Community Policing and Young People:

A critical insight into young people's perceptions in Leicester

by

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The repercussions associated with young people's exclusion from policing can be detrimental. The police will lack a basic understanding of young people's problems, needs and expectations. In these situations, young people will be less inclined to report crimes and their own victimisation to the police, provide intelligence, and participate in the criminal justice system. This study is intended to provide a critical appraisal of young people's perceptions of Police and Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and community policing in Leicester, in an effort to delineate the implications of their exclusion from local policing and crime related issues.

Community policing is a well-known policing philosophy, particularly for repairing police public relations through engagement and problem solving. The findings demonstrate that despite the fundamental benefits associated with community policing, conventional methods of engagement and problem solving have failed to reach out to young people who are, nevertheless, particularly enthusiastic about collaborating with the police. However, whilst the vast majority of young people are positive about getting involved in policing, there are important variations within young people in their perceptions and attitudes towards the police. Young ethnic minorities in general, blacks in particular, were passive and reluctant to collaborate with the police due to their experiences of stop and search and other repercussion associated with the law enforcement style of policing. A lot of these problems can be subsided by diverting police resources to community policing, but there are going to be strong financial, organisational and cultural challenges.

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'These young people are coming out [rioting] to prove they have an existence, to prove that if you don't listen to them and you don't take into account our views, potentially this is a destructive force.'

(London School of Economics, 2011:13)

CHAPTER 1. Understanding the Policing of Young People

'Among the institutions of modern government the police occupies a position of special interest: it is at once the best known and the least understood' (Bittner, 1974 cited in Reiner 1995:155).

Introduction

A wide range of information is collected by the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) about the police's visibility and their degree of engagement with the community but there is not any data which specifically focuses on Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), let alone young people's engagement with PCSOs, police officers and Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs). The CSEW does not distinguish PCSOs from regular police officers, and does not make a comparison of findings between and within young people in relation to local policing and crime issues. Moreover, conventional research methodologies conducted by various organisations, police forces and individuals often exclude young people from the process of shaping the research agenda, failing to comprehend that young people have unique perspectives which is worth exploring for the benefit of the wider community. This study has been explicitly designed to delineate the implications of young people's exclusion from local policing strategies in Leicester. The objectives were threefold:

1) Understand young people's views and expectations about policing and community policing in their local area in Leicester;

2) Enhance knowledge of young people's involvement with PCSOs and examine their experiences;

3) Provide a basis for guidance to police forces on how they might meet the needs and expectations of young people.

The study was carried out in a city where evidence of grievance against the police was clearly demonstrated by young people following the disturbances in London in 2011. Police officers were subject to fierce physical and verbal assaults during their attempts to disperse young people. Some of these young people were protesting, whilst others were breaking into businesses and looting them. In addition to the events which signalled the poor state of police-young people relationships in Leicester, the city's demographic diversity was another factor behind the decision to carry out the study. Leicester is one of the very few cities in the

United Kingdom where the ethnic minority population outnumbers White British citizens, presenting an important opportunity to examine different young people's perceptions towards the local police. As low as 45% of Leicester's 330,000 population have identified themselves as White British in 2011, compared with 87% nationally. The rest of Leicester's population is made up of Asians (36%), Blacks (6.3%) and Chinese (1.3%). This diversity is more common within children and young people than with the population as a whole (Leicester GOV UK, 2011).

Before going any further, it would be best to make two important clarifications. First and foremost, there is the need to explain what is being referred to when talking about the 'police'. Unlike many other countries, the police in the United Kingdom are not a unitary organisation. In England and Wales there are 43 territorial police forces; in Scotland there is one: and in Northern Ireland, there is the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) which came into existence after replacing the Royal Ulster Constabulary in November 2001. In addition to these forces, there exist the British Transport Police (BTP), the Ministry of Defence Police (MOD), the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority Constabulary (UKAEA), and the Jersey, Guernsey and Isle of Man Police which are all granted a specialised remit to exercise their authority. At the trans-national level is the National Crime Agency (NCA) which deals with organised crime, trafficking, cybercrime and financial crime that goes across national and international borders. This thesis will only be concentrating on the police in England and Wales, though at times references will be made to different police organisations around the world.

'Youth' is the second term which needs clarification. The definition of 'youth' varies from country to country and from institution to institution. Whereas the African Youth Charter described 'youth' as anyone between the ages of 15 and 35, the United Nations set the age cohort to the ages of 15 to 24 years, similar to the World Health Organisation's (WHO) recognition of 'youth' (18 to 25). The picture is further complicated when 'adolescent', 'young people' and 'child' terms are added to the equation: UNICEF and The Convention on the Rights of the Child hold the view that a person is a 'child' until the age of 18 whilst other institutions such as WHO and United Nations Population Fund described adolescents as 10 to 19 year olds

and young people as 10 to 24 year olds (United Nations, 2015). In the United Kingdom, people gain most of their legal rights after reaching their 18th birthday. This is also the age in which individuals become an adult in the eyes of the law. While in criminal law all offenders are considered to be adults upon reaching 18, the reality is that the biological transition from childhood to adulthood varies markedly between individuals, and therefore the chronological age is argued to offer an imprecise guide to a person's physical and psychological maturity (Graham and Karn, 2013: 6). In this thesis, the terms 'youth', 'young people' and 'young person' will be used interchangeably, and will refer to individuals between 12 and 17, and anyone under the age of 12 will be referred to as children, unless specified.

Having clarified what is meant by the police and young people, the first chapter of this thesis will briefly look at the work of the police in England and Wales in order to obtain an accurate understanding of the police's duty to young people. This will be followed by a critical appraisal of the treatment that young people receive from police officers under the dominating law-enforcement style of policing. The variations in young people's perceptions of the police together with the most recent policing reforms and their likely effects on the policing of young people will be discussed in the first chapter. The final section of this chapter will touch on some of the recent reforms in policing, and how they impacted young people's safety and welfare in the community.

What the police do?

It was Sir Robert Peel who introduced the policing system that is known today under the Police Bill of 1829 to carry out the same job of the army but without the same risks (Stephensl 1988). In contrast to the rest of the world where policing had started highly reactive, proactive policing with a view of maintaining positive relations with the community prevailed in the early days of policing in England and Wales. The purpose behind Peel's new police as described by the first two commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Charles Rowan (soldier) and Richard Mayne (lawyer), was as follows:

> The primary object of an efficient force is the prevention of crime; the next, that of the detection and apprehension of offenders when crime is committed. To these ends, all the efforts of the police must be directed. The protection of life and property, the preservation of public tranquillity and the absence of crime will alone prove whether the

efforts of the police have been successful, and whether the objects for which the police were appointed have been maintained (Metropolitan Police, 2012).

A greater emphasis was placed on the idea of 'prevention of crime' than the 'detection and apprehension' of offenders. This was, primarily, to be achieved by patrolling the streets of London so that thieves would be deterred by the mere presence of a well-organised police force. Nevertheless, although constables' primary aim was to prevent crime, they gradually accumulated a variety of duties that could not be directly related to the prevention of crime. The police service found themselves taking on a variety of 'welfare' functions (Punch and Naylor, 1973 cited in Reiner 1996:151). For example, it would be within police officers' remit to establish and maintain order and respectability in the community; economically and socially improving cities were developing traffic problems which were also delegated to the police to resolve; and some officers were appointed by schools as attendance officers with the duty of ensuring that working-class children attended school and that parents who failed to send their children were summoned.

However, the idea of 'real' police work (which involved pursuing criminals with fast police cars, being tough on crime, using force against offenders and so forth) started to gain momentum during the 1960s, serving to make 'Peelers' or 'Bobbies' an anarchism (Weinberger, 1995). It was the Police Act of 1964 which provided for the establishment of a more 'scientific' and 'organised' police organisation to meet the changing needs and expectations of the public (Weinberger, 1995). The increased mobility of criminals, changing crime patterns and stubbornly high rates of crime and violence partly provides support for the government's greater reliance on the law enforcement style of policing. This style of policing places a special focus on fast response to emergency calls; prevention of crime by deterring offenders with uniformed presence on the streets; and officer productivity (stop and search, arrest, clear-up rates, etc) (Stephens, 1988).

The transition was intended to improve police-public relations, as officers would be better equipped to respond to more calls (Myhill, 2006). However, it is now recognised that the opposite occurred: this 'scientific', 'professional' and 'organised' model of policing weakened police-public relations. The police's exercise of 'rough' policing strategies in the community

along with the discriminatory and disproportionate conduct by some police officers who aggressively exercised the principles of 'law enforcement' (Fielding 1996 cited in Harfield, 1997) alienated citizens and the police from one another, leading to the police's loss of ability to recognise and respond to communities' concerns (Stephens, 1988; Weinberger, 1995; Newburn, 2003). With this model of policing the 'public role is limited to acting as the eyes and ears of the police' (Myhill, 2006: 12), and there is very little scope for citizen involvement in long or medium term priority setting.

The problems associated with limited police-public engagement will be discussed in the upcoming sections but it is important to highlight here what today's policing involves, precisely. The Police Service Statement of Common Purpose and Values, introduced in 1990, revised the original instructions of the police and defined the new purpose as:

> to uphold the law fairly and firmly; to prevent crime; to pursue and bring to justice those who break the law; to keep the Queen's Peace; to protect, help and reassure the community; and to be seen to do this with integrity, common sense and sound judgement (Statement of Common Purpose cited in Newburn, 2003: 87).

Despite the clear definition of its purpose, the roles and responsibilities of the police are not as simple as it ostensibly sounds. Mawby and Wright (cited in Newburn, 2008: 238) illustrated the myriad tasks that are involved with each of the 43 local police forces in England and Wales by asserting that 'policing is a multifaceted activity in an increasingly complex and fragmented world'. It is 'front-line' policing that constitutes around 61% of total workforce, followed by 'middle office' (operational and supportive roles) accounting for 24%, 'specialist' (investigating crime) at 19% and 'back office' compromising the remaining load of the workforce at 14% (HMIC, 2011a:4). Front-line policing, the biggest assignment undertaken by the police in England and Wales, is where units of uniformed officers patrol the area under the supervision of senior officers, organised into shift teams, covering 24 hours, and deal with whatever may arise during the shift.

As radio dispatchers relay calls that come over the emergency telephone number, police officers face a host of extensive and wide demands from the public during their shift. It ranges from dealing with unexpected child-births, drunks, family disputes to investigating reports of

nuisance and disorder and attending the scenes of reported crimes, accidents and incidents. The bulk of recorded police activities are reactive in nature, and much of it has very little to do with crime. Most of police officers' day-to-day duties are similar to those of social workers: 'sorting out situations by listening patiently to endless stories about fancied slights, old grievances, new insults, mismatched expectations, indifference, infidelity, dishonesty and abuse. They hear about all the petty, mundane, tedious, hapless, sordid details of individual lives' (Bayley, 1994: 20). The non-crime related activities that the police carry out have been referred to as the 'service function' (Becker and Stephens, 1994:2).

Flanagan's (2008) research on policing demonstrated that the police service's mission is 'becoming both broader and more complex', attending scenes that could very conveniently be addressed by other social agencies. Yet there is the public image of the police service largely engaging in crime control, and this perception is also omnipresent among police personnel (Reiner, 2010). To illustrate the extent of the police's 'service function' which remained fairly constant over many years, on a typical February day of 1991 in Britain, only 17% of 30,000 reported incidents were crime related, and 85% of these reports were property crime (burglary, theft, fraud and forgery, and criminal damage)(Bayley, 1994: 17). Wilson *et al* (2008:46) reported similar findings after a quarter of a century when he found that only 18% of all calls to the police were about crime, and that crime-related incidents accounted for around 30% of police time. Similar findings were reported by Her Majesty's Inspectorate Commission in 2011: on a typical day at the Greater Manchester Police: 345 calls were received over a 24-hour period and 21 crime scenes were investigated to obtain forensic evidence. Only 23 of those calls to the police were crime-related, and 14 were passed on for further investigation (HMIC, 2011a:33).

Understanding young people's policing needs

Highlighted above was that preventing and detecting crime, together with preserving the Queen's peace, has been at the core of policing since its inception in 1829. However, the statistics do not provide a promising picture in terms of controlling crime. Despite spending more than any other comparable country within the borders of Europe, England and Wales is ranked as a relatively high crime country. An article provided by the European Commission

(2012) on crime trends in European Union (EU) and its Member States, which is largely based on crime figures recorded by the police, has found that England and Wales is the second highest overall crime country within the borders of EU; the most burgled country (268,595 reported cases); and it is in the EU's five 'high crime' nations in terms of robbery (75,101 reported cases) and motor vehicle theft (117,812 reported cases). In the eyes of the British Crime Survey (BCS) (now known as the Crime Survey for England and Wales), however, there were 9.8 million offences in 2010/11, a figure which is the lowest ever reported by the BCS. Violent crime constituted an important percentage: there were over 2.2 million violent crimes (an increase of 6% when compared with 2009/10) (Home Office, 2011a: 17).

Since 2009, the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) has included the experiences of crime of young people aged between 10-15 years. It was estimated that 576,000 incidents of violent crime constituted two-thirds of all crime experienced by 10-15 year olds, and more than three-quarter (77%) of these incidents resulted in an injury (Home Office, 2011: 60). A different study by Roe and Ash (2008) found that 10-15 year olds were more likely than 16-24 year olds to be a victim of 'personal crime' (30% vs 24%). It is possible that the above statistics may not provide an accurate extent of youth victimisation. Hall (2001), for example, reported that only 5% of crimes committed against children are reported to the police, whilst the Howard League for Penal Reform's survey of over 3,000 children found that only a third of children reported their victimisation (cited in NACRO, 2009:3). Radford's *et al* (2011: 118) research into the prevalence of child maltreatment in the United Kingdom provided a similar picture of the problem by reporting that almost one in five (18.6%) of 11 to 17 year olds experienced severe maltreatment and abuse at home, in school and in the community from adults and their peers, and of those who experienced sexual abuse by an adult, in over one in three cases (34%) nobody else knew.

Children and young people's friends and family are often their first option for support and advice (Mudaly and Goddard, 2006) but the literature on youth victimisation often show that in many scenarios young people's negative experiences are undealt with because nobody else but the child and the offender knew about the abuse. A number of reasons have been put forward in relation to why children and young people may not disclose their negative

experiences to the police. Some of these reasons include, but are not limited to, the fear of reprisal from the offenders, the fear of being labelled as a 'snitch' or 'grass' (Yates, 2006), the perception that their victimisation would be too trivial for criminal justice agencies/professionals (Hall, 2001), or the police may lack trust and confidence in young people's eyes (Victim Support, 2007). Young people's victimisation can lead to many other problems, ranging from fear of revictimisation to trouble sleeping and from low school performance to the risk of criminal behaviour (NACRO, 2009: 4).

When considering the extent and the impact of victimisation on young people, the need to build a stronger foundation for policing with children and young people at the heart is boldly demonstrated. This requirement can be met through the introduction of community policing schemes *(discussed in chapter two).* Moreover, children and young people's fundamental right to influence decisions which affect their lives, their community and the wider society is acknowledged and encouraged in law, policy and guidance. At the international level, article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) asserts that:

> States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child (UNICEF, 2015)

Every Child Matters, Youth Matters, Children's Act 2004, Equality Act 2010, and Localism Act 2011 are some of the attempts to protect and promote children and young people's health and safety in the community. For example, the Equality Act 2010 requires the public authorities to ensure that there is equal treatment of people in the workplace and society; and the Localism Act 2011 gives communities and individuals new rights to enable them to achieve their ambitions for the place in which they live. In regards to young people's rights in the context of policing, police forces have a legal obligation to engage with the local population (which includes young people) under the following sections of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011, the same Act which transferred the control of police forces from police authorities to the elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs):

> Section 1(8)e- Police and Crime Commissioners must hold the chief constable to account for the effectiveness and efficiency of the chief constable's arrangements around engagement with local people

Section 14- states that the views of the community should be sought in particular circumstances, namely before a PCC or the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime issues a police and crime plan or precept.

Section 17- an elected local policing body must have regard to the views of people in the body's area about policing in that area.
Section 34- A chief officer of police must make arrangements for obtaining the views of persons within each neighbourhood in the relevant police area about crime and disorder in that neighbourhood.

Despite the existence of treaties, rules and laws, subsequent chapters will demonstrate that many local policing decisions are taken by adults with no or very little regard to young people's thoughts and feelings, and that in many police-young people interactions, such as stop and search, children and young people do not receive the appropriate care from police officers (All Party Parliamentary Group for Children, 2014). This is partly because young people are condemned as a 'social problem' in society, even by some officers who treat them harsher than the adults, resulting in lack of trust in the police. This 'problematic' age group has often been represented by the media as the perpetrators of crime and anti-social behaviour, and very little attention has been given to their exposure to crime and its detrimental consequences. In reality, young people, like any other age group, can be both victims and offenders:

> In many respects, the concentration on young people as the perpetrators of crimes has left us blind to the extent to which young people are victims... while adults express concerns about 'lawless' youth, many crimes are also committed against young people by adults (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997 cited in NACRO, 2009:4).

The public's misconception of young people is 'normal' when considering that 71% of youth related local and national news were negative, while only 14% were positive (Mori, 2004 cited in ACPO, 2010: 7). Box *et al* (1988:340) successfully illustrated the consequences of fear of crime on the part of the public by asserting that:

> 'it [the fear of crime] fractures the sense of community and neighbourhood, and transform some public places into no-go areas (Morgan, 1978); because fear leads to more prosperous citizens protecting themselves and their property, the incidence of crime may be displaced on to those already suffering from other social and economic disadvantages (Lea and Young, 1984); it reduces the appeal of liberal penal policies; and it creates a seed-bed of discontent from which vigilante justice might flourish and thus undermines the legitimacy of the criminal justice system' (cited in Box *et al.* 1988: 340).

A critical appraisal of today's policing of young people

In the late 1960s, Bittner (1969) argued that there were two policing strategies. The first one involves police officers acting as the gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, and they use their authority to initiate the delivery of justice for all offences/offenders. The second involves procedures which through the police's manipulation of their powers of discretion, perpetrators of crime are not subject to further formal legal review. It is these two strategies that spell the difference between 'law enforcement' and 'peace-keeping'. Today, it is not as common as it used to be in the 1950s and 1960s to see an officer walking the beat. Today's police forces are increasingly specialised. Thus, for example, officers may be patrolling in a vehicle, be a member of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), or be a member of a special paramilitary unit. Quite differently to today, in many places across England and Wales, policing was exercised in a friendly manner during the 1950s. Police officers were granted greater levels of autonomy and responsibility during their shifts than today's law enforcers. They were trusted to treat the public with generosity and courtesy, which in return enhanced police-public relations. And indeed, the general effectiveness of the police was derived from the positive relationships that they had with the local community, largely because there existed a general consensus between the police and the public about the 'essential and acceptable ingredients of police practice' (Stephens, 1988:5). This general consensus was implicitly exemplified in the long-running television series, Dixon of Dock Green, which portrayed police-public relations to be strong and positive, largely as a result of a bobby who is 'honest, upright, cool, calm, and avuncular with the public' (Emsley cited in Newburn, 2008:87).

Where possible or where the crime or disturbance was minor, bobbies found it expedient to respond to the problem without the need to resorting to arrest, or enforcement of the law. This under-enforcement of the law was 'rewarding and satisfactory to both police and public' (Stephens, 1988:5). Not taking their authority to the letter of the law and avoiding the use or the threat of arrest not only allowed police officers to police by consent but it also enabled them to seal friendships through 'favours'; hostile feelings between the police and the community were lessened; and the flow of quality intelligence was maintained (Banton, 1959) This gave rise to high levels of police legitimacy. And this legitimacy was not difficult to achieve

because as many officers patrolled on foot they found it easy to get to know the people who lived there, and linked to that there was a tendency towards shared values and norms of the communities they patrolled (Stephens, 1988). The police could expect the trust and the cooperation of the police in return. This legitimacy was easy to achieve but it was a fragile legitimacy: an unfair treatment by the police could easily change the attained levels of relationships into hostility.

The idea of 'real' police work started to gain momentum during the 1960s, serving to make Dixon an anachronism. The crime control imperative (clearing up crime, having a good arrest rate and high productivity) is central to the culture of most police officers and is tied very closely to the idea of law enforcement. The police's primary concern with crime control forced officers to catch as many offenders as possible regardless of the offence, and it would be fair to assert that much of police work with young people has focused on the enforcement of the law. In itself there is nothing wrong with catching as many young offenders as possible but the evidence suggests that the crime control principle has made police forces less interested about communities' local neighbourhood concerns (Millie and Herrington, 2004), contributed to a deterioration in police-public relations and public confidence in policing (Hough, 2003) and led to the increased harassment of ethnic minorities in the community (Home Office, 2009). For example, many children and young people engage with the police in crime-related situations, and there appears to be a very small number of opportunities for children and young people to engage with the police in a positive, non-crime related environment. What comes at the forefront of police-young people interaction is stop and search, which is often the first contact that young people have with the police, according to the All Party Parliamentary Group for Children (APPGC, 2014: 44).

Indeed, stop and search has occupied a special interest in police literature. Police officers working under the law enforcement style of policing are encouraged to stop, question and search young people about any suspicious behaviour, but the problem is that they carry the high possibility of making young people feel that their 'freedom is being undermined' (APPGC, 2014:12). Other than costing £3 million a year (HMIC, 2013a: 47), stop and search can be a major cause of friction between the police and young people (Riots Communities and Victims

Panel, 2011), as they often lead to conflict, even when police action is well conducted and appropriate (Police Foundation, 2013: 20). Some children and young people can feel humiliated by and fearful of the police, and can gain the perception that police officers are there to target and undermine them (APPGC, 2014: 12). In most extreme cases, 'the inappropriate use of stop and search carries the risk of creating confrontations between police and public that can trigger disorder' (Bowling, 2007: 27). In addition to all of the above repercussions associated with stop and search, Bowling and Foster (2002) as well as Miller *et al* (cited in Strickland, 2014:14) argued that their impact on detecting, disrupting or deterring criminals is trivial at best. In line with their contentions, the Ministry of Justice's (2011:35) review found that that a very small percentage of all-age stop and search lead to an arrest: in 2009/10 only 9% (107,006) of Section 1 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 led to an arrest in comparison to 2% (2,870) of Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 and less than 1% (429) of Section 44 of the Terrorism Act.

The transition from youth to adulthood is frequently characterised by risk-taking behaviours, such as drug abuse, anti-social behaviour and crime, and partly because of this conception young people are more likely to have an adversarial contact with the police than other age groups (Police Foundation, 2013). To illustrate the extent of police dependence on stop and search, every year since 2002/03 police officers have been carrying out approximately 1 million stop and searches across England and Wales with a peak of 1.5 million in 2008/2009, reducing to 1 million in 2012/13 (GOV.UK, 2014, Home Office, 2014). In Leicestershire, the data set for the period October 2011 to July 2013 comprised about 13,310 stop and searches (Hine, 2014:41). Nevertheless, the above stop and search figures are for all ages. There does not exist a national-level data on the number of stop and searches carried out on children and young people, and frankly, the collection of consistent and accurate stop and search data of under 18s could provide a critical account of police officers' action towards young people. Nevertheless, as part of the All Party Parliamentary Group for Children's (2014) inquiry into police-young people relationships, a freedom of information request from 26 police forces across England and Wales revealed that between 2009 and 2013 over one million stop and searches were carried on individuals under the age of 18. Furthermore, an important portion of stop and searches were conducted on children under the age of ten, the age of criminal

responsibility in England and Wales. Stop and search of children accounted for between 20% and 25% of all stops in 19 out of 26 police forces (APPGC, 2014: 11). These findings are also supported by the Police Foundation's (2013: 18) contention that young people are more likely than any other age group to be stopped and searched in the street or in a vehicle by the police. Although the majority of young people understand the importance of stop and search strategy, and believe that, when used correctly, it is an essential component of crime control, a noticeable proportion of young people feel that they are too frequently and unnecessarily used on them (APPGC, 2014, 12). In support of this perception, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary's (2013) review found that the police officers failed to record reasonable groups for a lawful search in 27% of all stop and searches.

The reality is that, like any other age group, young people can be both victims and offenders. It is not to say that all police officers stereotype young people, but rather the contention is that young people can be too easily classed as a 'source of risk suspicion, that requires keeping an eye on' (Police Foundation, 2013:16-34). This predisposition is not limited to police officers alone. The former National Police Lead for Children and Young People, Jacqui Cheer, told that the public, too, had low tolerance of young people in public spaces:

> "…what's anti-social to one person is just what I did and what many young people do… When you're in a crowd of three or four it can get a bit noisy, is that anti-social? When you're walking down a street and might be having a bit of a laugh and joke, is that anti-social?... [anti-social behaviour is] not just being annoying, or being in the wrong place at the wrong time, or there's more than three of you" (cited in APPGC, 2014:10).

When police officers arrive at the scene of anti-social behaviour, the public's intolerance can place them in an uncomfortable position: even when police officers do not find anything wrong with young people's behaviour, they are expected to respond to the public's concern over young people. This form of contact with the police can antagonise young people who feel that they are not doing anything wrong, and can further increase negative perceptions and lead to an exchange of verbal and physical assault (APPGC, 2014: 9). What is more, it was Stone and Pettigrew's (2000) contention that a single adversarial police-public interaction can affect an entire community. Along the same lines, the All Party Parliamentary Group for Children's (APPGC) (2014: 8) inquiry found that:

the feelings of mistrust and negative perceptions of the police can be passed on from generation to generation. Some young people who gave evidence described being wary of the police from a very young age, before they had even had any interaction with them, because of the negative attitudes of parents, older siblings or other family members.

Consequently, it would not be surprising to read Skogan's (2006) finding that those who have had an adversarial contact with the police are more negative towards the police than those who have had no or little direct contact. Similarly, Katy Bourne's, the Police and Crime Commissioner for Sussex, study of around 3,500 children and young people in 2010 found that younger children who have had less or no contact with the police viewed them more positively than older children who had had more contact with the police (cited in APPGC, 2014: 10). Young people who are negative towards the police are less likely to report crimes to the police or act as a witness in court because they lack the confidence and trust in the police (Loveday and Reid, 2003; Sharp and Atherton, 2007). This is something that needs to be challenged. There were, for example, instances where young people were subject to theft and violence on the street but many decided not to report their incident to the police because they deemed it 'pointless' (Police Foundation, 2013:14). Young people who contemplate asking the police for help and security is an indication of poor police legitimacy, which must be rectified immediately when considering young people's high exposure to victimisation more than any other age group, as discussed above (Police Foundation, 2013:14).

It must also be reminded that young people are not more cynical than adults in general, unless there is a causing factor. The government's report on young people's social attitudes reported that younger people in the United Kingdom place high importance to a wide range of values. The young members British society desire status and achievement, but also want to have fun, independence and novelty (GOV UK, 2014: 17). Younger people are also generally more likely than older people to be more liberal and tolerant of differences between and within people. There is no evidence that young people are more cynical in life than adults. Further, there is no evidence of lower trust in 'authority' organisations and institutions such as the police, teachers, politicians and business leaders amongst young people when compared against the older generation (GOV UK, 2014: 38). In fact, Ipsos MORI's (2013) study reported that the young population's levels of trust in civil servants are higher than older generations. Similar

to the findings of Ipsos Mori (2013), according to the Cabinet Office's (2013) community life survey, young people born after 1990 have greater levels of trust and faith in parliament than older generations. However, there is some evidence that show young people to be less socially cohesive (less engaged) with their neighbourhoods that older people. To elaborate, civic engagement such as local level consultations and decision making about local service provision has been poorly attended by young people when compared against the population as a whole (GOV UK, 2014: 42). Young people are also found to be less likely to speak to their neighbours in a regular manner.

Hence, the importance of young people's first interaction with police officers is obvious in the light of the evidence above. Police officers are required to give an in-depth consideration to children and young people's safety and welfare in everything that they do under Section 11 of the Children Act 2004. Despite the existence of this Act, the police Code of Practice, which provides guidance to police officers on carrying out stop and search under the Police and Crime Evidence Act 1984, does not explain the procedures which police officers should follow when dealing with this vulnerable age group. One way of ensuring that police action does not stimulate negative and hostile views of the police for the years to come is by educating young people about their rights when dealing with the police. However, a noticeable proportion of young people do not know how stop and searches should be carried out and what their rights are (Russell, Boakye and Hackett, 2012). Having said that, some progress has been made by various police forces across England and Wales to improve the effectiveness of stop and search. For example, minimising the number of negative encounters between the police and young people is important if wanting to enhance police-young people relationships. Middlesbrough Police Service has shifted from a 'zero tolerance' strategy with high numbers of stop and search to a community-orientated style of policing, whilst Leicestershire Police in 2010/11, which has been criticised by the Equality and Human Rights Commission for racial profiling, retrained all of its police officers around stop and search so that fewer but higher quality searches were carried out. At the national level, the police's questionable use of stop and search powers has led to the creation of the Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme, which all police forces in England and Wales have agreed to adopt. The principal aim of the scheme is to 'achieve greater transparency, community involvement in the use of stop and search

powers and to support a more intelligence-led approach, leading to better outcomes, for example, an increase in the stop and search to positive outcome ratio' (Home Office, 2014:2). Police officers will now require authorisation from a higher-ranked senior than present to deploy Section 60 powers; and soon the police will allow lay observers to watch stop and search in action (Home Office, 2014:2).

Nevertheless, the influence of performance targets on police culture and its manifestation at the front line came out in many studies. Performance targets have skewed policing priorities, tempted officers into using their time in unproductive ways or into directly fiddling with performance figures (Loveday, 1998; O'Byrne, 2001; Loveday and Ried, 2003). For example, stopping and searching young people for drugs, and processing them onto the criminal justice system is an easy hit and it ticks many boxes. A police officer was quoted saying:

> I have to say, certainly when I was in the response team, we were under pressure to get a certain amount of searches each month. So it's much easier, when you've got a group of kids engaging in a bit of antisocial behaviour, albeit very low level, there's a smell of cannabis, you think great, here's my chance. You can justify it very easily and it's an easy win for a young police officer, so in that respect young people are treated differently because they're an easy target for searching (Police Foundation, 2013: 21).

Although, the centrally-set-targets were abolished in 2010 by the current Home Secretary in an attempt to stop the use of performance data to 'name and shame' failing agencies, the target culture is still pervasive as reported by the Police Foundation's (2013: 22) study:

> Sergeants interviewed talked about a numbers game and too many arrests. Police who do not stop and search or make arrests look as if they are not doing anything. If an officer needs to up his or her numbers, a young adult is an easy target for a stop and search.

In contrast to stop and search, police forces can interact with young people in a formal and informal manner, and there can occur different levels of engagement, ranging from providing young people with information about crime to allowing them to influence local policing decisions. There are for example, Safer School Partnerships (SSPs), beat meetings, police cadets and other community and voluntary projects where the police and young people can meet. The aim of these engagement schemes is to eradicate the mistrust which can exist between young people and the police, and to increase mutual understanding through the creation of communication channels. Whilst SSPs try to keep young people safe, reduce crime

and improve pupil's behaviour through engagement, Volunteer Police Cadets involve police-young people partnerships to enhance crime prevention in the community. There are other examples of children and young people's engagement with the police in a range of projects, which try to address some of the gaps in service provision to young people. West Mercia Police in partnership with Telford and Wrekin's Children in Care Council, for example, tried to improve the police's relationship with children in care through interactive workshops, which proved very successful at the end (APPGC, 2014: 17). However, it is a frequently encountered criticism that the police's engagement work often fails to succeed, despite young people's experience of engagement with the police generally being positive and productive, as opposed to stop and search. As it will be discussed in detail in chapter three, while young people are an important client group for the police, it appears that the police forces are unprepared to engage more effectively with them.

Young ethnic minorities' relationship with the police

Young people in England and Wales are not a homogeneous group, and thus their experiences and perceptions of the local police will vary. Being treated fairly and respectfully is what people want (Bradford, 2011) but there are certain social groups within young people who are more likely to hold negative views of the police than the overall young people's population due to their experiences with police officers. Young ethnic minorities are one of them (Newburn, 2011). As highlighted in the previous section, poorly executed stop and searches were often the main cause of poor police-young people relationships and evidence suggests that ethnicity is a key determinant of young people's exposure to stop and search. Although no data is provided by the Home Office on the use of stop and search on children and young people, All Party Parliamentary Group's (2014:29) request of information under the Freedom of Information Act 2000 from 26 police forces reported that the police's stop and search powers were disproportionately used against Black and other minority ethnic children and young people. This is supported by the Ministry of Justice's (2011: 34) findings that whereas in 1998/99 Black people were five times more likely than Whites to be stopped and searched, this figure rose to six times in 2006/07 and seven times in 2009/10.

Since the Home Office is not in a position to provide data on the numbers of children and young people who have been stopped and searched, it becomes impossible to ascertain what percentage of stop and searches against young black and other ethnic minorities was appropriate (i.e. led to an arrest, summons, warning, referral, or confiscation of drugs or a weapon). However, it is critical to highlight that an era which favours a democratic society necessitates a police service which can maintain order and do so under the rule of the law (Skolnick, 1996:6). Unfair targeting of ethnic minorities not only deteriorates police-public relations but it also infringes human rights and reduces police legitimacy. While FitzGerald and Sibbitt (1997) have partly attributed the ethnic disproportionality in stop and searches to the 'availability' (the time spent on the street and other public spaces) of individuals, others have pointed to the 'lack of cultural awareness, a lack of understanding and the operation of culturally insensitive assumptions' in the police (Bowling and Phillips, 2003: 11). The latter explanation has had a greater support, and was one of the key factors behind the eruption of violent disturbances between the police and young ethnic minorities in London in 2011, following the police shooting of a Black teenager, Mark Duggan. The London School of Economics' (2011:4-5) research into the riots, which generated looting, vandalism and violence across the country, reported that as high as 85% of rioters (who were predominantly young) felt that that policing was an 'important' or 'very important' factor in why the uprising occurred, and importantly over a third (35%) said that they would get involved if there were more riots (London School of Economics, 2011: 4-5). Blacks and other ethnic minorities felt that they were unfairly and disproportionately targeted by the police and that stop and searches were carried out in a disrespectful and aggressive manner (London School of Economics, 2011: 19):

> Nowhere was the singling out of black people more apparent in the minds of the rioters than when the police use stop and search. Overall, 73% of people interviewed in the study had been stopped and searched at least once in the past year. In our research, the frequent complaint of a sense of harassment by those interviewees on the receiving end of stop and search was made in every city the research took place and by interviewees from different racial groups and ages.

Similar assertions were made by the Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011), which was established to investigate the riots:

> Stop and search was cited as a major source of discontent with the police. This concern was widely felt by young Black and Asian men who felt it was not always carried out with

appropriate respect. We were told that, in at least some instances, this was a motivating factor in the riots, including some of the attacks on the police.

Young ethnic minorities' exposure to unfair policing practice in England and Wales is nothing new, however. Research documenting the discriminatory conduct of the police can be traced back to the 1960s when Black people were subjected to extra-ordinary policing at a time when they were widely perceived as a 'social problem' by the media, politicians and the criminal justice system. The influx of immigrants from the current or former colonies since the 1950s led some commentators to argue that 'policing British minority ethnic communities was merely an extension of colonial policing which had existed for decades in the Caribbean, India and Africa and which had now been turned inward to police the 'domestic colonies'' (Bowling and Phillips, 2003: 3). Lord Scarman (1981:64 cited in Bowling and Phillips, 2003:12) wrote that some officers 'lapse into an unthinking assumption that all young Black people are potential criminals'. In the years following the growing minority ethnic population, numerous studies argued that racism within the police was omnipresent. For example, Smith and Gray (1985: 388-9) reported that racism and racial prejudice in policing was more 'prevalent... expected, accepted and even fashionable' than in the wider society between 1970 and the early 1980s; The Institute of Race Relations' (1979:2 cited in Bowling and Phillips, 2003:4) highlighted police officers' disregard for the civil liberties of Black and Asian people after finding evidence of racially discriminatory 'questioning, arbitrary arrest, violence on arrest, the arrest of witnesses and bystanders, [and] victimisation on reporting crime'; Lord Scarman reported that Brixton riots were 'essentially an outburst of anger and resentment by young Black people against the police' (Scarman, 1981: 45); and Macpherson (1999: para 19.44) argued that the Metropolitan Police was 'institutionally racist'. The exercise of discriminative selective enforcement based on stereotypical and prejudicial views towards Black young people has extended to Asian communities, evidently after the destruction of the twin towers in September 2001 and the 2005 terrorist attacks in London when anti-Muslim feelings began to increase (Reid, 2009).

Recent policing reforms, and their impact on the policing of young people

The election of a Coalition government in May 2010 led to a budget reduction plan which aimed to reduce police funding by 20% by 2014/15. Although the National Police Chief's

Council (NPCC), formerly known as the Association of Chief Police Officers, felt that the impact of budget cuts would 'translate into fewer police officers' (Politics, 2015), it is unlikely that the changes in resources available for patrolling police officers would result in noticeable changes in crime levels. For the year ending in June 2014 in England and Wales, for example, there were an estimated 7.1 million incidents of crime, which represents a 16% decrease compared to 2013 figures, and is the lowest estimate since Crime Survey for England and Wales began in 1981 (Office for National Statistics, 2014). In comparison to 2013 figures, decreases in crime were evident for all major crime types: violence saw a 23% fall, criminal damage fell by 20%, and theft offences decreased by 12% (Office for National Statistics, 2014). Police recorded crime figures, too, have shown year on year reductions between 2002/2003 and 2012/13. Moreover, the best known experimental study which rejects the positive impact of increased patrolling on crime is the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Kelling *et al.* 1974) which showed that a double or three-fold increase in the level of patrol did not affect crime levels. The low likelihood of detection of offenders is partly because response systems do not guarantee arrests: a crime has to be committed or reported by victims or witnesses before an action can be taken (Kelling *et al* 1974; Stephens, 1988). It is, furthermore, unlikely that the budget cuts will lead to fewer apprehension of criminals across England and Wales. It is true that patrolling police officers give the public an impression of police presence but this impression is insufficient to deter people by the threat of apprehension (Kelling *et al.* 1974).

The impact of budget cuts on the 'service' function of the police is markedly different to the 'force' function, however. Peter Vaughan's contention successfully demonstrates this, the acting president of NCPP. He noted that falling crime levels do not mean that the police forces need less money because 'if I look at my own force, for example, crime is only 28% of what we deal with on a daily basis' (BBC, 2015). According to Dangleish and Myhill (2004), a decline in the availability and visibility of officers would translate to a decline in the public's confidence in the police, since citizens' perception of the police are closely linked to police visibility (Hawdon *et al.* 2003). What is more, low public-confidence is linked to poor police-community relationships; increased feelings of public helplessness; and frustration towards the police. If the public do not trust police motives or capabilities, they may withhold their

support (e.g. will not report crimes or anti-social behaviour (ASB), will not provide local intelligence, and will not act as a witness) (Moore and Braga, 2003). It is apparent, thus, that maintaining the same level of 'service' and at the same time prioritising cost-savings over the safety of the public is crucial and a tough challenge for the police forces across England and Wales. It is certainly a tough challenge for the urban police forces: police forces are funded by central government grants and money raised from council tax payers, urban forces are more likely than other forces to be affected by the Coalition's cuts as they rely more on government grants. Some forces have responded to this challenge by lessening their commitments in specialist teams that investigate serious crimes like murder, rape, child abduction and so on, whereas others gave up on engaging with young people. Cleveland Police's Chief Constable, Jacqui Cheer, who was also the former National Police Lead for Children and Young People, felt that engaging with young people was an unrealistic quest due to the austerity measures, despite their enthusiasm to work with young people:

> There's a growing gap now between our aspirations and our desires about what we might want to do, particularly in the area of general engagement with young people, as opposed to our enforcement role or our protection role (cited in APPGC, 2014: 24).

The former National Police Lead for Children and Young people also expressed her concerns about the closure of youth services in the community, which has not only left many young people feel isolated as they do not have much to do, but it has also led to increased public frustration towards young people:

> We've [society] closed down a lot of places that people are allowed to go to…If we have closed down all the public spaces and if we are not providing places for young people to meet and to push the boundaries in a safe environment, we are creating this [public's intolerance] ourselves (cited in APPCC, 2014: 11).

The coalition government's relatively recent introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) which replaced police authorities in November 2012 has the potential, at least theoretically, to actively promote engagement between the police and young people. One of their duties is to be the voice of the public (including children and young people) in setting local priorities and to ensure that the local police is interacting and responding to the concerns of local communities. Although the PCC initiative is designed to simplify the police governance system by having one person responsible for overseeing the work of a police

force, it is argued that such an initiative equates to the loss of diversity of skills, experiences and voices the police authorities had offered. With PCCs, therefore, the likelihood of losing interest in 'less popular' issues is increased: issues that affect young people or ethnic minorities. The PCC will have a great deal of power over the way the police service is run, and thus someone with an extremist ideology, if elected, can make deleterious changes to the way policing is delivered. In Bedfordshire, for example, an English Defence League (EDL) member put his name forward for this role but was not elected. Sussex Police's Police and Crime Commissioner, Katy Bourne, however, has initiated a number of projects to engage with young people, including the appointment of a Youth Commission to meet young people's local policing needs and expectations. Sir Clive Loader, the Police and Crime Commissioner for Leicestershire and Rutland, has also designed community policing programmes to support, challenge and inform the work of the police in relation to young people. Some of these engagement programmes will be discussed in a critical fashion in chapter three, but it is important to highlight here that whilst the PCC initiative represents a dramatic change in police accountability, their impact on children and young people's safety and welfare will vary from region to region. APPGC's (2014: 25) inquiry recommended the identification and sharing of community policing schemes which work well to develop positive relationships between the police and young people. This could include examples of:

> how forces have improved communication with children and young people, and particularly those with language and communication difficulties; police forces engaging positively with children and young people through initiatives in schools, youth services and the wider community; effective multi-agency working by police forces with other services, including children's social care and child protection, schools and health services (for example Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs); and approaches to implementing alternatives to placing children and young people in police custody (APPGC, 2014: 25).

PCCs' effect on police-public engagement is yet to be examined by the Home Office, and thus it is beyond the scope of this thesis to comment on their impact at this moment of time. The general consensus is that many local policing decisions are taken with no or very little consideration given to young people's thoughts, feelings and experiences. Stop and searches, too, were often conducted on young people, making young people feel humiliated and become fearful of the police. Consequently, young people who have a negative encounter with the police are bound to be more negative towards the police that those who have had no or little police contact. Those young people who hold poor relationships with the police

are significantly unlikely to engage with the police (report crimes, act as a witness, etc). The police forces across England and Wales will need to ensure that every child and young person they come into contact with develops trust, faith and confidence in them as a public service. By doing so, the police will be more successful in responding to the safety and welfare needs of young people who suffer disproportionately from crime. The next chapter will consider the theoretical justifications of community policing, to determine whether it has the potential to provide a strong foundation for policing that promotes the needs, expectations and best interests of children and young people.

CHAPTER 2. Defining Community Policing (Theoretical Framework)

> What is possibly so fascinating about community policing is that it is not easily amenable to a particular definition ... but it is clearly a highly appealing concept (Friedmann, 1992: 3).

Introducing Community Policing

As the challenges facing communities changed over time, notably after the early 1960s, many scholars, researchers and police administrators along with some politicians have urged for an innovation to curb the crises in many communities, by returning to the distinctive peace keeping roots of policing (Alderson, 1979, Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999). This chapter will critically focus on the theoretical justifications of community policing by reviewing the

literature, primarily from the United States of America, United Kingdom, Australia and Canada. It will demonstrate that although the community policing is an attractive philosophy, police forces are expected to encounter a number of challenges when implementing it.

The police have tried to reconnect with the community through the introduction of community policing, which settled firmly in the dictionary of policing in the 1980s. The community policing philosophy has been exercised enthusiastically by communities and police forces in the United Kingdom (UK), Singapore, Canada, Australia and most noticeably in the United States of America to an unprecedented extent. It is often referred to as the advanced and modern version of Peel's peace-keeping style of policing. As in the words of Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2013: 1):

> Community policing has since become a global commodity evolving and adapting to meet the needs of host countries and reflect social, economic and political priorities and concerns.

It was implemented as a response to minor crime and anti-social behaviour in urban areas with a view of re-establishing the relationship between the police and the community. Despite its widespread deployment, community policing proves to be a concept which is difficult to define. It can, quite accurately, be described as a chameleon concept: it means different things to different people/organisations around the world since there is not a single definition and nor does exist there any mandatory set of community policing schemes. Organising community policing into a coherent whole is therefore difficult. Most definitions and interpretations of community policing across the world often contradict. This has led Murphy (1994) to propose that the term 'community policing' should be abandoned and another well-clarified and globally accepted term be introduced.

The sense that community policing is a meaningless or an arbitrary concept may well emerge but it would be a mistake to give the impression that it is all rhetoric and that there exists no consensus as to what constitutes the core elements of this model of policing. It would be fair to start off by asserting that community policing holds a number of affinities with the peace keeping style of policing: the main impetus for both models derive from the sense that police-public relations are dissatisfactory; they both require the police and the citizens to join

together as partners; they both seek to be responsive to community demands through consultations; and foot patrol is an important feature for both. Other than that, three of Sir Robert Peel's 'nine principles of policing' which were set out in the 'General Instructions' that were issued to every new police officer from 1829 go hand-in-hand with the widely accepted schemes of community policing:

> The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the intent of the community welfare

> The police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.

> The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behaviour and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.

The community policing schemes in England and Wales have taken different forms, ranging from simply delegating a few extra police officers walking the beat to a system where the police work in partnership with local/national agencies to tackle problems whether crime related or not. However, as John Alderson (1979) illustrates, the means of crime control envisaged by the first 'bobbies' did not involve extensive engagement with the community. Community policing aspires to achieve greater levels of co-operation and partnership with the community (Alderson, 1979), perhaps because police-public relationships have never been this worse. Before going into the justifications made for community policing, this chapter will first trace what could be considered as the theoretical 'seeds' of community policing: Normative Sponsorship Theory. This theory will re-occur through the thesis like themes- what is referred to as 'meta-concepts'.

Normative Sponsorship Theory

The community policing philosophy is supported by a number of theories. The most relevant one is Sower, Holland, Tiedke and Freeman's (1957) theory of Normative Sponsorship, which states that most people are of goodwill and are positive about cooperating with other individuals or groups to facilitate the building of consensus. Sower et al (1957) preliminary investigation of the community's perception of public health found that the efficacy of

surveys eliciting such perceptions depended on public support. This thinking was later developed in the context of policing by Trojanowicz and Dixon (1974:33), noting that a community policing programme will only be sponsored if it is normative: 'within the limits of established standards, to all persons and interest groups involved'. This was later illustrated in a foot-patrol study in Michigan/USA when Trojanowicz (1982) reported the police's incapability in creating positive social changes without public support. Trojanowicz (1982) highlighted the significance of 'shared values' and a 'community of interest' for communities to unite and actively support community policing schemes: the more various groups share common values, ideas, beliefs and goals, the more likely that they will agree on common objectives. Under the theory, the group (e.g, the police) must be able to justify and legitimatise its intent as a facilitator of social control. This consists of three stages: initiation, legitimisation, and implementation (Sower *et al* 1957: 61-243). At the initiation stage, there must be a mutual interest, feeling and belief possessed by people in the community about a problem. The second stage of the sponsorship process, legitimisation, is about gaining the approval of the plan to eliminate the problem: it involves encouraging the community that the proposal will benefit the community at large. The last stage is the implementation where the execution of a proposal for community action takes place, generally with the need for external resources such as personnel, money and knowledge.

