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Examining the Impacts and Implications of Police Reform in Scotland

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Acknowledgements

Declaration

I, Yvonne Hail, am the sole author of this thesis; that, unless otherwise stated, all references cited have been consulted by me; that the work of which the thesis is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been previously accepted for a higher degree.

Signature: Yvonne Hail

I confirm that the conditions of the relevant Ordinance and Regulations have been fulfilled.

Signature: Professor N.R Fyfe

Abstract

Since the reintroduction of a Scottish parliament in 1999, and set against a backdrop of significant cuts in public spending, there has been much debate regarding law and order discourse from a Scottish perspective. In 2011, the Scottish Government conducted two consultations on the most radical programme of police reform for a generation. The consultation process ensued that on 8 September 2011, the Cabinet Secretary for Justice announced the Scottish Government's intention to introduce legislation to create a single, national police service in Scotland with claims that it would deliver an estimated savings of £130 million a year and £1.7 billion over 15 years.

Under this new legislation local policing became (for the first time) a statutory requirement, giving key responsibilities to local police commanders to devise local policing plans for each area in consultation with local authorities and communities. This localised focus raised questions as to the potential gains and losses of such a merger and prompted a renewed focus on enduring academic debates regarding local policing strategies, governance, accountability and the relative merits of different styles of policing across Scotland's communities. Understanding the impact and implications of these local arrangements provides the focus for this thesis.

The level of recent organisational change which has occurred across policing in Scotland is comprehensive in its scope and sits within the concept of macro level change. With regard to police reform, the majority of existing research has focused on micro level or operational changes; with an example of this being seen in the work of Skogan (2006) who examined the impact of community policing initiatives. Despite there being a large number of existing studies on police reform, there is a distinct lack of research which examines macro levels of reform, such as those recently experienced in Scotland. Therefore, this project, which was

conducted parallel to the implementation of police reform in Scotland, is able to provide a unique and valuable snapshot of how reform was experienced on the frontline at the very time it was being implemented.

Local policing strategies were chosen for this study as it is believed that this is the approach which bests suits an examination of daily interactions between the public and local police personnel. By employing a qualitative methodology using semi structured interviews and non-participant observations, this project is able to show both the individual and group construction of the meanings associated with post reform policing practices in each of the case study areas.

The researcher does not attempt to make any broad generalisations regarding post reform local policing across Scotland from the findings, however, similar themes highlighted in the findings as being experienced by both case study area provides a framework for conducting further research.

In terms of the thesis' overall contribution to academic literature, the key findings reported here highlight that there is a requirement for a specific police organisational change theory to be developed which can fill the gaps in current change literature and assist in framing future police reform. This police change theory should include a directive that recognises the importance of the role of frontline staff in the translation of changes at an operational level and support the inclusion of members of the frontline in the planning and implementation of future police reforms.

1 Introduction and Project Aims

1.1 Overview

Since the reintroduction of a Scottish parliament in 1999, there has been much debate regarding law and order discourse from a Scottish perspective. Of particular interest to policy makers and academics has been the introduction of legislation which has seen the single, largest piece of police reform in generations, the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012. The Act made local policing (for the first time) a statutory requirement and paved the way for the introduction of the national Police Service of Scotland (PSS) in April 2013. The level, scope and pace of this reform has re-focused enduring academic and political debates regarding localism (see Mendel and Fyfe 2011; Fyfe and Scott 2013 and Fyfe and Terpstra 2013) and in the context of local policing, developed a discourse centred on re-occurring anxieties regarding how such mergers would impact on the delivery and practice of local policing.

The act itself set out the intended aims of police reform from a localised perspective, claiming that the overall objective was to improve the local focus and governance of policing by;

- Protecting and improving local services despite financial cuts, whilst preserving front line services;

- Creating more equal, local access to specialist support and national capacity;

- And strengthening the connections between services and communities.

The focus of this project therefore, was to examine the ways, if any, that reform has impacted on local policing in Scotland.

The data collection for this project was carried out at the precise time reforms were being implemented across Scotland and has resulted in a thesis which provides a unique insight of how police reform has been experienced from within the organisation. By employing an ethnographic approach to data collection, including non-participant observations, in-depth interviews and walking interviews with frontline officers in a real world setting, this thesis has produced significant findings that can be added to the wider police reform and local policing literature and will also bring operational specific knowledge to the policing organisation in terms of offering a view of how the implementation of reform has been experienced on the front line. In this way the findings reported here will also provide the police organisation with the capacity to alter or influence future reform practice.

The PhD has been funded by Economic and Social Research Council as part of a collaborative studentship, the first of its kind, between Police Scotland and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research at the University of Dundee. The planning and discussion stages of the project, which included input from the Association of Chief Constables Scotland (ACPOS which no longer exists post reform in line with there being only a single Chief Constable in Scotland) took place at a time when the concept of a national police service for Scotland had been legislated for but not yet established. The project officially began in October 2012 prior to the April 2013 launch of Police Scotland and is therefore able to present an important snapshot of how the reforms were experienced at the precise time they were being experienced and not in a retrospective manner.

The timing of this project which began as stated above, prior to the establishment of Police Scotland, has given the opportunity to provide a unique and distinctive insight into how the journey to and the implementation of police reform has been experienced by frontline

officers, their managers, key stakeholders and locally elected representatives. Being in the field, collecting data from police personnel as the changes were being implemented across the legacy eight forces, provided a clear view of how the changes impacted on local policing on a daily basis from within a police station context. Therefore, the data collected here is not based on a retrospective account of reform and its impact on local policing, but instead is a snap shot of how it was experienced day by day in the early months of Police Scotland.

The key contributions to academic knowledge that this thesis provides are related to the unique focus on how frontline police officers experience macro level reforms and the acknowledgement that a specific organisational change (OC) theory for policing which recognises the importance of police structures is developed. The distinctive view provided by the frontline regarding the localised impact and future implications of reform in Scotland presented in this thesis, enhances the existing police reform/amalgamation literature discussed in chapter 4 which has traditionally focused on micro level operational reforms such as changes to procedures or the introduction of new technologies (as evidenced in table 4.3 chapter 4). The data presented in chapter 6, taken from the findings of frontline interviews, highlights the important contributions that frontline staff make in terms of the impact and implications of reform on operational policing. As discussed in chapter 6, section 6.3 traditional police research has been inclined to marginalise the experiences of frontline staff during police reforms and has instead been focused at the management level. However, the data presented here highlights the role of frontline officers who are responsible for translating reform into policing practice on a daily basis therefore making them the most qualified to discuss how reform has impacted on local policing.

The existing police organisational change (OC) literature, discussed in chapter 4, which had been utilised to provide a theoretical framework for this thesis proved not to be completely sufficient in terms of explaining the recent macro level police reforms experienced in Scotland. Therefore it was decided to engage with the much broader public sector OC literature in an attempt to frame the project findings which again unfortunately was not entirely suited to the needs of this project (see chapter 4 for a full discussion). The inability of the existing OC literature to robustly support the findings from this thesis has consequently highlighted the need for the development of a police specific OC theory which would firstly recognise the importance of the stimulus, target and stages of change in the police organisation as identified by Hart (1996) in section 4.2 of this thesis and additionally be able to situate communication methods and resistance to change from within the hierarchical nature of the police organisation during times of reform.

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the focus of this project has been to examine the impacts and implications of police reform for local policing in Scotland in relation to a set of wider issues concerning community engagement, governance and accountability and local service delivery. These questions however, are not only of concern from a Scottish context, but to multiple policing organisations across a variety of jurisdiction. This can be seen in the recent publication of *Centralizing Forces? Comparative Perspectives on Contemporary Police Reform in Northern and Western Europe* (2013) in which police reforms are discussed from a European point of view with chapters which focus on Holland, Sweden, Scotland, Denmark and Belgium. This thesis will provide a more focused, local level view of police reform in Scotland, and will be the first piece of empirical work to do so.

In terms of examining the impacts of police reform, this thesis will focus on the immediate effects being experienced by those involved in the changes, in terms of the changes made on day one of Police Scotland, with the implications of reform exploring any possible future effects yet to be realised. In order to provide a holistic view of reform from within the policing organisation, police officers, their supervisors and senior police management were all asked to take part in the project to provide their own distinct experiences.

Research Aims

1. To provide an overview of pre reform community policing practice including a critical reflection of the concept of local policing before exploring the ways, if any, in which local policing has been altered as a result of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012.

2. In line with the predicted outcomes of the Reform Act, that reform would strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve whilst improving arrangements for local engagement, the project also examines post reform local engagement and partnership work.

3. The project also aims to explore how the new post reform local police governance and accountability arrangements are being operationalised at a local level in line with the new role allocated to local government via the Reform Act.

4. The project aims to provide a unique insight into police reform which will link to the wider conceptual literature on police reform.

In order to provide a robust contribution this thesis will offer an examination of reform by viewing it through the lens of the academic literature on organisational change.

Research Questions

Keeping the research aims above in mind, the research questions for this thesis were therefore constructed with a local focus which looked to examine how reform was being experienced locally by police personnel, if and in what ways reform had altered local policing and what changes, if any had been experienced in local police governance. The resulting key research questions are listed below.

1. **How has police reform and the processes of organisational change been experienced by local police personnel in Scotland?**

The thesis will attempt to understand the general perceptions of reform and the management of change by frontline police officers and their supervisors. The views of partner organisations and key stakeholders who are involved in the planning and delivery of local policing are also included. (See Chapter 6 for a full discussion)

2. **In what way has recent reform reconfigured local policing and how does this differ from pre-reform arrangements?**

The thesis will attempt to understand how reform has impacted on arrangements for local policing. It will explore if, and in what ways changes to the function of local policing have been experienced against what went before, including the nature of partnership working and community engagement (see Chapter 8) and a focus on the impact of temporal and spatial change brought about by the recent reform (see Chapter 7 for a full discussion).

3. **How do post reform local police governance and accountability arrangements now function across Scotland?**

The thesis will explore post reform governance and accountability processes in relation to the new police scrutiny role played by local authorities at a local level, and the emerging relationship between local and national governance via the newly created Scottish Police Authority (SPA) (see Chapter 9)

1.3 Context; The Journey to Reform
Set against the background of the significant financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent government cuts to public spending, policing throughout the UK was facing dramatic budget cuts which resulted in many police organisations having to make difficult choices in terms of what they could afford to spend on operational policing (HMIC 2010). The recent police reform in Scotland has not been the only reform to take place within the UK, in 2009 policing in England and Wales also underwent reform which included a reduction in staff levels and a renewed focus on responsive policing. However, in terms of reforming police governance structures, England and Wales followed a different path from the Scottish experience in terms of local police governance with the introduction of locally elected Police and Crime Commissioners, in an attempt to create a more robust, locally accountable system.

Police reform in Scotland has been based on a stated aim of maintaining local policing and improving engagement between the police and the communities they serve. Reform in Scotland has also differed from that experienced in England and Wales in terms of governance and accountability, with the Reform Act transferring the powers for police accountability away from pre-existing local police boards, composed of locally elected representatives, towards a national organisation, the Scottish Police Authority whose members are selected by Scottish Ministers.

In 2011, the Scottish Government conducted two consultations on the most radical programme of police reform proposed for a generation. The first, 'A Consultation on the Future of Policing in Scotland' ran from 10 February until 5 May 2011. It presented three structural reform options;

Option A: a single service;
Option B: a rationalised regional model; or
Option C: retention of the existing eight service model with greater collaboration.

A report summary of conclusions and recommendations taken from the consultation process was then submitted by Government to the Justice Minister. Amongst the issues highlighted in the consultation were concerns that the implementation of a single service, with a centralised resource and command function, would impact negatively on rural communities across Scotland. Following the consultation process the Cabinet Secretary for Justice announced the Scottish Government's intention to introduce legislation (The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012) to create a single national police service with claims that it would deliver estimated savings of £130 million a year and £1.7 billion over 15 years.

Under the new legislation local policing became (for the first time) a statutory requirement, giving key responsibilities to local police commanders to devise local policing plans for each local authority area in consultation with local authorities and communities. This has raised questions as to the potential gains and losses of such a merger engendering a focus on enduring academic debates regarding local policing strategies, governance, accountability and the relative merits of different styles of policing across Scotland's communities. Understanding the impact and implications of these local arrangements provides the focus for this thesis.

1.4 Outline of Thesis

In Chapter 2, which is entitled "Local, Community and Neighbourhood Policing: Diverse Narratives but Shared Principles?" I will unpick the similarities and differences across the vague, and at times confusing definitions of local policing by examining some of the existing practices, concepts and developments. This chapter will also provide a review of some of the pre-existing community policing literature available, before finally situating local policing in a Scottish context, in line with the focus of this project. The chapter concludes that although there are a variety of definitions related to community policing across jurisdictions, the quantity of similar underlying philosophical concepts between them offer academics, policy makers and practitioners an effective baseline from which to situate local policing.

