Community engagement in policing

Lessons from the literature

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Acknowledgements

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Executive summary

Community engagement has become increasingly prominent in policing and wider government policy in the last five years. Initial thinking around what effective community engagement looks like for the Police Service appears in the police reform White Paper (November 2004). There is agreement between Home Office policy units on the core aspects of community engagement, although this has never been captured in a written, public-facing definition.

Defining community engagement

Concepts such as 'engagement', 'involvement', and 'participation' are often used interchangeably in the literature. The review uses existing typologies of community participation to suggest a typology for policing. The review also suggests the following definition of community engagement for policing policy:

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

> *The police, citizens, and communities must have the willingness, capacity and opportunity to participate. The Police Service and partner organisations must have a responsibility to engage and, unless there is a justifiable reason, the presumption is that they must respond to community input.*

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.

The term 'community engagement' is used less frequently in the US, where 'community policing' is the all-encompassing philosophy, reflecting elements of both 'citizen focus' and 'neighbourhood policing' that have been adopted in the UK. The majority of evidence in the review comes from evaluations of community policing programmes in the US.

Methodology

This is a comprehensive review of the literature, as opposed to a full systematic review. Existing reviews of outcome evaluations were used to assess the consistency of evidence for the theoretical benefits of community engagement. The review was a thematic, fluid process, concentrating on process and implementation issues for community engagement.

The review used principles from the emerging 'realist' methodology. No hierarchy of methodologies was assumed for sources, which were included if they were considered to be methodologically fit for purpose and if the conclusions drawn were justified by the scope and methods used. Evidence was categorised as 'empirical', 'practitioner self-assessment', and 'theoretical'. If three or more sources supported a specific theme, this was presented as 'consistent' evidence. Caveats were included when reporting solely unevaluated evidence, or where the methodology of a study was considered less robust.

The theory of community engagement

There is a strong theoretical case for community engagement in policing. It is suggested that informal mechanisms of social control play a greater role than formal mechanisms based on traditional, reactive, enforcement-based policing. Greater community participation in policing is likely to have benefits for both police-community relations and actual levels of crime and disorder.

The review assesses consistency of evidence to support the following potential benefits: reduced crime; reduced disorder; increased feelings of safety; improved police-community relations and community perceptions; greater community capacity; and changing officer attitudes and behaviour.

The review also makes an assessment of the consistency of evidence relating to the quality of community participation in policing, including a separate assessment of 'problem-solving'.

Community engagement in practice

There is evidence to support the theoretical benefits of community engagement in policing. However, evaluation has been restricted to specific projects and programmes. Most evaluation evidence comes from the US. In the UK, the review found only an evaluation of a neighbourhood policing experiment in London in the 1980s, which suffered implementation failure, and the recent evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP). All major evaluations of community policing in the US have recognised some degree of implementation failure. The ability of police agencies to implement effective, sustained engagement at an organisational level remains unproven.

Existing reviews of US community policing outcome evaluations and the evaluation of the NRPP were used to assess consistency of evidence for potential benefits of community engagement.

- Reducing crime: weak positive evidence – some positive findings, some neutral, no negative.
- Reducing disorder/anti-social behaviour: fairly strong positive evidence – mostly positive findings, some neutral, no negative.
- Increasing feelings of safety: fairly strong positive evidence – mostly positive findings, some neutral, no negative.
- Improving police community relations and community perceptions: strong positive evidence – almost all positive findings, minimal neutral, no negative.
- Increasing community capacity – unknown. This is a gap in the evidence.
- Changing police officers' attitudes and behaviour: fairly strong positive evidence on attitudes; mixed evidence on behaviour.

Evidence from wider sources in the review was used to assess the quality of community participation in policing and problem-solving. In a UK context, most evaluation has focused on participation at a strategic level – which has been found to be highly variable. Traditional forms of strategic consultation – Police Community Consultation Groups – are widely regarded not to fulfil their aims.

In the US, most evaluation activity has been focused on the tactical dimension. There is evidence of widespread self-reported implementation of community policing; evidence on quality is less clear. There is positive evidence that problem-solving is effective, but this is confined to case-studies of specific areas. There is no evidence of police agencies having sustained effective problem-solving or problem-oriented policing across the organisation.

Implementation issues for community engagement

There is consistent evidence that a range of issues must be addressed to prevent implementation failure in relation to community engagement. Key implementation issues are listed below.

- Organisational commitment and culture change – evidence suggests that the police service is still some way from accepting certain aspects of 'community engagement philosophy'.
- Mainstreaming – community engagement has to be part of core work, not confined to specialist teams or one-off programmes.
- Sharing power with communities – engagement is not something to be done 'to' communities; they must participate in planning and choosing approaches and feel equal ownership of the process.
- Tailoring and local flexibility – there is no 'one size fits all' approach; decision-making needs to be devolved to neighbourhoods to allow beat officers flexibility in tailoring approaches.
- Performance management – key performance indicators need to reward effective community engagement, at both national and local levels.
- Training and capacity building – both the police and communities need to have a clearly defined role and be given the skills and resources to carry it out.
- Confidence and trust – the police should not underestimate the effect of previous poor relations, especially with minority communities.
- Communication – partnerships must involve two-way dialogue and good quality information and feedback; the police must value community input.
- Partnership working – the police alone cannot tackle 'quality of life issues' that arise during problem-solving activity.
- Resources – these are likely to be required for training and capacity building but may be generated through reallocation, from partners, or by greater use of auxiliaries and volunteers.

The future of community engagement in policing

The Government is committed to the principle of community engagement in policing, and to delivering 'neighbourhood policing'. The interface between these two concepts is crucial. In the UK context, 'citizen focus' is the broad philosophy for policing; neighbourhood policing is a programme, focused specifically on crime, disorder, feelings of safety, and service delivery in local areas. The two together are akin to community policing in the US. Community engagement needs to be effectively implemented to ensure community participation at all levels of policing: in neighbourhood focused problem-solving initiatives, and at a more strategic level. It is a wider concept than neighbourhood policing – delivering a successful programme of neighbourhood policing will not automatically deliver community engagement.

The success of community engagement in policing depends on successfully addressing the issues identified that can enable or adversely affect its implementation. The evidence suggests that implementing effective community engagement is not achieved quickly; it is a long-term process. Ultimate success is likely to depend on three key factors.

- *Political will and commitment*. The positive theoretical benefits of community engagement and neighbourhood policing may not be immediately apparent and the approach must be sustained.
- *Organisational change in the police and partner agencies*. The police and other service providers have to be committed to the engagement philosophy at all levels and accept the need to co-operate with each other to ensure efficient and effective delivery.
- *Performance management and leadership*. Leaders of police forces and partner agencies have to be genuinely committed to delivering engagement and articulate aims and objectives clearly throughout their organisations. This commitment needs to be reflected in the way performance is measured and rewarded.

Introduction

Background

The then Home Secretary, David Blunkett, set out in his Edith Kahn Memorial Lecture (*Civil Renewal: A New Agenda*, 11 June, 2003), a policy framework of civil renewal. He said "we must aim to build strong, empowered and active communities, in which people increasingly do things for themselves and the state acts to facilitate, support and enable citizens to lead self-determined, fulfilled lives". A Civil Renewal Unit was created in the Home Office, with the goal of enabling communities to "define the problems they face, and tackle them in partnership with public bodies".

Civil renewal is said to have three 'essential ingredients' – active citizenship, strengthened communities, and partnership in meeting public needs. Whilst civil renewal remains the 'vision', the Civil Renewal Unit view 'community engagement' as the "democratic process by which civil renewal is advanced". They propose it operates on three corresponding levels – enabling people to understand and exercise their powers and responsibilities as citizens; empowering citizens to organise through groups in pursuit of their common good; and ensuring state bodies support the involvement of citizens in influencing and executing their public duties. There is agreement across Home Office policy directorates on the core aspects of community engagement, although this has never been captured in a written, public-facing definition.

Police reform

In November 2003, the Home Office published a Green Paper on police reform (*Policing: Building Safer Communities Together*). This consultation paper contained a section on 'increasing community engagement' – though it did not define the term in a policing context. The paper talked about providing better information to local areas; visibility and accessibility of neighbourhood police officers; and becoming involved in policing, either at a community level, through a business community, or by volunteering on an individual basis.

The consultation paper was followed, in November 2004, by a White Paper (*Building Communities, Beating Crime*). This paper promised 'neighbourhood policing for the 21st century', which would allow officers to develop "a constructive and lasting engagement with members of their community". The paper places an emphasis on collaborative problem-solving in relation to engagement, stating that "the Government regards the involvement of communities in the process of identifying which problems are priorities, and being part of the solution, as an essential element of a successful neighbourhood policing approach". The paper presents early thinking around facets that might apply to a police service that effectively engages communities. It would:

- have a detailed, neighbourhood-level understanding of the demographics of the community it serves;
- have a detailed – and regularly updated – picture of the interests, needs, priorities and preferences of every section of that community;
- establish and facilitate an ongoing and consistent dialogue with all sections of the community by regularly discussing and sharing information about policing and community safety issues, and listening to and acting on feedback from the community;
- understand how, and the extent to which, different sections of the community feel most comfortable in interacting with the police, and take this into account in tailoring their engagement strategies;
- use a range of different, locally adapted means and strategies to facilitate ongoing dialogue and partnership working with all sections of the community;

- allow its priorities and service delivery strategies to be influenced, changed and, where appropriate, driven by community concerns and priorities;
- provide ongoing feedback to the community about how their input has impacted on local policing;
- identify and maximise opportunities to deliver policing services in partnership with the community, both groups and individuals; and
- understand that effective engagement with the community is core to the successful delivery of all police business, and not a 'bolt-on' or a specialism.

This list was developed through the practical experience of the Home Office Police Reform Unit (PRU) in managing policy initiatives on community engagement in policing. This review will provide an indication of the extent to which existing literature supports this conceptualisation of community engagement in a policing context.

Purpose/aims of the review

The PRU commissioned this review as part of a wider project on community engagement in policing. The review was undertaken by Home Office Research, Development and Statistics (RDS). This review will serve to:

- conceptualise community engagement in a policing context, highlighting the most common aspects that appear in the international literature;
- suggest a draft definition of community engagement for the area of policing policy;
- assess the consistency of international evidence for aspects of community engagement; and
- highlight issues and considerations for taking forward community engagement as part of the police reform agenda.

The history of community engagement in policing

Community participation in maintaining law and order can be traced back to the communal system of policing in the Middle Ages. Anglo-Saxon codes of law placed certain obligations on the community. For example, the laws of Athelstan directed that a thief who fled "shall be pursued to his death by all men who are willing to carry out the king's wishes" (Riggs, 1963:46; cited in Rawlings, 2003:41). This became known as the 'hue and cry'. Adult men were generally required to be members of a tithing and to swear not to be, or to conceal, a thief. The Statute of Winchester (1285) "purported to reinforce this community based approach to the prevention of crime and the detection of offenders" (Rawlings, 2003:42). The hue and cry was strengthened to require compensation of a robbery victim should the offender escape (ibid). The Statute of Winchester also required all towns to establish a 'watch' and householders were required to perform this duty. Watchmen were expected to guard the entrances to the town and patrol the streets maintaining order.

However, the communal model of policing depended on the stable communities that existed under the feudal system. As feudalism declined, during the fourteenth century, population mobility increased and the communal model became less effective, resulting in a shift in responsibility for policing from the community to officials (Rawlings, 2003:42). However, even after a system of justices of the peace, constables, and a professionalised watch became established, responsibility for the detection of offenders, as recently as the nineteenth century, remained largely with the victim or the community. The main exception to this was the rise in the use of rewards for the capture of criminals, leading to the development of groups of professional 'thief-takers'.

Sir Robert Peel established the Metropolitan Police Force in 1829 and this date is often seen as the beginning of modern policing. However, the resulting model can been seen more as a formalisation of aspects of the existing arrangements – "a centrally controlled, uniformed watchmen…..geared for supervising the streets and, in theory, for preventing rather than detecting crime" (Emsley, 2003:67). Some of Peel's nine 'basic principles' of policing can nevertheless be recognised as underpinning some principles of recent models of community policing.

- To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
- To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
- To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to the duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence.

Although not all regions of the country chose to follow the Metropolitan Police model, there was a consolidation and increasing centralisation of professional policing during the twentieth century. The number of forces reduced from around two hundred in 1945, to the current level of forty-three (Newburn, 2003:91). The participation of ordinary citizens in the process initially remained. An example is the Special Constabulary, which became voluntary around the time of the First World War. Policing also remained, until the late 1960s, organised around a 'beat' system, with officers responsible for a defined geographical area.

In 1967, the Home Office encouraged forces to reduce the number of foot patrolling officers in favour of more motorised patrols. This was intended to allow officers to respond to more calls for service, thereby improving police-community relations. It is now recognised that the opposite occurred (Newburn, 2003:85); this 'professional' model of policing weakened the ties between communities and local 'beat Bobbies'.

During the 1980s, in particular, policing in England and Wales resembled what Fielding (1996; cited in Harfield, 1997) termed the 'enforcement' model. This is essentially a reactive approach, focused on crime control, in which officers respond to calls for service from the public. The public role is limited to acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the police. There is little scope for community participation in long or medium term priority setting. Consultation tends to be 'passive' and serves to "legitimise pre-determined objectives" (Harfield, 1997:273). This model allowed for even tighter centralised management of policing, using easily measurable performance indicators, such as offences detected. Newburn (2003:94) suggests that this may amount to "fairly direct government micro-management" of policing. Most commentators agree that the model of policing that developed in the 1980s and 1990s discouraged community participation in policing, particularly among minority ethnic communities.

The problems associated with a lack of engagement with communities were first recognised in the US. In 1967, a Task Force report highlighted the need for a "police/community collaboration which would produce a greater flow of information, a reduction in police injuries, reduction in riots, and an improvement in general police operations" (Bennett-Sandler, 1979). The Task Force recommended the establishment of specialised community relations units (ibid). Models of 'neighbourhood team policing' developed in the US during the 1970s. These were largely discredited but, according to Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) and Vito (2005), this was mostly a result of implementation failure due to problems associated with decentralisation and resistance from middle managers. 'Community policing' emerged in the decades following, using at least some of the same principles.

In England and Wales, the problems of community alienation from the process of policing were highlighted by Alderson in the late 1970s and by the Scarman report into the Brixton riots in the early 1980s (see Tilley, 2003:311). Various attempts at engaging communities have occurred since this time and some forces have experimented with forms of community policing.

Similar to community engagement, community policing is a difficult concept to define. Some commentators have tended to view community, neighbourhood, sector, beat, and other variations of policing as synonymous; others perceive differences. Most agree that community policing is used imprecisely and can mean many things to many people. However, community policing has been described as the 'new orthodoxy' (Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994:3) of policing in the US. Key elements can be seen as community engagement (though this term is not as widely used in the US) and 'problem-solving'. In this way, it can be seen as a return to the principles of policing partly as envisaged by Peel, but with greater scope for direct community participation (Tilley, 2003:312).

Tilley (2003) argues that, in England and Wales, community policing is one of three models of policing competing for prominence. Another is 'Problem-oriented policing' (POP), originally developed by the work of Goldstein in the US, which has been experimented with to varying degrees since the 1980s. This model differs from community policing in that "the problem and its analysis come first" (Tilley, 2003:320). Solutions to problems are developed as appropriate, following in-depth analysis. Community input may inform the analysis or solution, or it may not. Scott (2000) claims POP is more cautious about expanding police social roles, and about sharing decision-making with communities.

Intelligence-led policing is the third model. This model is premised on "doing the practical business of policing more smartly, incorporating modern information technology and modern methods" (Tilley, 2003:321). The model concentrates on enforcement and the disruption of

criminal activity and networks. This approach is formalised in the National Intelligence Model (NIM), which has widespread support in the Police Service, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), and the Home Office (op.cit:333). As with problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing does not have the same emphasis on community engagement that community policing does – it can operate to a degree without community participation. However, it too benefits from engagement in that communities are one key source of intelligence.

It is clear that community engagement has always been a facet of policing and order maintenance in the UK. The emphasis on the need to engage effectively has varied at different points over time. Presently, more effective engagement with communities is seen by the Government as crucial to the future of policing. Effective engagement can be seen as a vital component of all three 'models' of policing to emerge in the last twenty years. It is likely that the model of policing that emerges from the current reform agenda will contain elements of all three.

Defining community engagement

Community engagement, as a concept, has emerged relatively recently in relation to public policy in the UK. Providing a definition of the concept is complicated by the fact that both the component terms – 'community' and 'engagement' – are themselves problematic. Community is a notoriously slippery concept, and many definitions exist in academic literature and elsewhere. Engagement, likewise, can mean a number of different things in different contexts. This chapter will highlight the terminology used in previous literature relating to interaction between the police and the public and use this, along with existing definitions and typologies, to suggest a definition for policing policy.

The concept of community is well established in literature concerning public policy, though it can mean many different things to different people. For the purposes of this review, community is understood to be a multi-faceted, fluid concept. An individual can be a member of a geographically focused community, or a community relating to a demographic characteristic, or one relating to a shared interest. An individual may also be a member of multiple communities at any one time, and may also move in and out of one or more communities over the course of time.

The concept of engagement seems to have appeared more recently in the policy vocabulary. However, other terms that can be seen as being encompassed by the concept of engagement – such as 'participation', 'consultation' and 'partnership' – have been around longer.

Existing typologies of engagement

This review found that the terms that may be associated with community engagement are often used interchangeably – both with each other, and with the concept of engagement itself. It is also clear that some authors see these terms as one-dimensional when, in reality, they can operate at several different levels. Attempts have been made by several authors to reconcile this. One of the first 'typologies' to appear was the eight-step 'ladder of participation', proposed by Arnstein in 1969.