One may wonder what is 'normative' about community policing. There is a mutual consensus between and within communities to rid crime and its grave effects upon individuals. And indeed, in line with the central tenets of normative sponsorship theory, most definitions of community policing, and/or most community schemes that run throughout England and Wales, share the idea that the public's support is critical for police effectiveness (Sadd and Grinc, 1994). What lies at the core of community policing's appeal is that the public's support will lead to the provision of essential intelligence to the police and public's enhanced respect for law and order, both deemed to be essential for the success of police operations. It is difficult for the police, if not impossible (Eck and Spelman, 1987 cited in Moore, 2000), to create or maintain safe communities without citizen involvement. Lacking the understanding of community problems, goals, desires and values will, in turn, push the community to perceive the police as an out-of-touch force that has no benefits to the community. In these

situations, the police will only be able to provide a reactive mode of response to community problems. Positive community perceptions of the police will encourage police-community partnership where both parties will be collaborating to identify local priorities, and subsequently developing mutually agreed responses. There are a number of ways in which the police can secure the co-operation of the public. For example, there are very popular, and relatively successful, neighbourhood watch schemes that require volunteering residents to look out for signs of crime, or any suspicious behaviour in their neighbourhoods and share that information with each other and local police. They unite the community and increase neighbourhood cohesion. This scheme along with many other similar community policing schemes go hand in hand with one of Sir Robert Peel's nine principles of policing: 'Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public' (cited in Dempsey and Forst, 2011: 8). However, as it will be discussed under the' justifications made for community policing' section, individuals' will to cooperate not only depends on their trust towards the police, but also on their economic status, ethnicity, age and many other factors.

Justifications for Community Policing

A number of claims have been made for community policing by people from varying backgrounds: police administrators, policy analysts, scholars, researchers and theoreticians. It is generally agreed that the key to the concept of community policing is to decentralise the police and empower the community in the fight against crime. It is theorised that by encouraging public involvement in policing, closer alliances between the police and the community will be created, leading to positive police-public relations, and reductions in the fear of crime. To this should be added the argument that community policing also aims to prevent and reduce crime by improving the quality and the quantity of information provided to the police. These goals can be conveniently categorised under two key community policing components: engagement and problem solving. Nevertheless, as briefly mentioned earlier on in this chapter, there are also some imperative drawbacks closely associated with community policing: distrust, hostility and non-cooperation can easily hamper productive partnership; increased levels of discretion available to community constables can easily lead to greater opportunities for police deviance; unpopularity within and outside the police organisation can

hinder community policing's promised benefits. Drawing upon empirical research, this section of this chapter will focus on the theoretical justifications made for community policing. A lot of this literature originate from the United States but related material from the United Kingdom will also be included in the review below.

<u>Community engagement</u>

Community engagement is the cornerstone of community policing. Although 'community engagement' can have different meanings in different contexts, in the policing arena it has been described as the process of allowing communities to participate in policing and crime issues which can range from 'providing information and reassurance, to empowering them [the public] to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions' (Myhill, 2006:1). In the police literature it is frequently encountered that the public can be referred to as the extension of the 'ears and eyes' of the police, a term which is in line with the normative sponsorship theory which, as noted above, theorised that most people are of goodwill and are positive about cooperating with the police for the benefit of the community. The cornerstone of community policing tradition has been the belief that it is crucial that the police co-operate with citizens for the apprehension of offenders and deterrence of crime. The community is no longer viewed as a passive audience but rather as an agent and partner in the quest for promoting peace and security (Sparrow, 1988).

The coalition government's White Paper on police reform acknowledged that the police's success in fighting crime is based on a wide range of partners, the public being the most important one (Home Office, 2010a). Nevertheless, it was Jacobs (1961 cited in Shotland and Goodstein, 1984: 9) who first reported that bystanders can play an imperative role in reducing, or even prohibiting, the commission of anti-social or any deviant behaviour, and that the future of policing is dependent upon their co-operation. Jacobs's (1961) forecasts were correct: the community-input paradigm became an important aspect of policing after the reports by the Audit Commission in 1993 and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in 1997 which recognised that the police forces in England and Wales were spending too much time responding to crime and too little time targeting criminals (Ratcliffe, 2008) (*discussed in chapter four).* Smith and Visher (1981) along with Black (1970 cited in Shotland and

Goodstein, 1984: 9) have validated the fundamentality of community-input paradigm when both studies reported that disproportionate number of police arrests occur due to the reports/intelligence gained by the public, and that very few arrests were made as a result of police surveillance alone. In addition, according to Smith and Visher (1981), in more than 50% of all crimes the police respond to, bystanders are present which illustrates that they are not only important sources of information for the detection of offenders but they may also deter potential transgressors by increasing the likelihood of apprehension.

In contrast to the common sense that there would be more crime in areas with increased population, Jacobs (1961) advocated the increased use of public space in an attempt to maximise the 'ears and eyes' of the police. Jacobs (1961) held the belief that individuals served as guardians of public space, who could also help to relieve some of the financial strain on police budgets. Indeed, in support of Jacobs (1961), Shotland and Goodstein (1984:18) have argued that bystanders' mere presence can prevent and deter crime since they are typically viewed as potential interveners. This conclusion has shown to be true especially for property crimes in general and burglaries in particular (Repetto, 1974; Scarr 1973; Pope, 1977; Decker, O'Brien and Sichor, 1979). Davies (2003) has illustrated this on a rural car park which was used by backpackers. On leaving for their hike, vandals come and smash car windows to steal their contents. The police have managed to reduce crime in the car park by 48% in a year by increasing 'natural surveillance': building picnic tables beside the car. When considering these statistics, it would be plausible to agree that 'the close alliance forged with the community should not be limited to an isolated incident or series of incidents, nor confined to a specific time frame', a reference to the law-enforcement style of policing (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994:17).

The attempt to encourage greater public co-operation in the fight against crime has led to the introduction of Neighbourhood Watch (NW) schemes in the United Kingdom, a scheme which evolves from the principles of community policing. In 2012/13 almost one in seven (14%) of households belonged to a Neighbourhood Watch scheme (down by 17% in 2004/05) (Office for National Statistics, 2012:29). In 2000, about one in four (27%) of households belonged to a NW scheme (Home Office, 2001a). While the driving factor for such schemes is to encourage

citizens acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the police (encouraging residents to report any suspicious behaviour in the area to the police), the main purpose behind such schemes is to control crime with a view to alleviating the fear of crime by giving citizens a sense of control. In contrast to Hough (1994) who suggested that the NW schemes have the potential to backfire (raise awareness of crime risk, increase one's knowledge of recent victims resulting in fear of crime and lead to growing concern about the neighbourhood's future), participants were found to be more likely than non-participants to report crimes such as vandalism and anti-social behaviour (Bennett, 1987; Home Office, 2001a). Having said that, however, no important differences were found between reporters and non-reporters after witnessing an assault or theft from a vehicle (Bennett, 1987). Membership of such schemes correlates more with income than with risk. Households with high annual income and areas with low burglary rates were most likely to belong to such schemes (Home Office, 2001a) and ethnic minorities (particularly young Black males) were less likely than their White counterparts to participate.

When one considers the effectiveness of 'natural surveillance' as discussed above, it would be presumed that the NW schemes are, also, effective in reducing crime. However, this is practically not the case: research suggests that NW schemes do not reduce crime; and there is very little evidence that they give rise to the feelings of reassurance (Bennett, 1990). It was suggested that most schemes struggle to maintain public co-operation due to people's lack of time, lack of interest, fear of reprisal (Bennett, 1990), and especially for ethnic minorities there exists barriers such as language, economic and social deprivation (Neighbourhood Watch Report, 2010). Furthermore, a scrutiny of police literature indicates that the willingness in cooperating with the police after witnessing a crime is dependent on whether the perpetrators are known to the witness (Harris, 2006: 63); whether their lives are at risk; whether the offence takes place at the witness' own neighbourhood (Harris, 2006:64); and whether the witness has sufficient sense of responsibility/duty in intervening (Barnes and Baylis, 2004:101; Shotland and Goodstein, 1984:10-14). More to the point, the public is divided over their feelings for the police, as shown in the previous chapter. Community policing attempts to construct firm relations with the community so that the public is more inclined to report crimes, provide intelligence and be more willing to serve as a witness in the criminal justice system (*discussed below under problem solving).*

Citizens are significantly more likely to act as the 'eyes and ears' of the police if they have trust, faith and confidence. If the positive relationship for one reason or another is withdrawn the police would be helpless and must to cease function. The police would be 'powerless' over the most transparent illegality in our streets because the 'power of our police is almost entirely derived from co-operation given to them by the public' (Reith, 1956: 265). Dedicated community constables, Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), are a core component of community policing schemes and are officers with the primary duty of improving police-public relations. The roles and responsibilities of PCSOs will be discussed critically in chapter four but it is essential to note here that other than cooperating with the public, PCSOs are also encouraged to prevent and deter crime by patrolling on foot; increasing criminals' perceptions of the risk of crime; by issuing fixed penalties; and by giving crime prevention advice to the locals (Wakefield, 2006). Added to Wakefield's (2006) goals of PCSOs should be the idea that they may also function as community intelligence gatherers- monitoring and reporting cases of crime and disorder (such as graffiti, broken glass, unoccupied properties and abandoned vehicles). In addition to that, through foot-patrols, community officers can identify which youngsters pose a risk to the community or perhaps more to the point which youngsters need a helping hand or a referral to other agencies. After all, 'determining the underlying causes of crime depends, to a great extent, on an in-depth knowledge of community' (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 18). Wakefield (2006) reported that a more conspicuous police presence can develop public confidence, serving to aid public willingness of reporting crimes directly to foot patrol officers and ultimately improving the quantity and quality of intelligence provided to the police. The above benefits become more evident when community constables provide a 'model of citizenship': helpful, honest, fair and respectful (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994 :15). When citizens perceive that the police are trying their best for the benefit of the community, communities will be more inclined to work with the police (Cutcliffe, 1994). Public opinion of the police is dependent more on how well the police treat people than how well they control crime (Tyler and Huo, 2002 cited in Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). According to Alexander and Ruderman (1987) and more recently Hinds (2007), young people are more likely to have positive attitudes, more productive relationships and higher expectations of police officers when they perceive the police to be exercising

procedurally fair treatment. When officers confront citizens in a negative fashion, citizens were less likely to comply with their requests (Parks, 1999 cited in Weisburd and Eck, 2004). Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, age, sex, gender and disability will severely hamper future co-operation efforts (Scarman, 1982; Macpherson, 1999) because unfair treatment can easily lead to frustration, resentment and even hostility towards the police. When police interact with citizens in a fair and respectful manner, public evaluations of the police will become very favourable. It will make community policing schemes more popular in the community. However, some communities (i.e. the deprived and the socially diverse) can present difficult challenges for community constables in their efforts to improve the quality-of-life. And concomitantly, community policing schemes are more likely to be embraced by homeowners, businesses, the affluent and the elderly. Thereby patrolling officers will have to bridge differences of perhaps race and class before any benefits come through.

Community engagement is more than intelligence sharing however, as highlighted in Myhill's (2006) definition above. The studies which focused on other forms of engagement (e.g. consultation meetings, home and school visits, foot patrols, newsletters) have found no or weak association with crime levels (Schnell *et al.* 1975; Police Foundation, 1981; Bowers and Hirsch, 1987; Wycoff and Skogan, 1993; Skogan, 1994; Pate and Annan, 1989; Sherman *et al.* 1997; Tuffin *et al.* 2006). Although Trojanowics' (1982) evaluation of foot-patrols in Michigan reported that they lead to significant reductions in reported crime, this is in contradiction to a vast body of empirical researches which failed to report discernable reductions in crime or disorder rates including the famous work of Schnell (*et al.* 1975) and Bowers and Hirsch (1987). For example, Skogan's (1994) review of six major community policing programmes in the United States of America (USA) found slight reductions in victimisation in only three out of the ten areas where community engagement was attempted; Kerley and Benson's (2000:50) review which included nine major studies in the USA concluded that the findings were 'mixed and disappointing'; and Tuffin's *et al.* (2006) evaluation of the Neighbourhood Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) which covered eight police forces and 16 trial sites in the United Kingdom (UK) showed that self-reported victimisation fell by 10% across the trial sites in contrast to five percentage points in the control sites. The best known

experimental study which disapproves the impact of increased patrolling on crime is the Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment (Kelling *et al.* 1974) which showed that a double or three-fold increase in the level of patrol did not affect crime levels. The low likelihood of detection of offenders is partly because response systems do not guarantee arrests: a crime has to be committed or reported by victims or witnesses before an action can be taken (Kelling *et al.* 1974; Stephens, 1988;). Moreover, community meetings (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993) and Neighbourhood Watch (Bennett, 1998) have also failed to reduce crime. Nor giving out newsletters or simply providing information about crime to the public have failed to impact crime levels (Pate and Annan, 1989; Sherma and Eck, 2002) but making door-to-door visits have led to some reductions in both crime (Sherman and Eck, 2002) and disorder (Skogan, 1994).

Community policing programmes tend to be evaluated on the basis of traditional indicators of crime such as crime statistics and clear-up rates. The above references do not give a good image in terms of preventing and deterring crime but it would be a mistake to leave the impression that community engagement is a worthless concept. Marked positive changes in public perception of police and crime were demonstrated in locations where community engagement was deployed (Pate, 1986; Radelet and Carter, 1994; Skogan, 1994; McManus, 1995; Noaks, 2000; Myhill, 2006; FitzGerald *et al.* 2002; Crawford *et al.* 2003; Skogan and Steiner, 2004; Tuffin *et al.* 2006; Wakefield, 2006). Foot-patrolling officers on McMacnus' (1995:85) pilot community policing scheme, for example, managed to improve the 'quality of life' in the community by devoting their attention to unoccupied premises. Very simply, participating residents only had to inform beat-officers about their holiday dates so that they could carry out security checks on their unoccupied premises. More convincing than McMacnus' (1995) study is the effect of engagement on citizens' feelings of 'reassurance': 'the feelings of safety and security that a citizen experiences when he sees a police officer or patrol car nearby' (Bahn 1974:340 cited in Wakefield, 2006: 47). Foot patrols can be particularly useful in closing the gap between public perceptions of inevitable rising crime rates and the statistical reality, as witnessed in chapter one. The public's fear, which has been found to be '... more closely correlated with disorder than with crime' (Kelling *et al* 1988:8) can limit community members' participation in policing and contribute to social inactivity

(Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994:4; Budd and Sims, 2001). Citizen reassurance is not a simple concept: those who are least at risk of crime such as the rich and the elderly may feel the most fearful and, paradoxically, those at most risk such as the young may feel least fearful (Ramsay, 1989). Several empirical studies have been published following Bahn's (1974) statement, producing fundamental evidence to support Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary's (HMIC) (2001:16) consensus that the sense of reassurance can be obtained through 'the provision of a police service that is visible and accessible and where officers and support staff delivering the service that are familiar to the local communities'. Other than the famous work of Kelling *et al* (1974) and Weisburd and Eck (2004), Trojanowicz's (1982) evaluation of foot-patrol programmes had, for example, reported that ' ...persons living in areas where foot patrol was created perceived a notable decrease in the severity of crime-related problems' and along the same lines, Trojanowicz (1982:86) asserted that the residents in Flint/Michigan felt 'especially safe when the foot patrol officer was well known and highly visible'. Skogan's (1994:176) review found important improvements in public perceptions of the police in nine of the 14 projected areas; the evaluation of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) showed 'impressive decline in levels of fear' after reporting a 50% fall among Whites and 20% among African-Americans (Skogan and Steiner, 2004:70); Cordner's (2000) review of sixty studies concluded that community engagement helps reduce fear of crime and increase public sense of safety; and in the UK, although the NRPP's effect on citizens' feelings of safety has been very minor (1%), the percentage of people who had confidence in the police increased by 15% in the trial sites compared to a 3% in the controlled sites (Tuffin *et al.* 2006:50).

However, Skogan and Hartnett (1997) as well as Innes and Fielding (2002) who scrutinised the early theoretical and empirical community policing practices posited that public reassurance cannot simply be achieved with visibility and accessibility. It is insufficient to influence people's perception of safety because dedicated community constables have to fully engage/interact with the locals; and the police forces 'have to start thinking about processes of symbolic communication, impression management, and the ways in which communities interpret crime and policing on a routine basis' (Innes and Fielding, 2002:*no page number*). This reassurance can be successfully illustrated in Noaks' (2000) review of foot-patrollers who

were privately hired and whose mandate was defined by those subscribing to the community policing scheme. In this study Noaks (2000) found that over 9 out of 10 subscribers were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with patrols, and for four-fifths of these subscribers this was due to their perceptions of reduced crime in their neighbourhoods. The perception among residents that crime is on the wane, in turn, will encourage community members to reclaim their streets, helping to deter future criminal activity as they guard their neighbourhoods. Other forms of close interactions, examples include local police stations, community consultation meetings and door-to-door visits, have not only shown to reduce citizens' fear of crime in the neighbourhood but also improved community conditions and enhanced the image of the police with more public accountability (Pate 1986 cited in Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994:11).

Problem Solving

Previous chapters have shown that the police forces have become too professional and too specialised, and as a result they have lost interest in 'less popular' issues that affect communities because they now lie outside of their populist crime priorities. These 'less popular' concerns (which can range from public drinking to anti-social behaviour) can have deleterious corollaries for the community concerned, and directing the police's attention on these less popular concerns can easily improve the quality life in the community. This is, precisely, what the problem solving element of community policing is about. Problem solving is community policing's primary way of fighting crime by identifying local communities' problems, and working to target the root cause of the problem through partnership working. It should not be mistaken to Problem Oriented Policing (POP), a policing style in which the problems are the main focus, rather than communities' input (in contrast to community policing) (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1998: 12). It was Skogan *et al.* (1999) contention that the police forces cannot claim to be implementing community policing without having problem-solving schemes in place.

Proactively fighting crime is fundamental, given that the time taken to investigate crime and apprehend offenders is time-consuming and often will not lead to significant reductions in crime because most offences are not reported to the police and most offenders are

unidentified. For example, Ratcliffe (2008 cited in Ashby and Chainey, 2012: 4) estimated that out of 100 burglaries, robberies, thefts and assaults, 59 crimes are not reported, 12 are reported but not recorded by the police, 21 recorded but not identified, 6 crime offenders are identified but not convicted, and only in 2 crimes are the offenders convicted. This gives a clear-up rate of just 2%. Even when an arrest is made, the problem is not always solved: the business is back on the streets as soon as drug dealers are released into the community from prisons, working even harder to make up for what has been lost. A community policing approach would instead focus its efforts on solving the problem. A North Miami Beach community constable named Don Reynolds, for example, offered each suspected dealer on his beat the chance to attend the annual job fair that he organised with seminars on how to find and keep a job, which proved successful (cited in Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1991: 10).

Police forces can adopt a number of models for problem solving. The most widely known one is the 'SARA' model which was developed by Goldstein (1979). It is a four step process which intends to deal with local crime problems through scanning, analysing, responding, and assessing. Problem solving aims to ensure that fewer crimes occur, and that the local problem does not reappear. 'Problem' in this context is a set of recurring similar events that harm the community (Ashby and Chainey, 2012: 5). It requires dedicated community officers to 'act in a systematic way on the information they receive through community engagement; to have a longer term view of problems and concerns raised by citizens' (Mackenzie and Henry, 2009: 16). The problems targeted under community policing are not just local level crime but also anti-social behaviour, physical disorders, nuisance and fear of victimisation. It is postulated that by allowing the community to participate in local policing, the police will become more aware about and more responsive to the varying needs and expectations of different communities. What this means is that over time there will be a 'long-term reduction in demand for police services, brought about by eliminating an issue that prompts many calls over a period of time (Myhill, 2006: 47). To demonstrate a successful implementation of problem solving, the neighbourhood police officers from the New Parks estate of Leicester made the community feel safer by taking action following a negative newspaper article which touched on the widespread anti-social behaviour by youths, increasing public's worry and fear about crime and disorder in the neighbourhood. Officers made home visits to gather more

intelligence about the problem so that an effective response could be devised. Although many residents were unwilling to engage with the police because they were too intimidated, officers managed to gather enough intelligence from the few who engaged. Several solutions to the problem were devised. One is the removal of a fruit machine from a local take-away. Following the police's work, the number of anti-social behaviour related incidents declined significantly in the neighbourhood; the residents were more willing to report incidents and act as witnesses in the criminal justice system; and public confidence in the police rose as further arrests followed (Leicestershire Constabulary, 2012:19).

However, the value of problem solving is generally appreciated by the academia but the evaluation of problem solving in England and Wales is often incomprehensive and limited to case-studies of specific police forces or geographic areas, with the exception of Tuffin's *et al* (2006) NRPP work. The NRPP study is focused mainly on outcomes and there is very limited analysis of schemes' process information. The study reported important developments in public confidence in policing where problem solving was at the heart. When the six trial sites were compared to the control sites, there was not only five percent decrease in victimisation in trial sites but also the percentage of people who had confidence in the police increased by 15 percentage points; the number of people who felt 'very' or 'fairly' safe when walking alone in dark increased by one percentage point while it fell three percentage points for those living in the controlled sites; and the number of people who trusted the residents in their own neighbourhood increased by three percentage points in trial sites whilst it fell by two percentage points in the control sites (Tuffin *et al.* 2006:83).

The NRPP study concluded that the police forces must look at other methods of problem solving, going beyond the traditional consultation meetings. Similar assertions were made by Bull and Stratta (1995), Fyfe (1992), Morgan (1995) and Harfield (1997) who argued, one way or another, that the police forces' problem solving efforts have historically failed to achieve its intended aims and objectives and that problem solving initiatives should be designed. The evaluation of Police Community Consultative Groups (PGCCs) by the researchers such as Edwards (1997), Bull and Stratta (1995) Myhill *et al* (2003) has consistently found these problem solving programmes to be excluding some of the main social groups in communities

(unrepresentative), biased towards older, White, middle-class citizens. This limitation was also recognised by police authorities and chief police officers in England and Wales (Myhill *et al.* 2003), and as a response some police authorities were putting in special strategies to increase representation. Nevertheless, their performance in this respect was found to be patchy, together with their evaluation of PCCGs. Myhill *et al.* (2003), for example, reported that PCCGs were not sufficiently monitored, and their impact on policing and crime was generally not communicated to the relevant individuals and groups, possibly because no measures were in place to evaluate and analyse the schemes.

The available literature from other parts of the world demonstrated noteworthy positive results of problem solving. Eck and Spelman's (1987 cited in Myhill, 2006:49) rigorous evaluation of a police department's problem solving efforts has reported the success of markedly reducing prostitution, robbery and theft from cars on a specific street, as well as reducing burglaries and improving living conditions in a housing project. Successful implementation of problem solving schemes will help make communities feel that the police are doing something about their raised concerns. This, in return, 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' (Myhill, 2006: 30). Increased trust, faith and confidence in the police and the criminal justice system can markedly improve public's cooperation levels (Skogan *et al.* 1999; Shotland and Goodstein, 1984; Silver and Miller, 2004), and in particular it can increase young people's compliance with the law and order (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). As in the words of Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997:2), where there is 'mutual trust among neighbours, the likelihood is greater that they will share a willingness to intervene [to stop crime] for the common good'. When young people perceive the police as trustworthy, they will be more likely to give consent to the police (more likely to empower the police to carry out their operational duties) and less likely to question police discretion (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003:534). This is important because the evidence suggests that the police's consent evolves from organisational fairness, and the public is more interested in police legitimacy than police efficiency and effectiveness (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). Friedman (1992) claimed that in instances where the police authority is challenged by a community, riots and other forms of disobedience may become

prevalent. And on the part of the police, positive relations will engender police officers to be treated with greater levels of respect and develop their morale as they face fewer litigations, ultimately gaining longer careers due to their improved perceptions of job safety (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

The problem solving element has shown to work best when the local problems are implicitly identified, and for that to be the case, the public's input is vital. It is the community-orientated police personnel who can 'serve as catalysts for joint police and community problem solving endeavours' (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 21). Since most crimes occur in communities where social control has failed, police personnel should be equipped with the correct skills and qualities to 'rekindle that social control in community settings' (Greene, 1993: 86). This is when the Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) come to forefront *(discussed in detail in chapter five).* As PCSOs become a familiar figure to the community and as they become aware of the routine workings of the community, they can form strong bonds with young people, leading to the establishment or re-establishment of noteworthy levels of trust, confidence and co-operation (Scarman, 1982). Construction of proper relations with the local community, subsequently, leads to a high degree of popular acceptance, and this acceptance seems to be critical for the legitimacy of the police. This tenet of community policing resembles the popular image of PC George Dixon whose approach, as briefly discussed in chapter one, was friendly, familiar and trustworthy. PCSOs can be particularly successful in building bonds and gaining the trust of communities by focusing on basic social institutions (e.g., families, mosques, churches, schools, cultural centres) that have been weakened by prejudice, disorder and crime.

Many minor disorders can be successfully handled by PCSOs but the problem solving process will require the public's contribution. Skogan's *et al* (1999b) rigorous evaluation of problem solving which looked specifically at public participation in the USA has concluded that there was very little evidence of success in relation to securing public participation in problem solving. In Vito's (2005) study of high-ranked police officers, more than half (53%) felt that establishing communities' involvement was a key barrier to the implementation of community policing schemes. Hamilton-Smith's (2004) work on burglary, on the other hand,

was more optimistic when it reported some degree of success in public involvement in the United Kingdom. In Hamilton-Smith's (2004) study, residents were not only attending regularly attending meetings but they were also carrying out door-knocking events in the area to explain the Reducing Burglary scheme and were providing advice on crime prevention strategies.

While it may be possible that some residents will choose not to participate in policing for no particular reason, for others there may be factors that influence their decisions. Myhill (2006: 31) 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'. Co-operating with the police to tackle community problems seems to be established more successfully in affluent and socially identical communities than in poorer and socially diverse communities (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994; 16, Skogan *et al.*1999; Grinc, 1994), and therefore it could be argued that problem solving may disproportionately benefit the areas that least need it. There is a wide academic support for mutual police-public mistrust being a barrier to public involvement (Scarman, 1981; Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Macpherson, 1999; Dubois and Hartnett, 2002; Lyons, 2002; Bowling and Phillips, 2003). Establishing or re-establishing trust and confidence in the police for an effective problem solving will take time and require on-going effort, especially in minority ethnic communities in England and Wales where relations have been severely hampered due to the police's use of excessive force, arrogance and aloofness (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999; Bowling and Phillips, 2003). Police officers' inappropriate acts at any level of the police hierarchy can erode difficultly restored levels of trust and confidence within seconds, dampening the likelihood of young people allying with the police because they will not see that collaboration is in their best interest. Antipathy towards the police is especially true for young people in neighbourhoods where social inequalities are rampant along socio-economic, geographic and racial lines (Scott, 2002). And indeed, it was this social group (young people), who were held responsible for the riots and many other forms of disobedience in many cities across United Kingdom (London School of Economics, 2011). Given the frequently encountered finding that the police monitor and control young people more than adults (Stevens and Yach, 1995), it is not

surprising, then, that this sort of 'adversarial contact' (Brunson and Miller, 2006:43) generates a wariness of police, and engenders problematic relationships between the police and young people.

The wealthier and identical communities being generally better equipped in responding to the problems of the community raises the possibility of community policing schemes 'resulting in inequitable outcomes- with those most in need of positive outcomes benefiting least from the process' (Myhill, 2006: 46). For commentators such as Thatcher (2001), on the other hand, increased participation may not always be necessary if the information that is provided to those who choose to participate in problem solving is of good quality for them to make informed decision on behalf of the rest of the community. However, in the United Kingdom context, Sagar (2005) found that when a minority of community members were participating in a problem solving scheme, they labelled Asian community members as 'lazy' for not taking part in the scheme. Other commentators such as Bobov (1999 cited in Myhill, 2006: 31) have questioned the motives of community policing's problem solving element more fundamentally by arguing that the police forces are more inclined to engage with social groups that they are most comfortable with in an effort to preserve both their interests and the traditional 'status quo'. Bohm *et al*. (2000 cited in Myhill, 2006: 76), in support, asserted that the police's problem solving efforts could very easily become 'just another in a long line of efforts by a community's dominant minority to impose its values on the community's majority'.

The public's involvement is often portrayed as an essential ingredient for successful problem solving initiatives, but there are some successful problem solving schemes which do not have the public's involvement at the forefront. Kennedy's *et al.* (2001) problem solving scheme which had positive effects on gun crime, for example, involved a multi-agency approach, differing from a previously unsuccessful initiative due to the public's awareness of the scheme. There have, furthermore, been examples where citizens' involvement had negative effects. Skogan *et al.* (1999) illustrated this with an example of where community members lobbied for a convenience store to have its alcohol licence revoked, in an effort to tackle alcohol related anti-social behaviour in the neighbourhood. After having its alcohol licence revoked, the business owner lost a substantial percentage of its profits and thus was forced

out of business, meaning that the neighbourhood no longer had a local store. Another example, Sagar (2005) found that the residents who were combatting prostitution in Cardiff started to see themselves as the representatives of the police. Some of the prostitutes who were interviewed claimed that they had been 'manhandled' by ordinary members of the community. Sagar (2005) wrote that a similar incident occurred in Birmingham, when two Street Watch participants were suspended following an assault.

It must be reminded that the above examples of problem solving do not provide an accurate reflection of all problem solving schemes which have been implemented in England and Wales. There is a large number of successful problem solving schemes which are yet to be evaluated. Nevertheless, it does not mean that these schemes can be adopted in any neighbourhood. There is no 'one size fits all' community policing scheme, and community policing schemes must be designed according to communities' needs and expectations (Morgan, 1995; Harfield, 1997; Neyroud, 2001; DuBois and Hartnett, 2002; Wycoff, 2004). For tailor-made community policing schemes to be in place, there must be commitment to community policing from all levels of the police organisation (Skogan, 1994; Neyroud, 2001; Ramsay, 2002), and police organisation must be willing and ready to form partnerships with a wide range of social and governmental agencies. For example, designing a solution to domestic violence may necessitate the investment of police resources (time, staff, money, etc.), which can only be commissioned by the senior police management; and police forces may have to work in partnership with other charity organisations (such women's groups, victim support, housing services, etc) to successfully alleviate some of the consequences of crime experienced by vulnerable groups.

Police culture is 'notoriously resilient and resistant to change' (Skogan *et al* 1999), and there is no academic evidence that the police forces across England and Wales are prepared to accept the above arguments in order for community policing to be successfully implemented (Myhill, 2006: 54). What is going to be more difficult to accept is that decision making needs to be decentralised for effective problem solving and community engagement to occur (Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Neyroud, 2001; Ramsay, 2002). In other words, foot patrolling officers will have to be granted with the relevant operational latitude (increased discretion and greater

decision making power) to help them develop trust and confidence, and in order for the police to produce creative solutions that lead to the creation of meaningful and productive ties. Some researchers, on the other hand, have highlighted that increased levels of discretion and decision making, or even close relationships with the members of the public can result in a noticeable increase in police corruption. McDonald (1993:165), for example, asserted that community policing is an 'internally contradictory vision that would sacrifice legality, liberty, and efficiency'. Nevertheless, Kelling (1988) has not found any evidence to validate McDonald's (1993) position. In support of Kelling (1988), the United States National Institute of Justice (1998) reported that the officers who were in favour of community policing schemes made fewer arrests than law-enforcers and a large portion of these arrests were less-discriminatory. Another evidence this time by Trojanowicz (1982), the race relations between the foot-patrolling officers and minorities improved markedly when the officers were decentralised. Meese (1993) felt that only when officers accept higher levels of responsibility and accountability will they become problem solvers and innovators, eventually enabling police officers to experience greater job satisfaction and higher levels of morale.

To conclude this chapter, many police forces, in response to their poor relationships with communities, altered how they policed neighbourhoods. Some police forces created new posts and introduced police-community consultation meetings while others focused on foot-patrols to engage with the community, with a view to mending relationships between the police and the community. The driving forces for change were common across England and Wales. Those who backed up law enforcement saw that the crime control system was simply not working; human rights and civil liberty observers highlighted the brutal and inhumane elements of law-enforcement; social science researchers (re)highlighted the value of the community as an effective body of social controlling an insistent manner; and increasing numbers of people became more concerned with the financial and social costs of law-enforcement. The following chapter will scrutinise the implementation of community policing schemes targeting young people in England and Wales.

CHAPTER 3. Community Policing and Young People: failed, failing or building the future?

> Real community policing necessitates significant cultural change, and the police need to understand why community engagement and consultation are vital in policing and the benefits it brings for them as well as the communities they serve (Foster and Jones, 2010: 401)

Introduction

Chapter two has illustrated that the transition from 'peace-keeping' or community policing to the law-enforcement style of policing happened in the face of a great deal of theoretical enthusiasm for community policing. This chapter will look at how the police forces across England and Wales tried to connect with young people through the schemes that share the principles of community policing. The second half of this chapter will outline some of the latest challenges and opportunities that exist for police-young people engagement in England and Wales, before moving onto providing a critical appraisal of Police Community Support Officers in chapter four.

Police forces' engagement with young people

Chapter two has highlighted that the police's success in providing safety and security is, to a large extent, based on a wide range of partners, the public being the most important one. After all, the engagement element of community policing can enhance the police's ability to tackle crime in a number of ways. As the previous chapter has shown, it can aid the flow of intelligence to the police (making police work more effective); encourage citizens to take ownership of social problems; encourage self-policing (help communities develop informal social control); improve police-public relations; develop better communication channels; and improve mutual understanding. It is not common to see researchers/academics disapproving the central tenets of community policing. Nor does the public disagree with the fundamental principles of community policing: over and over again, the literature has shown that what the public expects from their local police is visibility, responsiveness and reassurance (Lloyd and Foster, 2009 cited in Foster and Jones 2010:1). There are many reasons for the public's expectations. One of them is that too many of *us* fear crime and thus urge the government to provide a highly visible police presence. The British Crime Survey (BCS) which is based on

interviews with approximately 50,000 people aged 16 and above with the intention of providing a better picture of crime by including crimes that are not reported to the police reported that 48% of the public in 2011 disagreed that the police and local councils were doing a good job in tackling anti-social behaviour and crime issues (Home Office, 2011: 86). For young people too, as the first chapter has shown, an important proportion lacked trust and confidence in the police, which opens the door to many other problems such as riots and hostility towards the police. This can be successfully demonstrated with the words of a young person who participated in London School of Economics' (2011: 13) study of 2011 riots. The young participant felt that 'these young people [rioters] are coming out to prove they have an existence, to prove that if you don't listen to them and you don't take into account our views, potentially this is a destructive force'.

Neighbourhood Policing Teams

Influenced by Skogan's community policing study in Chicago, the 'Neighbourhood Policing' (the latest iteration of community policing in England and Wales) was piloted under the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) in 2003 to test whether community-orientated schemes could address anti-social behaviour, crime, public confidence, public fear of crime and social capacity. The NRPP included eight police forces in its pilot study, covering 16 sites, and it consisted of staff from all ranks: special constables, PCSOs, police officers, sergeants and inspectors. It placed an overwhelming emphasis on police 'visibility, accessibility and familiarity' and community engagement, as it was well recognised that the conventional centralised police system was breeding an air of resentment, frustration and hostility. The impressive results of community policing were witnessed in the NRPP, and the then Home Secretary (Charles Clarke) pledged that 'there will be a Neighbourhood Policing Team (NPT) in every area, covering, typically, one or two council wards, in which every resident will know the name of their local police officer, see them on the street and have their phone number and email address' (cited in Parliament UK, 2015: column 1132).

Public perception of local policing improved markedly in parallel with the national roll out of neighbourhood policing in April 2005. What the British Crime Survey indicated is that over 62% of the whole population thought that the police were doing a 'good' or 'excellent' job in

2011/12 (an increase of 15% when compared to 2003/04 figures); and approximately 60% of adults had engaged with the police in one way or another through at least one of the four schemes affiliated with community policing (non-emergency police contact, NPTs, use of crime maps and attending beat meetings)(Office for National Statistics, 2012:29). Reporting a crime or disorder (such as graffiti or burglary) by calling the non-emergency police number (101) has also been affirmed as a community policing initiative, and it is predicted that this 'initiative' constitutes the large proportion of those engaged. Unemployed adults were more likely than employed adults not to engage (45% vs 37%); and in the light of what was discussed in chapter one, ethnic minorities were noticeably more likely than White people not to have engaged with the police (48% vs 38%)(Office for National Statistics, 2012:29).

However, young people's perceptions of the police could not be detected in British Crime Surveys' data. It was only in 2009 that 10 to 15 year olds become an interest for the BCS, and even today, only descriptive data is provided by the BCS. Much of the findings, fall short in terms of analysis: the data is not broken down according to young people's age, ethnicity, gender, geography and very small attempts are made to identify correlations and variations between and within young people. The available findings for 10 to 15 year olds demonstrate that in 2012/13, 55% had a 'positive' perception of the police (increase from 47% in 2009), a figure which is over 10 times more than those who had 'negative' perception of the police (5%) (CSEW, 2014a). Moreover, 67% of 10 to 15 year olds agreed with the statement that 'the police deal with things that matter to young people'; 71% agreed that 'police understand young people's problems in the area'; and 75% agreed that 'police are helpful and friendly'. (CSEW, 2014a). In contradiction to these findings, Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) reported that 40% of young people were not confident that the police can respond to their needs (MPA, 2008 cited in ACPO, 2010:1). The marked discrepancy between the BCS and MPA study, clearly demonstrate the need to gain critical insight into the issues between the police and young people.

The literature review has found some evidence of young people's engagement with their local police through the Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs). Many of these community policing schemes were devised in an effort to improve police-young people relationships. To

demonstrate some of NPTs' successful community projects, a social inclusion project in London's borough of Hackney called 'The Crib' started running the 'Trading Places' workshop after a consultation with young people who felt that they were repeatedly getting stopped and searched for no justifiable reason. The workshop identifies different police-young people encounters, and asks each party to act the way they perceive one another (swapping roles). This particular workshop educates both the police and young people how to manage their expectations of the other group:

> It was very interesting to learn more about it today and put ourselves in their shoes. They showed us how to put on handcuffs and explained what 'reasonable force' is. It's opened my mind that this is their job. It was interesting to switch roles [Male, 17] (Hackney Gazette, 2012)

> Everyone seemed a lot friendlier than when we started... the young people seem to have engaged with it and got something out of it... we spoke about what their rights are and what our rights are and how we can make the situation better – it's all about communication. [Acting Police Sergeant Charlie Vere] (Hackney Gazette, 2012).

Another community policing scheme which works to restore relationships is a partnership project run by Telford and Wrekin's Children in Care Council and West Mercia Police. It is claimed that many of the young people in care held negative attitudes towards the police due to their previous adversarial police contact. With this project, the Police Constable Gordon Kaye visited the children in plain clothes, allowed them try a police uniform, and briefed them about different police equipment. This form of positive interaction developed over time, and led to a social trip away. A young female member of the Children in Care Council, Chloe (15), felt that:

> As he [police officer] did not come in his police uniform, had friendly chats with us, and explained why the police do what they do, my opinions started to change. On Exercise Aspiring Rifleman, we went to an army camp and did numerous activities. Gordon and a few other police officers came along, and I got along with them. It was after this that I realised that the police aren't there to do bad things, and they aren't bad people; they're there to keep you safe and help you (cited in APPGC, 2004: 17).

The above projects provides the police with the opportunity to engage with young people in a non-crime related fashion. Robust exchange of views between the police and young people in these projects can help develop understanding and empathy on both sides quickly and effective. Police personnel can instantly see what, why and how young people are expressing

their feelings towards the police. When the police start to understand what young people feel, think and expect, they can learn how to deliver policing services to them in a more effective and appropriate manner. However, the literature review found that there is an absence of robust and independent evaluation of such schemes. Despite producing beneficial results, little or no evaluation of such schemes prevent its replication in other parts of the country. This gap in the literature must be addressed, if police-young people engagement is to become more evidence based.

Safer School Partnerships

Other than Neighbourhood Policing Teams, police forces across England and Wales have started engaging with young people by partnering up with schools under the Safer Schools Partnership (SSP), following Youth Justice Board's initiative in 2002. Prior to 2002, police presence in schools consisted largely of responses to call-outs (reactive) and engagement through occasional assemblies (APPGC, 2014:14). The programme seeks to achieve a close alliance between the police and the schools community. Under SSPs, a police officer or Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) is based in a school in an effort to keep young people safe, reduce crime and improve young people's behaviour in schools and their communities (Police Foundation, 2011). However, in SSPs' early days of introduction, dedicated central government funding was available to police forces and schools who were involved in the scheme. This funding is no longer available due to the financial instability, and together with the reduced budget available to police forces, a number of police forces across England and Wales had to withdraw police personnel from school-based posts. The Children and Young People Now's (2014) freedom of information request from police forces revealed that out of the 32 forces who responded 11 had fewer or no police personnel working in schools when compared against the 2012 figures. Such has not been the case in London, however. With the financial contribution from Mayor's Office, the Metropolitan Police has almost 300 police officers working across 648 schools in London (APPGC, 2014: 15).

NACRO's (2009) finding that thefts and assaults committed against children and young people overwhelmingly took place in schools, give a big clue about the potential benefits of SSPs. Other than young people's increased sense of safety, improved school attendance, raised

educational achievement, improved behaviour in school, and reduced levels of offending in school and in the local community (Lamont, Macleod and Wilkin, 2011: 17), SSPs can lead to the development of relationships between the police and young people (Black *et al.* 2010). The APPGC's (2014: 15) inquiry, for example, heard the Assistant Headteacher at a school in Macclesfield speak about the positive impact of SSPs: four months into the police officer's presence in his school, the number of students who has been excluded fell from 40 to 18 in comparison to the figures in 2012. Other than school governors, young people, also, often welcome the idea of SSPs and acknowledge that they would be of real benefit if the SSP officer was friendly, positive towards young people, and approachable (Sherbert Research, 2009: 8). The APPGC's (2014: 15) inquiry, moreover, reported the positive experiences of a 15 year male student, Josh, who had poor attendance and criminal background:

> One day I was walking out of isolation and he saw me and he didn't tell me to stop like any other teacher would, he just asked if I was all right. From there it started... He has changed the way I think and approach things. I'm a better person now.

Michael, a 15 year old with a criminal background, is another young person who has benefited from a police officer working in his school. Michael believes that he would have been excluded from school if he had not met Police Constable Storey, who encouraged him to complete probation, improved his relationship with teachers and his life at home (cited in APPGC, 2014: 15). This form of police-young people relationship will not only improve the quantity and quality of intelligence flowing to the police but it will also enhance the police's ability in preventing and handling crime (Lamont, Macleod and Wilkin, 2011:21). On the other hand, however, there are concerns about the stigmatising effects of SSPs on the school, 'marking them [schools] out as being problem establishments' (Ross *et al.* 2010:49). On the contrary, in addition to Clark (2004) who found that communities start to think more positively about young people as a result of police work targeting them, young people's parents expressed relief that efforts are in place to make schools safer though some were sad and concerned that 'it had come to this' (i.e. that the police were necessary in schools)(Sherbert Research, 2009: 8-11). Conflicting feelings are perhaps unsurprising when considering that young people are too frequently depicted as a 'social problem' by the mass media: 71% of youth-related local and national news items were negative, whilst only 14% were positive (MORI, 2004 cited in ACPO, 2010:7).

<u>Volunteer Police Cadets</u>

Also at the national level is the Volunteer Police Cadet (VPC) scheme, where young people give up some of their time to support their local community and assist them in their crime prevention duties. The scheme is for young people between the ages of 13 to 18, and as put by the Victims' Commissioner, Baroness Newlove, the scheme revolves around four aims: enhance young people's understanding of policing; encourage adventure and a model of good citizenship; provide young people with the opportunity to be heard; and inspire young people to contribute positively in their local communities (cited in ITV, 2014). As of April 2014, 34 police forces across England, Wales and Scotland took part in the scheme, and the largest cadet scheme is operated by the Metropolitan Police Service with over 3,500 cadets in 2014, likely to increase to 5,000 by 2016. There is an expectation under the National Volunteer Police Cadets regulation that one-in-four cadets should come from a vulnerable background (young person in care, young offenders, young people with disability or young people at risk of exclusion). However, it is anticipated that the VPCs are unlikely to appeal to young people who hold antipathy towards the police (young ethnic minorities) and those who are most disengaged from society. Where there is participation, the VPCs can play a key role in restoring police-young people relationships. For Bradley (17), the scheme helped him improve his behaviour at school, whereas for Jack (17) it helped him build confidence, enhance his knowledge of policing, and improve his relationship with police officers (APPGC, 2014: 16).

Police forces' problem solving with young people

The success of community policing schemes relies on concentrating on the concerns of local communities. After all, problems around crime and disorder are unlikely to clear by itself without some form of intervention by the police. Early identification of local problems and prompt formulation of strategies with the involvement of various local partners can enhance young people's satisfaction and confidence in the police. The conventional attempts of problem solving have been through formal consultation meetings where meetings are set for residents to get involved in policing affairs. Informal interactions, on the other hand, involve officers spending time in streets to learn about local people, their problems and priorities. To give an example, in Foster and Jones's (2010) study which looked at community policing in four NPTs, consultation 'road shows' were run by a police force to gather information about

residents' concerns or experiences of living in the area. As many as 1,400 people were involved in the project in a short period of time. By acting on the gathered data, 54% of the community felt that their local police was doing a good or excellent job, an increase from 16% three years ago (Foster and Jones, 2010: 6).

However, although the opportunities for involving young people in problem solving are vast, the reality is that the programmes targeting young people have lacked initiative and originality in practice. For example, consultation meetings foreground the increased opportunity for citizens to make decisions for themselves and their community (typically around the insecurities in the neighbourhood), as they involve a 'cyclical process of consultation, action and feedback' (Bullock and Leeney, 2013:202). These meetings which were quickly embraced by police forces across England and Wales are characterised to be fair, reliable and thoughtful. Although consultation meetings provide the platform to democratically influence how the members of the community are policed, they have failed to attract all social groups (unrepresentative); and they were insufficiently independent (Newburn and Jones, 2007). Foster and Jones (2010) posit that these corollaries are well recognised by NPTs, but they are accepted in a lazy fashion rather than being challenged. In their study, a sergeant told 'farcical... [consultation meetings] it's just not representative' while a Constable said ' they're a waste of time and certain people dominate them' (Foster and Jones, 2010:398). There is, therefore, the need 'to go beyond the image of the same few people sitting around in a local hall to ensure that neighbourhood level engagement is inclusive and takes innovative approach to maximising attendance' (Bullock and Leeney, 2013: 204).

