The theory of partnership working for community safety.

As set out above, partnerships contribute to more effective means of tackling the causes of crime because 'some factors affecting crime lie outside the control or direct influence of

⁵ As opposed to 'tame issues' - 'tame problems' which are ones for which the traditional linear process is sufficient to produce a workable solution in an acceptable time frame (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015)

the police, crime prevention cannot be left to them alone...preventing crime is a task for the whole community' (Crawford 1997, p67). In essence, it is believed that many agencies are better than one at tackling crime, disorder and associated community safety issues. An example of such views relating to community safety partnership working in practice can be seen below:

Figure 1.

Dealing with safety incidents may involve a number of different agencies.

A malicious fire to an occupied house may result in:

- the attendance of the fire brigade
- the attendance of the ambulance service
- a police enquiry
- the treatment of victims by the health service
- a local authority cleansing response
- the involvement of social work and housing services to arrange emergency rehousing
- the involvement of housing or property services to repair the damage
- a loss to business if the victims were employed and are unable to work. (Audit Scotland, 2000)

According to Atkinson and Maxwell (2007, p20) a fundamental question for a partnership is 'the extent to which it has added value and achieved a greater impact than would have been achieved without its existence'. As can be seen, with the community safety example above, there is a strong requirement for the use of a multi- agency approach; and the 'interdependencies' of relationship in dealing with issues as set out by the Audit Commission (2000; also see section 2.2).

Moreover, partnerships are said to improve the 'effectiveness' of crime reduction by minimising duplication and reducing the chance that social problems, such as that of community safety, fall between the gaps of different institutions (Fleming and Wood, 2006). It could also be argued that partnerships provide an opportunity to enhance the 'legitimacy' of criminal justice agencies both amongst themselves and amongst the people they serve. In theory, partnerships create new opportunities for practitioners to break down barriers, build trust between agencies, share information and maximise their skills, capacity, knowledge and potential. Moreover, agency difference in partnerships may also be viewed as providing an opportunity for a different kind of accountability. As Thacher (2001) previously set out in the context of community policing, partner organisations can act as checks and balances on each other. What is more, it has been argued that partnerships involving the police have the potential to free-up capacity allowing organisations to specialise and focus on their 'core business' (Fleming and Wood, 2006).

The language of partnerships pervades contemporary conceptions of crime prevention, community safety and policing. In contrast to the rigid, hierarchical bureaucracies of a single organisation, partnerships present a means whereby, 'networks of diverse group interests have now become the dominant ethic' (Crawford 1997, p25). Furthermore, the increasing emphasis on community policing across the UK has placed obligations on police agencies to focus on crime prevention, community safety and working with the community. Indeed, working through partnerships is a principal component of the police reform agenda throughout the UK (see Newburn, 2003, p88; Edwards and Benyon, 2001; Hughes and McLaughlin 2002; Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994; also see chapter 8 for more recent developments nationally in Scotland). Policing through networks and managing

multi-agencies in crime prevention and community safety, as stated above, have been formally encouraged through policy initiatives and legislation (see chapter four for further discussion). Therefore, the police are expected to work through networks and to develop common approaches to such objectives with other agencies, as well as with the local community.

A theoretical perspective on multi-agency models of crime reduction from the US can be usefully found in the work of Rosenbaum, (2002 cited in Berry et al, 2011). He identified a range of possible benefits which partnership working can bring. Those included the need for crime issues being complex thus requiring complex solutions. As already identified partnerships can be better than individual agencies in identifying and scoping out crime rate issues. The benefits achieved can be due to their diversity in creating innovative responses to partnership interventions. They are more likely to be effective compared to activity undertaken by single agencies as partnerships can pool resources and bring new ideas to the problem solving process. Multiple interventions can also increase the impact of specific outcomes and lead to other new benefits, (Rosenbaum, 2002, p. 177).

From a UK perspective, most governmental publications in England and Wales (Home Office, 1991; 1993; 2011) and Scotland (Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, 1997; Safer Communities in Scotland, Scottish Executive, 1999; Safe and Sound, Accounts Commission, 2000; CoSLA, 2008; Scottish Government, 2011) on the topic are focused upon how to get partnerships to work, irrespective of the partners involved, or their contribution to community safety and crime reduction. The Scottish Executive Report '*Threads of Success: Making it Work Together*' published in November 2000 highlights

the need, and the (then) Scottish Executive desire, to develop more collaborative partnerships with local communities and key agencies, to secure resources to develop partnership working, to develop joint planning to incorporate community safety into mainstream service delivery and lastly, to communicate the safety message effectively. These messages are not too dissimilar to the key points from the Audit Commission's (2000) study of community safety partnerships in England and Wales, suggesting that relevant partners should at least be involved in information-sharing and basic planning, and that partners' roles should be clearly defined for all.

Furthermore, the Scottish Government⁶ undertook National Community Safety Audit's (Scottish Government 2009a, b), which determined a series of contextual and compositional challenges to the effective delivery of community safety. Partnership managers (within community safety partnerships) highlighted the tight financial climate within which community safety is operating and how this was impacting upon services and staffing (both loss and turnover) (also see section 2.7 – external pressures). They stressed that community safety practice was not consistently co-joined to community planning partnerships (see chapter 4 for fuller discussion on development of community planning; also see chapter 7) and that this was impeded (in part) by the lack of a legislative remit for community safety (Scottish Community Safety Network, 2012; Bannister et al 2012; also see chapter 3).

Such challenges were believed to increase the importance of partnership mechanisms of

⁶The **Scottish Government** is the executive branch of the devolved government of Scotland. It is accountable to the Scottish Parliament. The government was established in 1999 as the **Scottish Executive** under section 44(1) of the Scotland Act 1998. In September 2007, under the Minority SNP Government, it was rebranded to the Scottish Government, with its legal title remaining the Scottish Executive. It was formally renamed in law at the beginning of July 2012, when section 12(1) of the Scotland Act 2012 came into force. The use of both terms will be seen throughout this thesis to reflect the time in office.

service delivery, of shifting towards a focus on outcomes not processes and of developing the evidence base (which would benefit from the sharing of outcomes across organisations) to inform outcome models and strategic direction (also see section 2.9). Following this exercise, the Community Safety Unit undertook to develop a series of guidance, support and tools for partnership working and launched a Safer Communities Awards 'funding' programme (Scottish Government, 2010) alongside the Scottish Community Safety Network (Scottish Government, 2012) to amongst other things, facilitate information sharing so that stakeholders are informed of and engaged with new and emerging practice and national policy.

Collectively, such moves have highlighted the longstanding challenges faced by community safety practice across the UK. In part, and as set out above in relation to 'wicked issues', these issues have arisen compositionally, as community safety does not fit into a clear organisational 'box'; rather it straddles and transcends organisational boundaries (Crawford, 1998). Furthermore, each of these various contributions can be seen to illustrate a common theme closely associated with Huxham (2003) theorising of partnership working. Huxham (2003) identifies two key concepts operating within the field of partnership working. The first is "collaborative advantage" and the second is "collaborative inertia". Collaborative advantage is a central concept throughout the above guidance and assessments. Again, for collaborative advantage and for partnership working to be worthwhile 'something has to be achieved that could not have been attained by any of the organisations acting alone' (Huxham, 2003, p.403).

What is more, the guidance on partnership working from UK governments invite partners,

including the community, to ask constantly what it is they do better together that could not be done alone. The result of failed or weak partnership working is what Huxham called “collaborative inertia”. In this instance the outcomes of collaboration are either very slow in emerging or minimal when compared to the time and resources involved (Nash, 2001). Such factors are not therefore detrimental to what partnerships aim to achieve but they do present a position that partnerships may not always work.

As such, there is a paradox in that:

‘The possibility for collaborative advantage rests in most cases on drawing synergy from the differences between organisations, different resources and different expertises. Yet those same differences stem from different organisational purposes and these inevitably mean that they will seek different benefits from each other out of the collaboration’. (Huxham and Vangen 2005, p82)

2.4 Police partnership working: review of practices in the research

Studies of partnership working between the police and a host of community agencies received sizeable criminological attention during the 1990s and early 2000s. The police organisation has been more frequently involved in providing community policing responses in tandem with a number of other agencies, sometimes referred to as the ‘wider policing family’ (Johnson, 2007; see Chapter 4, 4.8), consisting of agents like neighbourhood wardens managed by housing associations or local authorities, youth workers as part of organised patrols working with young people, as well as with drug and alcohol service providers in supporting clients in police custody and in the community

more generally (Crawford and Lister, 2004; Johnston, 2003). Again such changes have extended the philosophy and practice of partnership working alongside the (re)development of community/neighbourhood policing creating opportunities for joint problem solving in communities (Innes and Fielding, 2002; Hughes and Rowe, 2007; also see chapter 4 for community policing and community safety partnership developments in Scotland).

In these operational contexts, policing had been reframed as a series of practices associated with a more diverse range of community problem-solving tasks⁷ which transcend those of managing crime and disorder (Gilling, 1997; Crawford, 1997; Garland, 1996; 2001), although the reality of this characterisation in terms of practice remains contestable (Hughes and Gilling, 2004; Phillips, 2002). The initial introduction of partnerships during the 1980s was treated with scepticism by some police officers who referred to them as 'talking shops' which lacked action in the form of tasks and tangible outcomes (Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994; Pearson et al., 1992). Part of the early scepticism of the police to partnership working was the perceived incompatibility between the police's action orientation and readiness to 'take charge' of a range of situations (Holdaway, 1986), at the expense of more negotiation or process-based working shared by other community agencies. This also corresponded to the lack of clear hierarchy and chain of command in partnership proceedings - a factor which some authors have argued is often a challenge for police officers to reconcile (Edwards, 2002; Pearson et al., 1992).

⁷ Including intelligence led and problem oriented policing alongside community policing – see chapter four for further discussion.

Police scepticism to partnership working has also been identified within the police organisation itself, with the skills of inter-agency working often treated as 'soft', 'social work-like' and largely treated as inferior to more traditional crime-fighting mentalities of police work (McCarthy, 2012). This is also commonly explained through the difficulties faced by officers in relinquishing their own cultural values of police work with a more compromised set of tasks and functions associated with partnership working (Skinns, 2008); and fear of agencies encroaching on traditional police functions and the tendency of the police to view community problem-solving functions as low-priority examples of 'soft policing' (Reiner, 2010; O'Neill and McCarthy 2012).

The difficulties of partnership working were also, in various ways, recognised by all of the major influential studies of its early development – from the Morgan Group's reviews of emerging experience and 'good' practice in the field (Home Office, 1991; Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994), to the well-known Kirkholt burglary project (Forrester, et al, 1990; Gilling, 1994; 1997), the Safer Cities programmes in both England and Wales (Tilley, 1994; Sutton, 1996) and in Scotland (Carnie, 1995; 1999), numerous analyses of the emerging voluntary partnerships and projects around the country (Crawford and Jones, 1995; Crawford, 1997; 1998; Hughes, 1998), and the subsequent auditing/assessment of statutory partnerships following the Crime and Disorder Act in 1998 (Berry et al, 2011; Phillips, 2002; Phillips et al, 2002).

Furthermore, a number of academics have been involved in providing advice and undertaking thematic research locally for CSPs in England and Wales, (Crawford, 2002, Loveday, 2003, 2006). For some there is a common voice that partnership working as an

agenda driven by central government is not always effective as it focuses on short term strategies which exclude longer term planning and outcomes, (Maguire, 2004, p, 225, Gilling, 2008, p45). Other criticism levelled at the UK government's crime reduction and community safety approach and partnership working has been linked to the ever changing public sector environment which creates difficulties in evaluating the success of key initiatives, (Maguire, 2004).

Numerous early evaluations of community safety and partnership practice (CoSLA, 1998; Scottish Office, 1999; Accounts Commission, 2000; Audit Scotland, 2000) in Scotland (mirroring those in England and Wales) highlighted uneven development and identified a common set of pitfalls inhibiting effective partnership working and community safety practice including: under investment at the strategic level, turnover of representatives at the local level leading to the loss of knowledge and impetus, limited community participation and ownership, limited coordination between agencies (both priorities and data), and a reliance on project funding rather than mainstreaming.

Underpinning these concerns was recognition of a shortfall in information and training resources (Accounts Commission, 2000; Hewitt et al, 2001; Audit Commission, 2002). This body of research, like central UK government assessments advice and guidance for community safety partnerships (section 2.3), did not reach the conclusion that partnership working was impossible. Rather, as a collective they indicated a number of issues that needed addressed for partnership working to meet the requirements of communities they serve. This will be explored more specifically next.

2.5 Different ways of understanding problems, priorities and responses

There are fundamental difficulties that partnerships face from the outset – they are deliberately composed of agencies that are, by definition, very different from one another and expected to bring different things (skills, resources, community legitimacy) to bear upon the subject of the partnership. This is likely to create tensions, as was summed-up by Pearson et al. in their ground-breaking, and still influential, analysis of inter-agency work in the late 1980s (see also Blagg et al., 1988; Sampson et al., 1988):

“Tensions (in multi-agency work) indicate, as much as anything else, the scale of ambition involved in much thinking about multi-agency working: in that across the customary working practices and ingrained habits of different organisations it attempts to superimpose what are sometimes quite alien philosophies” (Pearson et al., 1992, p51).

In line with this, Phillips et al. (2002) study on Crime and Disorder Partnerships (CDRP's) in England and Wales highlighted a range of problems encountered in partnership working. One of the major problems was the tendency, when identifying possible initiatives, for practitioners to rely upon past experience rather than following a more joint problem solving approach to community safety (Gilling, 2005).

Partnerships include members from agencies with very different roles in relation to crime and criminal justice, as well as very different occupational identities and cultures that stem, in part at least, from those roles. The potential for philosophical/occupational culture differences to exist between partner agencies has been clearly demonstrated by studies of how the police and the probation service differ in how they think about and understand

both the causes of crime and the means of preventing it (Gilling, 1993; Crawford, 1997). A possible reason for this is that the police, whose complex role incorporates law enforcement, tended to view crime in terms of individual responsibility and crime prevention in terms of punishment, deterrence and situational approaches to crime prevention (Crawford, 1997, 97-105; also see chapter 4 for the development of these concepts). Probation officers, whose role relates to providing support and services for offenders in the community, were found to understand crime and crime prevention in altogether more positivist terms – crime being caused by problems in a person's background, upbringing or environment, and crime prevention being achieved through addressing these problems or their manifestations (such as drink and drug problems) (Crawford, 1997, 97-105). These are but one example of occupational differences that could potentially make partnership working more difficult to achieve.

Furthermore, Phillips found that conflicts in partnerships were most likely to occur at one of three points of decision making: where the nature/extent of problems were defined; where decisions were made about the relative priority to be given to agreed problems; and where decisions were made regarding what the most appropriate or effective intervention was likely to be (2002, p169-170). The different ways in which partners understood the world shaped their decisions at each of these points. This was also noted by Sutton who argued that although the Safer Cities programme (also see chapter 3) had been intended to promote rational (and arguably scientific) approaches to community safety, the variation in what projects did was not just attributable to variation in the nature and/or extent of local problems but was also directed by the different understandings and agendas of partnership members (Sutton, 1996, see also Tilley, 1993).

Together, these examples illustrate how different agencies can define problems and the priority to be given to them in contradictory ways. For agencies this, in part, is shaped by how their role relates to a given 'problem'. Pearson et al (1988) also found that where agencies shared similar theoretical orientations they were also more likely to share common ground in relation to the key decisions to be made in inter-agency crime prevention work. For example, they noted that the police and the housing authority both understood and drew upon ideas from environmental criminology, such as defensible space (Newman, 1972) and that this shared language allowed them to communicate and work with one another more readily. Thus it is unsurprising that the different theoretical orientations inscribed in situational and more 'social' approaches to crime prevention (see chapter 3) have specifically been identified as potential sources of conflict in partnerships (Bottoms, 1990).

In the context of the Kirkholt evaluations, Gilling (1994) found that the more ambiguously defined social measures did not lend themselves to the problem oriented methodologies (Goldstein, 1979) that were being promoted as good practice in relation to partnership work. He argued that much of the conflict that occurred throughout the project stemmed from the "woolly" nature of social prevention (see chapter 4 for discussion of social crime prevention) and the contradictory decisions it could inspire. As a result he argued that the social measures proposed in the life of the project had rarely been implemented or evaluated and that Kirkholt had been more of a "success" for situational prevention than it had for partnership working per se (Gilling, 1994).

Nevertheless, Home Office guidance continued to indicate that partnerships should aim to

implement both short-term situational and longer-term offender-orientated measures (Home Office, 1998), despite this potential for conflict. Indeed, Sutton found that there was a tendency for projects to begin by implementing a larger proportion of short-term situational measures, but that as the life of projects continued there would be a shift towards more long-term offender-orientated measures (Sutton, 1996; Pease, 1997) therefore indicating that despite the potential for conflict broader social measures appeared to have the benefit of engendering longer term commitment to, and interest in, the aims of the partnership (Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994; Carnie, 1995; Home Office, 1991).

Progress reviews of the work of partnerships showed that partnerships continued to find a balance between implementing both situational and offender orientated interventions (Phillips 2002 p172; Phillips, et al, 2002). This does not indicate that conflicts generated by different ways of thinking about the problem do not remain an issue, although it may suggest that they have had some success in managing these conflicts and avoiding them being made overt. Phillips identified a couple of mechanisms that were used by partnerships to “side-step” conflicts over the definition, prioritisation or intervention of problems: contracting out audits to independent researchers or Universities (thus allowing them to define the problem) and then drafting strategies with “deliberate vagueness” so that all partners would feel that they had been accommodated and could sign up to what was on offer (2002, p171).

2.6 Inter and intra organisational relationships – conflicts and constraints

Many of the earlier studies found that problems and conflicts in the inter-agency setting in fact stemmed from problems and conflicts that were intra-organisational in origin (Pearson, et al, 1992, p65; Crawford and Jones, 1995, p28-29; Crawford, 1997, p123-127). One of the most prominent examples of this was the ‘gendered nature of relations’ between some of the key agencies (Pearson et al, 1992 p56). Organisations such as the police were found to be very male-dominated, expressing and giving status to what were perceived to be “macho” values (such as the importance of law enforcement, individual responsibility and the necessity of punishment). Conversely, organisations such as social services and probation were found to be more female- dominated, expressing “feminine” values (such as duty of care, social responsibility and the potential of rehabilitation) (Crawford, 1997, p124; Crawford and Jones, 1995; Sampson et al, 1988).

In a sense the gendered structure of these organisations was seen as supporting, reinforcing and even constituting the differences in their culture and values – adding another dimension to the barriers between them. Crawford observed that gendered assumptions could be used to belittle and marginalise inter-agency work – such as where police officers, already disinclined towards it, were able to confirm their view that such work was “woman’s work” and certainly not a core part of “real police work” (1997, 127; Crawford and Jones, 1995 p28-29; Young, 1991; Walklate, 1996; O’Neill and McCarthy, 2012). Moreover, it has also been noted in a number of studies that inter-agency work could be seen as offering female police officers an opportunity to work in an environment where they were not marginalised as women and in which they could excel without facing

prejudice (Pearson et al 1992, p66-68; Crawford 1997, p125), but until such work was given greater status as “real” police work it would be unlikely to improve the position of women in general within the organisation (Walklate, 1996; Newburn, 2002).

Nevertheless, it is felt that practitioners could, and sometimes would, creatively negotiate and transcend these difficulties. As Crawford and Jones (1995) articulate:

“Rather than differing organisational perceptions resulting in a situation in which ‘different interest groups pass each other like ships in the night’, our research suggests that there is great creativity among inter-agency workers in negotiating the deep structural conflicts and oppositions that exist.”(Crawford and Jones, 1995, p21).

Bullock et al. (2006) also found in their study, the importance of compromise and flexibility in successful partnerships – a feature which was difficult for many police departments to manage, especially in relinquishing aspects of their territorial mandate in preserving public order and enforcing the law. This may also provide an indication as to why the police have (re)introduced community policing as a means to regain control of their territory. This is an issue to be explored in chapter seven.

Moreover, the core functions of partner organisations could also act as an intra-organisational challenge to partnership working. For example, concerns were expressed about the level of commitment of some agencies to crime prevention and community safety partnerships. Health authorities, in particular, were regularly perceived to be reticent about taking an active role in the partnership because they did not see the objectives of the partnership as necessarily sitting comfortably with their own role (Phillips, 2002, p167). Apart from in relation to limited agendas coalescing around the

themes of drugs and alcohol they did not identify with the broader aims of community safety partnerships (Phillips, 2002). However, even agencies that did have a direct and core interest in the activities of the partnership could find their commitment to it called into question as a result of intra-organisational issues. For example, police officers on route for promotion tend to be seconded to different specialisms for quite short periods, generally a maximum of two years. In one of the projects carried out by Crawford and Jones a popular and highly professional police officer who had been seconded to a partnership was swiftly moved on to other things in order to secure her internal promotion prospects (Crawford and Jones, 1995, p28). Although it may be legitimate for the police, or any other partner agency, to wish to secure a broad base of experience in officers destined for promotion to senior ranks, it was nonetheless an internal policy that would cause possible problems for partnerships because by continually extracting officers from this work the development of sustainable and trust- based relationships was seriously undermined (Crawford, 1997, p126).

At the same time factors including the differences in operational cultures between the police and local authority, intra-organisational resistance to Neighbourhood Policing from front-line police officers (in England and Wales), as well as a crime reduction focus from the Home Office, can all hinder connections between police-led and partnership-orientated policies (see Innes, 2005). Police services require 'changes not only in the objectives, management and provision of policing, but crucially, also in the internal culture of the organisation itself' (Newburn, 2002, p117). Police culture has long been considered an important topic (Chan, 1996; Manning, 2007; Newburn 2007), in part because of the difficulties associated with reforming the police. In fact, the police service has been

perceived as being particularly resistant to change due to entrenched beliefs and attitudes (Reiner, 2010).

Similar concerns were found to be caused to partnership relationships, and the sense of its legitimacy for partners, when officers seconded to it simply lacked the authority or rank within their parent agency to actually make it act upon any partnership decisions (Pearson et al., 1992). Intra-organisational rank and decision-making structures could thus have an effect on the perception of other partnership members as to their commitment to the partnership agenda. It is also important to note that perceptions of commitment in this way could be inaccurate because the interagency work of some partners may have been less visible than that of others.

Since their inception, some agencies, particularly the police, have more actively engaged in partnerships than others. In Scotland, the HMICS report 'Local Connections' sets out that "partnerships are an established way of life in Scottish police forces" (2002, p21). In England and Wales, an early study by Sampson et al. (1988) and Crawford and Jones (1995) found the police to have a dominant role in partnership working. In research conducted since the implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (CDA) in England and Wales, Phillips (2002) found that the 'prime movers' in the community safety partnerships she studied were the police and the local authority, whose shared lead was accepted by the other partners, since it was endorsed by the CDA. This also illustrates the implementation of a key message from the Morgan Report on the responsibility and position of community safety delivery.

Whilst some agencies dominate, others are marginalised or peripheral to partnership arrangements. In their review of community safety partnerships, the Audit Commission (2002) present the 'usual suspects' - the health service, probation service, criminal justice organisations, education authorities, county councils, youth offending teams (YOTs) and drug action teams (DATs) – having patchy involvement and attendance (also see Gilling, 2003). Whilst the fire service and Victim Support were well represented, the Audit Commission (2002) also recognised there was a great deal of local variation in the engagement of partners - some partnerships involve only the police and local authority representatives, whereas others have twenty or more different representatives. Perhaps this also explains why when defining community safety, the Audit Commission (2002) draw upon the HMIC definition of community safety as '...a subjective condition [and] a dynamic concept...best understood in a local context' (HMIC, 2000).

Pearson et al (1992) found that although probation officers were less often found around partnership tables with local authorities and the police, they were nonetheless heavily involved in a lot of work that did require inter-agency cooperation and coordination – such as child protection work (1992, p54). Phillips (2002) found that some agencies, such as health service, feel marginalised, leading other partners to question whether the health service have a legitimate role to play. Similarly, and contrary to the recommendations in the Morgan Report, the voluntary sector, although being consulted had a rather peripheral role in community safety partnership working (Hester, 2000) compared to other partners.

2.7 External pressures on agencies

Statutory agencies are increasingly under pressure to meet detailed performance targets relating to their core roles and functions even before they think about delegating resources and personnel to any partnership activities – although performance regimes increasingly do explicitly include partnership working as part of organisations' core activity. Moreover, Crawford (1998) claims that the advent of 'new public management' since the 1990s has not always facilitated effective partnership working. The emphasis placed on performance indicators can lead to a focus on intra as opposed to inter- agency goals. He also highlights other 'unhelpful' ways of working that can affect partnerships: conflict avoidance; producing strategies with multiple aims but no prioritisation; and "informal or hidden relations", whereby decisions are taken outside formal arrangements with the justification of "getting the job done".

The importance of "top-down" performance management and strategy setting was also highlighted in Phillips' review of Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships⁸ (2002; Phillips et al., 2002). Although the intention was that partnerships should stimulate "bottom up" policy development this was found to be a relatively rare occurrence in practice as agencies were reluctant to sign up to additional responsibilities when they were already stretched in trying to meet their own core business targets. Furthermore, it was found that instead of "the formulation of strategy/action plan being an opportunity for partners to brainstorm solutions to particular crime and disorder problems, it was a rushed process driven by community safety officers" (Phillips, 2002, 172).

⁸ From 1st April 2010 the Home Office renamed Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, (CDRPs) across England as Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs).

Moreover, the proliferation of multiple partnership agendas by the end of the 1990s (across many aspects of social life i.e. poverty, regeneration, housing, health etc. as set out in section 2.2) itself created external pressures on agencies who found themselves having to negotiate a complex and often overlapping array of partnership responsibilities. Some agencies and partnerships adopted different approaches in relation to this profusion of activity – some would seek to avoid overlapping with the work of other agendas for internal political reasons or because it was felt to be wasteful of scarce resources, whereas others felt that it could be a means through which to unlock or pool resources in a productive manner (Sutton, 1996). Phillips found that the community safety officers who were trying to make sense of this environment were frustrated at the proportion of their time spent on managing resources and strategies in which “everything was a priority” (2002, p176).

However, there had been indirect recognition from central government that some community safety partnerships have achieved significantly better results than others, (Home Office, 2006, p. 5). This led to the review of partnership provisions of the Crime & Disorder Act 1998 between 2004-2006. The key findings of the review led to the creation of Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs – also see chapter 3), who had strategic responsibility for Local Area Agreements taking the strategic lead for crime and disorder with CSPs delivering the operational focus. In 2007 the UK government introduced a set of national standards, (referred to as Hallmarks of Best Practice). These clearly intended to map out the expectations of all agencies involved and provided a benchmark which CSPs to date have been judged upon by Government, (Home Office, 2007). These focused on improvement of local outcomes while driven by central Government through

governance arrangements (Home Office, 2007).

The review of partnership provision set out key recommendations, all of which had as an aim the strengthening of arrangements, (Home Office, 2006). According to the UK government at this time, (Home Office, 2007, p3) partnership working had played a significant role in reducing crime rates from 1997. It maintains that this was central to the successful delivery of the governments new Crime Strategy published in July 2007 entitled 'Cutting Crime: A New Partnership 2008-11. This view is contested by some academics and is seen as the government justifying its approach and its specific focus on community safety, (Hough, 2005, Gilling, 2005). Some academics still contend that minimal evaluation and/or evidence of impact has been undertaken on CSPs, (HMIC, 2010, p40). Coupled with this is the question of how successful CSPs have been in engaging with local communities (also see section 2.8 on recent research).

More specifically in Scotland, central Government guidance and policy directives have sought to underpin the delivery of community safety in a similar manner to the formalised requirements of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Bannister et al, 2012).

Although there is a distinctiveness regarding community safety development in Scotland (see chapter 3), community safety came to represent one of the five overarching strategic objectives of the Scottish Government, namely making a 'Safer and Stronger Scotland', that were enshrined within 2 of the 15 National Outcomes within the broader 'social justice' agenda (Scottish Government, 2010, 2013; Mooney and Scott, 2012); also see chapter 3 for discussion on development). Partnership working to address community

safety, crime and antisocial behaviour was integrated into the community planning process (see chapter 3) so that local public services can attempt to respond to locally defined needs (COSLA, 2003; LGSA, 2003; see chapter 4). Adding to this, previously established integrated approaches, particularly community safety strategies, are now being extended to take on board 'associated' requirements (HMICS, 2001, Scottish Government, 2002, 2003 and 2009).

One major requirement is set out in the Antisocial Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004. This legislation set out how local authorities and other agencies could deal with antisocial behaviour by introducing legal powers in areas including justice, the social and physical environment, housing and child welfare (Henry, 2009). In some respects these can be viewed as a top down approach, much like Phillips (2002) findings in England and Wales, to drive every Scottish local authority, together with the relevant police force and in consultation with the local community, to prepare, publish, review and monitor a strategy for antisocial behaviour in their locality. However, as Bannister et al (2011, p. 233) have presented:

“The (newly) introduced community-planning partnerships with which community safety partnerships are now situated... need to interweave. The latter (*Anti-Social Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004*) introduced a formal requirement upon local authorities to prepare anti-social behaviour strategies and attracted a significant funding stream, presenting a challenge to the remit and resourcing of community safety partnerships”.

Adding to this, the legislative developments from 2000 in Scotland culminated in the creation of a Concordat or relationship between the Scottish Government and the Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities (CoSLA), which led to local authorities being

given responsibility for identifying local priorities (in relation to strategic national outcomes) and allocating funding to meet these needs (Scottish Executive, 2007). A key element of this was the development of Single Outcome Agreements. Single Outcome Agreements were the means by which Community Planning Partnerships agree their strategic priorities for their local area and express those priorities as outcomes to be delivered by the partners, either individually or jointly, while showing how those outcomes should contribute to the Scottish Government's relevant National Outcomes (also see chapter 4). As Bannister et al (2011) sets out, relating Single Outcome Agreements to community safety partnership working, 'as a consequence, the funding for community safety and antisocial behaviour was absorbed within local government funding. Following this, Bannister et al. (2011) identify how there appears to be growing awareness (in both policy and practitioner circles) of the need to draw partnerships together, to work in a more outcome oriented manner as opposed to an output-oriented approach.

When we further consider the commitment involved in Community Planning and the Single Outcome Agreement, the task of determining the performance/outcome related performance of an individual partner, or their contribution to performance in the joint advancement of community safety becomes more difficult. In relation to the police, numerical performance measurements were not clear when attempting to 'capture the quality and effectiveness of police work...nor do they measure the contributions made by the police and their partners to a community's quality of life' (Wakefield and Fleming 2009, p225). For example, proactive and problem-solving activities such as community policing/intelligence led policing, building relationships and multi-agency partnership working all fall into this category and require not only quantitative measurement but more

importantly, qualitative measurement. However, according to Wakefield and Fleming (2009, p225) 'such intangibles are difficult to measure and there is a risk that they may be the first casualties when limited and diminishing resources dictate specific types of activity'. Therefore, within the performance measurement arrangements for the SOA, care needs to be taken in measuring both quantitative and qualitative factors, and in interpreting how these contribute to the outcomes in question.

2.8 Performance - 'Effectiveness', 'Efficiency' and 'Success'

More recently the Home Office commissioned a range of research projects that focus on elements of partnership working. The rationale for this could be recognition of the previous gap that existed in determining the effectiveness of partnership working. One of these studies, undertaken by Berry, Briggs, Erol, & van Staden (2011) noted that: - 'There have been no systematic attempts to review the social research evidence base around partnership working', (Berry et al, 2011, p.1).

The research involved using a rapid evidence assessment (REA) and sought to look at the question of whether partnerships were more effective and efficient in achieving crime-related outcomes than alternatives. It also looked at what factors had been identified as making partnerships work effectively and efficiently in delivering crime related outcomes:

Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared vision, values, and norms of partners involved to establish collaborative advantage • Strong leadership and strategic direction (focused on proving a central coordination effort, getting buy-in from partners and managing the project) • Full integration of project aims into partner organizations' aims • Clear project brief, roles, and responsibilities • Core groups to oversee problem solving approach
Data sharing and problem focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clarity regarding the problem(s) being tackled through focused analysis to ensure a properly problem focused intervention • Regular exchange of relevant information • Having focused interventions in each area • Including researchers within partnership • Continual evaluation to review and inform activity of group
Communication and co-location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular face-to-face contact and communication between partners • Co-location of agencies, partners, and staff • Presence of partners at local level
Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexibility of structures and processes • Having a research partner as an active member of the taskforce • Clear monitoring, accountability, and integrity mechanisms • Having operational groups to implement strategies • Involvement of most appropriate agencies
Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prior experience in working together in partnership (ie established relationships) • Secondment of skilled officers into joint team • Careful selection of appropriate partners • Joint training of team members

Source: Berry et al (2011, piii)

The REA involved a systematic review method to critically appraise research using set quality criteria. From the 217 research papers/evaluations that were reviewed, (or appeared to be relevant to the research questions), nine studies met the quality criteria.

All were evaluated in the US between 2001 – 2009 and all included partnership working as a central element of how crime was tackled but did not relate to formal statutory community safety partnerships. Berry et al, (2011) however concluded that the evidence suggested that applying the principles of partnership working to tackle complex crime and disorder problems was effective (Berry et al, 2011, p. 23). What this work indicated was the need for more detailed research in the area and while it provided findings which were useful they were all based on US examples. It made the assumption that key concepts and working were directly transferable from one continent to another. The studies using the REA also heavily featured violent crime initiatives, which do not reflect partnership working in its broadest sense. It focused on multi-agency partnership working to tackle violent crime but did not include other community safety related issues. As such, Crawford and Cunningham (2015, p77) contend, these findings ‘need to be understood in the context of the wider and deeper barriers to implementation of partnerships as well as the structural, cultural, and organizational challenges that they imply’ (see chapters 7 and 8 for further discussion of these issues relating to the research).

Skinns, (2005) undertook doctoral research funded by the ESRC which involved critically reviewing three CSPs, (Birmingham, Cambridge and Lincoln). The specific areas were chosen to facilitate comparability and her research suggested four key challenges. The first was the degree of differences across areas on the purpose, structure and processes of partnerships post the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act period. In Birmingham, the CSP struggled to develop appropriate structures because of its size and devolution of local authority services. In all CSP areas practitioners interviewed identified a lack of decision making and delivery implementation, which Skinns, (2005, p. 176) highlighted questions

the purpose and achievements of the CSPs beyond 'talking shops'. Community involvement appeared to be the second challenge, with it being more symbolic than real. This restricted initiatives and illustrated the problem with interactions between the CSP and the community.

Following on from this, Skinns, (2005, p. 225) found that practitioners identified with complexities linked to funding and performance monitoring arrangements and noted the influence of bureaucracy and 'short-termism'. The experience of increasing managerialist pressure was evident in the research but despite this any real evidence of partnership success was deemed at best minimal. Finally, Skinns, (2005, p. 66) referred to several inherent difficulties in assuming that 'many agencies are better than one' (Liddle, 2001, p. 50). The point being that this assumption could mask underlying tensions between different levels. She found there were power struggles, at the interagency level and tensions at both local partnership and national level. Skinns (2005) research suggested that some recommendations within the Morgan Report had not been addressed and that the flagship CADA had not served to standardise community safety processes and practices. It further highlighted the governments' role in seeking to 'steer' each of the partnerships which restricted practitioners' roles. These issues identified within the research were not necessarily new. But the research provided a valuable insight confirming that issues identified by Skinns, (2005) still existed within these three specific partnerships, post legislative change.

In relation to the police, research undertaken with the Police Superintendents Association in England and Wales revealed strong support for CSPs among senior police officers. A

survey of Basic Command Unit, (BCU) Commanders in 2007 found 81% of respondents outlined the degree of co-operation with local crime reduction partnerships was the most influential on police performance after staff competence, (Loveday & McClory 2007, p31). This denoted the growing importance in these partnerships of local police service delivery. According to Loveday et al (2007, p32) in the same survey 80% of respondents said that their CSP's action plan had a great or fair impact on their role as a BCU Commander. Nearly 80% of respondents reported a lack of support and interest from their Chief Officer Team on CSP strategies. This provided challenges at the local delivery level, (Loveday et al, 2007, p. 28). All of these findings strongly indicated that operational police officers at Superintendent level viewed these partnerships as having a great deal of impact in reducing crime and disorder.

Furthermore, partnership working was raised by a Home Affairs Committee Report on Police Funding in England and Wales in 2007. The evidence identified key improvement areas for police authorities. These included working with partners to improve data and financial performance management systems to understand value for money. It also saw a need to direct resources more effectively and develop mechanisms to assess savings and value for money from partnership and collaborative working, (Home Affairs Committee, 2007, Evidence 35). This highlighted the need for further work to assess the value for money aspect of partnership working.

Research undertaken for HMIC (2010) into policing and ASB provides some contemporary assessment on CSPs and their effectiveness. Their report claimed that there was a strong case for conducting further and more detailed research into the

relative performance and cost effectiveness of partnership working, (HMIC, 2010, p7). The issue of value for money was in fact raised even earlier than this by the Audit Commission in 2006, (Audit Commission, 2006, p. 4). HMIC's research found that structures were too inwardly facing and focused more on long term problem solving based interventions. This approach was taken without considering the implications for public facing outcomes, with more focus on horizontal, (working with agencies) rather than vertical (working with the community) impact. The research also identified the importance the police placed on partnership arrangements which became apparent within the inspection fieldwork, (HMIC, 2010, p40). This replicated the findings of earlier research by Loveday & McClory, (2007, p31).

Crawford et al's (2012) research on partnership working and ASB interventions with young people found that effective partnership working was vital for identifying local problems, delivering preventive solutions, and ensuring an accurate understanding of the needs of young people and their families. It also noted that where coordination is well-organised through effective partnerships, there are significant benefits to community safety and crime prevention. (However this does not take into account at what level of partnership working). A coherent and consistent area-wide policy that combined the efforts of different partner agencies was held out as desirable by many managers not only because it provided the basis for more effective solutions but because it accords with principles of fairness, equity, and transparency with positive implications for engagement with parents and compliance on the part of young people.

However, the research found evidence of 'a lack of joined-up working and insufficient

coordination of local service delivery, such that the same individuals or families were often the subjects of disjointed interventions by diverse local agencies' (Crawford et al 2012, p2). It concluded that: 'Delivering [partnerships] on the ground was demanding and often not accomplished' (Crawford et al 2012, p3).

2.9 Community engagement within partnerships

Public participation in local democracy is a two-way process that allows local self-government to respond to residents' needs or demands and to improve its services. Many labels are found in police literature for describing community residents' involvement in establishing police–community relations. These labels include resident participation (Arnstein 1969, Colquhoun 2004, Marschall 2004, Buren 2007), citizen coproduction (Scott et al. 2003, Innes and Roberts 2008, Fenwick 2012), community–resident involvement (Grinc 1994, Skogan and Hartnett 1997, Skogan et al. 1999), and community engagement (Trojanowicz et al. 2002, Myhill 2009). Community engagement can be defined as the process whereby residents are able to participate in policing by being provided with information, empowerment, and support, with the aim of identifying local problems as well as implementing solutions (Myhill 2009). Buren (2007) summarised the elements that are common to most of the definitions of resident participation and coproduction. These include voluntary and active participation, a fair and democratic participatory process, and the ability to influence final decisions.

Community engagement is a difficult concept to define and operationalise. This is due in part to the difficulties associated with defining 'community' (as set out in chapter 4) and with some commentators preferring to use terms such as 'citizen' or 'public' engagement. The two concepts most often used in the literature to describe citizens' interaction with the police and partner agencies are 'participation' and 'involvement' (Myhill, 2012). As such, Myhill (2006) defines community engagement as:

“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”(2006, piv).

From this, we can see that the police and partner agencies have a responsibility to engage with communities and with this they must have the willingness, capacity and opportunity to allow such participation to take place. Community engagement can comprise several forms of participation and involvement. It can be relatively passive, whereby agencies provide citizens with information and reassurance. Agencies can also consult citizens and communities on specific issues and longer term policies and planning. More active involvement occurs when citizens become involved in working in partnership with agencies and service providers to make policy or implement projects and programmes (Myhill 2009, p35 cited in Wakefield and Fleming, 2009).

Furthermore, Myhill's (2006) definition provides that communities can engage at their chosen level. Community engagement can operate at three principal levels – the 'democratic mandate' level, which sets the dominant philosophy for policing; the neighbourhood level, which focuses on local priorities and problems; and an intermediate

strategic level, focusing on wider force, regional and national issues and priorities (Myhill, 2012, p1). While communities may engage at both the 'democratic mandate' and intermediate strategic level to some extent, this review will focus on the neighbourhood level. The principle reason for this is that the majority of the literature on community engagement with partnerships is on this level of engagement.

At the neighbourhood level, there are a variety of different types of community engagement, including:

- As a victim, witness, suspect or defendant, or otherwise as the object of legitimate police powers.
- Structured participation: as an attendee at an event or participant in the process with a planned objective (e.g. attending meetings, police attending their organisation's meeting, filling in a questionnaire, receiving a consultation visit or phone call).
- Unstructured participation: with fewer pre-planned objectives (e.g. providing regular information to the police or engaging with young people, police surgeries)
- Informal contact (e.g. saying hello, chatting or similar contact in a non-policing context) (Matrix 2007, p7 cited in Lloyd and Foster 2012, p24).

2.10 The theory of engagement for policing and community safety

There is a strong theoretical case for community engagement in policing and community safety partnership working. It is suggested that informal mechanisms of social control play a greater role than formal mechanisms based on traditional, reactive, enforcement-based policing (Garland, 2001; Hughes, 2006; Hughes and Rowe, 2007; Myhill, 2012).

Increased community engagement in policing and community safety partnership working is likely to have benefits for both police-community relations and actual levels of crime and disorder (Myhill, 2012). As Fyfe (2008) sets out, it is important to stimulate community participation in problem solving activities as participation can help identify problems that the police may not be aware of and makes communities feel that the police and partner agencies are responsive to their concerns.

Adding to this, the involvement of the 'community' is also supposedly an attempt to empower local people, to give them ownership of local crime and disorder and community safety problems and involve them in potential solutions. 'Whatever the political connotations, the 'socialization' of community safety seems, in one way or another, to be a necessary precondition for persuading and organising ordinary citizens to solve the problems of crime and disorder within their own communities through the activities of their everyday life' (Hope, 2001, p436).

'Community' involvement might also serve another purpose. Marinetto (2002) notes the importance of 'community' involvement to New Labour's Third Way politics (see chapter 4 for further discussion), in particular communitarianism. He argues that citizens are

encouraged to be active in urban regeneration initiatives (as well as in the delivery of other public services) as part of the 'governmentality project' (Rose and Miller, 1992; Hughes and Edwards, 2002), that is, governing without government.

However, engaging the community is not one-dimensional in function and can operate at a number of different levels. Over the years a number of typologies have been put forward to describe the range or levels of engagement that can fall under the term 'community engagement'. One of the first 'typologies' to illustrate this was proposed by Arnstein in 1969 with her model:

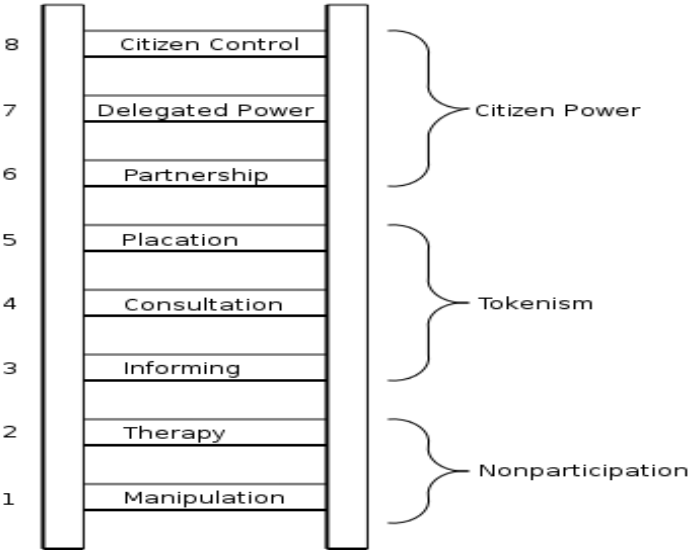


Figure 2.

This typology contains eight types of citizen participation, corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining levels of participation. Developed in the late 1960s during the height of "people power" and reflected circumstances within the U.S. urban

development field at the time (Butler, 2006), Arnstein presents each level of the ladder as being interspersed with three 'rungs' – 'citizen power', 'tokenism' and 'non-participation'. Each of these rungs correspond with varying degrees of participation.

For instance, at the bottom of the ladder are the steps of 'manipulation' and 'therapy'.

Manipulation suggests participation of citizens/community is geared toward the partnerships own means and ends. Therapy implies that the partnership will try to change participant values for the benefit of themselves, not the citizen. Participation is not genuine; it is based on biased or selfish partner/stakeholder interests (Arnstein, 1969). These steps indicate citizen involvement at a non-participation level or stage therefore becoming aligned to the 'rung' of non-participation (Butler, 2006).

Arnstein's ladder represents a classification systems whereby citizen participation and involvement increases as one proceeds to climb the ladder. However, it has been criticised for the premise that participation is a 'hierarchy', in that those at the bottom of the ladder should be encouraged to progress towards the top. More recently, commentators have recognised that different people will be comfortable at varying points along a 'continuum' of participation, with perhaps only a few having the skills, willingness and time to sit at the more intensive end. Wilcox (1994) retained the notion of a ladder (information, consultation, deciding together, acting together, supporting) but suggested the added dimensions of stages of participation, which may vary by different interests or stakeholders. Myhill (2006) proposed a pyramid-shaped typology for engagement in policing (Figure 3 below). The pyramid acknowledges the notion that a majority of citizens may wish to be involved only at the more passive end of the spectrum, receiving

information and reassurance. Fewer may wish to participate in monitoring or consultation exercises and fewer still may wish to be involved in joint problem-solving or in influencing longer-term priorities and planning (Myhill 2009 in Wakefield and Fleming, 2009, p35).