Chapter 3 "Policing in Scotland and the Journey of Police Reform" will then provide an examination of the processes involved in planning and implementing the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 in terms of committees, consultations and the journey towards reform. The chapter will then set out the time line taken on the road to reform and explain the role of the Scottish Policing Board (SPB) and the Sustainable Policing Project in the journey. This chapter concludes by highlighting that the recent police reform in Scotland has been neither planned nor implemented in a linear way, it has been pragmatic and at the time of writing is still developing.

The key narrative focus of **Chapter 4** is based on organisational change literature and the extent to which the key themes can be represented in relation to police organisational change. The chapter discusses the implementation of reforms; communications during reform and resistance to change. The examination and discussion of the organisational change literature contained in chapter 4 however, highlights gaps in the current literature in terms of police

organisational change and it became clear that in order to frame future police reform the development of a police specific organisational change theory is required. This chapter will therefore act as a conduit between chapters by further developing the operationalisation of reform discussed in Chapter 3, whilst at the same time providing a framework for the later analysis of data in Chapter 6 around how police officers in both case study areas have experienced reform.

Chapter 5 sets out the research design and methodology employed in the project, including setting out the rationale behind choice of case study location, participants and how access to both was negotiated. The chapter goes on to explain the data collection techniques employed, the analytical strategy and ethical issues before finally offering a critical reflection of experiences and challenges faced in the field.

Chapter 6 is the first of the empirical data chapters, and examines local police officers' perceptions of reform including the implementation and pace of reform. This chapter situates the broader view of organisational change discussed in Chapter 4, in the specific context of police reform in Scotland, and therefore, acts as a conduit between the more general literature that has gone before and the empirical work that is to follow in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. The chapter concludes communication through the process of reform, the pace and the capacity for reform were major concerns for the frontline. The data also supports the idea that frontline officers should be included in the consultation process of any future reforms. The overall findings discussed in chapter 6 echo those from chapter 4 and highlight the need for the development of police specific organisational change theory.

Chapter 7 then discusses the major themes drawn from the data which are related to what has changed and what has stayed the same in local policing post reform. The chapter sets out police experiences and perceptions of reform by firstly explaining the local context of policing in Easton and Longphort, the two case study areas that form the empirical focus of the project, and then examines themes which highlighted temporal and geographical changes. The chapter concludes by noting the additional reviews of policing in Scotland published post reform. The chapter concludes that there have been unintended consequences for the delivery of local policing resulting from the reform which the data shows is related to the absence of consultation with the frontline in the planning or implementation of reform, missing out on specific frontline experiences and knowledge of local policing.

Chapter 8, of the thesis examines post reform partnership working and community engagement from the perspective of both police and key stakeholders who work alongside the police in delivering local policing. The chapter looks to explore post reform community engagement roles and relationships and the partnership landscapes of both Easton and Longphort before discussing the main themes found which relate to partners' experiences of working with police personnel post reform. The chapter concludes that in terms of post reform partnership working, the concept of 'local' has become more rhetorical than literal with the data supporting the view that local policing as experienced prior to reform had been lost.

Chapter 9 examines the empirical data collected regarding post reform scrutiny and accountability arrangements, it describes the transition to local scrutiny and the local scrutiny arrangements put in place at each case study area before discussing the themes emergent in

the data which relate to the quality and quantity of local scrutiny post reform. The chapter concludes by reviewing the status of the Scottish Police Authority, the national body accountability for Police Scotland and the relationship between the local and the national in terms of police scrutiny, with the data collected from interviews suggesting there has been a move away from the local focus towards the national

2 Local, Community and Neighbourhood Policing: Diverse Narratives but Shared Principles?

2.1 Introduction

The recent reform of policing in Scotland has been the single largest policing reform in a generation. The amalgamation of the pre-existing eight regional police forces into one national police service has altered the face of Scottish policing and its governance networks. The main drivers of this recent reform have been defined as economic and underpinned by a desire by the Scottish Government to continue "…protecting and improving local services within available budgets…" (Scottish Government 2012). However, in a paper written before the present reforms were on the political agenda, Donnelly and Scott (2006:301) claimed results collected during a public consultation on possible future police reforms indicated that "[T]he greatest public concern about a national service is the belief that there is a risk of losing much valued links with the local community" (ibid 2006). Against this background, the chapter will emphasise what is known about local policing from existing research, it will highlight the ambiguity surrounding both the policy and practice of local policing firstly from a wider European and North American context before focusing on the recent Scottish experience.

The concept of local policing has become an overarching term under which sits both reactive style response policing and the more proactive style of community policing, inclusive of the variety of available policing strategies with focus on the local. In England and Wales, police organisations have adopted the label of 'neighbourhood policing' for the style of policing which is employed and delivers a proactive local policing service, whilst in Scotland the label attached to locally delivered policing is 'community policing'. Hamilton-Smith et.al. (2013) suggest that both community and neighbourhood policing concepts themselves sit under the overarching paradigm of 'reassurance policing'.

Within the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 (The Act) local policing (see Chapter 7 page 20 of the Act) has become, for the first time a statutory requirement, giving key responsibility to local police commanders, local authorities and communities to devise local policing plans for each authority area. Although the legislation situated local policing as an obligation in law, the same legislation gives no clear or distinct definition as to what local policing is, adding to the overall ambiguous nature of local policing.

Post reform the new management structure of Police Scotland has echoed the Scottish Governments focus on the 'local' by including the appointment of a specific Deputy Chief Constable (DCC) who was given the portfolio of 'local policing'. Although phrases such as local policing and community policing (CP) are used across policing literature and discourse, there is no single, clear definition for a locally delivered policing style which is geographically bounded. This has resulted in a certain level of ambiguity and vagueness surrounding the concept and the application of local policing, with a variety of forms being delivered within and across police organisations and nations. This chapter will unpick the similarities and differences across the vague, and at times confusing definitions of local policing by examining some of the existing practices, concepts and developments. It will also discuss the somewhat ambiguous nature of local policing, neighbourhood policing and community policing by providing a review of some of the pre-existing literature. Finally, the chapter will situate local policing in a Scottish context, in line with the focus of this project, and provide a recent history of the national policy and local practices of local policing in Scotland prior to reform.

2.2 The Practice of Community Policing
The following section will illustrate the diversity of approaches taken in relation to the operationalisation of community/neighbourhood/local policing by presenting three case

studies from across jurisdictions. In order to source appropriate literature regarding

community policing, on line resources were accessed via Dundee University library data

bases using the search criterion "local policing" "community policing in Scotland"

"community policing" and "local policing" in Scopus, Wiley Online Library and Taylor &

Francis Online Journals. A focus was placed on English language articles and began with a

UK/Europe search moving to North American literature.

In the following section the work of key community policing academics will be reviewed,

firstly Wesley Skogan and the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) will be

reviewed as the longitudinal works conducted by Skogan are some of the most influential in

terms of researching CP, before introducing Jan Terpstra's Dutch qualitative study of

Community Policing in Practice which is pertinent to this study in terms of the recent police

reforms experienced in the Netherlands which occurred parallel to those in Scotland: before

concluding with a UK specific local policing study conducted by Rachel Tuffin et.al which

introduces the concept of National Reassurance Policing from within a specific UK context.

2.2.1 Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy

When reviewing the literature for community policing it would be remiss not to include what

has been referred to as the "…the best known and the most rigorously researched community

policing strategy in the world" (Mackenzie and Henry 2009:16) the longitudinal study of the

Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). The evaluations of the implementation of

CAPS has been documented in multiple publications by Skogan since it was rolled out over

five districts within Chicago in 1993. The rationale behind the implementation of CAPS has

been explained as being the need to employ a policing mechanism which would allow closer

ties and relationships between the police and the local neighbourhoods and support a

partnership approach to crime prevention with residents and external agencies assisting in "…identifying priority neighbourhood problems" (Skogan 2011).

In the multiple publications based on the data collected from the CAPS study, Skogan is quite emphatic in his repeated definition of CAPS as method of community policing. However, from Slogans' perspective, community policing is also defined as being ambiguous in nature, and in order to clarify the concept of CP in his work, he provides a general definition of CP as an operational policing style which focuses on the same three key principles "…decentralization, citizen involvement and problem solving." (ibid 2006:6). When implemented together, these concepts allow frontline officers, working with local residents, to become more flexible in their approach to dealing with local issues at a neighbourhood level. In this specific context the decentralised approach to local policing allows officers to work without the need to report every issue through the traditional chain of hierarchical police management, providing a certain level of autonomy to each local officer.

Situating CP officers long-term within a geographically bounded area, is an important part of community policing which allows citizens to get to know their neighbourhood officer from their regular patrols and attendance at community meetings. However, as with many other studies which have examined CP over multiple jurisdictions, the data collected in Chicago indicated there had been a high abstraction rate for the CP officers from their allocated 'beat' areas, with both local citizens and partner organisations highlighting abstraction levels of officers as a concern in Chicago. A further concern surrounding the geographical focus of CP was raised by Herbert (2006) in relation to which specific areas frontline officers were directed to patrol, in terms of how specific areas are chosen and if this engendered a method of policing which was focused "…disproportionately on particular social groups…" (ibid

2006:483). Providing context for this claim, Herbert (2006) discusses his interview with a CP officer who declared that "…he liked to patrol in areas that were 'target rich' places…and so he devoted his attention to areas dominated by poor people of color [sic]" (ibid 2006:496). The second underlying principle of community policing identified by Skogan is the ability to engage local citizens to work in partnership with the police in both identifying and dealing with local crime issues by reporting their concerns and acting as witnesses when required. The community engagement mechanisms employed in Chicago were predominantly based on monthly 'beat meetings' in each neighbourhood which were conducted on a formal basis (for an example of how beat meetings have been experienced in Scotland please see section 2.7.5 below). Data collected from the ongoing study showed that overall 22% of the local population had attended police community meetings in the previous 12 months, with a general under-representation of young people and Hispanic ethnic groups at the meetings. This rather low attendance of specific local groups at meetings indicates an overestimation of the proposed beneficial outcomes of CAPS in relation to claims made that they would improve relationships between local residents and CP officers.

Fisher and Poland (1998) raised further concerns in terms of the structural inequalities prevalent in many communities which can impact on an individual's ability to participate in many areas of social life (see section 2.6 below for further details) inclusive of local policing. Bullock and Sindall (2014), also suggest that a lack of local community engagement with CP practices can be based on each individual's "…perceptions of crime and disorder and attitudes to the police" (ibid 2014:385), with Skogan (2006) supporting this claim stating that "…social, economic media and environmental factors…" (ibid 2006:100) all have a role to play in how the public interact and engage with the police. The above critiques emphasise that attaining the support and engagement of neighbourhood residents for the effective

delivery of local CP programmes cannot be taken for granted in all neighbourhoods, and that a one size fits all approach should not be taken in terms of the development and delivery of local policing.

The third and final principle of community policing identified by Skogan is policing with a broad focus on problem solving and a preventative viewpoint which includes local residents identifying quality of life and neighbourhood issues with the police. Skogan (2006) goes on to explain how the police working in partnership with local residents in Chicago has altered the traditional roles of local policing and they now "…get involved in more and different issues than they did in the past" (ibid 2006:8). The supplementary issues brought to the police have over time engendered working partnerships with external agencies which allow the police, the local residents and their external partners to find "…ways to deal with a broad range of problems specific to the communities where they work" (Skogan 2006:6).

For Skogan and the CAPS study, community policing is defined as a process of policing which looks to change decision making within the policing organisation. It is he claims "…an organisational strategy that leaves setting priorities and the means of achieving them largely to the residents and the police who serve in their neighborhoods [sic]" (ibid 2006:5) rather than being an operational policing tactic employed by the police on an ad hoc basis.

2.2.2 The Dutch Experience

Terpstra's (2009:66) "…qualitative evaluation…" (ibid 2009) of CP from a Dutch perspective, looked to examine exactly "…what community police officers actually do". In his study Terpstra (2009:65) discusses the ambiguous nature of CP and claims it to be a "…rather vague concept, open to different interpretations… [Where the] resulting confusion blurs the concept considerably". The study was operationalised by conducting interviews

with CP staff in three different locations across the Netherlands. However, it was found over time that interviews alone were not sufficient enough to completely answer the initial project question regarding what CP officers "…actually do" (ibid 66) and resulted in the research team undertaking observations, (similar to those used in the field work for this thesis and discussed in more detail in Chapter 5) on CP officers on the frontline performing their daily duties.