In scenarios where there is a lack of 'representation' and 'independence', policing priorities are bound to reflect only the views of the very few who attend them. This is a problem, especially in England Wales which is a diverse society with social problems being complex. Lloyd and Foster (2009 cited in Foster and Jones, 2010:398) gave a clear example of this by asserting that 'hate crime and domestic violence may only be experienced by a minority, but these issues should be high policing priorities'. The same critique is valid for Leicestershire Police's Youth Commission project which consists of 30 'young people' aged between 14 to

25 (SHM Foundation, 2014:5). The members of the commission are required to talk to other young people about their views and expectations about local policing and crime, and present their findings back to the PCC. Although it is a positive step towards having young people's voices around policing and crime heard, there are serious concerns surrounding this chosen strategy. Other than the question marks around those over the age of 18 who were classified as 'young people', there is no evidence that the commissioners have interacted with their peers; there is no evidence that the original gathered views are passed onto the PCC; and perhaps more importantly, there is not any problem solving between the police and different segments of the young population in Leicestershire. For these reasons, it would be unrealistic to expect Leicestershire Police to achieve a reliable and comprehensive coverage of all the different religious, ethnic and other young minority groups in Leicestershire.

Taking more examples from Foster and Jones's (2010:399) study, a sergeant explained that 'they're [the public] quite apathetic…unless it's on their doorstop people aren't bothered'. This contention stands in contradiction to the normative sponsorship theory, signifying that the public is not positive about co-operating with the police. Many academics along with police personnel will agree with Foster and Jones's (2010:339) contention. The Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) findings, for example, reported that only 11,337 people across England and Wales attended a beat meeting in 2011/12 and less than 1% (942) of these were aged between 16-24 (Office for National Statistics, 2012:21). Most of the attendees in 2011/12 were aged over 45 (6,903). Younger people were significantly less likely than those in the older groups to not attend a beat meeting in the last 12 months. It is therefore anticipated that young people, especially those below the age of 16, were totally left out from these meetings.

Numerous factors can influence adults' and young people's participation. Simply by looking at the above figures, one can be quick to judge that the police forces are either unconscious of their responsibilities or uncommitted towards young people, despite the existence of rules, regulations and laws around the policing and crime needs of young people. However, according to Foster and Jones (2010:399), the decision to attend beat meetings can depend on the time and location of the event; lack of trust and faith in the police; peer pressure; and

transport issues. Advisory reports from governmental and non-governmental bodies have continuously stressed the need to adopt a more extensive marketing strategy with a view of rescheduling the timing and venue of meetings to maximise attendance levels (Bullock and Leeney, 2013). More important than that, however, the consensus is that the decision to attend a beat meeting is directly linked with the quality of police-public contact (Jones and Newburn, 2001 cited in Foster and Jones, 2010:398). In support of this, Bradford (*et al.* 2009:144) argued that:

> Well-handled police-public interactions are vital for public confidence in the police. What we have learned since the early 1980s is that it matters how police treat people, especially those who come to them for help and assistance.

It was Skogan's (2006) contention that negative encounters could have up to 14 times more impact than positive encounters on young people's perception of the police. To demonstrate the extent of police initiated contact, figures revealed by the Ministry of Justice's Criminal Justice Statistics (2010) has shown that almost 75,000 young people aged between 10 to 17 were approached by police officers for indictable offences, and were either found guilty or cautioned. In 2007, this figure was 126,000. The peak rate for offending is at the ages 16 to 18, and boys were 4 times more likely than girls to be found guilty or cautioned for indictable offences (Ministry of Justice, 2010). From the lens of the police, as demonstrated in chapter one, young people are over-policed because of their high likelihood of involvement in activities which are condemned as illegal for their age group (e.g. alcohol and drug misuse, skiving from school and reckless scooter driving). Even when young people are not engaging in any deviant behaviour, police-initiated contact can lead to negative opinion towards the police. Vaguely deeming young people as nuisance fosters hostile police-youth encounters (Norman, 2009).

The Challenges and Opportunities of Community Policing

<u>The challenge: community policing's lack of popularity.</u>

Although children and young people comprise 25% of the population in the United Kingdom, a minor interest has been shown by the government to enhance their well-being across many public sectors, i.e. health, education and welfare. For example, Department for Work and Pensions (2013) reported that 3.5 million children (one in four of children) in the United

Kingdom are living in poverty. The effects of child poverty are vast but one important effect is that children and young people living in poverty are more likely to resort to offending and drug and alcohol abuse. The state recognises that young people deserve protection and support and therefore urge police forces to co-operate more with young people. Community policing schemes have, generally been responsible to fulfil much of these requirements: the Youth Crime Action Plan (YCAP), Association of Chief Police Officers' Children and Young People's strategy and Safe and Confident Neighbourhoods Strategy were introduced in 2008, 2010 and 2010 respectively. They all, in one way or another, aim to improve the safety of young people; improve partnership working; reduce youth crime and disorder; and improve young people's satisfaction and confidence in the police through all or some of the principles of community policing.

Indeed, without question, there are a lot more schemes which run at the local level that have not yet grasped academics' attention. And certainly there is the space for a lot more schemes that can improve young people's quality of life in the community but these schemes face implementation problem. The barriers for the successful implementation of policing schemes became more prevalent as the community policing model gained momentum in the early 2000s. The first and foremost difficulty of community policing schemes is public involvement. Many police forces experience a great deal of difficulty in getting the citizens involved, partially because individuals' enthusiasm for community policing schemes can easily decrease and also because efforts to establish a solid working relationship between the police and the community may flounder due to the residents' distrust, hostility and fear of the police (Schneider, 1998; Long *et al.* 2006). The success of community policing schemes is dependent upon the police's ability to engage with the community but young people in general, young ethnic minorities in particular, have shown to be reluctant in engaging with the police. Ethnic populations' reluctance to engage with the police has been the case for a long period of time, as shown in chapter one. And indeed they have a valid reason not to engage. Black people in 2000 were twice as likely as White people to be 'really annoyed' by the actions of a police officer in the last five years (19% compared to 38%, for Asians the figure was at 23%) due to the unfriendly, rude and unreasonable behaviour of officers (BCS, 2000 cited in Sims and Myhill, 2001), evidence of procedural injustice. Similar findings were reported by Cao *et al.*

(1996) and Maxson *et al*. (2003). Today, it is postulated young people are less likely to interact with the police when compared against their older counterparts; and young ethnic minorities in general, Black youths in particular, are less cooperative than their White counterparts (Clancy *et al.* 2001; Maxson *et al*. 2003; Skogan, 2006; Allen and Patterson, 2006).

And hence, while problem solving and engagement which rely on citizen initiative are an important concept of community policing, they can be 'regressive rather than progressive in their impact' (Skogan, 1995: 2-3), resulting in the waste of police resources at this time of austerity. Largely because of the problems associated with citizen involvement, Alexander (1995: 93) reported that past community policing schemes were in most cases 'cosmetic'. They gave very little, if any, real power to the members of the community. Alexander's term 'cosmetic' was coined in 1995 but despite the elapsed time (two decades) such term continues to be precise for many police forces today. Many are cosmetic indeed, but not merely because of a lack of citizen involvement. Sustaining commitment and enthusiasm to community-orientated proactive work has been problematic ever since their inception (Crawford *et al.* 2003). To elaborate on this issue for example, community policing schemes require long-term political commitment and active support from senior officers (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). The problem is that chief police officers tend not to have the patience nor the will to wait one sometimes two or more years to see the results of their community-focused programme, hence why their support lacks. In situations where there is organisational commitment to community policing, it is a reoccurring scenario that police forces' unbalanced dependence on the law-enforcement style of policing ruins the constructive work of community policing philosophy. In other words, it is to say that an incident of reactive policing can very easily damage difficultly restored levels of trust, confidence and co-operation within seconds.

Moving on, there is also the 'lack of association between real police work and community policing' (Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2013:2). Bennett's (1998) review of literature on community policing in the United Kingdom reported the low status that is afforded to community policing schemes, particularly among young police officers who failed to regard community policing tasks as 'real' policing (Bennett and Lupton, 1992; McConville and

Shepherd, 1992). The reluctance to accept community policing was perhaps because many officers did not fully understand the principles of community policing philosophy or believed that the philosophy could be put into practice (Irving *et al.* 1989). Concerns about community policing were so strong that according to Bennett (1998) some police officers obstructed or sabotaged senior police officers' efforts to implement community policing (Bennett, 1998). Herbert's (2001) examination of community police officers in the USA concluded that the resistance to community policing evolves from officers' 'adventure and machismo' features. When Skogan *et al* (1999) interviewed police officers during the evaluation of the CAPS, officers made comments like 'why can't they [senior police personnel] just let us do what we signed up to do?', and in Irving's *et al* (1989) evaluation of a community policing scheme in London, officers held 'high conservative' views about the roles and responsibilities of a police officer, despite the constant delivery of positive information and messages about the community policing philosophy. Moreover, police officers in Irving's *et al* (1989) study saw community beat officers' role as 'low status' and that community policing duties were 'either an ancillary to the main job of policing or a sort of nebulous icing on the cake'.

More recent studies into the low-status that is afforded to community policing schemes in England and Wales have put forward different form of arguments. For Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2013), it is possible that the pluralisation of policing has devalued community policing: high visible police presence; reassurance; and engagement are no longer the sole mandate delivered by the police (Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2013). Tight budget cuts may have led chief police officers to assume that the public's demand for visibility and reassurance might be satisfied by non-governmental and private organisations, and some police officers may start to believe that community-orientated work is not within their remit, nor require their skills and techniques (Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2013).

Community policing's lack of popularity is not only specific to police officers. Efforts have been made to enhance the significance of community policing work through academic research but these have not yet diminished the low-status afforded to community policing in the police service and in the wider society. The reality is that today's community policing philosophy lacks popularity at all levels, despite annual inspection reports containing positive statements

about the principles of community policing since the 1990s (Bennett, 1998). The community policing philosophy has often been used as something 'extra' or 'nice to do' (Foster and Jones, 2010) by chief police officers, and it has not been embraced as a police philosophy but rather as a policing tactic used only when required. Looking at this resistance from chief officers' point of view, they may have an acceptable reason, however. Although some of the intangible benefits of community policing (e.g., citizen reassurance, quality of interaction, flow of information) will become apparent in comments from community members, they are difficult to measure and it takes a considerably lengthy time for the anticipated results to come through. There is a strong tendency amongst chief constables to dismiss community policing schemes that do not have immediate impact on crime trends. Thus, as Weatheritt (1983) noted, it is very difficult for police forces to give an accurate account of its activities to those concerned: policymakers and the public. Having tangible performance measures, on the other hand, would help the police document the progress made. In addition to the difficulty of measuring performance, Harfield (1997) claimed that the nationally-set performance objectives in England and Wales has helped ensure that law enforcement remained the dominant style of policing, and thus noted that performance objectives which emphasise community-orientated work are likely to lead to more proactive forms of policing. Similarly, Neyroud (2002) has argued that there are no incentives in places to police forces for adopting problem solving, serving to dissuade senior police personnel from community policing schemes.

What is clear is that the attitudes to community policing must change not just within the police service but also outside the police service because there is the public's perception that community policing is a 'weak' approach towards crime. The Police and Crime Commissioners, chief police officers, inspectors, sergeants, police officers and community members will need to grasp the importance of enhancing community partnership, dialogue and problem solving in policing. They will need to understand and accept the benefits that this policing philosophy brings to the police organisation. To make the changes that have been suggested above and in order for community policing schemes to increase in size across England and Wales, significant alterations to the organisation may necessitate:

The entire police organization must be structured, managed, and operated in a manner that supports the efforts of the patrol officer and that encourages a cooperative approach to solving problems. Under community policing, command is no longer centralized, and many decisions now come from the bottom up instead of from the top down. Greater decision making power is given to those closest to the situation with the expectation that this change will improve the overall performance of the agency. This transformation in command structure is not only sound management, but is also crucial to the creation of meaningful and productive ties between the police and the community (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994:23).

Opportunity: Social Media, Young people and the Police

Highlighted numerous times in the literature review is that police contact matters, whether crime-related or not. The police's increasing resort to the use of technology after the introduction of Police Act 1964 which provided for the establishment of an organised and scientific police force had serious repercussions on police-public relations, as community became a passive player in the fight against crime. The National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) made a number of recommendations for positive changes in the community. One of these recommendations was that the police should be seeking for other methods of engagement with the community, going beyond the traditional techniques which include public meetings, street briefings, and door-knocking events which posed difficulties for the police to engage in a two-way communication. It was emphasised in chapter two that the isolation between the police and the community can hamper police forces' crime-fighting efforts: without sufficient engagement, the police would be relatively unlikely to have access to pertinent information to apprehend offenders.

Police services are required to embrace a wide range of communication channels that enable interaction with the people that it is meant to serve and protect. Traditional communication channels such as telephones, walk-in stations and consultation meetings are expensive to run in terms of finance and staff hours but new and emerging technologies provide an important opportunity for the police to engage with the community. Social media, for example, provides police forces a fundamental platform to engage with the public. Social media is simply the integration of technology and social interaction, and it is argued to be the biggest change since the Industrial Revolution in the late 1800s. To iterate the opportunities that social media provide to the police forces, there are over 1.1 billion Facebook users (half of these users have

daily access); over 500million users of Twitter (grown by around 800% in the past year) ; and on average over 1 billion regular users visit YouTube every month. A research carried out by Orr (2013: 40) reported that one of every six minutes spent online is spent within social networks.

Although physical interaction is an important element of community policing, Accenture's (2013: 10) citizen survey revealed that 70% of citizens were 'likely' to use digital government services; 50% were in favour of an increase in the use of police websites and portals; and 72% of the public felt that social media can be an effective tool in policing. Social media has the power to not only speed up information transmission, but also to organize and mobilize groups quickly—as well as offering the opportunity for police to improve investigations and emergency responses' (Accenture, 2013: 10). For example, as high as 72% of citizens felt that social media can aid the police in investigating and catching criminals, 53% felt it can improve police services and 47% felt that it can prevent crime (Accenture, 2013: 11). Not limited to that, Police officers and PCSOs can resort to social media sites to dispel rumours; to keep the public informed about events and activities; and to solicit crime prevention tips. They can increase their 'visibility' through the social media without being seen in person. For example, the police forces can regularly share information through social media sites about their commitment to young people, as well as detailing community policing schemes that is targeted at them. Mawby (2002: 1) highlighted the importance of publicising good work through media so that public opinion about the police can be improved, and came up with the term 'image work' which he defined as 'all the activities in which police forces engage and which project meanings of policing'.

The significance of police 'image work' was theoretically proven by Bradford *et al.* (2009 cited in Foster and Jones, 2010:399) when they reported that public feeling informed about police activities will generate positive perceptions of police effectiveness and community engagement. Leaflets and public posters were conventional approaches, but now by 'tweeting' or sending Facebook 'updates', PCSOs can reach a larger proportion of their local community, informing hundreds or perhaps thousands of people in the communities they are meant to serve and protect within seconds. At the time of writing this chapter, for example,

by going on to the Leicestershire Constabulary's Facebook page, the first thing that grabs attention is Leicestershire police officers' charity event to raise money for five charities. Published is a news that the officers will be walking for 100km in one day from London to Brighton with a hope of raising £4,000. Leicestershire Police has over 20 thousand followers, and it is relatively possible that this message will be read by the majority of these followers, helping the police to alter public's attitude towards the police. Another example, randomly choosing Surrey Police's Facebook page, there exists a 'wall post' at the top of the page, shared 9 hours ago titled 'protect your garage with added security', aiming to reduce the number of breaks into garages by raising awareness about crime prevention. Also exists on this page is a YouTube video titled 'left your possessions?', again aiming to enlighten individuals about auto-crime. As of today, the video received over 1,200 views, 20 'likes' and it has been 'shared' by 6 other Facebook users. Contents that are 'liked' and 'shared' by Facebook users will be displayed as stories on that person's timeline and their friends' News Feeds, and thereby there is the high possibility of that content being viewed or read by those who are not even subscribed to the police's Facebook page.

Social media sites can be particularly effective in communicating with youths, a demographic group which rarely subscribes to print media but rather chooses to get their local-news and events through Facebook and Twitter. The intention here is not to recommend that foot-patrols are no longer necessary, but rather the message is that the social media is fast, free and simple to use, and therefore it is something that PCSOs can, and should, take advantage of. And indeed, the UK police forces have kept-pace well with these sites. Analysis of the use of social media channels have reported that 98% of British forces have a Twitter page, with approximately 18 thousand followers per force (Metropolitan Police lead the way with 125,000 followers); 96% of police forces have Facebook page; and 94% of police forces have YouTube channels with a total of 3,600 video uploads. Police forces with the greatest popularity on social media networks are those where there had been the fiercest unrest. The increase in the number of followers of Twitter accounts managed by NPTs is considerably lower in comparison to local police station accounts: the number of followers of the existing 402 NPTs with Twitter accounts grew from 108,000 in June 2011 to 166,00 in August 2013 (an increase of 54%) (Procter *et al* 2013: 4). The easy access to advanced technology along with

the growing use of mobile phones by all social groups is partially responsible for this global movement. People are now 'engaging with services at their own convenience and in the manner, medium and at a time which suits them' (National Policing Improvement Agency; 2013: 3). Having said that, it is important to be cautious about two particular negative points associated with social media. First, word of mouth and other communication methods may be considered as a successful marketing tool, but the same may not necessarily be the case for social media. Although children and young people subscribe to social media, there is no evidence to suggest that it is perceived as trustworthy or as ethical forms of media by young people. And secondly, some serving PCSOs and police personnel may use social media sites to share their own thoughts, which can be viewed by hundred and perhaps thousands of people within a matter of minutes. If the shared material is inappropriate, poorly written or if something is posted in a manner that is in contradiction to the Code of Ethics (2014), it will be almost impossible to remove it permanently from the virtual world. It is possible for viewers to 'screen shoot' a status or post, which can be potentially damaging.

Overall, as community policing and other community orientated programmes descended in terms of police priority, there emerged an unbalanced emphasis on the law enforcement style of policing. Alderson in the late 1970s, Scarman in the early 1980s and Macpherson in the late 1990s highlighted some of the problems of this transition. Subsequent initiation of a wide range of community policing schemes, in response to deteriorating police-public relations and poor levels of police-public engagement, were found to be useful in enhancing public confidence; public sense of safety; police legitimacy; and improving quality of life. However, although the benefits associated with community policing schemes are all valuable, there are long-standing challenges. The resistance towards community policing comes from all levels of the police and all divisions of the society: chief police officers are hesitant, poor police-public relations prevent engagement and problem solving, and it is devalued by police officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). Without question, the challenges associated with the successful deployment of community policing schemes are further reinforced as a result of financial austerity.

CHAPTER 4. A critical account of the work of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs)

Introduction

This chapter will provide a critical appraisal of the work of PCSOs. In order to do this, the first section will examine their role and function within the community policing philosophy. The second section will assess whether today's PCSOs, intended to be effective and economical, can play a pivotal role in attaining the promises of community policing which were outlined in previous chapters.

Background into the Roles and Responsibilities of PCSOs

It was the Police Reform Act 2002 which provided for the establishment of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), following the then Labour government's White Paper Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform (Home Office, 2001b). Blair (2002:23) described the PCSO initiative as a 'revolution in British policing', as their introduction hinted a trend towards Peel's police which prioritised community-focused work over crime-fighting. The support for the introduction of PCSOs and the growth of a civilianised police has been partly driven by two concerns: efficiency and effectiveness. Effectiveness in the sense that the PCSOs would be visible at all times, not withdrawn from the streets to give evidence in courts or be stuck with stacks of files following an arrest. And efficiency in the sense that their restricted remit and non-confrontational role would require short training programmes and very few equipment, two features that resemble 'bobbies on the beat'. Centrally set policing targets on enhancing the levels of public reassurance, public satisfaction of police officers and police officers' engagement with the public signalled the government's concern for greater police effectiveness. There was a widely held belief by policy makers that modern policing had to do something about the public fear of crime and anti-social behaviour issues that conventional policing (law enforcement) failed to solve. This recognition was explicit in HMIC's (2001:17) thematic report:

> Enhancing public reassurance is central to what the police service and partners are trying to achieve and all police officers and staff appreciate the role of visibility, accessibility and familiarity in an overall strategy for achieving this. Forces will therefore be pursuing the core objectives of reducing crime and disorder in a way that maximises these three elements.

The Police Reform Act 2002, therefore, extended the roles and responsibilities of police staff (non-sworn officers) to assist and guide sworn police officers in their front line duties. Confident Communities in a Secure Britain, a strategic document which was produced by the Home Office (2004), put forward that the PCSOs would be the vital element of Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs). The first PCSOs were on the streets from April 2003. The Association of Chief Police Officers (2005: 6) described the intention of PCSOs as:

> ...to contribute to the policing of neighbourhoods, primarily through high visibility patrol with the purpose of reassuring the public, increasing orderliness in public places and being accessible to communities and partner agencies working at local level.

In an effort to modernise the police service, shortly after the introduction of PCSOs, 'Modernising the Police Service' (HMIC, 2004) report was released which discussed the role and management of PCSOs and other police personnel, touching on role boundaries, institutional practices and barriers to change. This document identified that the PCSOs' duty is to be accessible to the members of the community and responsive to the varying needs and expectations of neighbourhoods through the NPT concept. They are an integral part of an effectively functioning Neighbourhood Policing Team, a concept developed by the Home Office which seeks to enhance physical contact between the police and the local community largely through PCSOs and less so through police officers, volunteers and other police personnel. NPTs place an increasing emphasis on the policing and crime needs and expectations of local communities. NPTs provide the platform where PCSOs make a valuable contribution to the objectives of reducing crime and fighting anti-social behaviour in communities, by working closely with colleagues in NPTs and with other members of the extended policing family. They are most appropriate at the 'softer' end of policing where they frequently deploy their engagement and communication skills rather than the use of law enforcement powers.

Visibility and Reassurance

Although a wide range of information is collected by the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) about the police's visibility and degree of engagement with the community, there is not a national data that specifically focuses on PCSOs. The CSEW survey failed to distinguish PCSOs from regular police officers in its annual survey. It is crucial to remind ourselves that a

thorough data collection about PCSOs' visibility, engagement and reassurance is instrumental to expand knowledge; to improve policy making; to enhance decision making; and to devise new policing strategies. Having outlined this gap in data collection, from ACPO's (2005) above statement it is clear that visibility is the primary function of PCSOs. ACPO's guidance on how to achieve high visibility mentioned the best use of hot spots, schools and youth clubs. It is however at the police force's discretion to determine the area of deployment of PCSOs. Giving chief police officers the autonomy to decide where and when to position PCSOs in areas brings inconsistent policing and fosters unprofessionalism on the national level. There are bound to be role differences between and within police forces. To give an example, the PCSOs in the London borough of Westminster are generally on foot-patrol in their efforts to combat terrorism, looking out for suspicious behaviour or suspicious activities which often involves questioning individuals to seek information. PCSOs in Camden, also one of the boroughs of London, carry out a greater variety of community duties which include not limited to crime prevention; giving out leaflets; carrying out partnership work; and working to disrupt drug markets. To give another example of inconsistencies between and within forces, within the Metropolitan Police there are traffic PCSOs (responsible for the flow of traffic); victim PCSOs (to give updates to victims of crime); safer transport PCSOs (to provide high visibility on buses and railways); and safer schools PCSOs (responsible for the safety and security of local schools, tackling school and student issues). It could be said that the PCSOs within the Metropolitan Police who are responsible for the traffic may not be best suited to carry out the role of safer schools PCSOs or victim PCSOs if circumstances dictated. Or even perhaps, if the circumstances dictated traffic PCSOs in London to be transferred to elsewhere in the country where traffic is not a long-standing concern, their effect on 'reassuring the public, increasing orderliness in public places and being accessible to communities and partner agencies working at local level' (Cooper et al, 2006: vii) would be limited.

Although the roles, responsibilities and powers (mentioned later in this chapter) of PCSOs vary between police forces, for 85% of police forces 'visibility' was the most important reason for PCSOs, followed by engaging with the community and dealing with anti-social behaviour and other minor crimes (Cooper *et al.* 2006). From the lens of PCSOs, 72% posit that they exist to provide high visibility, followed by reassurance (26%) (Long, Robinson and Senior, 2006:

44). These findings show that police forces' and PCSOs' understanding of their role is in accordance with the ACPO's guidance that PCSOs would be most appropriate at the 'softer' end of policing rather than the 'harder' end which would entail the greater use of enforcement powers. Indeed, as outlined in chapter two, police visibility is crucial in enhancing public's perception of police effectiveness: police visibility have shown to lead to increased faith, confidence and satisfaction in the police. Between December 2010 and February 2012 the number of police officers and PCSOs in visible front-line duties have decreased by 5,500 officers (HMIC, 2012: 42) but according to the CSEW the reduction in the number of officers has not let to a decrease in the number of adults reporting police visibility: the proportion of adults reporting seeing a police officer has remained stable since 2010. HMIC (2011a:28) reported that a broad variation exists between police forces in the number of police officers and PCSOs allocated to visible roles: from 51% to 75%. A different study carried out by the Police Federation with the intention to examine the national deployment of PCSOs revealed that 75% of PCSOs' time was spent on the beat. The initial reaction to these two statistics may well appear positive but a further scrutiny reveals that only 12% of officers and PCSOs are visible and available to the public (HMIC, 2011a:29). There are also variations between forces for this aspect. For example, only 9% of officers are visible and available in Devon and Cornwall area where as it is 16% in Merseyside. Kent Police's research into the deployment of PCSOs revealed that two-thirds of PCSO time is spent on filling forms (cited in House of Commons, 2012:8). In 2013, 17% of adults have seen a patrolling officer in their local area about once a month; 26% saw about once a week; 9% saw about once a day; and 3% saw more than once a day. These statistics demonstrate that around 61% of adults have seen a patrolling officer at least once a month; and 26% never saw a police officer in their local area (Office for National Statistics, 2012:14). For 10 to 15 year olds, 67% have seen a patrolling officer in or around their local area in the past year, meaning that about 33% of young people aged between 10-15 have not seen them at all. This shows that young people are more likely than adults to report never seeing a patrolling officer in their local area (26% vs 33%).It was highlighted in chapter two that increased police presence leads to higher ratings of the police. In support of this theory, the scenario in England and Wales is that adults who reported high visibility were 68% more likely to rate the police positively than negatively (HMIC, 2012:18). A set of data which compares police visibility against 10 to 15 year olds' ratings of the police does not exist today, and certainly this gap will be covered in this research, but what is known

is that 58% of 10 to 15s felt some degree of positiveness about their local police in 2009/10, increasing to 54% in 2011/12.

The community policing philosophy is built on the ideals of normative sponsorship theory which encourages the importance of working in partnership with the public to enhance the quality of life in the community. This will require PCSOs to maintain high-quality contact with citizens that is based on fairness, trust and respect. After all, cooperating with the community has shown to have greater impact on confidence levels than mere police visibility. This became apparent as local people started to complain that patrolling officers do nothing but walk the beat. 'What the residents wanted was a form of police presence that was engaged in trying to manufacture solutions to their problems' (Innes, 2007:6). The scrutiny into the community policing schemes in chapter four has portrayed police forces' struggle in maintaining public co-operation but the first evaluation of PCSOs which was published by the Home Office and authored by Cooper, Anscombe, Avenell, McLean and Morris (2006; xii) reported that:

> ... Community Support Officers [now known as PCSOs] were providing a service that was highly valued by the public, businesses and police officers. They were more of a visible and familiar presence than police officers, who had other demands on their time. The accessibility and approachability of CSOs meant that the public were more likely to pass on information to CSOs that they may have felt was too trivial for a police officer. The public appreciated the CSOs' role in engaging with young people and dealing with ASB.

'Reducing fear of crime begins with, and is founded upon, a strong police presence on our streets' were the words of Gordon Brown, the former prime minister, in his speech at Reading Town Hall on March 2010 (The National Archives, 2010). In line with this contention, as shown in previous chapters, the visibility, accessibility and perhaps the familiarity of PCSOs were the key factors in attaining public reassurance. PCSOs' engagement efforts are commonly valued by the academia, and this is frequently reflected onto the statistics. Hough's *et al.* (2013: 31) study into the trust in police has shown that the level of confidence in the police has increased over the past recent years: where public confidence in the police was 60% in 2008/09, it increased to 66% in 2010/11. Importantly, a careful look into the statistics reveal that there was a declining trust in the police until 2001 but in parallel with the inception of PCSOs in 2002, the public's perception of the police started to improve until 2012 (Hough *et al.* 2013:

36). Looking at the most recent CSEW (Office for National Statistics, 2012: 18) figures, it is found that when the police are highly visible, they are 68% more likely to be ranked positively overall. This finding is in line with Hough's *et al* (2013:43) conclusion that 'seeing more police in the local area was also consistently associated with higher average levels of trust'. And in the simplistic words of Cooper *et al.* (2006: 1):

> They [PCSOs] have carried out high visibility patrol that has led to greater levels of reassurance amongst the public, the tackling of youth disorder and more contact and engagement with the community.

Hence, as evidenced above and in the previous chapters, not many disagree that PCSOs are effective in providing reassurance. Nevertheless, times are tough and the police forces across England and Wales are facing severe budget cuts that will, naturally, impact the provision of 'service'. The election of a Coalition government in May 2010 embarked on a budget reduction plan which aimed to reduce police funding by 20% by 2014/15. The reduction of a 20% in funding with a hope in saving approximately £2.1bn by 2014/15 accumulated to the redundancy of 16,200 police officers, 1,800 PCSOs and 16,100 police staff- a total of 34,100 employees from March 2010 till March 2015 (HMIC: 2011), taking the size of the police forces across England and Wales back to its 2003/04 levels. As at 31 March 2013, there were approximately 213,620 full-time equivalent (FTE) staff working in the 43 police forces of England and Wales of which 129,584 were police officers, a decrease of 3.4% (4,516) when compared against March 2012. Similar reduction (3.2%) in police officer numbers was witnessed between 2010 and 2011. Although the reduction in the number of PCSOs has not been that dramatic when compared against police officers, the reduction is significant enough to make dramatic changes on service delivery: at their peak in 2009, there were almost 17,000 PCSOs but this figure declined to 14,205 in March 2013, a reduction of 2,795 officers (GOV UK, 2013). As at March 2013, police officers represented 60.7% of the total police workforce, with the rest of the workforce comprised by police staff (30.7%), PCSOs (6.6%) and traffic wardens and designated officers (2%). Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2011: 14) presumed that the number of PCSOs will reach its peak period after March 2015, when budget cuts are over.

<u>Engagement</u>

It is evident from the quote withdrawn from ACPO's guidance on PCSOs that the role of a PCSO is not just about high visibility foot patrol. It also entails interacting with the community. There are two forms of interaction that PCSOs many find themselves involved in: formal and informal. Formal interactions happen when NPTs carry out consultation meetings or when PCSOs partner up with other civil services or non-governmental organisations. This style of interaction was addressed in the previous chapter under the community policing's 'engagement' element, and it was concluded that formal engagement mechanisms were frequently unrepresentative and unsuccessful overall. Informal interactions, on the other hand, occur when PCSOs are directly interacting with the community. This section will discuss how PCSOs interact with the members of the community.

The role differences, as witnessed in the two boroughs of London (Westminster and Camden), may lead to differences in engagement and satisfaction levels. This was confirmed in Johnston's (2005) study. The security orientated PCSOs in Westminster have shown to be less valued than the community-work orientated PCSOs in Camden, despite the fewer number of PCSOs in Camden in comparison to Westminster (30 vs 200 respectively):

> More than two-thirds (67%) of Camden respondents compared to one fifth (19%) of those in Westminster believe PCSOs are valued because of their public accessibility.
>
> Almost two-thirds (63%) of Camden respondents, compared to around one fifth (18%) of those in Westminster, thought PCSOs provided an important link between the local community and the police.
>
> More than a half of Camden respondents, compared with only one-fifth of those from Westminster, 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with the statement that 'PCSOs provide an effective way of meeting the public's demand for a greater police presence on the street'.

As outlined earlier, there is not a collected national data which details public's engagement with PCSOs. What is known however is that about 31% of adults said that they had seen, read or heard about their NPT (Home Office, 2010b:25). This relatively low figure was not the result of a direct contact with the PCSO however: most became aware of their NPT in a police newsletter (26%) followed by a local newspaper (25%) on a public poster (13%) and in a Neighbourhood Watch newsletter (11%) (Home Office, 2010b:25-26). Telephone was the

most chosen method when contacting the police about non-crime related issues (54%), followed by making contact in person at a meeting or event (13%) and visiting a police station (9%). Only 4% of respondents approached an officer on patrol (could be a PCSO or a regular police officer) (Home Office, 2010b:26).

PCSOs were envisioned to be the key players in gathering public's concerns through regular contact but the BCS (2010) results revealed that only 29% of adults who interacted with their NPT were asked what their problems were in the local area (Home Office, 2010b:26). In Foster and Jones' (2010:5) research, PCSOs were found to be confused and unequipped about how to strengthen their interaction with communities. The same study reported that the PCSOs were resisting to seek advice possibly because they were afraid that their capability might be questioned by higher ranks *(discussed in detail under training)*. Leaving to a side the questions surrounding PCSOs' competence levels, a further scrutiny revealed that the reduction in the number of police officers over the last years has forced important numbers of PCSOs to take responsibility for operational roles envisioned for regular police officers (Telegraph, 2013). This partly explains why only 4% of members of the public approached an officer on patrol. In numerous occasions, the PCSOs were placed inside police stations rather than on the streets, often filling in forms. The bureaucracy aspect of policing contradicts the theory behind the introduction of PCSOs, which was to provide a visible presence, facilitating community engagement and acting as the 'eyes and ears' of the police.

The level of bureaucracy that PCSOs' are exposed to is perhaps unsurprising. The police literature has persistently told that today's police personnel are dramatically more socially isolated than the Peelers: 43% of police-time was spent in a police station (57% of time is spent outside) and 41% of this time was devoted to paperwork which includes writing up crime reports, intelligence reports, forms to log recovered property and missing person details (Singer, 2001: 9-12). More recently, Jan Berry, a former chairman of the Police Federation who was later hired by the Home Office in 2008 to combat red tape, concluded that a third of police officers' time is wasted on pointless bureaucracy, preventing front-line policing and reducing officers' already deteriorated morale. Form-filling and paperwork that is involved in processing prisoners and preparing prosecutions occupied an officer for

approximately three hours (Singer, 2001:12). Although the police bureaucracy is an imperative aspect of police performance management as well as a viable mechanism which ensures that officers can be held accountable for their actions (Joyce, 2011: 236), but according to Archambeault and Weirman (1983) bureaucracy discourages productivity and initiative as well as wasting the time that should be devoted to community engagement. Among the recommendations made to increase police presence and reduce the negative consequences of bureaucracy were the empowerment of the police -not the prosecutors- to charge offenders in cells; encouraging the police to resolve less urgent matters over the telephone; adopting a two-tiered approach to crime and incident recording (recording serious offences fully and minor offences concisely); and digital recording of stop and searches. Sir Ronnie Flanagan, a chief inspector of constabulary since 2005, argued that such proposals would equate to a large-scale saving of not less than 5-7 million hours, equivalent to 2,500-3,500 police officers (Flanagan, 2008: para 5.64).

It is not just bureaucracy that determines PCSOs' engagement levels, however. The demographics of PCSOs will also help determine the level of engagement that PCSOs have with the community. Previous chapters have highlighted how a dialogue between officers and residents from the same ethnic group can be more successful and beneficial than the communication between those with little in common. Diversifying PCSOs could therefore help the police restore the relationships with ethnic groups, the group that the police have struggled to connect. And certainly, diversifying English and Welsh police forces can be exceptionally valuable. A 2005 Home Office study which was carried out to reveal the extent of trust that the ethnic groups had towards the police reported that Black people had the lowest levels of trust towards the police at 65%, in comparison to 80% of Whites and 79% of Asians (Home Office, 2005). Trust levels have shown to affect the nature of call to the police: Whites were more likely to contact the police to report a crime (14%) compared to 11% for Asians and 12% for Blacks (BCS, 2005 cited in Bowling, Parmar and Phillips, 2010: 14). From a broader perspective, the United Kingdom is ranked ninth out of 26 European countries in the level of trust that the residents have towards their own police service. Although this finding compares favourably against Ukraine, Russian Federation and Israel, it is still logical to

comment that there is room for improvement when compared against Denmark, Spain, Finland and Norway (Hough *et al.* 2013: 51).

One of the unexpected or perhaps unconsidered successes of NPTs and the PCSO initiative has been the high number of applications to the PCSO role from females and ethnic minorities (Cooper *et al.* 2006: 1). Factors that have shown to prevent applications to the police officer role (such as negative attitudes towards the police due to sexism and racism in the conventional police force) have shown not to be present in the PCSO role (*discussed in more detail under attractions to become a PCSO*). This means that the ethnic minority citizens are now more likely to be approached in a friendly fashion by a diverse range of officers, different to the treatment that they have received from law-enforcing police officers. The PCSOs are significantly more likely than regular police officers to police the communities in which they live, allowing them to be more likely to be accepted by the community. It is felt that policing their own community would make PCSOs more aware of local problems; more likely to obtain accurate and quality intelligence; and importantly PCSOs would be more enthusiastic about the wellbeing and interest of their own community. To put it in different words, hence, by getting the principles of Normative Sponsorship Theory, the necessary ingredients for cutting down crime and anti-social behaviour would follow.

It was one of the primary arguments of Lord Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1999) along with many other scholars that the police service should be representative of the community it serves. Partly due to the PCSO initiative, police forces are starting to be more diverse in terms of ethnicity and gender. Underrepresented groups are being transferred into the police officer positions, helping to diversify the upper levels of the police force. It is anticipated that by increasing the number of ethnic minority police staff, police forces could overcome the 'canteen culture', a workforce environment which involves the mistreatment ethnic minorities and a culture which the supervisory and senior officers are lacking the management skills in dealing with racist banter and attitudes in the eyes of the minority ethnic officers. In March 2013, for example, 9.5% of PCSOs were from ethnic minority compared to 5% of police officers, and interestingly 47% of PCSOs were female in contrast to only 27.3% of police officers. Cunningham and Wagstaff's (2006: 6) study into why the PCSO

role is more successful in recruiting underrepresented groups has shown that the PCSO role is less confrontational than the police role; and the role is viewed as an important opportunity to engage with their own community:

> An older female Black British respondent stated that she wanted to be a PCSO to 'build bridges' between the police and the Black community.

> An older female Black African respondent though that by becoming a PCSO she would help to make the police more approachable for people from her ethnic group.

Nevertheless, although police forces are now more representative of the community partly because of the introduction of the PCSO role, a scrutiny into the structure of police governance shows that ethnic communities have been, and still are, under-represented in the three parts of the tripartite structure of police governance: among chief police officers, middle or senior ranks of the Home Office and among Police and Crime Commissioners. Bowling and Phillips (2003: 23) argue that in a democratic society, the structure of police governance should reflect the demography of the policed society. Otherwise, the idea of policing by consent will not be achieved if the systems of accountability fail to reflect the ethnic diversity of the population. This 'democratic deficit' has been a well-recognised ongoing issue and efforts have been made to improve the responsiveness of the police to the ethnic communities: in 1984 only 0.55% of the police work-force was comprised by ethnic minorities at a time when they formed 4.6% of the national population. In 1994, when minority ethnics constituted 5.5% of the general population, 1.5% of the police force was of different ethnic origin. As of April 2015, minority ethnics constitute 8% (4.5 million) of the UK population and make up 5% of the police work-force, the same percentage as on March 2012 (GOV UK, 2015). The current ethnic minority ratio falls behind the early 7% minority ethnic recruitment and retention target which ceased to exist in February 2009 and replaced with individual local police force targets to reflect the minority ethnic population of the local community.

To have a real effect on service delivery, minority ethnic officers must be in the higher-ranks to contribute to decision making. However, unlike the radical changing of the police through the exercise of positive discrimination in the recruitment and attractive recruitment campaigns, the challenge of obtaining an equal representation in the higher-ranks of the

service largely remains. In 2001/02, 16% of minority ethnic officers were found in the promoted ranks in comparison to 22% of White officers. Across the force in 2006/07, only 45 minority ethnics were ranked at Superintendent or above in comparison to 1,634 White officers. In 2010/11, ethnic minorities constituted 3.0% of all senior police officers (1.2% Asian, 1% Mixed, 0.7% Black and 0.1% Chinese and other), a figure which has been relatively stable for the past half-decade (Ministry of Justice, 2011: 76). The time taken to get promoted to the rank of sergeant was, predictably, longer for minority officers in comparison to their counterparts, reflecting bias once officers passed their sergeant examination which made them eligible for promotion: 5 months longer for Asian officers and 18 months for African-Caribbean officers (Bland *et al.* 1999). Other than bias, discrimination and intolerance continues to persist in the police: some Black and Asian officers have frequently found themselves in the middle of racialist talk and banter which invoked feelings of exclusion and marginalisation, affecting their working relations because they fail to collude with negative representations, and resulting in some officers finding it difficult to complain (Cashmore, 2002, Holdaway, 1996).This contributes to the resignation of ethnic minority officers which remains higher than the dominating racial group: 52.3% of ethnic minorities resigned voluntary in 2005/06 compared to 23% of White origin officers (Ministry of Justice, 2007), and in 2010/11 further 206 minority ethnic officer resigned (Ministry of Justice, 2011: 77). One of the most common reasons for the resignation of ethnic minority officers was the difficulty of adapting into the canteen culture (Ministry of Justice, 2011).

Can Today's PCSOs Successfully Implement Community Policing?

<u>Power</u>

The purpose behind the introduction of PCSOs (visible foot patrol, reassuring and engaging with communities) seemed straightforward to both experts and non-experts in the field of policing studies. The notion that there is no rationality in overloading PCSOs with legal powers to carry out their 'basic' work dominated. The ACPO vision, too, holds the belief that PCSOs' powers should not be more than necessary, proportionate to the tasks that are demanded by their police forces. Thus, in line with the dominant vision, the original powers of PCSOs were somewhat restricted under the Police Reform Act 2002 but chief police officers were given the discretion to determine how much power their PCSOs should have. This is because, as in

the words of an assistant chief constable in Long's *et al* (2006: 20) study 'local circumstances dictate local needs'. This vision has, however, brought disparity between forces. When PCSOs were first introduced in 2002, the number of powers available to them ranged from zero to over 40 between forces because the powers granted to them were completely within Chief Constables' discretion. This has led to confusions and inconsistencies between forces, and thus a more standard model was necessary. In addition, the range of powers available to PCSOs has grown as police forces gained experience in deploying PCSOs. The Section 38A of the Police Reform Act 2002 allowed the state to introduce standard powers that apply to all PCSOs in England and Wales. The National Community Safety Plan for 2006-2009 (Home Office, 2005b: 6) visualised PCSOs to work towards objectives set by other partner agencies. Crime Disorder Reduction Partnership (CDRP) was one of them and this body stressed that:

> It is not only crimes like burglary, robbery, domestic violence and assault that we need to tackle. As CDRPs have discovered when they consult their local residents, the public feel threatened by joy-riders, alcohol-fuelled disorder and noisy neighbours too. So it is as important to us to deal with anti-social behaviour as with the traditional forms of neighbourhood crime.

Since the 1st of December 2007, PCSOs have 21 standard powers of which some include the power to seize alcohol or tobacco from people under the age of 16; the power to issue fixed penalty notices for cycling on a footpath or for littering; the power to require name and address; and the power to enter and search any premises for the purposes of saving life and limb or preventing serious damage to property. Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 and Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 led to the further expansion of powers, improving the PCSOs' ability in dealing with minor crime and anti-social behaviour: chief police officers now have the choice of designating PCSOs with additional powers under Part 1 of Schedule 4 of the Police Reform Act 2002. There are currently 53 powers available for designation and some of these discretionary powers include the power to detain an individual for up to 30 minutes pending the arrival of a police officer; the power to use reasonable force to prevent a detained person making off; the power to search for alcohol and tobacco; and the power to stop vehicles for testing (Home Office, 2007). The National Police Plan for 2005-2008 (Home Office, 2004b) identified the essentiality of equipping PCSOs with the tools and motivation to tackle social and physical disorders prevalent in our communities. Other than anti-social behaviour being a reoccurring issue in every policing plan, the controversy is that today's PCSOs do not

have the relevant powers to deal with anti-social behaviour or to administer individuals through the criminal justice system.

In the era of Sir Robert Peel, the levels of discretion available to the police led to the quick solving of matters. The matters were solved informally. Officers did not have to devote the time and other resources to administer a person through the legal system. PCSOs can also strive to tackle crime and disorder issues informally-like Sir Robert Peel's police- but the times have changed and the public can no longer show patience to anti-social behaviour and crime which causes 'distress and misery to innocent, law abiding people-and undermines the communities which they live' (Home Office, 1997 cited in Newburn. 2007: 574). Today's citizens naturally expect their community guardians to be equipped with necessary powers for theirs' and their communities' safety, but the reality is that the PCSOs will have to call the police officer to provide additional assistance and support when they encounter situations that is difficult or threatening to deal with. Having limited powers can be extremely frustrating for PCSOs, especially when themselves are the victims. And this is a major issue because ever since the inception of PCSOs, 'a large minority had experienced some level of physical abuse and most had experienced verbal abuse' (Cooper *et al.* 2006, 3).

ACPO's guidance on PCSOs gives chief officers the autonomy to decide the level of protective equipment available to their PCSOs. Although the PCSOs are authorised to carry most of the equipment available to police officers, only Dyfed-Powys Police and North Wales Police have allocated handcuffs to their PCSOs. They may be used to detain a person until the police officer arrives. Body-armour vests are issued to all PCSOs. ACPO's and many chief officers appear to be on the position that although protective equipment may protect the health and safety of PCSOs when out on patrol, they are not appropriate to the role expected from them. The contention that it is the communication and social skills rather than the extended powers and equipment that are of paramount importance to the PCSO role was confirmed in Long's *et al* (2006: 20) study: 'body armour is not conducive to the message we're trying to get across to some communities'.

It is in the minds of all chief officers to reduce the likelihood of harm by providing appropriate training but the perception that insufficient attention is devoted to training prevails among PCSOs *(discussed in detail below).* Indeed, many criminals and young deviants who the PCSOs regularly encounter are aware of the fact that PCSOs' powers and equipment are limited and they do take full advantage. This may have two contradicting effects: first, it may make PCSOs more approachable; and second, it may make them more vulnerable. To give an example of first effect, Cooke's (2004 cited in Cooke, 2005:239) study revealed that young people found it more convenient to approach PCSOs than regular police officers because they felt 'on the same level'. Coming to the second effect, in the Billing Hill area of Kent, there have been instances where the PCSOs have been ordered to withdraw from the problem scene for their own safety. Whilst the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs are generally appreciated and valued (Home Office, 2006) and although it has been proven that PCSOs' high visibility leads to greater levels of reassurance, community engagement and problem solving, regular police officers are favoured over PCSOs in areas where the public know that the powers granted to PCSOs are very limited. For some people, even, special constables who are volunteers with full police powers are favoured over PCSOs. Rowland and Coupe's (2013: 9-10) study on the effects of different patrol officers on public sense of safety illustrated that patrolling police officers were three times more likely than PCSOs to make people feel 'very safe'. It is very likely that high levels of recognition of police officers contributed to this degree of safety-feeling (Rowland and Coupe, 2013:10). There is not a study which shows young people's level of understanding of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities, and this gap will be voided with this research.