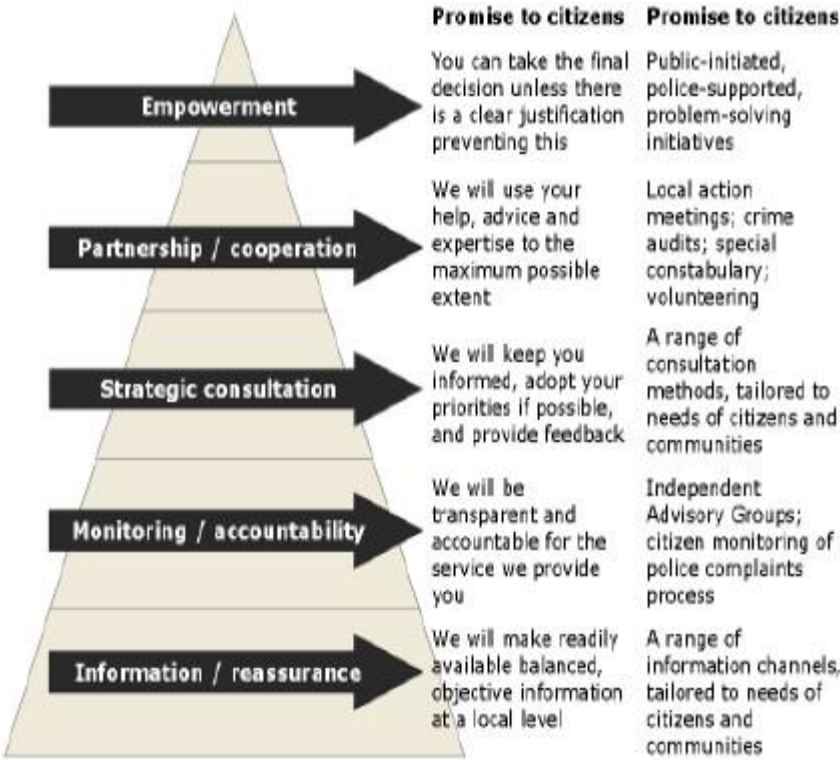


Figure 3.

The 'community' can be involved in partnerships in a number of ways. 'Community' involvement in partnership subgroups has been encouraged by the Audit Commission (2002) and information about partnership activities (contained in partnership documents such as audits, strategies and annual reviews) are also supposed to be publicly disseminated, although the extent to which this information is read and digested is

relatively unclear. The 'community' can also engage with the partnerships via elected members and the statutory consultation process (see section 2.15).

Picken et al (2002), exploring the processes that constrain the capacity of partner agencies to work effectively with communities, found that a key issue for citizens is the way in which local communities are seen as a collection of needs and problems.

Although they are seen as having a legitimate 'voice' in defining these needs and problems, it is much less likely that they will be seen to have an equal right to contribute to solutions. Picken and colleagues found that few partners are able to see the community as a resource and to seek to harness the energy, experience and skills of local people to support the development of solutions.

Similarly with the police organisation, Sherman (1998 cited in Lloyd and Foster 2009, p1) presents that the police create their own 'risk factors' for crime, not only by inconsistent and in some cases poor service delivery that is preventable, but also through a lack of willingness to work with communities to empower them and help them assume greater responsibility for the problems in their neighbourhoods. It would appear from both these studies, when communities come to the table of partnership working, they are expected to accept existing structures, conventions and rules of participation (of the partnership) and that they will 'accept responsibility to deliver community compliance with the aims of the process' (Blaxter et al, 2003 p133). Therefore it is the process of partnership which is seen as more important than 'actual' engagement of communities in helping to address problems through an outcome.

Most of the empirical research on community engagement with policing and community safety partnerships has focused on a consultation process. Indeed, some argue that consultation with the 'community' is an important component in community safety; 'active, involved community consultation is the essential ingredient for successful, sustained community safety ... consultation is part of the glue that can help rebuild community confidence and involvement (Ballintyne and Fraser 2000: 164).

Consultation also has the potential to enhance accountability, improve the quality of the services provided, and facilitate a problem-solving approach (Ballintyne and Fraser, 2000). However, as the following empirical research illustrates, partnership consultation has varied in its 'success', as partnerships may not actively engage with the 'community'.

In terms of the 'success' of community consultation, Phillips et al. (2002) found that responsibility for consultation was allocated primarily to community safety officers. In their first round of reviewing the progress of CDRP's it was found the nature, timing and methods of consultation varied a great deal. Too little thought was given to consultation with 'hard-to-hear/reach' groups, and opportunities to use existing forums were often missed. The authors also found that there were similarities between the priorities raised in the audit and those raised by local communities.

In a more detailed study of consultation by the community safety partnerships, Newburn and Jones (2002) found that consultation was mostly the responsibility of community safety officers, although some community safety partnerships had employed external

consultants. Consultation mechanisms varied, but mostly included a survey, media coverage of activities, and police community consultative groups (PCCGs), with some use of focus groups for 'hard-to- hear' groups with whom most partnerships did consult. Citizen's panels were rated as the most useful form of consultation by community safety officers but were not widely used. Consultation was used to confirm, narrow and prioritise ways of tackling crime, as well as identifying priorities amongst 'hard-to-hear' groups. However, the Audit Commission (2002) in England and Wales questioned whether consultation every three years is adequate and suggested that communication with communities should take place continuously.

2.11 Marginalisation – powers at play

Some commentators have argued that the 'community' remains, at best, on the margins community safety partnerships, as community consultation mechanisms are inadequate. The Audit Commission (2002) recognised the lack of engagement of the community at the partnership level. The absence of representation of many community groups and interests from partnership forums should also be understood in terms of power differentials (similar to agency engagement – see section 2.6). Some groups are consistently disempowered for a variety of complex reasons that include: they are defined out of the 'community' when perceived to be part of the problem; they lack the social, political and economic resources to form and develop the necessary structures (and organisation) that would lend them a voice and a mechanism through which they could be represented; they are

unwilling to participate because they view other partners (usually state agencies) with suspicion (Crawford, 1997, 2012; Sutton, 1996; Carnie, 1995).

Foster (2002) argues that people who live in high-crime neighbourhoods are an essential element of the community safety puzzle, yet these 'people pieces' (p176) are often neglected and rarely empowered as practitioners talk *at* local people rather work with and alongside them. In terms of active engagement with the 'community', Foster (2002) takes a cynical view of community consultation. She argues that decisions are framed and decided by practitioners prior to the beginning of consultation, rendering them to be rather tokenistic in substance (much like the middle rung on Arnstein's ladder of participation). This is also illustrated by the failure of partnerships to address the issue of diversity and the contested nature of crime and disorder. The Morgan Report was notably quiet on how partnerships should engage with diverse and complex 'communities'. Focus groups conducted by community safety partnerships, with 'hard-to- hear' groups, are arguably a poor substitute for understanding a cross-section of the community's views. The inability of some partnerships to actively engage with diverse communities and address potentially competing priorities raises questions about who is influencing local criminalisation processes, the local ownership and democratic legitimacy of the partnership. Yet without good community consultation, community safety can become a 'club good' rather than a 'public good' (Crawford, 1998, p268).

Lasker and Weiss (2003) draw attention to the tendency of 'professionals' within partnerships to determine the language used and the way in which issues are framed.

Craig and Taylor (2002, p134) refer to the way in which partnerships tend to be developed

within existing structures, processes and frameworks and calls this 'new rhetoric poured into old bottles'. They suggest that public sector cultures are so engrained that power holders are often unaware of the ways in which they perpetuate unequal power relations through use of language and procedures.

When individuals are members of a partnership board, their role is usually a representative one. These individuals tend to be 'community leaders', that is, people recognised as having a legitimate position of authority within their communities (MacRae, 2009). However as Boydell (2012) maintains, due to the relatively small number of seats available for community representatives on strategic partnerships, it may be difficult to have the diversity of the local population fully represented, thus as a consequence compounding their marginalisation further.

Nevertheless, Sullivan and Skelcher (2002) state that one of the most powerful ways in which partnership bodies can 'silence' community leaders is to question their representativeness. They refer to the danger of community leaders becoming 'unpaid community professionals' required to manage the paperwork and bureaucracy associated with their involvement (2002, p170). Following this, it is also important to be aware of the danger of possible 'burnout' for community leaders (Asthana et al, 2002).

An alternative view put forward by Barr and Huxham (1996) sets out what is important for community representatives is not their representativeness, but that they bring a community perspective, ease of communication with the community and engender trust.

They conclude that community involvement does take time, requires changes in working practices, professional and technical language and organisational culture. It is important that there is an open agenda and that community representatives can challenge 'conventional wisdom' (Lasker and Weiss 2003, p28).

Conversely, Damodaran (1996, in Asthana et al, 2002) identify what they call 'hostage phenomenon' which refers to the way individuals who become involved in partnerships can take on different values and perceptions from the group which they represent. They suggest the same can happen to community representatives. This is supported by Jewkes and Murcott (1998) who maintain, the possibility of community involvement in partnerships may also result in the distancing of community representatives from the community they ultimately represent. Furthermore, it is important not to assume that community leaders want to become fully involved or necessarily take responsibility for decision-making (El Ansari and Phillips 2001).

The apparent lack of 'community' involvement and representation in the partnerships can also be viewed as signalling a missed opportunity for progressive local governance (i.e. community involvement in decision-making and policy formation) through a 'participative local democracy', because the local community safety agenda is subject to the actions of local actors or central government, rather than the community themselves (also see chapter 4). Hughes and Edwards argue that central government is dependent on "street-level bureaucrats" to enact their demands and thus local actors have an opportunity to "resist, contest, and manipulate central commands to fit their own agendas" (2002, p11). Coleman, Sim and Whyte (2002) also suggest that the partnerships have swept

'community' interests aside in favour of the national politicized community safety agenda.

The possibility remains, though, that partnership structures

create new opportunities for community resistance to the politicised and whimsical national community safety agenda.

A participative democracy would also have to "find a way of dealing with competing priorities as a result of diversity within communities; otherwise the same problems of local criminalization processes, ownership and democratic legitimacy would remain, and community safety partnerships would run the risk of privatising government around bigoted and exclusionary constructions of crime control and community" (Edwards, 2002, p162; Hughes, 2006). Thus the challenge is to develop innovative forms of participation which give citizens a voice, but avoid exacerbating tensions between different social groups within the community.

At the same time there are reasons to be cautious of partnerships, despite their seductive appeal to community and some of the opportunities set out above. First, they could present an opportunity for decentralised governance and thus tighter government control of local actors and 'communities', through the dispersal of social control (see chapter 3). They could also lead to the relinquishing of state responsibility for crime control (especially by encouraging citizens to purchase security, if they can afford it (Lea, 2002), and the transfer of responsibility onto communities unable to manage these responsibilities.

2.12 Summary

This chapter has provided a tailored review of the substantial partnership working and community engagement literature relating to policing and community safety in order to identify some of the key themes that prompted, and which now underpin, the present study of police and community safety partnership working in Scotland. It has been observed that partnership and community engagement are complex and contested concepts that play host to a variety of understandings of the world. This is important to any study of how partnerships work in practice because it illustrates the different, and perhaps even incompatible, views that partners come to the table with, raising the question about whether partnerships can ever really cooperate in practice. For Crawford and Cunningham (2015, p72) this represents a conundrum in that 'whilst partnerships have become a dominant feature in the local governance landscape, their realization remains precarious and considerable debates persist about what makes for good partnership working' (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015, p72).

There are deep-rooted structural and cultural differences between the agencies and organisations that tend to be called upon to participate in policing and community safety partnerships. These differences create a potential for conflict that can impede creative, problem solving and inclusive working in a variety of ways, having unwanted effects on how partnerships work. They can, for example, lead to partnerships becoming 'talking shops', incapable of taking decisive action despite their rhetoric. They might also result in informal collaborations between some partners to the exclusion of others - particularly where it is felt that this is the only way to get things done. It has also been shown that

partnerships sometimes become more focused upon bureaucratic requirements, such as producing strategic documents and meeting formal performance targets (and increasingly outcomes associated with funding), than on actually implementing their aims and objectives. Furthermore, it has been set out that 'newer' relationships are taking form between local and central government whereby it is perhaps unclear as to how these will impact on partnership working in practice. As such the issue of power and how this is played out is an issue worthy of further exploration. The main barriers to successful partnerships include a reluctance of some agencies to participate (especially health, education, and social services); the dominance of a policing agenda; unwillingness to share information; conflicting interests, priorities, and cultural assumptions on the part of different agencies; local political differences; lack of inter-organizational trust; desire to protect budgets; lack of capacity and expertise; and over-reliance on informal contacts and networks which lapsed if key individuals moved on.

The review has also highlighted the need for caution in how partnerships go about engaging with the community and what the term community means to various parties. The 'community' and/ or community-based organisations continue to have a limited role in partnerships, beyond consultation mechanisms, obtaining publication of strategies and audits, and occasional involvement in subgroups or via elected members. The failure of partnerships to address 'diversity' could imply that 'community' involvement is tokenistic or rhetorical, and that an opportunity has been missed for a progressive local governance through a 'participative local democracy', in which local people are re- engaged with democracy and decision-making at the local level (Hughes and Edwards, 2002).

Nevertheless, this suggests that community members have the will and desire to become

involved in such arrangements. The development of these partnership arrangements is where we will turn to in the next chapter when discussing the development of community planning and governance in Scotland.

Chapter 3

The relationships and forms of local public policy making and delivery have been transformed in recent decades in the UK. Partnership working and collaboration between the public, private and third sectors, community engagement and improving public service delivery are defining features of the contemporary policy landscape.

Governments are keen to ensure that local councils and the statutory public bodies work better together (and with them) to co-ordinate their activities. This is popularly articulated through the use of the term 'promoting joined-up government' (Lloyd 1997). However, ensuring better co-ordination, and thus achieving greater financial efficiency (Gershon 2004), is only one dimension of this policy ambition. Governments are also keen to ensure that local government engages with the 'community' itself in developing the policies which affect them. These aspects of policy are seen to be part of a wider drive to secure the 'democratic renewal' and the 'modernisation' of local governance. To achieve these ends, the Government in Scotland has promoted and encouraged the development of a planning tool for local governance, namely Community Planning.

This chapter aims to map out and set the context for community planning in Scotland. It will plot the development and origins of community planning against a backdrop of literature on governance and will explore the wider changes in governing 'through communities'. Furthermore, it will provide an account of the distinctiveness of the Scottish approach to local governance – demonstrating the historical relationship between strategic planning, urban regeneration, social inclusion and community planning.

3.1 Partnership and Governance

As established in Chapter 2 of this thesis, partnership and governance structures are the instruments used to deliver public services at local, subnational and national levels.

Partnerships are referred to as the consensual regulation shared by public, civic and professional actors in delivering public services (Bode, 2006). The emergence of partnership is said to mirror a shift from government to governance (Rhodes, 1997).

The theoretical and conceptual underpinning of governance has generated a volume of literature on how the UK is currently governed, including consideration of the 'hollowing out of the state' (i.e. downplaying the unified nature of central government) and the growing influence of informal and self-organising networks (Richards and Smith, 2002; Rhodes, 1997). Alongside these notions has been an exploration of the proliferation of non-state actors, and the interdependency and resource exchanges between these actors (Stoker, 2004; Pierre and Peters, 2000), leading to debates around the 'multiple centred' or 'polycentric' nature of the state (Skelcher, 2005; 2000). The resulting way in which governing takes place has produced a literature on interactions between various network actors (e.g. Rhodes, 1996; 2000); the extent to which governments are now restricted to steering and monitoring with financial inducements rather than more direct forms of control and delivery (Stoker, 2000). Further, some scholars suggest the power of the state itself has declined (see Jessop, 2003; Whitehead, 2003), while others suggest that the state operates more within a complex network of multiple modes of governance (see Lukes, 2004; Tenbenschel, 2005). Rhodes (2000, p61) describes governing networks as follows:

“These networks are characterised, first, by interdependence between organisations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors.... Second, there are continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate a shared purpose. Third, these interactions are game-like, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game.... Finally, the networks have significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organising”.

3.2 A modernisation agenda for local governance

Public service reform has attracted much attention from research into New Public Management to ‘new public governance’ (Clarke and Newman, 1997; McLaughlin et al, 2002; Needham, 2007 and Osborne, 2009). This multi-actor environment, implicit in governance of networks and partners, has produced a rich literature on the fragmented and pluralised delivery of public services.

The agenda to revise and arguably reinvigorate public services can be located within the broader modernisation project associated with the ‘Third Way’ political economy (Giddens, 1998; Stoker, 2004). While participation and integration of service delivery has been long established and have presented challenges for local government (see Stewart 2003; Newman, 2003), they have been given ‘renewed impetus in Britain by the Local Government Modernisation Agenda’ (Abram and Cowell 2004, p209).

Modernisation is recognised as a principal plank of New Labour’s political agenda (Cowell and Martin 2003). The concern with modernisation reflects the idea that government actions are new and innovative; and that political will is committed to changing and

demonstrably improving institutions associated with local and regional governance and public sector delivery (Stoker 2004a). Following Stewart (2003), this approach rests on modernising community leadership through an enhanced role for local authorities; democratic renewal, based on defining new state-citizen relations; and improving performance in meeting needs and delivering services. Indeed, running through this modernisation agenda is a commitment to a progressive politics which stresses the focus of activity on the local.

Stoker (2004a) sees New Labour's programme for local governance as possessing four main elements. The first is a system for performance management of service delivery that puts the emphasis on local authority self-improvement matched by a national system of regulation and inspection. The second is the theme of democratic renewal, providing councils with better political leadership, more effective electoral processes, more accountable decision-making and a greater capacity for consulting the public on key issues. A third theme is the focus on councils as leaders in a complex system of multi-level governance, working in partnership with a range of other agencies and institutions. Finally, he states that there is a sustained cautious note of local finances whereby more money is provided but not necessarily more freedoms attached.

The New Labour Party initiated an experiment into a new partnership process for local governance (Rogers, 1998). This was put into effect through a pilot programme which involved a small number of local authorities in both England and Scotland. The focus of this exercise was to consult the constituent communities about the nature and

effectiveness of local strategies. This was also a relatively focused attempt to secure greater empowerment and involvement by communities in the affairs of local authorities (Billingham and Kitchen, 1999; see sections 2.8 - 2.9). As such, the initiative intended to test the waters with respect to defining a new civil engagement and 'active citizenship' agenda (Newman, 2001). It was also recognition of the effects of and an explicit attempt to look at the issues associated with the highly fragmented arrangements for the delivery of local services, as highlighted previously.

In 1998, the New Labour Government published a White Paper which stated the importance of enhancing the leadership and enabling roles of local government (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 1998). This brought together ideas of leadership, well-being and improved participation from diverse local communities (Kitchen, 1999). In England and Wales, this subsequently led to the Local Government Act 2000 which introduced a power of community well-being, and the concept of community strategies. In Scotland, the same principles, line of reasoning and concerns about appropriate local governance have resulted in the legislative provision for community planning and community plans, as will be discussed below.

Community planning can be positioned within wider programme of local government modernisation and public service reform undertaken by the (then) Scottish Executive. The Scottish Executive's (2006a) 'vision of public service reform', Transforming Public Services, related community planning to a range of measures. These included efficiency savings – developing upon the UK government's Gershon (2004) review of public sector efficiency and service reform and the Executive's own version of this,

Building A Better Scotland (Scottish Executive, 2004b, p5) – ‘streamlining bureaucracy’, rationalising government funding streams, encouraging the sharing of back office services within the public sector and shared service delivery mechanisms, rolling out the Best Value process across the public sector, and mainstreaming community engagement into local policy making (Sinclair 2008). These themes are consistent with those presented by Stoker (2004a) and Stewart (2003) however before we look at the development of community planning in Scotland, it is important to understand the meaning of such a concept and to provide an overview of the similarities and differences of local governance reform and community planning elsewhere.

3.3 Community Planning, Community and Well-being

The term ‘community planning’ has various meanings. In its most general sense, it refers to methods of public engagement and participation in local planning (Department of Communities and Local Government [DCLG], n.d.). Moreover, community planning has been referred to as the development of joint strategies and partnership working between local agencies (Improvement and Development Agency [IdeA], n.d.). Adding to this, community planning is both a noun and a verb: it describes ‘a structure or group as well as a way of working together’ (IdeA, 2006:17). In Scotland, (COSLA, 1999, p7) defines community planning as ‘any process through which a Council comes together with other organisations to plan, provide for or promote the well-being of communities they serve’. Furthermore, Communities Scotland (2003) state community planning is about the structures, processes and behaviours necessary to ensure that organisations work with

communities to improve the quality of people's lives, through more effective,

joined-up and appropriate delivery of services. As can be seen, community planning can mean different things to different people, with a degree of convergence, however for the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to follow the claims as broadly set out in the Community Regeneration Statement – Closing the Gap (2002) - Community Planning will provide:

- better links between national, regional, local and neighbourhood priorities, and better plans for the services that are needed;
- a greater focus on the needs of local communities, remembering that where they work, rest and play can be different places;
- more effective working between councils, health boards, local enterprise boards and other important partners; and
- flexible local solutions driven by the needs and priorities of local communities⁹

As discussed in chapter 2, there is little consensus regarding a definition of community.

The term 'community' is a vague and elusive concept which has a diversity of meanings, and is often used in a value-loaded way (Russell 2000). The concept of community is

⁹ The reasons for adopting this approach are two-fold. Firstly, it provides a framework which will underpin the development and themes inherent in the remainder of this chapter and secondly, reiterates the importance of urban regeneration and social inclusion to the development of Community Planning partnership working, as will be seen

linked to traits such as locality, to similarity of interests, to a sense of belonging, to shared cultural and ethnic ideas and values, and to a way of life (Billings 2000). It has also been suggested that the notion of community for most people is the disparate geographical location of families of similar networks and has little to do with an allegiance to a discrete residential area (Skidmore 1994, cited in Billings 2000).

Furthermore, 'community wellbeing' is also vague, which makes it difficult to measure. According to Hird (2003, p3), at the moment there is no agreement on exactly how to measure community wellbeing, but there is 'some agreement around the themes that make up wellbeing. It is also agreed that wellbeing cannot be measured quickly and simply, and indicators have to reflect this'. The Scottish Executive (2003) promoted the use of the following definitions:

“(Community is) a number of people who have some degree of common identity or concerns often related to a particular locality or conditions...a community is not a thing. It is a number of people who have repeated dealings with each other” (Chanan 2002).”

When community is identifiable with a locality, community wellbeing/the quality of community life is intimately connected with:

- how well that locality is functioning
- how well that locality is governed
- how the services in that locality are operating
- how safe, pleasant and rewarding it feels to live in that locality” (Chanan, 2002).

Again, for the purpose of this thesis, these definitions will be used to enable a critical analysis and assessment of the impact of community planning within the case study research area (see chapters 6 and 7).

3.4 Community Planning – a common ambition?

Community planning in Scotland has developed in parallel to and shares many features with similar local governance reforms elsewhere in the UK, and the Scottish experience is relevant both to these and comparable developments outside the UK (McKinlay, 2006). For example, the Local Government Act 2000 required local authorities in England to produce a community strategy, similar to the community plans required of Scottish Community Planning Partnerships (see below), and Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) have become an important mechanism for the coordination of local services (Bound and Skidmore, 2005). In England, the scope and number of local authority-led partnerships increased since the late 1990s. Previously, much partnership activity was focused around fairly narrowly defined economic regeneration outcomes, but attention shifted towards wider objectives and joint working in all areas of activity.

Specifically, the Local Government Act 2000 established 'wellbeing' powers and laid out the frameworks for partnership work, while the Health Act 1999 and the National Health Service Act 2006 removed some obstacles to joint working and pooled budgets and enabled joint commissioning and integrated provision. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Police Reform Act 2002 and the Children Act 2004 did much the same for partnership

working in their respective fields. Local strategic partnerships (LSPs) in English council areas were established under the Local Government Act 2000 with the role of thematic partnerships to strategically commission services (DCLG, 2008, p46).

Scotland had developed a comparable set of arrangements to those in other parts of the UK. The Local Government in Scotland Act (2003) required councils to initiate, facilitate and maintain community planning to ensure that organisations work together to provide better public services. The legislation also placed community planning within a broader spectrum of local governance activities, including arrangements for 'Best Value' providing for a duty to secure Best Value in service provision, replacing compulsory

tendering. This was subsequently superseded by arrangements for Single Outcome Agreements (see section 2.7 and 3.8 for further discussion; and chapter 6 (for discussion on arrangements in Glasgow)).

The Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 made the creation and maintenance of Community Planning Partnerships a local authority responsibility¹⁰, and participation in these partnerships a duty of the other main local public agencies: Health, Police and Fire service joint boards and regional transport partnerships. It also imposed a duty upon Scottish Executive Ministers to 'promote and encourage' Community Planning and for local authorities to consult and co-operate with community bodies in the pursuit of priorities (Carley, 2005, p59).

¹⁰This is provided in the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 as a duty of "Power to Advance Well-being" for local authorities. They are tasked with developing localised structures that responds to the needs of their communities – as a consequence, providing a community leadership role in the Community Planning process (Scottish Executive 2004, p3).

By focusing on the active participation of community in the planning and delivery of services, community planning therefore embodies a new way of demarcating a sector for government which, by shifting focus away from society as a whole, operationalised community not only as a territory for government but also as a means of governance (Rose 1996, p.335). This way of conceptualising community rests particularly on New Labour's 'neo-communitarian' appreciation of community as both the site and source of moral values and mutual obligations wherein a civic duty to participate in one's own governance could be mobilised 'through the instrumentalisation of active responsibilities: government through community' (Rose 1996, p332; also see section 2.8 on community engagement with partnerships).

It could be argued that both English and Scottish local authorities therefore adopt co-governance arrangements. Co-governance signals an arrangement where public and other agencies are involved in the formulation of policy, planning and/or delivery of services (Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006: 497). In support of this, Downe et al (2008, p77) maintain the objectives of the reform and improvement in partnership working in Scotland were 'virtually indistinguishable from those pursued south of the border'.

In Wales, Community Strategy Partnerships and the Community First programme resemble other aspects of Community Planning Partnerships, such as partnership working and community engagement (Welsh Assembly Government, 2006); and in November 2005 it was announced that Local Strategy Partnerships in Northern Ireland were to be developed into Community Planning Partnerships along Scottish lines (Blake Stevenson and Stratagem, 2005). However, Cowell (2004, p499) argues that the delayed

adaption, compared to England and Wales, of community planning in Scotland (and latterly Northern Ireland) allows for better insights into what community planning involved and to develop a more considered policy framework. More broadly, Healey et al (1997) noted an interest in strategic, often multi-agency planning across Europe during the 1990s. In the Republic of Ireland, for instance, central government has been trying to establish County/City Development Boards which bring together a wide range of 'social partners' to "work out an agreed vision for their county or city" (Interdepartmental Task Force on the Integration of Local Government and Local Development Systems, 2000, p1).

3.5 Development of Community Planning in Scotland – Scottish Distinctiveness?

While it is important to present the apparent commonalities of community planning/strategies across different countries¹¹, the development of community planning in Scotland takes place from a distinctive institutional and political landscape.

Therefore, a number of points can be made by way of context.

¹¹ A note of caution is needed when comparing government projects as Hambleton (1990, p1) maintains, 'Comparative government is a fascinating but treacherous field for the comparison of countries...this is partly because it is virtually impossible to divorce the form, processes and nature of government from the society they were set up to regulate'

3.5.1 Strategic Planning

First, there is a strong historical link between community planning and earlier local and regional governance arrangements, specifically in relation to strategic planning. The origins of this may be traced to the deliberations and outcomes of the Wheatley Commission on local government reform in Scotland, the Paterson Committee on the management of local government and the Select Committee of Scottish Affairs of the late 1960s and early 1970s (McLoughlin, 1978). Each of these studies, in different ways, stressed the need for a strategic planning approach to public policy administration, planning and the implementation of services.

The community plan (see section 3.7 for further discussion) draws on the experience of strategic planning and reorganisation within regional reports which were pioneered in the mid-1970s to allow for the effective process of local government reorganisation put into place at that time in Scotland (Sinclair, 1997). Regional reports were put into place under the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973. This legislation created a two-tier structure of regional councils and district councils with a division of responsibility between strategic and local functions.

The regional reports were intended to provide a structure and a process for strategic planning, to concentrate on policy decisions and to reflect the “corporate” approach of the regional council to its economic, social, environmental and land use issues (Lloyd, 1996). More importantly, perhaps, they were to be vehicles for assessing the available resources and competing priorities of the regional authorities and thereby providing a strategic

context to decision making and investment planning by district councils, private interests and other public sector bodies (McDonald, 1977).

This provided a purpose for regional reports in two ways - to facilitate the initial impetus to local government reform in Scotland and to provide the policy context to the subsequent preparation of structure plans (by regional authorities) and local plans (by district authorities). Regional reports were therefore intended to provide a structure and a process for strategic planning at a time of unprecedented change in Scottish local government (McDonald, 1977). Circular 4/75 directed the strategic authorities' regional councils to prepare and submit to the Secretary of State for Scotland a regional report by May 1976. The intention was to allow the (then) new strategic planning to review their development plan priorities whilst, at the same time, providing the Secretary of State with the earliest and best practicable information on planning problems and policies throughout Scotland. The development plan priorities identified in the regional reports would then set the agenda for the subsequent preparation of structure plans by the regional councils and local plans by the district councils.

According to the Institute of Operational Research (1978, p76), "the most important contribution that a regional report can make...is to provide periodically, a public statement of a consciously selected set of strategic concerns which are seen by the Council as sufficiently important to serve as a guide to the directions in which they should be channelling their collective energies, in reviewing their various policies and their stances in relation to other agencies, including central government". Therefore, regional reports can be viewed as an appropriate historical touchstone because the initiative was intended

to facilitate a strategic planning process and corporate approach to policy making in the new regional authorities. The potential of the regional report as a model for community planning is evident from this experience.

The Scottish Executive had viewed community planning along these lines but on the reverse of the previous developments. It saw community planning as, amongst other things, a tool aimed at integrating policy at the local level in a regional environment. The Building Better Cities Review (Scottish Executive, 2003a, 2003b) recognised the regional dimension in effective urban governance and the need to coordinate the activities of public and private bodies at different scales:

‘One challenge for city policy is therefore to create effective governance arrangements at a regional level to fill the gap in the formal government hierarchy between Scottish policies and more local action’ (Scottish Executive, 2003b: para 8.2.0).

Introducing a new institutional level of regional government was unnecessary and unpopular according to the Better Cities Review. Instead, improved governance arrangements for planning and partnership at the city-region level were recommended ‘to ensure that a shared vision for the city-region is created and that strategic decisions, affecting the realisation of the vision, are tackled in a coherent, informed manner’ (Scottish Executive. 2003 para 8.2.1).

The creation of a Scottish Parliament led to concerns on the part of Scottish local authorities that their established community leadership role might be compromised. It was argued, for example, that the relationship between the unitary/regional Councils and a

new Scottish Parliament needed clarification in order to avoid any unnecessary conflicts between the levels and processes of government (Alexander, 1997). The concept of community planning emerged as a possible way of addressing the uncertainties upon this relationship and the associated balance of power between local government and Parliament. According to Sinclair (1997) community planning was advocated as a means of re-asserting the role of local authorities at a time when new relationships, policy agendas and national priorities were being developed in Scotland to accommodate the Parliament (Sinclair, 1997). In other words, community planning may be seen as representing an attempt to provide a strategic framework for the activities of the multifarious institutions engaged in local governance and community capacity building.

3.5.2 Urban regeneration and social inclusion

Community planning in Scotland was developed from pre-existing arrangements in urban regeneration and social inclusion. Urban regeneration in Scotland has evolved into a distinctive approach, which relies on the geographical targeting of aid, the principles of partnership, engagement and the implementation of initiatives within a strategic framework. Such a distinctive combination of policy elements reflects the historical development of policy for urban growth and regeneration in Scotland.

Since 1969, the Urban Programme in Scotland has been the major source of funding for the social, economic and environmental improvement of urban areas facing problems of

deprivation and social disadvantage. Perhaps the most significant factor in the Scottish Urban Programme has been the emphasis of assistance for a limited number of geographical areas of deprivation (Taylor, 1988). In practice, the areas eligible for Urban Programme funding have been interpreted by the (then) Scottish Office as those which fell within the most deprived 10% of Census enumeration districts within Scotland. Through the Urban Programme, grants amounting to 75% of capital and revenue funding were given for approved projects, with the remainder being provided by the appropriate local authorities.

The potential projects for Urban Programme funding had to meet a range of criteria set by the Scottish Office¹², including the demonstration of a direct and specific benefit to deprived areas, or to particular sections of the community; the creation of a new asset, resource or service; the demonstration of innovation; and sponsorship by a local authority (Scottish Office, 1993).

Available resources were allocated on a competitive basis with applications having to compete for funding at a national level. In addition, local authorities had to select which projects to submit to the Scottish Office for funding, after reaching a judgement as to which projects best reflected local needs. The emphasis on meeting local needs was reflected in the encouragement given by the Scottish Office for projects to be managed by local community groups and voluntary organisations, and such projects could be eligible for funding for an extended period of up to seven years. Overall, around 60% of Urban

¹² The Scottish Office was a department of the United Kingdom Government from 1885 until 1999, exercising a wide range of government functions in relation to Scotland under the control of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Following the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, most of its work was transferred to the Scottish Executive, (now officially the Scottish Government).

Programme projects were managed in this way by 1993 (Scottish Office, 1993).

The Scottish experience of urban regeneration has involved a small number of defined Scottish Urban Partnerships that emerged as a result of the Scottish Office (1988) policy statement 'New Life for Urban Scotland'. Whilst reflecting a (then) more general concern to attract private sector investment into disadvantaged urban areas, the Scottish policy statement marked a redirection of the emphasis towards the problems of peripheral estates on the outskirts of Scottish cities (McCarthy, 1997). 'New Life for Urban Scotland' also reflected on the failure of the narrower, more physically orientated regeneration initiatives in the 1980s, which were perceived to have failed to incorporate measures to address the wider social and economic aspects of urban regeneration.

Moreover, it also reflected a stronger acknowledgement of the need to involve local communities in all aspects of the development and implementation of local programmes in order to ensure that improvement initiatives could be sustainable in the longer-term.

In 1991-92 a review of the Urban Programme was carried out by the government in order to address a number of perceived weaknesses in the established system of funding. The Review concluded that the Urban Programme needed a more strategic focus, with a greater degree of co-ordination and integration of projects at the local level. In particular, it recommended that Urban Programme initiatives should be combined with the initiatives of other public, private and voluntary agencies (Scottish Office, 1993). Consequently, subsequent applications to the Urban Programme required local authorities to specify if a project contributed to a wider local strategy. This effectively changed the focus and basis

of funding for urban regeneration in Scotland.

In summary, it can be seen that urban policy in Scotland has involved the leadership of the Scottish Office in devising and funding policy initiatives and establishing a centralised framework for the implementation of policy. Whilst the control of available resources for urban regeneration together with the setting of priorities rests with the centre, the local design and implementation of policy has increasingly attempted to reflect local capacity, institutions and networks through the medium of partnerships.

3.5.3 Priority Partnership Area

The emphasis on effective partnership working in urban regeneration is reflected in the development of the Priority Partnership Area initiative. The Priority Partnership Area (PPA), initiated in 1996, draws together central and local government, the private sector and a number of other partners, that came together in a strategic framework for urban regeneration, focused on specific geographical neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the PPAs were devised on the basis of community involvement in the design and delivery of projects and operate through the medium of partnership (McCarthy 2007, p47). The emphasis was on output - a tangible improvement in the conditions of the most disadvantaged communities in the areas designated for support - measured by key indicators of economic and social change (Geddes Centre for Planning Research, 1998).

The PPA initiative in Scotland encouraged the formation of city-wide urban regeneration strategy, and more specific proposals intended to address the problems of social and economic disadvantage in defined neighbourhoods. According to McCarthy (2007, p48) 'the main principles of co-operation, integration and partnership within a strategic context of regeneration, and the involvement of local communities, were felt (by the Scottish Office) to be applicable to broader urban regeneration funding'. The Scottish Office therefore announced a new competition for regeneration funding which would use these features as the basis for selection of funding schemes. The results of this competition were announced in November 1996, and PPAs were designated in the following local authorities: Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Easterhouse,

Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, South Ayrshire and West Dumbartonshire. Interestingly, the area of Easterhouse is a housing estate within Glasgow, and does not represent a city wide urban regeneration area. A reason for its inclusion was suggested by McCarthy (2007, p48) who claimed that also 'specific proposals were put forward for designated PPAs, based on the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods within a city'.

As an important point of note, with the focus on central leadership and funding, strategic planning, partnership working and local involvement - the development of urban regeneration policy in Scotland may be seen as reflecting a broadly corporatist influence. In this context, it has been argued that there is evidence "to support the view that, although there may have been a rejection of corporatist or consensual politics south of the border, in many respects they have survived in some areas of policy in Scotland" (Brown, McCrone and Paterson 1996, 106). This is manifest in new forms of bargaining

and negotiation between interested parties and groups: in effect, a negotiated order of policy networks (Moore and Booth, 1989).

Although a corporatist approach tends to involve a system of management based on a relatively centralised control of resources, decision making and priorities, it can also manifest itself in policy experimentation from the centre based on a consensus from other partners, which can lead to the establishment of innovative and distinctive local government structures (Judge, 1993). This captures the changing scope and nature of urban policy in Scotland which has involved the Scottish Office setting the context for active participation by local authorities and other stakeholders, with the private and voluntary sectors working together through partnership and community involvement.

3.5.4 Social Inclusion Partnerships

In May 1998, the Secretary of State for Scotland Donald Dewar announced the introduction of Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs). In particular, he stated that the 12 PPAs would evolve into SIPS and that additional new SIP's would be set up. While SIPs represented a new phase in Scottish urban regeneration policy; this measure is drawn directly from the UK Government's approach to social exclusion; however reflecting a specifically Scottish theme. For example, in introducing the measure, the secretary of state argued that 'Scottish circumstances differ from England in that those suffering exclusion in Scotland are disproportionately concentrated in specific communities, and there has been more experience of effective urban regeneration policies originally

pioneered in Scotland and maintained in later years by local government and others' (Dewar, 1998, 1).

While SIPs built upon established arrangements and experience, in relation to the PPAs, they also presented an emphasis on seeking to prevent young people, in particular, from being excluded in participation in the economic and social mainstream. It was intended that the SIPs:

"will focus more closely on promoting inclusion in our communities and preventing social exclusion from developing. As part of this refocus on prevention we will be calling on all partnerships to ensure that they are getting the early years right and ensuring that residents in their communities can take full advantage of the roll out of our plans under the Scottish Childcare Strategy" (Dewar, 1998, 8).

In this sense, SIPs presented an endorsement of the established partnership approach but with a key development in its emphasis on addressing the perceived dynamics of exclusion and inclusion relating to young people.

More specifically, the partnership approach remained central to the SIP process; together with a long-term strategy and the involvement of local communities. In this respect the Scottish Office expected "partnerships seeking support to demonstrate that they have convincing strategies, will work together, and can do the job their communities deserve" (Dewar, 1998, 8). Among the suggested approaches to be adopted in the SIPs framework were sectoral measures i.e. community safety or equal opportunities which can cut across defined areas of disadvantage and address processes of social exclusion in a city wide context.

In 1999 twenty seven SIPs were established, of which thirteen were area based and fourteen thematic. Overall, when these new SIPs were combined with the re-badged PPAs, there were a total of forty eight SIPs in Scotland (thirty four area based and fourteen thematic). SIPs were established in twenty five of Scotland's thirty two local authority areas, with a particular concentration of SIPs in Glasgow, which had ten area based SIPs and three thematic SIPs. The SIPs initiative involved and provided an innovative feature of its time whereby it introduced a shift away from an exclusive reliance on geographically focused policy, as with the previous PPA initiative. Adding to this, the suggested approaches to be adopted in the SIPs framework were sectoral measures which could cut across defined areas of disadvantage and address processes of social exclusion in a city wide context (Mooney and Scott 2012). In this respect the SIPs model built on and extended the ideas enshrined in the earlier PPA

approach to urban regeneration. A key difference for SIPs was that funding came from Social Inclusion and no longer the urban programme funds. The New Labour government was keen to stress the new focus on tackling social exclusion – and the changes from the PPAs which had been created by the previous Conservative government.

3.6 Community Planning Partnerships

In June 2002, the Scottish Executive published Better Communities in Scotland – Closing the Gap (as noted previously in section 3.3), this policy set out the Scottish Executive's

strategy for closing the opportunity gap between disadvantaged communities and the rest of Scotland. Importantly, this included a commitment to integrate SIPs within the strategic framework of Community Planning Partnerships. In the supporting action plan for ‘Closing the Gap’ (2002a), the Scottish Executive viewed community planning as playing an important role in addressing regeneration, through providing an overarching strategic framework for joining up priorities and services.

Therefore, it can be seen that community planning partnerships emerged at a time when they integrated programmes dealing with regeneration and at the same time developed from, and provide for a new strategic planning framework for local governance. This is supported by Communities Scotland guidance on integration of SIPs into CPPs requiring demonstration of “progress towards genuine, effective partnership working at both the local authority-wide and local level, for delivering regeneration activity”, and “appropriate arrangements for community engagement (including that) structures and methods for community engagement are effectively resourced and fit for purpose” (2003, p7-8).

Across Scotland, different structures for community planning have developed, in some places emerging from existing partnerships i.e. SIPs, in others being created for the first time (see chapter 6 for infrastructure development in case study area of Glasgow). The reason behind this is that SIPs did not cover every local authority area (only 25 of the 32 local authority areas as set out above). Furthermore, four broad approaches to community planning development have been found to exist across Scotland: ‘new build’ infrastructure, developed around the themes of the community plan (see below); ‘incremental gap filling’ where structures are focused on issues with no existing

mechanism; 'restructuring' of existing arrangements to match community planning priorities; and 'organic networking' which relies on informal collaboration between agencies (RDS Consultancy Services, 2002). Adding to this, the way in which communities were integrated into these arrangements is equally important. Most partnerships have created opportunities for communities to be represented on the Community Planning Partnerships, both at a strategic local authority level and at a local level, and various strategies have been developed to secure input from the wider public (McCarthy, 2012).

Community Planning Partnerships brought together a range of public sector providers such as local authorities, the NHS, police, fire services and the local enterprise networks, as well as the communities that are served by such bodies. There were 32 Community Planning Partnerships at the time of this study, one for each of the local authority areas in Scotland.

3.7 Community Plans

Community plans were defined as "comprehensive strategies for promoting the well-being of (an) area" (LGA 1998, p1), that aim to "co-ordinate the actions of the council, and of the public, private, voluntary and community organisations that operate locally...so that they effectively meet community needs and aspirations..." (DETR 2000, p6). Thus, community plans linked to the tasks of rationalising local partnership activity, of asserting

a local leadership role for councils and effecting government aspirations for 'democratic renewal' (Abram and Cowell 2004, p212) enacting the Community Planning Partnership. Some of the features of community plans reflect assessments of comprehensive annual plans and corporate strategic plans in New Zealand local government: they combine public consultation with the production of explicit statements of intent (Cheyne & Comrie, 2002; Clarke, 1997). Furthermore, in Norway "planning holds a crucial position as a tool of public sector governance" (Kleven, 1996, p129). In practice, municipal plans – or kommuneplans – are given a pivotal role in facilitating "co- operation and co-ordination between agencies in various sectors of government, as well as an arena for participation and mobilisation of the public" in solving local problems (Kleven, 1996, p130).

At a Council area level, the purpose of the community planning process was to present an informed view of the challenges and opportunities facing the geographical communities and the different communities of interest. A community plan is envisaged as holding for between 5 - 10 years and was subject to annual review with clear statements of progress to the commonly agreed agenda for action. The development of a community plan would involve consultation with individuals, communities and the private sector although it was clearly driven from the public sector community. The community planning process was also envisaged at working at more local levels of interest. It was clear that the concept of community planning involves a structure (the Plan) and a process of negotiation whereby the different interests and policy positions of all the bodies concerned with community are drawn together into a common agenda, resulting in the partnership.

In particular, it was intended that community plans would be prepared by local authorities

enabling them to demonstrate greater leadership. This would involve a process, which would involve all local agencies to submit their annual plans to the Council. On the basis of this material and consultation the Council would then produce a community plan. This was viewed as a process that would incorporate not only the Council's own proposals, including a statement of the standards and quality of service it would provide to the local community, but also the "plans of the local appointed bodies and how these plans would contribute to the overall well-being of the community rather than, as at present, being developed and published in isolation" (Sinclair, 1997, 17). As such, the concept of community planning can be viewed as a potential means of defining practical agendas for policy action between the numerous and diverse agencies engaged in local governance issues: economic regeneration, social inclusion, community safety and environmental sustainability, to name but a few (as set out in chapter 3; also see chapter 4 for discussion on community safety).

Community Plans and the process of Community Planning Partnerships were seen as key to policy integration and coordination in Scotland. Evaluation of Community Planning initiatives by the University of Birmingham for the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive, 1999) and the Community Planning Task Force (Community Planning Task Force, 2001) all point to the benefits of Community Planning in terms of providing local strategic vision, increased local involvement, partnerships and community leadership.

3.8 Best Value and Single Outcome Agreements

In Scotland and England the majority of local government spending comes from central government (DCLG, 2009; Audit Scotland, 2010), establishing accountability to the centre through performance and financial audits. One of the main aims of CPPs is to work together in providing better public services. Scottish Executive (2004a) notes that CPPs can bridge the link between national and local priorities by collaborating in the delivery of national priorities in a way that is sensitive to local needs and circumstances (see chapter 2 and section 3.2).

Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) were designed to deliver key national and local priorities based on the relationship between central and local government in Scotland. They have been endorsed in the Concordat between the Scottish Government and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) (2007). The original idea of the SOAs was proposed by COSLA in 2002 (COSLA, 2002) when the Local Area Agreements (LAAs) in England were about to start and Policy Agreements in Wales were already in place. However, the first of these were not developed until 2008 after the issuing of the first SOA guidance for local government (Scottish Government et al., 2008). A possible reason for this could have been that there may have also been a delayed adaption to SOA like what Cowell (2004) suggests with community planning more generally, to allow better insights of what was involved.

In developing and presenting Single Outcome Agreements, the Scottish local government and Community Planning partners were tasked to set out the outcomes that they sought

to achieve. The outcomes needed to reflect local needs and priorities in order to eventually support progress at national level (Scottish Government et al., 2008). In return, local authorities and their partners were promised a greater degree of flexibility and responsibility to deliver the agreed outcomes through streamlined bureaucracy and reporting requirements, an increased level of available funding, and reductions in ring-fencing (Scottish Government et al., 2008).

Since SOAs embedded into community planning, particularly into community planning partnerships, the SOA development process provides an opportunity to examine whether and how such process is interrelated with various elements for effective partnership working, such as developing collective visions and agreed strategy, sharing information and resources, joined-up working, strengthened accountability, leadership, and trust between partners, etc.

Each Community Planning Partnership enters into a Single Outcome Agreement with the Scottish Government, setting out the local outcomes that the CPP aims to deliver. The CPP has flexibility to choose those local outcomes according to local needs and priorities, but is expected to show how those local outcomes are aligned to the National Outcomes set out in the National Performance Framework (Scottish Government, 2012; see chapter 6).

Co-governance in Scotland can also be viewed as being entrenched with SOAs. From 2008, local authorities and partners aim to achieve outcomes based on the Scottish Government's five purpose targets and 15 national outcomes (Scottish Government,

2011). The priority given to this national outcomes framework, based on local authority-led partnership working can be seen in the internal reviews of the Scottish Government's work (Scottish Government, 2010). Following the Crerar (2007) review, it was envisaged that performance measures within the Scottish public sector would therefore be streamlined. Thus, suggesting that performance measures of local authorities – Best Value Reviews – would be inclusive of SOAs and thereby a measure of the extent of partnership working in achieving national objectives (Scottish Government 2010).

3.9 Summary

From the above, it can be seen that community planning seeks to address two broad issues. First, it attempts to put local government back in the driving seat in terms of the strategic planning of services within their local area. Local government, in partnership with the range of partner agencies and communities operating within a locality, are expected to develop a common strategic vision through jointly producing a Community Plan. Second, the Community Plan is expected to provide the means to open a dialogue between local government, its partners and the 'community'. This, after all, is considered to be one of the means to enhance local democracy and 'democratic renewal'. Thirdly, community planning is predicated on the notion of 'joined up thinking' within communities and between communities and service providers. So while Community Planning does not, in itself, represent anything new in terms of the tasks to be tackled, it does represent a more explicit acknowledgement that a range of actors, and not just local government

itself, is now expected to co-ordinate their skills and expertise to addressing local issues.

Viewed as a potential solution to the increased institutional fragmentation within Scotland, community planning was designed to improve local governance capacity and overall service delivery. Community planning brought together prevailing principles of partnership, strategic planning, leadership, local engagement alongside the continued development of urban regeneration and social inclusion. Community planning is an attempt to provide a coherent policy agenda at the local government level – as a vehicle of local, and arguably co-governance through communities. The next chapter will locate the development of community safety and policing within this developing framework.

Chapter 4

There have been a number of key insights into the changing nature of responses to crime prevention and the development of community safety 'governance' in recent years. Such changes have been described as a 'major paradigm shift' (Tuck, 1988) or 'preventative turn' (Hughes, 1998) moving from the traditional state-centred monopoly of crime control, focusing solely on the public police, to a new infrastructure seeking to emphasise the importance of local knowledge, partnership working and participation of communities' in addressing crime and its related safety issues. Furthermore, some commentators believe that policing in the UK has gone full circle and that we have returned to policing being increasingly 'shared amongst individual, communal and private providers: with the state no longer claiming a monopoly over policing' (Zedner 2006, p92). Further to this, Crawford sets out these changes as presenting:

“a 'new' politics offering, 'more plural understandings of and social responses to crime, drawing together a variety of organisations and stakeholders, in the public, voluntary and private sectors as well as from among relevant community groups in ways which are problem-focused rather than defined according to the means most readily available for their solution” (Crawford 2002: 31–2).

From both a UK and Scottish perspective - endemic to these changes are the moves from the 'police' to 'policing' (Crawford, 2003); developments of crime prevention and community safety; and the (re)development of community focused/policing initiatives. While the previous chapter looked at developments of governance and the delivery of Community Planning in Scotland, this chapter brings together these key themes into the realm of community safety development. It will set out the developments of crime

prevention and community safety and aims to unravel the 'policy mix', presenting how these connect with developments in 'policing' in Scotland. Furthermore, it will plot the development of policing against a backdrop of literature on security governance and will explore the wider changes in governing 'through partnerships'. More specifically, the chapter looks at the 'new modalities' and infrastructure of what is known as security governance (Shearing, 2007) and what these mean for how community safety can be conceived in Scotland, and in comparison to elsewhere. Lastly, this chapter provided an account of the development of performance management for the police service and what this meant for police accountability.

4.1 Developments of Policing and Governance of Security

The provision of safety is no longer something that can solely be the responsibility of the public police. The movement towards the 'responsibilisation' of the citizen (Garland, 2001) and enhanced roles for local authorities (Scottish Government, 2013) are key examples of the 'pluralisation' (Crawford, 2006) of such responsibilities. The concept of 'policing' belongs even less to the public police now than at any time in the history of the 'new' police. From an historical viewpoint, policing, is a complex component of social ordering, within which was seen the development of a uniformed police body provided by constituent authorities of the nation state. This form of policing model effectively reserves the legal use of physical force to one body of trained state agents (Bittner, 1990). In return for a communal agreement not to use force (except when absolutely necessary, and thus legally, such as in self-defence), the nation state's police will apply such force when

necessary in order to provide security for those who are deemed to be due the state's protection. This social contract not to use force against fellow citizens in return for the protection of the nation-state is central to the philosophy of Hobbes who posited that man had learnt from bitter experience the necessity for government and communal agreement to be protected by the state or 'Leviathan' (Kelly, 1992: 212-213). Since the foundation of the 'new police' in 1829, they have been the central providers of that security, by resorting to, or threatening (however subtly) to, use force on citizens.

However, policing as it is understood more recently is concerned with managing the risks of modern life and controlling our sense of security beyond the capabilities of the public police. More generally, the criminal justice system it can be argued is not the best way to provide security to the public (Shearing 2007, also see chapter 2). Although the process of adjudicating publicly on allegations of criminal activity is a fair way of administering punishment (Packer, 1968), it is difficult to see how this provides the public with a heightened level of security. It is for these reasons that Shearing argues that 'policing' should be reconceptualised as the 'governance of security' (Shearing 2007, p250). Security governance he argues has moved away from the control of the nation state to a diverse polycentric body of organisations and individuals. This descriptive approach has come to be known as a 'nodal governance' approach.

Security is constructed and controlled by a plurality of nodes each acting within their own sphere of influence and interacting to a greater or lesser extent with other nodes that affect them. Security governance has come to be divided into two different categories: those who legitimise the security provision, for example the state as a regulator of

security, and the 'provider' or the body that actually does the work in order to provide the security on the ground. The latter is the rower, the former the cox who steers, motivates and encourages the rower/provider in its work (Crawford, 2006).

In a world where the provision of 'policing' services are becoming ever more diverse, there is a need for a reappraisal of the 'Hobbesian Leviathan' view of top-down security governance provided by a centralised nation state. While the nation-state may have based its own legitimacy on the provision of internal (and indeed external) security for its composite individuals, that role has now been somewhat overtaken and arguably, conceded as such.

4.2 Development of crime prevention and policing – key phases

The transitional landscape of 'security' governance is particularly apparent than in the development of crime prevention and policing at the local level. Gilling (1997) identifies a number of phases in England and Wales. The first phase was from the 1950s to the mid-1970s, with its unfocused crime prevention and the idea of communities playing a role in controlling crime. It was during this period that the Government initiated a partnership approach with the insurance industry and launched public campaigns urging community members to safeguard and protect their own property. Further to this, police forces were expected to introduce specialist crime prevention officers for their own departments and in 1963 the National Crime Prevention Centre at Stafford became available for crime prevention training in the UK. In addition, local beat officers, for the first time, were used

to distribute crime prevention literature and to give related advice to the public. As such, private business soon caught on to the fact that they could commission a free crime prevention survey on their premises from the police (Gilling 1997, p76-77).

The second phase was between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s and relates to situational crime prevention which placed the focus on the problem and searched for proactive and preventative solutions. This style of prevention is based upon reducing opportunity and risk by using crime prevention methods that deter would-be offenders. Interventions were based on the assumption that our normal daily environment is 'criminogenic', i.e. it provides opportunities for criminal behaviour and is populated by individuals willing to take advantage of those opportunities (Garland, 2001, p16).

Situational crime prevention thus supplies defensive mechanisms to deal with these threats: mechanisms designed to protect physical spaces by keeping others out, or at a safe distance, or under scrutiny, whether through physical barriers, surveillance devices or increased public visibility, or more usually a combination of these (Clarke, 1997).

These are mechanisms that emphasize the separation of the potential victim (the ordinary community member) from others, especially those 'others' who are not known, or who are known but are known to be different e.g. the criminalisation of young people (Hughes, 2006).

The impetus for the growing appeal to 'community' in crime control and policing practices in part came from the long-term 'fall out' of the Scarman Report of 1981 on the policing of

'problem' inner-city communities and its partial legislative embodiment in the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE). As a result of PACE, police authorities (in England and Wales) were required to consult with the local community as 'partner to find out their views about local crime problems and develop measures in combating them'¹³.

The shifting emphasis on crime prevention became even more apparent from the mid-1980s onwards and linked to fiscal pressures as highlighted in chapter three, when a more pragmatic approach to crime prevention was sought. Many believed that the responsibility for crime prevention 'represented a dual strategy, with mixed reason and ideology. First there was a concerted effort to pass the responsibility down through the community to the individual citizen, and secondly this should be located within the multi-agency structures' (Gilling, 1997, p95). These values connected with the ideas of the 'pluralisation of responsibility' and the state withdrawing its claims to be 'the chief provider of security' and instead, presents as attempt to remodel crime prevention more broadly in line with partnership working and communities (Garland 2001, p445-71) and multiple 'nodes of security governance' (Shearing 2007). Furthermore, it was felt that partnerships themselves were much cheaper as resources could be collaborated and pulled together (Craig, 2007), thus adhering to the fiscal pressures as mentioned above.

This latest phase is that of "community safety", with its social approach to crime prevention marrying up with a situational approach. Where situational crime prevention is defensive, community safety tends to be proactive. It promotes 'actions intended to change the social conditions that are believed to sustain crime in residential communities'

¹³ PACE was not applicable to Scotland. Scotland has autonomy over its legal system.

(Hope, 1995, p 21). Included in such actions is the attempt to engage and involve those individuals, groups and communities who are assessed as at risk of engaging in criminal activity and work with them to reduce the likelihood of offending behaviour. Moreover, the focus of social crime prevention is on the factors that appear to be conducive to crime – factors which, if not directly causal, are contributory to places, neighbourhoods or communities becoming criminogenic (Currie, 1991).

The objectives of community safety are designed to be pursued through strategies that tackle the causes of marginalisation and disadvantage experienced by specific social groups and through programmes that address the causes of urban or rural decline and the multiple deprivation experienced by specific localities. Such interventions link community safety to other domains of public policy concerned with education, employment, housing, environment, health and local democracy. With this in mind, it could be argued that a unifying theme for community safety, and for policing more generally, is to tackle local community safety problems in collaboration with creating or strengthening communities. These were the proposals put forward by the Morgan Committee and its report (Home Office, 1991; also see chapter 4), representing a stance whereby the development of community safety, alongside the extent or reappraisal of the role of the police, were set firmly in the political arena.

It was the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that formally established community safety as a policy priority in England and Wales. However, the sections of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that created this formal infrastructure for community safety were not implemented in Scotland, and so marked a clear point of divergence between the systems (Henry 2009).

It is to these aspects of similarity and divergence we turn to in the next section.

4.3 The Development of Partnerships and Community Safety in Scotland

In order to understand the changing landscape in Scotland, it is essential to recognise the key role that central government in the form of the Scottish Office, the Scottish Executive, and the Scottish Government, have played in encouraging the diffusion of responsibility for crime issues beyond the police to individuals and communities (Fyfe 2005, p117).

Similar to developments in chapter three, the 'partnership' approach to crime prevention in Scotland traces its origins in the 1980s and to circulars issued in 1984 by the Scottish Home and Health Department (SHHD) and the Scottish Development Department (circular 6/1984). The circular was issued following a similar one in England and Wales (circular 8/1984). The main message emphasised in the circular was the need to develop a multi-agency approach to crime prevention initiatives that reflected local characteristics and local problems (SHHD 1984, para. c.). In issuing the circular the Scottish Government sought to promote the notion of public responsibility for crime prevention (Monaghan, 1997). This was also an attempt to open up the forum of debate and to increase the interest and involvement of agencies other than the police (Crawford and Matassa, 2000).

One initiative that exemplifies this approach was the 'Safer Cities Programme' initiated by the Conservative Scottish Office in 1989. Four projects were originally established, in Central Edinburgh (Carnie 1994), Castlemilk, Greater Easterhouse (both deprived areas

in Glasgow) and Dundee (Carnie 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). A fifth project was introduced in Aberdeen in 1992. All the projects were initially intended to run for three years but were extended to five years with additional funding from the Scottish Office. The projects incorporated a mixture of both situational and social crime prevention initiatives, the balance of which was influenced by four main factors: 'the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the project area; the findings of research and consultation exercises; the input of community activists on Management Committees; and the personal interests and 'agenda' of each Project Co-ordinator' (Carnie 1995d, pi). The Glasgow projects – Safe Castlemilk and Safe Greater Easterhouse¹⁴ – negotiated a wider 'community safety' remit with the Scottish Office in line with the region's Safe Strathclyde initiative. More specifically, in these projects, crime prevention was viewed as one element in a wider social package of reform. It was felt although tackling crime may have been a police priority in the area; it was not the main priority for those that lived in the area. Indeed, as Crawford and Matassa (2000, p73) set out a 'programme that focused solely on crime prevention would not have been welcomed by the local community where the police were viewed by many with suspicion'.

A key reason for this broader social agenda of community safety was set out by Donald Dewar, the Secretary of State for Scotland (1999) who identified the Castlemilk project, in particular, as a good example of the Scottish Offices 'social exclusion' agenda.

Social exclusion was defined to incorporate a wide social welfare agenda that made

¹⁴ It is important to note that both of these areas were also Priority Partnership and SIP areas.

explicit reference to community safety, but also identified poor housing and urban decay, unemployment, lack of resources for children and young people, as means through which citizens were effectively prevented from fully participating in public life (Scottish Office 1998). Dewar (1998, p72) goes on to argue that:

“Social exclusion is not a problem which can be tackled by any one agency in isolation. Partnership and co-ordination will be the key to success. It is all too easy to pay lip service to partnership, but there is no escaping the need to work together to tackle a problem as deep rooted and complex as this”

The Castlemilk Partnership had been able to adopt such an approach a multi-agency approach that would develop the agenda pre-existed its Safer Cities status (it was one of the three remaining Scottish Office led urban partnerships set up in 1988 under 'New Life for Urban Scotland' initiative) and therefore, was already working with this broader social exclusion perspective. Therefore, as with urban regeneration before it, crime prevention and community safety were being nested within a broader social welfare/justice agenda. By contrast, the projects in Edinburgh and Dundee adopted a more specific crime prevention agenda. The former was situated in the city centre, unlike the other projects which were based in housing estates. In Dundee emphasis was placed on problems stemming from poor housing and environmental conditions.

The physical environment was instrumental in creating a feeling of isolation and as such, target hardening measures featured strongly on the agenda.

In each of the project areas the emphasis was very much on prevention and partnership. Prevention was understood in both physical (or situational) terms, particularly in relation

to the provision of 'target hardening' measures to reduce the risks of housebreaking (Anderson et al, 2006; Newton et al, 2008), and social terms by working with schools and youth clubs to promote various initiatives to encourage children to participate in positive activities. Partnership meant involving a range of public, private and voluntary agencies in tackling issues relating to crime and the fear of crime (Donnelly 2010).

From the above, a few points can be made in terms of 'delivery' and 'impact' of the initiatives and the role played out by central government. Firstly, as can be seen these projects were short lived with funding only provided for up to five years, and as a collectively "programme" they did not represent a uniformed or strategic approach to delivery of crime prevention across Scotland. This second point can be viewed as neither a hindrance nor a rejection of a uniformed response to crime prevention, but rather was based upon the context, composition and needs of a locality, more specifically.

Nevertheless, this may go some way to explain why Crawford and Matassa (2000, p69) proclaim that the development of crime prevention in Scotland was rather 'haphazard and piecemeal'. Nevertheless, such developments can be traced along a similar path of urban regeneration and social inclusion partnerships as set out in chapter three.

While the impact of Scotland's 'Safer Cities' projects are difficult to measure 'since it is impossible to know what would have occurred had the Safer Cities Projects not existed' (Carnie 1999, p89), the programme does present itself as a catalyst for, and signs of, an underlying political commitment to a more general diffusion of responsibility for crime prevention. However, according to Crawford and Matassa (2000, p73) the position of the Scottish Office, for the duration of the projects was merely 'supportive yet basically non-

interventionist'. This stance was criticised whereby central direction may have provided a more useful input in terms of monitoring and evaluation. For example, attempts at evaluation, self-evaluation and monitoring were described as 'at best ad hoc and uneven' (Carnie, 1995d, pii), with some initiatives receiving full evaluation whilst others none at all. Consequently, and to borrow Crawford's (2006) terminology, the Scottish Office may be seen as the "cox" in their relationship of project development.

By June 1997, "Community Safety" was firmly on the political agenda in Scotland and funding had been secured from the (then) Scottish Executive (Labour Government) for a National Community Safety Advisor to work with local authorities and partners to develop a partnership model. In the following year, the Scottish Executive, the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) and the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS), agreed a joint approach for developing community safety, which was documented in 'Safer Communities through Partnerships – A Strategy for Action'. This represents a change in central Government's crime prevention strategy and marks a significant shift in two ways. Firstly, although 'crime prevention' remained a priority, it came to be considered an integral component of a much wider 'community safety' strategy (as was the case with general Labour Government perspectives across the UK at this time – see Gilling, 2007). Community Safety came to be defined as 'protecting people's right to live in confidence and without fear for their own or other people's safety' (Scottish Office, 1998). Second, whilst priority remains on the establishment of formal but flexible partnerships, emphasis shifted towards the development of ties between the police service and local authorities. This differs significantly from the previous Conservative Government initiatives of 'Safer Cities' where partnership was between the

police and the local community, thus by-passing local authorities. A possible reason for this, in England and Wales at least, was that the government at the time 'lacked confidence in local authorities and was not about to give new responsibilities requiring additional funding to those in whom it lacked trust (Tilley 1993, p46-47). Although not as clearly set out in Scotland, it is more probably for these reasons that Monaghan in her review of crime prevention in the 1980s, claims "developments of multi-agency initiatives in Scotland have taken place within a distinct political climate that has been characterised by tensions between central and local government" (1997, p21).

The 1998 strategy Safer Communities through Partnerships – A Strategy for Action document aimed to encourage local authorities to take the lead in forming local partnerships, involving particularly the police, and also other bodies who have a bearing on community safety. What is more, it emphasised the need for the establishment of partnerships developing Community Safety Strategies (Police Circular 9/1998). As can be seen, this was not too dissimilar to the recommendations as set out by the Morgan Report in England and Wales (Home Office, 1991).

Moreover, in February 1999, of 'A Safer Scotland', initiative was published which outlined Scottish government strategy for tackling crime and identified the way forward in building public confidence and safer communities. Later that year, the Scottish Executive published 'Safer Communities in Scotland', which contained detailed guidance for community safety partnerships on the steps needed to take to tackle community safety problems effectively, including the development and implementation of community safety strategies.

Audit Scotland, through the Accounts Commission, has published three documents relating to the development of community safety partnerships and the measurement of performance. 'Safe and Sound' was published in May 2000, and examined the development of community safety partnerships in Scotland. It highlighted good practice and recommended steps which partners should take to improve effectiveness.

Following this, the 'Safe and Sound – Self assessment good practice guide for community safety partnership's was published in September 2000, and provided a self- assessment audit guide to assist partners in reviewing progress and identifying areas where improvements could be made (see Scottish Executive, 2000 for review of these issues).

In addition, the Scottish Executive published 'Threads of Success' in November 2000, which was based on a study of the five community safety pathfinder local authorities in Angus, East Dunbartonshire, Edinburgh, Fife and South Ayrshire. The report provides an insight into the emerging shape of community safety partnerships across Scotland and made a number of recommendations that required to be implemented at national and local levels, to assist the progress of community safety partnerships. Subsequent annual reports published by Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary, the Association of Chief Police Officers of Scotland and Her Majesty's Fire Service Inspectorate for Scotland, have also reported on the development of good practice in community safety partnerships (HMICS, 2002, 2004). As can be seen, there was a change of focus and insight from central government (also importantly to note, is the change from a Conservative to Labour Government) whereby they provided more support and guidance for community safety partnerships which are key ingredients for the role of "cox" in accordance to Crawford's

(2006) theorising -steering, motivating and encouraging the rower/provider in its work.

From the above it can be argued, the development of community safety in Scotland since the 1980s is one of a familiar tale to the developments in England and Wales over the same period. Indeed, wider developments in the field of criminal justice including community safety show strong similarities with developments in England and Wales, and elsewhere in Europe (see Crawford, 2009), over this period (see Henry, 2009).

Nevertheless, as will be set out in the next section, the development of community safety has not, more recently, followed an “identical trajectory” in Scotland (Henry 2009, p87). The sections of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that placed a statutory duty upon local authorities and the police to set up and coordinate CDRPs did not apply to Scotland. However, this does not mean that calls for partnership working and multi- agency cooperation did not preoccupy Scottish policy makers throughout the 1980s and 1990s. What it does provide is that the infrastructure within which community safety developed remained less formal for longer than it did in England and Wales and perhaps gave some emphasis to a fairly broad social justice, rather than an unnecessarily narrow criminal justice agenda (Henry, 2009).

4.4 Connecting ambitions – infrastructure for Community Safety in Scotland

It has only been over the last 15 years that a statutory infrastructure for community safety has developed in Scotland. Following Henry (2009) there are three main statutory

obligations that are of importance to the current and future development of community safety in Scotland: community planning, anti-social behaviour and community justice authorities. Before we focus on the connections between community planning and community safety more specifically, it is important to look briefly at the other two policy areas and their 'potential' influences on the direction of community safety in Scotland.

4.4.1 Anti-social Behaviour

The Antisocial Behaviour (Scotland) Act 2004 placed a statutory duty on local authorities and Chief Constables to develop and publish an antisocial behaviour strategy for their areas. It also extended the use of 'anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs) to young people between the ages of 12 and 16 and provided the police with increasing powers e.g. dispersal, electronic monitoring etc. (see McAra 2004). As Henry (2009, p101) proclaims, there is little in this legislation "that gave a nod to any residual commitment to welfare values". However, in practical terms, it was assumed that such strategies would be written into community planning structures, mostly likely their community safety partnerships or members thereof (Scottish Executive 2004, p6- 7). As such, the duty to draft anti-social behaviour strategies may become a means through which community safety and therefore community planning are required to focus on more explicitly crime related issues (bearing in mind anti-social behaviour is not a crime per se) (Henry, 2009, p102). Adding to this Shiel et al (2005 cited in Henry, 2009) sets out that there have been long tensions between the Scottish Executive and community safety partnerships about the

degree to which broad social justice agendas should form the focus of their work, with the former showing a preference for the deployment of situational measures. This in turn could present a position whereby partnerships need to adopt a more 'punitive' focus and therefore 'other' or 'criminalise' certain groups or localities, as set out by Hughes (2006) previously.

4.4.2 Community Justice Authorities

Under the Management of Offenders (Scotland) Act 2005, the Scottish Executive developed eight Community Justice Authorities (CJAs) across Scotland. CJAs were designed to provide a co-ordinated and strategic approach to offenders in the community (similar to LCJB's in England and Wales – see Gilling, 2003). According to Crawford (1997, p86-92) the creation of CJAs reflect a push for increased co-ordination, management and monitoring of criminal justice services. However, it is less clear how they fit, if at all, next to the objectives of community planning. For instance, CJAs focus upon individuals who have already been identified as offenders whereas community planning focuses more on the 'social' or proactive prevention in terms of the social welfare of communities, as will be seen next.

4.4.3 A common ambition – Community Planning

The development of community safety and partnership working with communities have been connected with and developed further with the introduction of community planning under the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 (see chapter three). The Act places a 'statutory' obligation on local authorities to ensure that communities are engaged in decisions made about their public services, such as the police, and that public, private and voluntary sector organisations work together. Such thinking can also be described as being linked with 'New' Labour's 'Third Way' approach of modernising public services through a 'joined-up vision' (see chapter 2 section 2.11). As Gilling (2005, p746) states, 'local government see the role of community safety partnerships, falling under the theme of community/civic renewal'¹⁵. This is because crime, along with features of deprivation such as unemployment, educational disadvantage, and poor health, is conceived as an element of social exclusion, where problems combine to bar access to participation in 'normal' social life'. Social exclusion, it is believed, is best tackled by joined-up government where services addressing these constituent elements of exclusion are co-ordinated in a holistic way, so that the mutually reinforcing nature of these problems can be more effectively addressed (Scottish Executive, 2002). This could be described as the logic behind community planning, to establish community planning partnerships as local 'meta-partnerships' (led by local authorities) drawing in a range of agencies, partnerships and the community in order to achieve this 'joined up' approach.

¹⁵ Civil renewal is, at its core, a strategy for building social capital (Civil Renewal Unit, 2003, 2004). Social capital refers to a set of features associated with social networks, shared norms and informal collective controls; these have a range of effects including: bonding individuals together in cohesive groups, and of enabling linkages or connections to be made between groups with differential access to power and resources (Halpern, 2005, Ch. 1).

Moreover, it could be argued that community planning assumes the existence of mutually reinforcing effects between civil renewal and community safety. For instance, there is a belief that civil renewal helps to prevent crime, by creating stronger communities i.e. building social capital, which are more able to exercise informal controls: 'communities suffer less crime, anti-social behaviour and family breakdown when people know and trust each other, and interact in clubs, associations and voluntary groups' (Blunkett, 2003b, p26). Therefore, in order to be successful and sustainable, this capacity must include relationships of trust, mutuality and inter-dependence between community members and between those members and the local agencies of crime control (Hughes, 1998).

Community safety partnerships are one such partnership to be brought under the 'strategic' arm of the community planning partnerships. There are 32 Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs) in Scotland at the present time of the study – one for each local authority area. Although CSPs do not have their basis in statute, they are funded by and are accountable to the Government, and are required to submit annual reports and financial updates. CSPs enable police authorities and local authorities to progress community safety, problem-solving (see below) and crime prevention initiatives in their areas. There is no generic model to follow, as each partnership reflects local needs and priorities. Membership normally comprises of the police, fire service, elected representatives, other agencies, community members and the voluntary sector. Each CSP has working groups and sub-committees (see chapter Six) tackle specific tasks depending on given priorities that can range from youth diversion initiatives to various community wellbeing and anti-social behaviour projects. CSPs are required to have evidence-based priorities, with annual community safety strategies (see chapter 6, 6.12

for community safety assessments) and to report their progress to the local Community Planning Partnerships (CCPs).

4.5 Management of change in Scottish policing

The notion of pluralisation of crime control, or adaptive strategies (Garland, 2001) based on prevention and partnership, also intersect with a broader set of issues that have emerged in recent years concerning a restructuring and proliferation of ‘policing beyond the police’, as a result of which a more complex division of labour in the field of policing and security has emerged. There are different forms of ‘plural policing’ but those which have emerged as particularly important in Scotland over the past few decades however before we look at these, it is important to map out the development of community involvement and the development of community policing in dealing with issues related to crime.

4.6 Police and community involvement – a developing tale

The concept of the police working in tandem with other organisations and involving themselves in the life of the local ‘community’ became the foundation upon which multi-agency crime prevention work throughout the 1980s was based in Scotland. Evelyn Schaffer, in her book “Community Policing”, wrote:

“This aspect of crime prevention is much more controversial and is only gradually gaining acceptance by police forces in Britain. The aim of social crime prevention is to get closer to the community and stimulate community response. In order to do this, projects are mounted in deprived areas and various clubs and activities are organised for the young and police officers. In some forces, young offenders are supervised by policemen and support is given to parents who seek help. This form of crime prevention can be compared with the development of preventive medicine and the role of the doctor” (Schaffer 1980, p22).

In delivering the ‘James Smart Lecture’ in 1974 to a police audience, Michael Banton suggested that Scotland had pioneered this idea. He stated:

In Scotland you have gone further than the police of any other country known to me to develop a positive conception of the police role instead of seeing the police simply as the agents of the state. I refer to the doctrine of community involvement” (Monaghan 1997, p23).

In support of Banton’s position, the work of Chief Constable David Gray in Greenock in the 1950s and 1960s is identified by a number of commentators (Schaffer 1980; Monaghan 1997; Fyfe 2005) as being forward-thinking and influential. Gray developed and promoted the Greenock juvenile liaison scheme that involved the police working closely with teachers, social workers and other responsible adults in order to work with young people deemed to be ‘at risk’ of becoming involved in delinquency (Monaghan 1997, p25). Schaffer also describes Gray’s efforts in relation to community involvement, which he seems to have interpreted as a means to become involved in environmental improvements in impoverished neighbourhoods throughout Greenock (1980, p69-71).

As such, the development of Gray’s scheme suggests an early attempt by the police themselves to highlight the importance of multi-agency co-operation and partnership and at the same time providing recognition that the police alone did not have all means

through which to prevent and control crime (Henry, 2009).

Community involvement branches were established in all Scottish forces by the mid-1970s following The Scottish Office recommendation to that effect in circular 4/71 (1971). Schaffer indicates that some forces appeared to take the idea of community involvement seriously (Strathclyde police established a working group on community involvement – 1980: 48) but there was simultaneously evidence that community involvement, and issues like ‘crime prevention’ in general, continued to be viewed as marginal activities within the police (Schaffer 1980: 26). Part of this reason was that the police themselves continued to give emphasis to the reactive role of police as crime fighters, and considered community based work as being ‘social work’ and not ‘real’ police work (Schaffer 1980, p26).

4.7 Community Policing and Public Reassurance

The introduction of community policing in Scotland can be viewed as a reaction to this ‘professional era’ of policing with its reactive ‘fire-brigade’ policing¹⁶ and distancing of officers from the community (Donnelly, 2005). Though difficult to define, ‘community policing’ relies upon organisational decentralisation and a reorientation of police patrol in order to facilitate two way communications between the police and the community (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009). It assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem

¹⁶ Reactive Policing – refers to the police merely responding to calls for service as they come in. This in turn, left little time to engage with the wider community they served

solving policing¹⁷ which requires the police to be responsive to the public's demands when they decide what the local problems are and set their priorities.

Community policing is not new, but recent¹⁸ initiatives, some of which are outlined below, are now closely co-ordinated with local authorities and the communities they serve. These have brought community policing to the forefront of government and policing discourse. In Scotland, 'reassurance', as a function of local policing, was given explicit recognition rather later than it was in England and Wales. The Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) published their Public Reassurance Strategy in 2007. It largely mirrored thinking about reassurance policing in England and Wales particularly in its commitments to 'mainstream the practice and ethos of public reassurance policing with engaging criminality, response policing, and other policing activity' (ACPOS, 2007).

Reassurance policing (Innes 2004; Herrington and Millie 2006; Fielding and Innes 2006) developed from the concern that while crime levels were falling, public perceptions were that they were rising. Such a disparity became known as the 'reassurance gap' (Innes 2004). Thus, reassurance policing seeks to address the gap between falling crime rate, the falling rate of public confidence, trust in the police and the perceived notion of 'fear of crime' (ACPO 2001 cited in Herrington and Millie 2006, p147). The importance of this gap then becomes the key objective for the reassurance policing programme, which seeks to establish a relationship between the police and communities, by ensuring that officers

¹⁷ Problem solving policing was developed by Herman Goldstein in 1979. Essentially, it is a process whereby the most appropriate remedies to solving community problems are found. It is about policing more effectively through partnership whereby the police work with other stakeholders, including the community, to target resources towards the source of a problem in order to solve it.

¹⁸ Recent refers to the time when the research was carried out.

become familiar and accessible to the local community that they serve: 'a re-commitment to the delivery of high-visibility front-line policing that both leads and encompasses diverse partners from among the extended police family' (Hughes and Rowe, 2007, p329). In other words (Millie's, for example), reassurance was understood by ACPOS as being a necessary 'golden thread' that should run through all policing.

Nevertheless Community Policing was given the most attention as being the obvious 'engine' for delivering reassurance (Scottish Government, 2008). It quickly became apparent, however, that the nature of Community Policing itself, not to mention whether it did or did not capture notions of reassurance, was ambiguous to say the least in the Scottish context. The Justice Committee of the Scottish Parliament conducted an inquiry into Scottish Community Policing practice in 2008, finding examples of existing good practice, but also noting the apparent lack of a clear or consistent definition or understanding of what Community Policing was. It was as a direct result of this inquiry that the Scottish Government published the Community Policing Engagement Principles (2009) the following year. These principles gave emphasis to visible policing, community consultation and communication, responsiveness, local accountability, partnership working and a commitment to problem solving as core components of the Community Policing concept, again with explicit recognition of the idea that reassurance was in any case an objective of all policing. The principles were drafted as a guide to activity rather than as a set of prescriptions, in that they did not attempt to impose a single model of CP on Scottish police forces.

There is a mix of provision in relation to the delivery of local policing/models of community policing around Scotland. Policing in Dumfries and Galloway is delivered by operational officers and a small number of community police officers. In both Strathclyde and Grampian new models were introduced. Strathclyde Police launched their Community Policing Model (CPM) in 2009. The model was based on the Public Reassurance Strategy and among other things aimed to improve visibility and accessibility within communities, ensures communities have a role in the identification of local policing priorities and work with the community and other partners to deliver sustainable solutions. Essentially at a local level the changes appear to have involved moving from a small number community officers undertaking community roles to larger Community Policing Teams (CPTs) with more officers who are also expected to respond to calls and spend time patrolling on foot (see chapter six for further discussion of Strathclyde Police Community Policing Model).

Grampian Police adopted their 'Community Focused Policing Model' in April 2010. The model involves the key activities of 'consult, listen, respond and feedback' and the outcomes for the model were developed in line with Scottish Community Policing Engagement Principles, the ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy, and the National Standards for Community Engagement. The model was delivered through Local Policing Teams (LPTs) and one of the major changes involved re-naming all officers across the force as Local Police Officers (LPOs).

4.8 Community policing – ‘wider’ developments

There are other developments in Scotland that are similar to those now implicated in community policing elsewhere. Recent iterations of community policing such as the Neighbourhood Policing Programme (NPP) in England and Wales in particular have actively tried to draw the ‘extended policing family’ (agencies that engage in ‘policing’ but which are not the public police – which might include wardens, concierge schemes, neighbourhood watch, community groups, private security etc.) into community policing (Crawford 2007; Home Office 2005; Johnston 2005). There is also evidence of an active ‘extended policing family’ in Scotland (see Fyfe 2005; Donnelly 2008) and their existence might prove important to the development of community policing strategies and/or their evaluation.

ACPOS also recognises that increasing visibility is a central tenet of achieving public reassurance, and that community warden schemes which were piloted in Renfrewshire, Edinburgh and Aberdeen, have been well received by local communities (Donnelly 2008). However, they identified that in rolling out the schemes on a national basis the core requirement had to be to ensure that the schemes meet the needs of local communities. This view supports the findings of the 2002-03 Annual Report of HMICS, which reported that community safety can be best achieved by focusing police activity on concerns of direct relevance to people in their local settings, with an emphasis on preventing or reducing these concerns. At the local level, the appointment of police local authority liaison officers (LALOs) in the vast majority of the thirty-two local authorities has assisted in strengthening the partnership focus and in developing a more coherent relationship

among all partners (Scottish Executive 2002).

4.9 The Police and Community Safety

More generally, the police have a crucial role to play in the implementation of community safety initiatives. The Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS), which comprises Chief Constables and other senior police officers, has drawn-up a mission statement for community safety. In its Annual Report for 2003-04, ACPOS endorses the principles behind the partnership approach being implemented to tackle antisocial behaviour within local communities, and welcomed the proposals contained in the Antisocial Behaviour Act 2004. This can suggest one of two things – firstly, the police are supportive of a more crime related approach to community safety over that of a more social welfare agenda, as set out above; or secondly, that the police may continue to believe community involvement/engagement to be a specialism and by backing this legislation, they can continue with their crime focused approaches which are presumably side-lined with the development of community policing. These issues will be discussed further in chapters seven and eight).

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core requirement has to be to ensure that the schemes meet the needs of local communities. This view supports the findings of the 2006-07 Annual Report of HMICS, which reported that community safety can be best achieved by focusing police activity on concerns of direct relevance to people in their local settings, with an emphasis on preventing or reducing these concerns. At the local level, the appointment of police local authority liaison officers (LALOs) in the vast majority of the thirty-two local authorities has assisted in strengthening the partnership focus and in developing a more coherent relationship among all partners (Scottish Executive 2002).

All police forces participated in the development of their local community safety partnerships, under the umbrella of community planning partnerships. The range of approaches differs across the Forces; however the issues they cover do not vary greatly. For example, in Strathclyde, which had twelve community safety partnerships within its area, the Joint Police Board had approved the establishment of eight key priority areas, where the Board should focus its community planning and community safety activities, including community policing, violent crime, substance abuse, vandalism and public disorder, housebreaking and youth crime and road safety (Scottish Executive, 2004). Central Scotland Police which covers three partnerships, has approved five 'safer Central initiatives', which deal with similar issues, including substance abuse, road safety, reduction of violent crime and reducing the fear of crime.

4.10 Police and Performance

Police services in Scotland operate in an environment where performance is closely monitored to ensure that communities receive a level of service which represents and provides value for money. The level of spending on Scottish policing during the time of this research was £1 billion (Donnelly and Scott, 2010), with governance of each force provided by a (now previous – see chapter 8) tripartite arrangement of chief constables, police authorities or boards and the Scottish Government.

ACPOS Policing Priorities for Scotland (2006-2009, p1) set out that the demands placed upon police have increase significantly ‘through legislation and increased public expectations continually testing the capability of the eight Scottish forces to deliver the highest possible quality of service’. This level of demand plays a key role in promoting that appropriate actions of performance are taken to ensure organisation aims are achieved, through making outcomes better than they would otherwise be. The next section will illustrate the development of those demands.

According to Donnelly and Scott (2005, p91),

‘for some time now there has been a perception in government circles that senior management of policing needs a shake-up with the injection of new thinking and a new customer focus to deliver tangible results in return for increased public spending upon the service’.

The reform¹⁹ and modernisation of the police service has taken place alongside other public service reforms with the paradigm shift from traditional public administration to that of being replaced by new public management (see chapter three for similar developments with community planning and governance). Traditional public administration can be characterised as incorporating a realm of faceless senior level officials and chief constables of public organisations and the police, who were relatively isolated and anonymous to the public they were providing services on behalf of. In effect, no-one within these organisations were individually being held responsible for the performance of the organisation or lack of it. The essence of new public management (Hood, 1991) on the other hand represents an overarching framework of change within public services in presenting an injection of business management principles and philosophies of managerialism: efficiency, effectiveness and value for money adopted from the private sector business/customer ethos. Donnelly and Scott (2005, p92) maintains that such a move has placed, 'a heavy emphasis on management style and less on policy and bureaucracy became dominant with the expansion of performance management techniques in many forms'. For example, new public management placed emphasis on objectives, performance measures and devolved management structures to name a few.

Consequently, new public management provided a shift to closing the divide between the public and the private sector by promoting public organisations to become more business-like and make every effort to improve the overall efficiency and value of service delivery within the organisation. Furthermore it was through this shift that performance management became saturated within every aspect of service delivery, 'as there is

¹⁹ This is reform prior to the Reform Act 2012.

greater emphasis on output controls...to make personnel more accountable through a system of measurement' Hood (1991) cited in Donnelly and Scott (2005, p96).

The police service reform in the context of developing new public management towards a 'new policing management' was expanded in the government's perception of an inefficient and poorly managed organisation. Howard Davies, the ex-Controller of the Audit Commission cited in Donnelly and Scott (2005, p93) encapsulated such a view by stating, 'in the police service, perhaps more than any other, inputs are confused with outputs'. Major political parties play a numbers game based on the head count of men in blue helmets, with little close investigation of how these officers are deployed, or what they are achieving'. It was viewed that such ineffective management had diminished appreciably police effectiveness in delivering of a quality service. Alongside this, the dilemma the police service found themselves faced with i.e. the dramatic rise in recorded crime in the 1980's and 1990's, and its relationship to the increased public spending on the police service, gave rise to the Conservative governments disillusion with the police service towards introducing a focused shift to the 'Finance Management Initiative' which was designed to encourage effectiveness, efficiency, policing by objectives and cost-savings in the police services by applying private sector management principles. This was a movement which effectively marked out that 'the private was good and the public was bad' (Sommemans et al, 1999, p3).

What's more this initiative enabled, as according to Fielding (2005, p174), 'the conviction that elaborated performance measures to monitor and evaluate service delivery, and that police performance should be responsive to performance indicators'. This was the turning

point from which Chief Constables of police had to justify their expenditure and devise indicators of their performance. In doing so, providing annual statements of their plans and goals for the coming year and an indication of how their performance could be measured i.e. producing plans and strategies of measurement. As a result, this thrust for justification of expenditure presented by central government, brought performance management to the fore in the progression towards new police management and set the path to which performance management holds a significant presence within our modern day police service (also see chapter 8 for recent developments of Police Scotland).

Moreover, performance management underpinned the business drive of the police in terms of achievement of goals or objectives, the more efficient and effective these processes are i.e. the continuous monitoring, measurement and adjustment of performance, the better the organisation performs in terms of ensuring the best possible quality of policing service is achieved. Hence, through examining performance, the police service could gain an understanding of the most efficient methods of policing which in turn can be translated into the political and publicly inspired realm of continuous, performance improvement of the service they deliver.

Besides this, there were a number of key legislative developments directed in support of change within the police. The White Paper on Police Reform (Home Office 1993b), the Police and Magistrates' Courts Act 1994 and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 set out that the Home Office set national objectives and related performance indicators which in turn indicated that local police authorities has to set targets to achieve these objectives. Although such measures were specifically in relation to England and Wales, within

Scotland 'it is apparent that the Scottish Government through the Justice Minister, can and will allocate targets to Chief Constables and Police Authorities', Donnelly and Scott (2012, p76). Thus the centralising reforms such as those aforementioned in England and Wales were encouraged in Scotland which in turn emphasises the significant presence target setting held towards the develop of police performance in Scotland.

The monitoring of performance towards the police services priorities was achieved through setting performance indicators and targets. A target or target setting for the police as with any other public or private organisation is an expression of a specific level of performance the organisation is seeking to achieve. For example, the Justice Department of the Scottish Executive set out national targets for all eight police forces to achieve by 2005-08 i.e. an increase in the number of criminal networks disrupted.

What's more during the Executive's review of the Lawrence Inquiry in England resulting in the formulation of an action plan for Scottish police proclaimed, 'while there is no statutory mechanism for the Scottish Ministers to set priorities or targets for the Scottish police service, chief constables are committed to supporting national priorities' Donnelly and Scott (2005, p76). In effect the Scottish Ministers will let Chief Constables know that they support recommendations and the Justice Minister will then require HMICS to inspect the areas of police performance that the Government had highlighted as priorities or targets. Furthermore, the HMICS in its interventionist role had to underline recommendations for further inspections of police services. As a result, such developments indicate as Walker (2000) cited in Donnelly and Scott (2005, p77) proclaims that, 'the Scottish Inspectorate had not been deterred by a lack of explicit legislative autonomy from developing, in

conjunction with the Accounts Commission and ACPOS, presenting a detailed and influential performance management framework'.

Thus, performance management was placed at the heart of the governments drive to secure continuous improvement of policing services. This is so that the police services in Scotland are held liable to the public for their performance on one hand and in doing so a new level of scrutiny machinery had developed on the other.

What must be noted is that it is possible that target setting and performance indicators towards priorities developed from the Scottish Government could be conveyed, in their view that such measures were the best means of realising the expectation of improved delivery of service. Hence, this could invariably be seen as an involving tool or an extension of central government's arm to getting things done.

The majority of the police service would concede that the detection of crimes, number of emergency calls answered and the number of arrests made as being the epitome of police work. However dealing with crime in this manner is only a small percentage of what police work actually incorporates. Therefore concentrating on such 'results driven' activities may address the measurable and quantifiable duties that the police provide within their services however this may also distort the overall valuable maintaining of order and reassurance duties the police undertake for the public. This in turn provides a narrow view of what the police service actually does by neglecting to look at the majority of policing work in its wider spectrum.