Figure 1 Arnstein's ladder of participation

1. Citizen control	
2. Delegated power	Degree of citizen power
3. Partnership	
4. Placation	
5. Consultation	Degree of tokenism
6. Informing	
7. Therapy	Non-
8. Manipulation	participation

Source: Arnstein, S. (1969) *A Ladder of Citizen Participation.*

Arnstein's typology 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.
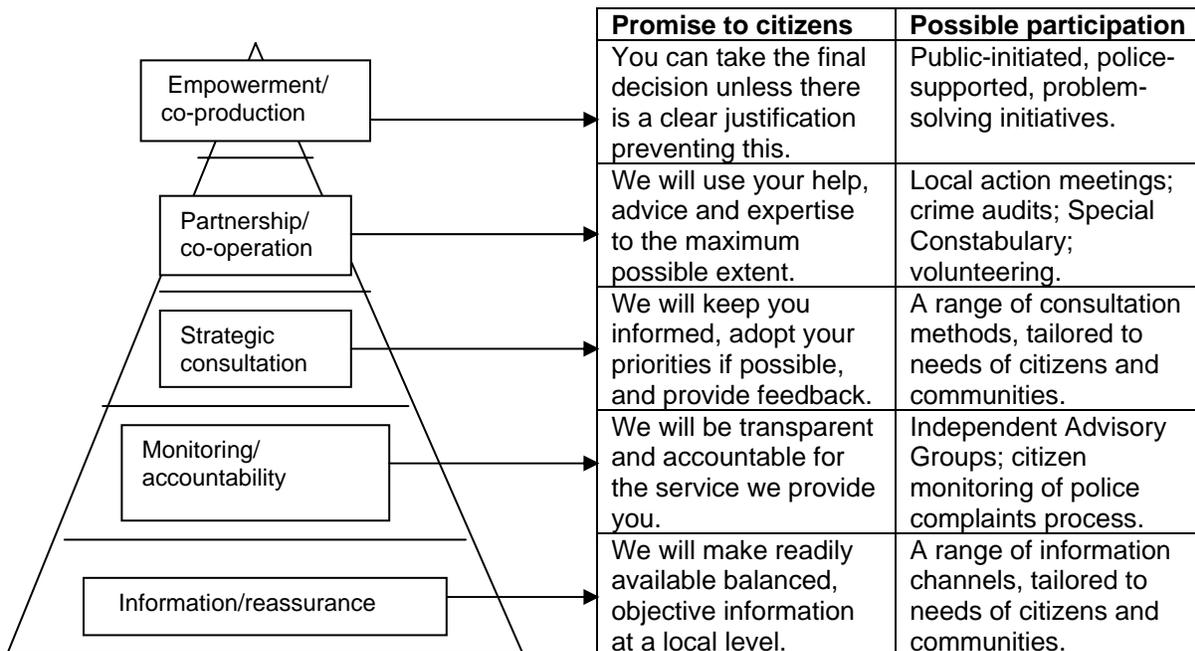
The International Association for Public Participation has proposed a participation 'spectrum'; with a promise to inform at one end, through to a promise to empower at the other. The level of citizen 'impact' is seen to increase as the type of participation moves along the spectrum. It is not clear, though, whether citizens, as a whole, are expected to move along the spectrum in an ideal scenario, or whether people may concentrate at varying points.

Chanan (1999), in a typology focused on individuals' participation in community groups or organisations, suggested a 'pyramid' structure, with membership of an organisation as the most widely undertaken form of participation, and officially representing a network of organisations as the pinnacle. Whilst there is a necessity for progression of some individuals to the top of the pyramid, it is recognised that the majority will happily exist at other levels.

A typology and definition for community engagement in policing

It is likely that a typology for participation in policing should encompass aspects from more than one of the existing typologies. It could look like this:

Figure 2 A typology of community engagement for policing

Pyramid level	Promise to citizens	Possible participation
Empowerment/ co-production	You can take the final decision unless there is a clear justification preventing this.	Public-initiated, police-supported, problem-solving initiatives.
Partnership/ co-operation	We will use your help, advice and expertise to the maximum possible extent.	Local action meetings; crime audits; Special Constabulary; volunteering.
Strategic consultation	We will keep you informed, adopt your priorities if possible, and provide feedback.	A range of consultation methods, tailored to needs of citizens and communities.
Monitoring/ accountability	We will be transparent and accountable for the service we provide you.	Independent Advisory Groups; citizen monitoring of police complaints process.
Information/reassurance	We will make readily available balanced, objective information at a local level.	A range of information channels, tailored to needs of citizens and communities.

In order to work in a policing context, this typology would have to be flexible enough to operate both at the level of the individual citizen and at the level of community groups and organisations. As evidence from this review will show, the majority of people will be situated at the bottom level of the pyramid – should they choose to be engaged at all. There are likely to be citizens and communities who do not even gain a basic level of reassurance from interaction with the police.

Terms such as 'participation' and 'involvement' are used interchangeably in the literature. Participation is preferred here to involvement as it is defined as 'taking part or sharing', which is important in emphasising a more equal balance of power between the police and communities. Involvement is defined as 'entanglement' and association surrounded by difficulties or complication. Terms such as participation and involvement have also been used interchangeably with engagement in the literature. The dictionary definition of the latter though suggests it could

go beyond these terms, to act as an overarching concept. The primary meaning of engagement is "a legal or moral obligation" or "a formal promise, agreement or undertaking" (Oxford English Dictionary). So, whilst participation implies police-community interaction, the term 'community engagement' could formalise it and include non-participatory aspects, such as information provision. Engagement, in a policing context, could entail the police enabling citizens and communities to participate by sharing power with them, and guaranteeing that their participation will influence decisions and effect action, unless there is a valid reason why it should not.

The Active Citizenship Centre, part of the Home Office's Civil Renewal Unit published, in 2004, a review, undertaken by the Institute for Public Policy Research, of evidence supporting the benefits of community engagement. The authors offer a definition of community engagement as "the opportunity, capacity and willingness of individuals to work collectively to shape public life" (Rogers and Robinson, 2004). This definition is useful from a 'bottom-up' perspective, as citizens (and communities) would have to satisfy all three criteria to successfully participate in policing. Willingness is particularly pertinent, as many areas where police-community engagement is most needed are those where relations have historically been poor. However, this definition still does not demand of agencies and service providers a requirement to both enable community participation at various levels, and a presumption to act upon the outcome of their contribution.

Taking into account the literature collected as part of this review, and previous typologies of participation from wider contexts, the following definition for community engagement in policing is suggested:

> *The process of enabling the participation of citizens and communities in policing at their chosen level, ranging from providing information and reassurance, to empowering them to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions.*
>
> *The police, citizens and communities must have the willingness, capacity and opportunity to participate. The Police Service and partner organisations must have a responsibility to engage and, unless there is a justifiable reason, the presumption is that they must respond to community input.*

Defining other concepts used in this review

Community engagement can be seen to function at several levels. At the highest level, elected representatives can been seen to engage the electorate and form government policy as a result of this (the 'democratic mandate'). In England and Wales, current government policy has a police reform agenda emphasising increased contact between the police and communities. The overarching theme is 'citizen focus', which seeks to emphasise the importance of the citizen throughout the reform agenda. The Police Performance Assessment Framework (PPAF) has been widened to include measures aimed at making the police more citizen-focused at a strategic level. At an intermediate level, police forces and authorities engage on strategic issues, including problems that have escalated, or may be better tackled at a national or regional level, such as gun crime. Finally, there is the local level, intended to operate via 'neighbourhood policing' – a programme for securing community participation at the Basic Command Unit (BCU), and neighbourhood levels.

As with many areas, the literature from the US precedes that from the UK. However, 'community engagement' as a term does not appear frequently in literature collected from the US. The dominant term of reference in the US is 'community policing'. Community policing is also referred to by various other labels, including community-oriented policing (COP) and occasionally 'team policing' or 'neighbourhood policing'. In the UK, 'community policing' has usually referred to a particular philosophy or type of locally based policing, though it has not been as clearly articulated as in the US. Community policing in the US is an overarching concept and encompasses aspects

of both UK concepts of citizen focus and neighbourhood policing. Community engagement is used in the US literature to describe the process of securing community participation – most often in problem-solving activity.

Community policing in the US is often referred to as a 'philosophy', as opposed to a programme. This has prompted criticism from some theorists and practitioners, who have argued that it lacks substance. However, although impossible to define succinctly, theorists have suggested fairly consistent elements of community policing. Most often, two key elements are proposed – securing public participation (termed 'community engagement' by some) and problem-solving. Some commentators feel the ambiguity of the concept has been perceived by some as an opportunity to label almost any tactics as 'community policing' (see Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000).

Community policing is sometimes falsely conflated with two other forms of policing: 'Problem-oriented policing', and 'Broken Windows' or 'zero tolerance' policing. Box 1 provides an overview of the key elements of community policing. Box 2 provides an overview of the 'broken windows' theory, and how it differs from community policing.

Box 1   The key characteristics of community policing

The following is adapted from Cordner (2000). It suggests four dimensions to community policing.

The philosophical dimension: indicating a move away from the professional model of policing.

Citizen input – using a number of different methods.

Broad police function – to include non-enforcement tasks, social service and general assistance.

Personal service – tailored policing based on local norms and values and individual needs.

The strategic dimension: the key operational concepts that translate philosophy into action.

Reoriented operations – less motorised patrol and more face-to-face interaction. Less rapid response to low priority calls in order to save time and resources to devote to community activity.

Geographic focus – shifting unit of patrol from time to place; emphasising permanency of assignment of beat officers to neighbourhoods.

Prevention emphasis – more proactive work; less reactive crime fighting; looking beyond individual incidents for underlying problems; raising the status of crime prevention; more of a social welfare focus, especially working with youth.

The tactical dimension: translates philosophies and strategies into concrete programmes.

Positive interaction – offset negative contacts (e.g. arrests, stops) with as many positive, trust building interactions as possible. Provide quality service and identify problems during routine calls. Use initiative and take opportunities to interact with people during routine patrol

Partnerships – actively solicit input and participation from citizens. Engage in community organising if required. Mediate disputes if there are differing factions in communities.

Problem-solving – maintain traditional enforcement, incident handling and investigation, but focus wherever possible on underlying problems. Use a model for problem-solving and involve partners and communities. Problem-solving should be mainstream, not specialised, and involve all levels of officer. It should empirical and be based on systematically gathered information.

The organisational dimension: surrounds community policing and affects its implementation.

Structure – decentralisation to allow more independence; 'flattening' to remove unnecessary layers of bureaucracy; despecialisation to devote more resources to community activity; creating teams to allow joint working on problems; civilianisation to cut costs and use sworn personnel more effectively.

Management – develop a concise 'mission statement'; strategic planning to ensure adherence to core values; coaching and mentoring instead of restricting roles; empowerment of employees to take risks; selective discipline with a distinction between intentional and unintentional errors.

Information – reform officers' performance appraisal to focus on community activity; evaluate programmes on effectiveness as well as efficiency; assess the police agency's overall performance on a wider range of key indicators; collect information on wider functions than enforcement and call-handling; provide timely crime analysis for specific geographical areas, including use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS).

| Box 2 | 'Broken windows' policing |

In 1982, Wilson and Kelling published an article theorising that low level indicators of disorder (such as broken windows) if not dealt with can lead to the gradual decline of a neighbourhood. As residents perceive increased disorder, they venture out less and informal social control diminishes. This acts as a magnet for criminals to move into the area and it declines further.

'Broken windows' has often been conflated with community policing, as both emphasise informal social control and underlying problems. However, the two differ in several key respects. Whereas 'broken windows' views crime as principally committed by 'outsiders'; community policing recognises that a majority of offences may be committed by existing community members. Whereas community policing emphasises community participation to identify and implement solutions to problems; 'broken windows' suggests intensive police enforcement of low level disorder so that a neighbourhood may be 'taken back'. 'Broken windows' theory has as a result been associated with 'zero-tolerance' policing policies.

Some commentators have argued that conflation of 'broken windows' and community policing has enabled police agencies committed to the professional model to practice zero-tolerance policing whilst claiming to implement community policing (see Herbert, 2001).

As community policing in the US is the overarching concept, literature relating to it is relevant to citizen focus, community engagement, and neighbourhood policing – it will be used to evidence many of the themes in this review. The term 'community policing' will be used solely to refer to this US concept and its related material. In the UK context, there is also literature with a community policing focus, though there is not as much as in the US.

Community engagement has emerged relatively recently as a term and appears most frequently, in terms of published literature in the UK, in the regeneration field. It is likely that published literature in the field of policing will start to reflect the term during the next year. HMIC Scotland do use community engagement as their term of reference for a thematic inspection published in 2004, though the concept is framed more narrowly than in this review. This suggests that the term is becoming 'common currency' in a UK policing context. 'Neighbourhood policing' will be used in this review solely to refer to the most recent and ongoing strand of police reform in the UK.

Review methodology

RDS and the PRU decided, based on available resources and the need to inform a rapidly developing policy agenda, that the review would be a comprehensive assessment of the literature, as opposed to a full systematic review. Further information on the principles on which the review was undertaken can be found in Appendix 2.

The review process

There were several stages to the review process. Detailed information on each stage appears in Appendix 2.

Figure 3 Summary of the review process

Formulation of electronic database search strategy
⇩
Initial database searches
⇩
Refine search strategy
⇩
Perform searches on all identified electronic databases
⇩
First literature sift – remove irrelevant sources
⇩
Hand searches of key journals and literature
⇩
Obtain all relevant sources identified from searches
⇩
Second literature sift – eliminate sources not fitting review criteria
⇩
Bibliography chasing and inclusion of extra sources
⇩
Summarising of all included sources and synthesis of literature
⇩
First draft of report produced
⇩
Incorporate further sources from expert peer reviewers
⇩
Final review report produced

The limitations of the review methodology are also discussed in Appendix 2.

Overview of the literature

Number of sources included/excluded

A total of **83** sources have been included in this review.

From the original searches of electronic databases, twenty sources were excluded from the review. Of these, eighteen were judged not to fit the criteria for inclusion; two were foreign language studies.

A further fifteen studies, identified at various stages during the search period, were unobtainable from either the Home Office or the British libraries. Further details of excluded and unobtainable sources are provided in Appendix 4.

Number of different 'types' of source

After each source had been read and summarised, the literature was divided into three main categories: empirical, practitioner self-assessment, and theoretical. The empirical literature is anything that actually involved primary research. This category was subdivided to give an idea of how many studies were found that attempted to evaluate a project or programme and how many were research of another nature – such as a study of police officers' attitudes.

Practitioner assessment was mostly concerned with projects or programmes with a community engagement element. In most cases, the author(s) provided some assessment of the success or otherwise of a project or programme, based on their own or others' subjective assessments, but there was no evidence of formal evaluation.

Theoretical literature was wide-ranging and included anything written by commentators on the nature and principles of community engagement, whether and how it should be implemented, and problems associated with this.

Existing reviews (of evaluation literature on community policing projects and programmes, and evaluation literature on community engagement projects and programmes from other policy areas) were included with the empirical literature. Sources that were intended as 'guidance' (publications offering advice, case studies, or templates relating to community engagement, and not necessarily specific to policing), were included with the theoretical literature.

Table 1   Profile of the literature

Empirical sources		Other sources	
Evaluation	Other	Practitioner assessment	Theoretical
17	28	9	29

Measurement issues

Several authors suggest that community engagement is not an easy concept to quantify and measure (see for example Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994). This may explain why the review discovered relatively few robust or large-scale evaluations of community engagement. It is likely that the majority of community engagement activity, in a policing context, goes unevaluated.

Much evaluation in this field is likely to be less formal practitioner self-assessment that remains unpublished.

Burton *et al.*, (2004) undertook a review of community involvement in area-based initiatives. They recognised similar measurement issues in the field of regeneration, concluding that the majority of evaluation evidence was qualitative, and not focused on impact relating to aims. They also concluded that quantifiable benefits of involvement are mostly based on perception, as opposed to concrete measures. It has been suggested that lack of empirical evaluation in the field of engaging communities has led to the premature abandonment of some promising projects (Walker and Walker, 1990).

Key themes

From initial summaries of sources included in the review, several themes emerged as the most widely discussed. These themes will form the structure for this report. There will be an assessment of the consistency of the evidence relating to each and to any relevant sub-themes.

- The theory of community engagement – what are the potential benefits?

- The practice of community engagement – what evidence is there for community engagement having had positive impacts in policing?

- Implementation issues for community engagement in policing – success factors, the most likely causes of implementation failure, potential unintended consequences of poor implementation:

  - Tailoring engagement and local flexibility, including decentralising police decision making and service delivery to 'beat teams'.

  - Organisational culture change within the police – exploring to what extent the existing police culture acts as a barrier to effective engagement and the nature of change required to succeed.

  - Measurement of performance – exploring whether the way in which police performance is assessed offers any incentive for effectively engaging with communities.

  - Capacity building and training within the police – assessment of whether willingness and capacity for effective engagement exist in the Police Service and also what is required to build capacity.

  - Capacity building and training within communities – assessment of whether willingness and capacity for effective engagement exists in communities, what barriers exist to engagement on the community side, and what is required to build capacity.

  - Police-community partnerships – how partnerships need to be clearly defined and based on a two-way flow of information, and the need for multi-agency working.

  - Problem-solving – the case for, barriers to implementation, and the need to be aware of unintended outcomes.

  - Resources – questioning whether effective community engagement involves increased resources, and the potential for using auxiliary staff and volunteers.

Consistency of evidence for aspects of community engagement in policing

A large proportion of the empirical evidence collected during this review comes from the US. In the UK, other sectors (e.g. health, regeneration) appear to have developed an engagement focus before policing. Where appropriate, studies from other policy areas with lessons transferable to policing have been included.

As outlined in Appendix 2, a subjective assessment was made of the strength of sources included in the review. The key, most robust sources in the eyes of the author are listed in Appendix 3. Other sources included in the review are considered less methodologically robust, or had less available methodological information. It is highlighted in the text (author names in brackets) which sources support which themes. Caveats are included where appropriate.

The sources included in the review are also categorised as 'empirical', 'practitioner self-assessment', or 'theoretical'. Where evidence is presented as 'consistent', this means there are three or more sources from each category to support a theme. If there are less than three supportive sources in one or more categories, evidence is presented as (for example) 'consistent theoretical support'.

Section 1: The theory of community engagement

Burton *et al.,* (2004), in a systematic review of community participation in area-based initiatives, suggest that many authors base their advocacy of participation on 'perceived' as opposed to 'potential' benefits. They also paraphrase a number of sources to highlight the three main reasons given by government to promote community participation: it aids social cohesion and fosters social capital; it makes for more effective planning and delivery of public services that are seen as legitimate by those who participated in the decision-making; and it is a right that is justified and that demonstrates the exercise of citizenship.

Burton *et al.* also claim that there is a 'taken-for-granted' view of community participation in the literature on regeneration. For example, Burns and Taylor (2000) 'rehearse' the arguments for community participation, "the source of which is unclear" (Burton *et al.*, 2004):

- community definitions of need, problems, and solutions are different from those put forward by service planners and providers;
- community knowledge is an important resource, and widens the pool of experience and expertise that regeneration and renewal strategies can draw on;
- community participation gives local residents the opportunity to develop skills and networks that they need to address social exclusion;
- active participation of local residents is essential to improved democratic and service accountability; and
- central government requires community participation in regeneration and neighbourhood renewal strategies.