What is known or perhaps voiced numerous times by various organisations and researchers is the concern that the general public should be made better aware of PCSOs and their role within the community. There are, however, many reasons for public confusion, and acceptingly this is inevitable as there are so many different uniformed individuals with authority, whether with a police badge or not. Police officers, PCSOs, traffic wardens, private security officers and street pastors are some of them. The most obvious reason is the great deal of variation between forces on PCSOs' uniforms (House of Commons, 2012). The ACPO guidance on PCSOs states that 'PCSOs should be recognisable to the public as police staff, but

visibly distinct from regular police officers' (ACPO, 2007: 22). The uniform is dependent on which police force the PCSO is a member of. For example, shirts range from white to black; headgears are only worn by some PCSOs; epaulettes on their shoulders range from black to blue; and some forces print names on their uniform where other forces just include the collar number. This means that when an individual visits a different town he/she may not be able to recognise and be aware of the role and responsibility of that officer.

In order to maximise the sense of reassurance that the PCSOs provide, it is necessary for the public 'to be able to recognise the patrolling officer and have a belief that the uniform represents high levels of confidence, legitimacy and trust'. One way of achieving this is through extending the powers available to the PCSOs. The Home Affairs Committee's report on Policing in the 21st Century in 2008 concluded the need to pilot 'the provision of a warrant card to allow PCSOs to make arrests in exceptional circumstances, where lives are in danger' (cited in House of Commons, 2012:8) but this view has been disregarded until today. Trust and confidence in PCSOs may suffer because they do not have the powers the public expects: 'successful 'reassurance policing' depends on who carries out the policing' (Rowland and Coupe, 2013:1-2). Nevertheless, section 24A of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (commonly referred to as a citizen's arrest) gives any person the right to arrest anyone without warrant providing that there is a reasonable suspicion that the suspect is committing or committed an offence. All PCSOs can utilise this act but either not many are aware of this act or they are afraid of using it. The tendency of PCSOs dressing up like police officers but not performing like one can lead to embarrassment and increased risk (as seen in Billing/Kent) because they do not have the power nor the training to control the situation. The sudden advent of 'plastic police' (the name given to PCSOs by the mass media) also has the power of diminishing the image and reputation of the police as a whole, together with the loss of trust, faith and legitimacy. And indeed, this is one major reason why the PCSOs struggle in being seen part of the policing family. On the other hand, if they were granted with more powers, or more precisely if they utilised section 24A more often, then there would have to be additional training requirements as well as financial costs to the police. Not limited to that and perhaps more of an issue is the high possibility of further blurring of roles and responsibilities between PCSOs and regular police officers. There would simply be another

tier of policing, and hence the purpose behind PCSOs' introduction would be lost. The government is well aware of this issue: in response to a question in the House of Parliaments it was told that there are no plans to modify PCSOs' powers (cited in House of Commons; 2012: 4).

Nevertheless, it is uncertain how long the government will be keeping on to this decision in the face of mass media opposition who take take full advantage of PCSOs' limited powers to generate greater levels of revenue. The following headings demonstrate the extent of opposition that exists for PCSOs: 'PCSOs who 'stood by' as boy drowned named' (Telegraph, 2007); 'PCSOs aren't even allowed to help children cross a road: School told to pay 'real' ones £59 an hour to do it' (Telegraph, 2010a); 'Four police and a van to fine veteran riding on the path' (Telegraph, 2010b); 'Ball lad gets boot' (The Sun, 2010); 'Jealous Blunkett Bobby faked hate campaign because her colleague on the beat was more popular' (Daily Mail, 2010); 'No criminal charges for Humberside PCSO who hit boy' (BBC News, 2012); and 'Lancashire PCSO arrested over 'sexual texts'' (BBC News, 2013). It was outlined in chapter two that such negative newspaper articles of PCSOs do influence the attitudes of its readers. The Telegraph which has been very critical of PCSOs in its article ran an online survey for its readers with the heading 'Do you think PCSOs should replace bobbies on the beat?'. Unsurprisingly, only 10% of voters backed up 'plastic police' while the remaining 90% favoured their replacement (Telegraph, 2010c). The National Policing Improvement Agency's (2008 cited in House of Commons, 2012: 6) research into Neighbourhood Policing Programmes has raised the concern that:

> The combined effects of adverse media attention and the variance in roles across forces has the potential to undermine the implementation of Neighbourhood Policing and lessen the positive local impact of PCSOs in terms of reassuring communities at a time when crime is falling and confidence in policing has been rising.

Attraction to the PCSO role

Of course, the media is not the sole determinant of PCSOs' success: 'achieving more inclusive, meaningful engagement is influenced by the role orientations and career aspirations of officers... '(Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2013: 7).The motivation behind joining the police service as a PCSO differs from individual to individual, ranging from monetary to moral motivations.

Long, Robinson and Senior's (2006: 57) evaluation of PCSOs in West Yorkshire revealed that for 28% of PCSOs the main reason was so that they can become a police officer, followed by putting something back into the community (21%). Cooper's *et al* (2006: 1) national evaluation of PCSOs reported that over 40% of PCSOs said that they saw the position as a 'stepping stone' in their quest to become a fully sworn police officer. Such notion was more prominent within the young-male PCSOs (Cooper *et al.* 2006). Similarly, Johnston (2006) asserted that the PCSO role offered the opportunity to 'test the water' before becoming a police officer. This thinking was confirmed by Cunningham and Wagstaff (2006: 7) when they reported that more than 50% of applications to the PCSO role in Metropolitan Police had intended to become a police officer. Although this notion was equally held by both Whites and ethnic minorities, the PCSO role also offered the opportunity to test the levels of racism in the police and out on the street for ethnic minorities (Cunningham and Wagstaff, 2006: 9). When it comes to those who are most interested in the role, females, particularly older females, were more likely than any other comparable group to be genuinely interested in the PCSO role rather than the police officer role, as working conditions seemed more appropriate for their preference (Cunningham and Wagstaff, 2006: 9). In 2006 at West Yorkshire, 149 PCSOs left the job, of which almost a half (49%) left to start training to become a police officer (Long, Robinson and Senior, 2006: 55).

Not all PCSOs would like to become a police officer. There are PCSOs who have genuine interest in the job but are discontented about the lack of career structure within the PCSO role. The current career progression framework wrongly assumes that the next level for PCSOs is the police officer post, and thus many scholars along with UNISON, the second biggest trade union in the United Kingdom, advocated the creation of a hierarchal framework. For example, the introduction of PCSO supervisors roles would open the way 'for the development of leadership and supervisor skills whilst remaining in a police staff role' (Myhill and Beak, 2008: 45). The Police Federation opposed this view and asserted that the supervisory structure would fall short for career development. The supervision of PCSOs is currently the responsibility of sergeants who are part of the NPT, largely because of a Home Office study in 2005 which reported that the PCSO initiative would be most beneficial if they worked in a team with police officers and sergeants.

Surely, upon considering the above statistics, serious questions arise in relation to the effective implementation of community policing. First and foremost, it was outlined in chapter two that the benefits of community policing philosophy is dependent on the degree of commitment and enthusiasm held by PCSOs (Innes, 2005) but when considering the above statistics it would not be unethical to comment that a high proportion of PCSOs have no or limited genuine interest in the role and function of the PCSO occupation. The PCSO occupation requires high standard enthusiasm for credible results. The full achievement of community partnership and public reassurance will be unlikely if PCSOs' interest, commitment and enthusiasm are directed towards the police officer role which is not only better paid but also deemed 'exciting' as it involves tough crime control work. The second problem in relation to the recruitment of unsuited individuals into the workforce is the loss of a familiar face on the streets when PCSOs move up the policing ladder. The time and effort taken to form relationships with the community is immense and therefore the police forces will have to re-administer the resources to re-gain the trust and faith of the community with the newly appointed PCSOs: 'officers being well-known and individually recognised improves the symbolic reassurance provided by uniformed patrol' (Silverman and Della-Giustina, 2001 cited in Rowland and Coupe (2013:5).Thirdly, and equally importantly, there are problems surrounding the collection of PCSOs data. The statistics given above are only represent individual police forces. Despite the inception of PCSOs over a decade ago, there is not a national data which measures PCSOs' satisfaction levels. PCSOs' satisfaction levels must be well scrutinised and must be central to the most quality-oriented organisations' strategies like the police. This is because low levels of officer satisfaction has been found to be related to the reduced levels of individual performance; increased levels of absenteeism; and reduced commitment to the organisation as a whole leading to the prevalence of unprofessional acts by officers.

Critics have all reasons to believe that the satisfaction levels have deteriorated amongst PCSOs over the recent years for numerous reasons. The already-implemented and yet to be implemented budget cuts is undermining the fight against crime, and leading to falling levels of satisfaction of officers. A survey carried out by Brown *et al* (2012) into the future of Policing

in England and Wales reported that 56% of the 14,167 police officers who responded to the online questionnaire had recently gave a thought to leaving the service; a third of officers were worried about the prospect of being forced to retire under the regulation 19a which gives chief officers the right to compulsorily retire officers on the grounds of efficiency. Another study this time carried out by Hoggett *et al* (2013:5) revealed that out of the 1,400 police officers who responded to the survey, 83.4% reported that the morale of their colleagues is 'low'; 51.1% would consider looking for a different career due to concerns about the future of the service; and 95.1% have no confidence in the government's long terms plans for the police. Staffs demoralisation is louder and clearer among the female population due to the issues of gender: an important proportion of female officers believe that the force lags behind in meeting the needs and expectations of female officers, particularly when they are pregnant or upon re-arrival to work after having a child. This partly explains why;

> More than four out of 10 female police officers are so disillusioned with their profession that they have seriously considered quitting, according to a survey of all female members of the force in England and Wales (Guardian, 2012).

The bottom line is, `organizations with satisfied employees have satisfied customers ...having higher levels of customer retention which increases overall profitability' (Rust *et al* 1996: 63). This contention is in line with the theory of reasoned action which asserts that satisfaction levels lead to intentions which later lead to behaviours. Following this logic, as in the words of Paul McKeever, the chair of the Police Federation of England and Wales, it is 'extremely worrying' when one considers that 90% of officers would consider leaving the police if the pay-rates and working conditions had dropped further (Polfed, 2011).

Training

Community policing schemes, especially the ones which involve close police-public contact, can only be successful if police personnel are appropriately trained for the role (Skogan *et al.* 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994, Moore, 2000). Numerous studies have focused on the training aspect of police personnel from different parts of the world. For example, Lurigio and Rosenbaum's (1994) comprehensive review of literature from the USA reported that police officers' were incapable to meet the expectations of community policing schemes; and in support of Cordner (2004) who claimed police forces should recruit officers who are

enthusiastic about community policing's principles, Moore (2000) claimed that police forces should look for officers who had the 'spirit of service', not the 'spirit of adventure'. However, no specific study of police personnel training in relation to community engagement and problem solving was found in England and Wales. Conversations with a number of PCSOs from Leicester revealed that they had not received any specialised training in relation to engagement and problem solving, similar to what Sagar (2005) reported after evaluating a community policing scheme in Wales.

When individuals are selected for the PCSO role, they are entered into a training programme. Following a consultation with Centrex and the Home Office, ACPO recommends police forces to make use of PCSO National Learning Programme with the aim of bringing a quality national level of consistency. The programme is approximately ten weeks long, and is normally completed between six to twelve months. Nevertheless, the police forces are not under any obligation to enter recruits in this programme. Unlike regular police officers, PCSOs are not subject to a standardised mandatory training programme: along with many other variations in PCSOs between police forces as described earlier, the training too varies from force to force. It is at the chief officers' hand to ensure that the PCSO:

> has received adequate training in the carrying out of those functions and in the exercise and performance of the powers and duties to be conferred on him by virtue of the designation (ACPO, 2007:18)

The PCSO initiative would be most successful when officers are trained adequately (Skogan *et al.* 1999; Sadd and Grinc, 1994, Moore, 2000; Cooper *et al.* 2006), and ACPO is evidently keen to make training of officers as robust as possible. ACPO's (2007) guidance on PCSOs showed the range of tasks that PCSOs focus in their training. These tasks include but not limited to communications and radio procedure; evidence and intelligence gathering; scene management; usage of PCSO powers and procedures under the Police Reform Act 2002; citizens' powers and procedures; human rights; self-defence; and first aid. However, numerous studies have highlighted how the PCSO initiative was 'rapidly' implemented without given adequate consideration to the training aspect of officers in the Metropolitan Police and many other police forces (Bellos, 2003, Wynnick and Calcott, 2006). The first PCSOs

of the Metropolitan Police, for example, received only three weeks long training. Due to the criticisms, the PCSO training has increased to six weeks.

The training programme in police forces across England and Wales range from four to eleven weeks. The more power designated to PCSOs, the more training that they will require. Hence, the disparity between forces on the length of training is partly due to the variations in PCSOs' powers between forces. Johnston (*2005*) posits that the lack of attention given to the training of PCSOs in Metropolitan Police has led to confusions about the role. If there were to be a more robust, systematic and centrally provided training system, such limitations would not be the case. To demonstrate the extent of the problem, according to Wynnick and Calcott (2006) only 38% of PCSOs interviewed felt that they received adequate training for their role, and 59% stated that they encountered situations for which they felt inadequately trained to deal with the situation. In addition to Wynnick and Calcott's (2006) study, Bellos (2003) reported that the early training courses were packed with too much material for its length, and very little attention was devoted to practical training. Johnston (2005) furthermore told that shortcomings in training and selection led to reduced standards in the job, contradicting the tough training and selection process that police officers are subject to. The consequences of this could include the recruitment of individuals who are unsuitable for the role. Johnson *et al* (2004:17) backed this up by arguing that a high number of PCSOs had disciplinary action against them: at one point in 2003, a third of all ethnic minority PCSOs at Belgravia Police Station (London) had a disciplinary warning for their unacceptable behaviour. The high proportion of ethnic minority PCSOs on disciplinary warning may reignite the arguments based on racism but this possibility was ruled out by the Black Police Association because ethnic minorities were recruited disproportionately under 'positive discrimination'.

Other than the initial training, ACPO guidance requires police forces to provide 'further training aimed at enhancing and building on current skills' (ACPO, 2008:20). This is an obligation under the Police Reform Act Part 4. There are training packages for PCSOs delivered both locally and centrally, and these packages range from four to six weeks in length. To ensure that the correct environment is provided to PCSOs, and also to ensure that PCSOs are effective and efficient, ACPO necessitates a 'structured monitoring and development process'

(ACPO, 2008:19). PCSOs can be assessed under the Personal Development Profile (PDP), a nationally agreed initiative developed by Centrex to keep PCSOs' knowledge and skills up-to-date. Nevertheless, police forces were found to remain inadequate in providing institutional support:

> our quantitative and qualitative evidence gives two 'pictures', each of which reveals an element of 'truth'. The MPS has succeeded in using the PCSO initiative to broaden its ethnic and gender base... ...However, it remains poor at providing necessary support (Johnston, 2005:13).

The police forces' insufficient support has shown to be especially true for ethnic minority PCSOs. They have shown to require the greatest support from police forces. Johnston (2005:13) reported that ethnic minority PCSOs in London had 'clear language and communication problems that needed to be addressed'. Because these officers were out on the streets, such language and communication problems were less likely to come to the attention of supervising police officers. Ethnic minority PCSOs' 'language and communication' problem threatens the essence of the PCSO role, which is to facilitate engagement, trust and faith in the police.

In conclusion, this and the previous chapters have shown that the growing public demand for police visibility, engagement and reassurance changed the 'language' of policing in England and Wales. Numerous efforts have been made to reconnect the police with the local community over the last few decades under the community policing philosophy. Unquestionably, the introduction of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) has been the most obvious move, which sought to make the police responsive to communities' needs, concerns and expectations. However, there appears to be serious question marks in regards to the PCSOs' ability and capability to work effectively with the community in general, young people in particular. To summarise, PCSOs' may not be most suited for their day-to-day tasks due to the powers that are granted to them; some PCSOs' may not have serious commitment to the duties expected from them because they see this position as a 'stepping stone' into the police officer role; and not all PCSOs' are trained on how best to engage with young people. The data analysis chapters explore the impact of such deficiencies from young people's perspective.

CHAPTER 5. Methodology

Data Collection

Mixed methods research (the collection of more than one form of data) was identified as the most appropriate strategy to meet the objectives outlined above. Quantitative is useful for eliciting information which can be quantified and discussed generally through the collection of numerical data (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000), whilst qualitative will be useful for getting an in-depth insight into participants' views, concerns and experiences. There has been paramount support for mixed research methods in the literature, most notably after Campbell and Fiske's (1959) work on multiple quantitative methods. In support of Campbell and Fiske (1959), Jick (1979) was one of the succeeding scholars who argued that mixed methods research offsets some of the degrading weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research. In quantitative studies, for example, there are very little opportunities for the researchers to explore or investigate an area of interest in a critical fashion. In addition to that, participants are not heard in the study, and thus it is difficult to understand the context or setting in which they talk. Qualitative research methods hinders these limitations but they bring out other weaknesses. For example, qualitative research methods cannot be generalised due to the small number of participants; the results are susceptible to the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies because interpretations are made by the researcher; and they often have lower credibility because quantitative predictions cannot be made.

Importantly, it must also be mentioned that young people's attitudes towards the police may change due to the relevant cues in the data collection environment. The concept of 'attitude' has generated an important amount of academic interest in social psychology. An attitude can be briefly described as a positive or negative belief of anything such as people, organisations, objects, activities and ideas. There are numerous ways in which children and young people can acquire attitudes. For example, one of the earliest agents of children and young people's attitude formation are parents/carers, followed by their peers and the media. Attitudinal change or opinion change may occur in three ways, through compliance, identification and internalization (Kelman, 1961: 57-78). Compliance is set to occur 'when an

individual accepts influence from another person or group because he hopes to achieve a favourable reaction from the other', whilst identification can occur 'when an individual adopts behaviour derived from another person or a group because this behaviour is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group' and finally internalisation can occur 'when an individual accepts influence because the induced behaviour is congruent with his value system'.

Mixing quantitative and qualitative data is bound to alleviate a lot of the limitations which are associated with each research method. Cresswell and Clark (2011:7) have identified three ways in 'mixing' data:

> merging or converging the two datasets by actually bringing them together, connecting the two datasets by having one build on the other, or embedding one dataset within the other so that one type of data provides a supportive role for the other dataset.

In this research, quantitative research will be facilitating qualitative research. Data were collected through questionnaires in the first phase followed by focus groups/paired interviews in the second phase to explore some of the findings in detail, compatible with Creswell and Clark's (2011) second form of mixing as quoted above. In addition to that, qualitative data was used to cross-examine the findings of quantitative data, compatible with Cresswell and Clark's (2011) third form.

Questionnaires are known to be objective, generalisable, replicable and rich in participant numbers. The findings will thus be usually conclusive and descriptive. However, although the data has to be quantitative for analysis, this does not necessarily mean that questionnaires have to be available in quantitative format: research instruments will be used to convert phenomena into quantitative data. Attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and views are some of the convertible phenomena: questionnaires could be developed asking respondents to rate statements on the basis of 'strongly satisfied', 'satisfied', 'dissatisfied' and 'strongly dissatisfied', and coding each statement with a number would allow the researcher to carry out statistical examinations. In the case of this study, the questionnaire was designed to reveal the percentage of young people who hold particular perceptions and attitudes towards PCSOs, police officers and their local police *(discussed in detail in next section).*

Quantitative Research Design

Sample selection

For the quantitative part, young people were purposely selected and were accessed through state and privately run educational/charity youth organisations in Leicester. The participants were aged 12 to 17 who were occasionally found in school years 7 to 13. Educational institutions where a large number of young people are gathered provided an important opportunity for quick and effective data-gathering in a short space of time. A total of 245 questionnaires were self-completed during class/activity time, taking approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete. The researcher and either the teacher, teaching assistant or the youth worker were available for assistance/supervision.

Due to the low number of young Asian and Black representatives wanting to participate in state-run schools, religious schools and youth clubs were approached to increase ethnic representation (quota sampling). Following the subsequent involvement of three local community organisations and two youth clubs, the sample consequently became representative of the population in Leicester. Within this broad sample of young people, 12-13 year olds constituted 15% of the sample whilst the 14-15 year olds made up 25% and 16-17 year olds constituted the remainder at 60%. There was an equal mix of boys and girls: 53% (n=130) were male whilst the remaining 47% (n=115) were female. In terms of ethnicity, bearing similarity to the actual demographics of Leicester, 38% of young respondents identified themselves as White (n=94), whilst the 42.9% (n=105) were Asian, 8.2% (n=20) were Black/African/Caribbean/Black-British and the remaining 10.6% (n=26 young people) were equally made up of those who were Mixed and Other.

Approximately 6% of questionnaires were withdrawn from the sample. Some of the participants had to be withdrawn to maximise the robustness and utility of the gathered data because they reported having a close family member who was a police officer. Further withdrawals occurred when there was a strong evidence of disregard or recklessness by young people. For example, there were a number of returned questionnaires where more than one answer was selected numerous times; and there were some examples of heavy

scribbling around the answer section. This is perhaps inevitable since some young people have shorter attention span than the others.

Questionnaire design

A review of the literature on children and young people's participation in surveys has shown that children's cognitive ability develops over a series of stages (Fuchs, 2005), and research data quality increases with cognitive growth (Borgers *et al.* 2000). Poor reading skills was also found to have negative effect on data quality (Borgers *et al.* 2000). What this suggests is that this study's target group may have varying cognitive ability, and thus there may be a need for numerous questionnaire designs that are appropriate for each age band since a single questionnaire that 'fits all' may not be comprehensible by young people with limited cognitive ability. However, this would lead to serious complications in data analysis and moreover the data obtained from respondents may lose its credibility due to the marked differences in the structure of questions. It was therefore found more rational to design a single questionnaire that would be comprehensible by all young people aged 12 to 17.

In order for the questionnaire to reflect young people's level of literacy, cognitive ability and personal capacity, the questionnaire was kept short and it only included questions that young people could answer comfortably on their own *(discussed under pilot study)*. In other words, in order for the questionnaire to be accurately and effectively completed, questions were kept short (because the reliability of answers decreases with question length); wording remained unambiguous; survey questions and instructions remained simple; and close-ended questions (tick-box questions) were preferred over open-ended questions because they are not only easier to answer but such questions produce quantifiable data that can be easily analysed statistically.

The questionnaire consisted of 30 questions, and was divided into four sections:

1. *Awareness of their local police (PCSOs, police officers and Neighbourhood Policing Teams[NPTs]):*

Although the literature has continuously shown that the awareness of local police is closely linked to public perception of the police, to date, however no research has been carried out to measure young people's awareness or engagement with their local police. The community policing philosophy necessitates a police force that is visible, accessible and locally known to residents (including young people) so that a quality two-way communication occurs between the two parties. It was the Home Secretary's pledge in 2006 that 'every resident will know the name of their local police officer, see them on the street and have their phone number and email address' is really the case for young people in Leicester. This is unlikely to happen if young people do not know how to get involved with local policing or if they are unaware of their PCSOs and NPTs.

Bearing this in mind, the first section of the questionnaire sought to explore young people's awareness of PCSOs and engagement channels which are affiliated with community policing (*discussed in previous chapters*), taking into account PCSOs visibility and accessibility to young people. It was anticipated that some young people may not know about the existence of NPTs and PCSOs, and thus some questions included a brief background information and a picture so that young people are precise in their responses. The questions included:

PCSOs are employed by police forces and they wear a uniform similar to police officers. See pictures below:

Picture of a PCSO

Picture of a Police Officer

Before this interview, did you know that there are two types of police officers? Please tick.

☐ Yes ☐ No

PCSOs are meant to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour and are expected to reassure and advise the public about crime by patrolling on foot. Before this interview, did you know about PCSOs' roles and responsibilities?

☐ Yes ☐ No

PCSOs deal with tasks that do not require police officers' experience or powers. For example, unlike police officers, PCSOs cannot arrest offenders and cannot investigate crime. Before this interview, did you know about PCSOs' powers?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Have you seen a PCSO on foot or on bicycle in your local area or in your school in the last 12 months?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If Yes, on average how often do you see a PCSO on foot or on bicycle?

☐ More than once a day ☐ Once a day ☐ About once a week ☐ About once a month ☐ Less than once a month

Every neighbourhood has a Neighbourhood Policing Team that deals with crime and anti-social behaviour. Are you aware of your Neighbourhood Policing Team?

☐ Yes ☐ No

101 is a telephone number provided by Leicestershire Police for reporting issues which do not need an emergency response. Before this interview, did you know about this telephone number?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Many police forces now have social media pages (Facebook, Twitter, Youtube etc) to inform the local community about local policing and crime issues. Before this questionnaire, did you know about these pages? Please tick.

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. Police-young people engagement level and young people's perceptions of engagement:

Subsequent to young people's awareness of PCSOs and NPTs, the questionnaire sought to determine the extent of engagement that goes on between the police and young people. In addition to testing the principles of normative sponsorship theory, this section also sought to explore young people's attitudes towards engagement/interaction with PCSOs and police officers. The questions included:

Neighbourhood Policing Teams hold regular meetings in their local area to discuss issues that matter to the local community. They are especially interested in talking to young people. These meetings may take place in local community venues (schools, council buildings, police stations) or in other places such as on the street or in supermarkets. They are usually called beat meetings but they may also have other names such as panel meetings, consultation meetings, etc.

Have you ever attended a police beat meeting before? Please tick.

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If **Yes**, have you attended one in the last 12 months? Please tick.

☐ Yes   ☐ No

In the last 12 months have you ever contacted the police using the 101 number?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

Have you ever volunteered to help your local police in any way, or have you ever been involved in a police-led scheme?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If Yes, please explain what you did _____

_____

In the last 12 months, have you approached or interacted with a PCSO?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If Yes, which of the statements below best describes your reason for interaction?

☐ To report
crime or
anti social
behaviour

☐ Felt scared or
had personal
concerns

☐ For general
chat or to ask a
question

If it was for something else, please explain: _____

_____

In the last 12 months, have you approached or interacted with a police officer?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If Yes, which of the statements below best describes your reason for interaction?

☐ To report
crime or
anti social
behaviour

☐ To help police
with a crime
investigation

☐ Felt scared
or had
personal
concerns

☐ For general
chat or to ask a
question

☐ When being
stopped and
searched

☐ When
being
arrested

If it was for something else, please explain: _____

_____

Are you currently an active follower of your local police on the social media?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

How well do you feel informed about crime and anti-social behaviour issues that affect your local area?

☐ Not informed
at all

☐ Slightly
Informed

☐ Very well
informed

How well do you feel informed about what is being done by your local police or PCSO to tackle crime   and   anti-social   behaviour   that   matter   in   your   area?

☐ Not informed
at all

☐ Slightly
Informed

☐ Very well
informed

Bearing in mind that some young people may not see it necessary to engage with the police (as seen in the literature review), questions that use a scale of possible answers were deployed in this section to determine whether this was the case for young people living in Leicester. Likert scales are widely known to improve the reliability of responses, as they are more comprehensible. Response options included 'neutral' so that young people are not pressured to give answer when genuinely they do not have a firm feeling. The 'neutral' option

would not have been viable if young people were below the age of 12, as evidence suggests that younger people often use 'neutral' or 'don't know' options to opt out from the study. The following questions were important instruments in probing the highlighted matter:

How important is it for you personally to feel that you can influence the way policing is delivered in your local area?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Important	Somewhat Important	Neutral	Not very Important	Not important at all

How much do you agree that you can influence the way policing is delivered in your local area?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

How do you feel about this statement, 'it is important that the police listen to people's concerns about anti-social behaviour and crime'? Please tick.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

After giving some consideration to your ethnic background, religion and gender, how do you feel about this statement, 'the police understand the problems that young people like me face'?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Take a moment to think about crime and police-related issues that have been or currently are bothering you. Are you satisfied with the way the police deal with problems that matter to you?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neutral	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

3. *Young people's satisfaction/confidence in PCSOs and police officers:*

Previous chapters have shown that one of the important determinants of police-young people engagement is young people's level of trust and confidence in the police. Nevertheless, the CSEW makes no distinction between PCSOs and police officers, and hence it is unclear what the public's, l*et al*one young people's, perception of PCSOs and police officers are like. Thus, a set of six questions was developed to illicit young people's perception of different patrolling officers, taking into account the variations in responses between and within young people. Young people were only required to respond if they had interacted with a PCSO or a police officer in the past, so that their relationships with different patrolling personnel could be investigated. These questions included:

To what extent do you agree that PCSOs are respectful when you meet them?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

How do you feel about this statement, 'PCSOs can be relied on when you meet them'?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Taking everything into account, please tick the box that best represents your satisfaction with PCSOs.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neutral	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

To what extent do you agree that police officers are respectful when you meet them?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

How do you feel about this statement, 'police officers can be relied on when you meet them'?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Taking everything into account, please tick the box that best represents your satisfaction with police officers.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Neutral	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

4. Social cohesion levels:

Other than young people's perception of the police which is an important determinant of police-young people engagement, the other key issue affecting young people's decision to engage with the police was their social cohesion level. Thus, to gain some understanding of young people's willingness to engage with the police, the questionnaire included several hypothetical crime questions. Questions sought to determine young people's likelihood of intervening when: (a) witnessing someone getting robbed; and (b) witnessing someone getting attacked. These questions were also designed to test normative sponsorship theory's contention that most people are positive about co-operating with individuals, groups or institutions for the benefit of society:

If you were witnessing someone getting robbed (mugged) in your area, how likely is it that you would report this to the police?

☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Unlikely	Quite Unlikely	Quite Likely	Very likely

If somebody from your local area was being attacked by someone with a weapon how likely is it that you would report this incident to the police?

☐	☐	☐	☐
Very Unlikely	Quite Unlikely	Quite Likely	Very likely

A final hypothetical question was raised about young people's sense of guilt if they did not share intelligence with the police that they know would lead to the solving of crime:

How guilty would you feel if you chose not to share crime-related information with the police that you know would lead to the solving of crime and prevention of future crimes?

☐	☐	☐
Not Guilty at all	Somewhat Guilty	Very Guilty

<u>Qualitative Research Design</u>

Sample selection

The second phase of the research involved the deployment of qualitative data gathering methods. The objectives were to:

1. Understand what barriers both attitude and practical exist for greater levels of engagement between young people and PCSOs and neighbourhood policing teams.

2. Understand what motivates (or could potentially motivate) young people to engage with PCSOs and neighbourhood policing teams.

3. Understand what communication channels that might work with young people for them to access information about police and crime related events.

4. Understand whether young people are aware of the benefits of police-young people engagement

 A mixture of focus groups and paired interviews with young people aged 12 to 17 were conducted. Qualitative research methods are regarded as one of the most viable way of collecting data from young people (Morrow and Richards, 1996). In accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)(*discussed below*), the assumption is that young people are capable enough to create meaningful worlds, and are positive about communicating their perceptions to researchers in the context of an interview (Miller and Glassner, 1997). The success of qualitative research with young people is largely a matter of sensitive planning and careful execution of plan. It must be sensitively and carefully planned because different qualitative research methods can generate different responses from the same participants (Michell and West, 1996). Sensitive planning and careful execution of a plan will necessitate a clearly defined qualitative research objective, development of ideas following a pilot study, suitable physical environment (ensuring the session takes places in secure and physically comfortable setting) and suitable physiological environment (ensuring that the session runs in a relaxed and open atmosphere). Furthermore, it is important to overcome the issues of suggestibility in young people. Although young people

are as likely as adults to accurately remember and recall what they have witnessed or know, they are more likely than adults to give inaccurate information when they are presented with misleading or subjective questions (Lyon, 2005). The greater use of who, what, where, when, why and how questions have been recommended to illicit accurate information in a non-directive way (Lyon, 2005). Although such questions may lead to a 'dry' research atmosphere, they are an effective way of eliciting information from young people who lack the capability to generate details on their own. Such questions may also be useful with young people for whom English is not their native language. Other than Lyon (2005), the National Institute of Child Health and Development's (NICHD) work on the ways of reducing suggestibility when interviewing children and young people recommended the use of time segmentation prompts (what happened next?) and cue questions (you said something about X,Y,Z..., can you tell me more about that?).

As it was in quantitative research methods, young people were approached through state and privately run educational organisations together with youth clubs and other local community organisations in Leicester for the qualitative part. In order for the sample to accurately reflect the diverse perceptions of young people in Leicester, young people of various ages, genders, ethnicities and geographic locations were included in the study. Reacting to the findings of the questionnaire, it became apparent that young people who had engaged with a police officer/PCSO in the past were an exceptionally important group to include in qualitative methods. Numerous youth organisations who work with young offenders were, thus, approached. They were particularly interested in the study, as they have all felt that their experiences/perceptions should be 'heard' and 'acted upon' by the relevant authorities. Often what was said by this group (as discussed in chapters six and seven), was challenging, emotive and critical towards the police.

In organisations with a large number of students, an email was sent by the administration team to all students, detailing the study and how to come forward if they were interested in participating. In small organisations, on the other hand, recruitment was made by presenting the study to young people during their session or class activity. Young people who were

interested in participating were asked to put their hands up. Their names and contact details were taken at this moment.

The data was gathered through focus groups and paired interviews:

a) <u>Focus Groups</u>

In this study, focus groups served two purposes: first, it explored the area of interest in detail; and secondly, it tested the reliability of questionnaire findings, reference to Morgan's (1988) triangulation term. Focus groups have occupied a special place in the dictionary of research methods, traceable in authoritative texts of varying fields of study. Powell *et al.* (1996: 199) define a focus group as 'a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research'. The aim is to produce qualitative data through in-depth discussion that provides the researcher an insight into the diversity of attitudes, views, motivations and concerns of participants (Krueger, 1994). This form of data will be revealed either through the interaction between focus group participants and/or through the researcher-participant interaction. These two unique features of focus groups are rarely present in other research methods, except in paired interviews where these two features are limited in scope.

Focus groups, indeed, have many advantages that other research methods fail to accomplish but only in the last decade or two have there been an interest in using focus groups with children and young people (Gibson, 2007:473). Focus groups were widely used in the preliminary and exploratory stages of social science studies involving adults. The question 'can focus groups be used with young people?' cannot be answered as confidently as adults. This is because focus groups which involve children and young people are markedly different to that of adults. For example, young people (especially those in the lower age groups) are often taught and encouraged to listen, respect and act according to the commands of adults such as parents, teachers and any other older person. This is something which is not necessarily applicable to adults. Given young people's age and position in our society (especially those in the lower age groups), it is possible that young people may feel coerced to give answers or interact with the researcher and other members of the focus group even when they do not

have any genuine comment to make. Not limited to that, focus groups may make some young people feel intimidated. While some young people may become afraid to speak or anxious, some young people may naturally be too outspoken and they may silence any other alternative perspectives. However, there is a solution for this: in cases where participants require encouragement, interviewers' may ask probing questions to illicit more information about the topic but it must be remembered that too many of these questions could turn the discussion into something like a court hearing.

In an attempt to create an atmosphere where participants discuss, develop and share their experiences, a positive start to the discussion was essential. Sessions were launched with icebreaker activities where the young people were asked to do two things: introduce themselves to the group (their name and some of their hobbies) and think of a fact that was interesting about them to share with the group. The researcher was the first to talk. Icebreakers lasted only six to nine minutes but its benefits were manyfold. They have, indeed, made 'participants feel relaxed and establish an environment in which sharing and listening are valued' (Gibson, 2007: 478). They have brought a non-judgemental relationship into the room, and importantly they have allowed the researcher and the participants to get to know the group and the different personalities involved. This has led to the breakdown of adult-young people relationship that is particularly found in educational institutions as young people are readily-adapted into the norms of that environment.

Ice-breaker activities which entail quite a bit of humour can indeed have many benefits but they have the capacity to destroy the academic element of focus groups. To ensure that focus group objectives are met, a short statement was read to each group. Young people were reminded about the purpose of the group (what the study is about) and purpose of the discussion (what the findings will be used for) in this statement. The importance of their participation along with the structure of the focus group was also explained to the young people. The statement also entailed information about the length of group discussion and information on rules such as not to interrupt each other when speaking, to listen and respect each other's views, and that there were no right or wrong answers as this was not a test. To build trust and encourage openness and honesty, it was explained that their input was valued,

respected and would be kept confidential and anonymous at all times. The researcher was mindful of some young people's possible incompliant or negative interactions with police officers/PCSOs and of the possibility that some young people may feel pressured to give a particular account of their experiences that reflect the behaviour that they should instead follow. This statement also outlined that the researcher was not there to judge or impose sanctions on them.

The icebreaker session together with the research statement made young people feel comfortable and at ease. However, there were some factors which was impossible to control. For example, Krueger (1994) noted that researchers are humans and they inevitably belong to a racial group, age category and gender, and any of these personal features can serve to inhibit (or promote) an open, respectful and productive group discussion. Matching the moderator's characteristics/features to the group is one way of controlling Krueger's (1994) factors (Fern, 2001). It was impossible to 'mimic' each focus group participant in terms of appearance and other personal characteristics as this study included a diverse group of young people. However, having the knowledge and experience in running focus groups have helped offset some of Kreuger's (1994) highlights. Researchers' patience, respect and active listening skills are not only vital to make young people comfortable but they are also useful in establishing open and interactive dialogue with focus group participants (Gibbs, 1997 cited in Gibson, 2007:478).

The composition of focus groups

MacIntosh (1993 cited in Gibbs, 1997) recommended that focus groups should consist of six to ten individuals but others such as Goss and Leinbach (1996) have used as much as 15 people in a single group or as little as four (Kitzinger 1995). Moreover, Kennedy *et al* (2001b) recommended groups of four to six if working with six to ten year olds and Horner (2000) posits that larger groups are acceptable when working with older children. Taking into consideration Roose and John's (2003) contention that larger groups may inhibit young people's contribution, eight qualitative focus group discussions were conducted in this study (see table 1). Each focus group lasted between 45 to 60 minutes, because 'younger children

can be kept focused on an activity for about 45 minutes to one hour, whereas older children and young people, with good moderator skills, will maintain focus for about 90 minutes' (Gibson, 2007: 480).

Hierarchies of popularity and peer networks are known to influence the way young people speak in groups (Ringrose et al, 2012: 21). In order to create an atmosphere where all young people feel comfortable in having a say, focus groups were generally composed according to young people's ethnicity and age. Each focus group generally consisted of between six to nine young people from the same ethnic background who generally knew each other since they were all from the same institution (see table 1). Ethnicity was important because distinctive differences can limit young people's input: it will be more appealing to meet with individuals whom participants think of as possessing similar characteristics than with those whom they think are different (Morgan, 1988). Although one can quite rightly argue that ethnic differences would not have had severe impact on young people's input in this study because the vast majority (if not all) of young people already knew each other, this study has sought to duplicate the studies which were praised to have the best approach in conducting focus groups with young people. The second important factor behind the composition of focus groups was young people's age. The age range of young people was kept to a maximum of 3 years. It would be difficult, otherwise, for the younger age group to interact comfortably with the older youngsters. This is because young people's style, social and language skills, sensitivity and cognitive ability differ substantially at different ages (Kennedy *et al.* 2001b), and thus if the age disparity was greater it would be difficult to keep the session at a level that is meaningful and interesting for all participants.

Table 1

	Age 12-14	Age 15-17	Total
White	1 (4 boys and 4 girls)	1 (5 boys and 3 girls)	2 focus groups (9 boys and 7 girls)
Asian	1 (4 boys and 3 girls)	1 (5 boys and 4 girls)	2 focus groups (9 boys and 7 girls)
Black	1 (5 boys and 3 girls)	1 (7 boys and 2 girls)	2 focus groups (12 boys and 5 girls)
Mixture: Young Offenders	1 (5 boys and 1 girl)	1 (6 boys and 2 girls)	2 focus groups (11 boys and 3 girls)
Total	4 focus groups (18 boys & 11 girls)	4 focus groups (19 boys & 11 girls)	8 focus groups (37 boys & 22 girls)

Other than young people's ethnicity and age, the literature review has demonstrated the importance of considering young people's gender when organising focus groups. There were, for example, differences in the ways that participants spoke about topics when they were positioned in mixed gender focus groups, especially when the topic is based on or around issues like intimacy, flirting, dating and sexual activity (Allen, 2004; Gingrose *et al.* 2012). This would mean that the views of the young people are swayed by the composition of the group, and thus not a true reflection of young people's accounts would be reached.

Single-sex and/or homogenous groups may well have the capacity to easily generate an atmosphere in which every young person feels open and comfortable to speak but mixed gender groups, on the other hand, may bring up critical discussion that otherwise would not be brought up. The analysis of questionnaires has demonstrated that boys and girls differed in the way that they think about community policing in Leicestershire. Mixed gender groups were preferred to allow the researcher hear a wide range of positions and find more diversity

in perspectives. The decision to carry out mixed gender focus groups was intensified by the fact that the discussion topic was not sensitive to prohibit participants speaking in the presence of the opposite gender.

In terms of data-gathering location, focus groups and individual interviews were undertaken in classrooms or meeting rooms of organisations which gave consent for the study. Having the sessions carried out at these organisations had numerous benefits for the study:

- These locations were accessible by all young people, whether disabled or not. If the sessions were to run in a different location, prospective participants had to be provided with directions to the venue. In addition, they may had to make alternative travelling arrangements

- If young people were expected to attend a different location, an extensive risk assessment would have to be carried out by the researcher to identify the things that may threaten the health and safety of young people. Much of the risk assessment, if not all, has been carefully considered by participating organisations.

- Focus groups ran either during or straight after the already planned class/activity time, meaning that young people did not have to make travelling arrangements to get to the focus group session.

- The size, temperature and seating arrangements of focus group rooms were satisfactory, aiding the flow of quality communication between participants.

- New environments and 'strange' adults can project anxiety for children and young people, and thus carrying out the sessions in where young people are familiar to can alleviate some of the pressure they undergo (Kennedy *et al.* 2001b)

- Linked to the above point, the power imbalance which naturally occurs between young people and researchers may reduce in organisations where sessions are run

because participants are established members of the organisation (Morgan *et al.* 2002)

b) <u>Paired Interviews</u>

Paired interviews or triad interviews (where two participants are interviewed at the same time) provide many advantages, and are a very different experience for participants when compared against focus groups. Although focus groups and paired interviews are both deployed to gain insight into people's perceptions, there are distinguishable features that make paired interviews a more viable and valuable option in some circumstances. Firstly, paired interviews offer more access into selected participants' personal territory than focus groups or individual interviews (Michell, 1999 cited in Highet, 2008:112), partially because they provide a more relaxed research environment for the participants (Morris, 2001 cited in Liamputtong, 2007: 102). Participants who are familiar with one another is likely to facilitate a balance in the relationship between the researcher and participants, subsequently leading to the development of trust and rapport, both essential for generating high-quality data (Highet, 2008).To illustrate this with an example, a study investigating the use of drugs amongst young people aged 12 to 14 asked participants to form their own interview groups so there is a natural social network. Most young people opted for groups of twos or threes (Michell, 1997 cited in Highet, 2008:109). Highet's (2008:111) study, furthermore, which deployed paired interviews when researching young people's use of cannabis and smoking told that 'irrespective of age, gender and socioeconomic circumstances, the young people [were] visibility relaxed and became more enthusiastic about participating when it became clear that they could choose to take part with a friend'. In a different study on healthy eating with children aged between five to nine, participants felt so comfortable that they were calling each other names and arguing over 'who knows best' in the presence of a researcher (Highet, 2008:109).

The composition of paired interviews

In this study, three paired interviews were carried out in total, involving six participants aged between 12 to 17 and consisting of individuals from the Asian and Black ethnic backgrounds. Similar to the focus group recruitment, two of the paired interview participants were recruited through youth clubs and other community organisations in Leicester. Young people were invited to attend the interview either on their own or with a chosen friend, after explaining what the session would involve. This data gathering tool was quickly embraced by young people, and all young people who were interested in the study decided to bring along a friend to the interview. All youngsters chose a friend from the same gender group. Empowering young people to choose who they want to bring to the session reduced the researcher's task of finding suitable candidates for paired interviews, as this task was delegated to young people. Unlike focus groups which suffered some drop-out, no young person dropped out in paired interviews.

The third paired interview, furthermore, was conducted following the researcher's selection of young people who were shown to be of special interest to the aims and objectives of this study. Two participants from the same focus group were asked at the end of the session whether they would be willing to be interviewed together. The researcher talked about the reasons behind his motive to carry out a paired interview with the selected young people. It was clearly explained that some of the information raised in the focus group by the selected participants were very interesting and valuable, and it would be very beneficial for the study to explore their views and experiences in more depth. These young people agreed to be interviewed together, allowing the researcher to follow up on issues that they highlighted in the focus group and explore the areas that were important. McClelland and Fine (2008) referred to this type of sampling as 'intensity sampling'. The paired interviews lasted an hour and 10 minutes, and took place in the participating organisations' room. The paired interviews generally focused on young people's experience with police officers and PCSOs and their recommendations for future collaborative work.

The recruitment of young people from youth clubs and community organisations provided a naturalistic environment, allowing participants a sense of autonomy and freedom that is less likely to prevail in other formal settings such as schools (Hyde *et al.* 2000). Indeed, in this

study too (whether in paired interviews or focus groups), participants felt at ease and too occasionally participants were engaging in a discussion with each other. This social exchange between the participants meant that rather than the interviewer initiating research questions and directing the discussion, young people were often asking the probing questions to themselves, generating high-quality data. The researcher intervened only when the discussion was going off the topic, only two or three times.

Furthermore, participants' familiarity with each other's ideas and lives sparked interesting topics. Participants became 'self-reflexive' as in the words of Cerulo (cited in Ruane, 2005:159), since they had the opportunity to hear, review and explain their views comfortably. Participants, furthermore, were able to strengthen, support or even comfortably refute what each other said. Some participants in focus groups contemplated the discussed issue silently but in paired interviews, participants were constantly contributing to the discussion. Discussions which often led to the telling of stories and the banter which evolved from the participants were valuable sources of knowledge. Much of this valuable discussion occurred simply because participants did not feel intimated and were very comfortable discussing the topic in the presence of a friend. This research atmosphere was not always the case in focus groups.

Paired-interview participants spoke confidently, respecting each other's views and attitudes and gave each other enough time to speak. Indeed, focus groups are also capable of creating the same atmosphere and energy as found in paired interviews but they were not practicable for all young people. A subsequent discussion with paired interview participants underlined that three young people felt uncomfortable or unequipped sitting in the focus group setting. For example, one young person told that the focus group was 'difficult' because he could not think of an answer to the questions as quick as other participants. The participant felt that he would have more to contribute if he had more time to think. The second young person reported feeling uncomfortable sitting in a larger group with people she was not very close with. The repercussion is that the uncomfortable young people would have very little contribution to the study: the views of the more outspoken will dominate and effectively silence any

alternative perspectives or experiences. In an individual or paired interview, the researcher can focus on the young person's responses and ask probing questions to illicit more data.