Terpstra (2009:64) also claims the Dutch implementation of CP has been impacted upon by three specific negative variables; the police organisations "…increasing emphasis on 'core business' tasks" relegating the concept of CP to a less important function; police accountability and the introduction of quantifiable "performance targets" which do not effectively measure the work of CP officers; and lastly the changing socio-political landscape which has resulted in a "…more punitive style in public safety" (ibid 2009:64).

Similar to much of the existing literature on community policing (CP), the report states that at present CP strategies in the Netherlands are being delivered in a variety of ways across areas and within the organisation between a variety of offices and teams. In contrast to the claims put forward by Skogan (2006) that in general there are three underlying principles of CP, the findings from this study defined **five** 'core elements' of CP which it is claimed are related to; police proximity, a problem solving focus; prevention; police cooperation with other agencies and citizen involvement in CP. In terms of proximity this relates to frontline officers knowing and being known by their neighbourhoods. As with many other studies examining CP the abstraction levels of CP officers (Crawford et.al. 2003; Donnelly 2007 and Mackenzie and Henry 2009) was also highlighted by Terpstra (2009:67) with claims made that in general CP officers appeared to spend between 30%-50% of their time as "…a visible presence in the

neighbourhood" with daily tasked duties creating restrictions on officers availability and time.

The second element discussed in this study, policing with a focus on problem solving, was reported as being successful in the Netherlands whilst the third element, a preventative approach to policing, was said to be missing. The report describes frontline officer's claims that they were fully supportive of the preventative CP agenda, However, Terpstra (2009:68) adds that during the observations conducted on the frontline with patrolling officers this was "…barely evident" (ibid 69), with claims made that a lack of organisational support, an absence of suitable and relevant training together with inadequate working relationships with external partners have together "…contributed to the poor development of prevention as an element of community policing" (ibid 69).

In relation to the fourth element, working with external partner agencies, the study found that in the main, each individual CP officer was responsible for leading and coordinating partnership work in addition to their routine policing duties. The fifth and final element of CP as defined by Terpstra (2009:69) relates to citizen involvement in and engagement with policing. The study found that overall the majority of CP officers viewed citizen involvement as primarily that of a source of intelligence and that they were "…reluctant to support more deliberative forms of citizen participation" which sits in contrast to the more fundamental concepts of community policing.

The findings from the study reported that current CP strategies were only being partially realised across the Netherlands but that this was in no way connected to what Terpstra (2009) defined as "…highly motivated…"officers who appeared to be committed to supporting their

neighbourhoods. The study claimed that the ambiguous nature of CP in both policy and practice, has had a detrimental effect on those frontline officers who operationalise CP with regards to a current lack of any clear or concise framework for them to work towards which ultimately results in CP officers creating their own and varied methods of working.

An additional concern highlighted in the study is focused on the open ended nature of CP with regards to its focus on prevention and problem solving work. Terpstra (2009) suggests that the ambiguity surrounding the concept of CP has the potential to create an unpredictable environment for officers who can never fully prepare for, and yet still have to be accountable for, any policing issues in their area. A third finding to emerge from the study is connected to the lack of a specified role for CP officers and the large geographical areas they are expected to police. This combination of a lack of role definition and size of each neighbourhood area to be covered, results in most officers having a "…limited time to spend on work in their neighbourhood, often because it is only a part of their job" (ibid 2009:70) Here Terpstra (2009) is referring to the varied and numerous expectations placed on CP officers in terms of their daily duties, and questions the ability of CP officers to achieve anywhere close to the full expectations of CP when they are so stretched.

The impact on operational policing which is related to a lack of definition in CP roles was found to be an issue faced by frontline officers in Scotland (and is discussed in Chapter 6) as was a lack of definition for community policing roles (see Chapter 7).

2.2.3 Neighbourhood Policing in England and Wales

Tuffin et.al. (2006) presented key findings from their evaluation on the outcomes achieved by the implementation of the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) in England between 2003 and 2005. In order to complete their evaluation as robustly as possible on such

an ambiguous concept, Tuffin et.al. (2006:i) developed their own working definition of neighbourhood policing which was based on "…dedicated police resources for local areas and for the police and their partners to work together with the public to understand and tackle the problems that matter to them most".

The field work was conducted within eight separate police forces across sixteen sites in England, which they claimed offered a more rounded and generalizable view of the total outcomes. The overall findings from the study claimed that generally the implementation of NRPP has "…had a positive impact on crime, perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour, feelings of safety and public confidence in the police" (ibid: ix).

In the introduction pages to the report the terms neighbourhood policing, local policing and reassurance policing are employed interchangeably highlighting the confusion and ambiguity (discussed above) relating to local policing within the existing police literature. The report then goes on to explain how the reassurance policing model was developed from pre-existing "…models of community policing" (ibid: xii) and was the basis for the development of contemporary neighbourhood policing practices across England and Wales. The overall concept of reassurance policing, from within the context of this report, is underpinned by Martin Innes's (2004: 336) concept of 'signals crimes' which looks to incidents of low level criminality such as graffiti, litter and broken windows and how these are seen as warning signals to the local population which heighten anxiety regarding perceived risks in the neighbourhood.

An overview of the introduction of neighbourhood policing in England and Wales is also discussed in the report and was based on the government white paper *Building Communities, Beating Crime* which highlights the apparent difference in focus between neighbourhood and

community policing. In the report Tuffin (2006) suggests that CP in the main, has "…lacked a clear crime focus, and therefore might reassure but not reduce crime" (ibid 2006:5) which sits in contrast to what has been discussed in the general CP literature. In order to counteract this lack of focus on crime, Tuffin (2006:5) goes on to claim that what is required is a neighbourhood policing strategy that could reduce crime and reassure the public which would be strengthened by the addition of a "…a strongly targeted and problem solving approach"(ibid 2006:6).

The underlying principles or key elements of reassurance policing are presented in the report as:

- Target policing activity and problem solving to tackle crimes and disorder which matter in neighbourhoods – which links to Skogan's (2006) third principle of CP discussed above in section 2.2.1.

- Community involvement in the process of identifying priorities and tacking action to tackle them – which mirrors Skogan's (2006) second principle of CP and is based on the neighbourhood working in partnership with the police to identify and deal with local issues (again discussed in 2.2.1 above).

- The presence of visible accessible and locally known authority figures in neighbourhoods, in particular police officers and police community support officers"- this element of reassurance policing is also supported by CP literature and is defined by Terpstra (2009) (see 2.2.2 above) as police proximity whereby CP officers "… should promote their proximity, visibility and approachability to citizens.

(ibid 2006: xii)

The key findings of the report state that in each of the test areas the perception of an increase in both visibility and familiarity of the local officers has improved local perceptions of police effectiveness. Importantly the review claims that there was also an overall reduction in crime

and anti-social behaviour and an increase in the perceptions of positive police engagement with the local residents in the study areas.

When reviewing the case studies presented above, although each concept is/was delivered in distinctive ways, there are overall more similarities than differences, specifically in the philosophy of each. This includes but is not limited to, a problem solving focus, visible and familiar CP officers and the involvement of the local community itself. The similarities between each of the concepts reinforces the ambiguous nature of neighbourhood/community and reassurance policing presented in contemporary policing narratives. However, the variety of mechanisms employed to deliver each style of policing in addition to being confusing also make them difficult concepts to evaluate accurately, and in particular to provide a comparative evaluation between each. Mackenzie and Henry (2009) discuss the difficulties in evaluating community policing even within a single police force area highlighting each distinct geographical area's "…specific programmes or initiatives…" (ibid 2009:31) which are seen as a result of the undefined policies relating to CP. The following section will now examine the concepts of community engagement and familiar and visible police officers as discussed above within a CP context.

2.3 The Concepts and Core Elements of Community policing
As described above there are no clear and distinct definitions of CP and as Segrave and Ratcliff (2004) claim, CP in practice can mean "…many things to many people" (ibid 2004:3), however they do suggest that there are enough common elements in the wide variety of CP delivered on the ground to be able to group them together under one philosophical heading. This section will examine three of the core elements of CP as defined by the literature, firstly it will examine the role of engagement between the police and the

community, and it will then explore the role of external partnership working before discussing visible local policing.

2.3.1 Community Engagement

Effective engagement with local neighbourhood residents in community policing (CP) strategies is necessary in a variety of ways, but fundamentally it includes the police viewing the local population as "…partners in the problem solving process" (Barnes and Eagle 2007:162) where the police organisation actively engage and consult with the residents in terms of identifying and dealing with local crime and disorder issues. By empowering the population in such a manner they are "…cast in a role where they have direct influence upon policing priorities, how these are to be addressed and where possible, are actively involved in dealing with them…" (Innes and Roberts 2008:242). However, the effective and continuous engagement of local neighbourhoods in CP strategies is based on their "willingness, capacity and opportunity to participate" (Myhill 2012:1) and can be variable from one neighbourhood to another. But when achieved successfully the intelligence gathered from an engaged neighbourhood helps deliver "…successful policing outcomes more generally" (Barnes and Eagle 2007:163).

From a more critical perspective David Garland (1996) claims that the paradigm shift contained within community policing which involves non-policing and non-statutory agencies in "…governing crime." (ibid 1996:452) has resulted in the development of policing style which supports a "responsibilization strategy" (ibid1996:460) aimed at transferring responsibility for identifying and finding solutions to local crime issues away from the police. From this perspective, the suggestion is that policy makers can radically overestimated the ability of neighbourhood populations to impact on crime reduction in real terms.

In contrast Skogan (1989) suggests that one of the main assumptions of CP strategies is that the police are "helping neighbourhoods help themselves" (ibid 1989:443). Herbert (2006:78) takes this concept and develops a three stage framework which, he argues local police officers can follow with regards to how they develop their relationships within the community. In order to allow neighbourhood residents to "…co-produce solutions to local problems of crime and disorder", which in turn increases both the democratic footing and legitimacy of CP and the active agency of local residents, Herbert (2006) defines three models of local policing; subservience; separate and generative.   Subservience is defined as relating to how the police view themselves and are viewed by the public as a public sector organisation which is open to citizen participation and provides a service to their 'customer' the public. In this way Herbert (2006:78) argues, police "…officers implicitly recognize the citizenry's substantive role" in a preventative partnership approach to dealing with local policing issues. Secondly, Herbert refers to the notion that the police may view themselves as *'separate'* from those they police, where they regard themselves as professionals with a "…unique bases of knowledge and authority" (ibid:65). From this perspective, Herbert (2006:136) suggests that police personnel adapt and shape their behaviour and conduct on duty, remaining aloof and distant from the local neighbourhood residents. The third and final role discussed by Herbert (2006) is that of a *'generative'* role, where he claims the policing organisation through its policy and practices "…its bureaucratic routines and its moralised discourses" (ibid:136) creates a perception of communities as structures and places which are in need of protection that only they can provide. The definitions of policing styles suggested by Herbert, appear to fit quite closely with experiences found in the field during this project where examples of the three ideal types of officer, as described above, became obvious during interviews. This was particularly evident in police responses to questions which asked

them to give their definition of local policing and the role of CP officers and is discussed in

Chapter 7.

2.3.2 Partnership Work

A partnership or multi-agency approach to the delivery of local policing in Scotland

acknowledges the work done by the Christie Commission in 2011 which recommended a

renewed emphasis on partnership working for all public sector services. The findings of the

report came with an additional caveat that there should be a heightened focus on "…engaging

with people and communities in partnership processes, including the design and development

of a pattern of integrated service provision." (Christie Commission 2011:45).   The promotion

of an interagency approach to the delivery of local policing, which includes viewing members

of the community as partners, is therefore fundamental in delivering effective local policing

which meets the needs of the local area. Employing a partnership approach to the delivery of

local policing, is based around the premise that no one, single agency can deal with, or should

be responsible for dealing with, the complicated community safety and crime problems which

occur at a local level. This form of multi-agency policing has been referred to as the mixed

economy of policing (Crawford et.al. 2005) or in some cases described as the extended

family of policing emphasising the role of other non-policing agencies in crime prevention.

Skogan (1994) suggests that the police acting on their own "…can neither create nor maintain

safe communities" (ibid 1994:2) and that the inclusion of external agencies working in

partnership with police increases the opportunities to resolve local issues. This is supported

by Mackenzie and Henry (2009) who suggest that police working in partnership with public

and private sector organisations have the potential to deliver more effective CP initiatives.

Working in partnership with external agencies such as local authorities, social services and

health bodies allows the police to address the breadth of community policing objectives in a

preventative manner, including quality of life issues which are not directly associated with policing matters. These external partnerships are promoted by the police themselves who state that "…a multi-agency approach, with partner agencies bringing their own areas of expertise to bear on the problem, as well as resources and funding" (ACPOS Justice Committee 2008) produces the most effective results from CP initiatives. O'Neil and McCarthy (2014) suggest that police partnerships with eternal agencies have refocused operational policing "…as a series of practices associated with a more diverse range of community problem solving tasks which transcend those of managing crime and disorder" (ibid 2014:144). From the examples discussed above, it becomes evident that in order to achieve community safety and a reduction in local crime, a multi-agency approach which is capable of tackling some of the structural causes of crime and includes agencies such as health, social services and housing is the most beneficial approach to crime prevention at a local level.