In addition to this, Edwards (2005, p241) stipulates, 'the police are the sole agency which records crime and the agency whose main focus is on dealing with crime'. Therefore managing the police's performance in relation to upholding the law and the quality of service they supply to the public i.e. amount of time taken to answer 999 calls or the number of detection rates within a given year, such measures being displayed as outcomes/results within the realm of performance management are a necessity to display how well the police are conducting their business. For example, doctors within the National Health Service have to cut down times on waiting lists as police have to cut down crimes threatening the tranquility of communities. However, it would be naïve to consider such tasks as being the most singular and relevant indication of police performance both at local and national level.

In Mike Hough's study 'Policing for London' (2002, p29), a current phrase in interviews with police officers was 'what can't be measured doesn't get done and what doesn't count doesn't get done'. While the police like other public organisations respond to the target setting placed upon them, 'the bluntness of the instruments means that the process often yields perverse and unwanted effects, rather than the desired improvements'. In addition to this, Cassels (1994) cited in Edward (2005, p241) states, 'encouraging a high level of arrests per officer may put other responsibilities of the police at risk, notably those for reassuring the community, and for operating with integrity, common sense and sound judgement'. Therefore, performance measurements in this sense are not the reliable indication of the overall performance of the police service.

The over reliance on numerical measures of performance could effectively cause policing

personnel when held to account and rewarded for meeting targets, to place more importance on hitting the targets than striving for the overall effectiveness of the service. For example, if there is a performance indicator for tackling youth binge- drinking, officers will concentrate on reaching this target or which is classified as 'gaming' by the Audit Commission (2003) cited in Loveday (2005, p99).

The focusing of policing efforts on specific categories has 'denied the interconnectedness of problems of crime and disorder...offenders are generalist not specialist, with careers that start in their teen with petty delinquency and offending' Hough (2002, p30). Thus, governmental focus on these types of crimes could be seen as neglecting the complexities of criminality and norms of localised order. For example, structural and economic factors alongside cultural norms yield to a given level of criminality however the imperative to set targets against crimes remains an overwhelming factor in governance on both sides of the border. This is a view enhanced by Hough (2002, p30) who claims, 'political decisions about the balance between crime and control and the maintenance of order are being taken through the back door as a result of performance indicators and targets that now shape the police'. Subsequently, government driven performance indicators placed a great deal of pressure upon policing in that they are attempting to meet targets on crimes of which it could be argued, the causes of such are too indirect and complex to allow them to deliver.

Moreover, centrally controlled performance indicators and targets might have an adverse effect on certain communities and may also not be a priority at the local level. For example, the Scottish Executive target of an increase in the number of criminal networks

disrupted, 'New targets for Justice 2005-08' (Scottish Executive, 2005, p78) may not be an important to people in the Lothian and Borders police rural areas as of that with the Strathclyde police in inner city Glasgow. Another possible consequence of such targeting could be that in meeting the required targets would seem for the government that the police are delivering an efficient service however on the other hand attainment of these may be in the process of neglecting other areas in that people may feel a loss of confidence with the police and possibly not pass on vital intelligence and information to address the bigger crimes that the government view as national priorities to begin with.

Nevertheless, performance management is an area driven upon obtaining an insight of the police services activities, it will remain an area of continuous development in itself, as with what it sets out to do therefore it is ultimately going to continue to develop as our demanding climate for public organisations justification of public spending based upon results continues.

The struggle to enforcing an appropriate performance management system may look contextually straight-forward however perhaps this is where the possible lacking of government knowledge of performance indicators and how they filter within policing business to encompass all needs for 'bottom up' to 'top down' demands. For this reason, the report *Managing Police Performance: A Practical Guide to Police Performance Management* (2004, p2.4) highlights that 'performance management needs the right environment and it takes time'.

Therefore, in order to accommodate an effective performance management system there

is a need to develop a 'can do' performance culture in that every level of management would become leaders in being committed to making performance management a meaningful tool in that frontline officers buy into the need for such measures as in they are not merely done to them but with them in that performance management enhances the overall improvement of the service. This is encapsulated by Bourne (1999) cited in Donnelly and Scott (2005, p99) as if the police wish to 'attain a performance culture, the service needs to emphasise results as the motivation behind operational excellence instead of what skills officers have been trained in'.

Furthermore, as policing and the responsibilities placed within the services remit are ultimately to enable a quality of life for the public or whom are now viewed as the customer of policing business (hence the use of Police service instead of force), the public have a right to know how well their local service are performing, not just against a set of indicators but also against other forces. Subsequently the usage of performance figures in bench marking as laid out in the statutory guidance on Best Value under the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003, holds a great significance to the public and for the police themselves in that they can both see how effective public spending is being utilised in one force compared to that of another. On the other hand this can act as a building block for forces to encourage better delivery of service for others to achieve.

However, this can only be done in relation to specific police comparisons i.e. detection rates and not of the broader comparisons as this could lead to the development of tabular statistics which are presented out of context and could be construed as one force being better performers than the other without any recognise of the differences between forces

size and population to provide services on behalf of.

In addition there also needs to be a balance between national and local priorities, as the HMIC report 'Local Connections' (2004) cited in HMIC (2005, p43) there must be 'a strong citizen focus of listening to community concerns rather than merely imposing policy decisions driven by national targets'. In doing so, the police services performance can be captured within the wider spectrum it operates and held accountable both locally and nationally.

However, what must be noted as the HMICS (2007, p29) point out:

'performance management cannot take place in isolation, but must be linked to the overall strategy and priorities of the organisation. Otherwise the proposition 'what gets measured gets done' becomes a double edged sword, whereby inappropriate measurement systems can have adverse consequences for management and those to whom the service is provided'.

Therefore, performance management needs to be incorporated within the overarching business plan of police services. This trend towards performance management in Scottish policing had continued, and in 2007 was developed into a Scottish Policing Performance Framework (SPPF), following a year later by a more fully developed version (ACPOS/Scottish Government 2008). The SPPF is the product of significant collaborative working between ACPOS, the (then) eight Scottish police forces, the (then) Scottish Executive's Justice Department, HMICS; Audit Scotland and the Scottish Police Authorities Conveners' Forum. It sought to encapsulate the comprehensive nature of police activities through four areas: service response, public reassurance and community safety, criminal justice and tackling crime, and sound governance and efficiency with each

area identifying specific performance measures.

Each area of these areas identified high level objectives, a set of performance indicators, and some contextual information. The performance model is a collection of comprehensive performance indicators for policing – 45 in all – which will allow for consistent comparison across time and forces to be made. Nevertheless, the Framework raises issues as well as provides for them: for instance, the link between funding and police service ability to achieve outcomes; the contribution of the expanding private and public sectors to community safety as separate from the police input; and the clear identification of what makes good practice and poor practice to be avoided.

While the Framework is intended to facilitate the measurement and management of police performance in Scotland and to provide a basis for performance management, great emphasis is laid on the opportunities it provides for improved police accountability at local and national levels. The intention is that by providing consistent and transparent information about performance, which will be available on the Internet, both police boards and the general public will be able to better understand the quality of service provided by the police.

While the map of police performance management in Scotland can be shown to be well populated, there is also an increased focus by the Scottish Government on performance management and reform within the public sector more generally. With the introduction of Community Planning through the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 and the signing of the historic concordat between Scottish and Local government – to create SOAs (as set

out in 2.7 and 3.8) there are a new set of accountabilities for the police and policing in Scotland to contend with. What is more, a SOA is likely to be based upon the Community Plan of an area and key plans of the Community Planning Partners. However, this is not to say that the SOA replaces all the underlying service planning and performance management arrangements already in place i.e. the SPPF mentioned above for the police. It aims to provide a strategic outcome framework and focus for service planning, resource planning and performance management.

Therefore, importantly - a 'golden thread' needs to run from the high level outcomes in the SOA through to the underlying planning, delivery and performance systems of all partners.

4.11 Summary

This chapter provided an account of the changing nature of responses to community safety and developments from the police to policing in recent times. It also provided how such changes have created the space for a new infrastructure based on the importance of localised knowledge, the development of partnership working, the (re) development of community policing with the expansion of the policing family. Following this, the chapter plotted the development of these changes in light of security governance and governing 'through partnerships'. Coverage of how crime prevention and community safety were developed in parts of Scotland under the safer cities programme illustrated how community safety had been conceived and developed. This represented a realignment of

role played by the state how as will be seen in chapters six and seven that this realignment may have particular consequences. Lastly, this chapter provided an account of developments of performance more broadly, its influence and challenges for the police service in terms of accountability and measuring what they do.

Chapter 5

5.1 Introduction

‘For practical purposes, the kind of knowledge that is most useful is detailed, specific, local knowledge, focused on a particular problem or institution, or policy question and informed about the specific, cultural and political circumstances that apply. The best studies of this kind are nuanced, subtle and complex; are able to see the phenomenon in all its complexity and yet at the same time...aim to unravel the details of its many determinants, dynamics and consequences’ (Garland, 1998, p385-386)

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe, and justify, the research framework. The research framework is the means by which answers are sought to the research questions raised through the literature review and these questions, in turn, relate to the general aims of this research study, articulated in chapter one. The research questions translate the aims of the research project into a more specific set of relevant issues derived from existing research on the development of Community Planning and community safety partnerships from the micro (local) to the macro (national) - in order to understand the practice and potential difficulties associated with partnership working and community engagement, and their wider socio-political context and antecedents in which they developed. Being based upon existing knowledge, and intended to build upon such knowledge, the research questions provide the research with an evidence-based orientation, which helped to justify and determine the focus of the study.

5.2 Research Questions

As set out in Chapter one, the central aim of this thesis was to explore a case study of Strathclyde police service's implementation of a mandate to engage in partnership working and community engagement, as laid out in the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003. The literature review and policy development chapters, conducted during the last three chapters, have sought to 'unpack' this general aim through the examination of relevant literature, and subsequent themes and issues highlighted therein. This examination has enabled the researcher to be in a position to highlight a number of research questions, to guide the research study, and to inform the research framework and strategies set out in the main body of this chapter.

The three chapters of the literature review cover similar ground, albeit with a different emphasis, or focus, within each of them. Consequently, they touch upon a number of similar themes and issues, thus some of the research questions set out below arise from issues set out and addressed in these chapters.

- What are the key principles and policies of community planning and community safety?
(These are set out and contextualised in chapters two, three and four. Most specifically, a comparison to developments elsewhere alongside providing the distinctiveness of a Scottish approach is set out in chapter three).
- How have the above been applied within the Scottish context and at the local level?
(Chapter three provides for these developments at the national level. Chapters

seven and eight look at these more specifically at the macro and micro levels).

- How are they being realised in practice i.e. are there any gaps between the political and theoretical principles of community planning and community safety (rhetoric) and what is occurring at the local partnership and policing level (practice)? *(Chapter one and two presented a number of issues/problems relating to partnership working, engaging communities and how community safety is conceived. Chapter six looks at how the political and theoretical principles and the social construction thereof are structured within the research area. Chapter seven looks at these from a practical 'lived' experience level - micro level).*
- What, if any intra-organisational factors affect the implementation of community planning and community safety policies at different levels of the police organisation e.g. cultural conflicts between different levels of the police organisation; issues with information sharing, etc.?
- What and how do inter-organisational factors affect the implementation of community planning and community safety policies within the local case study area e.g. conflicts over material and human resources; issues of blurred boundaries between the role and function of agencies; and issues of getting organisations to participate in partnership working?
- What mechanisms are in place for consulting groups within the community about safety issues?

- Are new priorities, intelligence and information emerging from consultation with members of the community?
- Are any groups more influential in determining community safety priorities e.g. who is included/excluded in the planning process? *(These latter five questions are drawn from the previous literature reviews in chapters two, three and four which provided a backdrop to assessing whether these issues are applicable to the case study and a local Scottish context – as addressed in chapter seven).*
- What are is the impact of Police Scotland on Community Planning and Community Safety more generally? *(This has been discussed in light of the findings from this research compared to more recent literature and research).*

Having established the research questions the researcher was in a position to develop the research framework, which is the means by which the research questions are to be answered. In developing such a framework, a range of considerations confronted the researcher. The next section places the study in the context of existing research.

5.3 Level of existing research

The study of the police and policing has been a growing phenomenon throughout the world in recent years. Police studies has emerged from a combination of academic

disciplines which relates to the activities, individuals and organisations concerned with law enforcement, the investigation and prevention of crime, public order, and the processes of criminal justice. Academic research into policing in the United Kingdom is usually dated from the pioneering qualitative study by Michael Banton (1964) 'The Policeman in the Community'. Since then the study of policing, both quantitatively and qualitatively, has become an established field. As well as a growing number of academic sources, the range of specialist journals (e.g. *Police, Policy and Practice* and the *Policing Journal*), have contributed to an increase in research into policing from both academic and public policy sources.

Within Scotland, police, community safety and partnership research has until fairly recently gained attention. Many publications on policing and community safety tended to be of official or semi-official nature rather than being carried out by independent researchers. Indeed, Hughes and Gilling (2004) highlights the neglect of research into community safety and partnerships in Scotland in comparison to the numerous studies undertaken south of the border. However, in 2007, prior to the beginning of this research, the Scottish Institute for Police Research (SIPR) was formed from in recognition of this lack of research for policing.

Furthermore, as a relatively new research field in Scotland, there were few existing models to draw upon to help the researcher in their task. In fact, the need for in-depth knowledge about the actual practices and interactions between policy and practice is essential in order to produce an effective and informative study. Therefore, the subject needs an in-depth study to provide sufficient and effective understanding of this area of

study.

5.4 Research framework

The research is situated primarily within two methodological frameworks. First, the researcher was interested in how existing knowledge (for example, from the Community Planning legislation and guidance, Glasgow Community Plan, Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement, Glasgow Community Safety Assessment and policing strategies – Strathclyde Policing Model, Strathclyde Community Policing Model and ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy) have informed (chapter six) and guided action (chapter seven). As such, there was an evaluative component in the research (implementation of policy to practice); however this was not the only methodological approach the research followed.

Adaptive theory is the second methodological framework which structures my research. Adaptive theory (Layder, 1998) is eclectic, synthesising a range of approaches, paradigms and epistemological positions. It fuses inductive reasoning with deductive reasoning; extant theory shapes data collection and, at the same time, theory emerges and is refined during data collection. Theorising is thus a continuous part of the research process. For example, the present research was shaped by extant research which indicated some of the challenges and developments for the police and community safety partnership working. Furthermore, these developments helped structure this thesis, providing a platform for refining and adding to existing research. Alongside this, adaptive theory provides for the researcher to utilise the epistemological position of social

constructionism²⁰ – to account for the ways phenomenon are social constructed.

'Adaptive theory'²¹ draws attention to the interconnections between human agency, social activities, organisations, structures and systems. This is because Layder (1998) considers social reality to be multi-layered, containing objective and subjective elements, thus reconciling positivism and interpretivism. Adaptive theory 'targets the multiplicity of forms of interconnections between social agency and social structure (or system elements). These elements are tightly bound together to form a complex and multi-faceted social reality' (Layder, 1998: 143). It therefore follows that adaptive theory advocates multiple strategies of research in order to explore the multiple layers of the social world. This maxim is followed in the present research and will be discussed below. Before this, we need to look at possible strategies of inquiry for the research.

5.5 Strategies of Inquiry

Qualitative methods have a long history in police research. There is a plethora of research analysing the practices, implementation of policies and cultures of the police (Banton, 1964; Cain 1973; Holdaway 1983; Punch 1979; Kemp et al 1992; Chan, 1997; Crawford 1997; Scott et al, 2001 and Westmarland, 2001; Loftus, 2010). Many studies have also been based on interviewing officers (Reiner 1978, 1991; Fielding 1988) and the

²⁰ Social constructionism refers to interest in the normative narratives, or grand narratives, which are formed by and in turn influence people, and against which people measure themselves (Owen, 1992).

²¹ Adaptive theory is adaptive in two ways; theory adapts to accommodate research findings and the research process adapts and unfolds, according to theory.

analysis of records and documents

(Martin and Wilson 1969; Lambert 1970; Punch 1979; Waddington 1991, 1993; Wall 1998 and Westmarland 2001). Indeed, other research projects combine different methodological tools, notably observation, interviewing and documentary analysis (e.g. Crawford 1997, Lee 1998). Although not exclusively, this body of work supports the rationale for using qualitative research in undertaking this study on the police.

5.6 Case Study Research

A case study is 'an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' and it 'relies on multiple sources of evidence' (Yin, 1994,p.13). Case study research investigates predefined phenomena but does not involve explicit control or manipulation of variables: the focus is on in-depth understanding of a phenomenon and its context (Cavaye, 1996). According to Bryman (2004, p49), 'exponents of the case study design often favour qualitative methods such as observation and interviews because these methods are viewed as particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case'. The multiple research strategy of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, non-participate observation and documentary analysis affords specific insights into the policy formation and implementation processes particularly relevant in organisation contexts (Crawford, 1999). It enables the assessment of what people advocate – what they say they do - and what they actually do in practice.

Specifically, as Rutherford has noted, the 'institutional dissonance between words and deeds' is particularly acute in the field of criminal justice (Rutherford 1993, p160). A multiple strategy also allows for an exploration of different understandings and levels of meaning regarding what has occurred or been resolved at an observed meeting. It also facilitates the evaluation of the interaction between formal and informal representations, forms of communication and conflict (that may arise) (Crawford, 1999, p29).

By adopting a multi-method approach this thesis analyses the connections or disconnections between official policy and police strategy, actual policing actions and the experiences and perceptions of police officers' as to what constitutes community planning in practice. This research aimed to bring to light the various influences, factors and process that inform police practices by applying different methods.

It is timely at this point to refer back to Garland's quotation at the beginning of the chapter and to reconnect with the maxim of adaptive theory as both illustrate the importance of utilising a multi-method approach and looking at the multi-layers of the social world. In accordance with these, the researcher interviewed two senior City Council members, twenty one practitioners (police and community safety personnel at both strategic and managerial levels); and held three focus groups with community police officers from across the case study area (totalling twenty four respondents).

Adding to this, the researcher observed six partnership meetings and examined minutes, agendas and other partnership/police documentation. The field work was conducted between September 2008 and January 2010.

The case study selected was A Division of Strathclyde Police in Glasgow – incorporating both Central and West and West Local Community Planning Partnership areas (see appendix 1). There were a number of reasons for choosing this case study area. Firstly, it was the desire of the gatekeeper (see section 5.12) for the researcher to look at an area that was diverse and had multiple communities. A Division covered both Glasgow City Centre and residential areas to the west of the area. This area also incorporated a former SIP area (Drumchapel) which presented particular problems for the police engaging with the local community. Secondly, in preliminary meetings with the Public Reassurance Unit at Strathclyde Police Headquarters in the initial pilot stage of the research (see section 5.5) it was felt that as the Divisional Commander was leading the ‘Community Policing Model’ and it was through this and public reassurance strategy that community planning was to be implemented for the police (see chapter 7), it was fitting to research the area where community policing had a lead. Thirdly, it was felt that there was limited knowledge in this area as research had been carried out by Glasgow Caledonian University in the East of the City and at the time of the current study, research was starting to be undertaken in the south side of the city. Lastly, as the researcher lived within the Divisional boundaries it presented ease of access as he did not drive and relied on public transport to carry out the research.

The remainder of this chapter will explore and provide a rationale for adopting the multiple research strategy of semi-structured interviews, focus groups, non-participate observation and documentary analysis. It will identify and highlight the strengths and weaknesses of each approach; why each method has been chosen; how these may affect the research process and how careful planning was needed for a multiple research strategy, in case

study research, to successfully address the research questions.

5.7 Qualitative Interviews

Interviews are a frequently used method in social research. They are particularly popular with qualitative researchers and are considered by Guba and Lincoln (1981, p154) to be the very 'backbone of field research and evaluation'. Qualitative interviewing is generally distinguished from questionnaire-based interviewing, even if the form of communication, such as face-to face conversation, may be the same. Some interview styles produce highly structured data on people's opinions on a specific matter, whereas other interviews facilitate a more evocative communication of people's life experiences, activities, emotions and identities.

Although interviews can be used for the collection of straightforward factual information, their potential as a data collection method is better exploited when they are applied to the exploration of more complex and subtle phenomena. As Patton (1987, p115) states, 'the purpose of qualitative interviewing...is to understand how people in a program view the program, learn their terminology and judgements, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences'.

According to Yin (2009, p106), 'interviews are essential sources of information for case study research (Yin, 1994, p. 84), as it is through interviews that researchers can best

access case informants views and interpretations of actions and events. Semi- structured interviewing is more flexible than standardised methods such as the structured interview or survey. Described as 'a conversation with a purpose' (Web &Web 1932, p130), they are much more like conversations than formal events.

What's more, the in-depth format and interpretative nature of semi-structured interviews, permits the researcher to explore fully all factors that underpin the interviewee's response i.e. reasons, beliefs and values. Complex questions and issues can be discussed and clarified whereby the interviewer can probe areas suggested by the interviewees, pick-up information that had either not occurred to the interviewer or of which the interviewer had no prior knowledge. Indeed, probing the interviewee is 'at the core of qualitative research' (Noaks & Wincup, 2004, p75). Interviewee's were also invited to put forward ideas and suggestions on partnership working and to propose suggestions for possible issues raised during the interview.

Furthermore, the interviewee's experience has diverse qualities and meanings within which the semi-structured interview can explore these and their social organisation. According to Clarke (2000, p72), 'it is largely through interviews with programme planners, administrators and providers that a fuller understanding of the nature of the process, its principals and theory behind its design and implementation'. This is fundamentally important for the research as there are numerous implementation questions concerning community planning, community safety and the police service's involvement to be explored in the real-world setting; and certain subtleties of this policy implementation process has to be explored to gain a fuller understanding of how and if

partnership working is being played out.

In order to achieve this, semi-structured interviews were used in an exploratory manner seeking to investigate the interpretations of strategic, managerial and operational police officers. Indeed, 'allowing interviewees to 'speak their minds' is a better way of discovering things about complex issues and, generally, semi-structured interviews have as their aim discovery rather than 'checking' (Denscombe 2007, p176). The result was to obtain much more 'manageable, focused and reflexive material than could be collated via unstructured interviews or observational techniques' (Ritchie & Lewis 2006, p141). The sampling method employed was that of purposive sampling (Patton, 2001) whereby a sample is selected based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. The respondents are selected because of some characteristic. In this study, purposive sampling allowed the researcher to create a sample of respondents who had a role to play in the implementation of Community Planning. These included: police officers across the three levels of the police organisation (strategic, managerial and operational), community safety personnel and representatives from the City Council.

In any research, where the interview is a strong source of evidence, the quality of what is said will vary, notwithstanding any preparations or efforts to engender 'talk' put in place by the researcher. For instance, the interviewees' mood on the day of the interview, ability to open up in an interview with a relative stranger 'outsider-outsider' (Reiner and Newburn, 2008), or capacity to describe detailed or particular personal insights is inevitably variable. Some respondents in their efforts to be helpful or provide an account of events may even embellish reality, or tell stories. As Reiner (2000, p220) suggests, 'what police do in front

of observers, or what they say to interviewers, is intended to present an acceptable face to outsiders'. This was found in a few of the interviews with senior police officers. At the start of the interviews, the researcher became aware that senior officers tended to provide responses in line with organisational preferences – 'toeing the party line' and the researcher was arguably treated with suspicion. However, as interviews developed and conversations flowed in these instances - officers began to realise that the researcher had reasonably knowledge of their policing policies, had spoken to other officers and personnel they had acquaintances or a working relationship, and the researcher had developed an understanding of 'police speech' in terms of acronyms employed²². Following this, respondents then started to soften to the researchers' questions and provided depth to their responses with examples and broader responds than was initially provided.

Furthermore, it was found some respondents are much better at abstracting, have better vocabularies, or are more skilled at explaining and describing situations than others (c.f. the dilemma of practical and discursive knowledge and agency discussed by (Giddens, 1989). In fact, an examination of the interview transcripts demonstrated a degree of content variability between the different levels of police officers. This in turn, had an effect on the terminology, acronyms and language the researcher could employ at the various stages of the research. For example, when talking to police officers at the managerial level of the case study area, the researcher had to be continuously aware of how he approached and represented his questioning. For instance, some officers were well

²² Knowledge of police talk was developed during the fieldwork timescale and prior research the researcher had engaged in at both undergraduate and MSc level.

educated on the community planning process and how the police service's operational strategies i.e. the 'Strathclyde Police Community Policing' model and the Association of Chief Officers for Scotland (ACPOS) 'Public Reassurance Strategy' and the Single Outcome Agreement - were to be viewed by the strategic level of the police organisation - as the vehicles to which they would attempt to implement Community Planning for the police.

In contrast, police officers (at managerial and more so, the operational levels of the police) were more comfortable with the language of 'Community Policing', or as it was referred to 'Compol', and the language of 'Problem-Solving Policing' i.e. joint- partnership working, community engagement and consultation. This was also found to be the case when the researcher interviewed individuals from outside the police organisation i.e. local councillors and personnel from Glasgow and Community Safety Services. For instance, it was found that the conceptual language of community planning i.e. partnership working, best value, community involvement, consultation and engagement, had a stronger relevance and adherence with those outside the police organisation.

Nevertheless, as can be seen, there was a continuous interplay, and at times crossing over, between the required language and concepts the researcher had to employ. This in turn, placed the researcher in a position in which he had to continually re-evaluate and 'be on their guard' as to how he was going to capture the emerging data from each interview situation. As such the researcher took care in ensuring that the correct terminology is used as the correct level/time of interviewing. However, this was a skill that was developed during the research process and time in the field rather than a skill originally

possessed.

5.8 Non-Participant Observation

The classic form of data collection in case study research is observation of participants in the context of a natural setting (Yin 2003, p92-93). In this research, observational data will be used for the purpose of description – of setting, activities and people involved. This will involve observing Community Planning Partnership meetings (strategic level), divisional partnership meetings (managerial Level) and local partnership meetings (operational level). This was significant as it presented the researcher with the opportunity to observe and analyse the workings of personnel at each of these levels to determine who is setting community safety priorities; how information is being shared between partners; who is (said) to take action; and how consultation and agenda setting between partners (strategic level) is being taken forward into the managerial and operational levels of the police.

What is more, police officers at operational level were observed in their 'natural' setting i.e. day to day work 'on the ground', as it is at this level that essentially addressing community safety issues are carried out. This allows events, actions and experiences to be seen through the 'eyes' of the researcher, without any re-construction on the part of those involved. The researcher spent approximately two weeks with community police officers in various parts of the case study area.

Furthermore, the use of non-participant observation as a research tool can lead to deeper understandings than interviews alone, as it provides knowledge of the context in which events occur, and enables the researcher to see things that participants themselves are not aware of, or that they are unwilling to discuss (Patton, 1990). Whilst non-participant observation is where the researcher maintains a passive and non-interactive presence, there remains the risk of distorting the 'natural' setting of meetings. In an attempt to alleviate such problems, the identity of the researcher and purpose of the research was explained prior to attending the meetings. This is supported one of the four ideal-typical roles of observation as described by Burgess (2003) 'participant as observer role'. It was felt that this role was most appropriate since the researcher was not a member of any partnership and the research was not covert. When attending meetings, I consciously tried to blend in as much as possible so that my appearance and demeanour was in keeping with that of others attending the meeting. I employed the same strategy when interviewing police officers. In meetings, I would rarely speak unless, for example, I was asked about my research or to introduce myself.

By arriving early to each meeting, the researcher would position himself to maximise my view of the room. Arriving early and/or delaying his departure from the meeting also allowed the researcher to introduce himself to attendees. Before attending meetings, the researcher read information such as the minutes, agenda and supporting papers.

However preparation of this kind, although beneficial, was not always possible as the researcher did not always receive or was able to retrieve the paperwork in advance. In fact, on a few occasions, the previous meetings paperwork was made available to all

attendees of the meeting as it was positioned on the meeting table in front of each chair. When the researcher was able to obtain the paperwork prior to meetings, this enabled him to follow the direction of discussion in meetings whilst observing interactions and keeping in mind the research questions. When he was not able to do this, he followed each meeting by reading the paperwork given within the same day which enabled him to make linkages and notes to support what had been observed. Adding to this, he was able to raise questions he had in subsequent interviews with Community planning and policing personnel.

5.9 Documentary analysis

Formal document analysis tends to be used less than interview and observation in case study research and its potential for adding depth to a case has not perhaps been fully exploited (Simons 2009, p63). However, there are many ways in which documents can be used in case studies to portray and enrich the context and contribute to an analysis of issues. According to Simons (2009, p64), 'it is always worthwhile when beginning a study to consider what documents already exist which may be relevant to your case'.

Moreover, documentary material can provide a valuable source of information about the formal goals and aims of community planning and community safety in relation to the police. Government and police resources such as official reports, policy documents, internal (police) memoranda, file notes and progress reports can also reveal the extent to which there may be any differences of opinion over the structure, organisation or delivery

of community safety through partnership working. Other useful sources of information, which are often overlooked, are the internal magazines and organisational bulletins which are circulated within larger organisations such as the police. These were used to supplement information obtained from other sources (such as interview and observational data) and are often said to reflect the culture within an organisation and the issues which are currently of interest or concern to both management and employees (Darke et al 1998, p283; see chapter 7 for further analysis). This is important as it provided a good starting point for exploring the implementation of community planning and community safety policies and how they shape the delivery of policing services within a local Scottish context - all of which contain evidence as to how the organisation viewed itself and how the process of community planning is to evolve and develop.

Documents are also helpful in verifying the correct spellings and titles or names of individuals; and can provide other specific details to corroborate information from other sources (Yin 2009, p103). As such documentation was used at two stages - as a precursor to observing and interviewing to highlight and suggest issues that may be useful to explore in the case study, and secondly, to provide a context for interpretation of interview and observational data.

5.10 Focus Groups

There are many definitions of a focus group in the literature however Lederman (1995 in

Thomas et al, 1995, p 45) defines a focus group as, 'a technique involving the use of in-depth group interviews in which participants are selected because they are purposive, although not necessarily representative, sampling of a specific population, this group being 'focused' on a given topic'.

Participants in this type of research are, therefore, selected on the criteria that they work within the field in question and would have something to say on the topic being investigated. This approach to selection of participant's relates to the concept of 'applicability', in which subjects are selected because of their knowledge of the study area (Burrows and Kendall, 1997). In this research, community police officers in their 'practical' role of engaging with local communities and working proactively were selected to participate in focus group interviewing. This method also allowed for a greater number of participants to be involved, thus providing multiple perspectives on the topics covered. Fortunately for the researcher, there was already established relationships between all of the focus group participants, there was little problem of group effects and it was not necessary to draw in silent members of the group (Bryman, 2004; Noaks & Wincup, 2004), and little prompting for differing opinions was needed; the participants expressed similar opinions in most of the discussions.

One of the distinctive features of focus-group interviews is its group dynamics which means that the type and range of data generated through the interaction of the group is often deeper and richer than those obtained from one-to-one interviews (Thomas et al, 1995). Focus groups can provide information surrounding a number of ideas and feelings that participants' have about issues relating to the research questions, as well as

presenting the differences in perspectives between those in the group. While such attitudes, feelings and beliefs may be partially independent of a group, they are more likely to be revealed via the social gathering and the interaction which being in a focus group entails (Seale, 2006, p196).

Furthermore, Kitzinger (1995) argues that interaction is a crucial feature of focus groups because the interaction between participants highlights their view of the world, the language they use about an issue and their values and beliefs about a situation.

Interaction also enables participants to ask questions of each other, as well as to re-evaluate and reconsider their own understandings of their experiences. Adding to this, focus groups also provide information in a way which allows the researcher to find out why an issue is significant, as well as what is significant about it (Morgan 1988). As a result, the gap between what people say and what they do may be better understood.

However, as Krueger (1994) cited in Rabiee (2004, p656) postulates, '(rich) data can only be generated if individuals in the group are prepared to engage fully in the discussion...and advocates the use of a homogenous group...as acquaintances can relate to each other's comments and may be more able to challenge one another'. An example of such pre-existing grouping, relevant to the research and already mentioned, is the use of participants from community policing teams.

Furthermore, the benefits to participants of focus group research should not be underestimated. The opportunity to be involved in the research process and to be given

the chance to work collaboratively with researchers can be empowering for many participants (Seale 2006, p205). However, not all participants will experience these benefits, as focus groups can also be intimidating at times, especially for inarticulate or shy members. Therefore, other methods such as semi-structured interviews provided better opportunities for certain participants at certain times. This was negotiated at the access and informed consent stage of the research (see below).

In comparison to individual interviews, which aim to obtain individual attitudes, beliefs and feelings, focus groups may draw out a multiplicity of views and beliefs within a group context. However, it could be argued that the individual interview is easier for the researcher to control than a focus group. Scott, 1987 cited in Stewart and Shamdasani (1990, p.70) states that,

‘Interviewers have the difficult task of dealing with dynamics that constantly evolve...must handle the problems by constantly checking behaviour against attitudes, challenging and drawing out respondents with opposite views and looking for the emotional component of the responses’.

Adding to this, the attributes of the researcher may contribute to successful interviews.

According to Kreuger (1988, p75),

‘interviewers must be mentally alert and free from distraction, anxieties and pressures; should practice the discipline of listening to others in group situations; should memorise the questioning route and should be able to listen and think at the same time’.

In order to alleviate such problems, the researcher undertook focus group method

training, under the guidance of an experienced researcher²³, in a small-scale research project. This had provided the researcher with an understanding and practical experience of how to conduct a focus group interview. The focus groups allowed the researcher to gain access to respondent's perspectives in a relaxed environment. There were methodological issues in gaining and maintaining control over the topic of discussion, and preventing it from moving from formal discussion into a 'bitch fest'²⁴ proved to be a challenge. However during these lapses in concentration the respondents also expressed some interesting opinions and feelings about the topic without actually directly referring to the research. More specifically, care was needed to be taken when recording group discussions as multiple responses/opinions are being given at the same time. The research stressed the importance of 'turn taking' with responses and for the participants' to try and not talk over one another so as to make the discussion clear to record (Seale, 2006, p204).

5.11 Technical/personal assistance

For most of the interviews and the first focus group interview, the researcher used an Olympic Pearlcorder S711 microcassette recorder with supporting tape cassettes to record the proceedings. However, in the second focus group interview, to the horror of the

²³ This was the researcher's former second PhD supervisor Dr Elizabeth Frondigoun at Glasgow Caledonian University. The research was 'An evaluation of the Inverclyde initiative' published by the Scottish Institute for Police Research in 2009. The researcher was also involved in writing and analysing the data for the final report.

²⁴ Here the researcher is referring to respondents using the focus group as an opportunity to express their displeasure at working practices and problems associated with their roles.

researcher, it was realised that the tape had come off the micro cassette's reel and did not record any of the proceedings. Luckily, a fellow PhD colleague Mr Bradley was there as a non-participating observer to take notes on key points highlighted in the focus group interview (this was agreed prior with the Inspector of each area visited). Without this, the researcher would have had to rearrange another focus group with the same participants' to retrieve the information that was lost. As such, the researcher decided to invest in a digital recorder to ensure that this did not happen again. The researcher bought a small Sony digital recorder, and this was placed as unobtrusively as possible in each of the following focus group interviews.

The decision to have a supporting non-participant observer was taken prior to the start of focus group interviewing as the researcher did not want to disturb the flow of the focus group by taking notes and not seeming to be paying attention to what the participants' were saying. Therefore, the researcher took very few notes, preferring to focus on the conversation. In fact as the researcher remarked to participants' when explaining Mr Bradley's presence, he preferred to listen rather than write in order to become fully engaged in what the participant's had to say.

5.12 Negotiating Access

The decision to use the above research methods, of course, needs to take account of their feasibility as a data collection method. The researcher needs to be 'assured that

access is granted to conduct the research' (Mason, 2003, p91). The key to accessing senior police personnel and police officers working within the case study area is being able to negotiate access through a 'gatekeeper'²⁵. The gatekeeper for this research was the Assistant Chief Constable of Community Safety for Strathclyde Police. The gatekeeper was crucial, for not only initial access to interviewees and observations but for continuing support and access. The researcher had worked with the gatekeeper previously with his undergraduate and postgraduate research and had built a strong rapport with this individual.

However, this is not to claim that access through a gatekeeper is unproblematic. For example, a possible problem with the gatekeeper could be that the interviewee's selected may be the individuals who conform to the gatekeepers' conception of what will be suitable for the research. It has to be remembered that the gatekeeper, while being helpful and supportive, has the primary objective of guarding the integrity of the police service. In an attempt to overcome this predicament, it must be negotiated at the earliest stage that participants need to be selected in terms of their involvement in community safety and partnership working rather than any pre-determined selection preference of the police. Bryman (2004, p518) refers to this type of negotiation as 'the research bargain'.

Furthermore, it was important to recognise that access to research sites is not achieved once and for all. There is still the problem of securing the trust and genuine co-operation of the participants' within the case study area itself, after formal access has been given.

²⁵ Gate-keepers can be defined as 'those individuals...that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purpose of the research (Burgess, 1984, p48).

According to Reiner (2000, p220) this involves 'continuous negotiation with individuals...who may have different interests and perspectives and hence distrust the researcher'. This may also be reflected by the fact that having gained official approval for the research, this in itself, can be an issue when it comes to being trusted by the interviewee's, who may regard the researcher as a tool of management scrutiny.

Furthermore, as some of the respondents knew access to the research was granted by the Assistant Chief Constable of Community Safety, they presented rather prescriptive and selective responses 'toeing the party line' in initial parts of interviews, as the researcher was viewed with suspicion (also see section 5.16 for further discussion).

In order to alleviate this problem, the researcher stressed that the research was an independent academic piece of work, not commissioned on behalf of the police, which aims to evaluate the processes of community planning and community safety interventions. In addition, it was important for the researcher to emphasise their neutral stance and their lack of affiliation to any pre-conceived viewpoint²⁶.

While access has been granted from the senior level within the police organisation this does not necessarily mean that accessing the field is a straight-forward process.

Problems occurred in terms of tracking down individuals who are either very busy or do not answer their emails. This led to feelings of panic, confusion and deflation at times on

²⁶ However, this was debatable at times of the research. See section 5.15 on going native.

the part of the researcher. However as the supervisors of the PhD reiterated time and time again, 'a PhD is a research process' and 'welcome to research'. Research is a slow process and access is even more difficult.

5.13 Qualitative analysis of interview/focus group transcripts and observation of meetings – coding the data

Interview transcripts and field-notes from my observation of partnership meetings were analysed using NVIVO. Through coding, the analysis explored themes in the data. An example of a coding schema can be found in Appendix 2. There were two stages to the coding process. During primary coding, the researcher coded three interview transcripts from senior police and community safety representatives. In order to enhance the validity of the coding categories, the researcher and his former PhD supervisor²⁷ both coded the transcripts. Before the researcher coded the transcripts he re-read his review of the existing research and reminded himself of his research questions and interview schedule. In addition, the field notes collated through non-participant observation were analysed in relation to data gleaned from semi-structured interviews to correlate emergent/diverse themes and experiences.

During secondary coding, the researcher merged the nodes developed and added to them by re-examining nodes developed in previous research. This re-examination of

²⁷ See section 5.15 for discussion on changes to PhD

previous themes revealed the research had missed a few nodes, such as neighbourhood management and strategic priority. I also sub-categorised nodes by browsing through the data for each. The researcher drew a conceptual diagram with the aid of bubbl.us to represent the nodes and sub-nodes, and drew arrows between them to indicate possible links. This diagram was a useful aide-memoire throughout the analysis.

5.14 Analysis and writing

Whilst analysing and writing my thesis, the researcher was guided by Wolcott's (1994) principle of balancing description, analysis and interpretation. Description addresses the question of what is going on; it is about letting the data speak. Analysis identifies essential features and systematically examines similarities and differences in the data.

Interpretation refers to meaning and context; it extends the analysis by drawing implications and inferences. Separating these processes was a way of varying their emphasis in the research, although this is not to say they are not inter-related. It was felt that separating these processes strengthened my analysis and writing because description formed a foundation from which to build the analysis and interpretation.

The chapters were written in the order that they appear in the thesis. Chapter six is relatively descriptive (which some supporting inferences) however it provides the foundation to which analysis and interpretation of respondent's 'lived experience' can be

discussed and further explored²⁸ in chapter seven. Further to this, both of these chapters have an overtone of community governance in terms of the significance of partnership approaches (Community Planning) to governance and the provision of public services. Therefore, these chapters culminate in evidence from the chosen research methods, thus following the position of adaptive theory whereby the research process adapts and unfolds, according to theory.

The comparison of views across the case study and research methods was facilitated by Nvivo since it allowed the researcher to search the coded data by theme, agency or partnership. The researcher used these search tools to write notes for each chapter.

These notes consisted of bullet points for each theme in the chapter whereby the researcher summarised each respondent views, and 'cut and pasted' relevant quotes or excerpts from Nvivo.

Whilst writing the notes for each chapter, a node(s) would normally correspond to a subtheme in a chapter. The researcher would read through the data for this particular node, summarising the views of each interviewee or meeting and would add annotations or notes to support the relevance of inclusion. The researcher would also sub-divide a chapter theme into sub-themes, by respondent and by level of working i.e. operational community police officer or community safety practitioner.

²⁸ Theorising to emerge as set out by Adaptive Theory (Layder (1989)).

Once the researcher completed the chapter notes, he would return to the beginning and use these notes to determine what he wrote. He would then subsequently move on to the next chapter and follow the same process.

5.15 Ethics

Responsibility to the needs of the participants' was addressed at various stages of the research process. From the researcher's point of view, this is particularly important in relation to research ethics. The semi-structured interviews/focus groups should not be done by secret recording of discussions or the use of casual conversations for research purposes. It is openly a meeting intended to produce material that will be used for research purposes; therefore the interviewee will need to understand this and agree to it. It is important in agreeing to participate in an interview/focus group that an individual fully understands what the research is about and why they are being asked to be part of it. Participant's should never be forced or coerced into helping with research and their 'participation must always be voluntary...they must have sufficient information about the research to arrive at a reasoned judgement about whether or not they want to participate' (Denscombe 2007, p145). These are the premises of 'informed consent'. A means of obtaining 'informed consent' is by receiving it in writing via the use of a consent form. The consent form included details on the objective of the research, expectations about the interviewee's contribution and right to withdraw consent; and a commitment by the researcher with regard to the confidentiality and security of data. This in turn, would

protect the researcher from any accusations of improper conduct when carrying out the interviews/focus groups.

Furthermore, the responsibilities of the researcher to the respondent extend beyond the completion of the interview/observation/focus groups. According to Noaks and Wincup (2006, p48) 'qualitative data is subject to the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998, and it is the responsibility of the interviewer to ensure that data are adequately protected'. Therefore the researcher has a moral and ethical obligation to follow a policy of non-disclosure of information shared and give research participants assurances about confidentiality. These are especially important given political sensitivities, the requirement that research participants comment on the police as an organisation, and that field work has been undertaken in a single case study. It was clear to respondents, the researcher will attempt to ensure that neither quotations nor statements will be reported which would allow identification of sources. Furthermore, the research proposal prior to the beginning of the fieldwork had to be approved by the University²⁹ Research Ethics Group, and conducted in accordance with the University Code of Good Practice in Research (Glasgow Caledonian, 2008).

²⁹ This was with Glasgow Caledonian University Research Ethics Group.

5.16 Personal and Political³⁰ issues in the research process – methodological reflections

As in any aspect of research, using the above research methods, required a level of foundation knowledge as the researcher will need to be 'well informed about the topic...and on issues that are likely to arise during the research' (Denscombe 2000, p189). It was imperative the researcher had an understanding of the context of the research to facilitate alertness to significant themes. This was supported by literature reviewing, the use of documentary analysis, non-participant observations and previous experience of researching policing policies with Strathclyde Police. Without these, the researcher would not have the articulacy to think of 'probes' (Given, 2008) or follow up questions during the interview/focus group or may not be able to respond to signals/cues identified by the participants. Adding to this, as the beginning of the research process³¹, the researcher spent three months with Strathclyde Police Public Reassurance Unit at Force Headquarters looking at the development of Public Reassurance and Community Policing in respect of Community Planning. It was here the researcher was allowed time to ask questions of Unit personnel, arrange contacts with potential respondents (key informants) and to determine an appropriate area in which to undertake the case study research.

³⁰ Politics here is the non-party-political sense of the working through of power and contests over the research (Bryman, 2004, p517).

³¹ Throughout the research process the researcher referred to this time in the Public Reassurance Unit as his pilot phase.

5.16.1 Time spent and new horizons

The research from this thesis started in September 2008 with the thesis being completed in June 2015. This represents a time period of seven years which merits some explanation as to why this was the case. Initially, the researcher obtained a PhD scholarship at Glasgow Caledonian University for three years. During this time he worked on the research and fieldwork, as set out in this chapter. He also undertook module leadership, lecturing and tutorials alongside completing his Postgraduate Diploma in Social Research (with Policy Analysis)³². However as funding ended in August 2010 the researcher needed to find employment in order to financially support himself. In September 2010 the researcher gained employment as a full-time Lecturer in Criminology and Criminal Justice Studies at Plymouth University and subsequently transferred his PhD to Plymouth University in 2012.

5.16.2 Going native...

When representing the findings in this thesis the researcher had to be careful with how he presented the views of respondents as it became noticeable, on occasions, that he was displaying signs of going 'native' in supervisory meetings. Continuous reading of chapter

³² This was funded as part of the PhD scholarship. Most PhD scholarships are 1+3 or +3 funded. However, as part of the researchers training his former supervisors decided that undertaking the Postgraduate Diploma would be beneficial to the research. The Postgraduate Diploma was obtained over one year of the PhD therefore the scholarship the researcher eventually obtained was 1 in 3.

drafts and meetings with supervisors³³, alongside the time since the fieldwork was 'actually' carried out (see above) had helped the researcher dull this down somewhat. The researcher worked hard to achieve 'analytic distance' from this position, to set aside taken-for-granted assumptions and to see oneself in the role as the researcher. The cultivation of reflectivity, and keeping personal diaries, also helped create some distance.