It can be argued that this theoretical case can apply as much to policing as it can to regeneration. Rogers and Robinson (2004) argue in a review that "some of the strongest research highlighting the benefits of community engagement comes from the criminal justice field". However, they principally cite only Sampson's work on collective efficacy; the evaluation of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy by Skogan *et al.* in Chicago; and some evaluation work on restorative justice in the UK. A more realistic assessment appears in their conclusion, where they

argue that "there is a strong common sense case to be made for community engagement" (op.cit:51).

There is strong theoretical support in the US for community policing, which can be seen to encompass an engagement philosophy. The theory suggests that 'social order' occurs more from informal social processes than from formal social control mechanisms such as policing. This makes it important to stimulate citizen participation in problem-solving activities. Community participation identifies problems the police may not be aware of and makes communities feel that the police are responsive to their concerns. This is likely to increase confidence and trust and improve police-community relations, and also result in a reduction in real crime rates, disorder and anti-social behaviour, and fear of crime. This position is reflected in the work of many US commentators, including Rosenbaum, Skogan, Wycoff, Fridell, and Cordner.

There are some concerns evident in the literature about inequitable outcomes and unintended consequences in relation to poor implementation of community engagement in policing. One key issue is representation. It is proposed that a range of factors – including lack of trust in some communities, differing capacities of communities, reliance on traditional methods of engagement – lead to a narrow range of people and interests (usually White, older, middle class) participating in policing. Some commentators, such as Thatcher (2001), argue that representation may not always be essential if the police provide those who choose to participate with information of sufficient quality for them to make informed choices that benefit all elements of the community. Others would argue that this is an optimistic view.

Other commentators highlight the potential for direct community participation to cause conflict and disparity within communities and neighbourhoods, as well as between them. Bobov (1999) questions the motives of 'community policing' more fundamentally, arguing that the police will generally seek to engage with sections of society that they are comfortable with and preserve both their interests and the traditional 'status quo'. There is evidence of this from at least one major empirical evaluation of a community policing initiative (see Skogan, 1994).

On balance, there is theoretical support for community engagement in policing. There are many potential benefits. Empirical support for the following potential benefits is assessed in Section 2:

- reducing crime;
- reducing disorder/anti-social behaviour;
- increasing feelings of safety;
- improving police-community relations and increasing trust and confidence;
- increasing community capacity; and
- changing police officers' attitudes and behaviour.

There is also an assessment of available evidence relating to the quality of community participation in policing and of the 'problem-solving' process specifically.

Section 2: The practice of community engagement

There was not scope for the review to consider individually and assess collectively empirical outcome studies relating to community engagement in policing. It also became clear at a relatively early stage of data collection that there was little UK evidence on the impact of community engagement in a policing context.

Other commentators have undertaken reviews of outcome evaluations designed to test mechanisms of community engagement. Although the methodologies of these reviews are unknown, they were mostly undertaken by leading US academics in the policing field.

Skogan (1994) reviewed the impact of six major US community policing programmes. All had a systematic evaluation design, with experimental and matched control areas. Data for outcomes were collected principally by community surveys. Skogan concluded that community policing was overall "proceeding at a halting pace".

Sadd and Grinc (1994) reviewed outcome evaluations from eight areas spread over the US but all involved in the same overall project. The Innovative Neighbourhood-Oriented Policing (INOP) programme had a strong focus on drug trafficking. They concluded that the programme had mixed impacts on most outcome measures.

Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1994) reviewed the impact of nine major team and community policing programmes on police officers' attitudes and the views of the public regarding the police. They concluded that, on balance, community policing had "a positive impact on the police and on citizens' views of the police". They also highlighted methodological weaknesses with the data they worked with, including: a lack of control groups/pre-tests in some studies; selection bias, meaning some results could be a function of which officers were in the programme; and a lack of uniformity of outcome measures, making comparisons across studies difficult.

Kerley and Benson (2000) summarised impact findings from nine major community policing studies; four of which are also in the Skogan review. They concluded the findings overall were "mixed and disappointing".

Cordner (2000) presents results relating to the potential benefits of community policing synthesised from a review of sixty studies (details of the studies are not supplied). He concluded the tactical elements of community policing were producing "several beneficial outcomes for citizens and officers" and "have the potential to impact on crime and disorder".

The impact evaluations of two other studies included in the review – that have appeared since the reviews above – are also considered. These are the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) (Skogan *et al.*, 2004), and the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006), which took place in England. CAPS has been subject to a ten-year evaluation, with periodic surveys of citizens' perceptions. The NRPP was a quasi-experimental evaluation, with panel surveys of public perceptions undertaken before implementation of the programme and again after twelve months.

Another neighbourhood policing experiment took place in the UK in London in the mid-1980s (Irving *et al.*, 1989). It suffered from implementation failure, so is not reported here.

The evidence from these sources, focused on the key identified potential benefits of community engagement, is reported below. A key problem with these reviews is that, as they are mainly of experimental evaluations of multi-mechanism programmes, it is not usually possible to isolate the impact of individual programme components. Where it is possible, the specific engagement mechanism associated with an impact (e.g. foot patrol, police substations) is highlighted. Another

key problem is implementation. Some experimental research occurs without adequate contextual and process information to help explain a lack of impact. Many of the major programme evaluations have evaluated implementation as well as impact, and implementation failure has been found to be a factor in many. This is discussed further in Section 3.

Reducing crime

Victimisation rates are a principal outcome measure in almost all US community policing studies. The NRPP evaluation originally set out to measure impact on public perceptions, but was broadened to also include victimisation and anti-social behaviour.

The Skogan review revealed significant decreases in victimisation in three out of the ten programme areas where community engagement was attempted. Interestingly, all decreases occurred in areas where the mechanism of engagement was officers visiting citizens' homes. Areas with police substations showed no reduction.

The Sadd and Grinc review found that the community perceived significant reductions in drug trafficking in two of the INOP programme areas; there were negligible or no effects in the other six areas. There was some evidence of displacement, but it was not clear to what extent. Respondents found it difficult to judge the programme effects on drug-related crime – findings were again mixed.

The Kerley and Benson review found a significant decrease in the crime rate in one of five studies with this outcome measure; a small decrease in three; and no change in the other.

The Cordner review classified evidence relating to crime as mixed, saying few studies had used experimental designs, many relying on simple before/after comparisons or single item victimisation questions from community surveys. A "slight majority" of studies had shown decreases.

The latest evaluation results for the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (Skogan *et al.*, 2004) show significant reductions in crime over a ten-year period. CAPS is an important study, as it is the only example of an attempt to implement a community policing strategy across an entire police department that has had a sustained evaluation for over a decade. In fact, as CAPS involves formalised partnership working, it can also be seen as a citywide community safety strategy.

In an analysis of the reasons for the fall in crime rates, Skogan *et al.* concluded that "the prevention and intervention capacity of Chicago's neighbourhoods rose somewhat between the mid-1990s and the end of the decade; and was correlated .20 to .30 with declining crime rates". They also indicated many other factors that could have been involved in the reductions, including changes in gun availability, disruption of drugs markets, and increases in both the numbers of police officers and the prison population. They also highlighted that, as in many cities in the US, the crime drop began well before community policing was adopted.

The evaluation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) showed a positive programme effect on self-reported victimisation (down ten percentage points across the trial sites and down five percentage points in the control sites), though respondents were not asked exclusively about victimisation in their local area. In relation to public perceptions of the crime rate (a key target measure for the NRPP) there was also a positive programme effect – the proportion of people who felt that crime had fallen in their area over the past twelve months rose by fifteen percentage points in the trial sites and by four percentage points in the control sites.

The impact of the NRPP on victimisation rates in the experimental wards is encouraging. Further work will assess whether these improvements can be sustained and whether and how they can they can be transposed to BCU and force level.

Overall assessment: Weak positive evidence – some positive findings, some neutral, no negative.

Reducing disorder/anti-social behaviour

The Skogan review showed reductions in community perceptions of disorder (from questions concerning loitering, public drinking, begging, street harassment, truancy, and gang activity) in five out of the ten programme areas.

The Cordner review classified evidence in relation to disorder as positive, though acknowledging it has not been subjected to careful testing as often as crime and fear. Available evidence suggests the mechanisms of foot patrol and problem-solving, in particular, help reduce disorder.

Evaluation of the CAPS (Skogan *et al.*, 2004) suggests that both physical and social disorder have dropped since the strategy was implemented. However, the effects have been different for different ethnic groups in the city. In predominantly White neighbourhoods, existing levels of disorder were low, so any impact there has been has been modest. In mainly African-American neighbourhoods, there have been sharp decreases in levels of disorder. In mainly Latino neighbourhoods, though, where there were equally serious problems, there has been little change.

The NRPP (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) measured citizen perceptions of eight indicators of 'anti-social behaviour': teenagers hanging around; rubbish or litter; vandalism and graffiti; vandalism to bus shelters or phone boxes; vandalism to other types of property; harassment due to ethnic origin/religion; people using or dealing drugs; and people being drunk or rowdy in public places. There was an overall positive programme effect on perceptions of five of the eight indicators. No analysis of programme effect by ethnic group was undertaken for the report.

Overall assessment: Fairly strong positive evidence – mostly positive findings, some neutral, no negative.

Increasing feelings of safety

The Skogan review showed reduced fear of crime in five of the ten programme areas, from responses to questions on worry about types of personal and property crime.

The Sadd and Grinc review found that the police were more likely to feel the INOP programme had reduced fear of crime in the target areas than were residents. Results were mixed. The programme had a greater effect on residents' perceived fear in the areas where there was also a perceived reduction in drug trafficking and crime.

The Kerley and Benson review found small decreases in three of five studies with fear of crime as an outcome measure, and no change in the other two.

The Cordner review classified evidence relating to fear as mixed, but leaning more heavily in the positive direction. Fear has been measured using a variety of survey tools, sometimes as part of projects with experimental designs. There is a 'widely accepted' view that community policing helps reduce fear and increase perceptions of safety, and it seems 'well grounded'.

In Chicago, during the ten years of implementation of the CAPS, there has been an "impressive decline" in levels of fear (Skogan *et al.*, 2004). Fear fell by ten percentage points or so among

men and younger people; dropped from 34 per cent to 17 per cent among White people; and was down 20 percentage points or so among African-Americans, women, and older people. Again, though, the effects were not as pronounced for Latino residents. There was a further division between Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Latinos – the former only dropped five percentage points, from 43 per cent to 38 per cent.

The NRPP evaluation (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) showed a small programme effect on citizens' feelings of safety walking alone after dark – in the six trial sites the proportion of people who felt 'fairly' or 'very' safe rose by one percentage point; in the control sites there was a fall of four percentage points. The NRPP also measured citizens' levels of 'worry' about eight specific crime types. Worry about crime fell in both experimental and control sites; with a positive programme effect shown on only one indicator – worry about being physically attacked by strangers.

Overall assessment: Fairly strong positive evidence – mostly positive findings, some neutral, no negative.

Improving police-community relations; improving community perceptions of the police

The Skogan review showed improvements in community perceptions of the police in nine of the ten programme areas. Responses were to questions about how well the police did in performing a number of tasks (e.g. preventing crime, helping victims) and how fair, helpful and polite they were.

The Sadd and Grinc review found positive impacts on police-community relations in all target areas – even those where the INOP programme's impact on crime and fear of crime was perceived by residents to be minimal. This perception was qualified by some residents, who felt improved relations were restricted to particular officers or specific sections of the community.

The Lurigio and Rosenbaum review found positive impacts on community perceptions of the police in all studies. In two areas these were confined to the helpfulness of specific officers or to the assessment of specific roles; there was no impact on overall satisfaction (it was high at baseline). In one area, the positive impacts of the project were only reflected by White, middle-class respondents.

The Kerley and Benson review showed a small increase in citizens' perceptions of the police in three of four studies with this type of outcome measure; there was no change in the other.

The Cordner review classifies evidence on 'community relations' as positive. The 'vast majority' of studies including this type of outcome measure have found positive effects. Citizens generally appreciate community engagement mechanisms that allow them closer contact with the police and the chance to participate. Often this effect is achieved even in areas where the 'baseline' measures of satisfaction and support for the police are already high.

The evaluation of the CAPS considered several measures of public opinion regarding the police. In general, public opinion of the police improved steadily from the point of implementation in 1993 to a high point in 1999 before levelling off at a new high in the 2000s (Skogan *et al.*, 2004). The changes in public perceptions have occurred across ethnic groups. However, the views of different ethnic groups remain polarised, with a 15 to 20 percentage point gap between the perceptions of African-American and Latino residents and those of White residents. The less favourable perceptions of African-American and Latino residents were reflected across all measures.

The evaluation of the NRPP (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) showed a positive programme effect in relation to public confidence in the police. In the six trial sites, there was a fifteen percentage point increase

in the proportion of people who felt their local police were doing an excellent or a good job; there was a three percentage point increase in the control sites.

Overall assessment: Strong positive evidence – almost all positive findings, minimal neutral, no negative.

Increasing community capacity

The Sadd and Grinc review found that most community respondents felt that levels of community organisation and community participation had increased since the start of the INOP programme. However, they were not always convinced that it was the programme that was responsible. In one area where there was a pronounced effect, there was already a strong network of community organisations that pre-dated community policing. Another two sites also showed evidence of the programme stimulating existing networks. Increased community participation was not sustained even beyond the life of the project in one site.

Kerley and Benson (2000) highlight the lack of empirical evidence on the impact of community policing on 'community processes'. This is largely because evaluators have regarded impact on community capacity as a by-product of programmes, as opposed to a primary outcome measure.

Kerley and Benson conducted secondary analysis of data from a major community policing experiment – the Police Foundation programme in Oakland, California and Birmingham, Alabama. They constructed three community capacity outcome variables: community cohesion (whether people regarded themselves as part of the neighbourhood; whether people helped one another or [went] their own way); community organisation (whether there had been block parties or other large social events in the neighbourhood); and co-operative security (whether neighbours watched each others' houses if they were away). In Oakland, there was an increase in informal community organisation in an area where police introduced door knocking, though no experimental areas differed significantly from each other, or from a control. In Birmingham, an area with a substation saw an improvement in community organisation. Generally, there was no clear pattern to the results.

Kerley and Benson highlight both theoretical and significant implementation factors that may have affected the impact of the programme. Theoretically, it is not clear how one community engagement mechanism in each target area would impact significantly on community capacity. In relation to implementation, there was resistance to the programme from officers in both areas and lack of community participation and ownership. They recommend community capacity measures should be the 'primary' outcome measures for community policing programmes.

Skogan *et al.*, (2004) concluded that "the prevention and intervention capacity of Chicago's neighbourhoods rose somewhat between the mid-1990s and the end of the decade". This was correlated to some extent with falling crime rates. The 'beat meetings' held in each neighbourhood continue to be relatively well attended. However, it is apparent that the 'action' element of the meetings is declining, and the problem-solving model that was implemented has not functioned as well as was intended.

The NRPP had increasing social capacity as one of its aims. However, in common with many programmes, this was envisaged as a 'by-product' of general engagement activity, as opposed to capacity building measures being directly planned and implemented. The evaluation (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) found there was no programme impact on collective efficacy (whether local people intervened in trouble situations and whether neighbours helped each other), and no programme effect on involvement in community and voluntary activity. There was a minimal programme effect (one percentage point) on one indicator of social cohesion (feelings of trust in the community). It is unlikely that a programme without specific measures designed to build community capacity would have an impact on these indicators in a twelve-month period.

It is possible that, due to existing capacity to participate, community policing may benefit communities that least require it. The review did find one study suggesting this may not be the case. Reisig and Parks (2004) conducted secondary analysis of data from the Project on Policing Neighbourhoods study in Indiana and Florida. They found that citizens and neighbourhoods who perceive healthy police-public partnerships also perceive fewer problems with social and physical disorder and feel safer – net of structural disadvantage. They conclude that police-community collaboration partially mediates the influence of concentrated disadvantage. They acknowledge two key weaknesses with their methodology. Firstly, the analysis was performed on cross-sectional data, so findings should be interpreted as 'high order' correlations, not causal links. Secondly, they relied on information from the same source (community surveys) to construct both dependent and independent variables – this 'shared method variance' can sometimes result in inflated correlations.

Overall assessment: Unknown – this is a gap in the evidence.

Changing police officers' attitudes and behaviour

The review by Lurigio and Rosenbaum showed positive effects on: officers' job satisfaction in six out of ten studies; perceptions of what the police role should be in six out of ten studies; improved interaction with, and confidence in, the community in eight out of ten studies; relationships with colleagues in three out of ten studies; and wider organisational processes in four out of ten studies. It is not clear whether all outcomes were considered by all studies. In one study, the reported findings were "strong anecdotal evidence", as opposed to robust evaluation.

In one area, not much impact on attitudes was recorded. Negative impacts were found in only two areas. In the first, officer attitudes were negative to all personal and organisational measures but perceptions of the impact of the programme on communities were positive. In the second, officer attitudes were positive in relation to the programme and working as a team but negative in relation to communication with detectives, and feedback from supervisors. In one area, the positive impacts were lost by the end of the programme, due to managerial issues.

Lurigio and Rosenbaum conclude that the studies reviewed have shown, from the police perspective, "increases in job satisfaction and motivation; a broadening of the police role; improvements in relationships with co-workers and citizens; and greater expectations regarding community participation in crime prevention efforts".

The Cordner review classifies evidence on police officer attitudes as positive and on police officer behaviour as mixed. It reports a clear majority of studies focused on job satisfaction and perceptions of the community as having positive impacts. However, it is acknowledged that programmes are often confined to officers in specialist units – it is unclear whether positive impacts can be sustained or are universal if all officers are required to do community policing.

Cordner also says "significant anecdotal" evidence suggests many community engagement mechanisms lead to changes in some officers' behaviour, but that this is less well tested. There is evidence from process evaluations that many officers resist changing their behaviour for a variety of reasons – including opposition to the principles of community policing, organisational culture, or habit.

Overall assessment – attitudes: Fairly strong positive evidence – some positive findings, some neutral, minimal negative.

Overall assessment – behaviour: Mixed evidence – some positive findings, some neutral, some negative findings.