2.3.3 Visibility

A further core element of CP which appears in the variety of literature relates to high visibility policing at a local neighbourhood level. In other words, the ability of local officers to present a "…visible reassurance presence" (Aston and Scott 2014:3) can be associated with the public's ongoing requests for more 'bobbies on the beat'. Povey (2000) in his report examining reassurance policing, argues that a visible police presence on the streets has the potential to contribute to overall feelings of safety and gives the local residents a "…feeling that order prevails" (ibid 2000:ix). However, the report also goes on to suggest that it would be naïve to think that police visibility alone can produce the reassurances required at the local neighbourhood level and suggests that the style of policing employed by local officers should look to offer a combination of police "visibility, accessibility and *familiarity*" (ibid: vi). Barnes and Eagle (2007:162) also discuss officer visibility locally and argue that visibility

alone is not enough to reassure local residents. In their opinion neighbourhood policing should be defined in terms of delivering "…visible, accessible and r*esponsive"* policing where the local residents are made aware of how the police are responding to their needs.

In their recent work examining community policing in Central Scotland, Hamilton-Smith et.al. (2014:164) claim that it has been an ongoing lack of police visibility in local neighbourhoods, due in part to a focus on more response oriented policing, which has provoked a decline in police community relations. They question how effective high visibility on its own can be terms of reassuring the public and suggest that in order for the police "…to be better attuned to local concerns and insecurities…" they need to know their local area and be known by the local residents "…to help restore people' confidence in the presence and strength of social controls". Police visibility on a regular basis in the community is one of the core concepts of any form of local policing, and as discussed above meets the ongoing request from local communities for more "bobbies on the beat". However, this section has shown that in order to provide local policing that has the potential to be truly effective at solving local issues, these officers must do more than patrol the streets, they also need to be familiar to and with community members, seen on a regular basis in the same geographical area, and be approachable and accessible to residents which in turn allows them to be viewed as responding to local needs.

2.3.4 The Concept of Community Policing
Community policing (CP) as discussed above, in itself is not a definite or exact product and is ambiguous in nature. Skogan (2006) claims it to be a process of change known as problem oriented policing which is focused on decision making "…which leaves setting priorities and the means of achieving them largely to residents and the police who serve in their neighbourhoods" (ibid 2006:5). There are however many working definitions with Skogan

(2008:43) describing community policing as "…an organizational strategy which supplements traditional crime fighting with problem solving and prevention oriented programs that emphasis a role for the public", and Tilley (2008) defining CP as policing "….with and for the community rather than policing of the community" (ibid 2008:376).

Although there is no exact definition of CP, Aston and Scott (2014) argue that in the main, similar underlying philosophical concepts are repeated and discussed across the variety of local policing literature. The key elements found in the literature they state are based on a policing style which is flexible to the local context, situates designated officers in a geographically bounded area, is engaged and consults with members of the local community, has a problem solving focus and is accountable at a local level. It would appear that without a fixed single definition of community policing, the approach taken by Aston and Scott to focus on the underlying philosophical principles of each local policing style, could be the most effective way of identifying and evaluating CP in practice across jurisdictions.

Emsley (2007) suggests that although the literature surrounding CP claims it is a twentieth century contemporary police strategy underpinned by the "…intention of drawing closer together communities and the professional police officers who serve them" (ibid 2007:235), the concepts and methods on which CP is based have "…run through the history of policing" (ibid 2007:235). Evidence of this claim can be seen in the work of Barrie's (2008) where he discusses the introduction of the 18th century paid 'watchmen' whose duties included keeping the streets clean and well-lit with the role of the police broadly viewed as being "…to better regulate and improve urban environments…not just control one section of society" (ibid 2008:103). It was also expected that the officer responsible for patrolling a neighbourhood would be embedded in that community and would be expected to live in the community they

policed being "…seen as offering some form of protection to individual members of the working class" (Knox and McKinlay 2010:216). This form of localised policing where policing was focused on working in co-operation with communities in a more welfarist role long before statutory legislation, ensured that in Scotland the public's perceptions of the police differed to that in many other European countries where the police "…had the appearance of an occupying uniformed force…" (ibid 2010:216).

The above section as set out some background on community policing as a concept and highlighted its ambiguous nature. However, if as claimed the philosophy underpinning CP is based on the delivery of a local policing service which is flexible and suits the varied and individual needs of each local neighbourhood, then a pragmatic approach is the only way to ensure that local policing is effective in meeting the requirements of each location.

2.5 Is It Local, Community or Neighbourhood Policing? Critical Reflections on the Notion of Local Policing

This section will explore the existing literature on community policing in an attempt to emphasise the confusing and somewhat ambiguous nature of the terminology employed in relation to local policing, neighbourhood policing and community policing.

Sir Keith Povey (2001) Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary in his seminal report examining the role of police visibility and accessibility in public reassurance policing in England and Wales suggested that "…falling crime levels have not been accompanied by an increase in public perceptions of safety or confidence in the police." (ibid 2001: viii) and that there appeared to be a gap in how reassured the public felt. The report goes on to give a working definition of reassurance in terms of policing as being the "…extent to which individuals perceive that order and security exist within their local environment" (ibid 2001:

viii) linking to Innes (2004) and his concept of 'signal crimes' where by certain low level criminal acts such as "…graffiti, vandalism, noise and anti-social behaviour" (ibid 2001: viii) communicate to the local population that all is not as it should be. The report recommended that in order to effectively fill the reassurance gap, a reassurance policing approach should be employed which would entail the delivery of local policing focused on these low level acts, it should be flexible enough to suit each individual local context and should be delivered within a specific framework of police "visibility, accessibility and familiarity" (ibid 2001: xi) and supported by partner organisations. In this manner forms of reassurance policing it is argued would be able to "…turn the tide of declining confidence and reassurance" (ibid 2001: xiv).

What we glean from this particular report, is that local policing is defined as a broad heading for all forms of operational policing which are focused at a neighbourhood level and that community policing (CP) is seen as being one method of delivering neighbourhood policing. However, the terminology of community and neighbourhood it appears, is employed interchangeably throughout the report which makes it difficult to see where both policing styles are situated. The report although discussing the role and effectiveness of partner organisations in the delivery of policing, makes no mention of local residents as partners working with the police and the view appears to be that residents are simply providers of local intelligence.

As a result of the publication of Povey's (2001) report on reassurance policing, the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) was piloted across various ward areas in England between 2003 and 2005 and was defined locally as the Neighbourhood Policing Programme (NPP). NPP was then rolled out across both England and Wales in April 2005. In 2009 Mark Mason published a report of the findings from an evaluation of the National Neighbourhood

Policing Programme, the report described neighbourhood policing as both a part of reassurance and a variation of community policing with the purpose to "…increase contact between the police and the public in defined local geographical areas in order to make the work of the police more responsive to the needs of local people"

(ibid 2009:1).

The underlying principles of neighbourhood policing in this report are based on the principle that activities such as holding neighbourhood meetings to engage with residents, locally targeted foot patrols and employing "…a range of enforcement and prevention techniques to reduce crime and disorder" (ibid 2009:1) can restore public confidence in the police and also reduce low level crime. However, fully engaging members of each neighbourhood in local policing concerns may not always be as straight forward as expected, (discussed below in section 2.6) with additional concerns that, the mainly low level crimes which individuals report do not always match with the police organisations priorities.

With regards to definitions of reassurance policing, Herrington and Millie (2007) define it as a "…development under the community policing umbrella…" (ibid 2007:156) which they claim is both a strength and a weakness in terms of the general negative perceptions of CP from within the organisation. The argument here is that the intention had always been for reassurance policing in practice to be the "golden thread" (ibid 2007:153) which connects ALL policing activities. The claim made is that the reassurance policing agenda is just as important in response policing as it is for CP and that the public require reassurance from all levels and actions of the policing organisation. However, all terms employed in reference to 'local policing' or style are again used interchangeably throughout the paper and on a number of occasions more than one term is used at the same time "…community based or neighbourhood policing" (ibid 2007:58) and again whilst examining signal crimes

"…community based or neighbourhood policing" (ibid 2007:160) adding to the overall confusion and ambiguity surrounding the terminology.

In Scotland reassurance policing as a form of local policing was implemented in 2007, two years later than in England and Wales and was supported by the work of the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) and was based on their "…eight stage Public Reassurance Model" (ACPOS 2007:3) (discussed in more depth in section 2.7.1). In their paper Hamilton-Smith et.al. (2013) define CP as a model of policing which is the "…engine for delivering reassurance" (ibid 2013:166). Aston and Scott (2013) further attempt to clarify the ambiguous nature of local policing from a Scottish perspective and define it as "…a multitude of activities in which the police in Scotland are expected to engage." (ibid 2013:1) which is inclusive of but not limited to "…response policing; policing the 'night time' economy; dealing with local disorder and anti-social behaviour and some aspects of public protection" (ibid 2013:1). From this perspective local policing is defined as ANY policing strategy which is delivered at the local neighbourhood level.

As can be seen from these short summaries of just a few extracts from the policing literature, there is a real blurring of conceptual boundaries with regards to local, neighbourhood and community policing styles. However, it also becomes clear that although absent of any clear and distinct definitions, there are many core characteristics that are present in all of the above explanations of policing styles such as the importance of locally designated officers being known and knowing the area, policing with a problem solving focus and the importance of a partnership approach to dealing with crime.

Although there has been an increase in recent decades in the investment and rolling out of community policing strategies within UK forces, this in itself has not been sufficient to guarantee success (Mackenzie and Henry 2009, Tuffin et.al. 2006). As can be seen from the discussion above, delivering successful CP is based on multiple variables each with its own ability to impact on the implementation, delivery or support of local policing. This section of the chapter will aim to highlight some of the critiques of current community policing.

Bullock and Tilley (2009) argue that "...the desired outcomes of improved confidence in policing, improved feelings of safety and the reduction of crime" (ibid 2009:127) are not being consistently met. They claim that simply putting police personnel in position at a neighbourhood level, ('the right people in the right place at the right time' is how Police Scotland phrase it) is not enough on its own to meet the desired outputs of CP and that "… unless attention is paid to problem solving as the engine of the neighbourhood policing agenda" (ibid 2009:127) there is a very high risk that local CP strategies will fail. In this way Bullock and Tilley (2009) are highlighting that for effective CP strategies to produce the desired results at a local level designated officers with the correct problem solving attitude and neighbourhood facing approach should be the set criteria for CP.

Further critiques are offered by Fischer and Poland (1998) who suggest that CP policies in practice have in the main "...not been framed in terms of broader issues of social justice, social structures or distribution of resources" (ibid 1998:190) and have instead been employed to control space with regards to which groups have the prerogative to be in or use specific neighbourhood spaces. They also argue that CP has the potential to overlook structural inequalities which impact on the individual and constrain their ability to participate in many areas of social life. Issues surrounding community engagement from a

neighbourhood policing perspective have also been raised by Bullock and Sindall (2014) where they claim that a lack of local community participation can be based on "…facets of social class, perceptions of crime and disorder and attitudes to the police" (ibid 2014:385) linking to the work of Stenson (1993) and Kautt (2011) (as discussed below) although at the individual level.

In relation to residents participating alongside police as active partners in local policing, Skogan (2005) warns that care must be taken in assuming any neighbourhood's readiness to become completely involved in partnership work, and suggests that "…many in the public do not trust the claim that this time the promised police reform will be a real one" (ibid 2005:1). To support this argument, he cites the work carried out by Grinc (1994) which examined the implementation failure of eight local policing initiatives. Grinc (1994) claimed the implementation failures stemmed from a fundamental lack of community engagement by local residents and concluded that this lack of engagement was due in part to internal issues and conflicts amongst 'community' leaders (ibid 1994) and importantly an overall general lack of familiarity with the local officer which was aggravated by the ever changing officers on duty and high abstraction levels. Similar findings around a lack of familiarity of local officers was also found in a UK study conducted by Crawford et.al. (2003) on behalf of The Joseph Rowntree Foundation where the village of New Earswick purchased extra CP policing from their local police in an effort to provide "…reassurance and a source of security to the public" (ibid 2003: vii). As with the Grinc study, this study also experienced implementation difficulties due to the high expectations of local residents on what they expected from the additional time, the abstraction level of officers and the lack of a designated officer who locals could become familiar with.