5.17 Summary

This research contains an evaluative component and it is situated within the methodological framework of adaptive theory, which views theorising as fluid, social reality as having multiple dimensions and encourages multiple strategies of research. Hence, interviews, observation, documentary analysis and focus groups were chosen to explore the implementation of community planning within the case study area. The case study area was chosen based on a number of factors as outlined in the main body of this chapter. Interviews and observational data were coded and analysed using Nvivo, in order to draw out key themes relevant to existing literature and the development of new inferences. Manual coding was also used in places. The researcher adhered to a number of key ethical considerations and presented a reflection on the political and personal issues in the research process.

³³ Supervisors referred to at this stage were the Director of Studies and second supervisor at Plymouth University

Chapter 6

6.1 Introduction

From previous chapters, Community Planning is frequently described as the key overarching partnership framework, helping to co-ordinate partnerships and other initiatives and where necessary acting to rationalise and simplify a cluttered governance landscape. Government in Scotland – at all levels – are investing a significant degree of confidence in the ability of community planning to improve the connection between national priorities and those at local and neighbourhood levels. Community planning has been presented, throughout the thesis, as a vehicle providing the opportunity to link national priorities to those identified within communities themselves, taking advantage of the influence that community planning partners have through the way in which they use their resources and deliver their services, and then producing comprehensive plans that integrate across societal and governmental sectors in Scotland – thus aiming to ‘create local solutions to locally identified problems’ (Strathclyde Police, 2004, p2).

This chapter aims to undertake the difficult task of providing a narrative setting out and unravelling³⁴ how the components of community planning come together with community safety partnership working in the case study³⁵. This is important, firstly, as

³⁴ This has not been a straightforward task and had taken the researcher approximately six months to understand how this all fits together. Diagrams are provided in an attempt to simplify this structure for the reader.

³⁵ Reference will be made to structures that are in place in Glasgow more broadly but are applicable to the case

it will provide the reader with a sense of how all the different parts of community planning are said to 'fit' together and will therefore aim to provide some coherence to a rather complicated landscape. However a note of caution is needed, as a number of points (functions, remits etc.) are provided from a rather prescriptive, top down governmental³⁶ stance – setting out what 'ought to be' or the vision of community planning in Glasgow rather than what 'is' or the 'lived experience' of these in practice. Nevertheless, these will be contextualised and developed further with the support of previous research and empirical data from interviews with those involved in developing the community planning and community safety processes within this study.

Although the empirical research was informed by research questions set out in the preceding chapter, inevitably the data collected did not necessarily fall easily within the boundaries established by these questions. This is to be expected from the interpretivist stance adopted (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and from the open structure of the qualitative framework employed in the research. Consequently, the findings in this chapter are not organised directly around answering the research questions. Rather, they are organised around the relatively broad and loose themes, which emerged from the data collected.

Interview and other data was read and re-read, and emergent themes were identified in order to build a more comprehensive understanding of this architecture. The data is organised around a narrative, which draws upon policy/governmental literature to

study area. Thus, some structures are presented as uniformed throughout the city.

³⁶ This includes official documentation from the Scottish Government, Local Authority and partner organisations.

clarify or demonstrate the relevance of a particular levels of the Community Planning structure, however, in chapter seven, a more comprehensive effort is made to relate the research to the main issues addressed by the literature, in the context of the research questions and the 'lived experiences' of respondents.

This chapter highlights the centrality of both the Community Plan and the Single Outcome Agreement to community planning in Glasgow – both presented as key 'blueprints' in which to address local needs and concerns and how to achieve outcomes within the community planning structure – thus attempting to take community planning forward. More specifically, the chapter aims to set out the structures and processes under the safe theme of the community plan, as this is where police partnership working is mainly represented³⁷ and has formed the focus of the research. Coverage of community safety partnership structures - the processes of Neighbourhood Management, Community Policing, the ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy and the involvement of Glasgow Community Safety Service (GCSS) are all important components in this developing domain. Collectively, these are presented as how community planning is deemed to be 'successfully' implemented and as a backdrop to the discussion and analysis in the next chapter.

³⁷ However as an important point of note, the Strathclyde Police – Community Planning a practical guide for Managers (2004, p2) sets out, 'through Community Planning, many of our policing services will be delivered in an integrated manner to meet the needs of the communities we serve, addressing the five national priorities of Crime, Health, Education, the Economy and Transport. This in turn illustrates a level of acceptance for, and challenges to ensure that, the police service have a role to play in each of the national priorities, not only those relating to crime.



Figure 4.

Figure 4 above sets out to provide an indication of how this is all structured. Within these cells of expertise are the chairs or champions of each theme. For a fuller overview of this structure in relation to the safe theme, see appendix 12.

6.2 Community Planning in Glasgow

All 32 councils across Scotland have now established a Community Planning Partnership (CPP) to lead and manage community planning in their respective areas. Within Glasgow - the Glasgow Alliance – previously the regeneration and social

inclusion partnership for the city (see chapter 2 for discussion on regeneration and social inclusion) was formally replaced by Glasgow Community Planning Ltd (GCP Ltd) on the 25 November 2005. There were a number of reasons put forward for the establishment of a Limited Company and the integration of regeneration into its remit. Firstly, it was determined there was limited support arrangements for community planning in Glasgow as 'only a handful of staff were working full time on the development of Community Planning in the city' (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006, p06). It was also apparent that in order to deliver both Community Planning and manage area based regeneration, the city would need an adequately resourced support body to deliver on this. As the Glasgow Alliance were already delivering area based regeneration services (through the former SIP programme), this new organisation became a starting point to amalgamate such functions with the requirements of Community Planning (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006).

However, the Glasgow Community Planning Partnership differs from the former SIPs programme in a number of important respects. As has been set out in previous chapters, Community Planning has a statutory basis. Local authorities had a legal obligation, as outlined in the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003, to ensure that they have a Community Plan in place covering their entire area. Local authorities are bound as the lead agency (power to advance wellbeing – see chapter three) in this process and must involve other public bodies such as Health Boards, Enterprise Companies, Police, Fire and Transport agencies. These agencies are expected to participate fully in accordance with the legislation and guidance notes (as set out in

chapter three). Legislative backing and guidance on process underpin Community Planning, however both the Scottish Government and Communities Scotland view both local people and communities, and a shift in 'culture' of agencies as the key drivers for achieving improvements in public services (Scottish Government, 2004). This is an important theme that will be returned to and developed further in the next chapter.

GCP Ltd was set up as a Company Limited by guarantee with recognised charity status in 2005. The main advantage put forward of being a separate legal entity is that the company can deliver on behalf of the Partnership, negotiate independently and also enter into legal contracts with relevant bodies (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006). All of this could be done without having to rely on or be bound by the processes and procedures of one particular community planning partner. It was felt that, 'this structure facilitates more effective decision making and speedy delivery of outcomes, and also ensures the impartiality of the management function' (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006, p3). This was also an attempt to ensure that all community planning partners are served on an equal and transparent basis. According to Gray (2007, p5) the

core roles for GCP Ltd are to:

'facilitate the development of community planning in the city, promote partnership working, encourage community engagement and manage area based regeneration activities on behalf of the Partnership'.

Therefore structurally, GCP Ltd aimed to support Community Planning at a citywide, area wide and local level bringing together key organisations from the public, private, voluntary and community sectors to tackle local issues. Located both in a central support team (Glasgow city centre) and in Area Teams³⁸ across Glasgow, the key functions and responsibilities of GCP Ltd are:

City Wide Level

- Central management of finance, monitoring, HR, IT and marketing activity on behalf of the Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (CPP).
- Supporting city-wide service to work together to provide better public services.
- Co-ordinating the implementation of the Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) (see below for further discussion) and overseeing progress toward agreed priorities and outcomes.
- Central management of funding programmes and allocations.

Area Wide Level

- Co-ordinating local Community Planning Partnership activity and overseeing

³⁸ This was the remit of the Community Planning manager. See section 6.8.

targeted regeneration work.

- Managing local funding allocations.
- Facilitating joint working arrangements and joint planning.

Local Level

- Developing a Local Strategy and associated action plans in line with the Glasgow CPP priorities.
- Implementation of the Single Outcome Agreement (and regeneration outcomes) within targeted areas (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006).

It has also been suggested that GCP Ltd provides the community planning process with 'added value' by looking at the city as a whole; and linking together city wide and local level strategies' (Glasgow Community Planning Limited, 2006, p3). This was supported by reflections of a senior local authority councillor:

“The trick is how to deliver that across the city and make sure that people have an input into it. Because this time we are going to learn from the mistakes in community engagement we learned with the social inclusion partnerships. You had certain community groups and representatives that had actually brought in their own agenda...controlling staff etc. It's just a waste of resources and everyone's time. Constant battles locally and that's why actually some of the social inclusion partnerships failed. So this time clearly we have got to engage with the community but we have put structures in place then that wouldn't be

managed by the community, it will be serviced by one of the partners who will provide the staff to make sure that there is proper feedback from the community and that the communities voice is heard. So that's what we have put in place".

Furthermore, a Police Community Inspector³⁹ in the case study maintained:

"The days of everybody wanting the problems round the corner solved are long gone and they are not going to get that but under the old SIP's everybody wanted that. It was just not achievable..."

Both of these quotations suggest the challenges set for the management of Community Planning and for communities themselves are to learn from mistakes in the past. While GCP Ltd may have provided opportunities for both community input and feedback (see section 6.9), the expectations from communities need to be more realistic than they were previously.

Furthermore, according to a Senior Police Officer, 'I would say community planning first started here (*Glasgow*) in November 2006 with 'Operation Phoenix'⁴⁰. The difficulty back then was that the partners were very sceptical of community planning and working with the police – "this will never work". Adding to this, perhaps as an organisation the 'police made promises they didn't substantiate". This took a lot of time for partners to gain any level of 'trust' in the police.

³⁹ This officer worked in their policing area from the introduction of SIPs to the time of the research fieldwork.

⁴⁰ Operation Phoenix was a seven week policing initiative in cooperation with local community organisations, which brought together teenagers up to the age of 17 from ten territorial areas across Greater Easterhouse in Glasgow in 2007. As well as encouraging the integration of young people from the different territorial areas in a safe and fun environment, the aims of the initiative included building positive relationships between police and young people and, importantly, getting the young people off the street as an alternative to anti-social behaviour and involvement in gang activity (Frondigoun, 2008).

Another perspective on the development of community planning was provided by a Community Inspector:

‘For me joint problem-solving, which is what Community Planning is all about, started off in South Lanarkshire (Q Division⁴¹) and I started to see a pattern emerging BD division (Shettleston), Saracen as well and in Greenock where they had the officers from the original pilot in Q division’.

Both of these comments provide an indication of what community planning means for the police and how it has come to be developed in the police service. The first quotation, like the comments from a senior City Councillor above, provides an indication that lessons need to be learned from previous experience when considering the development of partnership, with ‘trust’ being a key defining point in creating partnerships. Following this, the second quotation presents that there is a history of joint problem solving in Strathclyde Police and that key problem solvers (those involved in the Q Division pilot) are using their experience to roll out similar means of problem solving elsewhere. This in turn seems to suggest the importance of officers with a problem solving mind-set to the development of Community Planning and that positive lessons can be transferred to other areas of the police service.

⁴¹ The Problem Solving Policing pilot, established across South Lanarkshire (Q Division) during 2002, provided an

innovative way in which to tackle community concerns and problems using the Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment SARA problem solving model (Tilley, 2005). The development of this approach was based on:

- more effective joint partnership working
- the sharing of information more co-ordinated service delivery
- greater responsiveness to community concerns.

They use a variety of external and internal consultation measures including:

- Citizen’s Panel (which surveyed over 1700 residents across South Lanarkshire)
- Neighbourhood Management Surveys
- Employed FMR Research Ltd to carry out research throughout South Lanarkshire to inform
- Neighbourhood Management Plans.

The Pilot was nominated for a Tilley Award in 2007.

Furthermore, according to the Strathclyde Police Primary Inspection (2004, s4.4) the (then) Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police William Rae was a founding member of the Community Planning Task Force when it was established in 2001⁴². As set out in chapter 3 (section 3.7), this body was responsible for taking community planning forward on a national basis and shaping the legislation (Local Government in Scotland Act) which was later introduced in 2003. At a force level, a Community Planning Unit (called Public Reassurance Unit⁴³) was established in advance of the legislation and a strategy was devised to implement it across the service. This strategy – *Community Planning a practical guide for managers* (Strathclyde Police, 2004, p2) provides that Community Planning will ‘assist in supporting our (*Strathclyde Police*) operational policing strategies of public reassurance, response policing and engaging criminality’ (see section 6.10 for further discussion).

Furthermore, in an extract from the former Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police in the Glasgow Community Plan (2005, p 15), he sets out the challenge for Strathclyde Police (and partners) in delivering Community Planning:

“Our mission, Working Together-Building Safer Communities, characterises this organisation’s strong commitment to Community Planning. We have achieved much in delivering the variety of policing services demanded by our local communities, but there is much more to do and I am confident that closer partnership working will increase our ability to recognise and respond to local needs. Community Planning is about people, and demands that partners consult on and plan the provision of services prior to their delivery. Strathclyde Police has been fully involved in preparations to introduce Community Planning in

⁴² The Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police took over as Chair of the Community Planning Task Force in the following year.

⁴³ This was the Unit the researcher refers to spending three months within the methodology chapter.

Glasgow. The challenge for us all is to ensure, that together, we make Glasgow a safer place.”

Collectively, this evidence suggests a strong historical relationship between Strathclyde Police and Community Planning since its conception. The Chief Constable had set out the challenge for the police (and partners) for Community Planning within Glasgow through his excerpt in the Glasgow Community Plan, and it has been shown that he had an influence on the evolution, development and direction of Community Planning nationally. For Strathclyde police to address this challenge in the first instance, the development of a strategy provided support for police managers by providing how Community Planning was to be linked with their operational strategies. However, and in accordance with the principle aim of this thesis, the challenge of how this has been implemented in practice will form the focus of the next chapter.

6.3 The Partnership - Glasgow Community Planning Partnership (CPP)

Glasgow Community Planning Partnership was formed in February 2004 to take forward the city’s approach to community planning. Core membership of the CPP includes: Glasgow City Council, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow, Greater Glasgow NHS, Strathclyde Police, Strathclyde Fire and Rescue, Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, Glasgow Community Planning Ltd, Glasgow Council for the Voluntary Sector, Strathclyde Partnership for Transport, Communities Scotland, Glasgow Colleges Group, Job Centre Plus, the Scottish Executive, and Glasgow Housing Association.

The remit of GCPP was to lead on a strategic overarching plan for Glasgow (the Glasgow Community Plan) with a view to the delivery of 'better, more joined-up public services in the city' (Glasgow Community Plan 2005-2010, p10). There were five key themes within the Glasgow Community Plan which aimed to provide the strategic objectives to assist the vision for Glasgow Community Planning Partnership. These themes also provided the focus for joint working across the City and presented linkages to and relevance for the National Priorities for communities as set out in the Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement 2008-09. The themes were:

- *A Healthy Glasgow*
- *A Learning Glasgow*
- *A Safe Glasgow*
- *A Vibrant Glasgow*
- *A Working Glasgow*⁴⁴

6.4 Glasgow Community Planning Strategic Board

It is the GCPP Strategic Board⁴⁵ who developed the Community Plan as a whole, and

⁴⁴ These are similar to the priorities as set out in the Community planning practical guide for police managers (Strathclyde Police, 2004), mentioned previously.

⁴⁵ The GCPP Strategic Board consists of the following organisations:

sets the overall strategic priorities (as set out above) for community planning across the City. The board was chaired by the Deputy Leader of the Council meeting every three months.

Other roles and responsibilities of the Strategic Board were:

- To report to the Scottish Government and seek views on progress towards the vision for Glasgow (Glasgow Community Plan) on an annual basis.
- To monitor progress and amend as required.
- To agree and develop structures for community planning at a local level.
- To establish clear linkages between the various levels of community planning with a view to developing and maintaining unified and interconnected partnership arrangements within the city.
- To explore opportunities for joint working and promote the development of integrated services.

-
- Glasgow City Council
 - Glasgow Housing Association
 - NHS Greater Glasgow & Clyde
 - Strathclyde Fire & Rescue
 - Strathclyde Police
 - Glasgow Chamber of Commerce
 - Glasgow's Third Sector Forum

- To establish effective mechanisms for community engagement with a view to enabling communities to feed into community planning structures in the city.
- To produce a Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) that describes the shared long term vision for Glasgow and how it shall be achieved (Glasgow City Council, 2013).

From above, it can be seen that the Community Planning Partners aim to work and develop actions around key issues, as set out in the Community Plan. However, the context within which Community planning partners operate had changed significantly since they were given a statutory basis in 2003. This can be seen with the development of SOAs.

6.5 Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement

In 2007, the Scottish Government agreed an overarching purpose ‘to create a more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth’ (Scottish Government, 2008, p4). It also established a National Performance Framework to monitor progress towards this purpose. The Framework sets out 15 national outcomes, which public services had to work towards (see appendix 3).

As part of this approach, the Scottish Government and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) signed a concordat (see chapter 3 for further discussion), to encourage Local and National Government to work together towards the common aims. This agreement provided a commitment whereby both local and national government working towards common goals through a framework of Single Outcome Agreements (SOA).

Adding to this, a significant change, as a result of the concordat, was the removal of previous ring fenced funding and the transferal of funds into the local government settlement (absorption of £2.4 billion across Scotland) (Accounts Commission, 2011). The removal of a number of ring-fenced funding streams, some of which had previously been directed through individual partner agencies, had been given to local authorities thus, in theory, allowing them more flexibility in the way they spend money (Audit Scotland, 2009).

As part of the concordat, Glasgow city council developed a SOA. The SOA for each council area should outline the strategic priorities, expressed as local outcomes, and identify how these will contribute to achieving national outcomes. Glasgow's SOA for 2008/09 was developed by the Council and its Community Planning partners from the key partnership strategy documents already in place, including the Council plan 2008-11 and the Community Plan 2005-10 and Strathclyde Police Control Strategy (see appendix 4). The SOA sets out the council's contribution to the government's fifteen national outcomes (see table 1) and contains twenty four local outcomes supported by

a number of performance indicators (see table 2), which are used to demonstrate the progress made. Performance management is therefore led by the local authority and an annual performance report had to be prepared across the activities of all partners within the Community Planning Partnership. It is deemed by the Audit Commission in their review of Community Planning in Glasgow, that the effectiveness of these reporting arrangements will be crucial in demonstrating that community outcomes are being achieved (Audit Scotland, 2009).

What is more and highlighting the significance of both the Single Outcome Agreement and the Community Plan, the Audit Commission set out that, 'the Glasgow community plan has to be used as the foundation for a Single Outcome Agreement (SOA), helping to strengthen joint working with other partner organisations and focus resources on key priorities' (Audit Commission, 2009, p7).

Each party to this Agreement is mutually accountable for the delivery of the agreed outcomes, which means that each partner:

- will jointly take ownership and responsibility for their respective contributions to the agreed outcomes; and
- will be able to hold each other to account for the delivery of specific commitments they make to enable the delivery of the agreed outcomes (GCP, 2014).

With regard to the GCPP strategic board therefore, they have the duty to:

- To produce a Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) that describes the shared long term vision for Glasgow and how it shall be achieved (Glasgow City Council, 2013).

6.6 Glasgow Community Planning Executive Group

Moving on with the Community Planning architecture, sitting under the strategic board of the Glasgow Community Planning Partnership is the Executive Group. This group was chaired by the Chief Executive of Glasgow city council and aimed to bring together senior officers/personnel from all the partner organisations involved in Community Planning in Glasgow. For example, the Assistant Chief Constable of Community Safety was Strathclyde Police's representative on the Executive group and includes senior personnel from Glasgow Housing Association (GHA), NHS Glasgow, Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Fire and Rescue. The Executive group reported to the Strategic board and has delegated authority from the board to make decisions (Audit Scotland 2014).

Furthermore, some personnel on the Executive Group were also Thematic Champions for the themes within the Community Plan. For instance, with the safe theme, Assistant Chief Constable of Community Safety for Strathclyde Police was also the

thematic Champion for Community Safety and as part of this role chaired the Community Safety Partnership (city wide themed group - see section 6.10). The Community Planning Partnership tasked each of the Thematic Champions to take a lead role in identifying the key activities that support the delivery of the Single Outcome Agreement (SOA).

Therefore, each Thematic Champion had the responsibility of identified the key outcomes they would work towards and to co-ordinate the implementation of the agreed joint activities and actions within their respective themed areas. According to the Glasgow SOA (2008-09, p4):

‘the theme groups concluded that the majority of the strategic priorities outlined in the 2008/09 SOA submission⁴⁶ remained relevant for the City, however, the Safe theme priorities have been refined to reflect Strathclyde Police’s Control Strategy⁴⁷ and the strategic issues currently impacting on safe theme partners’.

This suggests that the police were a core partner in the development of the Glasgow SOA, supported by the Assistant Chief Constable of Community Safety leading on the safe theme for the Glasgow, and was also a member of the Executive Group - illustrating the presence of a police influence at each of these levels of the community planning structure. This could also be translated to suggest that the safe priorities for the Community Plan have been influenced by what the police organisation determined as priorities rather than wider community safety partnership priorities.

⁴⁶ Submission of the SOA to the Scottish Government

⁴⁷ Strathclyde Police Control Strategy priorities for 2008 are dealing with: Terrorism, Child Protection, Drugs, Disorder and Antisocial Behaviour, Violent Crime and Serious and Organised Crime.

However, the role of thematic Champions was to provide advice on developing partner activities within the Community Planning Partnership (CPP) to both the Strategic Board and the local Community Planning Partnerships (LCPP's - see section 6.8). Therefore, they had a responsibility of engaging both 'upwards' to the strategic board and 'downwards' to the LCPP's, within the community planning structure. Thematic Champions also co-ordinate the implementation of the agreed joint activities and actions. Adding to this, partnerships which operate across a number of Community Plan themes are subject to discussions between those thematic champions affected. This in turn, could present mechanisms which aim to ensure that priorities being addressed are not only police priorities. In support of this and suggesting that this was not the case, the Glasgow SOA (2008, p2) sets out:

'Glasgow was one of the first Community Planning Partnerships to submit a truly joint Single Outcome Agreement and this document continues to develop the key outcomes by which we will measure how we are improving the lives of all who live, visit and work in the city' (p2).

6.7 Community Planning Area Coordination Teams

In addition to the City Wide Themed Groups, there are five Area Coordination Teams established in Glasgow - West, South West, South East, East and North. Area Coordination teams provide a mechanism for the delivery of support and guidance to local Community Planning structures (East Glasgow CHCP Committee Report 2007), and are expected to consider and offer direction to local Community Planning Partnerships across the themes set out in the Community Plan, as they are being

developed or reviewed locally (Gray, 2007).

6.8 Glasgow Local Community Planning Partnerships (LCCP's)

There were ten LCCP's⁴⁸ responsible with implementing the priorities of the Community Plan at a local level. The areas for each LCCP were co-terminus with the ten police sub- divisions in the city representing a structure which would at least allow the geography to be shared (see appendix 5). Within this, 56 distinct neighbourhoods had been identified as a basis for shared service planning and delivery in Glasgow (see appendix 6). While this seems rather complex the reason for have co-existing boundaries was to enhance and enable partnership working at the city wide, local and neighbourhood levels. As stated earlier, it was deemed essential by a senior Councillor that community planning structures cover the whole city. Another reason for this was set out by a Community Engagement Co-ordinator stating:

“Previously, some deprived communities in Glasgow did not lie within the boundaries of the former SIPs, but now even small areas where there is a high concentration of deprivation fall within the Community Planning structure. Whilst there will be targeted activities to address the needs of our more deprived communities, improving the delivery of public services underpins the role of the LCCP....these are the areas for action”

⁴⁸ Each LCCP has representation from each partner organisation (one member per partner); four City councillors (including the Chair) and four community residents (see section 6.9).

Furthermore, LCCP's have community planning managers⁴⁹ as part of GCPP Ltd whose role is to help develop and bring together partner agencies charged with implementing the priorities of the Glasgow Community Plan. It was the LCCP boards and Area Coordination Teams duty to ensure that local strategic agendas are linked up with local priorities, as well as citywide priorities.

The 10 LCCP areas are:

- East Area: Shettleston, Baillieston & Glasgow North East (part) and East Centre & Calton
- North Area: Springburn & Glasgow North East (part) and Maryhill/Kelvin & Canal
- West Area: West and Central & West: Scotstoun & Yoker, Knightswood & Temple and Drumchapel
- South West Area: Greater Pollok/Newlands/Auldburn and Govan/Craigton
- South East Area: Pollokshields East & Southside Central and Langside & Linn (GCPP Ltd Equality Bulletin, 2007).

⁴⁹ The importance of these will be discussed further in the next chapter.

6.9 Community engagement

The engagement with and involvement of the local community in planning and delivering of public services is viewed as being fundamental to both Community Planning and community safety (Glasgow SOA 2008-09, p7). From the rather complicated structure set out above, the main processes of community engagement are said to take place at the LCPP level. This study has not found community representation above this level of Community Planning. According to Gray (2007, p7) there are 'four community residents on each Local Community Planning Partnerships across the city'. This begs the question how representative local community members are at this level of the structure.

In Glasgow, local groups called Community Reference Groups (CRGs) have been developed to facilitate further engagement with local community members. There are CRG's in each of the ten LCCP areas – thus on the face of it adding a level of uniformity across the City. These groups are to be made up of nominated or elected individuals from a range of community based organisations and are said to reflect the range of community interests across their area, by ensuring membership from all the neighbourhoods as well as groups of people experiencing inequalities, e.g. in relation to race, gender, disability, sexuality, faith etc. (Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement 2008, p8).

More specifically, CRGs have a role to play in ensuring community engagement on the local community planning structures. The CRG is said to:

‘directly communicate the priorities of local people to the LCPP, assist with wider community engagement, contribute to the planning of community engagement activities and assess their effectiveness, and contribute to the support of community residents on the local Boards of a wide range of public services’ (Glasgow SOA 2008, p9).

GCCP had established five community engagement support vehicles - one for each of the Strategic Planning Areas (Working, Learning, Healthy, Vibrant and Safe Glasgow).

These vehicles consist of seconded staff (from the local authority) with the remit of supporting the CRG level. It was suggested ‘by tapping into the local expertise that exists on these groups, service delivery organisations can ensure community influence in determining the issues that matter most to communities and respond accordingly’ (Glasgow SOA 2008, p7). However, questions remain of how representative members of CRG’s are when they are elected or nominated. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Further to this, engaging communities has been made a target for action in the Glasgow Community Plan, thus adding a sixth theme to the Community Plan beyond the five as set out in 6.3. The targets for action are:

- Consult with the community on appropriate structures and processes for community engagement at both the local and citywide levels.
- Implement the agreed structures for community engagement.
- Establish a Monitoring framework for community engagement and make provisions to feed back to the community on progress made.

- Adopt the National Standards for Community Engagement within all community engagement structures (Glasgow Community Plan 2005, p24).

The CRGs are not the only focus of community engagement in the Community Planning process. Neighbourhood Management Action Plans (see 6.10 for discussion of Neighbourhood Management), have been implemented across 56 local communities in the city, aiming to reflect the geographical coverage of neighbourhoods as set out in section 6.8. These plans are based on the responses of consultation with 10,000 residents in the city on a range of issues including community safety, environment, and quality of life. As a level of accountability to this, the CCPP carry out further and similar surveys to re-examine whether local priorities remain the same or have shifted since the initial consultation. These are the residents' panel survey of 2,000 residents, drawn from a representative sample of the Neighbourhood Management survey of 10,000 residents, inviting them to participate in more regular consultation about local neighbourhood issues. The residents' panel therefore became the regular vehicle for consulting a cross-section of the population on issues relating to community planning and service delivery.

In addition to engagement activities facilitated directly by the Glasgow CPP, individual partners continue to engage actively with residents regarding service delivery, performance and reform. The outcomes of these consultations are then to feed in directly to Partners' own strategic plans, which in turn feed into the SOA development via any changes to strategic priorities. These will be discussed alongside setting out

the Safe theme in the next section.

6.10 Safe Theme

There are also a number of issue-focused partnerships operating across the city which take a strategic overview in relation to the design and delivery of particular services.

The role of coordinating all of the partnership arrangements participate is the task of Glasgow Community Planning Partnership. While Community Planning structures exist to plan for service delivery across the whole spectrum of local services, it is within Community Safety Partnerships (CSP) that most of the community safety agenda is tackled. As previously stated, the partnership is chaired by Assistant Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police and membership includes:

- Glasgow City Council
- Glasgow Community and Safety Services
- Glasgow Housing Association
- Culture and Sport Glasgow
- Violence Reduction Unit
- NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde

- Strathclyde Fire and Rescue
- Strathclyde Police
- RoSPA

The Community Safety Partnership's has strategic responsibility to deliver on:

- National Outcome 9 - We live our lives free from crime disorder and danger'.
- National outcome 11 - We have strong, resilient communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others.
- National outcome 15 – Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs.

These are to be connected to the safe priorities for Glasgow as set out in the Glasgow Community Plan:

“Our Primary Goal

We will create a safe Glasgow by reducing crime, the fear of crime and substantially improving accident prevention.

Key Aims

- We will tackle anti-social behaviour including violent and drugs related crime, graffiti, vandalism and litter
- We will work together to improve safety in public places
- We will promote home safety and work to reduce accidents in the home, on the roads and in the workplace” (Glasgow Community Plan 2005, p13; also see appendix 7 for all Community Plan Priorities)

The linkage between Community Planning priorities, local outcomes and national outcomes of the safe theme will be set out below in section 6.12.

Specifically under this ‘safe’ theme, ‘Neighbourhood Reassurance Groups’ (NRG’s) have been established across each of the ten LCPP areas so for every police sub-division there is a neighbourhood reassurance group. As the name suggests, neighbourhood reassurance is an amalgam of public reassurance policing and neighbourhood management. Public reassurance policing has become an increasingly important aspect of operational police activities with a significant amount of work being done to improve police visibility, accountability and the way the police tackle problems within communities. This work is outlined in the ACPOS Police Reassurance Strategy (2007) which is being taken forward by Strathclyde Police (also see chapter four).

Major aspects of public reassurance involve engaging with local communities to establish an understanding of the issues that affect their quality of life and sense of security, thereby ensuring they have a primary role in the identification of local

community planning partner priorities. It is believed that public confidence is essential to the provision of a sense of security. This includes an increasing understanding, by the police, that communities need to have confidence in the processes used to identify problems; and the methods used to deliver local policing and other activities to address community safety by other agencies at a local level. Public reassurance activities are therefore about Community Planning partners working together directly with local people to identify the problems that are most important to them (community engagement/consultation), thereby giving them direct influence over local policing priorities. Utilising the National Standards for Community Engagement, public reassurance policing in Strathclyde Police seeks to identify and address the crimes, offences and events occurring in communities that disproportionately affect the way people behave, fear crime and ultimately perceive risk. Based on the 'signal crimes perspective' (Innes, 2004) and to moving away from community consultation to community involvement 'key individual networks' had been established in each local Community Policing Area. A KIN is defined as a group of people who generally live or work in an area or who, by virtue of their occupation or role within the community are more sensitised to their environment, and as a result are more likely to notice changes in their neighbourhood. According to ACPOS (2007, p6) referring to KINS:

'By nature of their occupation or role within the community, some people are more sensitised to their environment and are more likely to notice changes in their neighbourhood. Examples of such people would be school janitors, shopkeepers and retired people. By regularly monitoring their views, the impact of police and partner interventions can accurately be assessed'.

An important purpose for KIN was that they were representative of their local

community. The key function of a KIN was to feedback to the Communities Unit (linking to Community Policing, see below) whether they think the local Policing Plan is meeting its stated objectives.

Furthermore, tasks such as the completion of Environmental Visual Audits (EVA's) are undertaken by volunteers working in conjunction with the police or community partners. The purpose of EVA's was to identify and quantify observable signs of physical and social disorders present at identified 'hot spot' locations. The analysis of EVAs would therefore assist in establishing the causal factors of crime and other community problems, which enables the police and partner agencies to make informed decisions and actions. In support of this, the Public Reassurance Strategy sets out an eight stage model to be followed (see appendix 8).

6.11 Community Policing – a shared approach

The Strathclyde Police Community Policing Model provides a structure for delivering effective and efficient Community Policing to every community in the force area. The model was introduced to deliver:

- A consistent presence of dedicated local police teams that are visible, accessible, skilled, knowledgeable and known to the community;

- Community and police collaboration in identifying public concerns and prompt, effective, targeted action to address those concerns whilst providing community feedback on action taken; and
- Joint action with the local community and other partners to improve the local environment and quality of life within communities in line with Single Outcome Agreements and the Community Planning Partnership Agreements (p2).

The Model was based on a team approach to effective problem solving through enforcement, public reassurance and focused response policing. Whilst retaining limited responsibility for diversionary activities and supporting community groups, the Model placed greater emphasis on enforcement (Strathclyde Police, 2009).

Sub Divisional Officers are responsible for the implementation of the Public Reassurance Strategy in their Sub Division and Communities Units are the main vehicle for delivering the strategy at local level. Reducing the fear of crime is set out to be achieved by engaging with the public and identifying those issues that fuel their fears and tackling them through a joint problem solving approach (Strathclyde Police, 2009).

Neighbourhood Management is a partnership approach, like the Public Reassurance Strategy, whereby residents and agencies work together to improve services at the neighbourhood level to create 'greener, cleaner and safer neighbourhoods in

Glasgow' (Ekos, 2007). This model was developed by seconded personnel from Glasgow Housing Association and GCP Ltd. The planned approach to Neighbourhood Management is to make a particular contribution to the 'Vibrant', 'Safe' and 'Healthy' priorities of the Community Plan. As such it should be connected into the proposed work of thematic champions and management groups within each of the five areas and ten local community planning areas of Glasgow. Therefore the Public reassurance strategy, Strathclyde Community Policing Model, Neighbourhood Management and Community Planning could be seen as all being mutually supportive as they are about the identification of local problems and issues and putting resources in place to target them.

According to the Glasgow SOA (2008-09, p89) 'The development of neighbourhood management and public reassurance strategies is a key strand of community safety activity in identifying and responding to local needs and concerns'. The main remit of these Neighbourhood Reassurance Groups are to take forward the Glasgow Community Safety Assessment produced on behalf of the Community Safety partnership (this feeds into the priorities of the safe theme as set out in the Glasgow Community Plan 2005-2010). It is to the organisation and services that provide the assessment we turn to next.

6.12 Glasgow Community and Safety Services Ltd (GCSS)

In 2006, Glasgow City Council established a company, Glasgow Community and Safety Services Ltd⁵⁰. GCSS is jointly owned by Strathclyde Police and Glasgow City Council and brings together 500 staff from the police, the council, and the public space CCTV company “street watch”. It is a company limited by guarantee, with charitable status, and aims to prevent crime, tackle antisocial behaviour and promote community safety (GCSS, 2006). This is supported by interview data with the Managing Director of GCSS,

‘the company’s remit provides for partnership working utilising a community planning approach to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour in Glasgow...to co-ordinate efforts to make people feel safe and secure within their communities...we link crime and grime – the way a place often looks can often affect the way people behave – so graffiti, vandalism and environmental grimes are actually a crime.

From the above quotation it can be argued that GCSS is rooted in broken windows theory (see Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Furthermore, GCSS established three teams that geographically were co-terminous with the three police divisions in Glasgow. Each team had a range of services and the way they have been put together creates the need for these services to work together. According to GCSS director:

‘previously they would have worked in isolation from each other. Each team has four different sections – they have a community reassurance section - that section will deal with graffiti, CCTV and mobile patrol officers. Things that may the community feel that someone is trying to manage the situation’.

⁵⁰ In 2009, GCSS was rebranded as Community Safety Glasgow. This change occurred towards the end of the fieldwork period.

GCSS engage with Strathclyde police under the National Intelligence Model (NIM) in relation to the Tasking and Co-ordination regime, with key service areas set around Central Command, Control and Communication: Central Support Services: Intelligence Information and Problem Solving Unit. Furthermore, the deployment of community policing teams⁵¹, community enforcement officers, neighbourhood wardens, city centre representatives, restorative justice, mediation service, anti-social behaviour and home visits - sit under the umbrella of this organisation. According to Donnelly (2008, p121) 'the main selling point for this 'new' organisation is that its resources will not be distracted or abstracted from the job at hand, which has always been the case with partnership initiatives in the past' (also see chapter 4 for short term funding of partnership initiatives in Scotland). This also illustrated what Crawford (1999) determines as inter-agency whereby GCSS aims to fusion and meld relationships between organisations.

In support of this notion, GCCS provide analytical co-ordinating support to identify community safety priorities. Through a combination of Fire and Rescue and health data, police data and council data they created an annual Glasgow Community Safety Strategic Assessment which sets out a strategic analysis of key community safety priorities in Glasgow. This helps in enabling the partnership to make 'informed decisions in tackling the community safety issues...setting out strategies for addressing these issues, delivery arrangements and the performance measures which

⁵¹ GCSS have five 'policing teams' consisting of a police sergeant plus five community police officers who are in conjunction with Strathclyde police and have joint briefings them.

will be put in place to ensure that progress can be measured; and linking these to the 'Single Outcome Agreement' (Glasgow Community Safety Assessment 2008, p1). This in turn, sets out how the Community Safety Assessment developed the priorities and targets as set out in the five year community plan (local safe priorities and outcomes), on an annual basis, and then linked these to the annual SOA (links to national outcomes) (see appendix 10 for representation of how these are linked together).

6.13 Summary

As can be seen, community planning is not a new idea. In many ways it can be seen as logical extension of the some of the thinking behind Social Inclusion Partnerships – also picking up on its failings. It is designed to provide an overarching framework to ensure local agencies coordinate and integrate their activities with the ultimate aim of improving public services. It is also seen as a mechanism for linking national policy development to local and neighbourhood priorities through both the Community Plan and more recently, the Single Outcome Agreement. Crucially Community Planning in Glasgow is envisaged as a means of ensuring that people and communities are genuinely involved in decisions about the planning and delivery of public services. Furthermore, avenues have been put in place for community involvement in dealing with issues and concerns. The structures in place are heavily reliant on the co-operation and partnership of agencies under the leadership of the City Council to work closely with communities across the city in dealing with their needs and concerns.

Under the safe theme, the coming together of Public Reassurance, Community Policing, Neighbourhood Management and a 'broken windows' approach from GCSS have been presented as the delivery tools to move Community Planning into action.

The structures and processes outlined in this chapter provide an alignment to the Health Education Board in Scotland (2001, p3) definition of partnership 'where two or more organisations make a commitment to work together on something that concerns both, to develop a shared sense of purpose and agenda, and to generate joint action towards agreed targets'. The researcher has also attempted to illustrate how the social constructions of Community Planning, Community Safety and a shared response to Community Policing are evidenced through the discourses and narratives that underpin them. This is supported by reference to interview data from individuals who articulated how such social constructions come to be enacted, relevant and imposed, from their point of view. However what has been found was that those attempting to assemble the Community Planning governmental architecture was based on some vague principle of holistic or joined up government – by providing some order to governing crime. What they end up with is creating a byzantine, complex and surprisingly statist model of hierarchically and vertically organised nodal governance (Shearing, 2007). This will be discussed further in chapter 9, in relation to broader literature on governance.

Furthermore, a number of issues and questions have been raised for discussion in the next chapter – 'the lived experience' of Community Planning. This chapter will

illustrate how Community Planning is being implemented on the ground and throughout the levels of the police organisation. The themes of partnership working, community engagement and culture are all important in understanding these developments.

Chapter 7

7.1 Introduction

Partnership working is an institutionalised part of everyday police work in delivering a range of community services and responses. Partnership working in policing does however have a rather more contemptuous history. Early studies conducted during the mid-late 1980s in which partnership working was being rolled out by the Home Office across a range of crime control projects (Blagg et al. 1988; Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994) identified a host of problems with the reception of this method within the police organisation. Among these were partnership-based projects often being short term, with limited funding, as well as operating within a fairly narrow set of issues associated principally with target hardening and work with the business sector (Tilley, 2002).

Pearson et al. (1992) provided for difficulties in police officers moving beyond task-orientation, towards a more deliberative and cooperative set of practices typical of partnership responses. In turn, hostility towards more welfare orientated agencies, frequent inter-agency conflicts as well as struggles for the police in relinquishing some of their authority and control all presented problems in the early introduction of partnership working (Sampson et al., 1988; Pearson et al., 1992). Crawford and Jones (1995) further argue that tensions between agencies were seldom dealt with in a direct and constructive manner leading to an outcome where 'conflict is often defined away, avoided, or circumvented' (Crawford and Jones, 1995, p. 24). This led to decisions being made outside of formal meetings in ways which can be divisive and exclusive,

resulting in certain agencies' interests being ignored.

Since these studies were conducted, many changes have occurred both out with and within the police organisation which has altered the ways through which partnership is understood and said to be implemented. These changes have been presented throughout this thesis culminating in the development of Community Planning and a number of community safety processes aims at addressing local issues via a problem solving and community based approach.

This chapter will look at the experiences of police officers across three levels (strategic, managerial and operational) of the police organisation alongside the experiences of community safety and community planning representatives. It aims to set out and analyse how they enact and play out the mechanisms, processes and priorities as set out in the previous chapter. Thus, attempting to illustrate the 'lived' experience and constructions from those involved in this process. In doing so, this chapter will draw on previous studies of partnership working and community engagement to set out the similarities, differences and applicability of past experiences to the findings in this study. The chapter will be structured around four broad sections: representative and participative democracy; observation of partnership meetings; multi and inter-agency politics; safety politics and police culture.

Community planning has been commonly presented by senior police officers and community safety personnel throughout this study as 'problem solving in action'

whereby the aim is to get to partners to the problem solving stage (Senior Police Officer). It is felt that to have any significant way of reducing demand then partners need to have understood what the problems are and what is causing them (Seconded Police Officer to GCSS). This is supported by ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy (2009) and the Strathclyde Police Community Policing Model (2009) in that they set out problem solving as a core stage in dealing with community concerns. It was continuously suggested, the ability to recognise what the local issues are and bring in the services whether it is GCCS, the police or land services to effectively address those issues. It was deemed that when partners get a position that identifies these, they truly have a process that will recognise and deal with local problems – representing ‘community planning in action’ (Senior Police Officer). Before we turn to problem solving it is important to look at how communities are presented and participated in the processes provided for and by them.

7.2 Representative democracy and participatory democracy

Previous research on local police-public consultation highlighted a number of their shortcomings. For instance, consultation has been said to be devalued as it commonly ‘only involves a small and unrepresentative section of the community’ (Elliot and Nicholls, 1996, p10; Jones and Newburn, 2001); Mistry, 2007, Myhill, 2007).

Moreover, there is said to be a damaging inequality of power and knowledge that favours the police and weakens public participation (Elliot and Nicholls, 1996); Skogan

et al., 2000; Mistry, 2007). Additionally, police commitment can often be partial, reluctant, and commonly unskilled (Elliot and Nicholls, 1996); Home Office, 2003), Skogan, 2006), Myhill, 2007). Furthermore, there are also practical difficulties with maintaining group cohesion and sustainability over a prolonged period of time (Skogan et al., 2000).

Throughout this thesis, community engagement and involvement of the local community in planning and delivering of services was deemed fundamental to both community planning and community safety. More specifically, chapter six provided how engaging communities was key priority within the Glasgow Community Plan (with associated local outcomes) and is further supported by the SOA. This section will discuss how representation and participation in both community planning and community safety processes have been translated into practice.

7.2.1 Community Reference Groups

As set out in Chapter six, CRGs have been formed under the guidance of GCPP Ltd aiming to provide structured participation (Matrix, 2007) for community representatives in the community planning process. There were two CRGs with Central and West and West LCPP areas (covering 11 neighbourhoods) of the case study – representing one CRG for each LCPP area. These groups were made up of nominated and/or elected individuals from a range of community based organisations and aimed to reflect the

range of community interests across the area, by ensuring membership from all the neighbourhoods as well as groups of people experiencing inequalities, e.g. in relation to race, gender, disability, sexuality, faith etc. (Glasgow SOA, 2008).

Community reference groups were perceived as a vehicle to allow the communities' voice to be heard and to influence the priorities that are set in each area. While CRGs aim to tap into the local 'expertise' by bringing together local residents with diverse background and interests the question of why membership was only from community based organisations was put to a Community Engagement Co-ordinator for these groups. According to the Community Engagement Co-ordinator:

'We need the right kind of people to be involved...those who can provide an articulated view of issues and concerns within their area. In support of this we have a standardised induction package to help train them on the community engagement...the problem we have some representatives come and go and may not get a chance to undertake the necessary training needed for the role'.

The quotation above provides a number of key areas of concern. Firstly, it seems to represent a rather non-inclusive approach to engaging with communities whereby their representation requires a level of competency as individuals to then undergo training as set out and delivered by the Community Engagement Co-ordinator. Secondly, this raises concerns as to how the training may influence individual perceptions of their role or how competency was to be measured. This leads onto an issue of exclusion whereby the aim of CRGs are to be representative of a diverse community however in practice only certain individuals are elected. Thirdly, the quotation provides evidence of the practical difficulties of sustaining group membership as highlighted by Skogan et

al. (2000) as set out above. When asked how this election or nomination of community representatives takes form, the Community Engagement Co-ordinator stated 'through established community and resident groups'. Therefore, suggesting that engagement is only with community members who are already engaged in some capacity at a local level.