The quality of community participation in policing

The UK context

The majority of UK evidence on the quality of community engagement concerns the strategic level – community participation in long-term, force-level priorities and key strategic decisions. There is consistent empirical evidence (Bull & Stratta, 1995; Edwards, 1997; Fyfe, 1992; Myhill *et al.*, 2003) and consistent theoretical consensus (Harfield, 1997; Neyroud, 2001; Morgan, 1995; Rogers and Robinson, 2004) that the system of community consultation initiated in England and Wales following the Scarman report does not achieve its intended aims. Evaluations of Police Community Consultative Groups (PCCGs) in the UK (and Australia) have consistently found them to be unrepresentative of communities, being biased towards older, White, middle-class citizens (Edwards, 1997; Bull and Stratta, 1995; Fyfe, 1992; Myhill *et al.*, 2003). The issues raised at meetings are generally local problems as opposed to strategic priorities. These findings are consistent both in a UK and Australian context (Bull and Stratta, 1995).

Myhill *et al.*, (2003) undertook a multi-method study of community engagement by police authorities in the UK involving a survey of all authorities and six in-depth case studies. The study found evidence to suggest that many police authorities (and forces) acknowledged the ineffectiveness of PCCGs for focusing on strategic priorities and that some were developing community engagement strategies to both increase representation and to deliver specific aims. However, progress was found to be patchy both between and within authority areas. It was also found that, in the case study sites, authorities did not generally monitor or communicate the impact of engagement clearly. There was a lack of data concerning the cost of engagement and no systematic approach to assessing its benefits.

Part of this study focused on citizens' views on participating in policing. Fourteen focus groups were undertaken in different areas of the country. Groups were undertaken with a representative range of citizens, including minority ethnic groups and one non-English-speaking group. However, this study concentrated on whether and how people would like to participate, as opposed to actual experiences of participation. Participants generally felt that communities do not have a say in policing; but that they would like to participate. There was some cynicism as to whether, if communities did participate, their input would have any impact on police decision-making (Myhill *et al.*, 2003).

Very little UK research has considered community participation at the tactical level. Although the evaluation of the NRPP is mainly focused on outcomes, there is some limited analysis of process information. Tuffin *et al.*, (2006) conclude the results show that using a variety of engagement methods was more successful than relying solely on public meetings.

Other evaluation activity has been focused mostly on Neighbourhood Watch (NW). Bennett (1998) reports a study which concluded that NW schemes in two areas of London were poorly implemented and had low levels of community participation. Of those who did participate, less than half reported actually looking out for something suspicious. The schemes appeared to have no effect on victimisation rates, reporting rates, or police clear-up rates (Bennett, 1990; cited in Bennett, 1998).

Other evidence

There is some empirical evidence from the US of how widespread the use of community engagement mechanisms is in police departments. A three-wave panel survey of departments was undertaken in 1992, 1997, and 2002 (see Fridell, 2004b). The 1992 and 1997 surveys (panel of 1,264 agencies) examined how widely community policing had been implemented. The 2002 survey focused on a panel of 282 departments who claimed to have implemented community

policing in 1992 or earlier, in order to try and assess exactly what engagement mechanisms (amongst other things) had been implemented, and changes over time.

By 1997, 85 per cent of departments surveyed claimed to have been in the process of implementing community policing; 58 per cent claimed to have implemented it. In 2002, the sixteen most common community policing activities (which included some of the more usual engagement mechanisms, such as public meetings, NW, and problem-solving) were claimed by 75 per cent of panel departments. By contrast, the seven least common activities were claimed by only 25 per cent of departments. Interestingly, these activities included engagement mechanisms that require community participation at a more strategic and administrative accountability level, such as community participation in police officer recruitment; performance appraisal and promotion; and reviewing of complaints against the police.

Survey items were broken down into four areas of community policing: citizen participation; partnership outreach; problem-solving; and organisational change. Between 1992 and 1997, there was a 73 per cent increase in citizen participation; between 1997 and 2002 the figure was 38 per cent. During the same periods, the figures for problem-solving were 80 per cent and 62 per cent; for organisational change 93 per cent and 81 per cent. Cordner (2004) suggests a positive explanation is that police agencies are recognising the importance of organisational change. He acknowledges a less optimistic interpretation that there was less community participation in the latter time period. Cordner concludes by highlighting that the vast majority of the respondents to the 2002 survey expressed very positive views about community policing. He also concedes that police agencies have tended to adopt "relatively modest" versions of community policing.

There are some very important limitations in this survey data. Firstly, such surveys tend to be completed by an individual in each department, so they may not be complete or representative of the wider departmental view. Secondly, and most importantly, responses to the survey were yes/no and concerned specific activities. These data give no indication of the *extent* of the activity (a department could have held a single public meeting) or of the *quality* of community engagement. Some commentators have claimed that police departments have a tendency to label more traditional policing activity as community engagement and claim to be implementing community policing when in fact they are not (See for example Herbert, 2001; Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000).

Evidence from the US on the quality of engagement in community policing is concentrated on the 'tactical' dimension – such as community participation in setting local priorities, and problem-solving. Very little evaluation has taken place on the 'philosophical', 'strategic', and 'organisational' dimensions (Cordner, 2004).

In the US, many large-scale evaluations have considered the engagement components of specific community policing programmes. These evaluations have highlighted a range of implementation issues for engaging communities (see Section 3). Overall, there is consistent empirical evidence that the community engagement undertaken by police departments in the US, even within individual programmes, is highly variable. Cordner (2004) says studies "constantly reveal" shortcomings in the quality of implementation of engagement and problem-solving. Whilst in some programmes there is evidence of effective engagement, there is also usually evidence of poorly implemented and/or inappropriate engagement.

There are many methods for securing community participation in policing. Some have been assessed in the context of specific projects and programmes. The most popular mechanism remains the public meeting – despite limited evidence of effectiveness. Sherman and Eck (2002) judged the crime reduction benefits of public meetings as 'mixed'. It is unclear to what extent public meetings provide 'reassurance' benefits. A key problem tends to be that meeting attendees are generally unrepresentative of the wider community. Evidence from the CAPS suggests that achieving representation was a problem when 'beat meetings' were used as part of a problem-

solving approach. Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found that meetings were more representative and better attended in 'high capacity' areas with existing community networks. This raises the possibility of community engagement in policing resulting in inequitable outcomes – with those most in need of positive outcomes benefiting least from the process.

'Door knocking' by community officers has been shown to be more effective in terms of crime reduction, though with a disproportionate benefit to White, middle-class residents (Sherman and Eck, 2002). This method could, if well implemented and received, tackle the problem of representation and be used to inform all levels of engagement – highlighting both local problems and more strategic issues. Quality and use of information is key – in the Oakland project, officers undertook door knocking but made no use of the information collected (Skogan, 1994).

Other strategies include the opening of very local police-community stations, 'storefronts', or information points, often jointly run by police and volunteers. Evidence relating to the effect of these, in relation to both crime reduction and reassurance, is also mixed (Sherman and Eck, 2002; Dalgleish and Myhill, 2004; Walker and Walker, 1990).

There is a fairly widespread view among practitioners and theorists from many policy fields that community engagement has the potential to impact negatively on some communities or individuals. This could happen through partner agencies not managing community expectations adequately, or from sections of the community seeking to co-opt the police against others. Cordner also highlights the problem of 'zero tolerance' tactics being dressed up as community policing, with consequences for some vulnerable and minority groups. There is a sense that poorly implemented community engagement has the potential to be more damaging than not engaging at all. The review found no studies devoted to examining this from a community perspective. Grinc (1994) says that there has been "virtually no research conducted on the community role in community policing". This is a gap in the literature.

Overall assessment: Mixed evidence. Community perspective on process is a gap.

Problem-solving

Problem-solving is widely regarded as a key part of community engagement in policing and consequently merits detailed analysis. Skogan *et al.*, (1999) say police departments cannot really claim to be doing community policing unless they are adopting a problem-solving approach.

However, it should be emphasised that problem-solving is only one way in which community policing may have an impact on crime and disorder. Another is increasing police legitimacy. Sherman and Eck (2002) found correlations between increased legitimacy – most often measured by how people were treated in previous encounters with the police, or how responsive they perceived the police were to their needs – with reductions in crime. Simply adopting a problem-solving approach does not equate to implementing community (or neighbourhood) policing.

There are several 'models' for problem-solving, the most widely recognised being 'SARA' – scanning, analysis, response, assessment. The community can be involved at any stage in the process (Forrest *et al.*, 2005). In relation to response, Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) suggest there are actually few actions citizens can legitimately take – they can: act as the 'eyes and ears' of the police (e.g. Neighbourhood Watch schemes); actively patrol; alter their behaviour (crime prevention measures); put pressure on others to act (such as lobbying local authorities to provide better resources); or authorise the police to adopt specific tactics otherwise seen as unacceptable.

There is consistent support for community participation in crime and disorder problem-solving among commentators. The 'accepted' benefits include the fostering of partnerships between the

police and the public and a long-term reduction in demand for police services, brought about by eliminating an issue that prompts many calls over a period of time.

According to Moore (2000) the value of problem-solving has largely been demonstrated anecdotally. A recent guide to community participation in problem-solving (Forrest *et al.*, 2005) presents several mostly unevaluated examples of problem-solving, mainly from the UK. It suggests it is possible to successfully secure community participation in problem-solving. Police and other practitioners generally felt their projects were successful; there is no evidence relating to public perceptions of the process.

Cordner *et al.,* (2005) say there are many 'case studies' of problem-solving now available. These are a step up from anecdotal evidence as they involve empirical evaluation. However, they also do not demonstrate an ability to sustain widespread problem-solving activity in an agency, or an ability to secure community participation in the longer term. It should be emphasised though that problem-solving does not have to involve the community to be successful. There are numerous examples of problem-solving approaches that have reduced crimes in specific areas, without community involvement (Sherman and Eck, 2002).

It may be the case that community participation in problem-solving is necessary, or adds value in only some contexts or circumstances. Some successful problem-solving initiatives do not have community participation at the 'front end', though it can be perceived as facilitating ultimate success. The Boston Gun project (Kennedy *et al.*, 2001) involved a multi-agency crackdown on gang members perceived to ignore police warnings to cease violent criminal activities. Although the evaluation does not specifically consider the community role in the project, it is clear that the initiative differed from a previously unsuccessful attempt due to local community awareness. Project leaders held public meetings to explain and publicise the action they were taking and there was a strong sense that information from the meetings penetrated communities by 'word of mouth'. The role of 'Streetworkers' (social services youth workers who saw themselves primarily as members of the community) was also crucial in spreading the message.

Moore says the most sustained and rigorous evaluation of problem-solving occurred in the Newport News police department in the US (Eck and Spelman, 1987; reported in Moore, 2000). The evaluation involved three in-depth case studies of problem-solving initiatives – one aimed to reduce prostitution and robbery on a specific street, the second involved reducing thefts from automobiles in a shipyard, and another involved reducing burglaries and improving living conditions in a housing project.

The evaluation showed success in relation to all three problems. The number of prostitutes dropped from 29 to six and robberies in the area declined by 43 per cent; thefts from automobiles declined by more than 50 per cent; and burglaries in the housing project dropped by about 35 per cent, with no evidence of displacement. All the initiatives involved a range of responses and agencies other than the police. The last initiative involved a multi-agency task force and significant community participation. Residents undertook 'block watches' and were encouraged to make demands on city agencies.

Evaluation of the various projects incorporated in the Home Office funded Reducing Burglary Initiative also indicates a degree of success in securing community participation in problem-solving processes (Hamilton-Smith, ed., 2004). Participation principally involved volunteers regularly attending meetings and visiting households in the area to explain the scheme and provide advice on crime prevention. However, successful engagement did not occur across all projects and implementation problems were apparent, including: volunteers not being representative of the wider community; volunteers not being suitable for some tasks; organisational rules precluding some forms of participation; and data protection issues.

The largest and most systematic evaluation of a problem-solving approach that looked specifically at the community role in the process is that conducted by Skogan *et al.*, (1999) in

Chicago. The Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy attempted to provide training on a problem-solving model for both officers and community members. Of the fifteen police 'beat' areas evaluated, four were found to be implementing the model well, five were reasonable, two struggling, and four failed to implement much problem-solving at all. Skogan *et al.* concluded that there was little evidence of actual success in relation to securing public participation in ongoing problem-solving partnerships.

The evaluation of the NRPP (Tuffin *et al.*, 2006) contained a limited analysis of process information. This revealed examples of successful problem-solving tended to occur in trial sites where there was both community participation in identifying problems and where the problems were tightly defined and thoroughly analysed.

Problem-oriented policing

The most robust assessments of problem-solving occur in relation to problem-oriented policing, which is slightly different from community policing. In POP, problems rather than community participation are the main focus, though citizen input is valued if it is the best way to identify, analyse, or respond to a problem.

Scott (2000) published an assessment of the implementation of POP over the previous twenty years. He concluded that progress had been "slow, modest and uneven", though existing case studies proved the police were capable of using problem-solving methods on substantive community problems. He also concluded that POP had been most successfully applied at project level, but that there was reason to believe effective problem-solving partnerships could bring about increases in community safety.

Cordner *et al.*, (2005) conducted an assessment of the implementation of POP in San Diego. The San Diego police department has been implementing POP for around a decade and is regarded as one of the leaders in the field. Cordner *et al.* found, through surveys and interviews with officers, that officers in San Diego tended to tackle small-scale problems, usually associated with drugs or disorder. Most projects arose out of general observations or complaints, as opposed to being driven by any systematic analysis. Analysis of problems also tended to be informal and limited. Response tended to be no more rigorous, with most officers (62%) relying on 'personal experience' when formulating solutions. 'Personal observation' was also used a lot for assessment of impact, leading to the conclusion that most assessment was 'cursory'. Cordner *et al.* concluded that implementation of POP in San Diego did not match up to the model at any stage.

Although POP places less emphasis on community engagement, the San Diego study suggests police officers provide the majority of responses to problems. This was also found in the Chicago evaluation (Skogan *et al.*, 1999). The recent study of mainly unevaluated UK problem-solving examples (Forrest *et al.*, 2005) suggests community members are most often involved at the 'scanning' stage of the model.

Scott describes problem-solving as a more limited notion than POP. Cordner *et al.* concur, concluding that POP is clearly more challenging than simple problem-solving. They suggest it may be more realistic to expect implementation of problem-solving. They claim that, in problem-solving, "officers take a thoughtful approach, try to gather some information before proceeding, and often implement a multi-pronged response to problems". This he suggests is better than "not thinking, not gathering information, and relying on only one response" – as would happen in traditional reactive policing.

Overall assessment: Fairly strong positive evidence from specific projects; limited evidence of sustained success at organisational level.

What is the overall state of the evidence base?

Evidence to support community engagement in policing does exist. However, it is not consistent in relation to most of the potential theoretical benefits. There is a lack of empirical evidence in a UK context and a major gap in the evidence regarding community perceptions of processes.

The majority of evidence is from evaluations of specific projects or programmes. There is a lack of evidence relating to the impact of wider, sustained organisational change. There are three principal reasons for this (see Cordner, 2000). Firstly, change at the organisational level is far more difficult to measure than the impact of a specific project or programme. Secondly, the majority of community engagement mechanisms are implemented by specific teams working on specific projects or programmes. This is problematic because, as Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1994) illustrate, impacts in relation to, for example, police-community relations may be a result of who is in the programme – specially selected or self-selected officers – as opposed to the programme itself. Finally, major community policing projects, programmes and strategies have generally suffered from at least some degree of implementation failure.

According to Moore (2000) no police department has yet fully made the transition to new styles of policing and operated long enough to produce a convincing record of performance. Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) conclude "because community policing programmes are rarely implemented as planned and are almost never implemented on a large scale, our ability to answer the question 'Does it work?' has been sorely restricted".

Section 3: Implementation issues for community engagement

As detailed in Section 1, on balance, there is theoretical support for community engagement in policing. However, there are concerns that, if the theory is not translated well into practice, there could be some unintended consequences. Several strong themes emerged from this review in relation to implementation issues for community engagement in policing.

Tailoring engagement and local flexibility

There is consistent evidence from various areas of public policy that engagement should be tailored to communities' needs and preferences and that there is no 'one size fits all' model or strategy (DuBois and Hartnett, 2002; Garcia, 2002; Myhill *et al.*, 2003; Osborn *et al.*, 2002; Phillips, 1976; Wycoff, 2004; Taket and Edmans, 2003; Harfield, 1997; Khan, 1998; Lyons, 2002; Neyroud, 2001; Larsen, 2004; Morgan, 1995). Wycoff (2004), who has been involved in evaluating major US community policing programmes, urges police practitioners to be wary of 'best practice', arguing that the best practice for any community is one that fits their needs and conditions and is compatible with the resources of partners. She concludes that there is no 'formula' for all communities, and no 'simple formula' for any community.

There was no clear evidence on the extent to which the Police Service in England and Wales accepts the need to tailor engagement. HMIC Scotland (2004) recommended a more force-level and national approach to 'community policing'. Their assessment of progress made by forces in Scotland in relation to community engagement implies local flexibility in places, but does not emphasise it as a key to success.

There is consistent evidence that police command and decision-making needs to be decentralised for effective, flexible engagement to occur (Skogan, 1994; Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Fridell, 2004a; Phillips, 1976; Clapper and Konig, 2000; Cook, 2002; Neyroud, 2001; Pepinsky, 1989; Ramsay, 2002; Moore, 2000). Various commentators advocate that responsibility and accountability for planning and resources need to be devolved for any form of community policing to succeed.

It is not clear whether the Police Service, at a senior managerial level, is prepared to accept these arguments. Stevens (2002), in a survey of police managers in the US, found that only four per cent felt that 'trust of their subordinates' should always be a characteristic of an excellent police leader; with 28 per cent saying 'seldom or never'. Fifty-four percent of respondents said delegation should only be used 'sometimes or seldom'; and 59 per cent said 'police decisions' (deployment, technical use of force, disciplinary activity) should 'always' or 'very often' be made by police commanders. This review did not find a similar study of senior officer attitudes in England and Wales.

Vito (2005) conducted a strong study of the in-depth views of 68 police middle managers in the US. The officers, as part of a career development course to gain an official qualification, were required to read two anthologies of writing on community policing and answer questions (under exam conditions) about advantages and implementation problems. Thematic content analysis was performed on the examination papers. The study found that 47 per cent of managers perceived a lack of autonomy for beat officers as a barrier to implementing community policing. They also highlighted 'fear of punishment' and an unwillingness to use mistakes as learning and training opportunities as reasons for a lack of flexible local working.