Link et.al. (2014) raise questions regarding what they term as the assumptions made

regarding the definition of warning signal's which are used to support

neighbourhood/reassurance/community policing as communication signals of crime in the

neighbourhood. They cite the work of Harcourt (2001) who claims that "…people vary" (ibid

2014:2) in terms of how they think about criminal behaviour. From this perspective it is

argued that "orderly and disorderly are social constructions rather than reflections of a

consensual reality" (ibid 2014:6) which can and do change over time and place and between

individuals.

In terms of what impacts on how individuals define warning signals within communities,

Kautt (2011) discusses the important role of the socio-economic background of

neighbourhoods in terms of less affluent neighbourhoods and how they can become targeted

by CP strategies. The argument here is that "...high crime and -deviance areas are also likely

to suffer from economic deprivation" (ibid 2011:360). This view of community policing is

supported by Stenson (1993) who argues that CP strategies in practice are being focused in

the main on "…troubled and fragmented populations" (ibid 1993:373) with a focus on

individual agency with regards crime and criminal behaviour. For CP initiatives to be

effective in their desired outcomes, Stenson (1993) proposes that the local CP officers

situated within specific neighbourhoods should have enough local background knowledge to

be able to work "…with the grain of community normative standards [and] with a sensitivity

to local conditions rather than universal legal and disciplinary normative principles" (ibid

1993:384).

The comments above reflect the view that the delivery and operationalisation of local

policing strategies need to be flexible and pragmatic in their approach. The points raised by

Link et.al. (2014) also highlight important concerns regarding individual perceptions of local

crime and suggest that caution should be used in terms of who is defining potential crime

risks in the local area as it is these perceptions which in turn impact on the operationalisation

of local policing. The levels of flexibility that are required to ensure local policing is being

delivered to suit the context of each community can in their self be seen to impact on the

chronic ambiguity which surrounds local policing, particularly with regards to how frontline

officer's view their roles and responsibilities. An example of this can be seen in Chapter 7,

section 7.5.6 of this thesis where frontline officers reported there was now a sense of

confusion around the roles and responsibilities of CPT Officer's post reform. In the main this

confusion, it was stated was based on Police Scotland's new-found focus on key performance

indicators and daily tasking's which it was claimed made the organisation more flexible.

Frontline officer's in contrast argue that increased flexibility has left many of them unsure as

to what their job description is, with claims that in the main their roles and responsibilities are

changing on a daily basis.

**2.6 A History of Community Policing Policy and Research in Scotland: From National
Policy to Local Practices**
Discourses around CP in Scotland have continued to develop over recent times with the

Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act (2012) stating that post reform policing will continue

to place local policing strategies at the heart of Scottish policing. This section will examine

some of the Scottish local policing policy and literature published since 2000 which focused

on the development, delivery and implementation of local policing. The Section will firstly

look to a 2004 report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS)

followed by the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) 2007 publication

Scottish Parliaments 2008 Justice Committee report and then the 2009 Scottish Government's

community policing engagement principles before discussing more recent research conducted

by Hunter and Fyfe (2012) which evaluates the introduction of the Community Engagement Model (CEM) of policing in Fife.

2.6.1 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland
In 2004 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) published a report entitled *Local Connections Policing **with** the Community* which looked to "…provide an update on key issues emerging from community safety and community planning considerations" (HMICS 2004:vii). The report emphasised the role of community policing (CP) strategies in overall community safety paying particular attention to the role of CP in partnership work with external police agencies and key stakeholders. From within the Scottish policing context the report called attention to the variety of ways and flexible approaches legacy forces employed in delivering community policing. This included the various "labels and designations applied to community roles with roughly the same aims" (HMICS 2004: viii) throughout the organisation which they discussed in terms of "…community beat officers (CBO's), in Aberdeen and Edinburgh to Community Liaison Officers (CLO's) in Tayside" (ibid 2004:31).

The report was based on data collected from local inspections conducted across Scotland's eight legacy force areas presenting it as a variety of case study data which it uses to support its findings and show best practice in legacy force areas including a South Lanarkshire Problem Solving Model, Renfrewshire Council Community Warden Scheme and Grampian Police Traffic Wardens. The report also introduces work conducted in Surrey, West Yorkshire and the Metropolitan Police areas in relation to CP and reassurance policing. The addition of these England based studies in this report is surprising and at the same time interesting when we look to the varying trajectories of community policing both north and

south of the border. In terms of existing literature available the inclusion of these case study areas could also indicate a shortage of Scottish specific research on the topic at that time.

The report goes on to discuss the complex and varied roles and duties that the community officer is expected to carry out ranging from a mediation role as a problem solver, gathering intelligence and working in partnership with community wardens and partner organisations, before noting their concerns that there appears to be a distinct shortage of ongoing specific training for CP officers in relation to their problem solving focused duties. The report further suggests the implementation of a reliable and regulated national community policing strategy which "will require to consider the competencies needed to fulfil the person specification" (HMICS 2004:33). Issues highlighted related to the abstraction levels for community officers, the frustration felt by community officers with regards to management and negative peer perceptions of their community role and the impact of key performance indicators (KPI's) on community officers with the existing model employed unable to measure what is "…difficult to define and thus measure" (HMICS 2004:32)

The report also puts forward recommendations to enhance CP in a Scottish context based around community consultation, community planning and community safety, policing *with* the community and active citizenship including;

- "…that forces afford due status to patrol and community policing as distinctive elements of service delivery" (HMICS 2004:31)
- "…that ACPOS develops a national community policing strategy advocating a more consistent and standardised approach to this role, recognising recent developments in

Community Planning, NIM, problem solving, restorative justice and warden schemes"
(HMICS 2004:34)

- "…that forces exploit the opportunities presented by warden schemes to engage with communities and assist in the delivery of a public reassurance agenda. (HMICS 2004:51) and

- "…an urgent and pressing need to clarify the role of the community officer and…understand what is meant by community policing" (HMICS 2004:33)

The HMICS report concluded that they perceived there to be

"A lack of any consistent or standardised approach to community policing is evident, largely due to the continuing challenge of meeting reactive resource and operational demands. There is an opportunity to redefine community policing strategy at force and national levels, in line with emerging developments in NIM (National Intelligence Model), joint problem solving and warden schemes. Central to this study is the relationship between the police and the community and the evolution of new policing models to embrace public reassurance. The strategic thrust of the report, therefore, is to suggest a stronger bias towards proactive crime prevention and problem solving, within a climate of strong community support and partnership working as a foundation for policing styles…"

2.6.2 Public Reassurance Strategy (2007)
Following on from the Scottish Governments report the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) released their own document Public Reassurance Strategy in 2007. In the document ACPOS acknowledge an increasing focus on reassurance policing in Scotland and state that the implementation of a reassurance model of policing focused on problem solving and engaging with communities in order to "…understand the underlying reasons that

make them feel vulnerable and insecure…in conjunction with our partners…will build public confidence, reduce the fear of crime and reassure all our communities" (ibid 2007:2). The report further explains that CP is the mechanism employed in Scotland for delivering reassurance policing.

The report then goes on to discuss ACPOS's development of an eight stage strategic plan which it is claimed will "…create the environment and the opportunity to increase the public's confidence in policing, improve people's quality of life and reduce crime and disorder in our communities" (ibid 2007:3). The report discusses the eight objectives of the plan which include but are not limited to effective police engagement with their local communities to identify local policing priorities, to improve police accessibility and visibility locally and to work in partnership to achieve the desired outcomes and solutions for each community.

The report also acknowledges the importance of building effective community relationships and establishing positive two-way communication processes between the police the community and their external partners suggesting that attention should be paid to ensuring the communication occurred on a regular basis in an effort to keep all parties up-to-date by the police. With regards to local officers the report states that "Community officers must be locally known and accessible to the community" (ibid 2007:6).

2.6.3 The Purpose and Effects of Community Policing (2008)
Following this report in 2007 the Scottish Parliament Justice Committee began an inquiry to examine the "…the effective use of police resources" (Scottish Government 2008). Oral evidence on community policing (CP) was given to the committee by policing professionals, academics and many leading experts from across the globe and included such renowned

policing researchers as Professor Wesley Skogan, Dr Daniel Donnelly and Professor Martin Innes. The committee also had written responses from her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland, Association of Scottish Community Councils, locally elected representatives, members of police boards and The Association of Chief Police Officers Scotland (ACPOS).

The findings of this inquiry raised concerns regarding the delivery of community policing in Scotland with the final report stating;

> "The Committee is extremely concerned at the lack of a clear, commonly agreed definition of community policing among Scottish police forces and the Scottish Government" (Scottish Parliament Justice Committee 4th Report 2008)

Although acknowledging that a 'one size fits all' definition to community policing was neither pertinent nor required in Scotland, the parliament decided to conduct a further in-depth inquiry with the remit to:

> "To review the purpose and effectiveness of community policing in Scotland including consideration of the definition of community policing and the resources currently available for community policing" (Scottish Parliament Justice Committee 4th Report 2008)

The overall findings of the committee stated that further independent research was required to examine CP from a distinctly Scottish perspective and although the committee agreed on there being no one correct definition for CP, they did suggest that applying a standardised role title throughout the policing organisation to describe community police officers would help situate the role within the organisation and aid with external partnership identification across the force areas. To enhance community policing the committee also recommended that additional dedicated resources be provided to each community policing team (CPT) with the suggestion that these additional community resources should assist with the ongoing

abstraction issues faced by communities and CP personnel. A further finding related to specific training for community police officers with concerns raised regarding that current provision did not reflect the changing role of CP staff described by one Chief Superintendent as.

> "…involving problem solving, partnership working, mediation and restorative justice…but there was little recognition of that in terms of training. As a result, there was frequent underachievement" (Justice Committee 18th Report 2008).

Professor Skogan replied that in Chicago community officers were "provided with additional training specific to their role" (Justice Committee 18th Report 2008).

The final committee summary included the committee's vison of community policing which lists some ten "principles" which it says should be included to "…to define what effective community policing should involve" (Justice Committee 18th Report 2008);

1. Visible and accessible officers in the community

2. Readily identifiable and named officers

3. Dedicated resources

4. A response to crime in the area

5. Clearly defined geographical boundaries

6. A problem solving approach

7. Civic engagement

8. Consultation with community

9. Partnership working and

10. Public reassurance

2.6.4 Community Policing Engagement Principles (2009)

The Scottish Government released a further document named 'Community Policing Engagement Principles' in 2009 which they described as a "[T]emplate for police forces to describe for everyone how they engage with their communities at local level" (Scottish Government web site) and defines the governments objectives for CP in local neighbourhoods. The report documents the governments promise to work towards "…strengthening operational policing in our communities" (ibid 2009:1) with a recognition that the effective delivery of CP is based on a multi-agency approach. The purpose of the report it is claimed is not to offer a national framework for CP in Scotland, rather it is to be a mechanism which allows "…a consistent approach to describing how communities are policed in a way that makes sense at the national level as well as the local" (ibid 2009:1) recognising that there is no one single effective method of delivering CP across the diverse communities of Scotland as discussed in their report of 2007 discussed above.

The report goes on to suggest that in Scotland all operational police personnel work has a CP focus to a "… greater or lesser extent" (ibid 2009) inclusive of response officers. A definition of CP is then provided which is based on local officers working from within communities in order to make them "…safer and stronger" (ibid 2009:3) by working in partnership with local residents focusing on a problem solving approach to policing by accessible and visible local officers.

The Scottish Government's view of CP was similar to that of John Alderson's with its focus on partnerships built between operational police staff, residents and other external agencies who come together to promote community safety across Scotland. In response to this government document The Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) published their own "…eight stage Public Reassurance Model" (ACPOS: 2) which focuses

on the operationalization of CP in Scotland and is underpinned by eight strategic objectives

which they claim will "increase the public's confidence in policing, improve people's quality

of life and reduce crime and disorder in our communities" (ACPOS: 2), these objectives

include but are not limited to;

1. Engaging local communities

2. Developing the use of community intelligence

3. Working in cooperation with partners

4. Improving officer visibility and accessibility within communities

5. Reducing anti-social behaviour

6. Creating safer environments

The following section will examine three diverse models of community policing which have

been identified via recent research in Scotland

2.6.5 Pre-Reform Approaches to Local Policing

In 2012, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) published their findings from a

qualitative research study which was conducted by Hunter and Fyfe (2012) examining the

"…operation and impact of one particular model of community policing" (ibid 2012:2) in

Fife. The report examined the Community Engagement Model (CEM) of policing which was

rolled out in 2008 across the legacy Fife Constabulary area. CEM was based on the Chicago

Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) work conducted by Skogan in Chicago which defined

community policing as a model of policing which focused on the fundamental concepts of

"…community engagement meetings, decentralization of responsibility, and the adoption of a

problem-solving approach…" (ibid 2012:4). These concepts support the expected objectives

of CPT in terms of community members being involved in identifying local policing issues.

The change to the CEM model of policing in Fife was operationalised prior to reform however, the report allows for a concentrated view of just one of the many models employed in delivering local policing in Scotland at that time.