Adding to this, the involvement of the community is supposedly an attempt to empower local people, to give them ownership of issues and community safety problems and involve them in potential solutions. Taking this point a step further in relation to community safety, National Outcome 11 as set out in the Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement (2008, p3) stated, 'Glasgow needs strong, engaged communities who feel in control and safe'. Fear of crime has as much of an impact on communities as crime levels. This has been supported by a wealth of academic literature (Innes & Ditton 2005; Williams & Pate, 1986; Cordner, 1986; Fattah, 1995; Jackson, 2004; John Howard Society, 1999). Strategies to tackle crime and fear of crime must be supported by information from all sections of communities (not only members of community bodies) to ensure that fear reduces in line with action to reduce crime and its impact.

Anyone within a local area should have the option to become involved in CRGs. Therefore, it could be argued that by having elected membership to CRGs represents a very top-down and exclusionary approach to community engagement. This in turn provides for a 'knowledge gap' due to non-representation from all sections of

communities.

7.2.2 Public Consultation

Throughout the fieldwork a number of examples of partnership working and community engagement were given. These included resident/neighbourhood surveys and public consultation surveys. Each of these purported to give community members a voice to set out what issues were of concern to them. The Strathclyde Public Consultation survey (2008) carried out 6470 individual consultations aiming to represent a broad cross-section of the population⁵². Interestingly the questions were developed around the public reassurance strategy which became national ACPOS agreed questions⁵³.

Glasgow Community Planning Partnership Ltd commissioned ODS Consulting and MRUK in 2007 to conduct a survey of 10,000 households across the 56 neighbourhoods in Glasgow to establish residents' views, perceptions and expectations of issues relating to their neighbourhoods.

Amongst other findings, both of the surveys provided for a key change relating to the police. In the Strathclyde Police Consultation Survey (2008) a key finding was above all most respondents wanted a visible police presence – 32%. In relation to the

⁵² However this was wider than the city of Glasgow and the case study area. It covered the Strathclyde region of service coverage.

⁵³ This suggests a level of corporacy across Scotland at the time of the research and perhaps a forerunner for centralised changes, as set out in Chapter 8.

Community Planning survey (2007) 27% of responses wanted 'more police on the street'. Further to this, the Scottish Government in 2007 committed itself to providing the country with an extra 1,000 police officers (Scottish Government, 2008). The Justice Secretary Kenny MacAskill (2008) claims:

'All public services seek to work within communities so as to allow them to flourish, become more cohesive and sustainable, and to improve the quality of life in all, but especially the most deprived. In order to do this, police have to engage with communities and respond to their needs within community planning structures.

Therefore, as can be seen there was both a strong political support from a national level and community support from the local level to have more a more visible presence of police officers. As a senior councillor proclaimed, 'it's what the punters wanted'. This in turn placed a strong political challenge for community police officers to be a visible presence within communities.

These officers were jointly funded through both the local authority community planning and central government - representing 100 extra officers for Glasgow. The funding from local authority community planning was via the Fairer Scotland Fund (FSF). The FSF was an element of funding⁵⁴ and is a discreet fund that deals with poverty and regeneration which comes under the umbrella of the Single Outcome Agreement and is allocated to CPPs to help them achieve sustainable economic growth through:

⁵⁴ This fund is not prescriptive so that councils can spend where they see fit but it does have a criterion though.

- regenerating disadvantaged communities;
- tackling poverty by helping vulnerable people and groups; and
- overcoming barriers to employment (linking to National Priorities 2⁵⁵ and 7⁵⁶).

As can be seen, the FSF is supposed to be fund for poverty, employment and regeneration. On paper, it could be argued that funding frontline community police officers is not what the Fairer Scotland Fund should be paying for. However, the argument for an additional 100 extra police officers in Glasgow was won quite convincingly, for two reasons. Firstly, as highlighted above, there was a strong desire from members of the community for visible, accessible and locally known police officers and that any additional resources should be allocated to Community Policing (House, 2008). Secondly, these officers have been set the task by both the CPP and the Scottish Government to work in partnership and in collaboration with other partners and communities. Furthermore, as noted in chapter six, the SOA is a strategic outcome framework and focus for service planning, resource planning and performance management. Importantly, a ‘golden thread’ needs to run from the high level outcomes in the SOA (which the FSF fund is part of) through to the underlying planning, delivery and performance systems of all partners. This in turn placed the funding, actions (and arguably performance) of community police officers at the centre of this thread.

⁵⁵ National Outcome 2 - We realise our full economic potential with more and better employment opportunities for our people.

⁵⁶ National Outcome 7 - We have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society.

The extra officers are placed into areas of Glasgow in most need - based on a needs assessment of social indices of multiple deprivations (SIMD), recorded crime and incidents (Strathclyde Police, 2009). According to the SIMD 2007, over 30 per cent of data zones in Glasgow City are in the 15 per cent most deprived areas in terms of SIMD crime. Therefore we can infer a relationship between community safety concerns, crime and areas of deprivation being aligned to community policing. What is more, it can also be seen to provide the linkages between national level outcomes associated with the FSF, national outcomes 9⁵⁷ and 15⁵⁸ and importantly meeting local needs and concerns.

Adding to this, the Chief Constable of Strathclyde police had also made it clear to police officers that community policing 'it is about visible, accessible and locally known officers with the ability to enforce' (Senior Police Officer). This indicates the development of a model whereby the police will do what they have arguably always set out to do – "guard, watch and patrol and 'police by consent' in accordance to the Police (Scotland) Act 1967 - but at the same time, having community planning/problem solving activity as a secondary layer around that. It is the amalgam of these two things the police in this research are trying to mould into i.e. first and foremost community policing teams will enforce with community planning/problem solving activity around that.

⁵⁷ National Outcome 9 - We live our lives safe from crime, disorder and danger

⁵⁸ National Outcome 15 - Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs.

Going back to the issue of community engagement and the use of the surveys, a senior police officer from the Public Reassurance Unit proclaimed:

‘My pinch was that they (Strathclyde police consultation survey) should have included the resident’s survey and community planning with them...they both asked similar questions...This was probably a classic example of two organisations trying to do the same thing. This is one of the frustrations community planning should resolve – stop duplication of effort, work together collectively, do case management. That is certainly a live and recent example of where you had two organisations charging off in different directions’

This would suggest that GCPP were not working in partnership with their partners. However neither were Strathclyde Police. To take this a set further, a senior officer stated ‘the community planning survey cost £260,000...surely we could have saved that by amalgamating and put that money to better use’.

7.2.3 Neighbourhood/community meetings

It had been suggested throughout the research that there were issues with representation at the neighbourhood/community policing level of community planning.

Meetings tended to be populated by the same people:

‘What you get when you go to all these community meetings are the same folk that have been at that community meeting for the last 40 years, 50 years for 60 years. There is nobody at these meetings that under the age of 30 maybe 40 years of age. They are all maybe 50s, 60s so it is these same people that coming to the councillors with the same ideas saying the same things and they are not getting

the perception from the generation below or the generation below that. We are not getting that and we are seeing the same people at the same meetings that are saying the problems – PC4’.

The respondents’ views above present similar findings to Newburn and Jones (2005), whereby consultation may represent a process of legitimation of existing local interests which continue to demand police attention, however the community police officer shows a tendency to recognise the serious problems with this. This also follows Ballintyne and Fraser’s (2000, p164) position that for ‘sustained community safety, consultation is part of that glue’. By having a narrow representation of community engagement this could be seen as a missed opportunity for police engagement. This was supported by another community police officer who claimed:

Old folk don’t like young folk so they don’t like them so they complain about them all the time. We are missing out this whole gap in the middle, this bit in the middle and these people who are maybe 20 or 30 years old that aren’t coming to these meetings and that is what is missing. There is a massive gap of intelligence that we could really do with knowing their views and that is what we need as well...we have to engage with this generation but I don’t know how.

Setting out that intergenerational bias is causing problems for not only police engagement but also for intelligence gathering. Further to this, the quotation represents a reverse of what Squires (2006) sets out as implicit to the community safety movement, new priorities should be allowed to immerge.

During interactions, officers at the community policing level were peculiarly aware that some members of the community wished to manipulate their authority (Manning 1977, van Maanen, 1978). An interesting example of how community group meetings came

to be influenced by those representing community interests was put forward by a community police officer:

'I have been at community meetings down X bridge area and the way that I was introduced to one of these community meetings was the girl that arranged it all said, "thanks for coming". It was only 30 people there they have got a pub on Y Street and she said, "Can I have a show of hands for anybody who has had any crime committed in the community that they live", everybody put their hands up. She said, "Can I have a show of hands for people that have phoned the police regarding the crime", everybody again put their hands up. She said, "Can I have a show of hands for everybody who was happy with the police response" and nobody put their hand up. She said "With that in mind here is PC Blog he is the community police for this area". I was like, thanks very much. I was trying to explain to them yeah, we have got 150 community cops in this area we have got 30 working in the Y market area on different shifts and we have got days off believe it or not. We have got report writing, we have got to go court, we have got to do bail checks, we have got to do domestic checks, we have got to do figures for stop and search, we have got to do warrant checks and when you say this to people in the community they don't care. They don't care. I want cops there, I want something done...it was like going into the Lion's den PC-5'.

These comments provide for a rather difficult situation for a community police officer to have to contend with. On one hand, this community meeting represents one of the three rungs as set out by Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation of 'power' whereby the community organiser used her questioning to the group as a means of holding the officer to account and therefore provide a response for problems in their area.

Furthermore, contrary to the findings of Elliot and Nicholls (1996), Skogan et al (2000) and Mistry (2007), where inequality of power and knowledge favoured the police in public participation, the reverse can be seen to have occurred here whereby power and knowledge shifted to the members of the community meeting. As Loader and Mulcahy (2003) reminds us, officers now deal with a less complaint and more

demanding populace. Adding to this, the involvement of the 'community' is supposedly an attempt to empower local people, to give them ownership of local crime and disorder and community safety problems and involve them in potential solutions (Hope, 2001). However, the type of empowerment employed in the above example can be seen to be counterproductive in dealing with community problems – using the blame game.

In terms of dealing with public/community demands, a senior police officer provides that the most appropriate means is to be honest:

'I tell people that I will deal with complaints robustly and we will not have people doing the job unless it is done correctly. Equally when officers are doing their job correctly and you are still not happy then perhaps your expectations are far too high. That works wonders as we don't have the manpower or we can't meet an expectation of standing at your street corner every day. But they have a responsibility as a member of the community to get involved or pick up the phone...never been told this before'.

This suggests that communication and consultation with communities work two ways – the police have a service to uphold to the public and the public have to be realistic with their expectations. However, it was also claimed, 'we are fighting a losing battle' (PC11).

Another important point raised by a community police officer in relation to community engagement and police involvement was:

'Why I have trouble with the key partnership and things is that we are not

assigned to a specific thing/group where you can move it forward. In a community group meeting you actually try to move the relationship forward and you came back in and we were told no. That is probably the only time that we will go and see them because there will be a different copper go there next time to that meeting. So it therefore, becomes incredibly difficult to prioritise what the community requirements are...There is not a partnership relationship is being created' - PC2.

The above comments provide for a lack of continuity in police attendance at community meetings. This is both an issue with the community policing team as the officer was 'told no' to following up on relations with a community but also sets out an important issue to be explored in the section 'safety politics' (section 7.5).

7.2.4 Wider police family

During recent years, the police organisation has been more frequently involved in providing community policing responses in tandem with civilian members of the community like neighbourhood wardens, special constables and youth workers as part of organised patrols working with young people (Johnston 2003, Crawford and Lister 2004). While ACPOS (2008) recognised increasing visibility is a central tenet of achieving public reassurance, this research presented a number of issues relating to this:

'I haven't seen a warden down here. I have never spoken to a warden on my beat in years – PC3'.

'Quite often you will find that CCTV van has got five folk in them. I don't know

whether that there are couple of wardens generally out on the beat walking or they just catch a lift, I don't know – PC4'.

'We have no contact and it was only two weeks ago where one of the officers that works here, BW, asked for that van to be directed down to somewhere,...I think it was. Just to drive past these groups of youths and stop those that we thought were going to cause bother later on and just let them know ...S police said, no way of contacting that van because we saw the van early on to ask them to come to X street to video these guys. We had no way as an organisation of contacting that van. So that is the lack of integration between us and that is a problem – PC1'.

The comments provide for a rather negative view of participation and engagement with civilian participants in community safety. When called upon to assist in a situation the officers found it frustrating at the lack of integration between themselves and the CCTV mobile operatives in particular. CCTV mobile operatives are part of GCSS and the relationship between the police and GCSS will be discussed further in this chapter. A key point for consideration is that while the development of a wider policy family has been set out to have extended the philosophy and practice of partnership working alongside the (re)development of community/neighbourhood policing creating new opportunities for joint problem solving in communities (Innes and Fielding, 2002; Hughes and Rowe, 2007), the comments above present a rather different tale.

An important part of the ACPOS public reassurance strategy (2007) adopted by Strathclyde police in this study contains an element of public consultation. According to a senior officer seconded to GCSS:

'For me it's not in a negative way ask Joe Public – what are your priorities? The public reassurance surveys are about engaging with the local people not just

identifying problems but about trying coming up with solutions as well. Feedback process is beneficial’.

However, these sentiments are not shared by some of the community police officers in the research:

‘we have to give them out to folk...the minute we get an idea we will talk to folks and somebody will stop, an old guy, I’ve known him for a long time and we just had a chin wag about somebody who has been carrying on, he told us that it’s been less in last few days for whatever reason. It is all just general chit chat but it gives you an idea of what is going on and giving you an idea of how they actually feel, how things are going which is what you want to know or to feedback in it?...it is not really quantifiable in terms with some guy saying I carry on in.... whatever it is. It is just an idea that you get by being on the beat. I don’t know how to feedback...survey isn’t a particularly good method because you pick a few folk and as a cross section, I don’t know – PC3’.

Interesting, the community police officer above preferred to have informal communication with local community members that using a formalised survey. The information received is not deemed quantifiable and through his experience, is not representative of a cross section of the community. However, this does not mean than the information is any less important for problem solving (see section 7.5 on safety politics - for further discussion).

Furthermore, a key development of public reassurance is the use of KINS within local areas (ACPOS, 2007). According to a senior officer seconded to GCSS:

‘65% of violent crime is unreported. The Police control strategy is based on only 8% of what is known or the police may think are the problems to be addressed. However, the Public Reassurance Strategy looks to unearthing actual (reality) crime compared to known (no pro-activity – don’t know about it) crime’.

The developments as mentioned above have been referred to continuously throughout the fieldwork as 'bridging the gap'. This is not the reassurance gap as set out by (Innes, 2004) while crime levels were falling, public perceptions were that they were rising.

Thus, public reassurance policing attempts to address the gap between falling crime rates, the falling rate of public confidence, trust in the police and the perceived notion of 'fear of crime'. This 'gap' is the gap in terms of not knowing what issues are prevalent and thus relying on engagement with members of the community through KINS and also signals crime surveys to help build a problem analysis triangle (PAT) (Leigh et al, 1996) of the issues from community input. This in turn provides credibility to aim and practice of 'create local solutions to locally identified problems' (Strathclyde Police, 2004, p2). As Fyfe (2008) sets out, it is important to stimulate community participation in problem solving activities as participation can help identify problems that the police may not be aware of and makes communities feel that the police and partner agencies are responsive to their concerns.

According to a community police officer 'using KINS is good community planning to me as they allow us to gain a better understanding of what is happening on the ground and to decide who can help if we can't do it ourselves – PC5'. From this, it is important to note both the centrality of the concept of 'community' and the meanings the concept is required to carry (Garland, 2001; Hudson, 2003). The police and GCSS discourse until now in this thesis seem to identify 'community' as the *site* of problems of crime

and disorder/safety issues, as a resource for tackling those problems and as a *stakeholder* working cooperatively with others to develop solutions.

7.3 Observations of partner meetings

In chapter five it was set out that one of the research methods adopted in this research was that of non-participate observation. This section will provide a discussion of some of the key findings and inferences to be drawn from meetings observed. These range from observing an LCCP meeting (local strategic level), a neighbourhood reassurance group (community safety managerial level) and a problem solving group (operational level).

Observations of a Local Community Planning Partnership meeting (Central and West) provided some interesting findings. It was quite a formal meeting with representatives from all partner agencies (Glasgow Housing Association, Strathclyde Fire and Rescue, Glasgow Sport and Leisure, Voluntary sector, Glasgow West Regeneration Agency and Strathclyde Police) around the table. Each representative was presented with a 'pack' containing the agenda and minutes of both the meeting of the day and the previously one. From this, specific representatives gave short presentations on their agencies recent developments. For example, Inspector X from Strathclyde Police gave a presentation on developments on Community Policing within Strathclyde Police i.e. allocation of new officers, performance management, communication and

training needs, etc. This was interesting, as in the questions and answers session following the presentation, there seemed to be a degree of confusion from some members of the partnership as to where and how the new officers are being funded. This was particularly important given that the LCPP through the GCPP voted for and allocated funding for additional police officers (as set out above). It was rather concerning to the researcher that certain members did not know that they were funding new officers. In fact, one agency representative claimed to think that the funds they voted for were for 'wardens' and not 'real cops'. This in turn raises issues of capacity in terms of partnership understanding and engaging fully in the proceedings before them. It was also alarming that the LCPP allocated funds for extra community police officer without every representative understanding where the funds were 'actually' going.

Furthermore, the Community Planning Manager for the area provided updates to the group on issues relating to funding allocations, neighbourhood reassurance and community engagement. While each representative had the opportunity to comment after each update, they did seem somewhat detached from the information that was in front of them and only a minor number of representatives gave feedback or asks questions concerning the issues raised. In fact, throughout the entire meeting it was noticeable that one of the main partners did not contribute any points.

Adding to this, each of the representatives were provided with a number of action plans taking place for neighbourhoods within the area. While each neighbourhood had

differing priorities it was suggested that all neighbourhoods required the establishment of Key Individual Networks (KINS) following the public reassurance strategy; and the police had an input in most of the issues concerning community safety i.e. policing, youth disorder and vandalism and graffiti. Each issue/priority had an action for different agencies - a baseline, SMART target, Timescale and Target Outcome. For example, in K hill and BD East issue of policing has Strathclyde Police as the Lead Service Department with Land and Environmental Services, Culture & Sport Glasgow, Glasgow Community Safety Services and Public Reassurance Group contributing to the action plan. Therefore contrary to the findings of Phillips et al (2002), the group presented a means to set SMART targets.

The actions for Strathclyde Police specifically were to review incident rates and resource allocation; to produce improvement plan/implement public reassurance procedure and to build upon community policing team access to neighbourhoods and communicate the purpose and compliment of the community policing teams to local residents. The baseline measurement for this was 18% of residents perceiving quality of police to be either a problem or a serious problem. The SMART target is to improve public perception by 5% and the target outcome is for 87% of people to be satisfied with policing in their neighbourhood. An important point for consideration however was that there was no clear indication from representatives in the meetings as to what these targets are to be measured against. When the researcher asked this question at the end of the meeting to the Strathclyde police representative, it was claimed that 'the involvement and establishment of local KIN groups are the avenue to which these

targets are to be compared...although them in there don't know what that means'.

This in turn demonstrated two main points. Firstly, that the partnership relied on the police to deliver on their actions and the measurement thereof, thus presenting a great deal of trust in the accuracy of police results. This may also be down to the fact that the partners do not understand how these are measured. Secondly, the use of KINS demonstrated police alignment to and, following of the feedback stage in the eight stage model of the ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy (2007) at this stage of partnership.

Observations of a local Neighbourhood Reassurance Group (tactical/managerial level) meeting provided a somewhat different approach to the proceedings in the LCCP meeting. This meeting was attended by representatives from Strathclyde Police (two senior officers and three community police officers), two representatives from Community Justice Services, and a representative from GHA, Strathclyde Fire and Rescue, and GCSS. The meeting had a more informal and friendly atmosphere compared to the LCCP meeting. In this meeting the Police took the lead (chaired the meeting) and gave each representative the opportunity to highlight any issues or concerns within the local area. From this, action plans were distributed concerning actions being taken in the area. These differed somewhat from the actions plans from the Local Community Planning Partnership meeting as they followed the format of a public reassurance EPIC template⁵⁹. A possible reason for this is that those attending

⁵⁹ EPIC is an acronym for 'Enforcement, Prevention, Intelligence and Communication'. It is a management process used to identify actions, allocate responsibility and assess progress in respect of priorities (ACPOS Public Reassurance Strategy 2007, p6).

the meeting are organisation personnel who have local knowledge and frontline responsibility for addressing local priorities.

Adding to this, it was found that once the meeting came to a close, most of the partnership working took place away from the table. For example, it was observed that a number of different representatives exchanged email addresses and telephone numbers to follow-up discussions. From this, it could be argued that any 'genuine' partnership working is merely instigated at these meetings, but does not take hold until the representatives are back within their 'own' working environment via personal and electronic communication. Therefore, supporting the findings of studies of partnership in the 1980s – partnership meeting represented as 'talking shops' (Pearson et al 1992, Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994).

Observation of a problem solving group meeting presented similar findings to the Neighbourhood Reassurance Group meeting. This meeting was chaired by a police officer and had an agenda to follow. This was followed by presentations from each agency on how they were performing and what they were doing in the locality. However, this level of group meeting was more informal and friendlier than what the researcher observed at the other two partnership meeting levels. In fact, there seemed to be a strong professional relationship between all partners in attendance. Each partner representative had an opportunity to have an input in each of the issues arising from the agenda and duly suggested that they would provide support for the actions plans in operation.

From the above, an overwhelming theme which was consistently expressed during the observation of meetings was the importance of trust relations between partner representatives. Trust for the police to measure actions in line with the KIN feedback process of public reassurance as in the LCPP meeting. Trust that partners would go away and look to achieve the actions set out in action plans as in the Neighbourhood Reassurance Group, and trust of support provided for action plans through strong professional relationships with one another. This was supported by an Inspector following the problem solving group meeting who stated:

‘The issue of trust is big and working at the local community planning area is all about trust and trusting each other to act upon EPIC templates and action plans set out. Indeed, the hardest thing is bringing all the partners and problem-solving together (negotiation, commit, etc). Above all, was for partner agencies to put trust in the police’

7.4 Multi and inter-agency politics

This section will present a number of points relating to the development and implementation of partnership working at both tactical (managerial) and operational levels.

Some senior police officers involved in partnerships found them effective, crucial to their work and, at times, empowering. When asked if Community Planning was making a difference to partnership working a Community Inspector maintained:

‘it will and if it isn’t the place to be I will die trying. There is nothing more satisfying than a member of the public coming up to you and saying, thanks very much, you have done a really good job, I am really pleased. We deal with people generally speaking who are at the end of their tether (and some of the most traumatic situations you could ever imagine). Our job is to get community police officers into a position whereby they live to solve the problem and make people happy – to give them that quality of life they deserve’.

The comment above provides a strong statement of police intention regarding working to solve problems in communities. It also sets out that the role of the Community Inspector was to lead the community police officers they are responsible for, in terms of adopting a problem solving mind set. However, it has been argued by another senior police officer that, ‘the biggest challenge for community planning and the police is the role and responsibility of community inspectors’. In this light, Community Inspectors were viewed as the ‘vital’ link between the strategic and the operational as they have to have an eye on the operational delivery and at the same time they have to feed that information for their local responsibilities to the strategic police and community planning organisation. This it was felt was ‘a hell of a lot of responsibility and a risk to the organisation in that we don’t train people to do this’ (Senior Officer). Community Inspectors were to be the community planners, problem-solvers and strategic thinkers at the local level however as the above discussion illustrates, there may be an issue of capacity to fulfil such duties.

This is further supported by a senior officer from the Public Reassurance Unit who maintained:

‘This is where I think it community planning gets stuck at this bit and that

unfortunately is the frustration because it's the layer below that (56 neighbourhood layer) where you actually have to deliver the service too. Whether it gets lost in translation, or there isn't the structure to identify the people or working effectively. Some of that is the police's fault because we are not experienced in partnership working and we very often get focused on our response function.

Such multitude of tasks placed in the hands of Community Inspectors therefore raises concerns that community planning and the delivery thereof does not get to local neighbourhood levels - representing a potential gap in implementation.

Within the case study area, there are two LCPPs (Central and West; and West) with two community planning managers (one for each LCPP area) who were viewed as having slightly different views on what the police and partners should be doing and what should be happening. Alongside this there were a number of organisations with an individual or a number of individuals making decisions on what actions to take at a local level.

This raises the question of leadership and who has overall responsibility? According to a senior police officer,

'What I tend to think there isn't one single person, if it's the community planning manager – I never get the feeling that one person is responsible. There should be a community planning manager in every local community planning partnership'.

'There is in Glasgow but they tend to be fairly low level – middle management type of civil servants but they don't seem to be authority figures within that community planning environment...It is the absence of two things for me. It's the absence of that command and control structure as there is not one single

responsible – it becomes a bit of a collective and people can say that's not my job that is someone else's job. We need one person in the lead whether that is the local police Super- Independent who would be responsible for the policing in that area; someone's going to be responsible for health and someone's going to be the land services manager for that area. But somebody needs to take the lead from community planning (Glasgow Community Planning Limited) – they tend to get away with it because the community planning manager tends to be lower in status in comparison to these other figures and therefore I can see how it can be difficult to operate because other partners will use their background or experience either not to commit to or otherwise. For me there is a lack of clear strategic lead from a community planning perspective'.

It is also felt that the police themselves cannot hope to (or have the skills) to achieve this leadership role for two main reasons. Firstly, a senior police officer claimed,

'...I will go in and tell someone to do something and they will go and do it. We can't do that at a community planning level, it's about negotiation and compromise...some people are better at that than others...some people are much more comfortable to point out gaps...there are some people within organisations who are responsive to that debate...there are others who are not'.

Secondly, when asked 'do the police take the lead on occasion with community safety because they are a "can do" organisation?' it was felt that,

'There are difficulties in that because we will do things this week for you but we don't often think long term and community planning has to be long term.

Unfortunately it is a bit of the police culture – we don't tend to look over the horizon as we don't expect to be here (as individuals) at that point because of the nature of the rank structure within the police most people are at that rank that they want to get on and move on. Also we tend to plan annually whereas local authorities and community plans can be anything from up to 5 years'.

This suggests that the planning and priority setting timeframes of community planning do not coincide with the police organisation and opportunities for promotion can cause

disruption to partner relationships. However, it could be argued that leadership is something that should be occurring within all levels of partner organisations and should not be the sole responsibility of the community planning manager or the Community Inspector. What is being referred to can be described as 'distributed leadership' (Gibson and Villiers 2007) – a situational/contingency approach to leadership recognising the importance of working arrangements where leaders problem solve by drawing on others' expertise such that there is a degree of interdependence, thereby fitting modern organisational (and police) practice more realistically. Here leadership is 'morally desirable', 'promotes participation and empowerment and 'does not degrade followers' (Gibson and Villiers 2007, p28). Some of these attributes are highlighted in the next quote from GCCS Operational Director about 'partnership friendly/bottom-up approaches'.

Importantly, making problem-solving effective is about taking responsibility to develop a multi-agency action plan at the local level. It is felt that there are ways and means of doing this which are 'partnership friendly'. According to GCSS Operational Director,

'You can go in and dictate or you can say we have a bit of a problem here is there any chance you can come in with me to support that. I think that time and time again when we have taken that approach and evidenced what we are doing, people have said ok we can support that...it becomes much more like a common sense approach to delivery of services and trying to join it up and planning reality at a local level. If you continually come with a top-down approach you are going to continually meet barrier after barrier after barrier. And even with the formal consultation process through that and what you are trying to achieve will be skewed by either process or by either the type of individual you are coming across'.

Adding to this, a Community Inspector sets out:

‘I think just now the obligation to work together is absolutely essential because prior to that I would say the police took the lead on absolutely everything...and if there was any sort of joint partnership working it was the police who were leading and it was the police who were carrying out most the actions. Now that there is this statutory obligation that we all have to come together and work with one another is good. That takes a bit of the pressure of us. People can start making demands of each other...

The quotation above does not provide that the Inspector devalues their role however the statutory obligation to work together supports the need for partnership and for easing of pressure on the police. This in turn could be further construed as easing the pressures on them as a Community Inspector.

In chapter six, GCSS were presented as a principal partner with Strathclyde Police under the safe theme of Community Planning. This would suggest a strong and mutually supportive relationship between the two agencies. This is supported senior GCSS community safety officer who stated:

‘Now each locality has a tasking and co-ordinating meeting at local level, Sub-Divisional officers do come into GCSS tasking and co-ordinating meetings. This is in the attempt for collaborative management’.

A key example of how this worked collaboratively was in Scot’s Market. The policing teams from GCSS in partnership with Strathclyde police and Glasgow City Council, pushed for closure of the market area based on a whole host of different factors i.e. drug misuse, prostitution, anti-social behaviour and homelessness. Through analytical profiling of both GCSS and Strathclyde police information (carried out by Strathclyde

police intelligence analyst, Pop house (homeless hostel) and other elements of the environment where founding to be contributing to crime and acts of criminality in the area. Based on this information and joint tasking and co-ordination⁶⁰, the policing teams were then intelligently deployed (in much of an operational support role) to enhance frontline enforcement (of the police) and 'clean up the area' with the help of Land and Environmental Services. More than this, however, the problems in the area had also feedback into 'community planning partnership debate at LCPP level about how they are to improve the area in the long-term and discussions led to the point that the council took over the lease of Scot's market and turn it into something for the community to enjoy' (GCCS Operational Director). This provides an example of how an effective partnership (Berry et al, 2011) can deliver something not just in the short-term but the long-term and as it is claimed 'that's what community planning is really about' (GCCS, Operational Director).

There was also a great deal of concern amongst community police officers surrounding the work of GCSS and how they engaged in partnership with the police. Importantly, such concerns were apparent even though GCSS was jointly owned by Glasgow City Council and Strathclyde Police themselves, as set out in chapter 6. As such, it could be expected that police officers within Strathclyde Police would look more favourably towards this organisation. However this was not the case and was displayed in a number of ways. Firstly, it was felt that, 'GCSS seemed to have a bottomless pit of money....' (PC14) While some of this money was used to help

⁶⁰ It is important to note that Glasgow Community and Safety Services engage with police under the National Intelligence Model in relation to the Tasking and Co-ordination

community police officers, this was not viewed as being helpful or fit for purpose:

‘They have got us mobile office which is completely no use, not for the purpose that we need’ (PC9).

‘It was going to be something that you can sit at high flats⁶¹ and it would have a table in it. Folk can come up and be able to come in and speak to us or it could just be left and it could be left as a base for us to move from to come back to. It has arrived and we were told that it cannot be left alone. You cannot leave this vehicle. It cannot be left sitting any position where at the high flats, where it might be damaged, vandalised etc., so it is absolutely not fit for purpose in anyway’ (PC4).

These airy fairy idea that you can have that...where we can go and have a piece⁶² in our community, it isn’t our community and in reality that it is not how it works and it is never going to work like that. You can’t sit in..... high flats at X or at Z and sit and have a cup of tea and relax, you right in the middle of it, it will be vandalised and pelted⁶³...Beirut comes to mind (PC1).

The above comments also highlight the problems of engaging hard to reach communities. This is similar to Phillips et al. (2002) study whereby they found that little thought was given to consultation with 'hard-to-hear/reach' groups, and opportunities to use existing means were often missed. While the opportunity to engage in the comments above cannot be seen as ‘opportunities missed’ the environment in which the mobile office was placed was not conducive to any meaningful engagement. Other tensions expressed were:

‘If we have been working closer in partnership and then that money would be better spent benefiting policing in the area. We could have easily come up with

⁶¹ This was an area known to the police for having problems with crime and anti-social behaviour.

⁶² A piece is a sandwich.

⁶³ Scottish slang for stone throwing

better solutions or better purposes for that money because they seem to have shed loads of money to spend. We don't and that money is not getting targeted - PC7'.

'That is the problem and the solution is much higher level than anybody in this room that it has to be more coordination where this money goes. I don't know if the agenda is MSPs, MP's or Councillors saying look out here I am for electoral purposes. I have got the police all this kit which is of no use. I don't know whether that where the problem is or whether it is our supervisors and integrating in them because we can't change it. But if someone was to turn around and say there is a 100 grand we can find something that is far better spent on than on mobile offices – PC3'.

'Although they (GCSS) have got this interagency interaction where everyone is supposed to be working together but we are all pulled in different directions from what our agendas actually are. Although we may be working as one big team it doesn't appear on the face of it from what I can see, we are all supposed to be going in the same direction – PC9'.

From the above, there is a strong sense of not being involved in determining where monies are to be spent and for what reason. Such sentiments are similar to sceptical attitude from the police to partnership working (Sampson et al 1988, Pearson et al 1992, Gilling 1997, Bullock et al 2006), commonly explained through the difficulties faced by officers in relinquishing their own cultural values of police work or in the case above, they know best. Furthermore, the above comments may also be construed as rather short sighted on behalf of the respondents and a possible explanation for this may be due to the remit and ethos of the two organisations. GCSS has a particular role in diversion and dealing with anti-social behaviour. As a senior member of GCSS proclaimed:

'the police are good at what they do, we are good at what we do. They can catch the bad guys and deliver on public reassurance, fine. Leave the other stuff to

use. That may not sound like partnership working per se but it is in that we are working towards a common goal – creating a safer and cleaner Glasgow’.

Following Crawford (1999), the previous comment from a senior member of GCSS would suggest that the two organisations are both working towards a common goal of multi-agency working – coming together in relation to a problem. However as GCSS is jointly owned by Strathclyde police and the local authority it may be expected that their activities are inter-agency – fusion and melding of relations. This did not seem to be the case from most of the officer’s point of view.

Another key finding in this research was the nature of partnership created through partnership working. Contrary to previous research which has found that the police can selectively use partnership working when it suits their own pre-set agendas (Sampson et al 1988, Pearson et al 1992, Foster 2002), the importance of maintaining trust with other agencies involved compromise from the police in deciding on particular forms of action to take (Bullock et al 2006). Whilst this does not apply to all aspects of the police organisation, with working on actions plans (may include action plans from other agencies) a consistent theme from the fieldwork was how these forms of compromise were formulated. Whilst the police tended to act as the main partner agency in terms of dealing with core issues of criminality and reassurance, this was often supported by other agencies especially those expertise lies in other areas (see appendix 9). This can be seen to illustrate a push towards multi-agency working rather than inter-agency, although there are problems with this too as set out next.

Part of the early scepticism in research of the police to partnership working was the perceived incompatibility between the police's action-orientation and readiness to 'take charge' of a range of situations (Holdaway 1986), at the expense of more negotiation or process-based working shared by other community agencies. Similar views have been presented by a Community Sergeant:

'The reason why we have had to drive all activities we get involved in is because historically other agencies don't deliver for various reasons. They don't have the power, they don't have the finance, they don't have the capability and actually their organisation doesn't necessarily have to deliver. Whereas policing does...We are paid for by the public and if all of these agencies fail to deliver, the problem always ends up with the police in some way. So if youth disorder isn't diverted through Culture and Sport, NHS, through Housing...if they don't deliver then the youth disorder becomes ASB (becomes criminal) so we take it. The drug addicts go to commit crime to feed their habits. So if health fails, it comes back to the police as a criminal. So if we don't drive it and we don't make people be accountable for their organisation then ultimately we are the catch all for everyone. We are the catch all for social work, health, housing, culture and sport so if they fail it's our baby. So it's in our best interest to drive and to ensure we get the results. That's where we are failing'

From the above, it can be seen that the officer espoused a contextualised understanding of criminality. Similar feelings had been expressed from community police officers towards partnership working:

'It sounds great and it does sound great and on paper it looks brilliant as well but the reality is we are the police, we are not the social workers and my job is not to go out there talk to them, what are doing today? It is not my job to talk to a 15 year old out of drinking themselves to death. That is not my job. I'm not trained to do it and I'm not prepared to do it, I don't have the time to do it and I don't have the goal to do it to be perfectly honest. My job is to catch them and put them in jail. That is my job. My job is not to go to the five aside football pitch and be pals with the kids. That is not my job. That is social work, education and the family. I'm not going to change society. My job is to get them and put them in jail because they break into somebody's car'. – PC1.

In his classic work, Skolnick (1966, p59) understood such sentiments as he what he refers to as police conservatism - a cultural response to the uniqueness of the job, as he describes it, 'the fact that a man is engaged in enforcing a set of rules implies that he also becomes implicated in affirming them'. The police conservatism encountered in the quotation above provide for the dominant ideologies of society (crime fighting) and arguably presents a level of hostility towards others not doing their roles.

Although these instances set out previously were frustrating for officers, their frustration should not be understood merely disengagement with partnership working, but rather illustrating the need for all partners to commit. As with the Community Sergeant above who previous highlighted their frustrations for the police 'being catch all', they also provided that 'crime isn't a policing problem, crime is a community planning problem'.

Similar sentiments were provided by a senior police officer (strategic level) who expected a level of engagement and communication with partner agencies. This led to the establishment of a separate meeting with key individuals:

'You know X, myself and Y had met at mutual territory where ...coffee shop near the cricket ground near MG for a coffee and a cake which she paid for, to try and iron out these difficulties on a personal level. Where we can say, look Y (Community planning manager), we want to make this work but if a piece of work needs to be delivered by the police and you think you are helping but your organisation is helping us but trying to push ahead with and try and second guess us, don't second guess us. Phone us up...'

The role of these 'key players' was fundamental in reducing conflict and this can be

seen to connect to what Crawford and Jones (1995, p20) have argued as 'management of conflict "off-stage" in discrete settings which control their impact upon broader inter-organizational relations and community representation'. This can also be seen to reflect a pragmatic element of partnership working which allows the police in the study to be able to embrace.

When asked what other partner's officers engage with one focus group with community police officer presented that they do not engage. An interesting point was provided by PC7:

'I mean we will work with anything...But they have their own agendas the same as we do. If you sat there and then they will say the same about us probably but there is no coordination...plus we haven't got time to do that.'

The issue of time and lack of it is an important issue that will be returned to in the section below (abstraction). Importantly was the lack of coordination was a prominent issue but not one that the officer was against.

7.5 Safety Politics - Crime detection/reduction and reassurance/fear reduction

Theoretically, the police service in this study should be delivering the public reassurance strategy and this should be the way the 'new' local community policing teams, as part of the Community Policing Model, seek to deliver its problem-solving

and partnership working. According to a Senior Officer,

‘That’s really the way it should be getting promoted throughout the force but in some areas we are still “fighting the fire” and not really looking at how we tackle partnership working/problem solving yet. Not everyone has the experience or background of working in this environment. There will be inspectors, sergeants and cops who have never known anything else other than response policing. ’

It has also been suggested that getting to the stage where the police can effectively problem solve and address community planning issues is not as straightforward as the models of public reassurance and community policing set out. According to a senior police officer,

‘We talk about in the police the “carousel effect” all the time which is an interesting concept that has been talked about for 4 or 5 years and we haven’t got a great solution to it at the moment. The police will tell you that they don’t have time for problem-solving or community planning activity because the demand is such. In one area, they receive a call every 7 minutes. If you ask what is your joint problem-solving activity around that or what is your offender management process like. The reply would be I’m answering a call every 7 minutes – until I have time I can’t do that activity. Whereas we tend to say in a fairground carousel that is spinning that fast nobody can get off. But if somebody takes that initiative and actually gets off and starts to resolve that problem, the carousel slows down and demands less and each visit there from the carousel to the problem...if it has been effective and the problem-solving activity working well it continues to slow that down. The carousel will always be revolving because there will always be problems, always be crime and safety issues however we have got to manage those two and you have to almost take that initial initiative to do that and the police and other organisations often use that as its response...sorry we can’t’.

Similar sentiments have been provided by community police officers throughout the focus groups. While there was reference to informal engagement, ‘chatting to old Jeanie’ and attending the ‘odd’ community meeting, the reality continuously referred to

by community police officers was that of chasing targets, dealing with targets and yet again obtaining targets set from above. While this may be a far cry from the procedures and practices of Community Policing and Public Reassurance as set out in the Strathclyde Community Policing Model (2009) and the ACPOS Public reassurance strategy (2007), however the importance of these cannot be ignored.

Operational community police officers presented how 'chasing targets' restricted their ability to police communities but they also found value in working closely with communities on dealing with matters which affected them. As one community police officer set out:

'There is a check list and they have to be done. And when we come in at the end of the day our returns are, if I miss any out, licence present visits which are pointless. In X years I have never heard of anybody that is going to have a pub with saying how are you doing? The licence visit premises, stop searches and they don't really care whether they are positive or not. All they want to know if you did stop searches, what they were for, bail checks and fixed penalty tickets. Fixed penalty tickets are for minor crimes, pishers⁶⁴, drinkers and stuff like that. They don't care whether you have got anything else. We went away today back from BL prison, interviewing a career criminal for tanning⁶⁵ motors for which we have now got detections but it is no return.'

Further to this, community officers felt that there was little distinction between them and response officers in the city centre of the case study area:

Community now is not what the community used to be. I mean the community policing here deal with the same calls as the response team's deal with it tends

⁶⁴ Urinator

⁶⁵ Tanning is Scottish slang for stealing.

to be one big shift because we all deal with the same stuff. Then they will take the shift away, away to the football and then we need to cover so we work with the response team. So as long as we are working within a ward it's alright. But it is an abstraction as you are not dealing with the community – PC5.

The officer above was clearly aware of the demand being placed upon them as a community officer and felt that they were not dealing with the community or community issues. This is supported by Crawford (1998) who claimed that the advent of 'new public management' since the 1990s has not always facilitated effective partnership working. The emphasis placed on performance indicators can lead to a focus on intra as opposed to inter-agency goals. This also provides a skewed portrayal of what community police officers role is when we consider that the Strathclyde Community Policing Model (2009, p7)) stated that 'abstractions will only occur...in exceptional circumstances and based on the discretion of Sub Divisional Commander'.

Another issue for concern was that officers were restricted from following up serious crime:

'I can give you an example, something we dealt with recently...dealt with shop lifting we have got one guy he was charged and reported from the locus but there was another suspect that was outstanding (just low level shoplifting in Boots..... so later on that was about 3 o'clock about 8 o'clock he got off the bus the guy we were looking for was standing at the bus stop, he was standing at the phone box and the phone box is usually used for basically kid on they are using the phone when drugs are getting dropped off at the phone box..... So I said to two of them, "why are you here?" they both said, they are there waiting for drugs to be dropped off. They named the person who was the drug dealer with an address so that's fine that is good intelligence, yeah. So what would you do, you have good intelligence like that about a drug dealer? You would go and get a warrant based on that recent intelligence so I phone up and this was coming up for about 9.30 - 10 o'clock. No we are just going to have to leave it, don't get a warrant, we have not got enough money to pay for the overtime for cops to go

and search the house and we are probably going to know that was going to happen. It is a drug dealer and you know that there are drugs in the house and you should be going to get a warrant to put an end to it. What kind of message is that sending out?’

The above example is a strong example of intelligence not being followed up. This is interesting considering tackling drug misuse is a priority on the police control strategy but due to organisational constraints they could not attempt to deal with or resolve that situation. This begs the question of what priorities are important. What was clear throughout the study was a high visible presence was what community police officers felt public reassurance was. As comments below sets out:

‘Yeah I think they want yellow jackets out for public reassurance, in the city centre, 9-5 is the majority of the population in the city centre do their office work. They want yellow jackets out for sort of people going into work. There are lots of cops with yellow jackets out – PC3’.

‘I finish at 4 and my duty finishes at 6 and I’m sitting down and the inspector is obviously finished for the day so I was typing up a report and the divisional commander came down and stomped into room, “what are you doing”, I’m just doing a little bit of writing, I’ve got two hours spare and he then went in to every room on the ground floor and checked everybody , “what are you doing here, what are you doing here?” and chased all the gaffers “why is everybody in here?” so everybody then got huckled⁶⁶ out of the room...need to be on the streets coz that’s what the politician’s paid for – PC11’.

These comments represent a strong push for high visibility and police presence which were both central and local government priorities – to make communities feel safer.

Furthermore, this also depicts a position whereby visibility holding greater important

⁶⁶ Scottish slang for being moved on or removed from the room.

than dealing with criminality. This seems at odds the Chief Constables perspective mentioned previously, enforcement should be the role of community officers primarily with problem solving/reassurance around this.

With this in mind, there was a great deal of scepticism from community police officers suggesting that they were 'chasing targets' for 'hefty bonuses for bosses' (PC2).

However, there was also a strong feeling that some crime detections were not as important as other targets which raised a number of concerns:

'It has reached to a point now that it is almost verging on criminality because somebody challenged inspector H about it, the other day, somebody who is not here and the talk inspector H gave was that I want stop searches up. Now there is a letter in the law and I don't know how much of the law you know but I have to have a reason to search you and it has got to be a good reason. If we do it by the letter of the law for drugs, stolen property or whatever it is we are encouraged to do a stop search to get the figures up and up and up and up'.

The practices of above are similar to what has come to be defined as 'gaming'. De Bruijn (2001, 2007) refers to such behaviour as 'gaming':

'A public organisation increases its production in accordance with the system's criteria, but this increase in production has no significance or has a negative significance from a professional perspective (De Bruijn 2001, p21).

Likierman (1993) maintained that comprehensive and reliable measures of performance were an essential requirement of performance management systems.

Bevan and Hood (2006) reiterated the need to ensure such systems were not

compromised by 'gaming'. Loveday (1999) stated that without effective 'game proofing' or quality control it would be extremely difficult to determine whether the apparent improvements in performance were genuine or otherwise. Therefore, practices such as those provided above may not provide a true representation of lawful stop and searches.

In the case study, officers did not report feeling alienated from the general public but did feel isolated from their superiors. Exacerbated by their heightened feelings of isolation, officers demonstrated profound togetherness with fellow colleagues (Skolnick 1966, Manning 1977). This was evidenced in the focus groups and the way they responded to questions posed i.e. group loyalty was strong between officers on the same shift. In organisational terms, solidarity is a favourable trait as it produces a high degree of team work. However, in this case study, solidarity had a more sinister outlook towards senior police personnel.