Ethics

Article 12 of the UNCRC grants all children and young people who are capable of forming their own views the right to express them freely in all matters affecting them. UNCRC's 'children and young people' term refers to anyone who is aged 17 or under (UNCRC, 2008). Practices that seek to gather children and young people's views are expected to be safe and ethical. The term 'ethics' is defined as the 'application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair' (Sieber, 1993: 14). Numerous guidelines are available in the literature and on the internet to ensure that ethical standards are met when conducting a study which involves children and young people. These guidelines came into existence when it became apparent that studies involving children and young people were undermining participants' rights. The attempt to safeguard children and young people from potential physical and physiological harm has now led to the consensus that the 'interests of the subject must always prevail over the interest of science and society' (Helsinki Declaration, 1964 cited in Carlson *et al* 2004: 709).

Studies that include children and young people as participants are typically subject to more ethical and governance requirements than studies involving adult participants. Researchers in the area of medicine are the ones who are usually subject to thorough ethical clearance check if their studies involve the collection and use of human body samples, the ingestion of food or medicines and the use of devices such as MRI, X-rays and electrical stimulation. Studies in the area of Social Science can, too, be psychologically invasive: study participants who have been a victim or witness of sexual assaults, robbery, burglary and other forms of violence may find it distressing or traumatic to talk about their experiences. However, far from the examples given above, this study's primary ethical issues centred on confidentiality and safety, rights to withdraw and informed consent since it only focused on young people's views and attitudes towards PCSOs/police officers and police-young people engagement.

During the early stages of the study, the researcher worked through the ethics checklist provided by the University's Ethical Approval Sub Committee, to ensure that the health and safety of young people are met throughout the study. The checklist sought to identify the issues that may dictate changes to the research design. Study methods m*et al*l of the required standards to proceed with the study. The physical, emotional and psychological safety of the participants were paramount to the Ethics committee. The researcher was thus required to undergo a Disclosure and Barring Service (previously known as Criminal Record Bureau Check) before commencing any fieldwork, which was completed successfully.

<u>Confidentiality and Safety</u>

At the beginning of each discussion session (whether paired interview or focus group) young people were verbally informed about the aims of the study. This information, together with the information detailed in this paragraph, were provided to young people in a hard-copy format (see appendix 1- participation sheet). The role of the researcher was made clear to all participants. Young people were explained that the researcher was not a teacher; questionnaires, focus groups and interviews were not a test; and there were no right or wrong answers in any activity. Ethical guidelines were set out. Participants were explained that their details and responses would always be kept confidential. The importance of respecting each other's confidentiality about any issues raised in the study were highlighted prior to data-gathering, and subsequently agreed by young people. Young people were provided with the opportunity to ask questions about the research before starting data collection, and after the session.

All discussion sessions were audio-recorded to allow the researcher analyse the data more efficiently and effectively. Only the researcher and the leading supervisor had access to the collected data. Voice recordings were securely kept in a lockable filing-cabinet located in a locked office, and they were destroyed following transcription usually within a month. The privacy of young people were fully maintained: participants' responses were anonymised when transcribed, promoting young people's rights, dignity, welfare and safety (complying with the Data Protection Act 1998).

A framework of measures were deployed to ensure that young people's welfare and safety are protected during the study. For example, a complaints procedure was in place if young people wanted to raise a complaint against the researcher or anything to do with the research: Loughborough University's Ethics Committee's and the supervising investigator's contact details were provided to the participants and decision makers if they had a concern about the study (see appendix 1- participation sheet). Furthermore, bearing in mind the possibility of young people wanting to change their minds about participating, they were made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason. In addition to that, at no point was the researcher alone with a participant. This was to make sure that the researcher or the young person is not put at risk by one's behaviour, actions or omissions.

Young person's consent

In order for the young people to make informed decisions about participating, they were provided with a research information sheet along with a consent form for them to sign if willing to participate in the study. This is known as informed consent. Information sheets highlighted what the study was about and what was expected of young people in the study. Consent forms and information sheets were available to young people in a hardcopy format. They were tailored specifically towards young people aged between 12-17: a number of factors were taken into account to ensure that the documents are clear and concise, such as their level of reading ability, comprehension level, attention span etc.

School consent

Schools, charities and other youth organisations allowed the researcher to have access to large numbers of young people. The researcher had to obtain the consent of the institution in addition to that of the young person because children and young people cannot legally give consent themselves. The consent was, thus, obtained from the institution/person assuming legal responsibility before approaching young people for their consent. These institutions/individuals who were responsible for the welfare and safety of young people were provided with a consent form which also outlined the aims and objectives the research (see appendix 4). They were assured that the research methods would be carried out safely

and ethically, placing minimum burden on the institution, their staff and young people. A copy of Criminal Record Bureau (CRB) check was provided to the management when requested.

<u>Parental consent</u>

An 'opt-out' procedure was used for parental consent, whereby parents/guardians of interested participants were informed about the study and asked to sign the 'opt-out' consent form if he/she did not want the young person to be included in the study (see appendix 5). If nothing was received from the parent within two weeks, it was assumed that the parental consent was given. The 'opt-out' letter contained contact information for the research team in case they had any questions or concerns about the study. No parent/carer requested their child's withdrawal from the quantitative or qualitative study presumably because the study was not based on a seriously sensitive topic, and nor was it exceptionally burdensome.

Data analysis

The questionnaire data was broken down according to young people's age, sex and ethnicity to inspect variations between and within young people in Leicester. The existence of correlations/relationships between questions were examined with the help of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a software package which is widely used for statistical analysis by social scientists. Bar and pie charts were useful in displaying and comparing the frequency of different categories of data, simply because they helped the reader understand the data more easily. Focus groups and paired interviews data, on the other hand, were transcribed in order to commence the analysis process. There are many computer software programmes available to analyse participants' talk about their experiences, views and attitudes, and NVivo is one such programme. The software allows its users to conveniently carryout a content analysis through its special tools such as colouring text, highlighting sentences, adding comments together with sorting, coding and categorising data.

The data was analysed using the thematic analysis approach. Thematic analysis is defined as a 'method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data' (Braun and Clarke, 2008:79). It is a qualitative analytic method widely used in social sciences (Boyatzis, 1998; Roulston, 2001; Greg, 2012), as it allows researchers to make a sense of qualitative data and

provide an accurate picture of what it means (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). A 'theme' is identified by bringing together particular components or patterns found in the data, whether a pattern that is directly observable or implicitly referred to (Marks and Yardley, 2004:57). Themes that emerge from the research participants are pieced or collected together to make sense of participants' collective experiences, perceptions, feelings or attitudes.

Themes can be identified in two different levels: semantic and latent (Boyatzis, 1998). The former attempts to identify the explicit and surface meanings of the gathered data, i.e. in this instance the researcher does not instigate more than what the participant said in the interview. The intention is to give readers a brief introduction of important themes, and thus the depth and complexity of gathered data is lost. This study used latent themes, in which the researcher identified some of young people's ideas, patterns and assumptions. This required a lot more interpretation of the data, than semantic themes. Taking notes from the interviews young people's facial and body reactions were useful during data analysis, as they served as a reference for potential coding ideas during the thematic analysis process.

The analysis began only when the codes were accurately developed, refined and clearly categorised into themes, helping the researcher to critically answer the research question. The analysis carried out in gradual stages. First, transcripts were read numerous times to become familiar with the material. The researcher was constantly taking notes, in an effort to being developing potential codes. The second stage involved refining codes by adding, deleting and splitting potential codes. Coding as much as possible seemed irrelevant at first but it later proved very crucial later in the analysis process, as they gave an accurate picture of what the data meant. The third stage involved combining codes into themes that precisely depicted the gathered data. In the fourth stage, furthermore, the researcher searched for themes that supported or refuted the theory and the literature review. The themes did not appear incomplete, and thus there was not any need to go back to the transcripts to strengthen them. Some of the young people's stories were directly extracted from the data as it was clearly synonymous with the literature review; and differences in terms of young

people's sex, age, ethnicity and geography were investigated further, to test the reliability of questionnaire findings and to look for new evidence.

Thematic analysis differs from other qualitative methods such as thematic decomposition analysis, interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and grounded theory. Although all the above analytic methods seek patterns (themes) in the data, IPA and grounded theory are theoretically bounded whilst thematic decomposition analysis theorises language as constitutive of meaning. As thematic analysis does not have any attachments to any pre-existing theoretical frameworks, it can be considered as a more insightful and accessible form of analysis: existing theories drive the questions that the researcher asks and shapes the researcher's understanding of the answers.

Pilot Study

The term 'pilot study' is used for two different reasons in social science studies. Firstly, pilot studies can be used in 'small scale version, or trial run, done in preparation for the major study' (Polit *et al.* 2001 cited in Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001:1), and secondly they can be used to pre-test or try-out data collection methods (such as questionnaires, focus groups and interviews) (Baker, 1994:182). No matter for what intentions pilot studied are conducted, they are deemed to be a crucial element of a robust study design for a wide range of reasons: assessing the feasibility of full-scale study, collecting preliminary data and thus developing research questions and research plan, identifying problems that may occur using proposed research instruments, and assessing the likely success of proposed participant recruitment approaches (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001:1). If problems become noticed in the pre-test, it is most likely that similar but more costly problems will emerge in full-scale study.

Although pilot studies are often discussed as advantageous in the literature, they may also have a number of limitations other than being time-consuming and frustrating. For example, inaccurate predictions or assumptions may still emerge on the basis of pilot data because pilot studies are almost always based on small numbers and include small number of pilot participants. Therefore it is not always possible to become aware of all problems during data collection in pilot studies. Another limitation includes 'data contamination'. According to

Teijlingen and Hundley (2001:1), data contamination occurs 'when data from the pilot study are included in the main results' and 'where pilot participants are included in the main study, but new data are collected from these people'. Despite the possible limitations, pilot studies were carried out to develop and test the robustness of focus groups and questionnaires in this study:

Focus Groups

Focus group and paired interview sessions had to be recorded for transcribing purposes. The recorder was placed openly on the middle of the table but the pilot study demonstrated that some young people felt uncomfortable and kept getting distracted when seeing the voice-recorder. Thus, a piece of paper was placed on top of the recorder so that young people are not distracted by its presence. All young people were made aware that the sessions were voice recorded.

Listening to the recordings and carefully reading through the transcripts provided the opportunity to develop or restructure research questions, consider the alternative ways of introducing topics to the focus group and to add new research topics. Holloway (1997) argued, partly for this reason, that pilot studies are not essential in qualitative research instruments in contrast to Frankland and Bloor (1999:154) who argued that pilot studies provide the qualitative researcher with a 'clear definition of the focus of the study'.

Focus groups consisting between six to nine young people have the potential to produce conflicting opinions but it was surprising to see the amount of clarity and mutual consensus that came out in the pilot study. Youngsters who were able to speak well and those who were passionate about the research topic were making the most contribution. Although these 'passionate' youngsters were very valuable to the study, it became more apparent during the transcribing stage of the pilot study that they were dominating the group and several participants had made very little contribution, and thus something had to be done to increase other participants' input. In subsequent focus groups, the researcher used sentences like 'let's hear from someone else' and 'does anybody else have a say about this issue?'. Such a tactic has led to the attainment of diversity of perceptions of young people: all young people were given numerous opportunities to contribute, ensuring that an account of their view is

captured by the study. The contribution of young people who first appeared reluctant/shy to contribute were particularly interesting, and valuable to the study.

It was difficult to predict the extent of contribution from females in groups dominated by males. Most researchers who carried out focus groups with children and young people advocate the use of single-sex groups in their attempts to rule out the tendency of boys talking more and more loudly, serving to determine the conversation topics and overshadowing girls (Mauthner, 1997: 23). The first focus group was important in the sense that it played a big role in the future composition of focus groups. Amendments to the composition of focus groups were deemed unnecessary due to the reasons discussed previously, and the validity of this decision was intensified by females who generally felt comfortable taking part in the research in the presence of males in the pilot study. The seating arrangement may have had helped this: a circular seating arrangement allowed the researcher to sit among the young participants, providing the opportunity for a non-authoritarian, relaxed and informal atmosphere.

The researcher highlighting his past experience in working with young people and clearly explaining the importance of the study helped lend credibility to the study and encouraged young people to be exceptionally cooperative and insightful during the session.

Questionnaires

Unlike in focus groups/paired interviews where researchers/moderators are granted with the opportunity to make adjustments to the way they run these sessions, such is rarely the case with questionnaires. It is advised not to adjust the questionnaire once the data collection starts. This is because with quantitative research instruments, standardised procedures are essential for ensuring that accurate general statements can be made. For example, in the case of electronically mailed or handed out questionnaires, adjustments are impossible once they have been distributed. If the adjustments are major and essential, questionnaires would need to be corrected and redistributed by the researcher and refilled by the participants. And same again, if pre-testing indicated that there is a low likelihood of obtaining robust data with the current format, problem areas should be replaced/corrected or other research instruments

should be pursued for data collection. It must also be borne in mind that the participants would be less likely to fill out the study due to the harassment the study caused. Pre-testing of questionnaires, thus, provide the opportunity to make final adjustments before administering them to young people, helping to ensure that standardised procedures are applied from the start to the end.

The pre-testing or pilot-testing of the questionnaire was conducted with young people, through a focus group. The focus group consisted of four girls and three boys aged between 12 to 17 from diverse ethnic groups. The aim of pre-testing through focus groups was to assess the reliability and validity of questionnaires: whether the questionnaires were being filled out properly and accurately, whether the questions were understood by young people, and whether young people were able and willing to answer the questions. Young people were asked to fill out the questionnaire, whilst the researcher observed them to check if they were struggling, getting distracted or having difficulties concentrating. Other than looking out for verbal and non-verbal signals during this time, the time taken to complete the questionnaire was recorded and subsequently decided that it was reasonable. Following the completion of questionnaires, young people's views were obtained in the focus group which lasted approximately 35 minutes. The following changes/considerations were made/given to the questionnaire:

- Some words were not understood by young people and thus different words were agreed.

- Some young people were put off by some questions because they were perceived too long. These questions were reconstructed.

- Although young people generally gave an impression that the overall layout and the structure of questions were good, four young people did not answer the question on their awareness of NPTs because they did not know what they were. Thus, a brief description of NPTs was added to the question for clarification purposes.

- Some young people did not know the difference between a PCSO and a police officer. A picture of a PCSO and police officer was added to the questionnaire for clarification purposes.

- Closed questions were preferred over open-ended questions because they were easier to answer. With closed questions however, the options given may hide subtle differences. To overcome this limitation, the questionnaire included open-ended questions which followed close-ended questions (for example, 'if answered yes above, please explain what you did').

Subsequent to the pre-testing of questionnaires with young people, two academics in the area of research methods were approached to get their comments on the final draft of the questionnaire, and very minor adjustments were following their perusal.

Summary

Perhaps the most important thing that became apparent during the collection of data was how much young people appreciated the study and how committed young people were in voicing their perspectives about PCSOs, police officers and local policing teams. They, furthermore, maintained that participating in the study allowed them to gain a better understanding of PCSOs' and NPTs' roles and responsibilities towards young people. There was a general feeling amongst the interviewed young people that their perspectives and concerns around PCSOs/police officers were important to be heard and understood by the relevant people, and they were hopeful that something would be done in the near future.

Scheduling focus groups and paired interviews was a challenge with young people who had busy lives. The vast majority of young people were full-time students who inevitability had homework, exams and other after-school activities. For young people who were in employment too, working around work hours and their social life provided difficult challenges to access young people. Online focus groups (Steward and Williams, 2005) and telephone focus groups (Hurworth, 2004) are some of the available options but they all had serious limitations.

The difficulties associated with scheduling focus groups/paired interview sessions were lessened after gaining local organisations/'institutions'/youth clubs' agreement to access some of the young people they work with. Although this strategy largely eliminated the problem around time constraints, the flexibility of the researcher was constantly challenged/tested because these organisations ran their sessions only at certain times of the day/week. The majority of sessions ran early in the evening at various locations across Leicester, whilst others ran at weekends in the early hours of the day. However, the financial cost of arranging focus groups (rooms, table, chairs, etc) were kept to a minimum by conducting discussions on these organisations' premises.

Although questionnaires, focus groups and paired interviews were all relevant in terms of gathering quality data from young people, there was still a room for improvement:

- After each discussion session, the researcher could have had a brief chat with young people about their experience in the study. Reflecting on young people's experiences would have given an idea on how the interview could be improved.

- Two focus group discussions ran simultaneously to a music-related session in the same building. Although the noise was a minor problem for some youngsters, some have experienced difficulty concentrating.

- Information about the study was given to young people (verbally and physically) but on the day of the planned focus group discussions some youngsters who did not know much about the study wanted to be involved simply because their friends were participating. They were not allowed to participate because there were not any consent forms available.

- Although the Loughborough University's Ethics Committee did not highlight the research topic as sensitive, it was still possible that the research could uncover emotional hidden or suppressed feelings towards the police: the study could 'reawaken' old negative feeling or experiences. Although necessary precautions were

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taken (i.e. young person consent, parental consent and organisation consent), the gatekeepers could have been specifically asked to identify individuals who they know could be harmed by the study.

- Specifically to participants aged 12-14 who were generally less forthcoming that the older age groups, they could have been asked to 'agree' or 'disagree' with statements written on cards and subsequently give reasons. This activity could have been carried out towards the end of the discussion session to illicit more information about their perceptions of potential community policing activities targeting young people.

- Water could be made available in focus group/paired interview sessions.

CHAPTER 6. Reactive Policing vs Proactive Policing

Introduction

The first chapter has shown that both reactive and proactive forms of policing are practised simultaneously in England and Wales. The former policing style allows the police to respond promptly to emergency calls from the public, whereas the latter involves the police working with the community to develop information about crime and crime prevention strategies before they lead to criminal activity. Around two-thirds of police work in England and Wales is taken up by 'front-line policing' activities (police personnel who respond to emergency calls or work in neighbourhood policing teams to deal with crime and its related components) (HMIC, 2011a:5). Nevertheless, the reality (as seen in chapter one) is that the bulk of 'front-line policing' activity in England and Wales is instigated by the public, and thus was 'reactive' in nature.

However, 'if citizens did not notice the crime, or did not call the police quickly, no amount of speed in the police response helped much' (Moore *et al.* 1988: 6). The greatest potential for enhanced crime control, thus, is not linked to enhancement of response times. Nor is it linked to increased uniformed police presence, increased number of stop and searches, or even investigative techniques (as previous chapters have shown). Of course, reactive policing does not completely fail in controlling crime: it would be a serious mistake to assume that the levels of crime would stay the same if police patrols and crime investigation officers were halted. Rather the intention here is to assert that the success of the reactive approach is limited. Further benefits in police effectiveness are closely linked to (a) the diagnosis and management of problems that produce crimes (problem solving); (b) closer police-public relations to facilitate crime solving (engagement).

Among the benefits of proactive policing are enhanced crime prevention, increased clear-up rates and reduced fear of crime, but such benefits are less likely to come about if normative sponsorship theory does not appeal to young people. To serve as a reminder, the former theory contends that most members of the community are inherently positive and are willing to co-operate with other individuals or organisations to meet their own needs and

expectations. The latter theory, on the other hand, posits that the members of the community should be 'enlightened' (people must become educated), 'empowered (people must take action to improve their condition) and 'emancipated' (liberation can come through reflection and social action). This chapter will examine the effects of the law enforcement style of policing on young people's decision to engage with the police.

Law-enforcement and its implications for police-young people relationships

One would think that the re-development of proactive policing through the community policing philosophy would lead to high levels of non-crime related contact between the police and young people, serving to improve police-young people relationships. Despite the PCSOs' key task of proactively approaching members of the community (including young people), this study found that only 10.2% of young people interacted with a PCSO in the past 12 months, almost three times less than police officer-young people interaction (28.2%). It would be irrational to take these statistics as evidence of an unbalanced dependence on reactive policing in Leicester, however. This is because not all police officer-young people interactions involved adversarial police contact or other forms of police-initiated contact. Over two-thirds (37.8%) of police officer-young people interactions occurred when young people were reporting a crime or anti-social behaviour, followed by a chat or to ask a question (33.3%); 20.3% occurred when young people felt scared or had other concerns; and the remaining 10.1% were police-initiated (stop and search). Young people-PCSO interactions, on the other hand, were largely to have a chat (80%) followed by reporting a crime or anti-social behaviour (16%) and feeling scared (4%).

Nevertheless, more of an issue is that as reactive policing took a more aggressive approach towards crime, it threatened the potential benefits of proactive policing. Skogan (2006) asserted that police-initiated encounters (stop and searches) could have up to 14 times more negative impact than positive encounters. This assertion can be perfectly exemplified with the police's use of stop and search powers to target street burglary in Brixton in 1981 which later led to serious uprising (see chapter one). Approximately 1,000 people were stopped and searched and yet only 118 arrests were made. Lord Scarman's investigation into the 1981 Brixton riots has boldly underlined that this crime fighting tool was not only ineffective, but

that the procedure actually leads to weakening community relations when it is perceived by many in the local community to be a form of discrimination practised by the police. Clancy (*et al.* 2001), Maxson (*et al.* 2003) and Skogan (2006) were some of the later scholars who confirmed that police officers' stop and search tactics often lead to an atmosphere of resentment and hostility towards the police organisation as a whole. In line with the views of these scholars, the case in Leicester is that almost three-quarters (71.4%: 5/7) of young people who had been stopped and searched in the last year were dissatisfied with police officers and believed that that police officers are disrespectful. This is a hugely important finding. Interestingly, 16-17 year olds formed 85.7% of those who had been stopped and searched in the last 12 months. A completely different picture is revealed when the interactions initiated by young people are scrutinised. For example, no young person out of the 24 who interacted with a police officer to report crime or to help police with a crime investigation perceived police officers to be disrespectful; and 74.2% of young people who approached the police were satisfied with police officers. And importantly, only 1 out of the 7 young people who had been stopped and searched agreed that police officers are reliable, where for respondent-initiated contacts the likelihood of agreeing is as high as 79%. This means that young people who have been stopped and searched are almost 8 times more likely than those who have not been stopped and searched to say that police officers are not reliable.

Police officer productivity (stop and searches, arrests, clear-up rates), which sits at the centre of law-enforcement style of policing, raised issues like discrimination, aggression and hostility of law enforcers as well as erosion of police-public relations. A key concern that was raised by an important percentage of young people was the treatment they or somebody they knew received from police officers when getting stopped, generating a wariness of police and engendering problematic relationships between the police and young people. Tyler and colleagues (Tyler, 2004, 2006; Tyler and Blader, 2000; Tyler and Huo, 2002; Tyler and Fagan, 2008 all cited in Myhill and Quinton, 2011:6) argued that the decision to co-operate with the police and obey the law is to a large extent dependent on the quality of police-public interaction. Examples of high quality interaction include being friendly and approachable; treating people with respect, making fair decisions and taking the time to explain these

decisions (Myhill and Quinton, 2011:6). Whilst some young people understood the purpose behind the stop and search tactic, most felt that the majority of stop and searches were not carried out according to the rules and regulations:

> My brother has been stopped and searched like five times and I understand why they do stop and searches and everything but it is unfair that you are disrupting somebody's time like the way they approach young people isn't good. The way they do it like, sometimes they seem quite arrogant from what I see and hear. The police are arrogant. Loads of people say that they don't trust the police because they don't think they would actually do something about it (Female, White, 15).

> Now yeah... these days if you 'match a description' they stop you for no reason. They say you match a description that we're looking for. They stop you, they search you, and they take everything off you (Male, White, 15).

The police organisation is a very powerful one, with a great control of what they do in fighting crime and how they go about doing it. The law-enforcement style of policing grants a great deal of discretion to police officers, especially on which laws to enforce against whom, when and where. The legal powers granted to police officers, such as stop and search, arrest and detention, help the police protect citizens from crime and preserve social order, but unfortunately the wide range of options and authority that is granted to police officers has led to occasional abuse of their powers in England and Wales and beyond. The true extent of police abuse of power is obscure in England and Wales, but for some young people 'bent for the job' police officers were omnipresent in Leicester, representing a serious lack of trust and confidence in the police:

> Police officers in Leicester basically errmm [pause] use their statutory powers and take advantage of other people. They stop you and search you and detain you (Male, Asian, 17).

> Some [police officers] in Leicester are right divs [idiot]. Like power abusing and that [Female, Asian, 14].

> Sometimes you say something like private and confidential. Like [pause] I'm not being funny right but I just can't trust them [Female, White, 15]

> You know in this area, not just young people, but the majority of people's relationship with the police is not good [Male, Black, 15].

The above comments about police officers raise great concerns about young people's experiences and perceptions about the power that is granted to the police as a whole. The

police's manner in upholding the law and safeguarding individuals' human rights and civil liberties has led to vehement debates about police accountability. The case of the Brazilian national Jean Charles de Menezes who was shot dead on an underground train in London in 2005 when he was mistaken as a terrorist is of extreme importance as it re-ignited the arguments surrounding the manner in which police officers behave. Fortunately, this study did not find anything that critical in nature but numerous young people from different areas and different backgrounds reported their negative first-hand experiences of being stopped and searched by the police in Leicester. Young people's trust was based on relationships with individual PCSOs and police officers (not necessarily the police organisation as a whole), and this was a key determinant of future engagement. Police accountability and some young people's first-hand experience with the police will be critically discussed in the following section, but it is essential to highlight here that a democratic society necessitates a police service that can protect the public under the rule of the law. Fair, respectful and quality police-public interaction fits more easily with the proactive policing philosophy than today's reactive style of policing which focuses on cutting crime through relentless enforcement of the law, police officer productivity and police specialisation. The law-enforcement style places less emphasis on foot-patrol and on the peace-keeping role. Alderson in the late 1970s, Scarman in the early 1980s and Macpherson in the late 1990s highlighted some of the problems which evolved from increasing enforcement of the law such as community alienation, racism, deteriorating police-public relations due to reduced levels of trust and cooperation, etc (see chapter one). The repercussions which were associated with the transition from a peace-keeping style of policing to a law-enforcement style of policing were also mentioned during qualitative research methods with young people aged 12-17 in Leicester from a variety of backgrounds and life experiences. Whilst some young people complained about their relationship with the police and how the police used to be in the past, others have noted that they felt unnecessarily intimated by police officers' presence or even felt guilty when police officers were around:

> If you look at the police force 50 years ago or whatever yeah. It has changed drastically the way it is now. Before the police were seen as the servants of the public yeah but now they are not seen like that anymore. You know what I mean? It changed a lot [Male, Asian, 17].

> When you see a police officer in their uniform, you feel like all of a sudden you're doing something wrong and you try to be on your best behaviour [Female, White, 13].

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Of course, not all young people perceived the police this way. It would be a serious mistake to give the impression that all young people were discontent with the police in Leicester. However, there were important variations within and between young people from different backgrounds, life experiences and appearances. Before focusing on these variations in more detail in the next section, it is important to highlight here that a number of positive comments were made about the police in a range of different settings:

> They [the police] are alright [Male, White, 12].

> We do have a lot of trouble around our house as well. They [the police] are quite helpful [Female, Asian, 14].

> They [the police] keep our community safe [Male, White, 14].

Although young people who have had an adversarial contact with the police were not completely content with the way they were treated by the police in Leicester, they thought they were a lot better than the police in other parts of the world. For example, during the focus group discussion with youth offenders, the researcher was asked what country he was from. Once replied, one of the participant's response was 'yeah they are 100 times more strict than here aren't they?' [Male, White, 17, Youth Offender]. They acknowledged and appreciated the fact that the police in England and Wales were 'relaxed' and not as corrupt, 'paramilitary', strict or rough as the ones in other countries such as Turkey, Spain and the United States of America (USA):

Focus group conversation
Participant 1: They will bash you on the head if you were in them countries but over here they don't mess about like that. Like one police officer wacked my brother on the head when we were in Ibiza. Banngggg!! And he was like next time you fucking behave normal. In Spain, they carry fucking guns [Male, White, 17, Youth Offender]. Participant 2: There is a lot of bribery as well ain't there? [Male, Black, 16, Youth Offender] Participant 3: Yeah like America and that [Male, White, 17, Youth Offender].

Indeed, the police forces in England and Wales are more professional and more successful than other police forces/organisations around the world but the above quotes do not mean

that young people are 'fine' with police misconduct in England and Wales, which largely involved police abuse of legal power rather than bribery or excessive force. Police officers are granted a great deal of power over citizens including young people to enable them to 'keep the Queen's Peace [and] to protect, help and reassure the community' (Statement of Common Purpose cited in Newburn, 2003:87). Some police officers have behaved in a manner that is inconsistent with the law: they have seen themselves not as guardians or simply enforcers of the law, but as the law itself. However, the conversations with young people suggest that by treating them fairly and with respect, the police will demonstrate to young people that they are valued members of the society, even when police officers' decisions are against them:

> I was driving a car. It was insured. My boss was supposed to insure it for me. He insured it but I don't know I think it didn't go through to the insurance. There was something wrong with the insurance. I was driving and the cops stopped me, I was like 'arghhhhh whats the matter now?'. It came up on the register that this wasn't insured so they had to take it from me. And we will charge for you not having an insurance. And after I tell em explain to the police officer. Police officer said 'you know what we are gonna let you off'. But we'll still have to take the car. We can't give it to you. I was thinking 'now that's a good officer'. He let me off for it. If this had anything to do with the traffic warden, you would get hammered!!! [Male, 17, Black, Young Offender].

> That's why I'm saying! They [police officers] are better than traffic wardens! You know if you are parking, cops will come and question you about why you are parking here and blabblabla. And I said to them I didn't know. They said 'okay'. The traffic warden wouldn't ask you a question. Bammmmmm!!! They'll stick the ticket [Male, 17, White, Young Offender].

As demonstrated above and discussed in chapter one, 'letting off' young people or 'under-enforcement' (Stephens, 1988:5) of the law where the crime or disturbance to the society is minor can lead to important positive feelings towards the police. In the early days of policing in England and Wales, too, 'bobbies' sometimes found it easier and convenient not to enforce the law through the manipulation of their powers of discretion just so that they could maintain the trust and the cooperation of the public. Since there were no legal actions, friendships were sealed through 'favours', police-public relationships improved, and the flow of quality intelligence to the police was maintained. Indeed, the most important factor behind the acceptance, development and maintenance of Peel's police was the establishment of police-public relationship which was based on trust, fairness and respect. PCSOs' fit more easily with Sir Robert Peel's 'bobbies' who were 'honest, upright, cool, calm, and avuncular

with the public' as depicted in the BBC's police drama series, Dixon of Dock Green (Newburn, 2008:87). And largely because of the 'friendly', 'jokey', 'get to know you' features of PCSOs who closely resemble Peel's bobbies, the overwhelming proportion of young people who participated in the qualitative research wanted to be policed by PCSOs rather than regular police officers who they described as 'stern', 'serious' and 'prejudicial'. A clear distinction line was drawn between police officers and PCSOs, as young people recognised the positive contribution that they make to the community.

> ... [I prefer PCSOs] because like ermmm they could be our neighbours as well. So they are friendly. Whereas police officers, they don't really know about us. They just judge us from our looks but PCSOs don't do that [Female, 13, White]

> I think they [PCSOs] are like more 'get to know you', more friendly. Whereas police officers stay like more serious. Like not very jokey. Not somebody like you go up to and have a conversation [Male, 13, Asian]

> To me they [PCSOs] are just like normal people. When you walk around you see them [PCSOs] on their bikes. They are more like trying to get to know the community to build a bond. So ermm, if there is anything going on they can like talk to them on a personal level. But other police officers, I think they are more stern. They are more trying to keep that image like don't mess with us and think. They are more serious I think, and I hate that [Female, 15, Black].

The above young people's comments about PCSOs were common throughout the study, and were in line with the research findings of Cooper *et al (*2006) and Mason and Dale (2008). Although it has been highlighted earlier in this chapter, it is worth reiterating that not all young people disliked police officers. Rather, the finding is that PCSOs who tend do a lot of engagement work with the public are perceived more favourably than regular police officers who generally do more 'law-enforcement' work. As previously asserted, the CSEW makes no distinction between PCSOs and police officers, and hence it is unclear what the public's, let alone young people's, perception of PCSOs and police officers is like. The analysis of questionnaires has demonstrated noticeable differences in young people's perceptions towards different patrolling officers, urging the CSEW to categorise data according to PCSOs and police officers. For example, where 11.4% of young people said that PCSOs are disrespectful, the figure was 20.2% for police officers; 14.7% of young people perceived PCSOs as unreliable in contrast to 19.6% for police officers; and 72.4% of young people were satisfied with PCSOs in contrast to 65.9% for police officers (see chart 6.1).

Chart 6.1:   Young people's perception of PCSOs and Police Officers
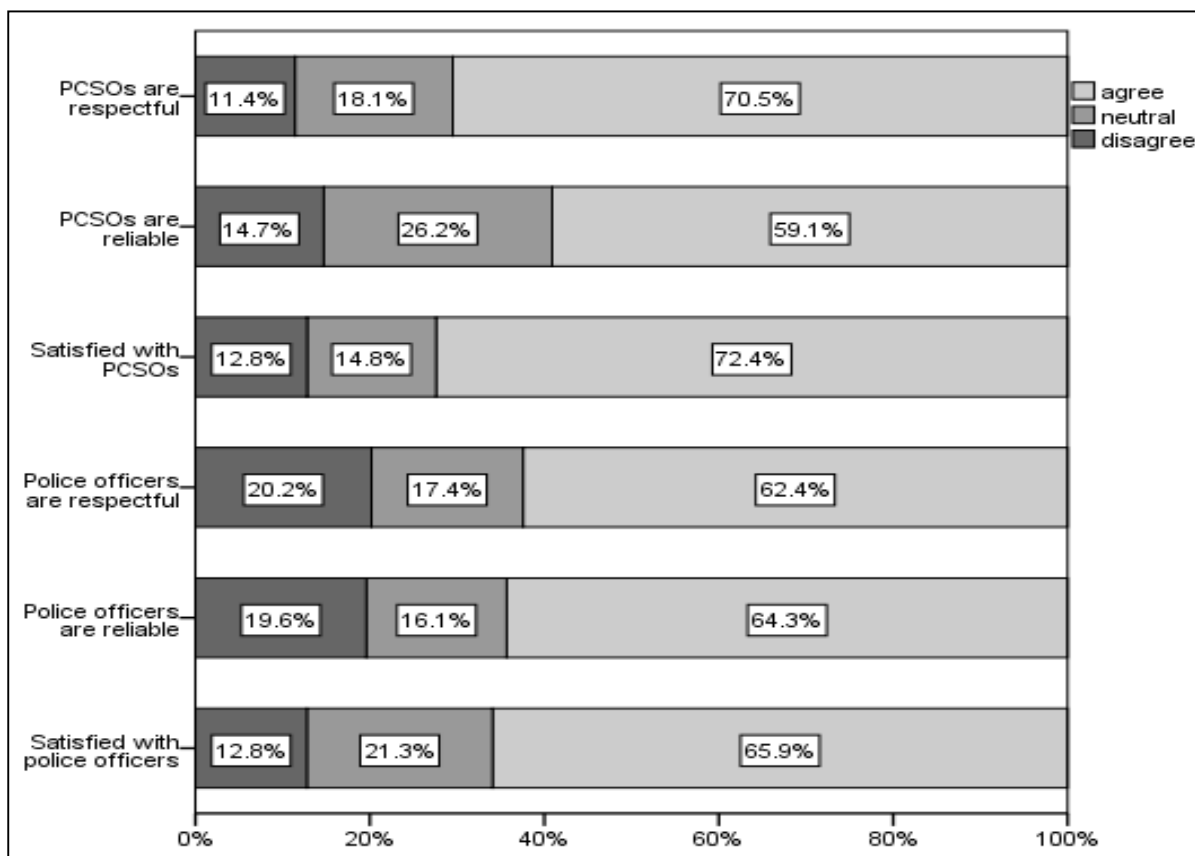
The chart above does not disclose anything about the young people who have negative attitudes towards PCSOs and police officers. The fundamental variations within and between young people will be discussed critically in the following section. Before advancing any further, it is important to highlight here that some young people, especially those who have had adversarial contact with the police in the past, were aware of the fact that PCSOs' powers are limited. This is important to note because 85.7% (6 out of 7) of young people who have been stopped and searched reported knowing the powers available to PCSOs in contrast to 32.7% (80 out of 245) of the general young people's population *(discussed in detail in the next chapter).* Chapter 4 had highlighted that young people knowing the powers available to PCSOs may have two possible contradictory effects: it may make PCSOs more approachable by young people because they are on the 'same level' (Cooke, 2004 cited in Cooke, 2005:239) or their existence may be disregarded by young people because they are legally less-powerful and physically unarmed (Rowland and Coupe, 2013). Young people in Leicester generally appreciated the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs *(discussed in the next chapter)* but this

study has found that much of what young people think about PCSOs' powers is dependent on their: (a)past experiences with the police, (b)ethnic background, (c) and their geographic location. For example, numerous young people living in economically and socially developed neighbourhoods raised concerns about the possibility of their privacy being infringed by police officers conducting stop and search, and thus preferred to have more PCSOs simply because of the fact that they could stop and search people:

> You know like the privacy side of things, young people like myself would prefer to have more PCSOs within the area than PCs [Male, 16, Asian].

While the general young people population was mostly unaware of the powers of a PCSO *(discussed in the next chapter),* what became clear is that youth offenders or young people who have been subject to adversarial contact with the police knew the powers available to PCSOs and generally PCSOs' powers were taken as an 'advantage'. Some of the young participants admitted that they have 'bullied' PCSOs and tested how much they could taunt them because they lacked policing powers. The literature review has demonstrated that some PCSOs have been called a 'plastic police' or even a 'milkman' by the general members of the community due to their lack of police powers and caring features. The PCSOs' role, however, is not primarily to enforce the law, but instead to assist and guide sworn police officer in their front line duties by acting as the eyes and ears on the streets. Through high visibility, PCSOs will be accessible to the community, reassure the public and increase orderliness in public spaces. When some citizens including young people do not take PCSOs seriously, there are bound to be implications on PCSOs' morale and satisfaction in the job. There is currently no study that measures PCSOs' satisfaction levels in the job, but what is well-known is that low levels of officer satisfaction has been found to be related to: reduced levels of individual performance; increased levels of absenteeism; and reduced commitment to the organisation as a whole leading to the prevalence of unprofessional acts by officers. The below conversation with young people indicates that PCSOs' existence is overlooked by some section of young people in Leicester:

Focus group conversation
Participant 3: We play football there [pointing to the empty space between the residential houses] and we make too much noise. All they [PCSOs] tell us is 'STOP'. No one really listens to them [Male, 14, Black]

Participant 6: Yeah in St Matthews, the PCSOs have no power whatsoever. We have more power than them [Male, 14, Black]

Researcher: So because they have no power?

Participant 1: We take advantage [Male, 14, Black] *[all laugh aloud for 28 seconds].

Researcher: Would you guys not want them [PCSOs] to have more powers so that they can deal with criminals more effectively?

Participant 2: Nooo we like it the way it is. Because if they did have power then then..[pause] we wouldn't like them. They would do a lot of bad things. Like they'd stop ball games for no reason [pause] they'd stop this and that [Male, 14, Black].

Researcher: You seem to know quite a bit about PCSOs' powers. How did you get to know that they have limited powers?

Participant 6: because we do so much stuff here yeah [Male, 14, Black]. *[all laugh out loud for 5 seconds]

PCSOs can, indeed, issue fixed penalty notices, and although they do not have powers of arrest they are able to detain people for up to 30 minutes pending the arrival of a police officer. Regardless of this fact, many of these young people felt that PCSOs could not do much about their anti-social behaviour:

They [PCSOs] get bullied a lot. Everyone takes the piss out of them don't they? Even I shout WANKERS!!! I doooo.. (all laugh) [Male, 16, White, Youth offender]

Focus group conversation

Participant 4: They have got no handcuffs or nothing. They haven't even got a pepper spray. They cannot arrest [Male, 13, Black].

Participant 2: Sometimes they say we'll give you a warning and that. Then we say you can't arrest us innit because we're under age. They can't even touch us [Male, 15, Black].

Participant 3: They have given us so many warning. They keep given us warnings [Male, 14, Black].

Participant 6: We give fake names [Male, 14, Black]. *[all laugh aloud for 14 seconds]

The young people above can be understood for their perceptions that PCSOs are 'powerless' by the rare occurrence of PCSOs' issuing a fixed penalty notice or detaining a person and preventing them from enjoying his/her liberty for 30 minutes. The good thing about this

perception is that this same group of young people are more likely to approach PCSOs than police officers because they feel on the 'same level'. The power difference between PCSOs and regular police officers reduced the emotional barrier between the PCSO and the young people, enabling young people to feel more comfortable when interacting with them. This links the argument to the normative sponsorship theory. It was the normative sponsorship theory's contention that most members of the community are inherently positive and are willing to co-operate with other individuals, groups and organisations to meet their own needs and expectations. Central to this principle is thus the need that police should actively engage with the community, including young people, to understand the local issues that concern them. As the conversations with young people indicate however, when that 'organisation' in question is the police service, it is critical to remember that only when young people are treated well and perceive the actions of police personnel to be fair, are they likely to collaborate with the police for community good. This can be illustrated with the data gathered from the questionnaires. Two questions were asked to determine how willing young people might be to intervene in two given hypothetical crime situations- robbery and violent crime. These questions were also designed to test normative sponsorship theory on young people, which postulates that most people are positive about co-operating with individuals, groups or institutions for the benefit of society. The results indicated that 78.8% of young people were positive about intervening when witnessing a robbery, and 94.4% said that they would be likely to report a physical assault to the police. Nevertheless, although there were no correlations between young people's satisfaction of PCSOs with the likelihood of calling the police, almost two-thirds (64.7%) of young people who were dissatisfied with police officers and 66.7% of those who had been stopped and searched were either 'very unlikely' or 'quite unlikely' to report robbery to the police.

These findings, which are also in line with Myhill and Quinton's (2011) conclusion, bring forward the arguments surrounding police legitimacy- the concept of 'policing by consent'. The argument around 'police legitimacy' was that the police's success in their order-maintenance and crime investigation roles is based on the public's involvement and support in policing. In support of this assertion, the historical background of the police in chapter one had concluded that Sir Robert Peel's 'bobbies' encountered strong public opposition and thus

faced a lot of resentment from the public. It had taken years to gain legitimacy and to establish a good relationship with the public. The relationship was a fragile one, and it will continue to be fragile one. Unfair questioning/arresting of individuals by the police could, and frequently does, change the attained levels of trust and confidence into hostility, resulting in the weakening or the loss of police legitimacy. The argument is that the police would be powerless over the most transparent illegality on the streets without the cooperation of the public (Home Office, 2010a) because a disproportionate number of police arrests occur due to the intelligence gained from the public (Rowan cited in Reith, 1956: 265; Black,1970 cited in Shotland and Goodstein, 1984:9; Smith and Visher 1981). Nevertheless, what this study found is that police-initiated contacts (stop and search) with young people not only damage the levels of trust and respect (as discussed above) but they also erode the police's legitimacy in the eyes of young people. For example, young people who had been stopped and searched in Leicester were very unlikely to report physical assaults to the police: all of those young people who said they would not be calling the police after witnessing a physical assault were stopped and searched by the police at some point in their lives. And importantly, only a third of young people who had been stopped and searched said they would report robbery to the police after witnessing it (2.3 times less likely than the general young people population). These figures compare markedly unfavourably against the overall young people who were involved in the study (*discussed in the next chapter).*

By improving young people's perceptions of the police through better treatment of young people, a number of positive effects will follow. Young people who have been subject to adversarial contact with the police will become more enthusiastic in collaborating with the police for community good (normative sponsorship theory); young people will accept the police's legitimacy (Walker, 2005:42); and intelligence flows to the police will be enhanced. The last effect can be successfully illustrated via the questionnaires which have been filled in by young people. To help determine young people's degree of resentment towards the police, and to help determine young people's willingness to cooperate with the police, a hypothetical question was raised about young people's sense of guilt if they did not share intelligence with the police that they know would lead to the solving of a crime. As high as 87.3% of young people said that they would feel guilty if they did not share intelligence with the police but

when the data was scrutinised further to check whether any relationship existed between young people's sense of guilt and stop and search, a strong negative correlation was found. Parenthetically, no correlation was found between young people's sense of guilt and PCSO interaction. Only 28.6% (2 out of 7) of those who had been stopped and searched felt some degree of guilt, three times less likely than the general population. This suggests that by reducing the number of unnecessary stop and searches and improving the treatment of young people who have been subject to stop and search, young people would be more inclined to share intelligence that they know would lead to the solving of crime and would be more likely to call the police if in need of help.

Police-Young People Relationships

Engaging with the police to tackle community problems seems to be established more successfully in affluent and socially cohesive communities than in poorer and socially diverse communities (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 16). Unfortunately, the police in England and Wales have found it especially difficult to build bonds and gain the trust of ethnic minorities due to the incidents of prejudice, corruption and excessive use of police powers (Scarman, 1981; HMIC, 1997; Macpherson, 1999; Bowling et al 2010). Attentive readers, also, would have noticed from the above conversations that young people belonging to an ethnic background were generally negative towards the police, opening the door to the possibility that young ethnic minorities are antagonistic towards the police in Leicester. This section will test this presumption.

Authority rejecters: an insight into Black youngsters' and young offenders' perceptions

The public's trust and confidence in the police was identified as an important determinant of police-public engagement (Bradford *et al.* 2008), and a legitimate, trustworthy and reliable police service can benefit from a compliant and cooperative community (Jackson *et al.* 2010). A set of six questions was developed to illicit young people's perception of different patrolling officers, taking into account the variations in responses between and within young people. Young people were only required to respond if they had interacted with a PCSO or a police officer in the past, so that their relationships with different patrolling personnel could be investigated. A total of 149 young people out of the 245 took part in the questions about

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PCSOs, illustrating that 60.8% have had the opportunity to interact with a PCSO to date, whilst 144 reported interacting with a police officer (58.8%). The majority of young people perceived PCSOs as respectful, reliable and were largely satisfied on the whole: 70.5%, 59.1% and 72.4% respectively. Police officers, in addition, were rated positively on the whole, though slightly unfavourably when compared against PCSOs in terms of respect and overall satisfaction: 62.4% of young people perceived police officers respectful, 62.3% reliable and 65.9% satisfied on the whole. Young people's positivity towards the police personnel was also mentioned in paired interviews/focus groups with young people from a variety of backgrounds, life experiences and geographic locations:

> My mum shouted at them [police officers] once, they took the situation quite seriously. They didn't like ermmm shout at her back. They were like 'please calm down'. I think that was good of them. If they reacted negatively, it would have made the situation a lot worse [Female, Asian, 13].

> You know Alidere [a police officer they nicknamed] has been on Leicester Mercury. He is a very popular police officer in St. Matthews. Lanky guy, he is very tall. He is very very friendly with us. Everyone knows him....he has always been here for us! [Male, Black, 12].