The initial phase of the study focused on the views of community officers with regards to the implementation of CEM including issues identified by front line staff. The second stage of the study focused on local residents and their perceptions of "…the operation and impact" (ibid 2012:4) of CEM. In line with the CAPS model in Chicago the implementation of the CEM in Fife included the introduction of dedicated community policing teams throughout the force area who delivered regular community engagement meetings based on the CAPS model where both police and residents identify local policing priorities and plan solutions.

The findings from the research showed that although it was early in the process, overall both sets of participants saw the implementation of CEM as a positive concept that was having a positive impact on local relationships within the community. The accessibility and visibility of a locally known officer with local knowledge added to the overall positive perceptions of CEM. The findings also reported that there was an overall recognition of the value of local engagement meetings where closer ties and relationships could be made between police, residents and external partners. However, concerns were raised by local officers regarding the low attendance at engagement meetings which resulted in the minority of residents who did attend identifying local policing priorities on behalf of the whole community. The study concludes that there is a "…significant long term potential of this approach to community policing" (ibid 2012:30) in Fife.

In 2014 a further evaluation report on community policing in Scotland was published by Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) highlighting the findings of research conducted by Harkin (2014). In this report, community policing in Scotland is described as "…patchy [and] uneven…" (ibid 2014:1) in keeping with the ambiguous themes throughout the literature. The report is founded on research conducted in Edinburgh between 2011 and 2013 on the Safer Neighbourhood Team Model of local policing which implemented local consultations between the community and the police. The purpose of the study was to evaluate the "…experience of local police-public consultations…" (ibid 2014:1) similar to those described in the CAPS and CEM project in Fife. Previous research on the value of these police/public consultations has shown that they do have the potential to increase local police accountability and legitimacy.

A further report published by SIPR in 2014 by Aston and Scott, included results from a pre-reform research project which looked at "…establishing the nature, range and extent of policing activities in local communities [and] analyse[ing] models of community policing…" (ibid 2014:24) across three separate case study areas in Scotland. The report begins by again reiterating that there is no one single definition of CP, and sets out how they navigated this issue in their field work, "Community policing (CP) is very difficult to define and this study employed the term local policing in order to refer to a broader range of activity at the local level" (ibid 2014:24).

The research identified three diverse models of policing, separate to that of CEM discussed above. The first was a model discussed was based on a few local officers taking on a community facing role; the second was founded on the Community Policing Model (CPM) where by officers were relocated to designated community policing team (CPT) and allocated

community facing roles; and the third a model of local policing identified as the Community Focused Policing Model which involved all officers in the force working under the banner of a Local Policing Team delivering the "…key activities of consult, listen, respond and feedback" (ibid 2014:25) with no specific named community facing officers.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has situated the concept of community policing in contemporary policing discourse whilst highlighting the blurred boundaries and ambiguity surrounding the concept and practice. The theme of ambiguity surrounding the interpretation of community policing was also highlighted by front line officers who took part in this project (and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, section 7.5.6) in terms of how it impacts on their daily routines. The above sections on the development and concepts of community policing have employed a variety of literature from a European and North American context to emphasise the multiple ways in which local policing has been interpreted and operationalised. The chapter has also employed literature to highlight the similarities underlying the philosophical concepts of community policing which are repeated within, and across jurisdictions and include, but are not limited to, community engagement; partnership work and police visibility. Thus offering a baseline for effective and efficient local policing which can be amended to suit the local context.

The discussion above has also highlighted the similarities found in the objectives of each of the community policing models, inclusive of a focus on prevention and problem solving; effective police engagement with local communities; improved police accessibility and visibility and partnership working to achieve the desired outcomes and solutions for each community. When we examine these shared objectives, put forward in the literature from across various times and places, the similarities make it apparent that in terms of community

policing or neighbourhood policing they all add up to the delivery of a style of policing which no matter the label(s) attached are comparable to each other.

The chapter has also shown that prior to reform in Scotland, there had been intensive work conducted on community policing from both an academic and policy context which resulted in the provision of clear sets of principles and/or guidelines for the delivery of community policing in Scotland. Having this work available, which showed best practice in terms of the delivery of community policing from a distinctly Scottish context, therefore ensured that in the run up to reform, there was a plethora of work, informed by academic inquiry, for the newly created Police Service of Scotland to draw upon. In the next chapter I will examine the timeline taken for reform and explain the role of the Scottish Policing Board (SPB) and the Sustainable Policing Project in the journey.

Chapter 3 will now discuss the framework and journey to reform in Scotland by firstly presenting an overview of pre reform policing structures and introducing the bodies responsible for taking reform forward.

3 Policing in Scotland and the Journey of Police Reform

3.1 Introduction

The formation of a single, national police service for Scotland has raised questions as to the potential gains and losses of such a merger stimulating a refocus on enduring academic debates regarding local policing and police governance and accountability. This chapter examines the processes involved in planning and implementing the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 in terms of committees, consultations and the journey towards reform.

The chapter will firstly give a descriptive overview of pre-reform policing in Scotland, including the structure of the eight regional and largely autonomous forces and the role played by the eight chief constables of these forces before offering a general description of policing by consent, democratic policing and police governance. The chapter will then set out the time line taken on the road to reform, and explain the role of the Scottish Policing Board (SPB) and the Sustainable Policing Project in the journey before providing an examination of the public consultation processes on police reform. In line with the focus of this thesis, and following on from the review of community policing literature in Chapter 2, this chapter will examine police reform from a local policing perspective.

3.2 What Did the Structure of Policing in Scotland look like Pre Reform?

The idea of merging the eight regional police forces in Scotland into one, single national police service is not a new concept. The notion of a single service was first mooted by Alfred John List, the head of Midlothian Constabulary in 1853 (Jackson et.al.2015). However, the political powers of the time could not be persuaded of the merits of such a merger and the notion was postponed indefinitely until it was raised again in 1886. On this occasion, the idea for a national police service was suggested by the then Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland. Following in a similar vein as today's reforms, the main underlying principle put

forward in 1886 was related to terrorism and organised crime. Historically, a third attempt at designing a national police service in Scotland was raised during the outbreak of World War Two in order to support national military interests, however, the concept was again unsuccessful in Scotland (Jackson et.al. 2015).

In terms of contemporary police amalgamations and the notion of a single national police service, Reiner (2012) claims that this had already been put in place in England and Wales, albeit covertly, via the introduction of legislation such as the Police and Magistrates Courts Act 1994 and the Police Reform Act of 2002. Reiner (2012) argues that both pieces of legislation diverted responsibility for police accountability away from its traditional basis in local government and focused it much more in the hands of central government creating what he then defined as "…a de facto national police service" (ibid 2012:205). In contrast Davidson et.al. (2016) claim that police reform and amalgamations to larger and more productive regional units, from a Scottish perspective, have been occurring continuously since the 19th century. Their argument is based on the concept that in the main, police reform follows a similar trajectory to the structural changes which occur in the society in which each police organisations is based thus creating an efficient police service suited to its local context.

The re-establishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1999 raised much debate amongst parliamentarians and academics regarding discourse on law and order from a singular Scottish perspective. Prior to devolution Scottish Criminal Justice institutions, in contrast to that of England and Wales, took a distinctly more welfarist approach to policing and general justice issues based on traditional values which McAra (2008) claims were a "…stable feature of Scottish policy for around 25 years" (ibid 008:489). This perception of what has

been referred to as the "tartanisation" of Scottish civic life, is also supported by Mooney et.al. (2013) who go on to claim that in the early days of reform, firstly with a coalition and then minority government, a certain level of "…de-tartanisation…" began to take place particularly within the criminal justice system which in turn "…became more closely aligned with London based policies" (ibid 2013:2).

The election of the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 2011 to a majority government at Holyrood, reignited the discussion on amalgamating the regional police forces into a single service creating what has been termed as the "retartanisation" (Money et.al. 2013; McNeill 2011) of the Scottish Criminal Justice System. The concept that any particular policy can be defined as "tartanised" however, excludes any discussion taking place around the wider role that existing geopolitical or economic contexts have on a global level, and in some ways can be seen as carrying negative connotations for Scottish policy decisions.

 In terms of the framework for contemporary policing throughout Scotland, this was set out in the Police (Scotland) Act 1967 which states that the role of the police officer should be

(a) To guard, patrol and watch so as-
(i) To prevent the commission of offences,
(ii) To preserve order, and
(iii) To protect life and property;

Continual police and local authority reforms have, over generations led to a total reduction in regional police forces in Scotland from around 90 in the late in 1800s to eight in the local government reforms of the 1970's. The eight autonomous regional police forces which were

created "…became a function of the eight regional councils" (Newburn 2011:192) across Scotland and the relationship between the police service and local government has remained the same until now. Traditionally in Scotland, policing has been seen as being firmly attached to "…structures of local government" (Donnelly and Scott 2010:82) as in the main, policing is perceived to be a "local service, locally delivered" (ibid 2010:82). From this perspective it was the role of each local authority to create an executive police board, comprising of elected members representing the political make-up of each council, who would appoint chief constables and contribute 49% of each force's budget, with the remaining 51% being supplied by central government. The police board also had responsibility for holding each chief constable to account and had within their remit the power to withdraw police funding, although this power has never been fully utilised in Scotland.

Pre-reform, each of the eight regional police forces in Scotland were led by their own chief constable. The roles of each of these eight chief constables was defined by Scott and Wilkie (2001) as having "…sole overall responsibility for the efficient administration and management of police operations…" (ibid 2001:55) for their specific force area. The autonomy granted to each regional force resulted in each chief constable creating a variety of police management and operational policies and mechanisms which were employed across the eight regions. As with most states, the levels and typologies of crime and criminality across Scotland differ across both spatial and temporal levels. Therefore, the variety of local policing approaches designed and implemented in each region were constructed so that they could effectively manage the "…significant variations across Scotland in terms of the levels of recorded crime" (Fyfe 2010:179).

Figure 3.1 below shows the structures of policing in Scotland prior to reform including the number of local authorities associated with each.

Pre Reform Police Structure

Scottish Parliament

Scottish Ministers

Strathclyde Police Authority	L&B Joint Police Board	Grampian Joint Police Board	Central Scotland Joint Police Board	Tayside Joint Police Board	Fife Council	Dumfries and Galloway Council	Northern Joint Policing Board	Scottish Police Services Authority
Strathclyde	Lothian and Borders	Grampian	Central Scotland	Tayside	Fife	Dumfrise and Galloway	Northern	Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency
Local Council X12	Local Council X5	Local Council X3	Local Council X3	Local Council X3	Local Council X1	Local Council X1	Local Council X4	

Figure 3.1 Structures of policing in Scotland prior to reform including the number of local authorities

In order to support his claim Fyfe (2010) offers an example of the two contrasting policing approaches taken by two regional forces in policing the homeless and cites the work of Kennedy and Fitzpatrick (2000). Kennedy and Fitzpatrick claim that in the time of Strathclyde Police, policing was based on a "…revanchist or vengeful" (ibid 2010:184) style which saw the "…targeting of vulnerable groups like the homeless and prostitutes" (ibid 2010:184). In contrast to the Strathclyde model, Fyfe (2010) claims that Lothian and Borders police encouraged a more sympathetic and liberal style of policing towards prostitution and homeless people in particular.

Prior to reform in Scotland the chief constables of each regional force, along with their deputies and assistants, were also part of the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS). The primary role played by ACPOS was in relation to promoting "…improved police leadership… expansive partnership working…and [to] actively facilitate the police agenda" (Donnelly and Scott 2010:34). ACPOS also fulfilled a consultancy role with regards to the Scottish government, and members were frequently invited to attend parliamentary committees giving evidence from a police perspective on concepts such as national policing policies. The overarching role taken by ACPOS in relation to local and national policing policy and frontline arrangements however, raised many concerns in connection with the concept of democratic policing with Laing and Fossey (2011) questioning the increasing political influence of a non-elected and "…non accountable body" (ibid 2011:4) such as ACPOS.

Jones (2003) also draws attention to the increasingly significant powers that ACPOS held prior to reform in terms of policing in Scotland, which he claimed, introduced a potential conflict of interest for ACPOS members in connection to their statutory obligations to their own force and that of their ACPOS role to "…promote the common good of policing" (ibid 2003:6) in Scotland. In their 2009 review of policing in Scotland, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) raised similar concerns regarding this "… potential conflict of interest" (ibid 2009:6) noting specifically that there was "…little public scrutiny of decisions" (Tomkins 2009:38) taken by ACPOS. When we take into account recent narratives on democratic policing principles such as those set forward by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (2008) who claimed it was based on the police being "accountable to: The citizens; their representatives; the State; and the law" (ibid 2008:9), it

could be suggested that the role and breadth of input at a strategic and political level ACPOS previously held, does indeed indicate a democratic deficit of policing in Scotland.