7.5.1 Informal partners

Despite the 'top down' implementation of Community policing (see chapter 6), there was a close interaction with other 'non-standardised' community agencies in the research.

Amongst many police officers there was some complementing of their typical

investigative work practices with these types of partner agents. As studies of police investigative practices have shown, the role of officers in making informal enquiries such as phoning trusted contacts and informants is a common part of this type of work (e.g. Innes 2003):

PC5 – I occasionally you get a bed list from X house⁶⁷ just to see who's in if you somebody is out with a warrant, no doubt that they will get lifted at some point...

PC3 – If you phone up they pretty alright they tell you ... they will give you a phone number. They are pretty good at that.

PC5 – They give you information the housing staff; they know a lot of the Neds⁶⁸ down there better than we do because they are there all day every day so you do get your information of them. There are a couple of good people there.

In many respects, key dimensions of partnership working (Berry et al, 2011) correspond closely with these informal methods of 'doing business': by finding informants and allies who could support both the partnership and individual agencies. In practice the police operated a 'trade off' whereby they delivered a more moderate set of control responses in exchange for the benefits of partnership which delivers a more joined-up range of interventions. An example of this was presented with in the city centre of the case study:

'with the stewards and the taxi lads etc. They are afraid to approach us and tell

⁶⁷ This is a homeless hotel.

⁶⁸ A 'Ned' is Scottish slang for a non-educated delinquent. Similar to the use of the word 'Chav' in England and Wales.

us if they have got any issues that they have had down the pub. If we have trouble in the street and we were losing the stewards would be quick to jump in so we tended to have a relationship of we looked out for them and they looked out for us. This was especially good around taxi ranks outside the night club...you know...on M street. We would look out for the taxi marshalls...this was a good relationship to have on a Friday and Saturday night – PC10'

Following Paoline (2003, p208), such relations and building of trust, and general consensual policing meant less of a need for police officers to 'maintain the edge, become suspicious, and be isolated from their 'partners' (citizens) of policing'. This may be seen to provide a pragmatic benefit in that while the police are less control orientated than they might usually be, they experience more effective working in communities through partnership with trusted allies. This raises key points regarding police culture and its changing face.

7.6 Police Culture

Police culture has been identified past studies as a barrier to partnership work (Pearson et al 1992, Edwards 2002, Bullock et al 2006). The reasons provided include the lack of organisational hierarchy in the partner agencies, reluctance on the part of the police to relinquish some of their authority, lack of action-filled activity from partnership work, etc. These are all applicable to the issues presented above.

As policing as an occupation is experiencing a great deal of change it is important to look at the implications of these developments for the cultural ethos that has long

underpinned the police identity (Loftus, 2010). There has been a great deal of literature on the topic of police culture since the 1960s (Chan, 1997). Debate has centred between those who identify recurring attitudes, orientations or police officer types across police forces, across time and across some states; and those who see these types of generalisations as unhelpful and misleading, especially when taking into account generational and socio-political differences. For example, Waddington (1999) has noted that some of the writing on police culture confused what the police said with what they actually did. 'Canteen talk' was a way of releasing tension and building rapport, but when it came to actual work on the streets with the public, police action was different. He also argues that police culture was used as a convenient conceptual tool with which to blame the police for all that is wrong in the criminal justice system, rather than seeing it as a possible way to give meaning to their work.

The work of Chan (1997) is notable in that; while she does present police culture as an occupational reality. For Chan, who employed Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field in her analysis, there is a lot more than suspicion, solidarity or pessimism, for example.

Wider organisational and political changes in the policing field can influence, and be influenced by, police officers' habitus. Habitus refers to one's personal orientation and experiences. Chan referred to the policing field as the 'rules of the game', and officers use their various types of organisational knowledge (their habitus, the police culture) to navigate this field. Thus setting out that as both the field and habitus can be

changed so can police culture.

Reiner (2010, p137) presents that 'police culture is neither monolithic, nor unchanging. But the predicament of the police in maintaining order and enforcing the law in liberal democracies generates a typical cultural pattern'. He discusses how 'cop culture' is not something that is passed from one generation to the next and diffused across the organisation, but is rather Reiner (2010, p118) 'a patterned set of understandings that helps officers cope with the pressures and tensions confronting the police'. Reiner brings together and summarises some of the key research in this area and presents several core police characteristics, i.e., common coping mechanisms. These are: a sense of mission, a love of action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice and pragmatism (Reiner 2010 p118-132).

While the debate will surely continue in terms of exactly how widespread and consistent these characteristics are, this research will provide a contribution to this as it was found that research officers involved in partnership work has found that this method of working can in fact produce an alternative deployment of those common coping mechanisms which Reiner identifies, especially relating to pragmatism. Rather than preventing the police from engaging fully in partnership work, police culture, especially the tendency towards pragmatism, has actually facilitated partnership working in this study. A number of frustrates with partnership working, lack of engagement and misrepresentation of roles and duties, especially within community policing and feelings of isolation, officers did see the worth of partnership and

supported it with the need for pragmatic actions i.e. changes to facilitate better responses and more time provided for responses.

7.7 Summary

The pragmatism attached to partnership work varied between officers in this research, and in particular, between strategic and managerial, and operational levels. A reconfiguration of police pragmatism which is differing from existing literature is one of the long-term orientations of police pragmatism towards working in partnership. Reiner (2010) sets out that pragmatism is valued in policing because officers are mainly trying to get to 'tomorrow' safely and so do not tend to invest much time and energy into long-term problem-solving measures because their value is not as apparent to the immediate situation. This research would suggest that this is not the case for those officers as there is a strong acknowledgment of needing to get things right both within the organisation and with partners taking responsibility. It was clear that the police need to think about the long term as they are failing in addressing local needs. Their view of the pragmatic benefits of partnership is precisely because it has a long-term effect, as well as, in some cases, short-term ones i.e. as seen with informal partnerships and gathering intelligence. It would seem that for the respondents involved in partnership work, pragmatism has come to have a different meaning from what has been set out in the previous research and literature on police culture. Pragmatism is a way forward although a position conceded as difficult to achieve.

However, at the time of this research, it was shown that pragmatism was not enough or embedded throughout the police organisation to prevent a gap in implementation of community planning and community safety from occurring. This seemed to be compounded by the salient issues of targets and chasing targets. Public reassurance at the operational level became more about high visibility and being 'seen on the street' than what it truly offers in terms of dealing with fear of crime and genuinely attempting to include communities in providing 'local solutions to their local problems' (Strathclyde Police, 2004).

Chapter 8

8.1 Introduction

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 (the Reform Act) was granted royal assent on 8th August 2012, with the Police Service of Scotland (PSS), coming into existence on 1st April 2013. The Reform Act abolished the pre-existing governing bodies and the Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency. These were replaced with new governance and funding arrangements alongside the national police service. Now PSS receive all funding from central government.

In 2011, Kenny MacAskill, Cabinet Secretary for Justice, described the pre-existing police system, consisting of eight separate police forces, as “unsustainable” and proposed a vision for a new centralised police service expected to result in savings of £1.1 billion by 2026 (Scottish Parliament, 2011). The stated aims established by the Scottish Government were “to protect and improve local services”, “create more equal access to specialist support and national capacity” and to “strengthen the connection between police services and communities (Audit Scotland, 2013). In its appraisal of the Reform Act, Audit Scotland described it as occasioning “one of the biggest and most complex restructures in the public sector for many years” (Audit Scotland, 2013, p6). Adding to this, it further stated that “although not a stated objective of reform, one of the main drivers was to save money” (ibid, p2).

Confronted with cuts in public spending determined by Westminster, the Scottish Government has had its overall funding reduced by almost 11% between 2010/11 - 2015/16 and as will be seen it is clear that this legislation is a (by)product of this political reality (Scottish Government, 2013). However, the Reform Act goes beyond cutting costs and making financial savings. Importantly, it laid down substantial requirements for the modernisation of Scottish policing - through the creation of a national system of police governance, providing new arrangements for the delivery of local policing and the maintenance of a range of local police accountabilities alongside the enunciation of a new set of policing principles.

The purpose of this chapter is not provide a comprehensive overview of these reforms, these has been ably set out elsewhere (see Scott, 2012, 2013; Fyfe and Scott, 2012; Fyfe and Terpstra; 2014 and Fyfe et al, 2013 for comparisons on reform in Northern and Western Europe) but to explore these developments by setting some of the findings from previous chapters against the (now) current system⁶⁹ and the potential impacts to localism that have arisen from a national police force run from corporate headquarters in Fife. In order to do so, the chapter will specify what changes have been made to policing in Scotland since the fieldwork was completed; discuss the actual/potential impact that such changes have had on the nature of local policing, community safety and community planning; alongside discussing the pertinence of issues identified in my research in light of these changes and their potential impacts. Key points from recent literature are provided in terms of

⁶⁹ Thus, providing a before and after discussion of these developments.

implementation rather than evaluation⁷⁰, thus in keeping with the key aims of the thesis.

8.2 Reform – push and pull

The decision to create a single police service followed a period of public consultation on the future of policing. In February 2011, the Scottish Government launched the first of two consultation exercises to seek views⁷¹ on how to protect and improve the police service and increase partnership working with other organisations. Interestingly, the findings from the first consultation provided rather mixed views on how the police should be structured. For example, ‘the largest number of respondents, especially amongst police bodies, supported retaining the existing eight forces in a modern form with increased collaboration’ (Nicholson 2011, p2). Adding to this, in an analysis of consultation carried out in June 2011, Bryan et al (2011) set out that majority opposed a single police force and this was over 80% of those who expressed a view. The key advantage to this option was the perceived capacity to retain local knowledge and local accountability; there were concerns that a reduction in the number of police forces would result in a loss of service at a local level. Further to this, as a community planning representative set out, “reform should focus on the outcomes that need to be

⁷⁰ A programme of evaluation is being carried out by the Scottish Institute of Police Research – see Scottish Parliament, 2014).

⁷¹ Consultation typically included police and fire bodies, voluntary sector, national and local partnerships and other national entities (Nicholson, 2011). Interestingly, the consultation did not include a public consultation – see Fyfe (2014) for subsequent findings.

delivered rather than simply focus on structure...Change should be given by the need to deliver better outcomes rather than... the need to make savings” (Bryan et al, 2011, p9).

Pre-reform force areas covered ‘a unique mix of urban and rural communities with very different policing needs’ (HMICS, 2009, p8). Stephen Curran, the (then) convenor of Strathclyde Joint Police Authority, noted that different areas could be contained within pre-reform force areas arguing that “Strathclyde covers 44% of the Scottish population in an area running from Tiree to Ballantrae, so we know all about preserving local accountability ... If it can be done within Strathclyde, it can be done within Scotland” (Dinwoodie, 2010 cited in Mendel et al, 2016, note 7).

Nevertheless, the Scottish Government published a business case for police reform in September 2011. The report argued that although the police were performing well in Scotland, with low levels of crime and high levels of public satisfaction “in the face of unprecedented cuts to public sector budgets, the Scottish Government wishes to protect this level of performance. It is not possible to meet that challenge in the current structure and organisation of policing in Scotland” (Scottish Government, 2011, p9).

While the report considered three different re-structuring models⁷² as per previous consultations, a single force was ultimately Scottish Government’s preferred option.

⁷² Other models where an enhanced eight forces model and a regional police model (Scottish Government, 2011, p30).

The report set out that a single force offered the greatest potential to generate efficiencies:

- Total net present value of £1,364 million over 15 years and annual recurring cash savings estimated at £106 million from the end of the programme of change;
- requires up to £161 million of one-off transitional investment over the programme of change;
- would best deliver non-financial benefits in improvements to service delivery and policing outcomes with the removal of internal boundaries which would facilitate specialist resources being deployed flexibly across Scotland as required, and national capacity to tackle threats such as terrorism and serious organised crime where it is needed;
- The single service model presents the best opportunity to drive out duplication, ensure consistency, and rationalise existing systems and structures as far as possible. Efficiencies should be realised through economies of scale, with expertise, capability and budgets pooled at a national level then targeted to local need (Scottish Government, 2011).

There are other potential benefits that the Scottish Government has been keen to highlight. A national force will, they argue, create more equal access to specialist support and expertise and, through the arrangements for local policing, strengthen the connections between the police service and communities (Fyfe and Scott, 2013; Fyfe, 2014). Following Loveday (2015) it seems central arguments for the introduction of a national police force were based on the likelihood of substantial cuts to police funding and the need to make savings while at the same time protecting police establishment and its performance. This was supported by the 'pro-national' Chief Constable of Strathclyde who publicly state that a national police force would protect police numbers as a result of saving made on infrastructure (Fyfe 2013, p126).

8.3 Strathclyde effect

While initial planning for the reformed police service was to be the responsibility of the Scottish Government, this was to be devolved in early 2011 to the Scottish Police College where the Sustainable Policing Project Team⁷³ was located (Loveday, 2015). The Team was led by a senior police officer Neil Richardson who at this time was also Deputy Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police (Fyfe 2013, p125). With the support of his (then) Chief Constable, Richardson took on the task of drafting the Sustainable

⁷³ The focus of the work of the Sustainable Policing Project was an assessment of the operational and financial implications of 3 options: enhanced collaboration between the existing 8 police forces; the creation of 3 or 4 large regional forces; or the establishment of a single police service for the whole country Scottish Government, 2011a).

Policing Project report (Scottish Government, 2011) which explored the three options for reform (see above) and came to the clear conclusion that a national force would maximize operational benefits as well as secure significant financial savings – as set out in the Scottish Government business case. The DCC then continued to play a pivotal role within the National Police Reform Team⁷⁴ once the decision to establish a national force had been taken.

In contrast to these views of support, Loveday (2015, p3-4) set out that professional opinion as to the value of a national force was to prove divided. Many Chief Constables heading up the threatened eight forces did not share the optimism of either the Scottish Government or fellow Chief Constable of Strathclyde as to the benefits of the merger. They argued instead for a regional structure to allow for local demands and differences (Fyfe 2015, p126). Nevertheless, as Scotland's largest police force prior to reform, it is therefore not surprising that former members of Strathclyde Police comprise the largest constituent element of Police Scotland with its former Chief Constable⁷⁵ assuming the same role for all Scotland and Neil Richardson as Deputy Chief Constable.

From the above, it can be seen that the political narrative has focused on the economic rationale for reform with the offset of needing to deal with national

⁷⁴ The police-led reform team was initially led by the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS). Latterly, the police-led team became known as the National Police Reform Team (Audit Scotland, 2013).

⁷⁵ There remain matters outside of the legislation which will define the relationship between policing and politics. At the time of the appointment of the first chief constable in September 2012, only the chair of the Scottish Police Authority was in place and all other members and officials of the Authority had still to be appointed. Although the circumstances were unique, it does raise concerns about the potential for political influence in the selection process.

challenges to safety alongside strengthening local connections and protecting performance levels. It seems that the concerns highlighted in the consultation exercises were largely ignored however this reflected, as has been argued by observers, a decisive move to centralising policing and was fully intended to represent a clear break from the past (Fyfe et al 2013), with a particularly influential role over the direction of national reform played by senior police officers from Strathclyde Police. This may be indicative of what Loveday contends, 'the professional solution to new challenges always appears to be based on ever larger units of policing (Loveday, 2008, p139). However, there are on-going debates about the impact of police force sizes, structures and mergers as police organisations attempt to attempt to reductions in their budgets and changes in patterns of criminality (see Mendel et al, 2016 for fuller discussion).

As a result the reform process was to be largely controlled by the police (Strathclyde in particular) and this has further contributed to two elements as set out by Loveday (2015, p3):

“First the plans arising from the project appeared to demonstrate a traditional police objective which has been, where possible, to remove their service from effective local oversight and accountability. This has been a long term feature of police interpretations of effective policing. Based on a 'Professional Policing Model' it has, as its objective, a significant enhancement of police operational autonomy”.

These are important issues for consideration for the remainder of this chapter and will frame some of the key issues under consideration.

8.4 Governance Arrangements - Centralism v localism

Policing in Scotland has ‘always been a local service, locally delivered and locally accountable’ (Scott, 2012, p112). As provided for in chapter 4, under the previous arrangements, set out in the Police (Scotland) Act 1967, local authorities exercised responsibilities for maintaining the eight regional forces, appointing and dismissing Chief and Assistant Chief Constables, employing civilian staff, scrutinising the Chief Constable’s annual report, and requiring additional reports deemed necessary for the maintenance of policing in that area. These functions were carried out within unitary or joint Local Police Authorities (LPAs). However, this is no longer the case. It is claimed that, one of the most radical changes brought about by the Reform Act was the abolition of locally elected police authorities/boards (LPAs) (Scott, 2013). The main form of statutory governance now operates at the national level via the unelected⁷⁶ Scottish Police Authority (SPA). This agency, as per Section 5(1) of the Reform Act, “must comply with any direction (general or specific) given by the Scottish Ministers” (with the exception of specific operations) and its members are directly appointed by the Scottish Ministers (s.5). The Authority’s main functions are: to maintain the Police Service, to promote the policing principles, to promote and support continuous improvement in the policing of Scotland, and to hold the chief constable to account, as set out in section 2 of the Reform Act. However, there are no statutory guidelines that dictate the new body must include elected members of local government.

⁷⁶ Such developments offer a significant contrast to those implemented in England and Wales where direct election has now assumed an ever greater significance in the governance of the police through Police and Crime Commissioners providing balance between the police and elected officials – see Jones et al, 2012 and Loveday, 2015).

Consequently, this gives rise to the potential concerns of local issues not being raised or listened to at a national level.

Police Scotland viewed these new developments as positive for police accountability. According to the Police Scotland Communications and Engagement Strategy (2015, p4) the Reform Act has brought greater accountability and scrutiny for the single policing service, with a new Scottish Police Authority and 32 local authority scrutiny boards and more than double the number of local authority elected members now actively involved in local scrutiny arrangements. In support of this, Kenny MacAskill has stated that, “Local authorities will approve plans for their area and, rather than a handful of councillors attending a regional board, many more councillors will have a say in what happens in their area” (BBC News, 2012). Adding to this, in the fieldwork for this study, little to no reference was made by research participants to the influences or role of Strathclyde Joint Police authority in contributing to policing or community planning apart from approving policy areas as mandated by the Scottish Government (see section 4.9). More broadly, in the Independent Review of Policing (2009) it was found that:

- police boards had little or no direct input into the development of their constituent SOAs, despite (a) the requirement for police resources and (b) the duty imposed by the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 on police authorities and boards (as well as chief constables) to participate in community planning;

- in some areas, the police board had considered ('noted') the SOAs of the councils in their force areas, but these had not been formally approved by the board; in other areas, the board had not even seen the relevant SOAs; and
- there were no clear arrangements between the authority/boards and the relevant councils for sharing performance monitoring information on the SOA outcomes to which the police were contributing.
- There was little evidence that authorities/boards were informed or consulted on how the force should balance the resources required to achieve the SOAs with demands for other local policing resources not directly linked to SOAs.

Further research had suggested that local police authorities lacked a strong local dimension to the governance and accountability of Scottish policing. In particular, LPAs were argued to be lacking in the necessary skills and capacities to effectively hold the police to account (Laing and Fossey, 2011; Audit Scotland, 2012), ultimately being characterised as generally providing a 'rubber stamp' to the will of the police and the Chief Constable (Donnelly and Scott, 2002, p10). In response to this, a clearly stated objective of the Reform Act was that it should strengthen mechanisms of local governance. Therefore to return to Loveday's position of the police objective to remove their service from effective local oversight and accountability, it seems that these developments have provided for a centralisation of governance and accountability (and therefore funding) but not wholly without reason, as research

findings suggest. However there remains the need to balance this some mechanism of local governance.

The local accountability that used to exist within policing has been removed, as local authorities no longer contribute in terms of finance. This can be seen as a direct means to undermine local accountability, at least at the local authority level. The new role of local authorities was set out in chapter 7 of the Reform Act (ss44-47) and framed in terms of 'consultation', providing 'feedback' and 'scrutiny'. This was to be the 'new' mechanism of local governance. How local authorities engage in their 'new' role in scrutiny and engagement was a matter for them as the Reform Act prescribes neither structures nor processes and instead encourages flexibility and the need to be responsive to local conditions. What has transpired is the development of Local Scrutiny Committees (LSCs) in different forms across Scotland to fulfil this role.

8.5 Structure and local policing – complex landscape

Although constituting a single police service, the organisation is structured around local geographic areas. There are three Police Regional Command Areas: North, West and East, each with an Assistant Chief Constable (ACC) having oversight of it. Within these are 13 Divisions, each with a Divisional Commander (DC) of the rank of

Chief Superintendent (CS)⁷⁷ (see appendix 11 for map of Local Authorities and Police Divisions). As Terpstra and Fyfe (2015, p12) set out, “while this structure for delivering local policing offers a degree of managerial efficiency (allowing the national command team to work with 14 (now 13 – see footnote 12) rather than 32 area commanders, from a local authority perspective, this configuration creates a more complex landscape”. For instance, some Divisions are coterminous with Local Authority Areas (for example, the Greater Glasgow Police Division is co-terminous with Glasgow City Council⁷⁸) but in most instances a DC serves more than one Local Authority and so more than one LSC, each of which might be constituted in a different way. For example, in areas without co-terminous boundaries the most senior officer will be a Chief Inspector who is responsible to the DC. Terpstra and Fyfe (2015, 12) further contend, “In those areas where local authority boundaries are co-terminous with the police division, the local commander has a higher degree of authority and autonomy to take decisions than in those local authorities which are not aligned”. Thus creating a two tier system⁷⁹ which represents a more differentiated landscape across Scotland within which local authorities must interact with the police.

Each Division is further broken down into Local Area Commands, overseen by a Chief Inspector, and subdivided into wards (the unit by which Local Authority Councillors are elected to). Therefore, this could create the position that a Division is overseen by a

⁷⁷ This internal structure has been the subject of some change. In 2013, when Police Scotland was created there were 14 Divisions across Scotland however in January 2016 this has reduced to 13 with the merger of the Aberdeenshire and Moray Division with the Aberdeen City Division into the North East Division.

⁷⁸ There are five local authority areas across Scotland with co-terminous Local Authority Areas.

⁷⁹ First tier – local authorities with DC responsible; and a second tier – local authorities with a Chief Inspector who is then responsible to a DC.

Chief Inspector and a Local Area Command overseen by a same level ranking officer. Below this, wards are generally overseen by an officer or officers of the rank of Inspector. As can be seen, Police Scotland's status as a single police service therefore belies a structure that is very much constituted around local geographic units but one which seems rather complex.

Adding to this, an important point of note, yet again, is that there is lot of responsibility (alongside autonomy and authority) on an individual police officer such as a DC or LAC. For instance, as set out in chapter 7 (section 7.4) Community Inspectors were viewed as the 'vital' link between the strategic and the operational as they have to have an eye on the operational delivery and at the same time they have to feed that information for their local responsibilities to the strategic police and community planning organisation. Community Inspectors were to be the community planners, problem-solvers and strategic thinkers at the local level however issues of capacity to fulfil this role were deemed important. Further to this, what would happen if a DC or LAC had a background in response policing or a specialism within the police which meant that they did not have experience of working alongside local authorities (and partner agencies)? What if they possessed an 'enforcement' view of policing and culturally wanted to focus on what they viewed as core business of the police with an overtone of operational autonomy as set out by Loveday (2015) above? This would place a great deal of responsibility, autonomy and ultimately discretion in the hands of a small number of key individuals who as set out in chapter 7 (section 7.4) 'do not get trained to do this' (Senior Officer).

More importantly, the Reform Act does not state the consequences if a local commander were to ignore entirely the wishes of the local authority. It is also far from clear what would happen if a local authority were to refuse to endorse the plan of its local commander (Scott, 2013). Loveday (2015) sees this also as the, perhaps deliberate, work of the Sustainable Project Team in the development of Police Scotland structure in terms of ensuring the 'operational autonomy' of senior police officers (with lack of co-terminous boundaries in places); and therefore lack of clear and potential effective local oversight due to the complexities that have prevailed. Thus, in turn, representing core moves towards a model of Professionalised Policing with a focus on centralism (Loveday, 2015).

8.6 Community planning and plans – local scrutiny arrangements

The Chief Constable's responsibility to participate in Community Planning processes is delegated to these LACs (Reform Act, s46). Local authorities are required to be involved in the setting of local police priorities (Reform Act, s45[1]) and must approve the local police plan (Reform Act, s47) which should be drafted by the LAC giving cognisance to Police Scotland's Annual Police Plan, thus providing a bind with national priorities. The policing plan also sets out the arrangements for achieving these priorities, and the outcomes by which these priorities and objectives may be measured (Reform Act, s.48 (2)). The local authority may monitor and provide

feedback to the local commander. Importantly, the local authority ‘may specify policing measures that it wishes the local commander to include in a local policing plan’ (Reform Act, s.46 (2ZA)). In addition, LACs are required to provide reports on the carrying out of police functions, statistical information on complaints about the police and other information about the policing of its area, ‘as the local authority may reasonably require’ (Reform Act, s.46 (3)). This is important in building closer working relationships between local authorities and the police as found in this research having been established previously in Community Planning Partnership membership and the development of Community Plans in Glasgow (see chapter 6). As such, these new requirements in the Reform Act provide a re-emphasis on the mutual relationship between the police (LAC’s) and the local authority, central to which is the local policing plan.

However, as Loveday (2015, p4-5) sets out:

“The identification of local commanders for the 32 district authorities might be seen, at best, as a kind of tokenism to the locality as does the requirement for both parties to agree a local policing plan. Within the new model central direction from the chief constable, on ‘operational policing grounds’ can be expected to override any previously agreed local commitments. As a consequence of that local ‘accountability’ to the districts might be best described as largely ‘symbolic’”.

This has not entirely been the case in Glasgow recently, as the model adopted for LSC arrangements have been taken under the umbrella of the Community Planning Partnership and its community safety structure⁸⁰ (Henry et al, 2015). It was through

⁸⁰ This is similar to the findings from one of the research sites in Anderson et al’s study. It is not clear due to ethical considerations whether this research site was Glasgow or another local authority area.

this structure (not LSCs themselves) that agreement of joint outcomes and improvement plans amongst partners are taking place. This is further supported by the Glasgow City local policing plan (2014-17) where the Leader of Glasgow City Council endorses the priorities set out. Interestingly, the policing plan was also endorsed by the chair of the SPA. Moreover, the local policing plan highlighted clear alignments and potential overlap between these plans, National Outcomes and Single Outcome Agreements as developed by Community Planning Partnerships. For instance, in relation to Priority 1 – tackling Violence, Disorder and Anti-social Behaviour it was set out:

Our objectives include a commitment to:

- Reduce violent crime, including alcohol related violence
- Reduce disorder and antisocial behaviour
- Increase detection of violent offenders, including those who commit domestic abuse and hate crime

These objectives align to:

- Scottish Government Strategic Police Priority 1
- Scottish Police Authority Strategic Policing Objectives 1.1 & 1.2

- Scottish Government National Outcomes 1, 5, 7, 8 & 9
- Glasgow Single Outcome Agreement Priorities 1 & 3

(Glasgow City Local Policing Plan, 2014, p11).

While the structure of Community Planning in Glasgow was found to represent a rather statist architecture (as provided for in chapter 6) it does however provide the vehicle in which to 'house' these newer configurations of local council–local police relationships which in turn builds upon the experiences and development of priority setting and plans in partnership, as set out in the presiding chapters of this thesis. In 2013, following the delegated responsibility to scrutinise local plans and services for Police, a group 'Safer Glasgow Group' was created. The Safe Glasgow Group is a broad Partnership approach to scrutiny based on the ethos of collaboration forged by the Community Planning process in the city. The Safe Glasgow Group is a Partnership with a prime objective to scrutinise local plans and services for Police and Fire and Rescue, and to provide guidance around improvement in performance and service delivery within Glasgow (Glasgow Community Planning Annual Report 2014/15).

A further important point of note is that the Chief Constable has gone further than the legislative requirements and established a policing plan for each council ward in Scotland. There are 353 neighbourhood level policing plans (based on multi-member ward areas (council ward)) across Scotland. It is argued that this will lead to greater

cooperation between local communities to allow them to be better able to provide input into the strategies which play a significant role in how the criminal law of Scotland is administered on a daily basis (Henry et al, 2015). This may also be seen as providing a 'softer' form of accountability for the police whereby they are happier to be answerable to community participants than formal accountability to democratically elected representatives. Furthermore, Terpstra and Fyfe (2015, p539) contend:

“While this could be seen as adding a further degree of localism and sending a potent symbolic message regarding the local orientation of the national force, it also creates potential for tensions between the priorities set out in the statutory local policing plans for each local authority area and those contained within ward level plans”.

Adding to this, a key issue highlighted in Chapter 7 was that it was difficult for Community Planning to get to the neighbourhood level as it was at the LCPP level were 'things got stuck' (Senior Officer – Public Reassurance Unit; section 7.4).

A joint review conducted by HMICS and Her Majesty's Fire Service Inspectorate for Scotland (HMFSIS) which reported in May 2013 found that progress had been made in designating LACs and in setting up local scrutiny arrangements across the 32 local authority areas. The review found that the new arrangements were broadly welcomed by local practitioners and specifically indicated that there was some evidence that elected members had seen an improvement in the quality and direct local relevance of information supplied to them by LACs (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013, p6.15). However, the review also identified some areas for development and further review, namely that levels and quality of local consultation were variable (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013, p

5.15), and that the relationship between ‘scrutiny and engagement’ and ‘governance and accountability’ was not always clear to members, particularly where there was a perceived overlap between national and local matters and uncertainty over the mechanisms through which such matters could be formally addressed (HMICS and HMFSIS, 2013, p6.13).

Adding to this, in their submission to the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing on Local Policing and Police Reform in Scotland: initial findings from qualitative research Anderson et al (2014, p7) highlighted that,

“some of the most significant changes have been experienced by local authorities who, having lost their pre-reform statutory responsibilities for policing, now see themselves in a weaker position to influence what happens locally and are still in the process of trying to develop a new role for themselves focused around local scrutiny and engagement, particularly in relation to the production of local police plans”.

They also found that the need for the police to maintain continuity of engagement with community structures (including Community Councils and wards) had been an issue. Concerns had been raised by councillors to the LSC in Site 2 about successive officers turning up for meetings, often ill-briefed about specific issues of local concern, only to be replaced by yet another officer at the next meeting (Anderson et al, 2014). This was not too dissimilar to the findings in section 7.2.3 regarding the lack of continuity of police attendance at meetings. However, Anderson et al (2014) found in their research these issues were resolved by changing the shift patterns of certain officers through continuous engagement between the LACs and community

councillors and illustrates the key principle of “providing strategic leadership in order to influence service delivery” (2013:4) as identified by the Scottish Government, CoSLA and IS. Therefore perhaps this is illustrating that lessons have been learnt from previous problems, as highlighted at the time of the fieldwork.

Furthermore, Anderson et al (2015, p14) found in site 2 of their research, the style of reporting was a cause for concern for both DCs and the LSC members particularly due to the nature of the report being a “formulaic Strathclyde region based style which consists of hard raw facts, no relating introductory narrative.” This was similar to the issues presented in section 7.3 whereby it was found that a lack of understanding of police performance reporting and therefore having to take the accuracy of police statistical evidence at face value. As an issue highlighted in both the fieldwork for this thesis and now in research following the development of Police Scotland, it could be suggested that the legacy of ‘a Strathclyde effect’ although negative remains prominent.

Adding to this, an interesting finding was SPA board member presence at committee meetings. This was “valued (by members) as they are able to provide information and answer broader questions about resourcing, finance and national issues outside the formal scope of the local command team” (Anderson et al, 2014, p14). This in turn can be seen to offer a ‘middle ground’ for the lack of local oversight and accountability for at a local authority level however, “members showed uncertainty about whether such issues, when discussed locally, are fed back to the full SPA Board” (Anderson et al,

2014, p14). This follows closely a key finding from observations of meetings carried out in the fieldwork whereby attendance of meetings may only represent an opportunity to 'talk shop' and may not be acted upon fully when returning to parent organisation (see section 7.3).

Lastly, it was found that although participants had taken the Reform Act as the formal basis for their working there were a number of areas in which the practice of local scrutiny was more informally negotiated. For example, ongoing meetings and conversations between members became the process where things got done and, links were made across different sites of council business through members exercising multiple roles. Much of this reflects participants simply attempting to make the best out of the arrangements as set up, to avoid duplication of effort and meeting fatigue; and in some respects informal negotiated arrangements commanded local legitimacy and were preferable to overly bureaucratic or prescriptive models which formally leave little room for actors to negotiate practice that is attuned to local needs (Anderson et al, 2014, p19). Again, the research by Anderson et al (2014) illustrated a key issue prevalent in the fieldwork whereby although structures were in place for formalised meetings, some of the actions 'to get things done', 'key players' and 'conflict management' occurred outside of these (see section 7.4 – multi and inter-agency politics).

8.7 Policing Principles – new vision

Police reform in Scotland has also been used to articulate a new vision of what policing is for. This has been embraced quite explicitly by including a set of Policing Principles within the Police Reform Act which have echoes of the Principles of Policing put forward by Robert Peel in 1829 (see Emsley, 2014). In section 32 of the Police Act it states that:

- ‘the main purpose of policing is to improve the safety and well-being of persons, localities and communities in Scotland,

- the Police Service, working in collaboration with others where appropriate, should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which is accessible to, and engaged with, local communities, (and) promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder.’

These policing principles clearly reflect the Scottish ambition to have a community oriented style of policing, with a broad view on what policing should be, in close cooperation with partner agencies and communities, and with much emphasis on police visibility and proximity (MacKenzie and Henry, 2012). This supports the ‘core’ ingredients of Community planning as set out in chapter 3 which places clear emphasis to the development of problem-solving partnership working closely with communities at the local level. This view clearly contrasts with the vision of policing being articulated in England and Wales which is strongly focused on crime fighting (Fyfe and Henry, 2012). Moreover, this modernised oath can also be seen to give

clearer guidance to police officers about how they should act and is a useful reminder of key attributes of their office. This was also found to be supported in the fieldwork (see chapter 7) by some (not all) of the officers who welcomed 'pragmatic' worth of partnership in dealing with long-term problems which go beyond dealing with crime and enforcement, looking at the overall well-being of communities. However, as out by Fyfe (2014) a certain irony that this focus on prevention in the policing principles has been overshadowed in the first few years of Police Scotland by a strong focus on enforcement and 'crime fighting'.

8.8 Professional model of policing – enforcement v partnership

The stated purpose of the Police Service of Scotland is defined in Section 32 of the Act: being to "improve the safety and wellbeing of people, places and communities in Scotland". This rather ambiguous phrasing downplays the great discretionary power held by the Chief Constable and indeed law enforcement as a whole. It has been previously stated that "what emerges from an encounter between a citizen and a law enforcement official often bore little relation to what have been expected from a simple reading of the formal requirements" (Kleinig, 1996, p34). The high degree of autonomy of the Chief Constable over the policing in Scotland has meant that he has been able to introduce a structure (see above – with support of senior officers) and

style of local policing that differ in important respects from those envisaged by the legislation (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015).

This section will look to the potential of a growing tension between the 'policing principles' set out in the Reform Act, with their emphasis on partnership, harm reduction and community well-being (thus supportive of Community Planning aims), and current policing practices which appear to place greater emphasis on enforcement over engagement (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). Therefore, raising an important issue, what are the police for?

In his Annual Policing plan (2013), the Chief Constable made clear that crimes of violence are to be given the highest priority, particularly where these relate to rape and other forms of sexual violence. One consequence of this was that each local police division has had to establish a rape and sexual violence unit. This in turn led to the displacement of other local priorities, particularly where these relate to property crime, with the result that some pre-reform local initiatives, such as specialist burglary teams, have been abandoned (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). Such developments, can be seen to be representative of Loveday (2015, p4) positioning: 'within the new model central direction from the Chief Constable, on operational policing grounds can be expected to override any previously agreed local commitments'. This can be clearly seen here whereby national priorities impacting the displacement of other local priorities, therefore demonstrating a professionalism approach of 'the enhancement of operational autonomy' over anything else (ibid, p5).

Professionalism is also present when we consider that national priorities such as that of violence have been reinforced by a new national performance management system⁸¹ based around a range of quantitative indicators and key performance targets for enforcement-led activities, such as the use of 'stop and search' tactics to detect and deter crime, or stopping motorists who are speeding or using mobile phones (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). Such an enforcement-led approach reflects the way that the Chief Constable of Police Scotland delivered policing in his previous role of Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police. This is most clearly evident in the increasing use of stop and search across Scotland. Since the mid-2000s, the rate of stop and search had been increasing in Scotland and by 2010 was nearly four times higher than in England and Wales, but this was largely accounted for by the use of this tactic in Strathclyde Police where over 80 per cent of stop and searches in Scotland were carried out (Murray, 2014). Stop and search practices and other short term targets for example, bail checks, tickets etc. more generally were a major concern to officers in this research (see section 7.5 – Safety Politics) and could lead to practices of 'gaming' (De Bruijn, 2007).

Following the establishment of Police Scotland, the use of this Stop and Search tactics has continued to grow as a result of specific national performance targets. It has been estimated that the national rate was 140 stops per 1000 people in 2013/2014 compared with 86 per 1000 in 2010 (SPA, 2014). This has meant substantial increases in stop and search activity in many areas of Scotland where previously this

⁸¹ Police Scotland corporate performance management system known as ScOMIS (Scottish Operational & Management Information System)

tactic had been used less often, with some communities seeing the number of stop and searches increase by over 400 per cent in the period April and December 2013 (SPA, 2014, p11). Concerns about the long term consequences of this large increase in the use of stop and search prompted the Scottish Police Authority to focus its first ever scrutiny review on Police Scotland's policy and practice in this area and has recommended that more attention is focused on balancing police use of their stop and search powers with the rights of individuals (Fyfe, 2014). What is more alarming is the lack of democratic accountability for these changes in practice. This in turn builds upon the fear of Christine Graham MSP, the Convenor of the Justice Sub Committee on Policing, when she noted the "perception that policing practices are being standardised across the country at the detriment of local flexibility" (Scottish Parliament, 2013). Adding to this, Robert Crawford has written "Like good and evil, Glasgow and Edinburgh are often mentioned in the same breath but regarded as utterly distinct" (Crawford, 2013). It is therefore vital that measures employed in the former are not imposed arbitrarily on the latter, to ensure that policing retains its longstanding local focus and character.

The years following the implementation of Police Scotland have further seen a number of high profile issues emerging which have raised concerns about the efficacy of these new arrangements. For example, the routine arming of police officers, the policing of saunas and the sex industry, closures of public counters, and the ending of police traffic wardens were understood in some circles, including the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing, to evidence a lack of local consultation and deliberation on matters which

have a direct effect on local policing services and the communities they serve (Henry et al, 2016). Adding to this, concerns about local policing are also given particular emphasis in both the Scottish Labour Party's recent review of policing in Scotland (Pearson, 2015) and in the SPA's wider review of the governance of Police Scotland (Scottish Police Authority, 2016).

The above discussions raise concerns over the Chief Constable's power to implement 'blanket' policies across Scotland on the basis of his 'operational autonomy' and superiority of hierarchical relations, alongside the lack of attention to deliberation of local issues, in line with Loveday (2015) claims. However, they also relate to discussions on the impact of managerialism on partnership working. In many ways, the dominant managerial reforms of the last 20 years or so (see chapter 4, section 4.10 and section 7.5) have worked counter to the demands of partnerships by focusing attention on hierarchical control and on the clear distribution of authority and responsibility in the name of efficiency, economy, and value for money. They encourage an intra-organisational focus that pays little attention to the task of managing inter-organisational relations, as the discussion above suggests. Less regard is afforded to the more complex process of negotiating shared purposes, as with Community Planning requirements. Managerialism may suit hierarchical line management structures (such as Police Scotland) but is largely inappropriate for managing horizontal inter-organizational networks (Crawford and Cunningham, 2015). This has been the case in the research findings of 'the lived experiences' in chapter 7 (see section 7.4 – in particular) and has been supported by Anderson et al (2014, p7)

who set out that police officers at a local level in their research felt “the introduction of new approaches to the management of policing (with an emphasis on performance related targets and key performance indicators) has brought with it perceptions of a stronger focus on enforcement and less emphasis on issues of prevention and partnership”.

As set out in Chapter 2, the language of partnerships pervades contemporary conceptions of crime prevention, community safety and policing. In contrast to the rigid, hierarchical bureaucracies of a single organisation, partnerships present a means whereby, ‘networks of diverse group interests have now become the dominant ethic’ (Crawford 1997, p25). This does not seem the case with discussions on Police Scotland thus far, especially not in terms of ‘dominance’.

In his first annual Apex Scotland lecture (2013), the Chief Constable of Scotland provided his views on partnership working, performance and Community Planning (amongst other things). Firstly, he set out:

“In the context of shrinking budgets, paradoxically, and I’m sure we have all heard this before; actually partnerships are more important, if they are effective partnerships. If they are duplication or triplication then they are not effective and they probably shouldn’t endure. But if they are partnerships where, coming together of partners actually produces more than the single agencies can on their own, then that is effective, it’s efficient, and it should continue to be supported, and we will continue to support those” (Apex Scotland, 2013, p6).

This statement suggests that the Chief Constable is not against partnership working but that they must not provide duplication of effort and need to be effective, even more

so, in light of the budgetary positioning. He goes on to provide examples of good partnership working, highlighting:

‘There is a long standing partnership between the police and Glasgow City Council in what used to be called Glasgow Community Safety Services...It is about information sharing, intelligence sharing, joint patrolling, tasking, it’s about doing complementary roles. So the officers will attend and deal with the initial anti-social behaviour, perhaps membership of a juvenile gang, but it is officers from the initiative themselves who then go back to the house, talk to the parents about their child’s membership of a youth gang and what can be done to overcome it, maybe help them develop some parenting skills to place the proper parental control over child’s behaviour. These are the sort of things that police officers are not trained to do, and shouldn’t be trying to do, but which our partners do very well. The approach, we think, works (Apex Scotland, 2013, p8).’

GCSS had been given considerable coverage in chapter 6 however it was found that they provided ‘mixed results’ in terms of partnership working with research participants (Chapter 7, section 7.4). Nevertheless, it seems that the Chief Constable supports this ‘type’ of partnership working in particular, as they (GCSS) do play their part which he provides as ‘doing very well’. However, this leaves the police to do what they do as their ‘core’ business - reasons being that they are ‘not trained to do’ other roles and ‘shouldn’t be trying to do’. This is further supported by the highly controversial revelation from the lecture that:

“Policing does not solve problems. There used to be a policing philosophy called ‘problem solving policing’, a few years back now. My view is policing doesn’t solve problems. We are not a solutions agency, we are a restraint agency. We can control behaviour, we can rarely change it; sometimes, but it’s rare” (Apex Lecture, 2013, p9).

In providing context to such a revelation, the research findings from both senior and community police officers referred to community planning as 'problem-solving in action' in one way or another (see chapter 6). Furthermore, Strathclyde Police had a legacy of problem solving policing dating back to 2002 with Joint Problem Solving in South Lanarkshire and then Operation Phoenix in 2007. Problem solving policing was also presented as a core part of the Strathclyde Policing Model developed in 2009 and was strongly supported by the Safe Theme Champion (see chapters 6 and 7).

Therefore, contrary to the 'Strathclyde effect' as being perhaps negative in terms of increasing centralism and the erosion of local oversight and accountability for the development of Policing in Scotland, as set out in section 8.3, there is another supportive 'legacy' of partnership working and joint problem-solving that had led to the development of Community Planning (with early Strathclyde Police Chief Constable on the Community Planning Task Force in 2001) and has been prominent in recognition of the need to adopt an holistic approach to community safety which is problem oriented rather than organisation led (Crawford, 1998). This had been further evidenced in the 'pragmatic cultural views' of certain police officers in this study.

However, chapter 7 also provided that some of the respondents had similar views of the Chief Constables whereby enforcement was to be the core of policing with partnerships, reassurance and problem solving around this. It seems that the Chief Constables views may represent a rather short sightedness or narrow in terms of how to deal with problems that require longer-term and joint solutions. A further contention much be noted in that as a result of the breadth of the police mandate and the fact that the police are a '24 hour' service shaped in response to citizen demands, crime fighting and law enforcement are only a relatively small part of police work (Bittner

1970). Therefore, such a professional 'operational focused' approach to policing may neglect the issue that a number of the problems the police deal with are in fact 'wicked issues' of community safety that demand the engagement of multiple actors and agencies.

Many crime and policing issues are by their very nature 'wicked problems' that demand the engagement of multiple actors and agencies. Wicked issues are not capable of being managed by organisations acting independently. As set out in chapter 2, Kooiman (2000, p142) provided:

"No single actor, public or private, has the knowledge and information required to solve complex, dynamic, and diversified problems; no actor has an overview sufficient to make the needed instruments effective; no single actor has sufficient action potential to dominate unilaterally".

The Chief Constable seems to be indicating a position whereby partnerships involving the police have the potential to free-up capacity allowing organisations to specialise and focus on their 'core business' (Fleming and Wood, 2006). This seems paramount to him but may not deal with issues in the long-term, especially with requirements of 'wicked issues' of community safety. As such, it can be argued that there is little to indicate that 'truly' collaborative Community Planning is going to be made any more likely by the changes to Police Scotland. As it stands, it will remain secondary to the operational and professional drive for enforcement-led policing for the police.