Although the general young people's perception of police officers and PCSOs is positive, what stood out is that there were important variations in perceptions between young people from different ethnic backgrounds (as briefly highlighted in the previous section). For example, Black young people were six times more likely than Whites and two times more likely than Asians to report their dissatisfaction with police officers: 62.5% of Blacks reported their dissatisfaction in contrast to 10.5% of Whites and 34.6% of Asian. Similar to young people's overall 'satisfaction' with police officers, 75% of Blacks disagreed that police officers are reliable in contrast to 17.2% of Asians and 8.5% of Whites. Importantly, no Black young person agreed that police officers are respectful. This finding contrasts sharply to Whites and Asians: 78.3% (48 out of 60) of Whites and 62.1% (36 out of 58) of Asians thought that police officers are respectful. Young Black people's lack of confidence is also the case with PCSOs: over a fifth (21.1%) of Blacks disagreed about PCSOs' respectfulness in contrast to 6.8% of Whites and 11.7% of Asians; only 26.3% of Blacks agreed that PCSOs' are reliable in contrast to 55% of Asians and 76.3% of Whites; and just over a quarter (26.3%) of Blacks reported their dissatisfaction about PCSOs in contrast to 15% of Asians and only 5.1% of Whites.

Young people's confidence in the police was found to have a strong correlation with the decision to interact with police officers and PCSOs. For example, where 35.1% of Whites interacted with a police officer, the figure was 24.8% for Asians, 15.4% for Mixed and only 10% for Blacks. To illustrate the extent of disparity between ethnic groups, 57% of those who interacted because he/she felt scared were White in comparison to 28.6 % of Asians and 14.3% of 'other'; and 65.2% of young people who had approached a police officer for a general chat were White in contrast to 26.1% of Asians and 4.3% of Blacks. Only two Black youngsters reported having interacted with a police officer: one was due to stop and search and the other was for a general chat; and no young person from the Mixed or Black category reported interacting with a PCSO in the last twelve months.

Focus groups and paired interviews were conducted with young people from a variety of backgrounds, life experiences and geographic locations in Leicester to gain an insight into the variations between young people's views about PCSOs and police officers. An important proportion of young people who participated in focus groups and interviews felt that the police's use of stop and search powers was largely based on their appearance and the way they dress:

> They can sometimes be stereotypical... like people wearing hoodies, in a group like. Young people going to youth clubs and thing like that with their hoods up. They often think that they are going to cause trouble when they are only going to youth clubs or going out with their friends on the street [Male, White, 15].

> When we go out yeah, we are not allowed to go out in groups because we are classed as gangs. We are going out on our business you know! Sometimes I think it is safer to walk in a group even though the police might stop you. Now it is getting dark quickly, I wouldn't want to walk home at 5 o'clock, like after a school club because it gets dark. People are hiding in bushes and everything, and it would be better to walk in a group [Female, White, 16].

More significant than the findings above, however, a very high percentage of Black and Asian focus group participants felt that the police in Leicester stereotyped them according to their 'racial' features. Studies into police officers' treatment of citizens have reported that Asians have been stereotyped as devious, liars and potential illegal immigrants (Cain, 1973; Graef 1989; Jefferson, 1993), whilst Blacks have been stereotyped to be more prone to violent crime and drug abuse, to be incomprehensible, aggressive and troublesome (Graef, 1989; Reiner,

1991). These findings have been found to be the case throughout the police ranks, not just restricted to lower-ranking police officers (Reiner, 1991). On the basis of the accounts of young people, a picture emerges of police officers being stereotypical towards Asian and Black young people in Leicester:

> Around our area it is mostly all Asians so they automatically think that all Asians around our area is a drug dealer... everybody is going to have hatred towards them. [Male, Asian, 17].
> And in general as well, like the other guy said [reference to participant 2], the police they stereotype all Somali people. All Somalis are bad. All foreigners are bad. All Asians are thieves (Male, Black, 13].
> When they see people with beards and that, they stop them innit. They say 'oh he is a terrorist'. They search into your bags [Male, 15, Asian].
>
> Fair enough I am dressed like this [pointing to his shalwarkameez] what makes us different though? All it is is that I live in a different cloth and different piece of clothing. There is nothing different about me. We have got the same blood, we drink the same water and stuff [Male, Asian, 16].

Although ethnic minorities make important contributions to British society and are slowly becoming more representative in the criminal justice system, racism and racial prejudices are endemic within British society and the police service is no exception (HMIC, 1997: 18; Bowling *et al* 2010:2). Smith and Gray (1985), Scarman (1981), Macpherson (1999) were some of the commentators who argued that racism and racial prejudice in police culture were pervasive. In this study, the perception that the police are stereotypical, prejudicial or racist did not merely evolve from what young people heard on the street or see on the television. Many Black and Asian youngsters, especially males, felt that they were not accorded the correct treatment they deserved, and much of their negativity towards the police was due to their or their family's first-hand experience of unfair treatment by police officers:

> A lot of the Black youngsters are getting searched for no reason. More than other children. You know what I am saying? I have a big brother and he always gets stopped and searched [Male, Black, 15].
>
> When I was growing up. I didn't like the police, the way they treated errrm [pause] me and my brothers. They used to treat us wrong. I remember one time he [the police officer] shoulder-badged me and told me where I am going!!! Like this time, I had a short temper. And we started shouting then we got into a little bit of scruffle. And that was the first time I ever got arrested. Then I don't know how and when and where someone else came from...they had me and stood on my face!!! And I had marks on my face!!! You know the gravel on the floor? I had the marks of the gravel on my face!!! They are supposed to put

their knees on your neck or elbow but heyyy he had his fucking foot on my face!!! [Male, Black, 17].

I got pulled over in a car I was driving. Yeah the police like comes opens the door and straight takes the key out. Yeah and then you try say something like 'why you took my key?'. Then they'll try argue like 'you're trying to resist?' or 'you're trying to obstruct me from carrying out my duty, I am going to arrest you for that!' [Male, Asian, 17].

One particularly important account was of a White young person, who held the belief that the police were racist after witnessing the police's treatment of two different individuals for the same offence:

Honestly yeah, I've seen an Asian guy with a spliff [joint prepared with tobacco and weed] yeah getting nicked yeah and you know what I mean getting questioned and that yeah. And I've seen a White guy with a spliff and the policeman just let him off. I swear down innit. Obviously there is a race issue as well. That is definitely prevalent man [Male, White, 16].

The overall picture in Leicester shows that Black young people are much less satisfied with the police, and they hold the view that the police are unfair to the people of their background. The findings with respect to Asians are similar, but the disapproval is to a lower extent. As the literature review demonstrated, the pattern in England and Wales has been along the same lines: Blacks in 2000 were twice as likely than White people to be 'really annoyed' by the actions of a police officer in the last five years (19% compared to 38%, for Asians the figure was at 23%), due to the unfriendly, rude and unreasonable behaviour of officers (BCS, 2000 cited in Sims and Myhill, 2001). Moreover, Mirrlees-Black (2001) reported that only 40% of Blacks and 42% of Asians felt that the police were doing a 'good' or 'excellent' job in comparison to 54% of Whites. Where young people have no respect for the police, lack trust in the police's capacity to provide safety and security or deal with them in a fair manner, there is the risk that such perceptions may escalate into violent riots. This can be supported with the public disorder events of which some were discussed in chapter one: in Bristol in 1980, Brixton in April 1981 (spreading to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and other towns in July), Bradford in 1995, Burnley, Bradford and Oldham in 2001, Birmingham in 2005 and London in 2011 (spreading to Birmingham, Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Leicester and Nottingham). Much of ethnic minorities' perceptions are framed by police officers' heavy use of legal powers (stop and question, stop and search, arrest, etc) against certain groups. This study's analysis of questionnaires supports previous chapters' finding that police-initiated adversarial contacts

are leading to strong negativity towards the police: why and how young people interacted with police officers was an important determinant of their perceptions and attitudes towards the police. Perhaps stop and searches' great potential to undermine difficultly restored levels of trust and confidence can best be demonstrated by comparing police initiated contacts against interactions initiated by young people. For example, out of the seven young people who had been stopped and searched, five were dissatisfied with police officers (71.4%). When police officers were approached by young people, on the other hand, young people were most likely going to have positive perceptions about police officers: only one person out of the 23 who interacted with a police officer 'for a general chat or to ask a question' perceived police officers to be disrespectful. The significance of these figures becomes evident when one considers that only 12.8% of young people overall said that they were dissatisfied with police officers.

The above figures clearly illustrate that if community policing is to fulfil a fundamental role in today's policing, then the behaviour of some police officers must be addressed. Regardless of how positive the police-young people relationship is, it may take one poor police contact to erode young people's confidence in the system. The impact of adversarial contacts can be successfully demonstrated by:

(a) the fact some young people opted-out from seeing policing as a career due to the treatment that they have received;

> I went to Leicester College to do uniformed public services and at that stage, I wanted to become a police officer. But then it didn't happen cuz I just didn't want to be part of the team. Cuz you know at that same time I was held in police custody and the way they treated me I didn't like it. That just put me off [Male, Asian, 17].

(b) young people's fierce reaction to those who have some sympathy to the police;

Focus group conversation

Participant 4: If there are no police, you wouldn't be able to survive would you? It would be mad wouldn't it if there weren't any police around. There would be anarchy wouldn't it. They don't always act as how they should do and sort things out as they should do but you know ermm we wouldn't be able to live without them would we? [Male, 17, White, Youth Offender]

Participant 3: Yeah. Their presence right umm [pause] keeps certain things under control [Female, 15, White, Youth Offender].

Participant 4: Say like umm you are getting robbed...you are in a really bad situation. And obviously you want the police to come and help you innit in that kind of situation? [Male, 17, White, Youth Offender]

Participant 6: You two are fucked. There's gotta be summit wrong with you two [Male, 16, Asian, Youth Offender]

Participant 4: Not all police are bad are they? Some are all right! [Male, 17, White, Youth Offender].

Participant 2: Are you fucking mad! They're all cunts!!! [Male, 16, Black, Youth Offender]

(c) young people's reaction to the possibly of their sibling(s) becoming a police officer:

They'll get boxed up [if he/she joins the police] [Male, 17, White, Youth Offender].

I will shoot the fucker [if he/she joins the police] [Male, 16, Asian, Youth Offender].

In order to enjoy a society that provides a 'good life' to all its citizens, it is a requisite for the British state to protect people's fundamental human rights, irrespective of a person's standing or class or any other individual difference. Therefore, one way of enhancing young people's satisfaction with police officers is to ensure that young people are treated fairly and respectfully at all times. Unnecessary questioning, stop and searches and arrests made by the police can be a very 'humiliating' (NACRO, 1997: 3) experience for young people, and can lead to reduced levels of confidence in the police (Miller *et al.* 2000: 38). The analysis of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups clearly signals that young ethnic minorities perceive that police officers are unfair towards them. If indeed the socially constructed concept of 'race' is still a basis for police action, then the police in Leicester would be acting contrary to Article 5 (freedom from arbitrary detention), Article 8 (respect for privacy) and Article 14 (prohibition of discrimination) of the European Convention on Human Rights Act 1998. In addition to the Equality Act 2010 which makes it illegal to discriminate, the PACE Code of Practice A states that 'reasonable suspicion cannot be based on generalisations or stereotypical images of certain groups or categories of people more likely to be involved in criminal activity'.

Young people who have participated in this study may very possibly be correct in their belief that there is an important percentage of police officers who are 'bent for the job' at Leicestershire Police but it is beyond the scope of the gathered data to arrive at the same conclusion firmly. There are many reasons for this. The first and foremost reason is that the sample size of young ethnic minorities who have interacted/been stopped and searched by the police is very small. However, this does not mean that further enquiries cannot be made. By looking at the stop and search figures for Leicestershire Police, it appears that ethnic minorities in general, young Blacks and Asians in particular, have been subject to police mistreatment over the last decade, providing some explanation for the big variations in young people's perceptions towards police officers. For example, the data set for the period 1 October 2011 to 30 June 2013 which comprised about 13,310 recoded stop and searches in Leicestershire demonstrated that Black people were 3.6 times more likely than Whites to be stopped and searched in 2013 (The Race Equality Centre, 2014: 3), a reduction from 5 times more likely in 2012 following the Equality and Human Rights Commission's heated criticism (BBC, 2012). In England and Wales, Blacks were 5 times more likely than Whites to be stopped and searched in 1998/99, rising to 6 times in 2006/07 and 7 times in 2009/10 (Ministry of Justice, 2011:34). A quarter (25%) of those who had been stopped and searched in Leicestershire were aged 17 or under, and of these 71 were children aged 10-12 and a further 504 were aged 13 to 14 (The Race Equality Centre, 2014: 6). 'Almost 1 in 10 of the recorded searches were on children aged 14 or younger' (The Race Equality Centre, 2014:6). The city of Leicester which contains these Local Policing Units was responsible for 53.8% of stop and searches (The Race Equality Centre, 2014:15). And importantly, 'there were 18 officers who recorded between 51 and 100 stop searches during this time and three officers who recorded more than 100 stop searches. In total these latter three officers accounted for 480 of all the stop searches recorded during this period, which is almost 4% of the total' (The Race Equality Centre, 2014:15).

The police's mandate in Leicestershire, or anywhere else in England and Wales, is to protect the public and to keep the peace. The ways in which local police forces attempt to attain these goals will vary from police force to police force and from country to country but in many parts

of the world, especially in the developed countries of Europe, a democratic society necessitates a police service that can protect the public under the rule of the law. The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), an agreement to protect human rights and civil liberties of individuals in Europe, requires public authorities such as the police to abide by the Convention. In cases where the police fail to follow the Convention's standards, individuals can file a court-case to be investigated by the criminal justice system. Other than the ECHR, the UN Code of Conduct for Law-enforcement Officials (1979) asks police agencies around the world to comply with the fundamental rights set out in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights for the attainment of quality of life and to improve the status of police officers. In line with the international conventions, police forces in England and Wales are subject to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE). The PACE Act 1984 instituted a legal framework in relation to the powers and duties of the police, persons in police detention, criminal evidence, police discipline and complaints against the police. Nevertheless, despite the existence of such treaties and existing legislations, young ethnic minorities' perceptions about Leicestershire Police raise great concerns about the police's treatment of young people, and thus calls for a more effective accountability system to be in place. Accountability mechanisms are a way of policing the police's many dimensions, encompassing police staff from grassroots to the highest rank. With accountability, considered as the fundamental principle of a democratic society, individual police officers will be required to give answers and take liability for their actions in matters involving young people. The theory is that by having eyes watching over the police's shoulder, the police would be considerably more likely to comply with the law and accepted behaviour: were appropriate systems not in place, police officers would be more likely to create, sustain and shield police deviancy.

One of the motives behind the community policing philosophy was the belief that the needs, expectations and interests of all individuals should be analysed and accepted, rather than the interests of some dominating the rest. Young people were found to agree with this ideology in relation to policing and crime issues. The exceptionally high number (84.1%) of respondents agreeing with the statement that 'it is important that police listen to young people's concerns about crime' demonstrates this, and highlights that the police should not be making decisions

on behalf of young people without consulting them- reference to the principles behind the problem solving element of community policing. What is critical to note is that this perception was particularly prevalent among young Black people. Hitherto Black youngsters have persistently shown to be cynical (about PCSOs and police officers) and passive (in terms of engagement) but no Black youngster disagreed with this statement. As high as 80% (16 out of 20) of Black youngsters agreed that it was important that the police listen to their concerns about crime while the remaining 20% felt 'neutral'. Looking at young people from other ethnic groups, 84% of Whites and 84.8% of Asians agreed with the statement. Despite Black youngsters' widely held belief that the police should be listening to young people's concerns, they were over two times more likely than Whites to report their discontent about the police's lack of knowledge of young people's problems: 60% of Blacks disagreed with the statement in contrast to 24.5% of Whites, 38.5% of Mixed, and 35.3% of Asians. Thus, inevitably it should not come as a surprise that young people from the Black ethnic group felt most powerless in influencing local police's decision making: only 10% of Black youngsters believe that they can influence the way policing is delivered in their local area in contrast to 23.9% of Whites and 19.4% of Asians. Listening to young people's concerns and doing something about it will, in return, enhance young people's perception of the local police, including PCSOs and police officers. For example, young people who believed that the police understood the problems that young people faced were very likely to report their satisfaction towards PCSOs and police officers: 78.9% of youngsters who were satisfied with PCSOs and 79.7% of youngsters who were satisfied with police officers agreed that the police understood their problems.

Police in the Media

As illustrated above, attitudes were formed directly as a result of young people's own experience with police personnel. A relatively large body of primary findings of this study suggested that young people's exposure to adversarial contact with the police negatively impacts their attitudes towards the police. However, police-contact is not the sole source for citizens' perceptions of police. Mass media was found to have an important role in shaping young people's attitudes and perceptions in Leicester, a finding which is congruent with the literature and in line with the theories of 'hypodermic needle', 'limited effects' and 'subtle/minimal effect' which all, in one way or another, posit the mass media's powerful and

long-term effect on public attitudes about institutions such as the police. For example, Surette's (1998: 197) study reported that mass media occupies an important position in the lives of the public, as it is the main source of information about crime for almost 95% of the public, with 73% of people reading newspapers and 91% watching news on television (Home Office, 2011c:53). Fitzgerald's *et al* (2002:78) Policing for London Survey, furthermore, revealed that the primary source for information about crime and police was TV and radio (28%), followed by broadsheet papers (16%), tabloid papers (15%) and TV documentaries (11%), and interestingly 92% of respondents conceived their source as accurate. The problem in the United Kingdom is that the mass media, which is typically motivated by the need to generate greater revenue, has very little similarity with the real world, has an important role in framing citizens' perceptions of crime and police work (Garofalo, 1981, Baker *et al* 1983 and Heath 1985), as it provides nothing but a 'distorted reflection of crime within society and an equally distorted reflection of the criminal justice system's response to crime' (Surette 1988:47). The media's misrepresentation of police work which stresses crime fighting and as doing law-enforcement driven work not only exacerbates the public's lack of understanding of policing roles and responsibilities, but it also reduces the legitimacy of the police, generates greater levels of fear of crime and violence and greater cynicism in social attitudes (Surette, 1998:212).

The effects of negative media portrayal of the police

Leaving the controversial publicity of policing and crime issues to one side, Lasley (1994) and many others such as Jefferis *et al.* (1997) and Weitzer (2002) argued that media coverage of police misconduct is very likely to lead to negative attitudes towards the police: citizens who viewed cases of police brutality were more likely to believe that the police act unfairly, and use excessive force. Weitzer (2002), furthermore, argued that public support for the police declines markedly after the publicity, and it can take several years for public support to return to pre-publicity levels. As the public's exposure to the reporting of police misconduct increases, citizens' negativity towards the police increases: 'they are more likely to perceive officers as prejudiced, engaging in racial profiling, and discriminating against minorities and minority neighbourhoods' (Weitzer and Tuch 2005, cited in Graziano *et al.* 2009:57).

These researchers' arguments provide support to the overall trend of more negativity held by ethnic minorities in general and Black youngsters in particular to the police in Leicester. For example, numerous young people made logical comments about news and video footages that have been posted onto the internet which question police officers' actions.

> Participant 3: If you watch these videos on YouTube, for example, 'stop stopping me', cuz he [the person who has been stopped] knows the law inside out, he tells the police what their rights are, what they can do. All the police do is come up to the car and tell him get out of the car. No reason whatsoever. He has done nothing wrong but he knows the law so he can fight back. And when he is fighting back, he is fighting back legally. He is not doing anything wrong, and obviously because the police are in uniform, they think they are summit, it gives them the right to be abusive towards us [Male, Asian, 17].

Where some young people talked about the videos on YouTube, some have mentioned the wrongful shooting of Jean de Menezes in 2005 along with the Metropolitan Police's controversial shooting of Mark Duggan which happened in Tottenham in 2011 and quickly led to the eruption of rioting, arson and looting across the United Kingdom including Leicester:

> You get shot cuz they [the police] think you are carrying a bomb. Like that guy, they said 'stop' and he is thinking 'people are chasing me' [Jean de Menezes]. He has been shot eight times you know. The police are fuckeddd!!
>
> Like remember in London? When the police killed one of our guys [Mark Duggan]. All the riots happened cuz of that [Male, Black, 17, Young Offender]

What is particularly interesting is that the young people in Leicester did not personally know Mark Duggan but they referred to him as one of 'our guys' because of the things that they had in common. Young people felt some sense of association with Duggan's experience partly because he was was young, non-White and abused by the police. They had many questions about police officers and the criminal justice system in England and Wales, together with the police stereotyping of ethnic minorities as bad people needing controlling. Many of their well-thought questions about the police could not be answered on the spot, but for all young people the root cause of their problem was around the issue of race: it was 'us (friends, family and community) versus the police'.

Importantly, although a lot of young people have never had a direct contact with a police officer, their reluctance to collaborate/interact with the police was partly influenced by what

they saw on the media. This signifies a loss of police legitimacy and young people's cynicism towards the police. Their comments were in line with the contention of 'hypodermic needle', 'limited effects' and 'subtle/minimal effect' theories which all in one way or another accept the media's powerful and long-term effect on public attitudes about institutions such as the police. However, what is worrying is that not everything that is watched or read on mainstream media is completely accurate. Sometimes articles are clearly discriminatory in their approach. Duggan's death, for example, had quickly captured media attention, and the media made numerous contradictory news reports. Similarly, numerous young people have mentioned the media's role in unnecessarily problematizing young people, especially those who belong to a non-white background because of their 'race', culture and other individual differences:

> ... I blame the most is the media for this. For example, just before I moved to Leicester, I was in Coventry. And what it is is that this kid from Coventry right, he started uploading pictures of himself up on Facebook with guns and that. And he went to Iraq... yeah Iraq for the war. That's got nothing gotto do with us [Asians]. Whilst in that mosque, the media came- the BBC- and they were with the panels and stuff. They're just filming us and that and at the same time we were leaving that mosque to go and stay in another mosque. So when we're holding all these sleeping bags and stuff. Obviously, our leader he told us like don't look at them so we were looking down and walking with our things but I know for a fact that the media do a lot of things. They can edit to make it look like we are the bad boys [Male, Asian, 17].

Although focus group participants have never met Mark Duggan or Jean de Menezes, and despite the fact that they were living relatively far away from where the incidents occurred, the above discussions clearly demonstrated that police officers' actions in London (and presumably anywhere else in England and Wales) affect the perceptions of young people who live in Leicester. This influence can manifest itself in many different ways but from the gathered data young people's perceived unfair treatment, whether through first-hand contact or through the media, is fuelling resentment and hostility towards the police organisation as a whole. The key is that young people must not be seen as a threat to the society, but rather as a group that is sometimes vulnerable and itself in need of protection and not media condemnation. Prejudicial attitudes overlook the fact that young people are highly at risk of certain crimes (more than any other age group) (Police Foundation, 2013:2). The following quote from Furlong and Cartmel (1997: 93) provides a clear explanation of the problem:

> The concentration on young people as the perpetrators of crimes has left us blind to the extent to which young people are victims... while adults express concerns about 'lawless' youth, many crimes are also committed against young people by adults.

The inclusion of young people under 16 in national and local level studies is a promising step in terms of broadening the public's understanding of youth victimisation. The generated data provide thought-provoking insights into the scale of the problem, however. For example, Roe and Ash's (2008) Offending, Crime and Justice Survey reported that 10-15 year olds were significantly more likely than those aged between 16-24 to be victims of personal crime. A different study in Glasgow in which over 1,000 questionnaires were completed by 11-15 year olds reported that as many as 82% of respondents were victimised in some way in the past year (on average of four occasions)(Hartless *et al.* 1995). More recent data generated by the Crime Survey for England and Wales estimated that some 8% of children and young people aged 8-15 were victims of violent crime, equivalent to over 566,000 incidents (cited in National Statistics, 2013; 4). As discussed earlier in this chapter, the problem is that young people who have negative views towards the police are reluctant to ask the police for help, to report crime or provide intelligence to the police.

The police's culture can vary between and even within police forces: response teams' attitudes towards citizens can be noticeably different to neighbourhood policing teams. Police officers who respond to calls are there to react fast and 'sort' out the problem before it escalates whereas neighbourhood policing teams are more likely to be friendly so that police-public relationships are maintained. Hence, if a response team is called to handle a situation involving rowdy youths, those young people are very likely to receive different treatment to that involving PCSOs or neighbourhood police officers. This study indicated that young people require more respect from police officers who approach them in crime-related situations. Enhancing the quality of police officer-young people interactions will in turn enhance young people's satisfaction in police officers in particular and the police organisation in general. Such positive perceptions towards the police can lead to greater levels of reassurance, compliance with the law, reduced levels of crime and improved quality of life. All of this is only possible if there is a strong sense of police responsibility towards young people, however.

Overall, this chapter has found that the local police force cannot rely on young people's cooperation due to reasons ranging from poor police-young people relationships to the lack of police-young people engagement channels. Establishing or re-establishing young people's satisfaction in police officers will require an ongoing effort by the Leicestershire Police. This is particularly the case for young ethnic minorities in Leicester who have lost respect for and reliance upon police officers due to the police's over-use or unexplained use of their powers. No matter how constructive, innovative and enthusiastic PCSOs and police officers become, police forces' unbalanced dependence on reactive policing (crime control) can potentially undermine any restored levels of trust, confidence and cooperation. Fair and respectful treatment is necessary at all times to create and maintain effective police-young people engagement. The following chapter will enhance young people's perception of engagement channels and explore young people's thoughts around community policing's two important elements: problem solving and engagement. The final chapter will understand the methods that could enhance police-young people engagement/relationships from young people's perspectives.

CHAPTER 7. Community Policing and Young People: is it just a rhetoric?

Introduction

This chapter will be looking at young people's awareness of police's existing engagement channels, followed by the extent of police-young people engagement that occurs in Leicester. Towards the end of the chapter, young people's perceptions about engaging with the police will be explored.

Police Accountability: Young people's lack of awareness of NPTs and involvement in local policing

Individual police officers and police organisations across England and Wales are required to safeguard young people from harm, treating them fairly and within the bounds of the law *(discussed in detail in next section).* The police will not be able to 'safeguard' young people without some understanding of young people's concerns around crime and policing, and thus 'safeguarding' will necessitate a considerable degree of engagement between the police and young people. Previously, police authorities attempted to engage with their communities but they were often criticised for remaining too invisible to the public, before being abolished and replaced by Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs). The PCC initiative has been designed to address the lack of democratic accountability in policing by giving the public a greater say over the policing of their local area. It may not be 'democratic' for young people however, simply because they are not eligible to vote. Young people will be neglected from having a say in decisions which are going to affect the way they are policed: only British, Irish, EU or qualifying Commonwealth citizens who are aged 18 and above are eligible to vote for the individual who is going to be representing their community's policing and crime needs. In addition, although the PCC initiative is designed to simplify the police governance system by having one person responsible for overseeing the work of police force, such an initiative equates to the loss of diversity of skills, experiences and voices that police authorities offered. Hence, the likelihood of losing interest in 'less popular' issues is increased, such as issues that affect children, young people or ethnic minorities (youth victimisation, forced marriage, cyber bullying, etc.).

Having said all of that, the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 (the same act which introduced PCCs) represents a dramatic change in police accountability, especially in issues relating to the policing of young people. The details of this Act will be discussed in the next section but is important to reiterate existing engagement channels. Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs) which build on the community policing philosophy were piloted in 2003 before being rolled out to all forces between 2005-2008. They are an important mechanism for police-public engagement as they focus on a variety of local issues ranging from local-level crime and disorder to the feelings of safety in the community (Myhill, 2006: 5). It is within the NPTs' remit to provide timely information to the public (including young people) so that they know what sort of crime and anti-social behaviour are happening in their neighbourhood and how the police are responding to this sort of unwanted behaviour. Concentrating on the policing and crime related needs and expectations of residents (including young people) in small geographic areas would make the police more accountable since the public have a direct say and some form of control on how their streets are policed. Certainly, involving children and young people in local policing decisions will create the opportunity for the young to access their legal right to have a say in decisions that affect their lives *(discussed in next section)*. Children and young people's involvement in policing will result in them making an active contribution to the community they live in and improve policing services that target other young people in the community. It is quite possible that young people's engagement with the police, or young people's active involvement in local policing issues, will shape national-level policy formation that reflect other young people's priorities and concerns. For example, as demonstrated in chapter four, there have been a number of instances where the voices/concerns of young people in a small neighbourhood caught the attention of senior decision makers, and policies were put into practice in other parts of the country to tackle the general young population's concerns. This sort of local policing work which 'provides the police with legitimacy and the confidence of their communities is essential for supporting the wider police mission of protecting the public from serious harms and threats' (Home Office, 2010a: 12).

The literature review has not succeeded in attaining an accurate percentage of people who have engaged with the police through NPTs in England and Wales. Rather, what the literature

review has found was that approximately 60% of adults engaged with the police through at least one of the four schemes affiliated with community policing: non-emergency police telephone contact (101), NPTs, use of crime maps and attending beat meetings (Office for National Statistics, 2012: 29). Leaving behind the controversies associated with those 'engaged' as discussed in chapter four, this study found pertinent questions surrounding the police's ability to engage with young people in Leicester, highlighting important deficiencies in accountability. For example, where adults' awareness of NPTs stood at 44% (Office for National Statistics, 2012:19), only 16.3% of young people in this study knew about the existence of NPTs, let alone knowing the name and the contact number of their local PCSO as emphasised by the Home Secretary in chapter four. The British Crime Survey's (2010) study reported an important correlation between the frequency in seeing officers on foot patrol and people's awareness of NPTs: individuals who saw patrolling officers more frequently were more likely to be aware of their NPT. Similar findings were reported in this study: all of those young people who saw a patrolling officer more than once a day were aware of their neighbourhood policing team in contrast to 37.5% of those who saw once a day, 25.6% of those who saw once a week, 19.4% of those who saw about once a month and 15% of those who saw less than once a month. And importantly, young people who interacted with a PCSO were 2.6 times more likely than those who interacted with a police officer to be aware of their neighbourhood policing team: 68% of young people who interacted with a PCSO in the last 12 months were aware compared to only 26.1% who interacted with a police officer.

NPTs were envisioned to be the key players in gathering public's concerns about crime through regular contact with the public but when considering the fact that only 16.3% of young people were aware about the existence of NPTs, it is hardly surprising that none of the 245 young participants admitted attending any form of consultation meeting in the past with the police. This highlights the fact that the local police force remains too invisible to young people, opening the door to the possibility that young people's concerns, needs and perceptions around crime and antisocial behaviour were filtered through the interpretations of senior police officers. The assertion that young people were excluded from the process of shaping local policing strategies in Leicester can be strengthened with the figures that relate to young people's awareness of the three-digit (101) non-crime telephone number, which

was introduced in 2011 in Leicestershire to ease the pressure on the emergency number (999) and to improve accessibility to the police. In contrast to 43% of adults who reported knowing about this number across England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2012, 24-25), only 23 young people out of the 242 (9.5%) knew about the 101 number in Leicester. Although 23 youngsters reported being aware of the number, only 1 person (16 year old White male) used this number to contact his local police in the last 12 months , in contrast to 8% of adults nationally (Office for National Statistics, 2012:25). When young people were asked whether they volunteered or have ever been involved in a police-led scheme, the results indicated that only 5 young people out of the 242 (2.1%) who answered the question have participated in a scheme organised by the police. It is not known what these schemes were. These findings complement the findings of the Crime Survey for England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2012:21) when they reported that the age variable was an important factor in deciding to attend consultation meetings: '4% of adults aged between 45 and 64 years and 5% of those aged 65 or over had attended a beat meeting, compared with 1% in the 16 to 24 age group' (Office for National Statistics, 2012:21).

Although the majority (77.4%) of young people were positive about engaging with the police (*discussed in next section*), focus groups and paired interviews demonstrated that young people's lack of information about engagement channels was one of the key barriers in police-young people engagement:

| Focus group conversation |

| Participant 4: I've never heard about them [consultation meetings] but I would be interested in doing that. Definitely [Male, White, 17,].

Participant 2: Yeah I would be interested in that. I've never heard about it. I'd be interested [Male, 16, White] |

Discussions signalled that young people appeared to wait for the information to come to them rather than making the effort to seek it out, and because the information was not communicated to them (or failed to reach them) young people had the perception that there were not any community policing schemes available for young people in their area:

> There's fuck all that the police do here to engage with us [young people]. We just chill out here with our mates [Male, White, 16, Youth Offender]

There's nothing positive that the police in where I live. There aint many young people there, it's full of old people [Female, Asian, 16]

The theory is that if the public are informed about the work of the police, they will feel more reassured and their confidence in the police will be enhanced (Bradford *et al.* 2009 cited in Foster and Jones, 2010:399). It is thus essential that the police forces are aware of their role in keeping the community informed about police activities that target local crime and anti-social behaviour. After all, 'expectations will be that such information should come from the police given most people's association with them as the main agency responsible for dealing with anti-social behaviour' (IPSOS MORI, 2010:4). Word of mouth and the police's use of leaflets, flyers and posters in the local community were frequently mentioned by young people who heard about community policing schemes in Leicester:

I know them [engagement schemes]...people just spread the news innit. Words go around in the street innit [Male, White, 16].

They [the police] give out leaflets saying if you need anything or have any problems in the area, you can contact this number and talk to these people. There are neighbourhood meetings where people actually go and discuss the problems within the area [Female, Asian, 17].

One of the recommendations made by the Neighbourhood Reassurance Policing Programme was that the police should be seeking other methods of engagement with the community to gain the public's trust, confidence and faith in the police (Tuffin *et al.* 2006) *(discussed in chapter three)*. This recommendation is particularly true for young people as can be seen above from their general lack of awareness of NPTs and the 101 number. That other method of engagement can be the social media. For example in this study, social media sites were found to be particularly effective in informing young people about local policing and crime issues: almost two-thirds (64.2%) of young people said that they knew about the existence of local police forces on social media pages, and 12.8% were active followers. This is, perhaps, unsurprising given the young people's wide use of social media sites (particularly those between 12-17 as discussed in chapter 5). It would therefore seem that providing local information online that is reliable and concise would be an effective communication strategy for young people:

Participant 1: I see a lot of Twitter tweets and Facebook updates [regarding crime and policing] [Female, 16, Asian]

Researcher: Do you follow your local police?

Participant 1: No no I don't. On Twitter I see people 'retweeting' and on Facebook I see people commenting on the link when the police are requesting information about a wanted person. They [the police] have got a good presence on the internet [Female, 16, Asian].

Nevertheless, similar to young people's use of the 101 number in the last 12 months, not every young person is an active follower of their local police on social media. Out of the 156 young people who were aware of police forces' use of social media, only 12.8% (20 young people) were active followers. Despite the relatively low number of active followers, the social media platform seems to be more effective in reaching out to young people than NPTs and the non-emergency telephone number: over two-thirds (68.8%) of young people who reported being informed about crime and anti-social behaviour issues that affect their neighbourhood were active followers of their local police force on a social media platform; and importantly, 83.3% of those who said they were informed about what is being done by the local police to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour were actively following their police on a social media platform. This is very important when considering that the vast majority of young people (79.6%) do not feel informed about police work that targets crime and anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood. The intention here, of course, is not to assert that the conventional engagement methods (foot-patrols, newsletters, beat meetings, SSPs, etc) are no longer necessary, but rather the message is that the social media are fast, free and simple to use and therefore it is something that PCSOs can, and should, take advantage of in order to increase their 'visibility' without necessarily being seen in person. Discussions with a number of PCSOs on foot-patrol have demonstrated that some were not allowed access to Facebook during their shift. Many have also complained about not receiving social media training. The ways in which police forces can make greater use of social media will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

'What do PCSOs do anyway?'

Neighbourhood policing teams consist of staff from a variety of police ranks (special constables, Police Community Support Officers [PCSOs], police officers, sergeants and inspectors) but it is generally the PCSOs who carry out the day-to-day operational duties. Police forces can become a familiar figure to the community through NPTs, providing the opportunity to form strong bonds which can lead to the establishment or re-establishment of trust, confidence and co-operation (Scarman, 1981; Lurigio and Rosenbaum, 1994; Kerley and Benson; Cordner, 2010). The construction of proper relations with the local community leads to a higher degree of social acceptance, and this acceptance is critical for the legitimacy of the police.

The Association of Chief Police Officers'(2007: 6) statement made it clear that the function of a PCSO is '...to contribute to the policing of neighbourhoods, primarily through high visibility patrol with the purpose of reassuring the public, increasing orderliness in public places and being accessible to communities and partner agencies working at local level'. A wide range of information is collected by the CSEW about the public's view of policing and crime but there is no study which shows young people's level of understanding of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities. The annual CSEW survey fails to distinguish PCSOs from regular police officers and it must be remembered that such information is necessary for senior-level decision making. It was the Home Office's (2006) contention (without any statistical evidence) that the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs are generally appreciated and valued by the public. However, similar to young people's lack of awareness of NPTS, this study found that a very small proportion of young people knew why PCSOs existed and what their powers entailed: only a third (32.7%) of young people reported knowing the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs and only 29.8% reported awareness of PCSOs powers. This finding was also common amongst young people in focus group/paired interview discussions. The conversation below, also, demonstrates that young people who reported knowing the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs does not necessarily mean that the information they hold is accurate:

Participant 1: I do law at college. They are allowed to stop and search you for like drugs and stuff. If they smell it down the street, they are allowed to stop and search you and arrest you [Female, 17, White]

Participant 3: I don't know anything about PCSOs. I have no idea what they do [Female, 16, White]

It is in the unlikely event that young people who are unaware of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities will appreciate their existence. This following conversation highlights this:

Participant 2: I feel like community support officers don't do anything as much as police officers [Female, 17, White]

Researcher: Do you know the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs?

Participant 2: Noooo [Female, 17, White]

PCSOs' high visibility, a prime function as illustrated in ACPO's statement of purpose, is essential for greater levels of reassurance, community engagement and problem solving. In addition to that, this study found that PCSO visibility was a key determinant of young people's awareness of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities. A correlation between the frequency in seeing a PCSO and knowing the role of a PCSO was found. Young people who saw a PCSO in the last 12 months were more than 2 times more likely than those who have not seen a PCSO to report knowing the role of a PCSO. Furthermore, young people who saw a PCSO about 'once a day' or 'about once a week' were 7% more likely to know the role of PCSOs than those who reported seeing them 'about less once than a month'. One would expect a similar correlation between the frequency in seeing a PCSO and knowing the powers available to PCSOs. Only a weak positive correlation was found, and the gathered data does not provide any explanation as to why this is.

ACPO's guidance on how to achieve high visibility mentioned the best use of communal areas, schools and youth clubs. Foot-patrols, furthermore, were found to be an important feature of community policing as they have a strong potential in enhancing police-community

relations and public perceptions of the police. This is almost undisputed in the literature. After all, a visible police presence reassures the public by giving a sense that they deter and prevent crime (Pate, 1986; McManus, 1995; Noaks, 2000; FitzGerald *et al.* 2002; Crawford *et al.* 2003; Wakefield, 2006). This is partly why PCSOs are supposed to be visible at all times, not withdrawn from the streets to give evidence in courts or be located in police stations with stacks of files following an arrest. Nevertheless, the CSEW collects a wide-range of information about the police's visibility and some on police-public engagement but there is no national level data that specifically focuses on PCSOs, let alone PCSOs' engagement with young people. An in-depth data collection about PCSOs' visibility, availability and engagement is instrumental in expanding knowledge, improving policy making, enhancing decision making, and devising new policing strategies. It was the Police Federation's (2007 cited in House of Commons, 2008: para 335) prediction that on average 75% of PCSOs' time is spent on the beat, but this study found that 35.5% of young people did not see a PCSO in the last twelve months (see chart 7.1). Despite the high visibility of PCSOs and despite the aforementioned benefits of close ties between the police and the community, only 5.7% of young people reported seeing a PCSO in their local area or in school about once a day or more (high visibility), and 12.7% reported seeing one about once a week (medium visibility). For the vast majority of young people, it was either low visibility (about once a month or less than once a month') or no visibility: 46.2% and 35.5% respectively (see chart 7.1).

Chart 7.1:   **PCSOs' visibility to young people**
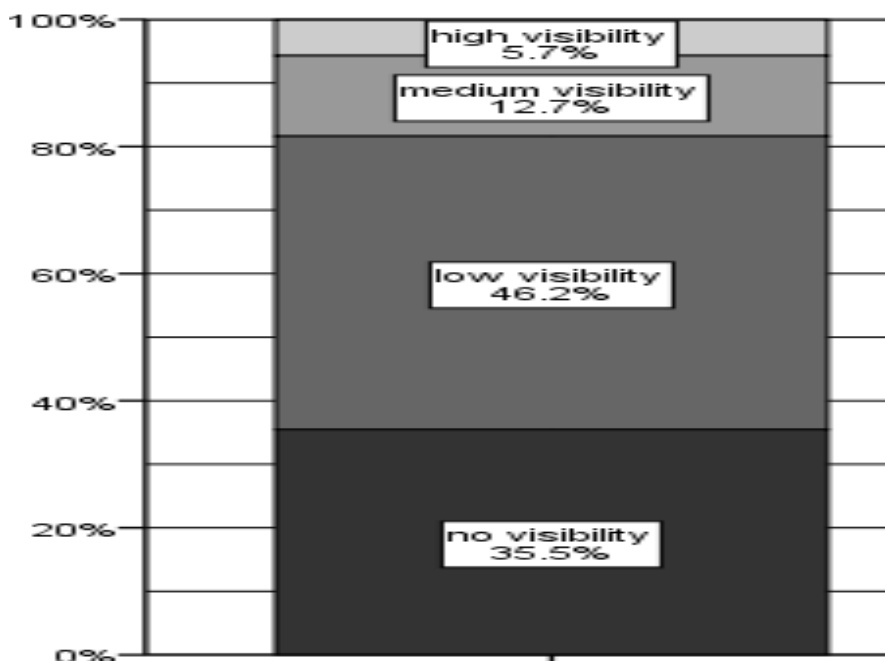
The above figures compare markedly unfavourably against adults' awareness of seeing a patrolling officer in 2012/2013: 10% of adults saw a patrolling officer once a day or more; 24% saw about once a week; 17% saw about once a month; 22% saw less than once a month; and 27% never saw a police officer in their local area (CSEW, 2014:14). The poor visibility of PCSOs in Leicester could possibly be due to them carrying out the bureaucratic tasks that have been delegated to them by police officers, which withdraws PCSOs from operational duties. This is only a presumption based on the literature review in chapter four which reported that only 12% of officers and PCSOs across England and Wales were found to be visible and available to the public at any one time (HMIC, 2011a: 29). Kent Police's research into the deployment of PCSOs revealed that two-thirds of PCSO time is spent on filling forms (cited in House of Commons, 2012:8). It is not known what percentage of PCSOs in Leicester are out on the streets and what percentage are available to meet young people.

Inevitably linked to the fact that not many young people know the existence of engagement channels or not many young people actually interact with the police *(discussed in the next section)*, a large number of young people have been found to lack awareness about police work that targets crime and anti-social behaviour. As high as 79.6% of young people reported being either 'not informed at all' or 'not very well informed' about local police activity that targets crime, highlighting the need for the Leicestershire Police to communicate with young people more effectively. This finding was also common amongst focus group participants:

> They [the police] never tell us. Never. The only time they put newsletters through is when they were banning khat [Class C drug]. It's banned now innit. That's it [Male, Black, 16].

Only 9 (3.5%) young people in total stated that they were 'very well informed' whilst 38 (16.5%) said that they were 'slightly informed'. There were not any important variations within and between young people but it is crucial to highlight two important correlations. Firstly, young people who interacted with a PCSO were found to be more informed about what is being done by the police to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour: 80% (20 out of 25) of young people who interacted with a PCSO in the last 12 months said they felt informed about the police's crime work in contrast to 14.8% (30 out of 203) of young people who had not interacted with a PCSO. Moreover, young people who interacted with a PCSO were 4 times more likely to say that they are informed about police work than not informed (80% vs

20%). It is anticipated that this sort of information is communicated to young people through PCSO-young people physical interactions. And secondly, young people who were following their local police on the social media platform were over 5 times more likely to state that they are 'slightly informed' or 'very well informed' than not informed about local police activity: 83.3% (15 out of 18) of social media followers reported being informed, in contrast to 15.4% (32 out of 210) of non-followers. This finding supports the literature review which demonstrated that social media sites provide an important opportunity to communicate with young people: by 'tweeting' or sending Facebook 'updates', local police stations can reach a larger number of young people than the conventional methods which included leaflets, posters and door-to-door knocks. They can be particularly useful in informing young people about local events, police work and even delivering crime prevention tips. The importance of informing young people about the work of the police can have fundamental benefits to the police organisation as a whole, this study found. For example, young people who reported being informed about police activity targeting crime and anti-social behaviour were very likely to rate PCSOs positively: 30 out of the 34 young people (88.2%) who felt informed were 'very satisfied' or 'somewhat satisfied' with PCSOs (no young person reported dissatisfaction). As illustrated in the previous chapter, overall young people's satisfaction with PCSOs stood at 72.4%, markedly lower than the figure above. A similar trend is also found for police officers. The overall satisfaction with police officers stood at 65.9% (see chart 2- previous chapter), and the satisfaction percentage increases to 74.3% for young people who felt informed about local police work on crime and anti-social behaviour.

However, although young people's awareness of engagement channels and actual engagement with the police are very low, numerous young people in focus groups have mentioned the local police's use of primary schools to transfer information to them, generally around the work of the police and various types of crime. In Leicester, police-young people engagement through schools was generally a one-way communication. Police personnel were merely feeding young people with information. Although this approach fits well with Myhill's (2006:1) definition of 'community engagement' which he described as a programme which can range from 'providing information and reassurance, to empowering them [the public] to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and

decisions', there was no evidence of robust police-young people dialogue. Hence, there was no evidence of 'empowering them [the public] to identify and implement solutions to local problems and influence strategic priorities and decisions' (Myhill, 2006: 19):

> Yeah they [the police] talked about fireworks and that stuff in my school [Female, 12, Asian].

> My school wasn't like really bad but they [the police] just came in and talked to us about social media. Telling us stuff like you shouldn't bully someone on the internet [Male, 13, White].

> In my primary school there was strange people around like taking children and stuff and they were nearly taking one of the girls in our school so they [the police] were telling us how to be safe around [Male, 13, White].

> We learned a lot about e-safety. Like when you are on the computer and talking to other people that you don't know. And when they trying to telling you stuff, and telling you to come around [Male, 12, Black].