3.3 The Road to Reform – the beginning of the journey
This section will provide an examination of policy documentation in order to set out and explain the processes which were utilized in the launch of the journey to police reform in Scotland. It should be noted at this stage that employing an analogy relating recent police reforms as a 'journey', does not mean that there was ever an intention to move towards a single, final destination, it is used solely as a descriptive mechanism for this thesis to explain the how and why of reform.

Policing in Scotland as with the rest of the UK, is underpinned by the concept of policing by consent which is based on the police's ability to achieve the consent of those who are being policed and links to notions of democratic policing. In return for receiving the publics consent for policing, it is expected that the police will be held accountable with regard to their use of certain powers which are "… beyond those accorded normally to citizens" (Donnelly and Scott 2010:72) in order that they are able to prevent crime and preserve social order. From a Scottish perspective it is claimed that the introduction of a tripartite system of police governance and accountability had been "…the main mechanism…" (ibid 2011:2) through which to achieve the public's consent. The basic premise of the tripartite structure of governance was based on implementing a process of checks and balances in relation to the distribution of powers over policing policy and fundamentally to prevent full government control over police operations. The tripartite framework of governance was first introduced as a result of the Police (Scotland) Act 1967 which itself came in to being as a consequence of a report by the Royal Commission of the Police in 1962.

The tripartite structure divided responsibility for policing in three directions between central government, local government and each chief constable of the existing eight Scottish police forces and was built around the premise that "…the police should be answerable only to the law" (Lustgarten 1986 cited in Donnelly and Scott 2010:85).

Traditionally, from within a Scottish context, policing has been seen as firmly attached to "structures of local government" (Donnelly and Scott 2010:82) in the way it has been viewed as a local feature. In terms of governance and accountability, local authorities formed part of the tripartite structure through their construction of police authorities and police joint boards which were comprised of designated local councillors with each board having a specific focus on the "…provision of adequate policing for their local area" (Scott 2011:2). The suggestion had always been that police boards would fulfil the local requirement for governance and accountability in that they were composed of locally elected representatives. (Donnelly and Scott 2002).

Set against a backdrop of national spending cuts and the increasingly complex nature of contemporary policing, the Justice Secretary for Scotland in May 2008, instructed Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) to conduct an *Independent Review of Scottish Policing* which was published in 2009. The remit of the report was based on examining:

- "That all Scotland's communities have equal access to expert and specialist policing and to the resources necessary to investigate major crime, whenever they need it;
- That the delivery of such policing responsibilities does not divert resources away from visible policing in communities;

- In pursuance of this, to identify policing responsibilities which might more effectively be delivered nationally, regionally, or in collaboration between forces;

- And to make recommendations for the organisation, governance and accountability which best supports the delivery of those policing responsibilities".

(Dickson 2010:446)

Amongst the many findings from the 2009 HMICS report were claims that at a local level, the existing arrangements for police governance and accountability were "…not working as effectively as they should be…" (ibid 2009:40) and that overall there were gaps in the system with a specific mention made of a shortfall in training and support opportunities for members of the boards which had impacted negatively on each boards ability to "…properly deliver the degree of scrutiny, challenge and accountability required" (ibid 2009:6). With this knowledge in hand pre reform, it could be suggested that recent reform could therefore have been the perfect opportunity to address this situation, with the legislation supporting the delivery of specific 'scrutineering' training to the members of each newly created local committee at their inception. However, the findings from this project (discussed in Chapter 9) indicate that at the time of data collection there had been no significant improvement in either the training given or support offered to scrutineers, indicating that the findings from the HMICS report were not utilised in the planning of current reforms.

In line with the argument made in Chapter 2 of this thesis relating to the ambiguous nature of local policing and the abstraction rates of local officers from their dedicated beat areas, the HMICS review also suggested that there was an association between both, relating how "…the absence of standards for mainstream policing functions leaves it [local policing] susceptible to resources being diverted away…to meet the demands in more defined areas"

(ibid 2009:33). However, the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 contained no definition and therefore continues the ambiguous nature of what local policing is to be. On the other hand, the review does recognise that "…community policing is a strength of Scottish policing" (ibid 2009:5) with claims made that pre reform a substantial amount of police focus had been spent working with partner agencies in an attempt to manage local issues. The acknowledgements contained in this report of how important community policing is to the overall delivery of local policing in Scotland, and the important role partnership working plays, raises questions as to why a more robust focus was not placed on the future practices of local policing with the legislation for reform.

In keeping with the claims made above, Tomkins (2009) also highlighted the need for "…universal standards and desired outcomes" (ibid 2009:30) across policing in Scotland which, he claimed, would support a coherent delivery of police services across the country and importantly provide data which could be used to form "…common service standards and understanding of costs between demands for expert and specialist policing and the need to deliver locally agreed community safety…" (ibid 2009:5). The review concludes that the absence of common standards may in the long term have a negative impact on functions such as community policing whereas the implementation of standards across the board "could undoubtedly offer scope for greater local flexibility and innovation" (ibid 2009:32) within local policing. This overall lack of common standards in policing in Scotland and an inability to measure outputs comparatively between regions, raises questions on how the efficacy of current reforms will be adequately measured against what has gone before.

3.3.1 The Scottish Policing Board (SPB)
The 2009 review made a number of recommendations for the future of police governance and accountability, with one of the most important being that the "…Cabinet Secretary for Justice

establish and chair a national group that reflects at least the tripartite arrangements for policing in Scotland" (ibid 2009:51) with a remit to examine local, regional and national risks to policing. As a result in late 2009 the Scottish Government created the Scottish Policing Board (SPB) which was given the remit of,

> "…bringing together the tripartite partners (the police, the Scottish Government and the Police Authority Conveners) with the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) to collectively identify and consider the key strategic priorities for policing across Scotland" (The Scottish Policing Board Foundation Document 2009:1)

The creation of the board enabled the existing members of the tripartite system and external policing partners to come together in a forum setting in order that together, they could discuss, "...identify and consider key strategic priorities for policing across Scotland" (SPB Foundation Document 2009) with the intention being that through a partnership approach the appropriate strategic responses could be found to resolve the policing risks identified in Tomkins's review.

The SPB was chaired by a Scottish Government representative and made up of representatives from the Police Authorities and Joint Police Boards, Chief Constables (ACPOS), HMICS and CoSLA with the premise being that the membership should reflect "... the new relationship between central and local government..." (SPB Foundation Document 2009:3). The focus of SPB members was in relation to key strategic issues from within an operational and organisational context, which were being faced by all eight Scottish police forces and required direction from a national level. This focus included, but was not limited to,

1. The long term financial challenges facing Scottish policing and the potential impact these challenges could have on maintaining an efficient local policing service;

2. Ensuring national strategic policing priorities would link to local priorities

3. The implementation of measures to identify the costs of policing within and between forces.

From within the SPB, ACPOS were given the lead role in identifying a programme of future efficiencies "...with the purpose of mitigating the effects of an assumed 12% real terms reduction in finance over the next three years" (SPB 27/1/2010:4). At the fifth meeting of the SPB, ACPOS presented their recommendations that further cost savings would be required beyond 2012/13 to "...meet the scale of [the] expected financial challenge..." (SPB 15/12/2010:2) and as a result of this a further group, known as the Sustainable Policing Project was formed to examine further cost saving opportunities for the police organisation.

As with most of the other reports and previous research cited here, it is unclear if any of the findings/results had any direct impact on how reform was planned and implemented. It was however, interesting to note that at the inaugural SPB meeting, which took place on the 23rd November 2009, the Cabinet Secretary for Justice, and chair of the SPB stated that there was "...no government plan or appetite to consider changing the current police force structure, which would be time consuming and costly" (SPB 23/11/2009:3)

3.3.2 The Sustainable Policing Sub Group

The Sustainable Policing Sub Group (SPSG) was formed in September 2010 and tasked with identifying a programme of cost savings and efficiencies. In keeping with their remit the Sustainable Policing sub group planned to present the evidence they collected to the Scottish Government,

"To develop rigorously appraised options for further cost savings to enable

frontline policing outcomes to be sustained in 2013-14 and beyond, in the face of

anticipated spending reductions" (Sustainable Policing in Scotland 2010)

The membership of the sub group was made up by civil servants, representatives from local

government and police personnel.

In order to fulfil their remit, the SPSG created the Sustainable Policing Project Team (SPPT)

to "…explore the options for reform, focusing on three potential models: a single national

police force; a regional structure comprising three or four forces; and a continuation of the

eight-force model but with enhanced collaboration" (Fyfe and Scott 2013:125) and their

potential impacts on policing functions such as the delivery of locally policing. The project

team was made up of a:

- Project leader

- Project Manager

- Scottish Government representative

- Representatives from HMICS, ACPOS and

- Serving police officers

The group was also tasked with identifying cost savings which would support sustainable

policing at a local level and to further examine local accountability with regard to any

structural police reforms.

In December 2010, the interim report from the SPP was presented to the sixth meeting of the

Scottish Police Board (SPB) by the chair of the Sustainable Policing Sub Group. The report

included information on the creation and membership of the sub group and the project team,

and claimed that in order to make the efficiencies required to counteract the projected

shortfall in police budgets, only the three structural reform options (discussed above)

presented themselves. The claims made in the report were based on the results of the teams

analysis, which for the first time was able to offer a 'like for like' budget examination

between forces, and predicted that savings between £81m to £197m could be made in the

police budget per year (SPB 2011 12/10 Paper 3:2). The report went on to suggest that most

of the cost savings required could be made by reductions in "…duplication and overlap, and

adoption of the most efficient practice" (ibid 2011:2). This included reducing police estate

holdings, managing the over resourcing of certain resources in specific areas, for example

horses and "public order assets" (ibid 2011:3).

At the next SPB meeting in March 2011 a phase two update to the work of the Sustainable

Policing Sub Group was delivered by a Deputy Chief Constable (DCC) from Strathclyde

Police force who had become head of the SPPT. The DCC in his role as head of the SPPT,

commissioned the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) to conduct a review of

existing literature around police mergers and reform. The review was carried out by Mendel

and Fyfe (2011) and highlighted the potential "…impacts and implications of the

restructuring of police forces via mergers and amalgamations" (ibid 2011:17) and highlighted

issues around potentially ineffective management process through change, the costs of

reform, the possible loss of staff and local knowledge before concluding that "…there are no

simple cause and effect relationships between increasing force size and specific

outcomes…there is however, relatively strong evidence to suggest there are a range of risks

involved in police restructuring which need to be carefully managed…" (ibid 2011:17).

This was followed by a second SPPT report in March 2011 with a focus on operational police functions. The report progressed the project team's initial report and offered an assessment of three structural options for policing in Scotland which were examined in relevance to their ability to deliver efficient and effective frontline policing. The report then goes on to acknowledge that any style of reform or organisational change presents financial and operational issues, and describes how amongst the three choices for structural change, the project team believed that a "…single force model represents the most significant change; however it provides the greatest opportunity to manage change, drive efficiency and in delivering operations when the change is complete" (ibid 2011:5) highlighting the fundamental role of a strong management team to implement successful change within the organisation.

The report also discusses previous research that had been accessed by the team in relation to major police change programmes, however there was no specific mention made regarding the origins of this research literature and importantly if it focused on police organisational change specifically or the more general change literature. The themes cited in the report as being of particular relevance to Scottish reform were based on "…the importance of communication, preserving expertise and best practice, and the importance of retaining the visibility and accessibility of policing during a change process" (Sustainable Policing Project Phase Two Report March 2011:16)

Within the appendices of the second report, there is a breakdown of reports from ten various 'professional leads' chosen from across the eight existing forces that were tasked with providing in-depth information to the team in terms of how efficiencies could be made in each of their areas of expertise. Appendix 4 is entitled Local Policing and looks to highlight

the importance of local policing being delivered at the local level. When discussing local policing in this section, the repeated use of "collaboration…joint working…problem solving…intervention…meaningful meetings [and] information sharing" (ibid 2011:12) indicates the authors perspective in relation to local policing and supports the general principles which are used to define local/neighbourhood/community policing as discussed in Chapter 2.

As per the discussion in Chapter 2, it is again recognised in this report that local policing had been historically delivered in a variety of ways across Scotland. However, the report does attempt to offer a definition of the key characteristics of Scottish local policing as involving,

1. Making communities safer

2. A locally based policing team working in partnership to resolve issues

3. Having a problem solving focus.

This form of local policing the report argues is the "…foundation stone of policing…" (ibid 2011:7) and "…should always be delivered at the local level…regardless of the existence of a national force, regional force or the current eight police force structure" (Appendix 4 2011: 7).