Some consistent theoretical commentary, though, highlights the dangers of too much local autonomy (Moore, 2000; Herbert, 2001; Scott, 2000; Skogan, 1994). Herbert (2001) argues that some opposition to community policing may result from its 'blurring' of traditional lines of accountability. He argues a commitment to the law must be maintained and that mechanisms of

internal and external accountability must be enhanced. Scott (2000) highlights the danger of a 'majority rules' philosophy in communities, coupled with the 'conservative' nature of the police. Skogan (1994) cites Mastrofski (1998), who argues community policing must develop a process by which "officers can be given sufficient autonomy to do good without increasing their likelihood of doing evil".

Organisational culture change

Skogan *et al.*, (1999) described police culture as "notoriously resilient and resistant to change". Evidence suggests that the police both in the US and in England and Wales may take time to embrace an engagement philosophy. There is consistent empirical (Skogan, 1994; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Vito, 2005) and theoretical (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000; Moore, 2000; Cordner, 2004; Fridell, 2004a; Wycoff, 2004; Herbert, 2001) evidence that far-reaching organisational culture change is necessary if community policing is to be successfully implemented. There is also practitioner evidence from the fields of regeneration (Dobbs and Moore, 2002; Taylor, 2000) and health (Watt *et al.*, 2000) that organisational change is necessary to facilitate effective community participation, and that there is long-term resistance to this among partner agencies.

Wycoff (2004) represents the widely held view that community policing must become the 'status quo' and not be confined to specialists and special units. If a community engagement philosophy is not adopted throughout the organisation, community-focused work can still be regarded as an 'add-on' to core business. This can result in a lack of understanding of the work from non-community officers, the work being afforded a low status, or officers being abstracted to work regarded as core business. All community engagement activity has to be seen as a process as opposed to a one-off event. There is also practitioner evidence from the health field to support the view that community engagement should be part of mainstream working, not a separate programme (Taket and Edmans, 2003).

Understanding and acceptance of community policing principles

Ramsey (2002) suggests that the police in the US are prepared for community policing and that the next challenge is to prepare the community. He claims the process of changing the police organisational culture has been "long and arduous" and that people "grossly underestimated" the time and energy that would be involved. However, Ramsay's position should be considered with regard to the fact that he is himself a Chief of Police.

The majority of the major evaluations of community policing projects and programmes have recognised opposition among at least some or all of the police officers involved, and/or officers in the wider organisation (see review by Skogan, 1994).

In Chicago, Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found that police mistrust of the model of police-community problem-solving was considerably deeper than that in communities. Many officers interviewed felt that community policing would be a 'hard sell' in their neighbourhoods. They found that older and minority ethnic officers were most likely to embrace the problem-solving approach. Sadd and Grinc (1994), in their evaluation of the INOP programme in eight US cities, also noticed a difficulty in getting officer 'sign-up' to the projects. A major Police Foundation project in the US cities of Oakland and Birmingham also experienced significant implementation failure as a result of officer resistance (see Kerley and Benson, 2000).

This may in part be down to a lack of training in relation to community policing and engagement (see below). Sadd and Grinc (1994) and Long *et al.,* (2002) both concluded from studies of police-community partnerships that police officers and staff often do not have a clear understanding of the principles of community policing.

Some evaluation evidence also exists in a UK context. Irving *et al.*, (1989) found that non-managerial rank officers generally understood very simplified messages about a neighbourhood policing model being tested in areas of the Metropolitan Police, but failed to grasp wider 'systemic properties' of the model. Support for community policing methods was mixed. Some officers accepted the philosophy; most believed that the theory would not translate into practice. Concerns about the practicalities of implementation were shared by managers.

Attitudinal studies of officers also suggest that many officers do not subscribe to, or fully understand, community policing philosophy.

Garcia (2002), in a large study of 1,383 Boston police officers, found that approximately 48 per cent of officers indicated 'appropriate knowledge' of community policing, whilst 83 per cent accepted it as the police department's 'dominant philosophy'. However, only 41 per cent were found to be 'committed' to community policing. He also found greater acceptance of community policing from officers of higher ranks.

Yates (1997) conducted a comparative study of officer attitudes in Fort Worth (Texas) and Northumbria (England). He concluded that was 'general enthusiasm' and broad support for community policing in both areas. He also found greater support among officers at senior ranks – but this was not a 'prominent' variable for embracing community policing.

Haarr (2001), in a strong longitudinal panel study of police academy and field training (see below), found that 'informal culture' and 'co-workers attitudes' were crucial factors in probationers' initially positive attitudes to community policing subsequently diminishing. Haarr found that recruits had more positive attitudes to community policing before joining the service than they did after one year on the job.

Bennett (1998) claimed, in a review of UK literature on public participation in the delivery of policing, that there is insufficient evidence overall to arrive at strong conclusions on the extent to which police subscribe to a community policing philosophy. He cites studies to support the notion that community policing roles have a low status and are not regarded as 'real' policing, particularly among younger officers (Bennett and Lupton, 1992; McConville and Shepherd, 1992), but recognises an absence of surveys that study community policing philosophies in depth. He notes that many police annual reports contain statements of support for the principles of community policing. However, he concludes that research suggests police have not yet assimilated community policing philosophy into routine thinking and that the studies suggest lower ranking officers have obstructed or sabotaged attempts to implement it.

Herbert (2001), in a theoretical examination of the conflation of community policing and 'broken windows' policing, suggests resistance to community policing philosophy in the US is based both on 'adventure and machismo' and 'moral purpose'. Traditionally, police culture has valued 'thief-taking' and, in the professional era at least, there has been a perception of 'good' and 'bad' elements in communities. The police role is perceived as 'us' protecting the good elements from the 'bad guys'.

Leadership and management

Consistent theoretical evidence, based largely on the experiences of major programmes in the US, suggests that strong leadership and effective management are essential to the implementation of community engagement (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Wycoff, 2004; Cordner, 2000; Fridell, 2004a; Moore, 2000). This 'undergirding corporate strategy' has been referred to as the 'invisible' side of community policing (Wycoff, 2004).

There is some empirical evidence to suggest senior officers may not perceive the importance of leadership in relation to organisational change. Stevens (2002) surveyed a self-selected sample of ninety-seven officers of middle rank and above in the US. He found that only 24 per cent said

that organisational change was something that an excellent leader should 'always' concern himself with; 26 per cent said 'sometimes'.

Vito (2005), in his study of police middle managers, found that just over a quarter (28%) of respondents felt that 'failure of leadership' was an implementation issue for community policing. Without strong leadership from the top, they felt any change programme was 'doomed'. Forty-seven per cent felt that their department not having a coherent strategy sent out a message that support for community policing was lacking. When asked for some ways to overcome implementation problems, 42 per cent regarded 'strategic planning' as a crucial first step. They felt once goals were established, it was easier to effect organisational change.

Vito also suggests several ways in which middle managers can influence change processes, including subverting the way in which senior managers' 'vision' is translated into operational strategies, quashing ideas that challenge their authority, and failing to sufficiently empower lower-ranked officers. Almost half (47%) of respondents recognised these issues, among others, as implementation problems for community policing. They cited traditional hierarchies, territorialism, lack of autonomy, and a top-down structure as barriers. They felt community policing required a complete culture change. Interestingly, they also perceived their own role in preserving the status quo, but did not want to "manage themselves out of existence". They felt their job security was threatened.

Vito concluded that this group of middle managers had largely accepted the community policing philosophy, but were not yet willing to make the changes necessary to support it. He also contends that, if middle managers' concerns are not acted upon, community policing will remain a specialist activity. It should be noted this was a sample of self-selected, more highly motivated officers, who might be expected to be more forward-thinking.

Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found that in Chicago frontline officers were often not convinced that the 'top brass' were fully supportive of the CAPS (this was in fact the case – some very senior managers were committed to the programme; others were not). This was perceived as a barrier to change.

The community 'beat officer' role

There is consistent empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Long *et al.*, 2002; Irving *et al.*, 1989) that many police officers still regard community policing or community engagement-based roles as not constituting 'real' policing. The community beat officer role appears to have a low status.

In the evaluation of the CAPS, Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found that many officers thought their community engagement role to be 'at odds' with real police work. When interviewed, officers often made comments like "why can't they just let us do what we signed up to do?" Sadd and Grinc (1994) found that in the INOP programme it was difficult to get officers to sign up to the work and those tasked with implementing community engagement frequently saw it as an 'add-on' that would quickly pass like many other management 'fads'. Long *et al.,* (2002) found that officers participating in a police-community domestic violence partnership did not regard 'prevention' as high priority work – they most often prioritised more traditional forms of police work.

Irving *et al.*, (1989), in an evaluation of a neighbourhood policing experiment in London, found that officers in Notting Hill held 'highly conservative' views about the role of a police officer, despite frequent messages being delivered about the new community policing philosophy. They found that officers valued the traditional 'thief-taking' role and "staunchly resisted" attempts to change it. There was also a general perception that a community beat officer's role was low status and that community engagement was "either an ancillary to the main job of policing or a sort of nebulous icing on the cake".

There is also a question as to whether the role of beat officer is valued at the organisational level. Middle managers in Vito's (2005) study perceived beat officers as not getting the recognition they deserved. They perceived they had been treated like factory workers, or privates in the military. When it was put to them that they themselves had the power to change this and enhance the role of beat officers, they frequently used issues of 'liability' as their defence.

Given that the role of community beat officer appears currently to be accorded a low status, it might be speculated that financial reward and career progression may be crucial to securing acceptance of the role. However, anecdotal evidence from police professionals suggests that this is also a problem – it is generally perceived that officers enjoy greater rewards and promotion opportunities in non-community roles.

There was little empirical evidence discovered on this issue. Phillips (1976) described a system of salary incentives for neighbourhood team policing in Multnomah County, US. This involved special payments provided for officers putting in 'voluntary or community service' and actually resulted in a total of 6,877 extra hours being put in above the incentive threshold.

It is possible that the scope of this review was not wide enough to discover literature on rewards and career progression in community policing. Alternatively, this may be a genuine gap in the literature. This is clearly an important gap. Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1994), in a review of literature on the impact of community policing on police personnel, conclude that ignoring officer factors risks implementation failure by "apathy, frustration, resentment, perceived inequality, and fear of change". They cite lack of officer 'buy-in' as a common implementation issue in a further assessment of community policing (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000), claiming they must be actively involved in the change process.

Measurement of performance

There is consistent empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Irving *et al.*, 1989; Vito 2005) and theoretical agreement (Cordner, 2004; Moore, 2000; Harfield, 1997; Neyroud, 2002; Fridell, 2004a) that performance management systems based on traditional indicators are a barrier to implementing community policing models. This is both at an organisational level, and at the level of rewarding the actions and performance of individual officers.

Harfield (1997) claims that nationally set objectives in England and Wales dominate local policing priorities and that the 'new public management' philosophy has helped ensure that a reactive, enforcement model of policing has remained dominant. He says a performance assessment framework emphasising non-community focused targets will have a clear influence on the amount of community engagement likely to be undertaken by neighbourhood beat officers.

Neyroud (2002) also makes a theoretical case for broadening the current performance assessment framework in England and Wales to include measures for more proactive forms of policing. He claims there is nothing to reward forces for adopting a problem-solving or restorative focus and that this dissuades police managers from taking a long-term perspective.

Pepinsky (1989) proposes a system of very local, community-owned performance assessment for beat officers. He advocates community members and the police devising a system whereby the community could gather evidence of an officer's performance against criteria and priorities previously agreed between the two. This evidence could go on the officer's personal file and have a bearing on his or her career progression.

Empirical evaluations of community policing programmes support the theoretical concerns over performance measurement. In Chicago, Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found there to be conflict between officers' new role as 'problem-solvers' and what they were appraised on. The police organisation produced no measure for whether any problem-solving was actually occurring, and there was no

observed way of judging the effectiveness of anything they did come to hear about. The Chicago police department, despite initiating a huge community policing initiative, continued to measure traditional indicators, such as answering calls and making arrests. According to Skogan *et al.*, there was a sense of "what's counted counts", and none of the new roles beat officers were expected to perform – such as attending meetings, talking with residents, studying crime maps – were assessed. Many officers perceived that community policing roles were not accredited and just added to their already high workloads.

Irving *et al.*, (1989) found that throughout a neighbourhood policing experiment in London the performance measurement framework was not altered to reflect the intended change to community policing. They were not able to conclude whether this was as a result of the organisation not knowing how to measure the results of this type of policing, or because proactive policing never attained the status to make measurement perceived as worthwhile. They also found that officers in London believed their career progression would be better served by not taking on a community-based role.

Capacity building and training within the police

Some of the most consistent empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Haarr, 2001; Sagar, 2005) and theoretical commentary (Fridell, 2004a; Clapper and Konig, 2000; Ramsay, 2002; Williams, 2004; Moore, 2000; Scott, 2000) suggests that community engagement involving direct interaction between officers and the public is only likely to be successful if officers are adequately prepared for the role. Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1994), in a review of literature on the impact of community policing on police personnel, claim the expectations of community policing are "frequently beyond" officers' capabilities. There is also consistent theoretical evidence (Fridell, 2004a; Cordner, 2004; Moore, 2000) that police agencies need to start recruiting officers with characteristics suited to community engagement. Moore (2000) says recruitment should emphasise the "spirit of service", not the "spirit of adventure".

Training for new and existing officers is also a key issue. Cordner (2004) argues there needs to be improvement in academy training, field training, and supervision, but that, despite the existence of model curricula, some academies in the US have been slow to change. Bradford and Pynes (1999) examined syllabi and curricula from 22 police academies in the US and found that less than three per cent of basic training is spent on "cognitive and decision making domains" (such as simulated scenarios, effective communication, and decision-making based on reasoning and application of knowledge and skills). More than 90 per cent of basic training time was spent on task-oriented training – conditioned responses associated with reactive policing (reported in Haarr, 2001, no assessment of methodology).

Haarr (2001) conducted a strong longitudinal panel study of officers attending a police academy in Phoenix, Arizona. Recruits undertook a 16-week basic training course, followed by 12 weeks of field training. Questionnaires, based on previous robust surveys, were administered to officers on the first academy day (baseline), at the end of basic training, at the end of field training, and at the end of their first year on the job. A panel of 292 officers completed all four stages. Haarr found that basic training significantly improved attitudes to community-policing and problem-oriented policing, although actual changes were small. He found the gains were lost during field training and on the job, which both emphasised traditional approaches. It was felt that recruits need to use what they have learned in practical situations.

Some empirical evidence from major community policing programmes also suggests officers are not well prepared for their community engagement roles. The most extensive provision of training, and evaluation of its efficacy, has occurred as part of the CAPS. All officers received two days training in the principles of the CAPS and the problem-solving model that it used. Skogan *et al.,* (1999) noticed a degree of variation in the provision and acceptance of the training. Whilst some officers were receptive, many showed little interest and some actively disrupted the sessions.

Similarly, whilst some trainers were effective, others appeared no more 'signed-up' to the programme than the officers they were instructing. Haarr (2001) also found that academy class impacted on officers' attitudes and felt this could be a result of either the particular trainer, or the types of recruit in specific classes. The Chicago police department eventually introduced a 'post-test' officers were required to pass – the penalty for not passing was retaking the training course. Skogan *et al.* concluded that the two days training, with no follow-up or 'refresher' training at any point, was insufficient to equip most officers for the problem-solving aspect of CAPS.

Sadd and Grinc (1994), in the evaluation of the INOP programme, found that there was inadequate knowledge of both community policing and the specific programme among officers. They detected a general lack of funds for training – no training was provided to officers in problem-solving. They concluded that lack of knowledge about roles and responsibilities contributed to the limited success of the programme.

No specific studies of officer training in relation to community engagement were found in the UK. Sagar (2005), in an evaluation of a civilian patrol initiative in Wales, found that officers in the area had received no training designed to make them value interaction with, or participation by, the public. This was one reason suggested for the lack of police input and supervision to the project, which resulted in the community participants coming to regard themselves as an alternative to the police, as opposed to a partner. This evidence is from a single, small, case-study evaluation.

Training appears to be important at two key levels. Firstly, there is the need to ensure that all members of the organisation have a citizen-focus – if the organisation is adopting a form of community policing, officers need to be signed up to the philosophy. This applies equally to officers who may not have to directly interact with the public, to ensure that community engagement is not regarded as an 'add-on' or a 'management fad' that will pass.

Secondly, training is crucial if officers are to be expected to perform different roles than those they are used to. Even tasks that may not appear challenging, such as running a public meeting, actually require a specific skills set. Training may need to be tailored. For example, in Chicago, Skogan *et al.*, (1999) concluded that the role of Sergeant was crucial to the CAPS operating successfully. The job changed quite significantly, with Sergeants expected to take on the role of team leaders and planners and show strong leadership. Some were naturally better at this; others would have benefited from better preparation.

The review found practitioner evidence from the fields of regeneration (Dobbs and Moore, 2002) and health (Taket and Edmans, 2003; Watt *et al.*, 2000) suggesting training for staff of agencies that provide services is crucial for effective delivery of community engagement. This was emphasised more strongly than the need to train and create capacity within communities.

Capacity building and training within communities

There are key issues surrounding both citizens' and communities' willingness to engage in policing and their capacity to do so.

Willingness to engage

Long *et al.,* (2002) claim there is literature to support both the argument that the police do not empower citizens enough and that citizens are not interested in participating in policing. It is probable that some citizens will never wish to actively participate in policing, for a variety of reasons. However, there are also factors that may prevent them from participating.

Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) list "assumptions about community [participation]" and "trust" in their list of common barriers to implementation of community policing. There is consistent empirical evidence (DuBois and Hartnett, 2002; Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Skogan *et al.*, 2000; Sadd

and Grinc, 1994; Vernon and Lasley, 1992) and theoretical support (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000; Bennett-Sandler, 1979; Clapper and Konig, 2000; Lyons, 2002) for mutual distrust between the police and communities being a barrier to community participation. The police often hugely underestimate the effect of historical mistrust on communities' willingness to engage. This is particularly the case in some minority ethnic communities. Vernon and Lasley (1992), in an evaluation of a police-community partnership in Los Angeles, concluded that initial "special measures" must be undertaken to bridge "interpersonal distances" between police and minority ethnic communities.

Dubois and Hartnett (2002) caution that community support must always be 'won' as opposed to 'assumed'. Often, communities – particularly in deprived areas with a proliferation of engagement initiatives – will have been disappointed in the past and must be engaged "one block at a time" if necessary. Some commentators argue that community reluctance to participate (caused by lack of trust in the police) can be interpreted by officers as public apathy. Grinc (1994) found that community reluctance to participate adversely affected the commitment of officers who were initially supportive of the INOP programme – they quickly became disillusioned.