Similar activities were projected by other police forces across England and Wales under the Safer Schools Partnership (SSPs) programme to keep young people safe, reduce crime and improve young people's behaviour in schools and their communities through police-school partnership (Police Foundation, 2011). Young people welcomed the idea of SSPs and acknowledge that they would be of real benefit if the SSP officer was friendly, approachable and positive towards young people (Sherbert Research, 2009:8). As is evident from the conversations above, young people in this study often welcomed the idea of seeing PCSOs/police officers in primary schools. Nevertheless, not a single young person has reported sharing his/her concerns with the police. This highlights the need for the Leicestershire Police to start seeing young people as individuals with unique perspectives which need understanding and acting upon. The fact of the matter is that robust exchanges of views can help both sides (police and young people) develop understanding, empathy and sympathy, which is fundamental for bringing about change in the long run. The logic is that, if police organisations can enhance their understanding of what local young people feel and think in relation to crime and policing, they can learn how to provide better policing services to them. This is known as targeted policing, and there is good evidence to suggest that targeted approaches to crime and anti-social behaviour can quickly achieve its goals (Innes, 2004; Tuffin *et al*. 2006; Taylor *et al.* 2011; Bowers *et al*. 2011; Braga *et al.* 2012).

It is, of course, not the intention to say that Leicestershire Police's examples of community policing schemes targeting young people are not important. They can play a fundamental role in safeguarding young people from harm. However, a further scrutiny of qualitative data illustrates that it was only primary schools that were proactively approached by the Leicestershire Police. In contrast to non-crime related contact that occurred in primary schools, a different agenda (an agenda that is based on crime control) was prevalent in secondary schools and sixth-form colleges in Leicester:

> In secondary school, they [the police] don't come like speak to you. They come like inside school and outside school when they have been called in. But in primary school they come on special occasions like bonfire nights and stuff. They come to the assembly with things to say [Male, 15, White, Youth Offender].

> They [the police] just sit and check the cameras. When they see someone having a fight, they run there and stop it. They're not really doing much, cuz you don't see a fight everyday [Male, 16, Black]

> Only when they were searching people [they came to the school]. For like drugs and stuff cuz I went to a bad school [Female, 15, White].

> They [PCSOs] did come once like when there was trouble. We didn't get any presentation or saw them in assembly and that [Female, 16, White].

> I see a lot of police officers when the kids are out. They just like walk around and talk to them, and say something like 'stop fucking causing trouble' [Female, 17, White].

Young people's lack of knowledge about the existing engagement platforms meant that they did not know how to contact the police to put forward their views on policing, crime and anti-social behaviour. A Home Office (2011c:12) study reported that over a half of its adults participants (57%) said that they knew how to contact the police about policing, crime or ASB (for example, to tell them what issues they should focus on), an increase from 54 per cent in 2009/10. In contrast to these figures, this study has found that as high as 89.7% of young people did **not** know how to contact the police if they wanted to put forward their views and concerns about local policing, crime and anti-social behaviour. This also became apparent in paired interviews. When young people were asked if they ever felt the need to report crime to the police but they just did not, some of their responses were:

> Yeah that happens to me sometimes. I don't know how to go on about it. Like I don't know who to talk, and I don't know what they'll [the police] do and how they'll treat me [Female, 15, White].

> At the end of the day if you tell police to do something about my concern. That is going to cause problems for you because the guy is thinking like 'what the hell is this guy doing ringing the police [Male, 16, Asian].

Young people not being able to (or not wanting to) call the police in a non-crime related situation undermines the legitimacy of the police in Leicestershire. Parenthetically, without police legitimacy, the police will lose some of their ability in functioning effectively. For example, only 10.3% (25 out of the 243) of young people said that they knew how to contact the police, and only 4 young people admitted contacting the police. For adults, 10% had contacted the police about local policing issues (Home Office, 2011c: 12). Although young males were equally as likely as females to know how to contact the police, in terms of age younger people were least likely to know how to contact: only 8.3% of 12-13 year olds knew in contrast to 16.1% of 14-15 year olds and 9% of 16-17 year olds. It is beyond the scope of this study to accurately reflect the true extent of youth victimisation in Leicester but Hall's (2001) study, for instance, estimated that 95% of crimes committed against children have not been reported to the police. The Howard League for Penal Reform (2009:4), furthermore, highlighted that only one-in-three of crimes committed against children were reported to the police in their survey of 3,000 children. Lastly, the Metropolitan Police Authority's (2008:20) study reported that a large proportion of youth crime goes unreported:

> 17% of respondents had been a victim of crime in the previous 12 months but only 47% of them had informed the police;

> 33% of respondents had witnessed a crime in the past 12 months but the majority (63%) of them had not informed the police

The Metropolitan Police Authority's (2008) survey, however, did not include questions on why young people had not reported the incidents to the police. The previous chapter has raised some important possibilities such as some young people's lack of confidence in the police and poor police legitimacy due to their feelings of being treated unfairly by police officers in the past. In addition to these possibilities, the following conversation with young people (together with the primary quantitative findings above) opens the door to the possibility that some

young people were merely incapable/uneducated in reporting crime and anti-social behaviour to the police:

Participant 3: I've had mine [phone] stolen today!! [Female, 14, Black].

Participant 3: I reported it to the school and J****** [youth worker] helped me find the person that we think done it [Female, 14, Black].

Researcher: Did you not take it to the police?

Participant 3: It just kind of happened now. We are gonna report it to the police [Female, 14, Black].

Researcher: If J****** [youth worker] weren't responsible for your management, in other words if she wasn't helping you, do you think you would raise this to the police?
Participant 3: I wouldn't. I don't know what to do. I don't think I would [Female, 14, Black].
Researcher: Do you know where to ring?

Participant 3: No. [Female, 14, Black].

Researcher: Does anyone here know where to ring in a non-emergency situation?
Participants: 111! 112! 911! 999!888! 101!

Participant 2: I know there is another number but I don't know what it is. It's something like 112 or something like that [Female, 13, Black].

Researcher: It is 101.

Participant 7: If you ring that who will answer? [Male, 14, Black].

Engagement: young people are open and interested

Despite the existence of treaties, rules and laws the literature review has demonstrated that many decisions within the local, national and international environments (not necessarily specific to policing) are taken by adults with no or very little regard to young people's thoughts and feelings. For example, during the London riots in 2011 which began after the death of Mark Duggan (who was shot dead by the police), a young person was asked by a television news reporter if rioting was the correct method to express his discontent. The young person's response was 'Yes. You would not be talking to me now if we didn't riot, would you?' (ALjazeera, 2011). A London School of Economics' (2011:11) study into why the riots occurred reported that policing was an 'important' or 'very important' factor for the 85% of

participants. One interviewee in the same study asserted that 'these young people are coming out to prove they have an existence, to prove that if you don't listen to them and you don't take into account our views, potentially this is a destructive force' (London School of Economics, 2011:13).

The success of community policing schemes is dependent upon the police's ability to engage with the community, including young people. On-street interactions, beat meetings, consultation meetings, road shows, youth commission groups and youth advisory groups are some of the methods available to police forces in engaging with young people. Community engagement programmes have the potential to develop young people's lives in the community as well as improving their views towards the police as they provide young people with the opportunity to influence how, when and where they are policed. Furthermore, it was Rowan's (cited in Reith 1956:265) contention that the police would be powerless over the most transparent illegality in the streets without the cooperation of the public because the majority of arrests occur due to the intelligence gained from the public. Community engagement, in addition, goes far beyond intelligence sharing. As the literature review has demonstrated, marked positive changes in public perception of police and crime were demonstrated in locations where community engagement was deployed (Pate, 1986; Skogan, 1994; McManus, 1995; Cordner, 2000; Noaks, 2000; Myhill, 2006; FitzGerald *et al.* 2002; Crawford *et al.* 2003; Skogan and Steiner, 2004; Tuffin *et al.* 2006; Wakefield, 2006). Despite the benefits of police-public engagement, it became apparent that community engagement methods have largely failed to involve community members in decision making, especially young people. They were often criticised for being unrepresentative and insufficiently independent. This section will demonstrate that the picture in Leicester is very similar, if not worse.

Public involvement was identified as the cornerstone of community policing but many young people felt that Leicestershire Police's focus on their views and expectations had been very thin, i.e. very little enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation occurred. It was Alexander (1995:93) who reported that past community policing schemes were in most cases 'cosmetic' for the reason being that they failed to engage with community members.

Alexander's term 'cosmetic' was coined in 1995 but despite the elapsed time such a term continues to be precise for the Leicestershire Police in their efforts to engage with young people, despite young people being very open and interested to the idea of police-young people engagement in Leicester. Young participants were especially keen in voicing their concerns and influencing local policing decisions. For example, more than three-quarters (77.4%) of young people agreed with the statement that it is important to influence the way policing is delivered in their local area. Only 6.7% perceived it unnecessary, whilst the remaining 15.9% were indecisive.

One of the difficulties in getting the public involved in community policing schemes was that individuals may not have the enthusiasm in crime/policing issues that concern the community, and thus community policing programmes which rely on citizen initiative and self-help could be regressive rather than progressive in their impact (Skogan, 1995: 2-3). Nevertheless, as the above figures indicate, young people's high levels of enthusiasm provide the police with the important opportunity to establish solid working relationships. What was partially responsible for young people's degree of enthusiasm was their awareness of benefits which are associated with police-young people engagement:

| Focus group conversation |
| --- |
| Participant 2: Yeah [consultation meetings are important]. My dad attends them. Like the whole area, they come together and discuss the important problems in the area and bring them forward. They try to sort it out, you know [Female, 16, Asian]

Participant 2: I would want to have say in policing, but I just don't think I could get that far. I don't think they would take my views seriously. Even my dad says that no one will give a damn about what I feel in the meetings that he goes to [Female, 16, Asian].

Participant 1: No they wouldn't because obviously there is whole 'teenage' thing and 'we don't know anything' stuff like that out there. We should have an effect because we live in the area. We know a lot about what goes on in the area and if all that we know is ermm like transferred to the police I am sure the community would be a better place to live. I mean yes a lot of crime don't affect us directly but we see things in a different light and we know a lot. So surely we should have a say. [Female, 16, Asian]. |

However, as shown in the previous chapter the decision to engage did differ between young people and numerous factors were identified which prohibited them from engaging with the police, such as their first-hand experiences with police officers or their perceptions of police

officers. Equally as important, the literature review illustrated the other key factor which determined young people's decision to engage with the police was young people's level of 'social cohesion'. Thus, to gain some understanding of young people's willingness to engage with the police, the questionnaire included several hypothetical crime questions. Questions sought to determine young people's likelihood of taking action when: (a) witnessing someone getting robbed; and (b) witnessing someone getting attacked. These questions were also designed to test normative sponsorship theory's contention that most people are positive about co-operating with individuals, groups or institutions for the benefit of the society. The results indicated that as high as 78.8% of young people were positive about taking action when witnessing a robbery: 55.9% were 'quite likely' and 22.9% were 'very likely' in contrast to 16.1% 'quite unlikely' and 5.1% 'very unlikely'. A greater proportion of young people have put forward their willingness to engage with the police when witnessing a physical assault: as high as 95.4% of young people said they would report it to the police, and many of these young people very certain in their responses (61.2%) (see chart 7.2).

Chart 7.2:   Young People's Social Cohesion Levels
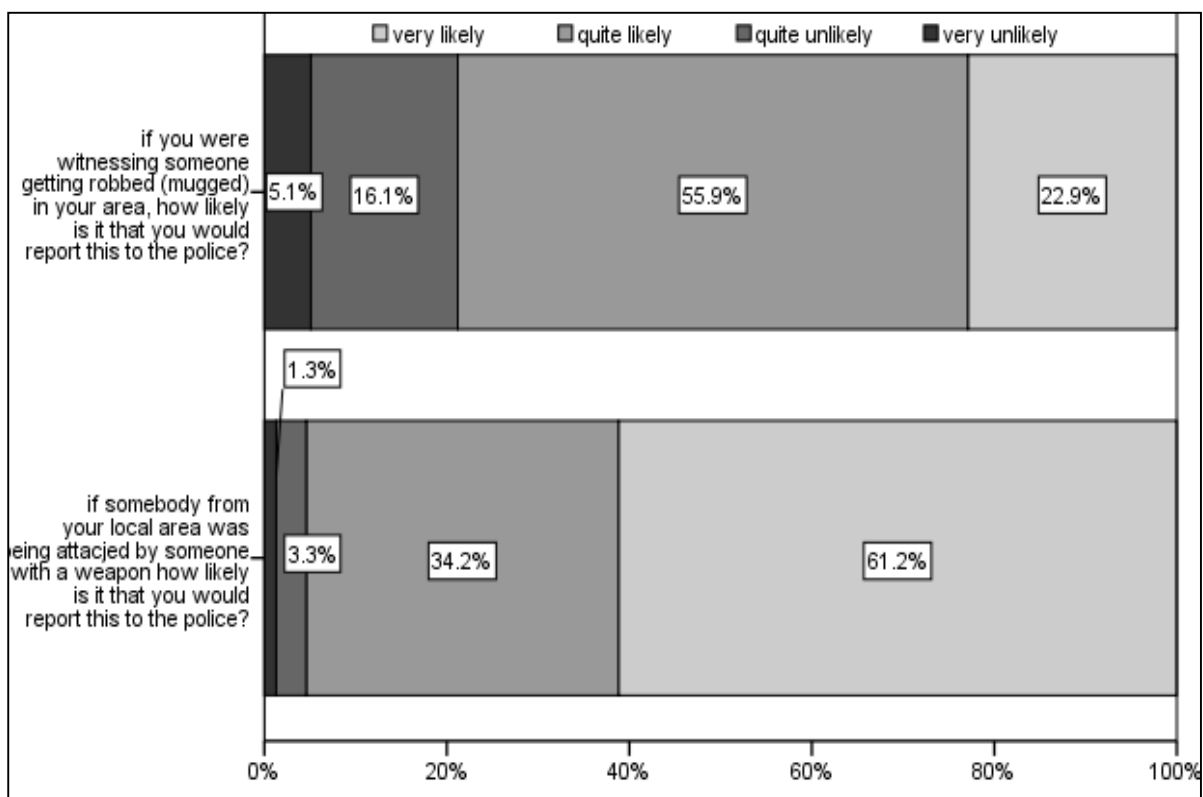
This finding also became apparent in focus groups/paired interviews with young people:

> With me, it depends. If they [the offenders] were like really really desperate [to steal] then I'd be like 'don't do it again' but if it is someone who is doing it all the time, then obviously I would definitely report it [Male, 16, White].

> I would talk, and ask what happened if I saw someone getting attacked. But I'm kind of a person who has to tell the truth. No matter how much of a stranger I am to them, I would still have to tell the police [Female, 16, Asian].

For some young people, however, the decision to engage with the police after witnessing a crime was dependent on whether the perpetrators were known to the witness:

Focus group conversation
Participant 2: If it was like my brother or something then no [I would not report] but if was like cousins, I'd be like 'yeah'. They did it [Female, 15, White]. Participant 5: I think if it's someone I don't like then I probably would [report]. But if it's like someone else, would probably talk to them first before reporting it to the police straight away [Male, 15, White]. Participant 3: I would report them. I am kind of ermm like a civilized person [laughs quietly] [Female, 17, White].

A final hypothetical question was raised about young people's sense of guilt if they did not share intelligence with the police that they know would lead to the solving of crime. Results have shown that 12.7% would 'not feel guilty' whilst the 27.8% said that they would be 'somewhat guilty'; and the remaining 59.5% said that they would be 'very guilty', indicating that young people have sufficient sense of responsibility/duty in helping the police. For example, there were only small variations between young people in terms of age and gender for the given hypothetical crime situations but there were large variations between ethnic minorities in given crime situations: 47.1% of Black youngsters said they would not intervene when witnessing a robbery in contrast to 20.4% of Asians and 20.2% of Whites ; only 4.4% of Whites, 1.9% of Asians said they would not report physical assault to the police in contrast to 23.5% of Blacks ; and where only 9.9% Asians and 6.4% of Whites said that they would feel 'not guilty' if they did not share intelligence with the police that they know would lead to the solving of crime, the figure was 60% for Black youngsters. This is perhaps unsurprising because as discussed critically in previous chapters, Black youngsters felt that they were subject to inferior police treatment which resulted in them being out of touch with the police. Many Black youngsters did not know how to get involved in community policing programmes, and

many had their only interaction with the police when being stopped and searched. Much of young people's dissatisfaction towards the police was due to the adversarial police contact, and unsurprisingly young people who were dissatisfied with police officers were 5 times more likely than the general population to 'not feel guilty': 64.7% vs 12.7%.

Although the big percentage of young people were positive in engaging with the police, Black youngsters and those who have been subject to adversarial police contact were found not to have the same degree of enthusiasm or commitment. For example, when the mentor intervened and suggested the idea of inviting the local PCSO to the youth organisation so that they could meet him, young people's response were very negative. Young people's frustration and hostility demonstrates the extent of their reluctance to engage with the members of the police:

Focus group conversation
Mentor: There are two PCSOs in this neighbourhood. We should ask them to come down one day. Noooonooooonoooo!! [all participants shout out loud]* Participant 4:Don't try that!!! You're frikkin mad. We ain't staying here if they [PCSOs] pop up [Male, 17, White, Youth Offender].

Some of these young people felt that the police would try 'nicking' them for a crime that they have not committed whilst others felt that the police are useless in what they do, and if they did participate, their contribution would not have any impact on police decision making.

> I personally wouldn't [engage] from my experience with the police yeah. You try engage with them, like when something has happened. They try and nick you for something else. That's actually happened to me, you know that? [Male, 17, Asian].

> I lost my house keys once yeah. I never lost them, I believe they got robbed yeah. And there was cameras, what I wanted from the police yeah was to request the camera evidence to see who actually robbed them. And you know what? They couldn't even get back to me. They said we'll get back you blah blah blah. A week later I rang them, you know they couldn't even find the case-id. So what's the point of telling them, there is no point! [Male, 17, Asian]

In addition to Blacks and those who have been subject to adversarial police contact, young people who lived in the middle or upper-class neighbourhoods did not see the need in engaging with the police. The reason behind not choosing to engage with the police differed markedly between and within young people from various ethical, social, geographic and economic backgrounds, however. Just as individuals vary in their decisions to engage with the police, neighbourhoods vary. Many of the 'well-off' people recognised the values of engagement but they felt that their contribution was not really needed by the police because there was little, or no, crime in their area:

> I don't really have a reason [to engage], I just don't see the need in Wigston. If I lived in like a really dodgy place, then I definitely would [Female, 17, White]

> I've moved around the city several times over the past few years. Right now where I am living there is not much crime. Like not noticeable. But then I also lived in Highfields, and that's a quite a high crime area. Especially youth crime. During that time, I thought that the police weren't that effective so I thought about engaging with the police. Like reporting people who I know are bad to the police. Especially in drugs issues. So yeah. I live in Oadby now. It's much much quieter. So there is probably nothing going on there, you can't notice anything! So there isn't really a need to engage with the police [Male, 17, Asian].

For some of these young people privacy was the main factor behind their reluctance to engage with the police, whereas for others it was simply because they had other commitments:

> I don't really wanna engage with the police for anything. The police can invade your privacy [Male, White, 15]

> We [young people] are just too busy with our own things. For example, I do my own thing with my dad. I am a mechanic. So I am too busy with my things, I don't have time to go like do other stuff. Do you understand? [Male, Asian, 17]

For the young people who fear about their privacy being invaded by the police, it is important that their confidence in the police is improved, as they are more likely to engage with the police to tackle crime and anti-social behaviour when the circumstances dictate (e.g. reporting crimes, providing intelligence and acting as a witness in court). A young person in one of the focus groups talked about the time when a local PCSO 'popped' into his youth club which forced made young people rush out the building. This was no longer the case when young people when young people got to know the PCSO in more detail, suggesting that the

familiarity between the PCSOs and young ethnic minorities may facilitate the building of trust and confidence and increasing the likelihood of future cooperation. Improving police treatment of the public, high quality community engagement and extended communication channels are some of the other ways in which trust and confidence can be built *(discussed in the final chapter).*

The roles and responsibilities of PCSOs are appreciated

Dedicated Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) play a fundamental role in community policing schemes. Their duty is to engage with the community, together with the prevention and deterrence of crime through foot patrols, and are found at the 'softer' end of policing rather than the 'harder' end, which latter entails the greater use of enforcement powers.. They can increase criminals' perceptions of the risk of crime, issue fixed penalties, and give crime prevention advice to the locals (Wakefield, 2006). Studies in previous chapters have, however, highlighted that patrolling officers offer a varying sense of safety to the public. Rowland and Coupe's (2013) study, for example, found that patrolling police officers were three times more likely than PCSOs to make the public feel 'very safe'. Much of the public's sense of safety after seeing a police officer was due to the public's recognition of police officers and the powers available to them. On the other hand, dressing PCSOs up like regular police officers but not equipping them to perform or respond like a professional police officer can lead to embarrassment on the part of the PCSO, as they do not have the power or the training to control many situations. The public's false understanding and expectations about PCSOs' roles and responsibilities can diminish the image and reputation of the police as a whole, together with the loss of trust, faith and legitimacy. Indeed, as shown in previous sections, this was also the case with young people who had very little awareness of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities. The PCSO initiative which closely resembles 'bobbies on the beat' was particularly welcomed by young people who knew that PCSOs did not exist to confront serious criminals, but were designed to engage with the community to deal with minor crimes and disorder in the local community.

Through foot-patrols and partnership with the local community organisations, PCSOs can interact with young people, allowing them to identify which youngsters pose a risk to the

community or perhaps more to the point which youngsters need a helping hand or a referral to other agencies. The 'accessibility and approachability of CSOs [PCSOs] meant that the public were more likely to pass on information to CSOs that they may have felt was too trivial for a police officer' (Cooper *et al*. 2006: xi-xii). Indeed, as seen in the previous chapter the efforts made by PCSOs in engaging with young people have resulted in PCSOs being more favoured among young people in contrast to police officers. The analysis of questionnaires has demonstrated that PCSOs are perceived as being more respectful than police officers, and importantly a greater proportion of young people were satisfied with PCSOs than police officers (70.5% vs 62.4%; 72.4% vs 65.9% respectively).

The visibility, accessibility and perhaps the familiarity of PCSOs were some of the key factors which led to greater positivity towards PCSOs. Cooperating with the community has shown to have greater impact on confidence levels than mere police visibility, however. PCSOs are required to maintain high-quality contact with young people that is based on fairness, trust and respect. The literature review has identified an important consensus about the extent to which quality interaction can improve confidence. Most evidence suggests that the police personnel must treat the public in a polite and respectful manner to retain public confidence. After all, public opinion of the police are dependent more on how well the police treat people than how well they control crime (Tyler and Huo. 2002 cited in Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). The efforts made by the PCSOs in going out and getting to know the young people were commonly valued by young people, as numerous young people mentioned their first hand interaction with PCSOs in qualitative research methods:

> I have [interacted with a PCSO]. I started talking to one. Just like you know a random conversation. And other time, he came up to me and asked how are you and that kindastuff. We just had a normal decent conversation. They made me feel comfortable [Female, White, 16]
>
> His [the PCSO's] character was likely bubbly, just like a happy chubby guy. He was very friendly sort of guy. He used to casually just stall down on his bike, stop and start talking to the youngsters about what you doing how is things and that. In a way, you feel more comfortable speaking to him. [Male, 17, Asian].
>
> I had him [the PCSO] on Facebook. He is well safe. A lot of the time the police think the Black community, they, they, they're just full of bad people. Useless people that do drugs

and fight each other but the PCSOs think otherwise. PCSOs know us. They have been with us. They like us [Male, Black, 15]

Though young people's comments were generally positive about PCSOs, there were a few young people who were cynical and pessimistic. These young people were generally Black, and as the previous chapters hinted their negativity towards the police was largely due to their resentment against the police organisation as a whole:

Focus group conversation
Researcher: Would you want to engage/interact with PCSOs? Participant 2: No no way [Male, 16, Black] Participant 7: Depends how they are like [Male, 15, Black] Participant 3: It depends. If they're nice to us then yeah [Male, 15, Black]. Participant 6: Some of them are quite mean. Most of them very rarely like listen to your views and that [Female, Black, 17].

Through PCSOs and NPTs, police forces can become a familiar figure to the members of the community (including young people), providing the opportunity to form strong bonds which can lead to the establishment or re-establishment of trust, confidence, co-operation and police legitimacy (Scarman, 1982; Lurigio and Rosenbaum, 1994; Kerley and Benson (2000); Cordner, 2010). The construction of positive relations with the local community in general, young people in particular, can be easier to achieve through PCSOs than police officers because of their low enforcement role. Having said that, the PCSO role was found to be most successful when the roles and responsibilities were clearly defined and understood, well publicised to the public, afforded adequate training and legal powers and deployed only to incidents that were appropriate to the role (Cooper *et al.* 2006). Many young people were found not to understand the roles, responsibilities and powers of PCSOs, and therefore some disregarded their existence. It should, therefore, be taken seriously that young people are made better aware of PCSOs' roles and responsibilities in the community so that PCSOs can build profile and trust with the local youth population. Before looking at young people's suggestions in enhancing police-young people engagement, the next section will look at the

extent of problem solving that goes on in Leicester, together with an insight into young people's problems around policing and crime.
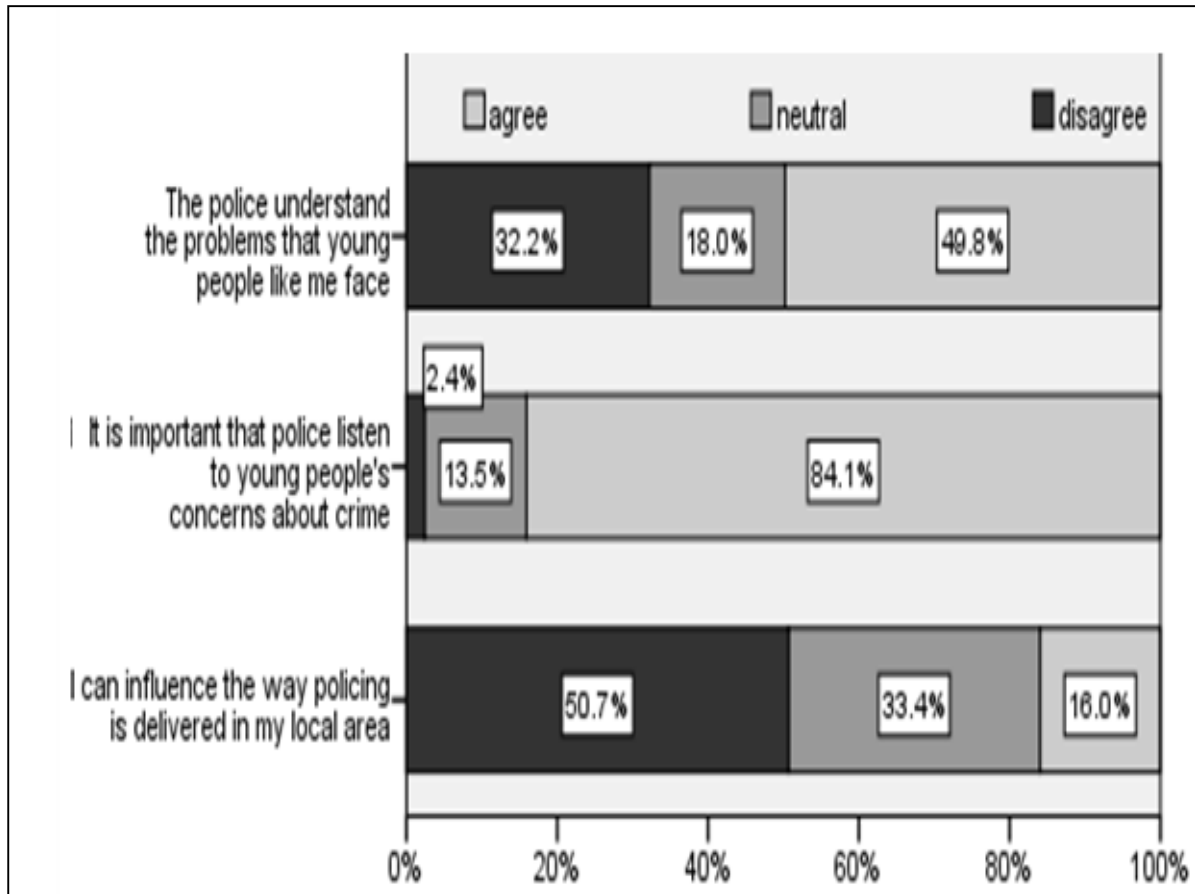
Problem Solving

Young people's problems around crime, anti-social behaviour or even policing are unlikely to diminish without some form of intervention by the police. Early identification of young people's problems and prompt formulation of strategies with the involvement of local partners and young people can improve the likelihood of solving the problem, and lead to the development of young people's satisfaction and confidence in the police. Targeting police work on problem solving, furthermore, can lead to crime reduction, increased feelings of safety and a better quality of life. The case in England and Wales is that approximately a third (32%) of young people did not agree that the police deal with things that matter to young people' (Office for National Statistics, 2012:13); and 40% of young people living in London were not confident that the police can respond to their needs (MPA, 2008 cited in ACPO, 2010:1).

The problem solving function of community policing will cover a wide range of community concerns ranging from crime, drugs and social and physical disorder to the fear of crime, but it is understandable that not all young people will participate in problem solving because not every young person will see the problem solving function of the police service as a worthwhile activity. However, this has not shown to be necessarily the case for young people in Leicester: the vast majority (77.4%) of young people perceived it important to influence the way policing is delivered in their local area; and as high as 84.1% of young people deemed it important that the police listen to their concerns surrounding crime and anti-social behaviour. A very small percentage of young people perceived it not important (2.4%), whilst the 13.5% were indecisive (neutral) (see chart 7.3). When attention is focused on those who have disagreed with the statement, it is found that there were only 6 young people in total, and none of these respondents 'strongly disagreed'. Other important determinants of young people's perceptions were gender and age: more males perceived it important in contrast to females (90.8% vs 76.5% respectively); and older young people were most likely to agree the

importance of listening to young people's concerns (only 63.9% of 12-13 year olds agreed in contrast to 87.1% of 14-15 year olds and 87.8% of 16-17 year olds).

Chart 7.3: Young People's Perception of Police Response to their Problems

Although the large percentage of young people in Leicester value their voices being heard for problem solving activities and local policing priorities, a high percentage of young people felt that the police did not understand the problems that they encountered. Only a half of young people (49.8%) believed that the police understood their problems, and almost a fifth (18%) of youngsters did not have a view whilst the remaining 32.2% disagreed (see chart 7.3). This finding compares noticeably unfavourably against the findings of the British Crime Survey when they reported that 70% of 10 to 15 years felt that the police understood young people's problems in the area (Office for National Statistics, 2012:13). There were only small differences between genders in terms of agreeing with the statement in Leicester (46.2% of males agreed with the statement in contrast to 53.9% of females) but when the age factor is taken into account, 12-13 year olds felt most strongly that the police understand their problems (55.5%), followed by 14-15 year olds (53.2%) and 16-17 year olds (46.9%).

Importantly one-third (35.4%) of 16-17 year olds held the perception that the police do not understand their concerns surrounding crime.

In an attempt to determine young people's degree of 'empowerment', young people were asked whether they felt they could influence policing decisions affecting their local community. A low sense of empowerment among young people may indicate that very little is being done to involve young people in problem solving in Leicester. The proportion of young people who agreed that they could influence the way policing is delivered is considerably lower when compared against the previous question: only 16% of young people agreed that they could influence the way policing is delivered where almost 80% deemed it important to influence such decisions.

The above findings clearly highlight young people's lack of involvement in policing despite their wish to be involved more. Black young people are an exception, however. As the previous chapter has shown, young ethnic minorities in general (Blacks in particular) are very reluctant to get involved in problem solving schemes due to their cynicism in engaging with the police. If young Black people are not coming or cannot come forward with their concerns, police forces' efforts around problem solving will be limited in terms of success. This is because the problem solving element of community policing is bound to be successful only when a good percentage of community members' problems are effectively identified and thoroughly analysed. The 'scanning' element of Herman Goldstein's SARA model (as seen in chapter four) will require the police force to gather as much information about the problem as possible. Much of this intelligence can come about through consultation meetings, and it is imperative that these consultation meetings reflect the diversity of the local youth population in Leicestershire. The problem, otherwise, is not just the lack of representation but also the impact of tiny minorities or single individuals upon others: the police may well be spending the resources in listening to young people but the outcome of the meeting is bound to reflect the views of a tiny minority or single young individuals.

The above variations between and within young people give a big clue to the fact that young people in Leicester are affected by community problems in different ways. Qualitative

research methods with young people have identified that a considerable proportion of young ethnic minorities have experienced a race-related victimisation in the past, and felt that the police were not doing anything about their problems, highlighting serious concerns about their confidence in the police:

The above conversations highlight that the police's legitimacy may have been weakened and eroded by young ethnic minorities' lack of confidence in police effectiveness due to their high exposure to racially aggravated crimes. What makes the situation more interesting is that no White young person complained about being a victim in the past. Many young ethnic minorities, especially females, have complained about being subject to racism by other members of the public. This finding is also synonymous with the CSEW and police recorded crimes. For example, the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) provided an estimate for the number of hate crimes per year, and reported that the majority of these crimes were racially motivated: there were 278,000 hate crimes and 185,000 were racially/religiously motivated (Home Office, 2013: 8). Not all hate crimes will come to the attention of the police

or not all crimes will be recorded by the police (for legitimate and illegitimate reasons), and hence the number of racially/religiously aggravated offences recorded by the police is markedly lower than the CSEW. For example, there were only 30,234 police recorded racially/religiously aggravated offences in 2012/13 (13,768 were detected) and the combined 2011/12 and 2012/13 CSEW estimates were 185,000 (Home Office, 2013:8). The risk of being a victim of hate crime in 2011/12 and 2012/13 according to the CSEW was highest among:

> People aged 16 to 14; those with the religious group 'other' and Muslim; people with Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds; those whose marital status was single; and the unemployed (Home Office, 2013:15).

The CSEW asked participants how worried they were about being a victim of different types of crime. The findings for the 2011/12 and 2012/12 indicated that '4% of adults were 'very' worried about being subject to a physical attack because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion...as with the other perception questions, this was much higher among adults from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds than White adults (16% and 3% respectively)' (Home Office, 2013: 47). No data was available for children and young people, but in this research although no White person mentioned being a victim of crime in focus groups/paired interviews, a common concern for all young people were their feelings of insecurity:

> I feel like someone is gonna stab me at any point if I'm walking down the street. It's also like I can see drugs right in front of me, and can smell it when I am on the street... but I'm used it cuz I have no other option. It's like Americans do the shooting we do the stabbing [Male, 16, Asian].

> I live in one of the most crime areas. What concerns me is that my next door neighbour got burgled twice in four weeks. We are paranoid that we will be getting burgled next. One of the old people over the road had to keep watching the house cuz the police officers had to leave, and like they didn't do anything else. I just can't believe that the police don't give a damn about victims [Female, 16, White].

As can be seen from the above quotations, young people fear numerous things, ranging from youths hanging out in public places to drugs and from violent attacks to burglary. Inevitably linked to that, children and young people who have suffered victimisation respond to their negative exposures in a variety of different ways (Victim Support, 2007). The somewhat antagonistic relationship that exists between some young people (Blacks and those who have been subject to adversarial contact) and the police may result in youth victimisation unknown by the police (as seen in the previous chapter). What is known from the literature, however,

is that the common psychological response to victimisation is the fear of re-victimisation, which can result in trouble sleeping, poor school performance and more self-consciousness about their personal security (Victim Support, 2007). Young people's fear of crime and the impact of their victimisation/crime in Leicester clearly demonstrate the need for the Leicestershire Police to be responsive to their concerns.

Listening to young people's concerns and doing something about it may, in return, enhance young people's perception of the local police, PCSOs and police officers. There are many studies which support this contention. For example, Pate's *et al*. (1986) study which gave officers the responsibility to develop and implement programmes to respond to citizen's needs and expectations led to statistically important improvements in public evaluation of the police; and Skogan and Steiner's (2004) 'Community Policing in Chicago' study which entailed 'problem solving' and 'community partnership' improved public perception of police responsiveness by 13% over ten years. In support of the literature, in this study, young people who agreed with the statement that the police understand their problems were more likely to report their satisfaction towards PCSOs and police officers than those who have not agreed: 78.9% of youngsters who were satisfied with PCSOs and 79.7% of youngsters who were satisfied with police officers agreed that the police understood their problems. The overall satisfaction for PCSOs and police officers stood at 72.4% and 65.9% respectively (see previous chapter). As it can be seen from chapters 3 and 4, increased satisfaction in the police can lead to increased compliance with the law and to the enhancement of the quantity and quality intelligence given to the police.

Indeed, the police may well be the best agency to alleviate a lot of young people's concerns around crime in the local community, simply by increasing their visibility. For example, the general young people's fear of crime/victimisation could be linked to the low visibility of PCSOs and police officers in Leicester. It was Bahn's (1974:340 cited in Wakefield 2006: 47) contention that citizens' feelings of safety and security can be improved when they see a police officer or patrol car nearby, and reducing the public's fear of crime can enhance community members' participation in policing and contribute to social participation (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1994: 4). Other than the famous work of Kelling (1988) and Weisburd

and Eck (2004), Trojanowicz's (1983: 72) evaluation of foot-patrol programmes had, for example, reported that '...persons living in areas where foot patrol was created perceived a notable decrease in the severity of crime-related problems' and along the same lines, in a different article Trojanowicz (1982:86) asserted that the residents in Flint/Michigan felt 'especially safe when the foot patrol officer was well known and highly visible'. The perception among young people that crime is on the wane will improve community conditions and enhance the image of the police with more public accountability, built on a base of mutual respect.

It is not just the police visibility that is important. This and the previous chapter have highlighted a number of serious concerns together with honest positive comments about police officers and PCSOs working for the Leicestershire Police. Some of the young generation have felt that the police personnel were not visible enough or do not care much about young people, whilst for others policing was delivered in the best way possible. However, the extent of engagement and problem solving that occurs between the police and young people is very small. The vast majority of young people were unaware of existing engagement channels (NPTs, 101, social media, etc); and very little non-crime related interactions took place between young people and PCSOs/police officers. It became clear that the key to enhancing young people's confidence in the police is through increased non-crime related police-young people contact. PCSOs/police officers will have to make meaningful engagement/interaction with the young people in Leicester, and the local police force will have to support and encourage their community officers to adopt on-street-interactions along with other forms of engagement such as community consultation meetings and door-to-door visits. The next chapter will look at some of the ways of creating regular and meaningful engagement that is based on mutual trust and respect that can serve to improve police-young people relationships in Leicester.

To summarise this chapter, some sections of the young population in Leicester used strong phrases and arguments to describe Leicestershire Police, similar to young people who described the Metropolitan Police in the London School of Economics' (2011) study of London riots. The literature review has highlighted that police-young people engagement is central to

the success of policing, however. Individuals will need to cooperate with the police to have their and their communities' policing and crime needs and expectations met; intelligence that is communicated to the police will lead to the detection of criminals; positive relationships will facilitate greater confidence in the police; police would be more accountable; and importantly the police would be policing by consent. Such benefits are less likely to materialise in Leicester when the police are isolated and there is poor police-public engagement. The conventional methods of engagement have failed to reach out to young people who are, nevertheless, enthusiastic about collaborating with the police (with the exception of young Blacks). The vast majority of young people felt that their concerns, needs and expectations around policing and crime are unrecognised by the police organisation, which is a unacceptable given that a strong sense of police responsibility towards young people is bound to increase confidence, trust and communication between the two parties. The following chapter will provide a basis for guidance to police forces on how they might meet the needs and expectations of young people through various community policing schemes.

CHAPTER 8. Responding to the needs of young people

Introduction

One of the key findings of this thesis is that Leicestershire Police cannot rely on young people's cooperation due to reasons ranging from poor police-young people relationships to the lack of police-young people engagement channels. This chapter will outline some of the ways in which the Leicestershire Police can engage with young people.

Enhancing Problem Solving

The community policing philosophy requires the police to form positive and non-crime related interactions with young people so that their confidence and satisfaction in the police as well as their compliance with the law is enhanced (Jackson *et al*. 2010). Just by giving young people the opportunity to speak about their problems, the police will be able to gain insight into the realities of young people's lives and to understanding the causes of their experiences. While young people are legally and practically a major client group for the police, there do not appear to be robust programmes or strategies for engaging more effectively with this group. A range of approaches can be used to engage with young people, however.

Youth Advisory Groups

Tomorrow's policing should place a particular focus on understanding and managing young people's views and expectations surrounding policing and crime. This can happen via a greater focus on engagement. By allowing young people participate in local decision-making, they will 'become aware that their opinions and needs are considered important' and police forces will ensure that young people's concerns will 'become part of the problem solving process and that solutions take into consideration their requirements and needs' (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2008:15). However, as the findings indicate, young people's participation in police-young people collaboration activities is very low relative to the general willingness to participate in influencing local decision making. Many young people in Leicester felt that their concerns, needs and expectations around policing and crime are unrecognised by the police authority. It is worth reminding here that although 84.1% of young people felt it important that the police listen to young people, only 32.2% believed that the police understood the

problems that young people encountered; and while 77.4% agreed that young people's involvement in setting police priorities is important only 19% felt that they could influence the way policing is delivered. Young people who agreed that the police understood their problems were more likely to report their satisfaction towards PCSOs and police officers in Leicester. This is critical, since a strong sense of police responsibility towards police-young people engagement is very likely to lead to favourable results. By listening to young people's concerns and acting on their needs, expectations and concerns, police forces can ensure that the central tenets of normative sponsorship theory are applied in practice: young people's input (concerns and solutions) will form part of the problem solving element of community policing. Involving young people in decision making will make young people feel valued, potentially make them more socially cohesive as they become aware that their voices are considered important by the police authority.

With the above assertions and findings in mind, youth advisory groups could be formed in each neighbourhood in Leicester and beyond to discuss the issues that young people face, offering them the opportunity to voice their concerns and be more involved in setting policing priorities that matter to them. The support for advisory groups was demonstrated in questionnaires, and confirmed in focus groups and paired interviews:

> I would want to voice my opinion. By saying 'noooooo' like these lads, you are never heard are you? The only way you get heard is by telling people [Male, 16, White, Young Offender].

> I wouldn't mind doing that [getting involved in police-young people consultation], cuz how else are they going to know? There is no point in suffering in silence if you feel like you have been treated unfairly. Otherwise things will never change then [Male, 16, Asian].

An advisory group is a collection of individuals who bring knowledge and skills in an effort to improve service delivery, and they do not (generally) have formal authority to manage the organisation. Advisory groups rather exist to give recommendations and provide key information to the members of the organisation. Youth advisory groups could be made up of young people aged between 12 to 17 with the purpose of presenting and discussing not only their own needs, expectations and concerns related to local policing and crime issues but also those of the community members they represent. The size of youth advisory groups will vary

from neighbourhood to neighbourhood but it should include enough members to adequately reflect the diversity of young people's interests in that community. The group will be working closely with the local police force to find solutions to a range of concerns identified by young people. Police-young people relationships, police stereotyping, stop and search powers, young victims, offending and reoffending, anti-social behaviour and drug and alcohol abuse are some of the areas that could be touched on. Bearing in mind that young people often have different views, expectations and concerns surrounding policing and crime, it is recommended that these groups run in each policing area to reflect the true diversity of the local youth population. Each advisory group should develop a mission statement detailing the group's specific aims and objectives. These groups will be particularly beneficial (but also challenging to establish) in communities where there has been a limited police-young people engagement due to poor relationships:

Focus group conversation
Participant 4: With the actual police officer, I don't think I would speak as much or get involved as much because you don't really want to sit and have a conversation with a police officer. [Male, 15, Black] Participant 4: I would feel a bit better with them [PCSOs] but still I wouldn't like feel comfy [Male, 15, Black]. Participant 2: I think sometimes you say something like private and confidential like I'm not being funny but right I just can't trust them [Female, 16, Black]. Participant 5: I don't think I would chat as much because obviously J***** and J***** are here [youth workers]. Just by ourselves, I don't think I would be like this active and involved [Female, 14, Black]

Upon the successful management of youth advisory groups, the police will not only meet Article 12 of the UNCRC but they will also gain deeper understanding of young people from a wide range of backgrounds and geographic areas, help police forces be more responsive to the demands of young members of the community and help improve the police force's image. The benefits of consulting children and young people were specifically highlighted by Madden (2001: 8), which range from 'promoting democratic ways of working' to 'help generate new and innovative ideas', and encourage active participation and citizenship. The benefits of advisory groups to young people are also be very wide-ranging. For example, young people will feel respected, recognised and valued; communication, negotiation, debating and team

working skills will be enhanced along with their knowledge; and help young people contribute to meeting their own and their communities' challenges (Madden, 2001). Other potential benefits of youth advisory groups can include the revitalisation of the local democratic progress since young people are involved in local decision making; a more socially cohesive young people; and fundamentally youth advisory groups can influence other public and private organisations within the local community and wider contexts to consult more with young people (Kirby, 1999).

<u>Workshops</u>

Alongside youth advisory groups, workshops could be carried out in each local policing area, bringing police officers and young people together under one roof, facilitating positive engagement. Workshops are frequently conducted to train, teach or introduce to participants knowledge and practical skills, qualities and techniques which can be used in participants' daily lives. They are generally short (anything from 45 minutes to a full day); consist of five to twenty participants; and conducted by specialists who have real experience in the subject. The 'Trading Places' workshop which was discussed in chapter three, for example, provides robust exchange of views which helps develop understanding and empathy on both sides. This form of engagement is bound to be more quality and effective than the engagement that occurs via the 101 number which is responsible for the large proportion of the 60% of adults who had 'engaged' with the police in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2012: 29). The 101 non-emergency number is used to report crime and other concerns that do not require an emergency response, whereas workshops can involve quality two-way dialogue, information flow and feedback between the police and young people. Hence, workshops are important for facilitating positive changes in the long run, since they provide the opportunity to understand young people quickly and effectively. Police personnel can instantly see what feelings young people are expressing and how they expressing them in the activities. When the police start to understand what young people feel, think and expect, they can learn how to deliver policing services to them in a more effective and appropriate manner.

Workshop themes are endless but on the basis of what young people have said in this study, workshops could be designed to address local young people's misperceptions of police

officers' roles and responsibilities, young people's rights when getting stopped and searched, PCSOs' and Neighbourhood Policing Teams' roles and responsibilities and the importance of police-young people engagement are some of the ideas. For example, a key concern raised by large numbers of young people was that they felt unaware of their rights when they were being stopped and searched. Workshops could be delivered to young people in an attempt to make them aware of their rights using a mix of factual information and innovative approaches. For example, open question and answer workshops could run in schools and youth clubs, allowing young people to ask questions about the role and powers of the police. Police officers could subsequently give a presentation on what to expect when young people get stopped and searched, what police behaviour is acceptable and where they can report to if they feel they have been mistreated. These workshops can run within the school premises: not to mention the low-cost (or free) of running schemes within the school premises, schools are also convenient in terms of location, timing and peer-involvement, as they can be delivered directly after school and so could be done with peers. Running workshops outside the school environment can have its own set of positives. For example, young people could be invited to gain experience working with the police. This may include short taster days where young people could explore the police station and its resources (vehicles, uniforms, equipment, etc). This would not only help the police strengthen relationships with young people but it could also encourage young people from diverse backgrounds to think about policing as a career.