8.9 Summary

Police reform has therefore brought about a fundamental shift in the relationship between local authorities and the police away from local governance towards what can be referred to as ‘scrutiny and engagement’ function (Terpstra and Fyfe, 2015). It now seems that power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the Chief Constable, Government ministers and the Scottish Police Authority. The Chief Constable has responsibility for the control and the ‘direction and control’ of the police service, the ‘allocation and deployment of resources’, and involvement in the preparation of the strategic plan. Government ministers set the strategic priorities for the police service while the Scottish Police Authority appoints the Chief Constable and produces a national policing plan. Strategic, budgetary and policy decisions are now made more centrally, both within Police Scotland and the SPA, and through the Scottish Government with little influence from local authorities.

The stated aims established by the Scottish Government were “to protect and improve local services”, “create more equal access to specialist support and national capacity” and to “strengthen the connection between police services and communities (Audit Scotland, 2013). It cannot be said that the Chief Constable or Police Scotland have fulfilled these aims equally. Following Loveday (2015) there seems to be signs of a professionalised model of policing taking shape, with considerable emphasis on ‘operational autonomy’ and the removal of any meaningful local accountability by the Chief Constable and senior officers. The arrangements set out in the Reform Act (linking local authority areas directly with the national level) has been modified by the

creation of additional layers (lack of coterminous boundaries and accountability to wards) that reduce the scope of most local authorities to engage directly with a single senior local commander. Adding to this, there has been a number of high profile issues of concern alongside a preference for enforcement-led policing which positions partnership working as a secondary function. The Chief Constable has been shown to represent great influence over these developments and holds strong managerialism tendencies alongside the pursuit of efficiency. Perhaps this is a result of the need to perform in light of savings. There are also the issue of local issues being displaced or placed secondary to those of national importance. While the Reform Act is said to strengthen mechanisms of local governance it has been found that this has been implemented with a strong police orientation or control. Lastly, while the Reform Act sets out policing principles as a new normative vision which is broader than that of crime reduction and importantly aligned to key elements of Community Planning, it seems the police focus has tended to be on short-term crime related activities. At the same time, the Reform Act is only a starting point. If it is to succeed in its stated aim of going beyond structural reorganisation to a process of reform in Scottish policing, the issues highlighted in this chapter require continuing attention as the Police Service of Scotland develops.

Chapter 9

9.1 Conclusion

In recent decades there has been an increased drive towards partnership working, and the development of interagency relations between the police and a variety of other public, private, voluntary and non-profit agencies and organisations. Partnerships have come to be viewed as a key vehicle through which community safety can be effectively tackled, at both the local and national levels, and has become a dominant theme in the rhetoric of public sector reform. However, significant cuts to police budgets, as well as the broader context of the economic down-turn (in Scotland and elsewhere) all provide important considerations for the role of the police therein and their ability to engage and provide an impact on problems in contemporary times.

Throughout this thesis, the development and processes of Community Planning and community safety partnership working have been set out as representing co-governance arrangements. Building upon this, the first section of this chapter assesses the nature of these developments by engaging in some literature around co-governance, meta-governance and meta-bureaucracy. This chapter advances an argument for that of meta-bureaucracy to describe the partnerships activities and linkage to local and national processes presented in this thesis. That is to say, partnership working in this research does not represent a clear growth of 'autonomous' networks and governance arrangements but rather an extension of bureaucratic controls. State actors such as the police service remain pre-eminent within increasingly formalised systems of partnership.

The second section of this chapter will illustrate the presence of an implementation gap between the narrative and discourses of community planning and community safety (chapter six) to what occurs in the 'lived experience' with those entrusted to implement these policy goals, with its counter narratives (chapter seven). This will include a summary of the main findings, issues and contentions. Furthermore, it will set out how police culture can be seen to have transgressed from traditional conceptions to a position of pragmatism for the long term benefits of partnership working. However, this is being curtailed by the development of a national police force with leaders who place stronger emphasis on enforcement than to the benefits of partnership working and joint problem solving.

Partnership and governance structures are increasingly the instruments used to deliver public services at local, city or sub-national and national levels. The aim is ostensibly to improve public service planning and delivery in a 'joined up' way, and advance democratic and civil society inclusion. The development and processes of Community Planning and community safety are indicative of and contribute to a set of more general and highly significant experimental and evolutionary policy 'moves' which involve the re-invention of public sector institutions and a reformation of the overall institutional architecture of the state and its scales of operation. That is to say, the moves in Community Planning and arrangements for community safety are part of a more general shift from government to governance (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992) (Marinetti, 2005); a

shift from the 'hierarchy of command' to a new form of 'polycentric' and 'strategic governance that is based upon network relations within and across 'new' policy communities designed to generate new governing capacity and enhance legitimacy. An

important point of note, however, is the 'newness' being applied. A number of the developments in this thesis pre-existed prior to the development of community planning e.g. PPAs and SIPs. What is different is the narrative and propensity of the discourses and literature to illustrate that lessons have been learned from past experiences. This research has set out that perhaps lessons still need to be learned (see below).

Although rather statist in architecture, Community planning aims to bring multiple actors into the policy process, validate 'new' policy discourses – discourses flow through them - and enable new forms of policy influence and enactment and in some respects disable or disenfranchise or circumvent some of the established policy actors and agencies, as set out in chapter six. These forces are able to colonise the spaces opened up by the critique of existing organisations, actions and actors. All of this involved an increased reliance on subsidiarity and 'regulated self-regulation' through the imposition of Community Plans and SOAs, and blurred the already fuzzy divide between the public agencies and the local authority (and its structured organisations through CPP Ltd, for instance) 'reallocating tasks and rearticulating the relationship between organisations and tasks across this divide' (Jessop 2002 p. 199). That is, it replaces bureaucracy and administrative structures and relationships with a system of organisation replete with overlap, multiplicity, mixed ascendancy, and/or divergent, as set out in chapter six, but with coexistent patterns of relation (Jessop, 2005).

The Community Planning process had come to provide a good example of the complexity and instability and the experimental nature of these governance reforms, the process has gone through at least three iterations (from the PPAs, SIPs and CPPs), in response to a

number of issues and concerns as set out in chapter three. This highlights that within the general logic of reform there is a great deal of muddling through and trial and error.

Through New Labour's 'modernisation agenda' which sought to create a project of transformation and which mobilise various resources in the frontier between the public, private and voluntary sectors. They are a policy device, a way of trying things out, getting things done, changing things, and in the case of this research, providing a means of interjecting and promoting the move towards practical innovations and new sensibilities into areas of policing and community safety partnership working, previously seen as change-resistant and risk-averse (as set out in chapter three). In general terms, the policy discourse promotes moves towards a community planning approach in which increasingly the state (through the concordat between central and local government) contracted and monitors rather than directly 'police' public organisations and partners, through the imposition of performance management, performance measurement, targeting and latterly outcomes to manage a diversity of provisions.

Community Planning therefore represents one 'move' in a more general process of 'destatization' - tasks and services previous undertaken by the state are now being done by various 'others' in various kinds of relationships among themselves and to the state and to the remaining more traditional organisations of the public sector, although in many cases the working methods of these public sector organisations have also been fundamentally reworked typically by the deployment of market forms (performance-related funding, see chapter 7) and the development of partnership working.

In the governance of safety, other specific policy moves in this loosely-scripted process of 'modernisation' included GCSS, public reassurance, neighbourhood management and community policing. These are all set out as key rudiments of moving community planning into action. These were outlined in chapter six and the aim here was to offer an insight of the complexity and interrelatedness of participation in partnership working, community planning and community safety discourses and policy view points from (both organisations and individuals), as well as to indicate the blurring between them. We have also seen the role of lead organisations within this particular structure – the local authority and police service specifically in relation to community safety. These had been viewed as representing a relationship that Hughes (2007, p74) constitutes as “duopolies”.

To achieve some kind of coherence and functionality Community Planning relies of trust and reciprocity within partnerships and in some of their aspects they draw upon social relations established informally or between the police and their lead and link organisations, such as GCSS. Such approaches have been integrated in a number of ways here in the governance and provision of community safety, in driving innovations and, in effect, attempting to disrupt other traditional and cultural viewpoints.

In particular the discourses of community planning and community safety allow for the opinions and voices of thematic champions of safety are granted a special legitimacy. These champions embody some of the key values of New Labour; the possibilities of meritocracy and knowledge, in terms of leading and providing scope for innovation and a problem oriented approach to community safety. However, while these champions may have strong intentions then is not always applicable in practice.

The main findings in this thesis suggested that the police at both strategic and managerial levels retained a pre-eminent position and had expanded their influence through networks, facilitated by policy instruments to enhance their capacity to achieve policy goals of the centre. Moreover, the collaborative arrangements were strongest in service planning among state actors (e.g. local council and the police). In addition, non- state actors involved tended to be professionalised organisations such as GHA and GCSS.

This thesis has shown governments' roles in public policy and service delivery have not declined, but have extended through various modes of governance, i.e. networks, partnerships, co-governance and co-production as set out in chapter six. Policy instruments of Community Plans, the SOA and policies developed to build towards these (Community Policing Model, Public Reassurance Strategy and Neighbourhood Management) have facilitated network interactions, co-governance and co-production, and thereby the authority of the state. The result is not necessarily a growth of autonomous networks and governance arrangements, but rather the extension of bureaucracy and bureaucratic controls – meta-bureaucracy. This is a function of policy instruments, regulation, financial arrangements, accountability (particularly vertical accountability), the integration of professionalised civil society organisations and resource dependencies.

Voice, leadership and culture were all important issues through the lived experience of this research. Issues of voice and also power manifested in many different ways from developments and underdevelopments of representative and participatory democracy i.e. new priorities not coming through and certain voices not being heard, through to the power to lead and the questions of who should lead. Leadership was not something the police had

the capacity or will to do through the governance of community safety but they did take the lead when no other partner would. The police and local authority created a bond or meshing of organisations through GCSS however this turned out to provide more of an opportunity for multi-agency working than would be expected from inter-agency working and the fusion of working practices. While there was limited evidence of this occurring it was outweighed by the issues and problems presented by police officers at each level of the police organisation. There were other issues with problem solving and partnership working not getting past the tactical/managerial level as this is where it became stuck. In an operational sense, demands of targets, increased visibility and issues of abstract presented real concerns for the officers at that level. Nevertheless, officers presented a continuous desire and need to work in partnership as it was viewed as a long-term capacity to deal with the issues local communities are faced with. While it can be said that attempts to implement public reassurance and community policing as a modelled approach have failed there were glimpses of informal partners and building of trust throughout.

In all, following Gilling (2005, p139), the implication of the foregone discussion, partnership working existed more comfortably 'at the level of rhetoric than at the level of practice where it is limited by some serious constraints'. However, pragmatism and belief in what both partnership working and engagement can achieve in the long term will go some way as to help mend the path of these unfinished policy goals. Pragmatism can develop through experience (something that was lacking in a number of police managers) as set out in chapter seven. By adopting a long-term and problem based approach to partnership working and engaging communities under the guidance of thematic champions (arguably chief pragmatists) then changes to working practices can be made.

However, as set out in Chapter 8, with the development of Police Scotland have come strong and deliberate moves to centralism which undermines local authority accountability and oversight, alongside representing strong preferences for operational independence and autonomy. The structure of policing in Scotland does not make for clear and identifiable local relationships with local authorities beyond that of 'scrutiny' and 'engagement'.

However, this does not mean the end for local authority involvement in policing (nevertheless, perhaps an end to what was previously represented as a duopoly between local authorities and the police, as set out above). It may be that the structures of Community Planning hold some value, in this regard. As in Glasgow, LSC requirements have been positioned under the safe theme 'Glasgow Safe Group' of Community Planning building upon a structure which has been active for some time now. The Chief Constable as set out in the previous chapter, is supportive of Community Planning and partnership working in terms of 'getting things done', if both effective and efficient. Furthermore, he has to abide by (or delegate responsibility for) Community Plans, SOAs, Local Policing Plans and Ward Plans. All of these plans have one thing in common – a direct link to Community Planning in one way or another.

While Loveday (2015, p8) proposes that a way forward for local accountability is to have local authority membership of the SPA 'providing an effective channel for local representation', it may be that having Community Planning representation in one form or another would 'soften' the apparent Police 'professional model' resistance to direct local authority oversight. As Anderson et al (2014) highlighted in their research on local scrutiny arrangements; members of SPA attend their meetings. There could then be a case to reverse this and have a Community Planning representative on the SPA board. This could

be a senior Community Planning manager who is neither local authority nor partner aligned but an individual who merely represents the interests of their Community Planning partnership area with no 'political' or 'cultural' ties to a specific partner. This may be an easier 'pill' to swallow and one which does not seem threatening to operational independence of the police, but who comes to the table with the needs of local communities first and foremost. They could then feedback to their Community Planning Partnership whereby representing a 'direct link' to the plans being created at a local level and the national issues being discussed at the SPA level.

This may deal with one issue for local accountability but it does not deal with the issues of enforcement led policing taking precedence over partnership working and joint problem solving. This has been seen to be further compounded by adherence to NPM principles and intra-organisational short-term targets with 'blanket' policies occurring across Scotland (such as armed officers and increase of Stop and Search. However, a possible reason for these tensions may be that Community Planning partnership working challenges many assumptions about professional expertise, specialisation and monopoly. In theory, if not in practice, it offers a de-differentiated response that is not segmented but a generalized, non-specialist activity. As such, it challenges introspective organizational cultures and the often 'one tracked' working assumptions of specialised agencies. This challenge seems to be one which needs continued debate and ultimately addressed otherwise it may be true that Police Scotland will continue to 'fail' (Loveday, 2015). As a Community Sergeant stated in this research 'crime and safety are not only police problems, they are Community Planning problems'. Perhaps it is time for those in senior positions within Police Scotland to realise this too.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Map of case study area.



Appendix 2 - Example of coding schema

CODING

A	Community Planning
A1	City wide approach
A2	Delivery of services
A3	Agreement/theme setting
A4	Community Plan
A5	Agency involvement
A6	Restructuring of community areas
A7	Strategic approach to dealing with problems
A8	Difficulties/challenges
A9	Strategic community planning boards
A10	Accessible to the community
A11	Management of services
A12	Providing services meaningful to the community
A13	Taking responsibility
A14	Local Community Planning Partnerships
A15	Funding/streamlining budgets
A16	Moving from projects to programmes

B	Social Inclusion Partnerships
B1	Glasgow Alliance
B2	Learning from previous experiences
B3	Areas of deprivation
B4	Wasting resources/time
C	Community Engagement
C1	Discussion
C2	Community 'voice'
C3	Feedback from the community
C4	Community reference groups
C5	Representatives for the community
C6	Community Councils
D	Community Planning examples
D1	Apprenticeship programme
D2	Additional police officers
D3	Oral Hygiene Initiative

Appendix 3 - 15 National Outcomes

- We live in a Scotland that is the most attractive place for doing business in Europe.
- We live our lives safe from crime, disorder and danger.
- We realise our full economic potential with more and better employment opportunities for our people
- We live in well-designed, sustainable places where we are able to access amenities and services we need.
- We are better educated, more skilled and more successful, renowned for our research and innovation.
- We have strong, resilient and supportive communities where people take responsibility for their own actions and how they affect others.
- Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens.
- We value and enjoy our built and natural environment and protect it and enhance it for future generations.
- Our children have the best life and are ready to succeed.
- We take pride in a strong, fair and inclusive national identity.
- We live longer, healthier lives.
- We reduce the local and global environmental impact of our consumption and

production.

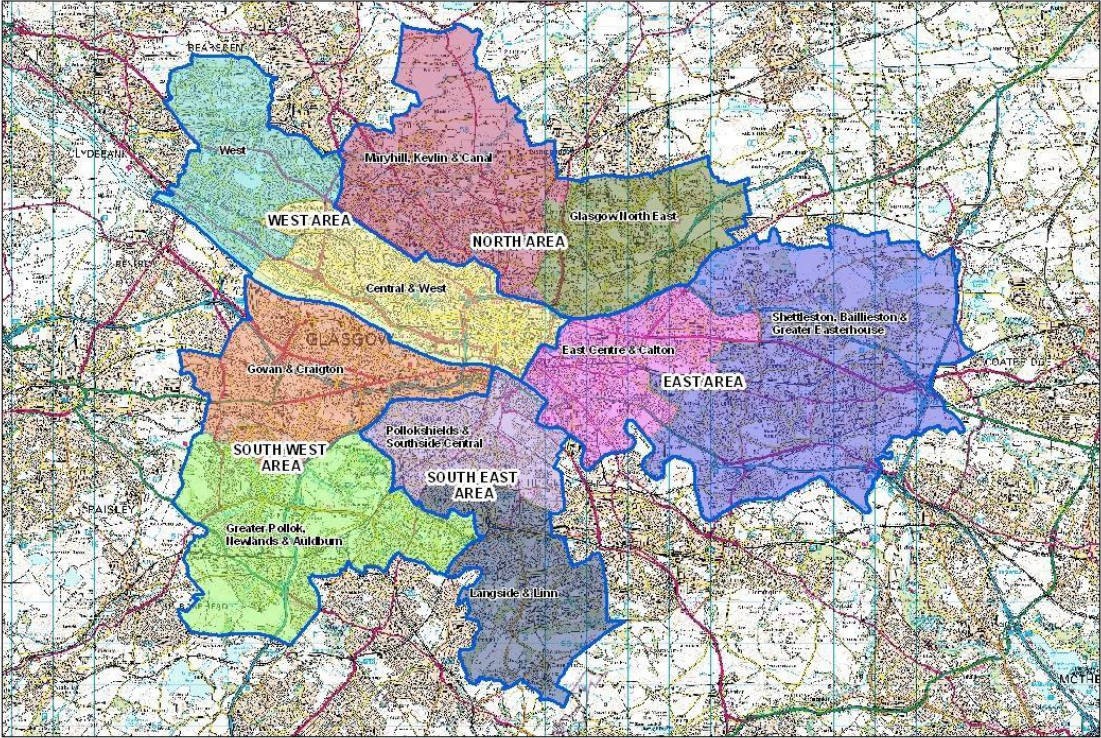
- We have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society.
- Our public services are high quality, continually improving, efficient and responsive to local people's needs.
- We have improved the life chances for children, young people and families at risk.

Appendix 4 - Strathclyde Police Control Strategy

Control Strategy Priority	Aims	Objectives
Terrorism	To reduce the risk to the community from terrorism and extremist activity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Raise awareness of the threat from terrorism and extremist activity within the community ◆ Develop and strengthen key partnerships in order to promote safer communities ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence in relation to terrorism and extremist activity.
Child Protection	To protect children from the threat of sexual, physical and emotional abuse.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Develop and strengthen partnership working to promote an integrated approach to the identification and subsequent investigation of child protection concerns ◆ Detect, disrupt and deter those involved in paedophilia and the exploitation and sexual abuse of children ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence against sex offenders and promote child protection measures.
Drugs	To impact on the supply, misuse and availability of controlled drugs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Maintain and strengthen key partnerships to reduce the harm caused by the misuse of controlled drugs ◆ Increase the detection of those involved in the supply and possession of controlled drugs in comparison with the five-year average ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence against those involved in drug dealing and the misuse of controlled drugs.
Disorder and Antisocial Behaviour	To enhance community safety and well-being by impacting on disorder and antisocial behaviour.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Maintain and strengthen key partnership working in order to make effective use of resources to reduce disorder and antisocial behaviour ◆ Reduce disorder and antisocial behaviour in comparison with the 2005/06 baseline ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence in relation to disorder and antisocial behaviour.
Violent Crime	To engage with partners to achieve a sustainable reduction in violence in Strathclyde through problem solving and innovation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Impact on the harm caused by violent crime ◆ Reduce violent crime in comparison with the five-year average ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence in relation to violent crime, including domestic violence.
Serious and Organised Crime	To impact on serious and organised crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Develop and maintain key partnerships to reduce serious and organised crime ◆ Detect, disrupt and deter those involved in serious and organised crime ◆ Collect, evaluate and exploit intelligence in relation to serious and organised crime.

Appendix 5 – Strategic Planning Area and LCPP Boundaries

Strategic Planning Area and LCPP Boundaries



Appendix 6 – 56 Neighbourhoods

<p>Langside & Linn</p>	<p>East Centre & Calton</p>
<p>Maryhill/Kelvin & Canal</p>	<p>Govan & Craigton</p>
<p>Greater Pollok & Newlands/Auldburn</p>	<p>Pollokshields East & Southside Central</p>
<p><u>Partick West & Hillhead & Anderston/City</u></p> <p><u>Broomhill/Partick West/Whiteinch</u></p>	<p>Springburn & Part of Glasgow North East</p> <p>Springburn</p>
<p>Shettleston & Baillieston & Part of Glasgow North East</p>	<p><u>Drumchapel/Anniesland & Garscadden/Scotstounhill</u></p>

Appendix 7 - Priorities, Aims and Targets for Action – adapted from the Glasgow Community Plan 2005-2009

A Safe Glasgow

Our Primary Goal

We will create a safe Glasgow by reducing crime, the fear of crime and substantially improving accident prevention.

Our Key Aims

- We will tackle anti-social behaviour including violent and drugs related crime, graffiti, vandalism and litter
- We will work together to improve safety in public places
- We will promote home safety and work to reduce accidents in the home, on the roads and in the workplace.

Targets for Action

- Reduce residents experience of anti-social behaviour by 5% by 2008
- Reduce the number of violent crimes by 10% by 2008
- Reduce the number of children injured or killed in road accidents by 25% by 2008
- Reduce the number of drug related crimes by 10% by 2008
- Reduce the number of dwelling fires per 10,000 of the population by 25% by 2008
- Increase the range and availability of diversionary activities for young people
- Reduce the number of vandalism incidents in the city by 9% by 2008

A learning Glasgow

Our Primary Goal

We will create a Learning Glasgow which ensures that children and young people have core skills are confident and able to achieve their full potential and which promotes lifelong learning and skills development of all citizens.

Our Key Aims

- We will encourage learning as a personal development tool and provide learning opportunities that are appropriate for all including those with particular support needs

- We will support learning that enables people to develop the right skills for employment.
- We will support our young people to achieve their full potential during their schooldays and encourage them into further learning
- We will promote literacies for all
- We will build community capacity to enable people to develop the confidence and skills to influence decision making and service delivery

Targets for Action

- Reduce the proportion of working age adults with no qualifications from 22% to 18% by the end of the plan.
- Increase the proportion of young people leaving school with literacy and numeracy skills
- Increase the proportion of young people going into Higher Education from school from 20% to 35% by the end of the plan.
- To achieve and sustain the target of adults involved in literacy and / or numeracy agreed by the Glasgow Community Learning Strategy Partnership's ALN action plan(s) 2006-2008 and beyond.
- Contribute to the development of a national framework for the collection of data on aspects of community learning and development (CLD) that will provide a clear indication of levels of participation across each of the three CLD national priorities.

A Healthy Glasgow

Our Primary Goal

We will improve the health of everyone in Glasgow and narrow the health gap by improving the health of the most disadvantaged communities and groups in Glasgow at a faster rate.

Our Key Aims

- We will reduce the harm associated with smoking and with drug and alcohol misuse.
- We will reduce the impact of poverty on the health of children and young people
- We will support Glaswegians in leading active healthy lives
- We will promote positive mental health for all and reduce stigma associated with mental illness
- We will seek to reduce teenage pregnancies and promote positive sexual health
- We will ensure provision of appropriate services to support carers and older people
- We will support Glaswegians in benefiting from safe and healthy working lives
- We will treat people with respect and value difference.

Targets for Action

- Reduce premature deaths from coronary disease by 27% by 2008
- Reduce premature deaths from cancer by 10% by 2008•Reduce rates of smoking among adults by 11% by 2008
- Reduce rates of smoking among pregnant women by 10% by 2008•Reduce teenage pregnancy (among 13-15 year olds) by 33% by 2008
- Reduce suicides in young people by 15% by 2008.

A Vibrant Glasgow

Our Primary Goal

We will create a transformed and vibrant Glasgow where people choose to live, where the River Clyde is brought back to life and where Glaswegians are fully involved in the life of the whole city.

Our Key Aims

- We will facilitate a full range of attractive and appropriate new housing provision thus ensuring we can retain our existing population and attract new people to live in the city
- We will ensure appropriate physical regeneration and environmental improvements to provide a safe, clean sustainable city including adequate provision of community facilities within local areas and a range of recreational, sporting, cultural activities based on the City's rich heritage and the needs of a diverse population
- We will maintain and improve transport links that are effective, efficient and affordable
- We will ensure Glasgow's place as a social city by providing opportunities for celebration, participation, fun and relaxation and encourage tourism by ensuring visitor attractions meet international standards, by improving signage, transport and transport information
- We will promote and celebrate diversity through special events as well as ensuring that all events are inclusive and representative.

Targets for Action

- Increase the proportion of Glasgow residents that participate in sport by 4% each year.
- All socially rented houses to meet the Scottish Housing Quality Standard by 2016.
- To achieve 10,000 to 12,000 private housing completions by 2008 subject to market conditions
- Increase the proportion of Glasgow residents that are satisfied with their homes and neighbourhoods

- Decrease the proportion of roofless people and those experiencing repeat homelessness in the city.
- Provide Glasgow's citizens with the appropriate tools to make informed financial decisions.

A Working Glasgow

Our Primary Goal

We will create a working Glasgow that provides quality, sustainable work opportunities for all residents of the City.

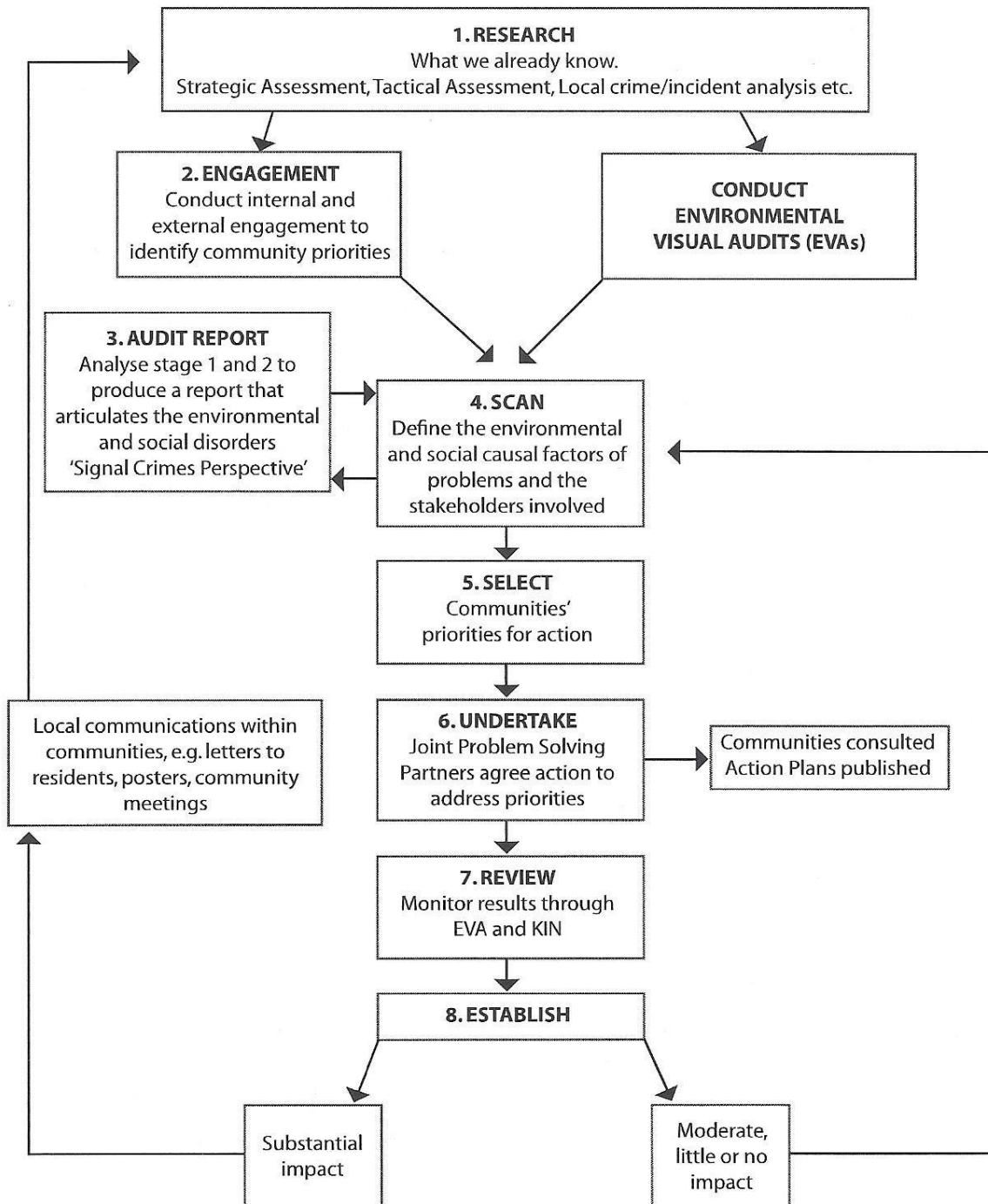
Our Key Aims

- We will promote equality of employment opportunity for all by addressing barriers that prevent access to employment.
- We will provide funding at the local level to assist Glaswegians into work and promote positive attitudes towards employment.
- We will engage with employers in all sectors to create good quality jobs for Glasgow.
- We will increase enterprise, self-employment and business start-ups and provide further support to improve business survival rates to ensure sustainability, including strengthening the social economy.
- We will increase work experience and volunteering opportunities and the development of apprenticeships.

Targets for Action

- Reduce the proportion of working age adults not in work by 30,000 by the end of 2010.
- Reduce ILO (International Labour Organisation) unemployment to 6% by the end of 2010
- Close the gap between Glasgow's unemployment rate and the Scottish average by a minimum of 1% per annum between 2005 and 2010
- Increase the city's labour productivity level to equal the Scottish average by the end of 2010.

Appendix 8 – Eight stage model of Public Reassurance Strategy (ACPOS)



Appendix 9 – Multi Agency Action Plan

KEY: Culture & Sport Glasgow
Land & Environmental Services
Strathclyde Police

Broomhill and Partick West
Glasgow Community & Safety Services
Young Persons Group
Glasgow Housing Association

Public Reassurance Group
Strathclyde Fire & Rescue

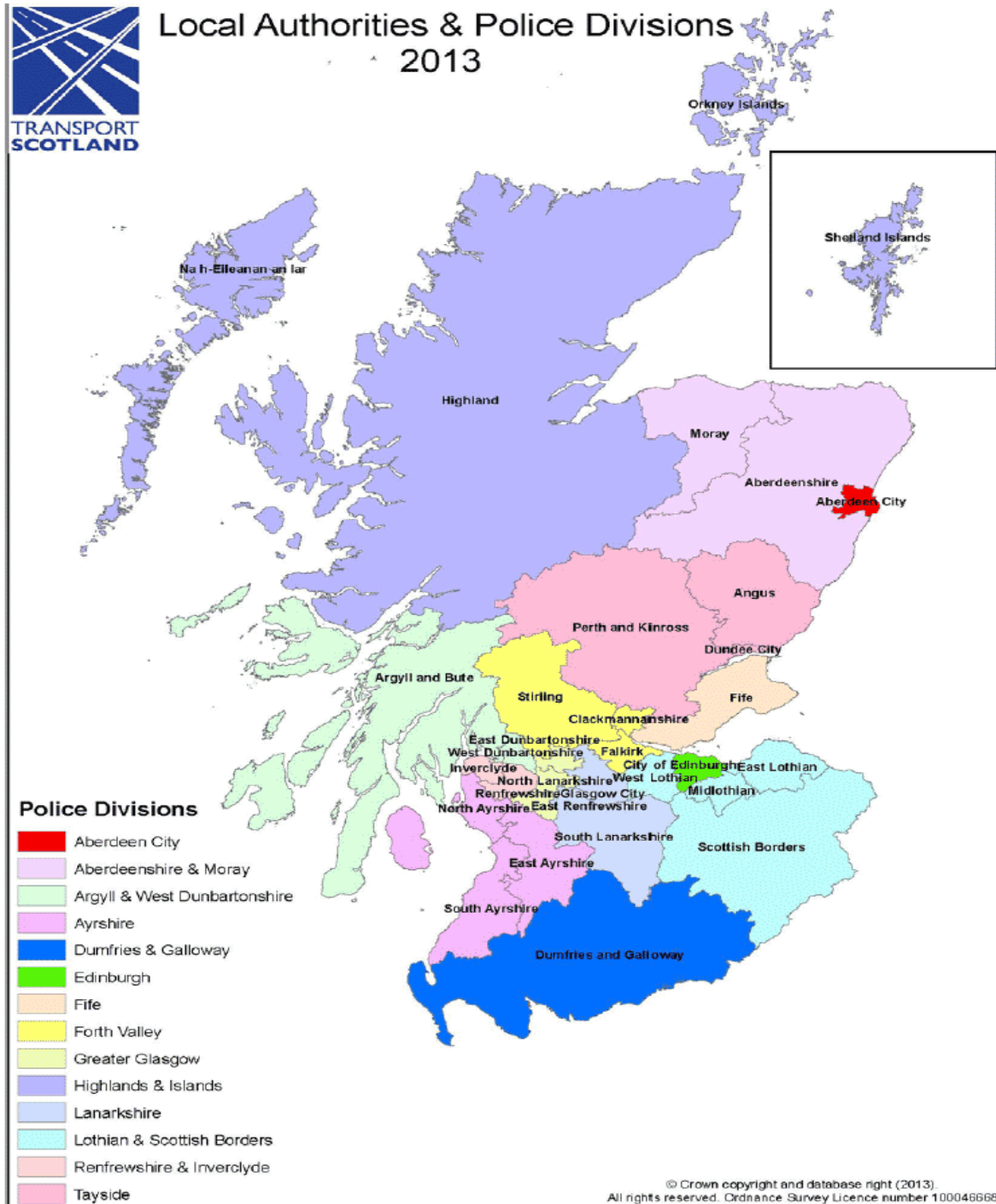
Issue	Hotspot KIN areas within NM area	Objective- Indicate the outcome to be achieved	Lead Service Department	Action - Establish clear link to lead department	Baseline	SMART Target	Timescales Must Identify start and completion date	Target Outcome	Community Engagement v/KIN Position: RED AMBER GREEN
Policing	Partick (KIN being established)	Improve public perception of services	Strathclyde Police GCSG- LES- C85G- PF- PRG	SP to review incident rates and resource allocation. SP to produce improvement plan/implement Public Reassurance procedures. Strathclyde Police to build upon CPT access to neighbourhoods and communicate the purpose and compliment of the CPT to residents	18% of residents perceived quality of police to be either a problem or a serious problem	Improve public perception by 5%	01/10/08 To 31/03/09	87% of people satisfied with Policing in their neighbourhood	
Youth Disorder	Partick (KIN being established)	Improve public perception and services for young people, prosecute offenders SFR - Reduction in abuse of fire hydrants, reduce acts of violence. Community education. Reduce opportunities and reduce number of incidents.	Strathclyde Police YPG Strathclyde Fire & Rescue	Hi Visibility Uniform Police patrols to be carried out. Officers will utilise fixed penalty and reports to the appropriate body. Strathclyde Police to deliver an Action Plan to identify local Hot Spots in relation to Youth Disorder GCSG deliver a range of P&D services to tackle ASB & Youth Disorder via its mobile resources.	16% of residents felt that youth disorder was either a problem or a serious problem	Reduce no of residents finding youth disorder a problem by 5%	01/10/08 To 31/03/09	89% of people have no problem with youth disorder	

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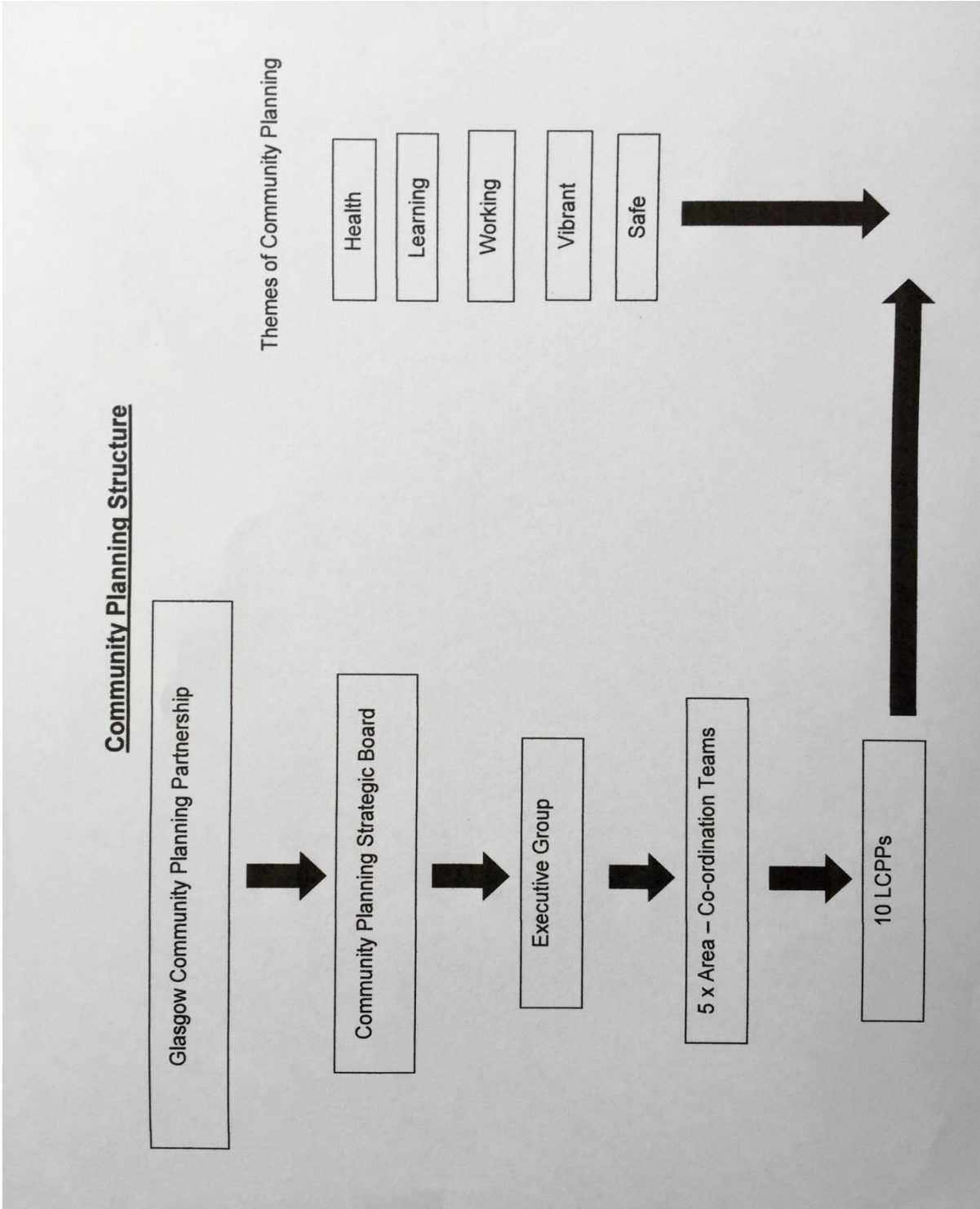
Appendix 10 - Relationship between priorities, local outcomes and national outcomes

Local Outcomes and Outcome number	Related Priorities	Achieving Outcome will help address priority(ies)	Local Outcome	Will require progress to be made with these outcomes	Contributes to National Outcome
1 Reduce the level of violent crime, including gender-based and domestic violence	P16, P19, P20	P9	4,5	L3, L4, L5, L7, L8, L9, L10, L17, L18, L20, L21, L22, L23	NO9
2 Reduce injuries as a result of road traffic incidents, fires and incidents in the home	P3, P17	P3	3, 5	L1, L3, L4, L5, L16, L17, L18, L19, L24	NO6, NO9
3 Reduce the public acceptance and incidence of over-consumption of alcohol and its subsequent negative impacts (personal, social and economic)	P2, P3, P17, P18, P19, P20	P2, P6, P16, P18	5, 18, 23	L5, L9, L13, L18, L23	NO6, NO9, NO11
4 Reduce the impact and incidence of anti-social behavior	P16, P17	P10, P18	3, 5	L1, L3, L5, L9, L13, L16, L17, L18, L21, L22, L23, L24	NO9, NO11, NO12
5 Reduce the involvement of young people in crime and as victims of crime and accidents	P17, P19, P20	P18	17, 18, 21, 22, 23	L1, L2, L3, L4, L7, L9, L13, L16, L17, L18, L21, L22, L23, L24	NO4, NO7, NO8, NO15
6 Reduce the fear of crime	P8, P9	P1, P8, P11, P15	1, 3, 4, 5	L1, L3, L4, L5, L11, L16, L17, L18, L23, L24	NO1, NO9, NO11, NO13
7 Increase the number of jobs in Glasgow	P3, P7, P15	P7, P14, P15, P18	10, 11, 22, 24	L10, L11, L20, L21, L22, L23, L24	NO2
8 Increase the proportion of better paid and more productive jobs	P3, P6, P8, P15	P3, P7, P15, P18	10, 11, 22, 24	L7, L10, L11, L20, L21, L22, L24	NO2
9 Increase the proportion of Glasgow residents in work	P3, P7, P9	P3, P5, P7, P9, P14, P18	7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24	L3, L4, L5, L7, L8, L10, L11, L12, L15, L16, L18, L19, L20, L21, L22, L23, L24	NO2, NO6, NO7
10 Increase performance and volume of business carried on in Glasgow	P6, P8, P9, P15	P6, P7, P14, P15	8, 11, 20, 21, 22	L3, L8, L11, (L20, L21, L22, L23) L24	NO1, NO2, NO3, NO15
11 Improve the attractiveness of Glasgow as a place to live, invest, work and visit	P8, P9, P10, P15	P6, P8, P9, P15	1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, 23, 24	L1, L3, L4, L5, L6, L7, L8, L15-L18, L21, L22, L23, L24	NO1, NO10, NO12, NO13
12 Increase the proportion of the population with a healthy BMI	P1, P3	P1, P3	13, 14, 17, 18	L3, L12, L13, L14, L17, L18, L23, L24	NO6
13 Increase the proportion of residents involved in physical activity	P1, P3, P11	P1, P3, P10, P11, P16, P18	4, 18, 19, 23, 24	L3, L6, L11, L17, L18, L23, L24	NO5, NO6, NO10
14 Improve children's diets	P1, P3	P1, P3	17, 18, 24	L17, L18, L24	NO5, NO6

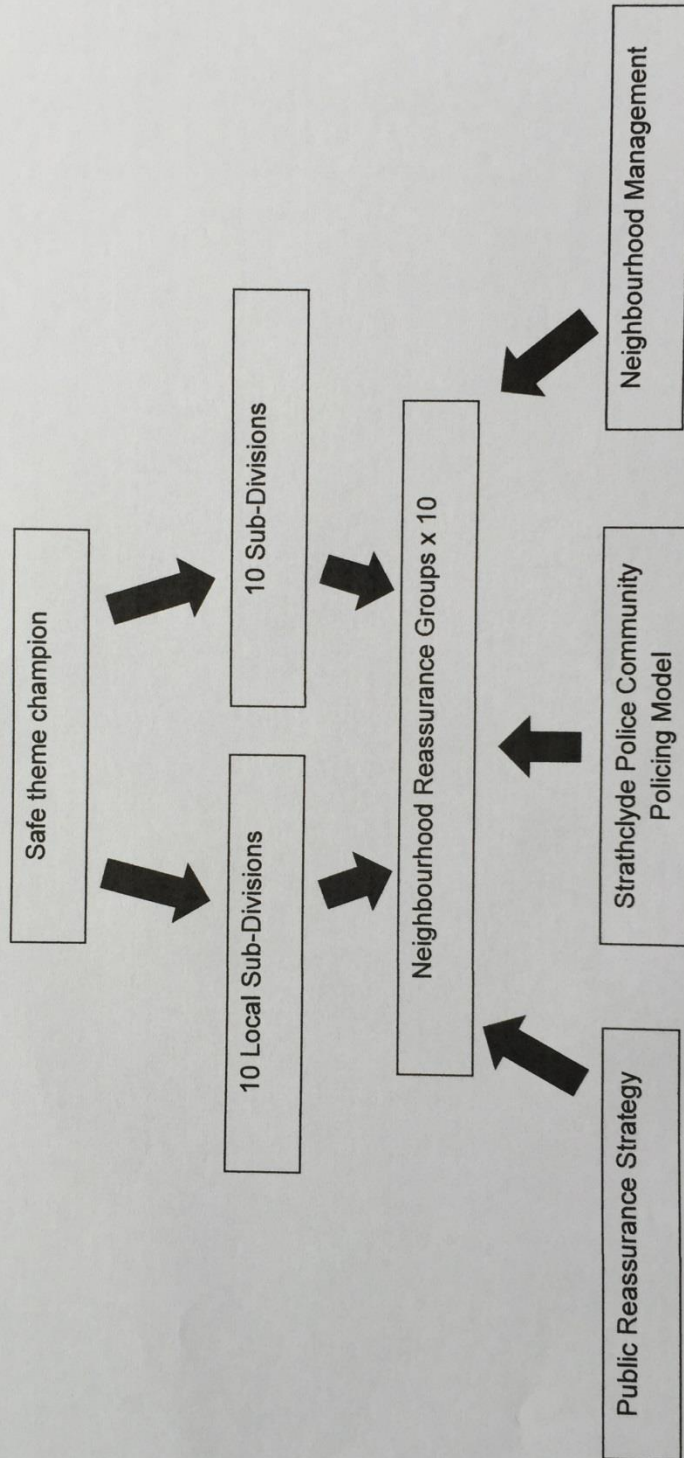
Appendix 11 – Local Authorities and Police Divisions 2013



Appendix 12 - Community Planning Structure in Glasgow – with Safe Theme



Glasgow Safe Theme Structure



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