Vito (2005) found in a study of police middle managers that over half (53%) regarded establishing and maintaining community participation as a barrier to implementing community policing. This was a higher percentage than for any other suggested factor. Respondents felt citizens only usually wanted to participate if there was specific trouble, or if their financial interests were threatened.

In terms of attempting to explain perceived public apathy, Grinc (1994), Skogan *et al.*, (1999), and Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) recognised 'fear of retaliation' as a key reason for communities not participating in policing. Many programmes have involved initial 'crackdowns' by the police on crime and disorder in a neighbourhood. However, Grinc warns against raising expectations that cannot be sustained. When the police initially engage in a neighbourhood they should be extremely clear what the long-term level of input and resource will be.

Another factor that can affect community willingness to participate is the perception of what constitutes a community or a neighbourhood. There is some empirical evidence and theoretical suggestion that service providers often seek to engage with citizens in 'target areas' sometimes "falsely imposed on people who share only a postcode", as opposed to neighbourhoods or communities that people identify with (Dobbs and Moore, 2002). Bobov (1999) claims that, particularly in cities, many 'communities' only exist for the benefit of those who seek to represent them – and whose interests the police seek to protect. Khan (1998) suggests that it is often simply difficult to define communities in urban areas.

Skogan *et al.*, (1999) found that problem-solving in Chicago was more successful in beats where residents identified with each other, as opposed to beats that contained different communities, perhaps separated by a major road or a railway line. They also found more success in racially homogenous beats. This finding was replicated by Sagar (2005). She found that a citizen patrol project area contained a distinct Asian community and that this group tended not to participate. She concluded that engagement requiring active participation would be easier to implement in a homogenous area. She also found that citizens were generally not interested in anywhere other than the very immediate area in which they lived. They were also unconcerned about the consequences of merely displacing crime and disorder to neighbouring areas. This was a small study, but it may be that active engagement in policing may have to occur at a very local level – far below even a neighbourhood or 'beat'.

Capacity to engage

There is consistent empirical evidence (Dubois and Hartnett, 2002; Grinc, 1994; Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sagar, 2005) and theoretical support (Clapper and Konig, 2000; Neyroud, 2001; Ramsay, 2002) to suggest that training is necessary for communities as well as the police if active

community participation in policing is to be effective. In the same way that community engagement requires certain officers to take on unfamiliar roles, theories of participation require the public to move beyond their traditional role as 'eyes and ears' of the police. In the era of reactive policing, the public were required only to put in calls for service, as opposed to contributing to the identification and resolution of longer-term problems.

The review also found practitioner support in the fields of regeneration (Dobbs and Moore, 2002) and health (Taket and Edmans, 2003; Watt *et al.*, 2000) for the need to provide community members with training for the participatory roles they are expected to play.

Rosenbaum and Lurigio (2000) claim "public awareness and education" are "indispensable first steps" in implementing community policing. The change, according to DuBois and Hartnett (2002) involves a whole new "jargon" for the public to become familiar with – they must be "educated and re-tooled".

The only major evaluation of widespread training for communities identified in this review comes from the CAPS. Skogan *et al.,* (1999) report that there was a middle-class bias in the volunteers undertaking the training and that training sessions involving people who were existing community activists were more participatory. They claim that, at best, there was some partial initial success in community trainees 'upskilling' other community members. However, the appointment of a city-wide community organisation to provide the training caused problems. This organisation was traditionally perceived as critical of the police and their appointment also caused resentment among some other community-based groups.

Citizen Police Academies (CPAs) are a tool used by many police departments in the US to offer members of the public training and education about the structure and operation of the police. They generally have twenty to thirty 'students' and run for ten to twelve weeks. Members of the public attend evening classes, visit police stations and meet officers. A practitioner assessment (Abutalebi-Aryani, 2002) identifies the perceived benefits as increased understanding and trust of the police and a reduction in complaints. CPA 'alumni' are encouraged to communicate their experiences to others and can act as a network of volunteers for the police to draw on. However, Palmiotto and Unninthan (2002) expressed reservations after an empirical evaluation of a specific CPA. They found that the majority of attendees were clearly supportive of the police initially and that there were no attendees from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds. It is possible that this type of 'training' encourages the public to view problems from an uncritical, police perspective.

There is some empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Dubois and Hartnett, 2002; Hamilton-Smith, ed., 2004) and theoretical support (Sampson, 2004) for community engagement being more likely to succeed in areas where there are existing community organisations and networks. Skogan *et al.,* (1999) found that beat meetings in Chicago were more representative, better attended and had more people involved in problem-solving in 'high capacity' areas with existing community networks. DuBois and Hartnett (2002) conclude (also in relation to the CAPS) that effective participation depends on an organised community and that trying to involve random people off the street is not effective. The evaluation of a set of projects designed to reduce burglary in areas of England and Wales also found that securing community participation was made easier by "harnessing the momentum of pre-existing community groups", particularly if these groups had a broader remit – such as area regeneration (Hamilton-Smith, ed., 2004).

There is also some evidence to support the above finding from other sectors. Osborn *et al.,* (2002), in an assessment of community participation in rural regeneration partnerships, emphasised the importance of the local voluntary and community sectors in both promoting and sustaining participation.

However, there is some evidence that the police should ensure that working through existing groups and networks does not lead to inequitable outcomes. Skogan (1994) reports that, in a major community policing project in the US city of Houston, officers who set up a community

police station relied on existing groups to help run it. These were groups officers were already familiar with and this made it easier to solicit participation. These groups in turn involved mostly people they were connected to and public meetings were held in White, middle class areas. The programme evaluation found that benefits (such as fear reduction) were restricted to this part of the population. Residents from poor and minority ethnic communities mostly did not hear about, or benefit from, the programme.

There are mixed views on whether the police should undertake community capacity building work. Ramsay (2002), in a theoretical article, suggests the police should take the lead in communicating definitions and raising understanding of community policing. DuBois and Hartnett (2002), writing about the CAPS, suggest that the police may have to be involved in building the "supportive infrastructure" of community groups. Sadd and Grinc (1994), writing about the INOP programme, also suggest that, where there are no community organisations, the police need to foster them. However, Grinc (1994) claims that the police alone cannot be responsible for capacity building – it has to be a multi-agency responsibility. Chanan (1999) suggests in his 'handbook of good practice' for community participation that building the infrastructure of community groups and networks should be the job of a dedicated team. Another potential reason for implementation failure relating to community capacity building is that many people do not realise it is an "ongoing process" (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 2000).

There is clearly an issue in relation to engagement and the 'usual suspects'. Regular attendees at consultation or engagement events can come to be seen as problematic, either because they provide dissenting voices, or because the police become wary of the need to listen to a representative selection of views. It is desirable, though, to maximise participation, and there is some evidence to suggest that this is difficult without a core network of volunteers to mobilise others and sustain their interest. It is probably desirable to value the 'usual suspects' and use their enthusiasm to your advantage.

There is another dimension to capacity building, associated with Sampson *et al.*'s (1997) work on 'collective efficacy'. They define collective efficacy as "social cohesion among neighbours", and the willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good. Sampson *et al.* found that concentrated disadvantage, immigration concentration, and residential stability explained 70 per cent of neighbourhood variation in collective efficacy. Consequently, addressing the problem of economically poor, unstable communities may be an important aspect of creating the group 'infrastructure' desirable for sustaining active participation in local policing. Clearly though, this is a task that is beyond the scope of policing and requires action across the whole civil renewal agenda.

Police-community partnerships

Much of the literature on engagement refers to the creation of 'partnerships' between the police and the public. These aim to increase contacts between the police and communities, with a view to establishing local priorities for policing, or creating solutions to local problems. Empirical evidence from the implementation of community policing in the US suggests that few police agencies are willing to have any real power-sharing with the community, such as community input into administrative and strategic decisions (Cordner, 2004). The theory of community policing demands a more equal power relationship – communities should be seen as 'co-producers'; the police should 'empower' residents to take control of their own neighbourhoods (Fridell, 2004a). Engagement is not something to be done 'to' communities; they must participate in choosing and planning approaches.

Herbert (2001) claims police reluctance to share power with communities partly explains the popularity of 'broken windows' or 'zero tolerance' policing in the US. This form of policing allows a focus on informal social control (similar to community policing), but maintains a more traditional power relationship, with the police in a dominant position.

The review found evidence as to what principles might be important to create and sustain effective police-public partnerships. There is consistent evidence that effective partnerships involve two-way dialogue, information flow, and feedback (Dubois and Hartnett, 2002; Sagar, 2005; HMIC Scotland, 2004; Bennett-Sandler, 1979; Phillips, 1976; Givens, 1993; Kahn, 1998; Ramsay, 2002; Rogers and Robinson, 2004; Sampson, 2004). Cook (2002) claims that, from the community perspective, feedback is essential in three areas: what the results of consultation or engagement are; actions taken as a result of consultation or engagement; and, crucially, if no action has been taken the reasons for this. The police need to provide feedback to communities on how they have used, or plan to use, information provided by communities.

Effective police-community partnerships also require the police to value the input of the public. There is consistent empirical evidence to suggest that this does not always occur (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Grinc, 1994; Stevens, 2002; Long *et al.*, 2002; Sagar, 2005). Stevens (2002) surveyed a self-selected sample of ninety-seven officers of middle rank and above in the US. He found that only four per cent said that an excellent leader should 'always' trust the public; 68 per cent said 'sometimes or seldom'.

Sagar (2005) claims a willingness to share information helps citizen participants to feel valued in relation to the partnership. Community participants in a small-scale evaluation of a civilian patrol initiative in Cardiff were disappointed that the flow of information was one-way. They also became disillusioned when the police failed to act on information provided to them.

Givens (1993) claims that information provided by police departments in the US is usually dated, and of limited use to communities. He describes a 'concept' in Fort Worth, Texas, in which community 'block captains' would be given 'real time' information by call handling staff. In this way, low-level incidents not requiring a police response could be dealt with by community volunteers. There are obvious issues with the concept – notably accurate prioritising of calls and vetting of community participants. There is no indication of whether the concept was implemented or successful. If communities are to be effectively engaged in policing though, Ramsay (2002) suggests the police need to undertake to provide quality of information about crime and crime trends in local areas in a regular, ongoing, 'real time' way.

The review also found some practitioner evidence from the fields of regeneration (Dobbs and Moore, 2002) and health (Taket and Edmans, 2003; Watt *et al.*, 2000) to support the requirement for an open, two-way dialogue between communities and service providers, and for agencies to provide communities with feedback on what effect their participation has had.

There is consistent empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Grinc, 1994; Vernon and Lasley, 1992) and some theoretical suggestion (Cordner, 2004; Fridell, 2004a) that familiarity with local officers is important for facilitating this dialogue. Grinc (1994) also links familiarity to confidence – if beat officers who are supposed to be dedicated to a programme are abstracted to perform duties in other areas, the 'credibility' of the programme is eroded.

Empirical evidence consistently points to the need to define the respective roles of the police and the public in the partnership (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Grinc, 1994; Long *et al.*, 2002; Sagar, 2005). Long *et al.,* (2002) found that initial lack of support for a project was partly caused by police officers and community representatives not having a 'common perspective' on what their roles should be. There is also strong practitioner evidence from the regeneration field that there is a general failure to define participation and what it is supposed to achieve (Dobbs and Moore, 2002). Some practitioners and theorists argue that badly planned engagement is worse than no engagement at all, as it can raise public expectations and lead to disillusionment (Cook, 2002; Kahn, 1998).

There is consistent empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Myhill *et al.*, 2003) and theoretical suggestion (Cook, 2002; Crawford, 1998; Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994; Kahn, 1998; Lyons 2002) that multi-agency working is desirable in relation to community engagement. Joint working can be advantageous when consulting the public about policing issues in terms of maximising resources and preventing 'consultation fatigue' (Myhill *et al.*, 2003; HMIC Scotland, 2004). Multi-agency working is essential when attempting to implement a problem-solving approach, as many of the problems identified by local residents in a policing context actually fall to partner agencies to rectify (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994). These are so-called 'quality of life issues', such as litter.

Skogan *et al.*, (2004) regard 'partnership' as one of the most successful aspects of the CAPS. Protocols were developed with key city agencies to facilitate action on problems and issues raised at community beat meetings. Although these systems did not always operate as intended in the model, Skogan *et al.* feel that CAPS is genuinely regarded as the city's programme, not just that of the police department. This is in contrast to the findings from the INOP programme. Sadd and Grinc (1994) discovered no formal arrangements had been made with partner agencies and that their staff were frequently unaware of the programme and its aims.

The barriers to effective multi-agency working are fairly apparent. From a theoretical perspective, Cook (2002) highlights the problem of accountability – in some areas, multiple service providers and tiers of local government can mean it is not always clear who 'owns' a problem. In England and Wales the notion of partnership has been formalised in legislation. Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs), consisting of police, local authority, and other agency representatives, are required to audit crime in their areas and produce strategies for reducing it. Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs), non-statutory bodies, are intended to bring together various public, private, and voluntary sector bodies at a more strategic level and ensure different initiatives and service providers support each other and work together.

Stephens and Fowler (2004) undertook a case-study evaluation of the development of a CDRP in Guildford, Surrey. They observed the potentially limiting effects of local politics – other partners were resentful of the county council becoming involved, especially when their representative was not able to deliver certain objectives. They acknowledged that the partnership enjoyed the confidence of those at the top of the organisations involved, but that the 'culture change' required to achieve the partnership's objectives would take a long time to effect. They emphasised the need for senior managers to have sufficient authority to make their organisation contribute adequately, for staff to be appropriately trained, and the need for agencies to have compatible systems for data recording and analysis.

Myhill *et al.,* (2003) assessed the role of police authorities in engaging communities in England and Wales. They found that, although there was fairly widespread support for the principle of multi-agency working, effective working with partners was variable both between and within authority areas. The main barriers cited were: reluctance of some agencies to participate (especially health); local political differences (especially where there was no unitary local authority); desire of individuals to retain leadership and get credit; unwillingness to share information; desire to protect budgets; and over-reliance on informal contacts which lapsed if key individuals moved on.

Whitworth (2003) assessed the role of police authorities specifically in local strategic partnerships. Of the 26 authorities that participated in the research, 11 were not represented on any LSPs (though nearly all were represented on CDRPs and regarded this as more important). Relationships between authorities and LSPs were found to be better where the respective bodies shared the same aims and priorities, or where community safety was a priority for the LSP. Factors that prevented effective working included a lack of understanding of other agencies' roles.

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 effect 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".

Watt *et al.,* (2000) suggest, in a practitioner assessment of community participation in development of health services, that partner agencies need to make sure that subdepartments that may be implicated by the findings of engagement are aware and signed up to joint working. There is some practitioner evidence in policing that co-location may be a way to overcome some of these barriers to multi-agency working. Dean (2004) gives a descriptive account of Darlington Community Safety Partnership. The borough commander and the civilian head of community safety lead the initiative in which staff from several agencies – including police beat teams, community support officers, and local authority wardens – are based in the same building, subject to the same management structure. Dean claims that performance figures relating to the feelings of safety in the partnership area are much better than the national average and complaints about anti-social behaviour have fallen.

Problem-solving

Numerous implementation issues were highlighted by Skogan *et al.,* (1999) in relation to the problem-solving model implemented as part of the CAPS. These included: training being inadequate in the long term; differing levels of commitment to the model within the police; historic tensions between the police and the public in some areas; lack of recognition for problem-solving in organisational performance measures; citizens not wanting to be seen to co-operate with the police in some areas; police beats not necessarily corresponding to neighbourhoods that citizens identified themselves with; racial tension and divisions in some beat areas; and lack of community capacity in some areas.

Sadd and Grinc (1994) found even less evidence of successful problem-solving in their evaluation of the INOP programme. They also observed similar implementation problems in all eight sites, principally: the lack of problem-solving training for both police officers and members of the community; historical tensions between the police and certain communities; fear of retaliation from drug dealers; and a lack of awareness of the programme among partner agencies. They concluded the initiatives had only minimal, often transient effects on the problems they were intended to tackle.

Laszlo and Rinehart (2002) describe a problem-solving partnership in which volunteers act as victim advocates and respond to after-hours calls for assistance from victims. They claim a 'victim resources centre', staffed by a combination of officers and volunteers, was the key to success and sustainability. It is not clear from the source how robustly the project was evaluated though.

The robust evaluation evidence that does exist on problem-solving consistently suggests that it is difficult to implement and sustain in the long term (see Section 2). Some advocates of problem-solving also acknowledge other potential issues with the approach. Problem-solving can be seen as "papering over the cracks" (Skogan *et al.*, 1999) and not addressing the 'fundamental' problems in society, such as "poverty, racism, illiteracy, and family disruption" (Bohm, 2000).

Problem-solving approaches incorporating direct community participation also increase the potential for inequitable outcomes, both between and within communities. There is some empirical evidence (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Grinc, 1994) and theoretical suggestion (Bobov, 1999; Best, 1999) that problem-solving may disproportionately benefit areas that are already better off, or have existing capacity to defend themselves and look after their own interests. This has

occurred historically – Emsley (2003:67) highlights how 'better-off' parishes in England and Wales developed more effective 'Watchmen' functions in the 1800s.

Differing and sometimes conflicting interests exist in many communities; they are inherent features and not caused by community policing (Cordner, 2004). The problem-solving process though has the potential to exacerbate these conflicts. Skogan *et al.,* (1999) found evidence of problem-solving dividing communities along racial lines in Chicago. Skogan (1994) also reports findings from a community policing programme in Houston where the police initially sought participation from White, middle-class groups they were already familiar with. The largely Black residents of rental buildings in the area were quickly identified as the "source of problems" and became the targets of programme activities.

A small-scale evaluation of a citizen patrol initiative in the UK by Sagar (2005) also found that the initiative was divisive, with a minority of community members participating, motivated mainly by moral concerns. These community members labelled Asian community members, in particular, as 'lazy' for not participating. There is a possibility that problem-solving could become "just another in a long line of efforts by a community's dominant minority to impose its values on the community's majority" (Bohm *et al.*, 2000).

Bohm *et al.,* (2000) undertook a survey of attitudes of citizens, police officers and business leaders in a high crime, multi-ethnic neighbourhood in the US. They found a greater consensus among stakeholder groups than anticipated in terms of what constituted a problem, though there was a strong bias in the community survey towards older, White respondents. Despite this, the study still revealed significant differences when it came to perceived seriousness of problems and no strong agreement among the majority of residents on proposed solutions. The study also found that police officers tended to most strongly favour particular solutions to problems (patrolling on bicycles, tearing down crack houses) and rated themselves as performing better than the residents did.