Physical Engagement

Foot-patrolling PCSOs and police officers as well as NPTs are an important mechanism for police-young people engagement. The agreed perception is that the presence of PCSOs and police officers on the streets leads to greater levels of reassurance and confidence in the police. Other than police visibility, police-young people interaction was found to be important: encouraging young people from all ethnic, social and economic backgrounds to engage with PCSOs and neighbourhood teams will not only help bridge the gap between young people and the police but it will also send out a positive message that young people are valued and regarded as integral members of the community. Nevertheless, pertinent questions surrounding the police's ability to engage with young people were found in this

study: only 10% of young people interacted with a PCSO in the past 12 months. Where adults' awareness of NPTs stood at 44% (Office for National Statistics, 2012: 19), only 16.3% of young people knew about the existence of NPTs; only 9.5% of young people were aware of the non-emergency 101 number; and 89.7% of young people said that they did not know how to contact the police if they wanted to put forward their views and concerns about local policing, crime and anti-social behaviour. There, thus, is the need for more quality positive physical interaction between the police and young people. This can be achieved in a number of ways.

Respectful, fair and friendly officers

Young people's perceptions towards police officers and PCSOs varied markedly in this study. Young people's ethnic background and whether a young person was stopped and searched by the police gave a big clue about young people's perceptions towards the police: young people belonging to the White ethnic group generally had positive things to say about the police whilst the young people belonging to the other ethnic groups were generally neutral or negative. The qualitative findings of this study, furthermore, highlighted the repercussions associated with the way that the police use their stop and search powers. While stop and searches are an important tool for the police to fight crime effectively, it was a frequently encountered complaint from focus group participants that too many are undertaken with insufficient respect towards the young person. A high proportion of young people felt that police officers were unfriendly, rude, aggressive and often stereotypical towards young people. Young people's stop and search experiences in Leicester have often led to the perception that the police are 'racist', 'useless' and 'bad', signifying strong feelings of resentment, hostility and mistrust towards the police.

Certainly, if community policing is going to be an important part of today's policing, then the actions of some police officers must be addressed. After all, no matter how strong the police-young people relations are, one negative interaction can very easily erode young people's confidence in the police. When young people were asked what their ideal police officers and PCSOs would look like, their responses demonstrated that they wanted respectful, fair and friendly officers serving them:

I would want them to speak with respect. Personally cuz officers from my experience have not spoken to me with respect until I told them to change their attitudes basically [Male, 17, Black].

I think they should be more relaxed like not too strict [Male, 13, Black].

Police officers should be more friendly, understanding and more interactive [Female, 12, White].

I think sometimes they come across so serious, you don't really want to speak to them anymore, or do anything with them anymore. But if they walked around happily, like smiled, instead of straight faced, it would be a lot better. They shouldn't ask you about what have you done or come over and check you but they should come and ask you how you are doing at school and personal life and stuff [Male, 14, White].

Indeed, previous chapters have shown that for the police to be effective in gaining young people's participation in community policing schemes, they need to demonstrate that they are fair, reliable and respectful in every decisions and actions that they take. One way of ensuring that was, potentially, through diversifying the ethnic composition of the police (Scarman, 1981, Macpherson, 1999) but young population in Leicester felt that this was not a viable solution:

I don't really care about the colour. I just want to be comfortable. Just because they are the same colour, they can still be bad to us [Male, 15, Black].

No it's not about whether they're Asian or not. It don't matter what they are. I've seen some Asian officers that act the same soI look upon them the same. I don't look upon them different because of their skin colour do you know what I mean? [Male, 16, Asian].

With the Asians as well. I don't see the difference. The reason why I don't see the difference is that they're skill working for the same force, Asian guys are trying to be friendlier, have that more friendly face in the community. So it's just a disguise at the end of it. It's the police innit. It's best if they change their attitude towards how they speak to people, how to treat them and then I think they might have more people respecting them in the future. It's just that I've not had good experience with the police over the past years [Male, 16, Asian].

Enhancing the quality of police-young people interaction is essential if young people are to report crime and anti-social behaviour, provide intelligence, give evidence in court, work in partnership to set local policing priorities and to contribute to local problem solving activities, reference to normative sponsorship and critical social theories. When the analysis in chapters 6 and 7 is taken into account with the above quotations by young people, it is realised that

serious thought must be given to whether police officers in Leicestershire are using their stop and search powers fairly and effectively in the fight against crime. Leicestershire Police's stop and search figures must be scrutinised to determine, more specifically, whether there is any evidence to suggest stop and searches are leading to the prevention and detection of young criminals and how fairly the power is being used against young ethnic minorities in different neighbourhoods. In addition to that, it would be beneficial to explore what is being done to tackle stop and search disproportionality in Leicester. Finally, do police officers understand the importance of fairness and respectfulness in their daily encounters with young people?

<u>Training</u>

Police-young people engagement and problem solving is likely to be successful if police forces are prepared for the task. Young people are generally easy to communicate and engage with but there are also those who are not easy to deal with, particularly young people who grew up in deprived neighbourhoods with many family problems or difficult personal circumstances. Many will not have matured fully: some will struggle managing their emotions or personal feelings of grievance and resentment whilst others may still be learning to accept police authority. These same youngsters will first interact with the police through frontline officers (police officers and PCSOs) but there are serious questions regarding the police's ability to engage with young people in Leicester, emphasising the importance of police training. Nevertheless, if police forces are adopting community policing schemes, they are naturally expected to ensure that all members of the organisation are able to deliver adequate service. This applies 'equally to officers who may not have to directly interact with the public' so that community policing schemes are 'not regarded as an add-on or a management fad that will pass' (Myhill, 2006: 63). Moreover, police training is crucial if police personnel are asked to carry out different tasks than those they are used to since the new roles that 'may not appear challenging, such as running a public meeting, actually require a specific skills set' (Myhill, 2006: 63). Skogan's *et al* (1999) evaluation of Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), for example, reported that when police sergeants were expected to demonstrate leadership, planning and organisation skills in their new job roles, it became evident that some would have benefited from additional training whilst others were naturally good.

The training aspect of PCSOs' and police officers' was strongly emphasised by the young people in Leicester, as many of them felt that they lacked openness and skills to build a closer relationships with them. In particular, serious deliberation must focus on how to train police personnel to exercise their authority, power and their discretion appropriately and effectively towards young people who are sometimes anti-social but too frequently vulnerable. Currently police officers' training focuses disproportionately on the law, procedure and officer safety, and very little, if any, attention is given to the consequences of bad police officer behaviour (HMIC, 2013b: 48). Furthermore, there is generally no training on how to best communicate or engage with young people, whether offenders or ordinary law abiding citizens. PCSOs and front-line police officers thus receive very little if any guidance and expertise on understanding their actions on young people, or engaging with young people to build trust and establish legitimacy. It is true that some of the social and personal skills will come naturally to some officers, but for others or perhaps for most it will not. Dealing with ethnically diverse young people where there is often negative and hostile relations will put extra pressure on newly recruited PCSOs and police officers who have limited patrolling experience. Currently, student officers in England and Wales undergo an 'extensive' and 'professional' training programme during their two year probationary period, consisting of training themes ranging from basic legislation to officer safety and communication training (Leicestershire Police, 2015). More questionably, police forces are not under any obligation to provide further training to officers beyond that given on recruitment. Conversations with a number of PCSOs and police officers in Leicester have illustrated that where (in the rare instance) further training is given to police personnel, it is mainly through the internet. It is unknown how much, if any, influence e-learning has on police officers' understanding of how best to carry out a stop and search or influence let alone their decisions on the street. There have been instances where the public's experience of being stopped and searched led to improvements in their opinion of the police (HMIC, 2013b) but the 'opportunity for sharing good practice to improve the skills of colleagues, by using the skills of those who do it well [stop and search] is generally missed' (HMIC, 2013b: 49). Hence, other than the training aspect of police officers, serious deliberation, study and debate at the local and national level can help the police carry out their stop and search powers in a way that improves young

people's opinion of the police so that the police's legitimacy is maintained where it is strong and improved where it is weak.

When the police learn how to exercise their legal powers, avoid unnecessary confrontations and develop good interpersonal skills and apply them will maximise young people's satisfaction with the police. The focus of the training should therefore be on empathy, listening, communicating, forming relationships and learning about the consequences of stereotyping and mistreatment. Focusing the attention on these areas can help the police become more aware of young people's concerns and perspectives, ultimately making them more approachable and responsive to young people. Young people from differing social groups often have differing views, concerns and needs on a range of issues, thus non-governmental organisations such as youth clubs, cultural centres, religious groups and other local organisations who work with young people should be consulted on what the training should focus on and how best to deliver the training. The training should be given periodically. Young people as a group are constantly changing, and thus their concerns about crime and their needs and expectations from PCSOs, police officers and NPTs will be constantly changing too.

Safer School Partnerships

Police-public engagement has shown to be more important than police visibility in increasing confidence and satisfaction in the police (Wents and Schlimgen, 2012 cited in Office for National Statistics, 2012: 18). Indeed, understanding and responding to young people's needs at the right place and at the right time will help the police gain that missing confidence. That 'right place' can be the schools. Police forces across England and Wales have been partnering with schools under the Safer Schools Partnership (SSPs) programme to keep young people safe, reduce crime and improve young people's behaviour in schools and their communities, often through engagement with young people (Police Foundation, 2011). A police personnel's role in a school under the SSP can comprise a number of responsibilities and activities, ranging from enforcement and safety of young people to proactive work focusing on the prevention of crime and anti-social behaviour, and from mentoring young people to taking part in the teaching of curriculum or extra-curricular activities. For example, in London's Borough of

Brent where the SSP programme has been running since 2006, a team of ten officers have liaised with at least two schools to spend a minimum of three days a week to interact with young people, forming relationships.

Although there are a number of neighbourhood policing units that are based in colleges and community centres in Leicester, a data request to Leicestershire Police's Corporate Services Department has confirmed that no SSP programmes are in place across Leicestershire. If PC Hobden and Storey can contribute positively to the social and physical environment of schools (as discussed in chapter three), there are no reasons why similar well-devised SSP programmes cannot meet its promises at different schools across Leicester. The SSP programmes would be of particular use in secondary schools, as this study illustrated: only 8 young people out of the 245 reported interacting with a PCSO in the last twelve months and only 5.7% of young people reported seeing a PCSO in their local area or in school about once a day or more (high visibility), whilst 12.7% reported seeing about once a week (medium visibility), 46.2% about once a month or less (low visibility) and 35.5% could not recall seeing one in the past 12 months (no visibility).Young people, too, welcome the idea of SSPs and acknowledge that they would be of real benefit if the SSP officer was friendly, positive towards young people, and approachable (Sherbert Research, 2009:8). SSP programmes which lead to the development of relationships between the police and young people (Black *et al.* 2010) will not only improve the quantity and quality of intelligence flowing to the police but it will also enhance the police's ability in preventing and handling crime (Lamont, Macleod and Wilkin, 2011:21).

One thing that the SSP could target is young people's misperception around the roles and responsibilities of PCSOs and the work of the police. The image of law enforcement that movies, music videos and television create are very easily accepted by young people, as the literature review has demonstrated and this study confirmed:

> We will get nicked for no reason [if we wanted to engage with the police] [Male, 15, White, Young Offender]

> If you're lying they [the police] can detect. They can use a lie detector and everything [Male, 12, Black].

> Do you know when people bad out there and they just don't get the right person. Say it's more than one person responsible for the crime, they only get one person [Male, 15, White].

> Police officers how they work is how many arrest they make [they earn money on the basis of number of stop and search made]. That is how they get paid. They just go out and make people's life more difficult. PCSOs are the same. It is just that they have got no handcuffs and they are lower status [Male, 15, Black].

One way of alleviating the myths and misconceptions is through the delivery of presentations to young people in schools and youth organisations. Young people were positive about the possibility of police officers and PCSOs coming to their youth clubs/charity organisations to chat to them about policing and local crime. In addition to educating young people about the work of the police, roles and responsibilities of PCSOs, another area that was highlighted by the young people in Leicester was their rights as citizens when getting stopped and searched by police officers:

> Yes I definitely would [want to know my rights]. Because if you are getting stopped, you would want to know how far they can go. Cuz if you didn't know, you would do what they say. You should obviously respect them, you listen to what they say but if they tell you things that are irrelevant or illegal? You know what I mean? [Male, 17, White].

> You know what it is? The people here in St Matthews they don't know the proper procedures of complaining to the police. The channels to go through. White people and other ethnic people know that. You take their number [badge number], you go to the police station and up and up and up. It is a lack of education in that sense [Male, 16, Black].

In addition to presentations, SSP officers could organise a day-long trip to the local police station, offering young people the unique opportunity to gain insight into how the different departments within the police work. Touring the police station and informing young people about police procedures in relation to burglary, forensic investigation, custody, Neighbourhood Policing Teams and PCSOs would help young people gain a real insight into the typical day-to-day activities of the police and remove young people's misconceptions and false expectations from police officers, PCSOs and NPTs. Whilst at the police station, young people could be given the opportunity to try on PCSOs' and police officers' uniform or even Tactical Support Group's riot gear. Young people could then be encouraged to pass on their experiences and enhanced knowledge to other young people in the community.

The literature review has highlighted that the interactions between the police and young people are typically negative (crime related). This study also confirmed that very small proportion of young people have engaged with the police in a non-crime related situation. For the attainment of positive police-young people relationships, it is thus necessary that more opportunities are created for young people to spend time with the police in an informal, positive and friendly setting. Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009:9-10) research into the ways in increasing young people's participation in purposeful activities reported that sports and physical activities were the most popular option, which included football, rugby, golf, cricket, hockey, netball, cheerleading, martial arts and running. After all:

> Enjoyment and having fun are the primary spontaneous benefits and key motivators to taking part in positive activities. 'Fun' was seen as important because activities take place in teens' leisure time, and they have many choices about how to spend this time, so an activity that was not fun was unlikely to be kept up. Enjoyment is therefore almost a prerequisite. Although a key benefit, it does not feel 'ownable' by positive activities as a standalone positioning area or theme as young people can have fun doing lots of different leisure time activities other than organised ones (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009:34)

Young people do, without a doubt, appreciate the positive aspects of participating. Youth advisory groups highlighted some of the personal development benefits that young people's participation can generate. Enjoyment and socialising are other factors that can evoke young people's participation in police led schemes. To illustrate this with examples, in the Turkish district of Mardin where police-youth relations are extremely poor due to the ethnic conflict between Turks and Kurds, the local police organised a 'youth festival' with many events ranging from kite tournament to dodge-ball and football. The project has proved very successful with very little cost to the police: over 3,000 young people have participated with almost all now showing affection towards the police. By December 2013, 5,750 young people were sought to be involved in this festival. One do not need to look that far to see an exemplary police-young people engagement initiative, however. In London, too, there are numerous civic engagement opportunities that young people are involved in. For example, 'Premier League Kicks' programme was launched as a pilot project in 2006 between the Premier League and the Metropolitan Police in an effort to engage with young people aged 12 to 18. The vision behind the initiative which allows young people to train and play football

with professional football clubs for up to three nights a week (48 weeks of the year), is to "build safer, stronger, more respectful communities through the development of young peoples' potential". The initiative has become very popular that it is currently run at 45 football clubs across England and Wales, and more than 71,000 young people have trained and played football between 2006 and 2014 (Premier League, 2014). The programme which is funded nationally by the Premier League and Sport England and delivered in partnership with the local police forces across the country (excludes Leicestershire Police) aims to engage with an extra 30,000 young people between 2014-17.

Many other similar positive activities can be found across London. Another example is the 'StreetChance', a programme run in partnership between seven regional police forces across the country and the Cricket Foundation. The project aims to enhance young people's relationships with schools, the police and the wider community by using cricket to engage with young people (aged 8-15) from a wide range of backgrounds. Participating police forces include the West Midlands Police, Avon and Somerset Constabulary, West Yorkshire Police and Greater Manchester Police. The project has engaged with almost 27,000 young people between 2008-2014 (StreetChance, 2014). Met-Track (2014), another police-young people engagement scheme initiated by the Metropolitan Police which aims to offer sport and physical activities to young people in their efforts to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour across London, highlighted that diverting six young offenders away from crime all year saves over £454,000.StreetChance and Premier League Hitz programmes illustrate that young people are enthusiastic about engaging with the police when the right opportunities are given to them, and the Metropolitan Police in particular seems fully aware of the importance of engaging with young people. Given that there is a spectrum of young people's interest in participation in positive activities such as sports and physical activities, it seems clear that similar efforts should be in place in Leicester. The given examples above can be perceived as being for males only (e.g. football, cricket, rugby and running), and hence may act as a barrier in young females taking part but dance, singing, drama and music related activities could be equally successful in engaging with young females in Leicester.

Virtual Engagement

One of the frequently encountered criticisms of police-public engagement is that the existing channels struggle to embrace young people, which is also the group whom the police most need to engage with. The police have tended to adopt consultation meetings to engage with the members of the community but the literature review suggested that they are often unrepresentative: beat meetings and/or consultation meets are usually unattended and in places where some do participate, they are generally financially well-off adults from White British background (Lloyd and Foster, 2009). This study also reported that young people tend not to attend them for various reasons or do not acknowledge that such meetings exist. Given young people's lack of engagement with the police, it would then be unsurprising that the majority of young people (74.7%) felt that they were 'not informed at all' or 'not very well informed' about crime and anti-social behaviour issues that affect their community. And similarly, the proportion of young people who felt they were not informed about police work targeting crime and anti-social behaviour in their community stood at 79.6%. If young people are not informed about local crime and anti-social behaviour or about police work targeting local crime and anti-social behaviour, it would then be unrealistic to expect young people coming forward to provide intelligence to the police or increasing their confidence in the police.

Although senior age groups may be proactive in seeking knowledge about local crime and police work, the general expectations are that such information should come from the police since they are the sole agency responsible to fight crime and bring offenders to justice. In line with the findings of this study, Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009: 7) demonstrated that information needs to come to young people, rather than vice-versa, since they are typically not proactive in seeking it.

Social Media

Under the community policing philosophy, young people are viewed as an agent and partner in the quest for promoting peace and security. Consultation meetings are one way of engaging with young people to promote peace and security but it is time that the police forces embrace

additional communication channels to communicate and engage with young people in an effective way. That new and effective engagement between the police and young people can be carried out over the internet through the use of social media sites. Accenture's (2012) digital citizen survey which interviewed more than 1,400 people across seven countries reported that 70% of respondents were likely to use digital government services, and citizens in the United Kingdom 'expect to decrease their use of non-digital channels in the future' (Accenture, 2012:9). OFcom's (2014:7) report on children's and parents' media use and attitudes reported that social media plays an important role in young people's lives, with 71% of 12-15 year olds having a social media profile on Facebook, Twitter or another site. Of those 12-15 year olds on social media, 97% used Facebook, 37% used Twitter and 4% used Bebo (OFcom, 2014:7). The same study reported that visiting social media pages is one of the top internet activities carried out by 12-15 year olds: 95% of young people reported using the internet to do school work followed by 87% for general browsing and 75% for social networking (OFcom, 2014:78). And interestingly, 'the majority of 12-15s (85%) access their main social networking site profile every day and one in five (20%) do so more than ten times a day' (Ofcom, 2014:7). The above statistics, perhaps, explain why the social media platform was preferred by young people in Leicester:

> When you are walking you don't stop and read a poster. So it [the police's marketing] needs to be more something like adverts, that come on like on the telly and social media and stuff [Female, 13, White].

> People my age don't really look at newspapers. If I go on YouTube or something, it would spot like my local area and there could be an advertisement on there. Like a 10 second advert just to catch my eye. I would rather read and watch that rather than the newspaper [Male, 15, Black].

> I think they need to be more attractive to little kids or kids my change. Not boring posters. Make good adverts. Make like famous people that young kids look up to and make them talk about it [policing and crime] and then we may get them interested [Male, 13, White].

In support of the quotes above, social media sites were found to be more effective in reaching out to young people than the NPTs and the non-emergency telephone number: over two-thirds (68.8%) of young people who reported being informed about crime and anti-social behaviour issues that affect their neighbourhood were active followers of their local police force on a social media platform; and importantly, 83.3% of those who said they were informed about what is being done by the local police to tackle crime and anti-social

behaviour were actively following their police on a social media platform. These findings are very significant when considering that the vast majority of young people reported feeling uninformed about crime and anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood and about police work that targets crime and anti-social behaviour.

Given the widespread use of social media sites by young people, it becomes a necessity that more efforts are made by the police to engage with young people. Social media sites can be particularly useful in achieving young people's participation in policing matters: social media users can send online messages, pictures or even videos to their local PCSO, police officer, or NPT to give a consideration to those issues that annoy them. Examples may include youth drinking and drug taking in a public space or pictures of recently painted graffiti which the police are not aware of yet. A prompt feedback from the police on the outcome of requests would reassure young people that action is being taken. Feeding back to the young people will, in return, make them feel flattered and humbled as their voices are heard and taken on board by the police (Metropolitan Police Authority, 2008). A scrutiny of Leicestershire Police's as well as other police forces' social media use has revealed that not all police forces are enthusiastic. It is a common scene that online questions from the public are left unanswered, and very rarely occurs a two-way communication with the public. It may be sensible to think that the police are shooting themselves in the social foot. Publishing news and materials about policing and crime for the attention of the community may well have positive impact on police-public relations overall but the unresponsive behaviour can often be conceived as 'rude' and can undermine the main principle behind the police's use of social media: interaction. For example, one Facebook user wrote 'our car had its windscreen chipped by a police car racing up the painted reservation on a duel carriageway, throwing up stones - does anyone know if we can claim any compensation to pay for repair?'. This example, along with hundreds of other examples, have been ignored by the police. To think that the police are lazy, unwilling or unequipped, whatever the reason, in responding to residents is counterintuitive to the idea of being on the social media in the first place. Socialbakers (2014), a company which provides social media analysis, posits that the organisations' response rate to messages should be between 65% to 75%. It becomes a necessity to highlight, therefore, that the police forces should be making use of the social media opportunity properly by

perhaps strengthening teams that do social media work. Nevertheless, in order for the police to take the most benefit from virtual engagement, relationships may need to be built in advance of the increased use of social media by PCSOs and other community orientated police officers. After all, young people will only add people that they know and trust in the offline world. This is because online spaces are spaces where young people like to be independent and free, and anything that threatens young people's freedom of movement in the virtual world may face dismissal in social media. For example, children and young people who like to create or 'share' inappropriate, offensive or illegal material in social media can potentially get into trouble with the police, since police personnel, who exist to secure public tranquillity, can see the shared content.

It is a necessity to enhance the way NPTs and PCSOs engage with young people over the social media not just because social media sites help enhance trust and engagement with young people but also because they help police forces gather evidence that can be used in courts, help identify suspects and locations, and help discover unreported crimes. The International Association of Chiefs of Police research on 600 law enforcement agencies from 48 states in the United States of America into the use of social media tools revealed that of the '92.4% of agencies that use social media, 77% use it for investigations and 74% reported that it has helped them solve crime in their jurisdiction' (cited in Accenture 2013: 10). Furthermore, 72% of citizens believe that social media can aid in investigations and catching criminals, 53% believe that it can improve police services and 47% believe that it can prevent crime (Accenture, 2012 cited in Accenture, 2013: 11). Leicestershire Police already posts images of wanted people, whether reported missing or sought for crime, and appeal to its followers to identify them. It is unknown how successful Leicestershire Police have been in apprehending wanted individuals through the use of social media but the Metropolitan Police was extraordinarily successful in apprehending rioters and looters during the riots in London with their social media initiative in 2011. Although some blamed social media sites for the scale of the riots and thus urged for the closure of such networks, it is widely known and well accepted that the social media sites have had the biggest influence on the arrest of over 2,000 suspects (London School of Economics, 2011: 30). Police forces were analysing publicly available conversations between individuals and groups who were anticipating criminal behaviour, and

using this conversation as an evidence to arrest and eventually prosecuting them. Police forces were also using the social media to make effective and efficient apprehension of individuals to try in a law court: personal details (such as name, address, education and work details) of individuals who were disseminating invocatory messages were also requested from the social media sites.

The first Transparency Report issued by Facebook told that over the first six months of 2013 the United Kingdom officials made 1,975 data requests which concerned 2,337 individuals. Over two-thirds (69%) of these requests were returned by Facebook, which included data like name, date of birth, employment details and IP address logs (Facebook Transparency Report, 2013). They not only expand potential witnesses but also open up efficient and easier channels for interaction between young people and the police. For young people in Australia, the Centre Against Sexual Assaults have found that the social media sites have shown to be the preferred channel in reporting cases of sexual assault because this age group felt uncomfortable disclosing their unpleasant experiences over the telephone or in person (Digital Publishing, 2014). Procter (*et al* 2013:2) identifies two issues that must be addressed, also applicable for Leicestershire Police, if the theoretically enthusiastic aims for social media are to be obtained:

> Making the most of increased capability to manage social media- both as a source of intelligence and as a public engagement tool- may demand a change to existing command structures and a devolution of decision making down the organisation.

Mobile Technology

The PCSO initiative faced a lot of hostility during its early days, with critics and press coverage branding them as an ineffective 'plastic police'. In 2005, just less than one-third (28%) of the public had a positive view of PCSOs (Telegraph, 2008). It became the government's priority to improve their standing. The 'Beat: Life on the Street' documentary which focussed on PCSOs' daily work around anti-social behaviour and engagement in the community was funded by the Home Office to be aired on ITV in 2006. The first series of the documentary, which cost the government £400,000 proved very successful when subsequent research revealed that the public's satisfaction towards PCSOs more than doubled- 62%- within a few months (Telegraph, 2008).

As evidenced above, television has played a major role in communicating the positives of the PCSO initiative. However, technology is developing rapidly and different devices are now becoming the 'must-have' (especially for people living in the developed countries such as the United Kingdom), signifying the need to resort to other communication channels to engage with the community. For example, the number of children and young people aged between 5 to 15 who have a television in their bedroom has decreased to 52% in 2013, a reduction of 7% in 2012 whilst children's and young people's access to a tablet computer has increased by 31% over the same period (OFcom, 2014: 20). Other than the reduction in the number of children who have a television in their bedroom, the increase in the use of tablet computers have also been associated with a decline in the number of mobile phone users amongst 5 to 15 year olds. The percentage of 5 to 15 year olds who owned a mobile phone has declined to 43% in 2013 from 49% in 2012. Children and young people's ownership of smartphone is however stable: 1% of 5 to 7 year olds, 18% of 8 to 11 year olds and 62% of 12 to 15 year olds owned a smartphone in 2013, also illustrating that the likelihood of owning a smartphone is strongly related to the age of the individual (OFcom, 2014:20).

The private sector has done particularly well in adapting to the changes in technology. Banks, for example, have managed to reduce the number of people walking into their branches by 10% between 2008 and 2012 whilst the number of people using online banking doubled over the period (Accenture, 2013: 10). Telephones, walk-in services such as bank branches and police stations are expensive to run and take a lot of personnel's' time. The increase in the use of tablet computers and smartphones provides an important opportunity to the police forces across England and Wales to communicate effectively with young people. An 'app', a software which runs on tablet computers and smartphones, could be designed to meet some of the gaps that this study has identified. For example, an app could be designed to provide young people information on a wide range of local policing issues. To give some examples, first, many young people reported not knowing how to contact the police in a non-crime related situation, this app could curb this problem by providing not only the address, telephone number and website of local policing units but also the details of their Neighbourhood Policing Teams, including officers' pictures to enhance young people's recognition of officers. Second example, tablet computer and smartphone 'apps' could act as

a portal-based self-service mechanism, by allowing the members of the community (including young people) report non-emergency crimes or antisocial behaviour through the application. Not only will this new system reduce financial costs and officers' time but it will also be quicker, simpler and more confidential to report crime and anti-social behaviour, in particular for young people. The National Spanish Police, for instance, had 2,500 messages relating to drug trafficking which ultimately led to the arrest of 10 people in 2002 (cited in Accenture, 2013:11). Young people in this study already welcomed the use of internet to report crime and anti-social behaviour to the police:

> I think it is better because sometimes you don't want to speak. If you don't want to tell your teacher, or if you don't want to tell no one or speak to the police face to face you can just report it on your phone [Male, 15, White].

> I am a fiend when it comes to my Iphone. I don't think I would hesitate reporting something to the police through an app or through a website [Female, 16, White].

> I can like foresee what is going to be happen next. I think like the police will accept calls through mobile apps and I think they will get a lot of information fed to them. But I don't think like the police will be able to deal with them all. They would be clogged up. [Male, 16, Asian].

> I have an app on my phone called 'Love Leicester'. Anything that I don't like on the street, I send a picture of it and people from the council come and sort it out like instantly. Like the other week, I took a picture of a lamppost that was knocked to the ground and reported it. The next morning on my way to the college, I noticed that it got put back in its place. I was like 'yeahhh, thats a fucking service'. I never thought about being able to report crime through the app until you [the researcher] mentioned it but I think it would be more necessary to have. Especially with the youth, I know so many are afraid to report stuff to the police. What a great idea [laughs quietly] [Female, 16, Black].

Other than reporting crime and anti-social behaviour to the police, the same application could address a number of other functions, including but not limited to:

i. **Details of community policing schemes directed at young people in the community:** to ensure that engagement events and opportunities are available and accessible to young people.

ii. **Information on the roles, responsibilities and powers of PCSOs, police officers, specials and other front line police personnel**: it appeared to young people that the police are not doing their work and sometimes go 'over the limit'. This misconception

can be subsided by informing young people about the rules, regulations and policies that each police staff category follow.

iii. **Information on how to report a crime or antisocial behaviour to the police or local authority:** young people were found to lack knowledge of existing communication channels such as the non-emergency 101 telephone number, NPTs and local policing units. The app could inform young people where to call in different crime and anti-social behaviour scenarios, reducing the number of inappropriate calls made to the emergency 999 number.

iv. **Information on young people's exposure to problems at home and school: bullying, mistreatment at home, etc:** many crimes go unreported and young people are often confused and unsupported when it comes to reporting their experiences to the police. Providing young people with such information can increase the number of incidents reported to the police, eventually helping the police gain young people's trust, faith and confidence in the police service.

v. **Information on crime and antisocial behaviour, and possible consequences if found guilty: n**ot all young people can accurately weigh the gains and costs of their actions. Providing young people information about the consequences of their possible inappropriate behaviour or actions could reduce the frequency of crimes and anti-social behaviour in the community.

vi. **Information on young people's rights during and after stop and account, stop and search and arrest:** On the part of young people, there were concerns and anger regarding the police's implementation of stop and search powers which ultimately led to greater hostility and distrust towards the police. Informing young people about theirs and police officers' rights in these negative interactions could facilitate a softer interaction

vii. **Police officer/staff complaint reporting facility:** young people know very little about the Independent Police Complaints Commission and other agencies included within the complaints process. An app could be designed for young people to allow quick,

efficient and effective complaint about both police officers and members of staff working for the police.

viii. **Gathering intelligence on wanted/missing people in the local community:** an app like the Facewatch ID could be designed to enable not only young people but other members of the community to search pictures of people of interest uploaded by the local within a defined radius. If the wanted person is known to the app user, his/her details (name, address, work and any other important information) could be confidentially submitted to the police. The Surrey Police has managed to identify over 200 individuals within the first six months after the service was launched in 2012 (Accenture, 2013:11).

ix. **Online crime reporting facility:** children and young people are more at risk of crimes such as forced marriage, homophobia, paedophilia and other sexual assault than adults. Radford's *et al* (2011) study into child abuse and neglect found that one in every twenty 11-17 year olds in the UK has been sexually abused, and one in three who were sexually abused did not tell anyone. The barriers related to reporting sexual assault range from shame, guilt and embarrassment to the concerns about confidentiality and safety (Sable *et al.* 2006). The creation of an app that allows children and young people to confidentially report crimes that need quite a bit of courage (such as the ones highlighted above) could lead to more children and young people stepping forward to report their negative experiences.

x. **Tracking the progress of individual crime cases:** Crime cases are often lengthy and stressful for victims and survivors. Her Majesty's Courts and Tribunals Service (HMCTS), handles over 2 million criminal cases (Justice, 2014), and the 'average waiting time' (the time between the date of sending a defendant to the court and the start of hearing) for defendants who pleaded not guilty in the Crown Court was 24 weeks (171 days) in 2011(Ministry of Justice, 2012a: 5), increasing to 25.1 weeks in the fourth quarter of 2012 (Ministry of Justice, 2012b:37). Victims and survivors of crime (whether young or mature), can be effectively and efficiently kept informed about the progress of their case through the app which would detail the progress

made and result achieved. This could potentially lead to greater satisfaction and confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole.

xi. **Tracking the progress of applications made to the police service:** There are a number of applications submitted by adults to the police which range from a firearms license to organising a protest march or static demonstrations. Young people, on the other hand, often submit an application to join the police as a volunteer or paid work. An automatic service can run on the police service's data to determine if the individual person provides a potential risk by comparing the submitted data against the criminal record data. The application could be stopped or progressed onto the next stage without the need for any officer contact time. An application tracking system can also be especially useful when young people submit an application to participate in community policing schemes, the level of security check will be determined by the community policing programme in question.

xii. **Information on personal safety (crime prevention tips):** Crime can be financially and emotionally costly to victims. As illustrated in previous chapters, young people were significantly more likely than adults to be a victim of theft. The opportunities for thieves targeting young people can be reduced by taking a few simple measures. For example, marking property can be a quick and effective way of protecting belongings: it will make the item less attractive to steal as they know that marked items can be easily identified by the police. Apps could be designed to enlighten young people about crime prevention tips that could be especially useful for young people. These tips could be read at a time and at a place that suits young people.

xiii. **Frequently asked questions:** young people in the study had a lot of misconceptions around policing and crime issues, and it became apparent in focus groups that they are desperate for answers. One way of satisfying their needs is to second guess their questions by including frequently asked questions on the app.

CHAPTER 9. Concluding Remarks

Principles of community engagement and problem solving have been the core values of British policing, particularly recognised for their role in gaining public consent and promoting cooperation between the police and community. These principles have been temporarily weakened by the government's efforts to professionalise the police through the introduction of 'law enforcement' (Fielding, 1996) style of policing, but have been revived during the second-half of the twentieth century particularly more recently with the introduction of Neighbourhood Policing Teams, Police and Community Support Officers and many other schemes associated with community policing. It is in a way understandable that the government fearing the 'soft on crime' label and the increased mobility of criminals in the face of changing crime patterns and stubbornly high rates of crime and violence when compared to other comparable countries would opt for the 'law-enforcement' style of policing. However, as it was illustrated in the previous chapter, this shift was counterproductive. Police forces lost the ability to recognise and respond to public's concerns; the notion that increasing police numbers or becoming a professional organisation would equate to reductions in crime was found to be unsuccessful; and the police's exercise of 'rough' policing strategies in the community along with the discriminatory and disproportionate conduct by some police officers alienated citizens and the police from one another. Thereby, the police forces could no longer rely on the public's co-operation, and correspondingly the public lost faith in the ability of the police to provide a sense of safety, security and well-being.

The police have an imperative role to play in dealing with the welfare and safety of children and young people and diverting them away from a deviant life style. Community policing schemes have been associated with a wide-range of benefits, notably recognised for its role in enhancing police-public relations, creating socially cohesive communities, improving public perception of policing, reducing fear of crime and increasing the flow of intelligence to the police. Indeed, public confidence, trust and faith in the police is essential in an organisation that rests on the 'policing by consent' term. It is police legitimacy that determines law-abiding behaviour and the decision to report a crime, and frankly police legitimacy is not merely based

on the number of offenders the police catch but on public perceptions that police officers and PCSOs will treat them fairly and respectfully.

It is clear from the White Paper, Policing in the 21st Century, that the Government is committed to the principles of community policing: engagement and problem solving. However, the detail around how this is being implemented in Leicestershire is still emerging. High-ranked police personnel will have to accept that young people can become a fundamental resource for the police's work in preventing and detecting criminal offences, as long as they are given the opportunity, respect and support. PCSOs and NPTs were found to have limited ability in gaining young people's trust and confidence in policing together with their involvement in local community policing schemes by engaging with young people in their beat areas. Young people's engagement can be maximised by increasing young people's awareness of local community policing schemes, which genuinely value active public engagement and fair treatment of young people. Further, reliable, effective and sustainable community engagement and problem solving will necessitate sufficiently trained, resourced and decentralised neighbourhood policing teams. Community engagement and problem solving schemes will need to be interesting, inclusive and not too bureaucratic. Evidence in literature review chapters demonstrated that tailoring community policing principles to local areas and communities is crucial since there is not a single model of community policing that can be successful in all areas and communities. Leicestershire Police will have to design and deliver projects that can be most effective for young people in Leicestershire. What looks promising, however, is Safer School Partnership programmes. Children and young people from other parts of England and Wales have been involved in such policing initiatives which helped break down mutual distrust between the police and young people but these schemes are not found in schools or communities in Leicester possibly due to dramatic reductions in police budgets. Greater effort is needed by the local police force in identifying 'working' examples from other parts of the country, so that it can be implemented with a bit of change (if necessary) to meet the needs and expectations of children and young people in Leicester.

This study gathered a mass of data using different research methods and strategies, collected from a diverse group of young people from various age, sex, ethnicity and geographic regions

in Leicester. The collection of rich data allowed the researcher to make a comparison of perceptions between and within young people, and it is important for Leicestershire Police to respond to the findings of this study to mix and connect with young people. Young people's perceptions varied markedly, and were shown to be closely correlated to the quality of their interaction with police officers. However, what these young people had in common was that they all had something to say about the police, whether because they were affected by crime and anti-social behaviour or because of the way they were treated by police officers and/or PCSOs. The key message that arose from this study was young people's hope that those in authority will put in the effort to improve the service that is delivered to young people, with an awareness of their needs and expectations about local policing and crime issues. They wanted to feel recognised and valued as integral members of the community who can contribute to the police's fight against crime in their communities, instead of being seen as a 'social problem'. In cases where a complaint about young people is made, the police are placed in a difficult position as they are expected to 'deal' with young people even when their behaviour and attitudes are not necessarily anti-social. Young people being subject to this kind of behaviour by the police and wider community is perhaps unsurprising given the mass media's tendency to depict young people as a source of social problems: 71% of youth-related local and national news items were negative, whilst only 14% were positive (IPSOS MORI, 2004 cited in ACPO, 2010: 7). The small number of young people who are involved in criminality and anti-social behaviour does not represent all young people in Leicester or in the United Kingdom, and very little consideration is given to the large number of young people who are involved in a range of positive activities.

The responsibility to change adults' perceptions of young people should not be delegated to young people, as often it seems that young people have to 'prove themselves'. Young people's involvement in policing needs to be placed within the context of human rights, in which young people's perceptions around policing and crime is taken seriously. Negative media coverage of young people will make it difficult for the police to develop their policies and strategies towards young people, since it impacts the perceptions that adults have of young people and Leicestershire Police will take into consideration public concerns around young people. Many of the young participants in this study were concerned that the attitude of a small number of

young people was causing a bad reputation to all young people. Together with this concern, young people were aware that stigmatising young people in this way would lead to some young people becoming furious and question why they should be held responsible. There was a general consensus by young people that very rarely did the media choose to publicise the positive contributions that young people made to the society. One of the suggestion was that local and national newspapers should include at least one young people as a columnist.

Young people interact with the police more than most other age groups partly because young people's presence is often confused with criminal activity. The police is very quick to view young people as potential suspects who are likely to offend rather than potential victims who need protection and security. The additional vulnerabilities of young people with special needs such as language and communication needs or mental health needs can be easily overlooked or exacerbated during their encounters with members of the police. The reality is that young people can be both: victims and offenders. It was surprising to learn that children and young people's stop and search data is not available on the national level. Having a record of consistent and transparent stop and search data would help understand how many children and young people are being stop and searched, in which geographic locations, in what circumstances, and by which police officers. Such data would also ascertain whether some children and young people (such as ethnic minorities) are more susceptible to stop and search than Whites. The literature review has identified marked differences in the way children and young people's stop and search data is collected, which poses challenges to researchers, high-ranked police personnel and policy makers. Differences were noted in the way police forces' recorded child's age (some used age groups whilst others used single ages) and ethnicity (different ethnic categories were used). In addition, inaccuracies were present in the way stop and search data was presented: some police forces presented the data over financial year whilst others chose calendar year. These differences between police forces make it difficult to get an accurate national picture of stop and search of children and young people in England and Wales.

There are young people who accepted and were satisfied with the way stop and search was conducted. These positive perceptions can be used to enhance the way stop and searches are

conducted. It is important that young people who have positive perceptions of the police (the majority) are given the chance to guide the operations of the local police. And in terms of those who have negative perceptions of the police, young people largely understood the need for the existence of police but they felt disregarded, mislead, mistreated (discriminated and disrespected) by them. Undoubtedly, the discussions that took place with young people about the way they were treated by police personnel either as victims, witnesses or offenders were amongst the most emotive parts of the study. Young people's experiences with police personnel on the street or when detained in the police station can be traumatic and upsetting. At all times, young people's experiences could be reduced down to one key theme- quality of interaction. Young members of the community who have had a direct contact with police officers hold more negative view of the police than those who have had no interaction. . Young people, especially those from ethnic minority groups, felt that the police made negative stereotypes about them on the basis of their appearance. Non-whites who were found to lack confidence and trust in the police were, also, considerably more likely to have had negative interactions with members of the police service. Negative perceptions of the police can lead young people to think more than once before contacting the police for help or to report a crime. The incidents of mistreatment reported by a number of young ethnic minorities in this study opens the door to the possibility of racism within Leicestershire Police. Yet, despite all of this, the evidence presented in this study is clear- regardless of age, ethnicity and sex young people are positive about working together to make things right.

Young people's concerns around local crime and policing issues cannot diminish without some form of community policing intervention by the police. Although there are many reasons to implement community policing, making community policing schemes work is another matter in the face of resistance, both within and outside the police. There may, for example, be clear-cut practical barriers that hold back young people's participation. Young people belonging to the Black and Asian ethnic groups and young people who have had some form of contact with the criminal justice system may be slightly harder to reach due to their attitudes towards the police, which has been shaped partly by the way police officers carry out stop and search. For this reason, how stop and searches are carried out against young people in general, young ethnic minorities in particular, is critical. Stop and search tactics can often constitute an

interference with young people's individual freedom, and hence its deployment has to be rational (necessary), reasonable and most importantly comply with human rights. Respectful and fair treatment matter to everyone, including young people, and nobody will want to be talked down to by police personnel. Police officers may find it easier to find a justification to stop and search young people if they needed to. Although the centrally-set stop and search targets have been abolished by the Home Secretary, many local police forces continue to operate under both individual and team stop and search and arrest targets, which encourages police officers to achieve both. It is targets, rather than need, which acts as a basis to stop and search young people.

In these scenarios, police forces will have to look at other ways of encouraging young people's participation. The right campaign and opportunities for police-young people engagement could help increase young people's participation in local policing affairs. Interesting suggestions were made by the participants on how police-young people relations, engagement and problem solving could be improved, and these suggestions were demonstrated in the previous chapter along with those of the author. The above recommendations will be easier to achieve through partnership working. In order for the police to engage and address the needs of a variety of young people, it is vital that Leicestershire Police establish or strengthen relationships with other community organisations. Key partnerships with agencies such as health, social services, courts, probation, youth offending teams, schools and religious bodies will allow the police to reach out to young people of varying ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation and social background. It must be recognised that young people can often be victims of crime, and it is the police's duty to explore the needs of young victims and witnesses. Occasionally, the treatment of young people by service providers, such as the police, will directly influence whether they choose to report crimes to the police in the future.

On the whole, there is a serious need for Leicestershire Police to give greater consideration to ensuring that every children and young people that they encounter develops positive trust and faith in the police organisation. The previous chapter has provided a set of recommendations which, if implemented, will help the police form an effective foundation

for policing that promotes the needs and expectations of young people in Leicester. However, to achieve effective community policing schemes targeting young people, the following barriers will have to be addressed:

- The patrolling officer will have to bear managerial responsibility for the delivery of services to their assigned community. Decentralisation will allow community officers (whether police officers or PCSOs) to be relatively more creative and effective as the decisions that they make are influenced by their direct knowledge about the community. Senior police officers will be required to commit the necessary time, effort and monetary resources to police staff.

- Senior police managers' and frontline community officers' commitment and motivation to community policing schemes are all essential, and are reliant on political and public support.

- All community policing programmes targeting young people must be seen as an 'add-on' to the core duties of the police, rather adopted as an essential part of police work.

- Difficult decisions will have to be made by Leicestershire Police in order for them to meet their community policing related obligations (engagement, problem solving, etc) to the public within the financial restrictions imposed on them by the central government.

- Effective multi-agency will be essential for successful engagement and problem solving with young people from various backgrounds.

- Leicestershire Police must provide feedback to the community on what they are doing with the information received from young people. If action is taken, this should be sufficiently publicised to the community in general, young people in particular. If it is decided not to take action, the reasons behind this decision should be explained.

- When the police is prepared for community policing schemes targeting young people, the next challenge will be to prepare children, young people and other age groups. The community will have to be educated about the importance of engaging with the police.

- The role of PCSOs and other community orientated personnel needs to be awarded a greater status, and measures should be put in place to maintain officers in the same neighbourhood for longer periods of time.

- The police must provide young people and other members of the community with quality information about community policing schemes well in advance, and efforts must be put in place to encourage participation virtually and in person.

- The police must value the contribution of young people if problem solving and engagement are to be successful. It is not clear whether the police service, at the managerial rank, is committed to problem solving and engagement with young people.

- PCSOs and other community orientated personnel must receive training on the theoretical side of community policing, together with on best engagement techniques with young people.

- Police officers' and PCSOs' performance appraisals must reflect time spent on engaging with young people.

- Police officers from all ranks must not see community policing work as not constituting 'real' work of the police. PCSOs and other community orientated personnel must be valued at the organisational level, and should be given the recognition that they deserved.

The lack of public interest was one of the most frequently occurring challenge for the success of community policing programmes in England and Wales and beyond. Based on the findings of this study it can be asserted, with pleasure, that the local policing units across Leicester and Leicestershire are unlikely to face serious problems in attaining young people's participation. What became evident during the collection of research data was how much young people appreciated the study and how committed young people were in voicing their perspectives about police officers, PCSOs and NPTs. The evidence of this was illustrated in the research itself and feedback from young people after interviews and focus group discussions. Young people were open to greater involvement but their attitudes and perceptions about engaging with the police are very fragile. No matter how constructive, innovative and enthusiastic (whether physically or virtually) PCSOs/NPTs become however, police forces' unbalanced dependence on crime control will undermine any restored levels of trust, confidence and cooperation. Fair and respectful treatment is necessary at all times to create and maintain effective police-young people engagement and promoting and sustaining

police-young people engagement is only possible when there are significant organisational and cultural changes. Nevertheless, since November 2012, the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) has the fundamental potential in altering the relationship between the police and the public. With their mandate of holding the police to account, overseeing the police budget and ensuring the public have a say in policing, PCCs will now decide how much engagement and problem solving will occur between the police and young people.

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