There is also some evidence of the potential for problem-solving approaches to have unintended, negative effects. In Chicago, Skogan *et al.,* (1999) highlighted an example of community members lobbying for a convenience store to have its alcohol licence revoked to combat the problem of drunken behaviour in the immediate area. As a direct consequence, the store owner was forced out of business and the community no longer had a local shop. Sagar (2005) found that a citizen patrol initiative directly intimidated prostitutes, causing them to lose contact with drug action team workers, thereby disrupting multi-agency efforts at rehabilitation.

There is also some empirical evidence and theoretical suggestion that problem-solving initiatives, if not properly supervised by the police, may encourage inappropriate vigilante action by citizens. Sagar (2005) found that, when the police in Cardiff became disengaged from a community patrol initiative, those involved came to see themselves as an alternative to the police as opposed to an ancillary. Street workers interviewed claimed they had been 'manhandled' by members of the Street Watch group. Sagar claims this also occurred in a previous Street Watch scheme in Balsall Heath, Birmingham, where two Watch members were suspended following an assault. Social workers were also intimidated when they were suspected of kerb-crawling. This evidence is from one small UK study and may not reflect wider experience of citizen patrol, which has been implemented more widely in the US.

It is not yet clear whether the UK will embrace a 'problem-solving' model as distinct as that seen in Chicago and other US cities. HMIC Scotland (2004) undertook a thematic inspection of 'community engagement' (*Local Connections – Policing* with *the Community*) in which they defined several aspects of engagement, though it is clear that public participation is mostly seen to operate at the level of consultation and priority setting. The only mention of more direct participation is in discussion of the Special Constabulary and the potential for greater use of volunteers for 'back office' duties. Discussion of 'problem-solving approaches' emphasised

collection of low-level intelligence, as opposed to a commitment to secure the participation of local people in co-producing solutions.

Resources and sustainability

In the US, there has been a huge investment in community policing over the last decade. The 1994 Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act made financial provision for the hiring of 100,000 officers dedicated to community policing (Cordner, 2000). Grinc (1994) claims $150 million was set aside in the fiscal year 1993; Bobov (1999) claims the total provision in the act amounted to $8.8 billion over a six-year period. There is insufficient empirical evidence on the implementation of community engagement to make a clear judgement as to whether this level of extra resourcing is essential in the short, medium, or long term. The review found no major evaluation of community policing or engagement that included any cost-benefit component.

However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest where resources may be necessary and where they may be saved. There is consistent empirical evidence that, as you move towards the tip of the engagement pyramid, the level of input required from the police and partner agencies increases (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Garcia, 2002). In order to achieve sustained participation by local communities, evidence suggests there needs to be: training for both police and community members; officers dedicated to specific neighbourhoods; and – even where solutions to problems are community developed and initiated – supervision by the police, to ensure communities do not act inappropriately.

If officers are to be dedicated to geographical neighbourhoods for continued periods of time then it is possible that there will have to be some increase in the level of personnel in an organisation. In Chicago, a thousand extra officers were recruited to help implement CAPS. Forces may be able to staff neighbourhood policing teams with existing officers, but this may leave little spare capacity to meet other targets and priorities. There is then a danger that 'dedicated' officers will be abstracted to other duties. There is consistent empirical evidence to suggest abstraction is one of the key risk factors for implementation failure (Skogan *et al.*, 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Vernon and Lasley, 1992).

However, no evidence was found to suggest that the increase in personnel has to be within the ranks of the regular police. Many of the more time-consuming tasks associated with community engagement – such as running and administering public meetings; auditing local disorder; and undertaking public perceptions surveys – can be performed by auxiliaries, or community volunteers. Indeed, in the evaluation of CAPS, Skogan *et al.,* (2000) found that the most effective beat meetings were often those chaired by community volunteers.

One empirical study was found which suggested that the effective use of volunteers can save resources in 'response' as well as proactive roles. Baumann (1987) evaluated a pilot project in Phoenix, Arizona, where teams of two citizen volunteers, equipped with radios and transport, could be called to incidents by response officers. The study found that officers completed calls more quickly with volunteer assistance, especially when they were able to counsel and care for victims, whilst officers concentrated on procedural and evidence-gathering tasks. Volunteers were also able to 'complete' calls, freeing officers to attend other incidents. Seventy-five per cent of officers felt the volunteers saved them time. There was also evidence to suggest the volunteers helped to reduce repeat calls.

Eck and Rosenbaum (1994) suggest that police forces that make the most use of resources beyond their control should be viewed as the most efficient. 'Volunteer police' (known in England and Wales as the Special Constabulary) are a form of auxiliary police personnel. Greenberg (1991) highlights that volunteer police can be accountable, have continuous professional training, insurance, and background checks. Volunteer citizen patrols, conversely, are often unaccountable, trained by amateurs and uninsured. This is a single theoretical viewpoint; no

evidence was found to prove the utility of either formalised volunteers or less formal citizen patrols. Both HMIC Scotland (2004) and Neyroud (2001) advocate greater utilisation of Special Constables in England and Wales.

Gaston and Alexander (2001) undertook a study of attitudes of, and towards, Special Constables in several police forces in England and Wales. This study suggested the Police Service does not maximise the utility of Specials. They found that three principal reasons for volunteers leaving the Special Constabulary – work/study commitments; joining the regular force; domestic reasons – were beyond police control. However five other factors – poor supervision; lack of training; not feeling valued; uninteresting duties; and not being deployed in a worthwhile manner – were clearly not. Regular officers were most likely to believe that volunteers joined the Special Constabulary for selfish reasons (including as a platform for joining the regular force), when in fact a majority claimed to join for altruistic reasons.

There is some evidence to suggest that volunteers and public participation are not always valued by the police. In relation to community engagement activity, where levels of power and authority are not an issue, it seems paradoxical for the police to argue the case for the necessity of extra resources, but show a reluctance to utilise auxiliary and non-police resources.

Also, a problem-solving approach should involve partner agencies, and resources can be levered in, or saved, in this way. The theory behind a community engagement approach suggests that as capacity increases in communities, the police may increasingly be able to adopt a more supervisory and enabling role. Walker and Walker (1990) describe the development of 'community police stations' in Victoria, Canada. The stations were staffed by a constable and community volunteers. The citizen role involved need identification, intervention design and delivery. The police role became expediting and advising the citizens what action was possible within the law. The outcome evaluation of this project was not obtainable and the review uncovered limited evidence of this type of arrangement being sustained.

Moore (2000) summarises arguments to counter the view that there will never be enough resources for the police to perfume both response and engagement work. Firstly, he argues new strategies (such as engagement) may prove sufficiently popular to attract new resources. In Flint, Michigan, residents opposed to tax increases were prepared to make an exception to sustain a foot patrol project. Secondly, managers can save resources internally by: civilianisation; reorganising shifts and patterns of deployment; eliminating specialist squads; and losing layers of management. Thirdly, technology may increasingly save resources, for example, by prioritising calls for service. Calls for service may also gradually be reduced, or dealt with by proactive officers without the need for them to be referred to response teams. Moore concludes that "it is by no means clear…..that police executives are without the resources for implementing community policing – some are finding ways to do it".

The future of community engagement in policing

Community engagement has historically been a part of policing in England and Wales. It has become prominent again recently among commentators as a result of the perceived failure of the professional model of reactive policing. This is acknowledged to be partly due to the erosion of police-community interaction. Though the term itself is not as widely used, it is more entrenched in the US, where it is one of the most commonly recognised aspects of community policing. Community engagement as a term is becoming widely used in the UK, but has no common understanding or definition. The UK is also not as far advanced with the current wave of police reform as the US.

The theory behind community engagement in policing appears sound. Several potential benefits are evident. Evidence that the theoretical benefits can be realised comes mainly from the US and is less sound. Some success and reasons for optimism are evident in individual projects and programmes; evidence that this success can be replicated and sustained at an organisational level has not yet appeared.

It is clear, from the White Paper on police reform, published in November 2004, that the UK Government is committed to the principle of community engagement in policing. However, the detail around what this means in practice is still emerging. Similarly, what exactly will be encompassed by 'neighbourhood policing' – 'community policing for the 21st century' – is also still emerging. The interface of community engagement and neighbourhood policing is crucial. The two concepts must not be regarded as synonymous. There are three key reasons why community engagement is a wider concept than neighbourhood policing.

- Neighbourhood policing will concentrate on securing community participation in geographically defined areas, with an emphasis on local problem-solving. There is also a need to secure community participation in strategic decision-making and accountability.
- Some citizens will prefer to participate via 'communities of interest', as opposed to geographical neighbourhoods they may feel little affinity with.
- The concept of engagement may require communication and provision of information at a force, regional, or national level, as well as more locally.

Police managers must not believe that in delivering a programme of neighbourhood policing that they are automatically delivering community engagement. Neighbourhood policing, depending on the model(s) implemented, will be a way of delivering aspects of community engagement. Engaging communities will also be necessary to deliver neighbourhood policing.

There is a danger that the implementation of neighbourhood policing in England and Wales will follow a particular 'model', with insufficient emphasis placed on tailoring and flexibility at a local level. Models such as the National Reassurance Policing Programme, or the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy, can become recognised as examples of 'what works', with insufficient attention paid to specific aspects of their evaluations.

HMIC Scotland (2004), for example, claimed the CAPS had shown "sustained success", and delivered "true community engagement". This is not wholly true. The CAPS has been a success in terms of the level of awareness of the programme in Chicago and in the way in which partner agencies have embraced joint ownership; it also appears to have had a very positive impact on levels of disorder and feelings of safety. However, it is not clear to what extent the strategy has been responsible for falling levels of crime in Chicago, and evaluation of the problem-solving aspect of the programme has revealed limited sustained success. The principal mechanism for securing community participation – police-community 'beat' meetings – has failed to achieve

representation in many communities. The most recent wave of the evaluation reveals falling public satisfaction with beat meetings and a general reduction in their 'action' component.

Evidence suggests that tailoring of engagement mechanisms to local areas and communities is important. Similarly, there is no single model of neighbourhood policing – forces must implement projects and programmes that are most effective in local contexts.

In a UK context, neighbourhood policing is a programme focused specifically on crime, disorder, feelings of safety, and service delivery in local areas; citizen focus is the wider philosophy for policing. The two together are akin to community policing in the US. If the UK is successfully to reform policing along these lines, community engagement needs to be effectively implemented to ensure community participation at all levels of policing: in neighbourhood focused problem-solving initiatives, and also at a more strategic level, influencing for example the recruitment and assessment of police officers, key strategic priorities and administrative decisions, and monitoring complaints against the police.

Implementing effective community engagement

The review did find extremely consistent evidence around the implementation of community engagement. Large-scale evaluations of community policing projects and programmes in the US highlight remarkably similar issues in relation to communities, mechanisms for engagement, and police organisation and culture. Some of these implementation factors are also present in evaluations of engagement programmes outside the field of policing. To achieve sustained, effective community engagement and realise its potential theoretical benefits, evidence from this review suggests the following implementation issues must be addressed.

- Sustained community participation in policing requires genuine organisational commitment and culture change. Evidence suggests that the Police Service is still some way from accepting certain aspects of 'community engagement philosophy'.

- Community engagement must be seen as an ongoing process as opposed to a series of one-off projects or programmes. Community engagement should be mainstreamed in the organisation, as opposed to being regarded as a specialism.

- Genuine engagement requires a more equitable power relationship between the police and communities. Communities must participate in planning, as well as delivery. Engagement is not something to be done 'to' communities; they must feel equal ownership of the process.

- Effective community engagement involves tailoring and flexibility at a local level. Forces must decentralise resources and give increased autonomy to local commanders and beat officers, where this has not already occurred.

- The role of community beat officer needs to be awarded a greater status and incentives put in place for officers to stay in the same neighbourhood for sufficient periods of time.

- Organisations need to make sure that the role of beat officer – and the roles of associated auxiliary staff and volunteers – are fully understood by less community-facing parts of the service.

- In large organisations 'what gets measured gets done'. Police performance measurement frameworks need to be refined to incorporate rewards for effective community engagement. An over emphasis on indicators associated with volume crime may lead to staff 'dedicated' to engagement being abstracted to other duties.

- Individual officers' performance appraisals also need to reflect time spent on community engagement, or they may feel that it is an 'add-on' as opposed to part of their core role.

- Police officers must receive training both on the philosophy behind community engagement and on specific engagement techniques. Officers will vary in their ability to, for example, run a public meeting or adopt a problem-solving way of thinking.

- The government, police, or other service providers' conception of a 'neighbourhood' will not always – or even sometimes – correspond with that of communities'. The police will have to engage flexibly with those who are not willing to engage at the prescribed neighbourhood level. This may involve using a range of methods to empower citizens at a much more local level (such as a couple of streets), or to engage with communities of interest.

- Communities may not initially have the willingness to engage with the police, particularly in areas where there is a history of poor relations. This can sometimes be interpreted by officers as apathy. The police need to foster trust and confidence in these communities prior to attempting to secure community participation.

- Communities may not have the capacity to participate effectively in policing. Evidence suggests existing community networks are important to sustaining participation. The police will have to work with partner agencies to help build capacity in communities.

- Communities need to be trained and educated about their role in policing. If citizens are being encouraged to participate actively, the nature and scope of their role needs to be clearly defined.

- The police must provide communities with good quality information about crime in their local area on a real-time basis if they are to participate effectively in policing.

- The police must value the input and contribution of the public if partnerships are to be successful. Information flow must be two-way. The police need to provide communities with feedback on how their contribution is being used. If action is taken, this should be publicised. If action is not taken, the reasons for this should be explained.

- Effective multi- and inter-agency working is crucial for community engagement on wider community safety issues. This is particularly so in relation to environmental/quality of life issues.

- Acting in partnership with the community or facilitating a problem-solving approach may require initial extra resources, or a reconfiguration of existing resources. Any extra resources would initially be required principally for training.

- Extra resources need not necessarily be within the ranks of the police – auxiliary staff and trained volunteers can carry out many community engagement tasks. Forces should also look to draw in extra resources from partner agencies.

Table 2 summarises the theoretical benefits of community engagement, the implementation issues associated with it, and some potential 'unintended' consequences of poor implementation.

The ultimate success or failure of the implementation of neighbourhood policing and community engagement in the UK is likely to depend on the following key factors.

- *Political will and commitment*. The evidence suggests effecting the organisational change and capacity building necessary for effective implementation of community engagement takes a

long time and considerable input from all stakeholders. The positive theoretical benefits may not be immediately apparent and the approach must be sustained.

- *Organisational change in the police and partner agencies.* The police have to be committed to the engagement philosophy at all levels of the service. Community engagement must be mainstreamed as a way of working, as opposed to being seen as a special project or programme. Partner agencies (including the police) need to accept the need to co-operate with each other. Evidence suggests that this change process will be a gradual one.

- *Performance management and leadership.* The way in which organisations and individual police officers are appraised and rewarded needs to be altered to encourage a reallocation of resources to facilitate community engagement. There may be a need for initial investment in delivering community engagement – especially in relation to training officers and building capacity in communities. Leaders of police forces and partner agencies have to be genuinely committed to delivering engagement and articulate aims and objectives clearly throughout their organisations.

Table 2   Summary of potential benefits, implementation issues, and potential unintended outcomes of community engagement in a policing context

Potential benefits of community engagement	Barriers to successful implementation	Possible consequences of poor implementation
• Reduction in real crime rates and calls for service	• Lack of organisational commitment and culture change	• Lack of officer understanding and buy-in leads to cynicism and lack of co-operation
• Increase in feelings of safety; reassurance of the public	• Community engagement seen as a one-off series of events and not 'mainstreamed'	• Poorly planned engagement leads to unrealistic community expectations
• Reduced disorder; multi-agency response to quality of life issues	• Lack of community ownership of the process; inequitable power relationships	• Frustrated/disappointed communities less likely to engage in the future
• Increase in confidence and trust and in community perceptions of the police	• Lack of control, flexibility and tailoring at neighbourhood level	• Engagement process dominated by one group or community interest
• Increased community capacity; communities become more self-policing	• Lack of status/incentives for beat officers; lack of understanding of their role	• Problem-solving benefits communities that least need it
• Improvement in police officers' attitudes and job satisfaction	• Performance measurement frameworks that do not reward community engagement	• Problem-solving exacerbates divisions in communities that have differing interests
• Identification of underlying problems the police may not otherwise have known of	• Individual officer appraisals that do not reward community engagement roles	• Community members take inappropriate or illegal action in response to problems
• Identification of responses the police may not have traditionally considered	• Lack of training for officers on community engagement philosophy and methods	
• Creates a police service that is responsive to community concerns	• Police 'beats' that do not correspond to community perceptions of neighbourhoods	
• Increase in the quality of local intelligence due to increased familiarity with officers	• Not recognising historical lack of trust between police and certain communities	
	• Lack of capacity and collective efficacy in some communities	
	• Lack of a clear definition and training for the community role in engagement	
	• Lack of good quality information about crime provided to communities	
	• Lack of adequate feedback to communities on action from engagement	
	• Not valuing the contribution of communities and volunteers	
	• Lack of co-ordinated, multi-agency approach to community engagement	
	• Lack of initial extra investment or re-profiling of resources to community work	

Appendix 1: Review protocol

The review protocol set out, in advance of the review, the process by which the review would be undertaken. A protocol ensures transparency for the process.

Review protocol: Community Engagement in Policing

The review has been commissioned as part of the evaluation of the Invest to Save Budget-funded Community Engagement in Policing Project. It will serve a dual purpose.

- It will provide a draft definition of community engagement for the area of policing policy, an assessment of the consistency of international evidence for aspects of community engagement, and highlight issues and considerations for taking forward community engagement as part of the police reform agenda.

- It will provide (evaluated) examples of effective practice in community engagement, in a policing context, for consideration by the National Practitioner Panel for Community Engagement in Policing.

Inclusion criteria

It is anticipated that the review will not discover a large number of 'five star' quantitative evaluations of initiatives with a community engagement focus. Therefore creating inclusion criteria based on scoring the methodologies of evaluation studies will not be appropriate. Instead, sources will be included in the review if they:

- are an evaluation of an intervention either in a policing context, or in another policy area from which learning may be transferable to policing, that has community consultation or engagement as part of its focus;

- include an example, or examples, of community engagement, in a policing context, that may be considered (after further investigation) as constituting effective practice;

- include theoretical discussion directly relating to the issue of community engagement in policing; or

- provide guidance on one or more aspects of engaging communities.

Search strategy

The search will be based around the central concepts of 'community', 'engagement', and 'policing'. Synonyms and similar terms will be identified for each dimension of the concept. Initial searches will be conducted using electronic databases considered likely to include relevant material. Further searches will be conducted by hand, using the indexed contents pages of relevant journals subscribed to by the Home Office library. A final stage of the search will involve following up relevant references that emerge from articles collected during the first two stages.

Synthesis and review

All literature obtained will be read and summarised. Sources that do not fit the inclusion criteria will be excluded. Included sources will be classified as either:

- **empirical** – primary or secondary research studies, or robust evaluations of initiatives;
- **practitioner assessment** – descriptions of projects or initiatives, with some subjective assessment of success by the stakeholders;
- **theoretical** – sources containing discussions of one or more identified aspects of community engagement, in a policing context;
- **guidance** – sources of guidance on one or more aspects of community engagement, either in a policing context, or in an area where there may be lessons transferable to policing; or
- **review** – assessments of literature in related policy areas.

From the summarised literature, the most common themes will be identified and used as a structure for presenting the findings of the review. For each theme (and any identified sub-themes) an assessment will made as to the consistency of the evidence. This will be based on the proportion of robust, empirical evidence and the degree of consensus in the descriptive and theoretical literature.

Based on this synthesis of the literature, the review will attempt to highlight the key issues and challenges in relation to achieving community engagement in a policing context.

Appendix 2:   Review methodology

Review principles

The review was intended to be a comprehensive assessment of the literature, as opposed to a full systematic review. The review was conducted using some principles from the emerging 'realist' methodology (see Pawson *et al.*, 2005). Thus, although an initial 'protocol' for the review was drafted (see Appendix 1) the review was a fluid process and departed from the protocol in several ways. For example, the review was originally intended to provide examples of effective practice for the National Practitioner Panel for Community Engagement in Policing. When it became clear published literature would not provide many examples, this aim was abandoned.

It was also clear from initial searches that there were several existing reviews of outcome evaluations in the US and very little outcome or experimental material in the UK. It was decided to utilise these existing reviews and concentrate this review on processes. The Home Office Police Reform Unit indicated they would find learning on the implementation of community engagement most useful.

The use of a less formally structured method also allowed sources and themes to be added throughout the process. This was vital due to the rapidly evolving nature of the police reform agenda. Fresh themes for the review emerged from analysis of initial sources and also as a result of the developing agenda.

The review process

Searching for sources of data

The first step in the review process involved formulating a search strategy for electronic databases. The central concepts of 'community', 'engagement', and 'policing' were used as a three-dimensional framework for developing the search strategy. The author, in collaboration with colleagues and members of the PRU, identified and refined lists of most likely synonyms and related terms for all three central concepts:

Community	Engagement	Policing
public	involvement	police
neighbourhood	consultation	
local	participation	
citizen	partnership	
civic	voluntary	
customer		
user		

The three dimensions were deliberately not stretched too far to be compatible with the technical limitations of certain databases, and in order that searches did not generate an unmanageable amount of less relevant material. These words were then used to formulate the search strategy:

(communit* or public* or neighbourhood* or neighborhood* or local* or citizen* or civic or customer* or user*) AND (engag* or involv* or consult* or participa* or partnership* or volun*) AND (policing or police)

The author identified a range of electronic databases most likely to include relevant material and the search strategy was applied to these. Initial 'test' searches were conducted to determine the suitability of the strategy, generating several thousand hits. As the review was conducted by one researcher, there was not scope to manage this amount of material. A number of options were considered for reducing the scope of the search: reducing the number of search terms; restricting the search to sources where a term or terms from all three dimensions appears in the title (as opposed to the full abstract); time-limiting the search to a specified number of years; or reducing the number of databases searched. A value judgement was made to restrict the search to words appearing in the title only. It was felt that this method would be the most efficient for identifying relevant sources; whilst maintaining the range of terms, years, and databases.

The following databases were interrogated during the main search stage:

Electronic database	Number of hits
Cambridge Scientific Abstracts (CSA)	
Assia	11
Criminology: SAGE full text collection	3
ERIC: Educational Resources Information Center	1
IBSS: International Bibliography of the Social Sciences	10
National Criminal Justice Reference Service Abstracts	95
PAIS International (Public Affairs Information Services)	11
Social Services Abstracts	9
Sociological Abstracts	11
Sociology: SAGE full text collection	0
SilverPlatter	
Criminal Justice Abstracts	44
MEDLINE	5
SIGLE: System for information on grey literature in Europe	11
Ingenta Select (various journals)	8
PLANEX (local public policy and governance)	18
ISI Web of Science: Social Sciences Citation Index (SSSI)	28
Social SciSearch	36
British Library Inside Web	117
UKOP: United Kingdom Official Publications	10
Accompline/Urbaline (Local government, GLA)	66
Wilson Social Sciences Index	88
CommunityWise	0

An initial sift of the results was undertaken to exclude material that was clearly not relevant. In addition to sources obtained by searching electronic databases, the author also included material known to himself and colleagues through work previously undertaken in the area. Hand searching of literature on community policing held by the Home Office library was also undertaken, as was a hand search of the following key journals, for the period 1999 to end-2004:

- Police Review;
- Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management;
- Policing and Society;
- The Police Journal; and
- Police Research and Practice.

Further material was obtained from the bibliographies of articles generated by the database and hand searches. A final group of sources was added to the review as a result of comments on a

first draft of the review report by leading academics in the areas of community policing and community engagement. The sources included in the review were identified as follows:

Data source	Included studies
Electronic databases	38
Hand searches	6
Bibliography chasing	5
Professional knowledge	18
Expert peer reviewers	16
Total	**83**

Data inclusion criteria, extraction, and synthesis

The review again borrowed from realist methodology in its approach to dealing with the large amount of material collected during the review process. Traditional 'Campbell'[1] reviews adopt strict methodological criteria for the inclusion of sources, usually that a study is experimental or quasi-experimental in design and is at a certain 'level' on the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods[2]. A hierarchy of methodologies is employed, with experimental methodologies at the top. This would not have been an appropriate way to conduct a review concentrating on processes and implementation issues.

Realist review does not perceive a hierarchy of methods. It instead bases inclusion or exclusion on whether a study is relevant (addresses one or more of the theories being tested) and rigorous (whether the authors have drawn inferences from the study to make a methodologically credible contribution to the review). Whilst there is a 'minimum standard' for whether the methodology of a study is fit for purpose, no study is omitted on the basis of a single aspect of its methodology (see Pawson *et al.*, 2005). The 'worth' of a study is established more in the synthesis stage, with the author highlighting particular sources or providing caveats when discussing others.

Empirical studies for this literature review were included on the following basis:

- the author's subjective assessment that the methodology of the study was fit for purpose and of an acceptable standard;
- the author's subjective assessment that the conclusions drawn were justified by the scope of the study; and
- the study addressed one or more of the themes developed during the review process.

The author classified sources as 'empirical', 'practitioner self-assessment', or 'theoretical'. The author also classified included empirical studies by indicating which were considered methodologically the most robust, which were considered less robust, and those for which methodological information was not available. Practitioner assessments were also classified as most robust, or less robust. This is intended to help readers make a personal judgment relating to the consistency of evidence. Lists of these studies are presented in Appendix 3. A list of excluded studies, with justifications for exclusion, is presented in Appendix 4.

Data extraction was performed by hand. Sections of sources that were relevant to any of the review themes were highlighted. Once this process was complete, a bulleted summary of the relevant points from each source was produced and stored electronically. This process also had to be dynamic – as new themes emerged, sources that had already been analysed but were likely to address the new theme were re-appraised.

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[1] **http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/Fraguidelines.html**
[2] Sherman *et al* (1998) *Preventing crime: What works, what doesn't, what's promising*. Washington, D.C.: NIJ.

Synthesis of the data was also undertaken on a thematic basis. In Sections 1 and 3 of this report, evidence for each theme was pooled from all relevant sources and assessed. Presentation of the evidence indicates whether it is drawn from empirical studies, practitioner assessments, or theoretical discussions. If three or more (for example) empirical studies show similar outcomes (with no studies showing an alternative perspective), evidence is presented as 'consistent empirical evidence'. If evidence from all three types of source is overwhelmingly supportive of a particular position, the evidence is presented as simply 'consistent'. Evidence from existing literature reviews is presented in Section 2.

When presenting the evidence, the author attempts to highlight exceptions and the subjective consistency of the evidence. Author names are also presented in brackets, to allow the reader to make their own assessment. If evidence for a theme is limited, or based on a single study, this is highlighted. Attempts are also made to highlight methodological limitations of individual studies; or to suggest which of competing sources may be the most relevant.

There was no available resource for cross-checking of these processes – the inclusion of sources, data extraction, and synthesis was the sole work of the author.

Limitations

Full systematic reviews of the literature in a specific policy area are both expensive and time consuming. As described above, it was decided to apply the search strategy to the title of sources only. Adopting this approach will have resulted in some key sources being overlooked during the database searching phase. However, hand searches, chasing of extra material via bibliographies, and the advice of experts in the field will have helped to minimise the impact of this.

Another limitation concerns the effectiveness of electronic databases. It is estimated that databases will only pick up 40 to 50 per cent of available studies (see Burton *et al.*, 2004). This also emphasises the importance of an element of hand searching and bibliography chasing.

It is also apparent that the area of community engagement has not been subject to much rigorous evaluation research. In a field where there are many practitioner-led interventions, it is likely that there exists a lot of relevant unpublished material. A full systematic review would have had the resources to approach police practitioners direct for examples of engagement activity[3] and to discuss the implementation of previous programmes.

This review investigates the scope and consistency of the research on community engagement in policing. As it is inclusive, as opposed to exclusive, it does not assess the 'strength' of evidence. Of the empirical sources that were identified in this review, only a subjective assessment has been made of whether their methodologies were robust and fit for purpose, and whether conclusions drawn by authors are justified by the rigour of the study. There was not scope to follow up individual studies and attempt to obtain more detailed methodological information so, for some studies, this remains unknown.

Several studies also fall under the category of 'practitioner assessment' and are essentially descriptive. There is a danger, when dealing with this type of material, that certain studies may be consistent but 'wrong', and that some sources are given prominence over, or are considered on a par with, others when, methodologically, they may be less robust. The author attempts to minimise this risk by highlighting which sources support which themes and including appropriate caveats in the text.

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[3] The guide and database produced by the National Practitioner Panel for Community Engagement in Policing is a source of unpublished examples of engagement initiatives in England and Wales. It can be accessed at **http://www.communityengagement.police.uk**

Appendix 3: Included sources

Abutalebi Aryani, G. (2002) The citizen police academy – success through community partnerships. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, May, p16-21.

Baumann, D. (1987) Citizen participation in police crisis intervention activities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15 (4), p459-471.

Bennett, T. (1998) Police and public involvement in the delivery of community policing, in Brodeur, J-P. *How to recognise good policing – problems and issues*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

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Burton, P. *et al.* (2004) *What works in community involvement in area-based initiatives? A systematic review of the literature*. London: Home Office.

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Cordner, G. *et al.* (2005) Problem-oriented policing in practice. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 4 (2), p155-180.

Crawford, A. (1998) Delivering multi-agency partnerships in community safety, in Marlow, A. and Pitts, J. (eds.) *Planning Safer Communities.* Lyme Regis: Russell House.

Dalgleish, D. and Myhill, A. (2004) *Reassuring the public – a review of international policing interventions.* London: Home Office Research Study 284.

Dean, J. (2004) Team spirit. *Police Review*, April, p19-21.

Dobbs, L. and Moore, C. (2002) Engaging communities in area-based regeneration: The role of participatory evaluation. *Policy Studies*, 23 (4), p157-171.

DuBois, J. and Hartnett, S. (2002) Making the community side of community policing work – what needs to be done, in Stevens, D. (ed.) *Policing and community partnerships.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Eck, J. and Rosenbaum, D. (1994) The New Police Order: Effectiveness, equity and efficiency in community policing, in Rosenbaum, D. (ed.) *The challenge of community policing – Testing the promises.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Edwards, A. (1997) *Community Consultative Committees and the Queensland Police Service: An Evaluation.* Brisbane: Criminal Justice Commission.

Forrest, S. *et al.* (2005) *Practical lessons for involving the community in crime and disorder problem-solving.* London: Home Office Development and Practice Report 43.

Fridell, L. (2004a) The defining characteristics of community policing, in Fridell and Wycoff (eds.) *Community policing: The past, present and future.* Washington, D.C.: Police Executive Research Forum.

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Grinc, R. (1994) "Angels in marble": Problems in stimulating community involvement in community policing. *Crime and Delinquency*, 40 (3), p437-468.

Haarr, R. (2001) The Making of a community policing officer: The impact of basic training and occupational socialisation of police recruits. *Police Quarterly*, 4 (4), p402-433.

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Included studies: considered to be methodologically most robust

Empirical studies		Practitioner assessments
Baumann (1987)	Kennedy (2001)	Dobbs & Moore (2002)
Burton *et al.* (2004)	Kerley & Benson (2000)	Taket & Edmans (2003)
Cordner (2005)	Myhill *et al.* (2003)	Walker & Walker (1990)
Dalgleish & Myhill (2004)	Sadd & Grinc (1994)	Watt *et al.* (2000)
Dubois & Hartnett (2002)	Sampson *et al.* (1997)	
Garcia (2002)	Sherman & Eck (2002)	
Gaston & Alexander (2001)	Skogan *et al.* (1999)	
Grinc (1994)	Skogan *et al.* (2000)	
Haarr (2001)	Skogan *et al.* (2004)	
Hamilton-Smith, ed., (2004)	Tuffin *et al.* (2006)	
Irving (1989)	Vito (2005)	

Included studies: considered to be methodologically less robust

Empirical studies		Practitioner assessments
Bohm *et al.* (2000)	Reisig & Parks (2004)	Abutalebi-Aryani (2002)
Bull & Stratta (1995)	Rogers & Robinson (2004)	Dean (2004)
Cordner (2004)	Rosenbaum & Lurigio (2000)	Givens (1993)
Edwards (1997)	Sagar (2005)	Laszlo & Rinehart (2002)
Forrest *et al.* (2005)	Skogan (1994)	Phillips (1976)
Fridell (2004b)	Stephens & Fowler (2004)	
Fyfe (1992)	Stevens (2002)	
Long *et al.* (2002)	Vernon & Lasley (1992)	
Lurigio & Rosenbaum (1994)	Whitworth (2003)	
Palmiotto & Unninthan (2002)	Yates (1997)	

Included studies: methodology unknown

Empirical studies
Bennett (1998)
HMIC Scotland (2004)
Lurigio & Rosenbaum (1994)
Osborn *et al.* (2002)
Rogers & Robinson (2004)
Rosenbaum & Lurigio (2000)
Skogan (1994)

Appendix 4: Excluded and unobtainable sources

Excluded studies, with reason(s) for exclusion

Author, year and title	Reason(s) for exclusion
Anon (2004) Safe in the community's hands	Anecdotal examples of community participation
Berger (1994) A blueprint for police-community partnerships	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Brewster (1997) A partnership that works: Police executives join forces with community leadership organisations	Very limited descriptive practitioner analysis
Bull (1994) Police community consultation: an examination of its practice in selected constabularies in England and New South Wales, Australia	Covered by other sources included in the review
Chesshyre (1990) Bridging the gap: A report on the 1989 Lambeth police/community 'Summer Fun' project	Very limited descriptive practitioner analysis
Corporate authors (1993) Local authorities and the police: working in partnership, a guide to good practice	Focus on inter-agency relationships as opposed to engaging with communities
Crossley (1986) Police involvement in youth and community work	Methodologically weak. Draws inconsistent conclusions from small sample of interviews.
Evans (2002) Passport to the future	Anecdotal examples of community participation
Fenwick (1983) Law enforcement, public participation and crime control in Japan – implications for American policing	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Geller (1998) As a blade of grass cuts through stone: Helping to rebuild urban neighbourhoods through unconventional police-community partnerships	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Geva & Shem-Tov (2002) Setting up community policing centres: participatory action research in decentralised policing services.	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Hughes (1994) Talking cop shop? A case study of police community consultative groups in transition	Covered by other sources included in the review
Kobayashi (1997) An analysis of the factors facilitating the participation of elderly people in community crime prevention	Japanese language text, not translated
Kurz (2000) Strategic planning and police-community partnership in a small town	Very limited descriptive practitioner analysis
Morris (2000) National night out: Building police and community partnerships to prevent crime	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
O'Brien (2002) The Flandreau police partnership: a city and a tribe join forces to enhance community safety	Description of a proposed new way of working
Punch (2002) Dutch 'COP' – developing community policing in the Netherlands	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Sweeney (1982) The public and the police: a partnership in protection	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Thatcher (2001) Conflicting values in community policing	Not a strong enough focus on review themes
Yamashita (2001) Promoting police consultation service for community residents	Japanese language text, not translated

Unobtainable studies

Author, year and title	Source
Community Policing Consortium (date unknown) National Business Leadership Strategies: A guide to engaging the private sector in community policing initiatives	Unknown
Correira (date unknown) Citizen involvement: how community factors affect progressive policing	Unknown
Correira (1999) Social capital, civic engagement, social equity and community oriented policing: underlying factors affecting the implementation of COP in middle-sized cities	Dissertation Abstracts
Crime Concern (1989) Working in partnership with local government, businesses and the police to help communities reduce crime – a briefing paper	Crime Concern
Davies (2004) New extended family must learn to stick together	New Start
Ford (2000) Community policing and urban citizen participation: an analysis of the Detroit Empowerment Zone	Dissertation Abstracts
Grant (2000) National evaluation of problem-solving partnerships (PSP) project for the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), U.S. Dept of Justice	The police executive research forum
Hadley (1996) Volunteers in Protection: Citizens take part in community policing	Sheriff
Hildreth (2004) Knowledge networks: innovation through communities of practice	ISBN 1591402700 – not in libraries at collection stage
Hoogewoning (1993) Police organization and consultation on issues of public safety	Gouda Quint
Israel Police Headquarters (date unknown) Practical components of community policing: partnership models for implementation	Jerusalem
Kelly (2002) The shining badge: successful police-community partnerships	IQ Report
National League of Cities (1995) Blueprint for partnership: a practical guide to assessing police-community relations	Unknown
Peel (2002) Celebrating community involvement	New Start
Smith (1984) Police community involvement: a planned approach to effective crime prevention	Morgan, Community Policing: Proceedings
Walker and Walker (1993) Programme impacts: The Victoria community police stations	Chacko, J. Community policing in Canada – out of print

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