It was interesting to note in viewing the public meeting documents and minutes, that throughout the research and planning stages of the recent reforms, many police managers were invited to take part in committees and groups which disseminated information upwards towards strategic managers, regarding which structure of reform would be most effective at the front line of policing. Fyfe and Scott (2013) also highlight the important role which police personnel played in the early stages of reform and suggest that including organisational members created a fundamental change to the process of reform and "…rather than reform

being done 'to' the police by the government, reform was now being done 'with' the police"

(ibid 2013:125). However, this was not the experience of frontline officers from either Easton

or Longphort, with the majority of officers claiming that they had no opportunity to be

involved in reforms, in either the planning or implementation stages (for a full discussion see

Chapter 6 section 6.2.2).

3.4 Public Consultation about Reform

The first public document to be published regarding proposed reforms to policing in Scotland

was on the 10th of February 2011. The consultation process ran until the 5th May 2011 and the

analysis report of the findings was published on 21st June 2011. The consultation looked to

gather views on the proposed structural changes put forward for police reform. The

consultation document included a foreword by the then Cabinet Secretary for Justice which

firstly included a statement regarding an overall fall in crime in Scotland to a 32 year low

before going on to explain the governments rationale for police reform;

> "This consultation is first and foremost about improving services for local
>
> communities. It is about ensuring that communities can continue to rely on
>
> visible, local policing; that all communities have access to the highest quality
>
> police services and the specialist policing they need; and that, at a national level,
>
> Scotland has the capacity and capability to respond to new threats and a changed
>
> world. It is also about strengthening the links between the police and the
>
> communities they serve, and between the police, local government and other
>
> public services, so that they can work together even more effectively to make
>
> communities safer and improve their quality of life" (Cabinet Secretary for Justice
>
> 2011)

The paper then goes on to claim that in the existing financial climate, and with Westminster spending cuts, the pre-existing eight regional police forces of Scotland would be "unsustainable" (ibid 2011:3) in the long term, which would have a detrimental impact on the police organisations ability to meet the desired outcomes detailed above. This first consultation paper stated that in general continuing with the "…status quo is untenable" (ibid 2011:6) and introduced three potential options for police reform. The choices available included a national single police service, a reduced regional police model and an increased formal collaborative working arrangement between the existing eight forces. An additional caveat in the consultation document requested that responses should be based around each models ability to:

- Improve services and the delivery of better outcomes at local and national levels.

- Accountability to, and close engagement with, local communities in every part of Scotland.

- Deliver efficiencies while protecting frontline services as far as possible.

(ibid 2011:5)

This highlights the government's claim that maintaining, and even improving local policing and community engagement, are a priority in terms of their plans for reform with the caveat that "Our ultimate aim is to make our communities safer and stronger so to help Scotland flourish" (ibid 2011:5).

Police accountability is also discussed in the paper in terms of both national and local levels, with claims made that the pre reform landscape of accountability in Scotland was more complex than it needed to be with police boards, joint boards and local authority areas. The paper then goes on to explain how Audit Scotland in 2007, the Association of Chief Police

Officers Scotland (ACPOS), Her Majesties Inspectorate of Police Scotland (HMICS) and the

2009 independent Review of Policing, all highlighted "…shortcomings" (ibid 2011:18) with

national accountability pre reform and "…gaps in governance" (ibid 2011:20) at a local level.

In conclusion the report informs potential respondents that "We welcome views on how

national governance and accountability can be strengthened and clarified" (ibid 2011:19).

In their analysis of the first consultation document, Bryan et.al (2011) report that of the 219

respondents who answered the consultation document, 90 were individuals and 129 were

organisations (see Table 3.1 below).

Respondent Type	Number	%
Individuals	90	41
Organisations	129	59
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	219	100
Types of Organisation		
Community Council	23	11
Community Planning Partnership	5	2
Legal	3	1
Local Authority	25	11
NHS	7	3
Other	28	13
Police Joint Board	7	3
Police Force	7	3
Police Organisation	12	5
Voluntary Sector	12	5
Total Organisations	129	98*

Table 3.1 Total number of respondents by category (Bryan et.al. 2011:4)

3.1 *does not add to 100% due to rounding up

It is interesting to note that from the thirty two local authorities represented throughout

Scotland, only twenty five responded to the consultation and only seven of the pre-existing

eight regional police forces responded when invited to give their views on the proposed

reform and the structure it should take. Appendix one of the report offers a list of respondents

to the consultation which appears to have Strathclyde Police missing from the list, indicating

that they were the force who did not take part in the consultation as highlighted. Having

Strathclyde police, the largest regional police force in Scotland (estimated to contain at least

42.7% of the Scottish population (Oag 2011:3)) not reply and only twenty-five of the thirty-

two local authorities reply to such an important consultation regarding policing across

Scotland, raises questions regarding how engaged both the police themselves and locally

elected representatives were in the general reform process. Retrospectively the importance of

Strathclyde police not responding to the consultation becomes even more intriguing when it

is their Chief Constable Sir Stephen House who becomes the first Chief Constable of Police

Scotland.

A key theme which emerged from the consultation was the perceived impacts of reform on

local policing. This focused around issues such as;

- A fear that reducing the number of police forces would have negative impacts on
  frontline services at a local level in terms of quality and availability;

- Concerns about a loss of local knowledge in terms of needs, geography, training and
  skills and a consequent negative impact on services;

- A loss of local accountability and democracy, with queries over how to maintain local
  partnerships and community engagement;

- Concerns about the potential impact of structural change in terms of job losses and
  impacts on the local economy and employment; and

- A concern over a bias in resources and funding with more being allocated on a
  central belt-basis than in the more remote rural areas

(Bryan et.al 2011:2)

Further themes which emerged from across the consultation looked to perceived issues in post reform police accountability, with respondents maintaining a specific focus on local accountability and how this could be made more effective. The Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (CoSLA) for example, raised concerns during the process regarding the possibility that there could potentially be a lack of police accountability and transparency in post reform policing in Scotland.

With regards to existing partnership working it was generally felt that this was being accomplished however, mention was made of the need to work in greater collaboration at a regional level and the importance of continuing to have the ability to work with local partners. There were also questions raised regarding the vague language employed in the Reform Act. Section 2 (1) (b) for example, discusses the SPA board membership where it is stated that there should not be less than ten or more than fourteen members, indicating that the government were still unsure as to how the authority membership would be constructed when the legislation was formed. In terms of how the board has actually been formed, there are at present eleven members with one chairperson, of this total eight are men and four are women. COSLA in their response to the consultation also raised the question 'who would define the relevant skills and experience required by SPA members? Whilst at the same time highlighting the specific skill set of the elected members who had previously sat on police boards, and how their skills and local experience "…should not be lost, particularly over the initial bedding in period" (COSLA 2011:3).

In relation to the options presented for the structural reform of policing in Scotland in this consultation document, Bryan et.al (2011) claimed that although it was agreed by many of the respondents that the economic climate necessitated changes to policing, the findings were

unable to generate a consensus on the form that reform should take. However, it was noted that "…there was a limited support for a move to a single force" (ibid 2011:42). Figure 3.2 below illustrates the responses received from respondents.
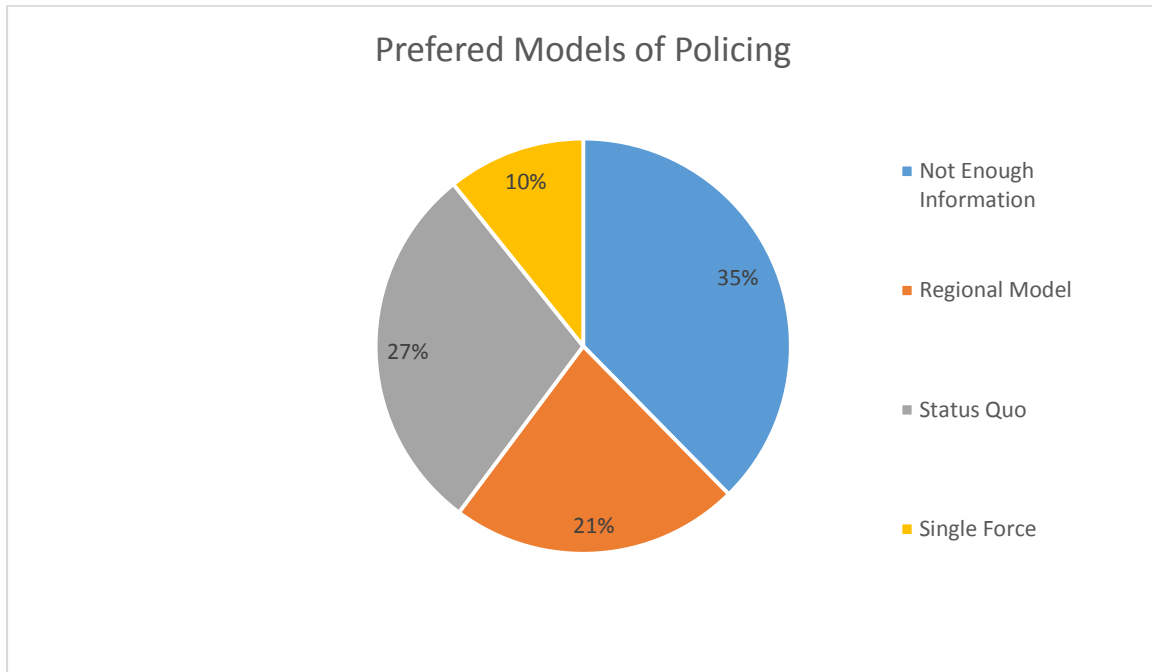
Figure 3.2 how respondents voted

The breakdown of analysis showed that 35% of respondents claimed that they had no particular view or had not received sufficient information to enable them to make an informed choice on the future structure. 21% of respondents chose a variation on the regional model with additional collaborative relationships between forces, 27% noted they preferred the status quo with only 10% of respondents supporting a single service structure.

The initial consultation process also included the addition of five local focus groups with approximately 38 participants which were held across Scotland and were mixed in terms of geographical location covering both rural and urban locations, to allow "…a more detailed and informed discussion of issues to take place" (Bryan 2011:6).

Oag (2012) in his briefing paper explains how following the consultation, draft versions of the Outline Business Cases (OBC) underpinning the proposed police and fire reform were published on the 11th of July of 2011. The cases had been put together by leaders from both the police and fire organisations with the additional support of key stakeholders. This was followed by an announcement in September 2011 by the then Cabinet Secretary for Justice that the Scottish Government intended to introduce legislation which would create a single Police Service for Scotland. It his statement the Justice Secretary claimed that the introduction of a single national service would deliver an estimated saving of £130 million a year and £1.7 billion over 15 years.

At the same time a second consultation paper was published, *Keeping Scotland Safe and Strong: A Consultation on Reforming Police and Fire Rescue Services in Scotland* (Nicholson 2012) with a focus of the intended aims of the new single service. The second consultation was conducted after Scottish ministers had decided to opt for a new national police service with claims made in the Executive Summary of the document that a second consultation was required in order "…to help shape the final proposals, and the legislation…" (ibid 2012:i) that would be required to establish the new Police Service of Scotland. The consultation was divided into two sections, one covering police reform and the other fire and rescue.

The final analysis of the responses from this consultation were published in February 2012. This second consultation produced 145 responses with 115 from organisations and 30 from individuals (see table 3.2 below).

Respondent Type	Number	%
Local authority	26	18
Police Force	6	4
Police Authorities/Joint Boards	6	4
Police Organisation	12	8
Fire and Rescue Services	3	2
Fire and Rescue Authorities/Joint Boards	5	3
Fire Organisation	6	4
Voluntary sector	8	6
Community Planning Partnership	7	5
NHS	1	1
Other	35	24
TOTAL ORGANISATIONS	115	79
INDIVIDUAL	30	21
TOTAL	**145**	**100**

Table 3.2 Organisations who took part in consultation

When we compare both tables, which show a breakdown of the respondents, it appears that one more local authority responded in the second process than the first although, at 26 responses this is still short of the 32 local authorities which cover Scotland. There was also a drop in police forces who responded to the second consultation, from seven to six which translates to two forces (Central and Fife) who did not respond to the consultation at all. In terms of the scale and level of the proposed reforms it is surprising that two ex-regional forces did not respond to the consultation and add their voice at this initial stage. The deficit in local authority and police force responses in the process it could be suggested, shows not only a lack of engagement with the process of consultation and reform, but also importantly a lack of opposition or resistance which could indicate there was perhaps already a feeling of inevitability about the reform by many respondents.

The data collected in the consultation was analysed using a qualitative approach with additional quantitative analysis conducted on those responses which explicitly provided a

clear indication of their support or opposition to the proposals. Overall the report claimed that there was a general understanding of the current financial climate and support for reform "…with the emphasis on partnership working particularly welcomed" (Nicholson 2012: i) by the majority of respondents. However, the report then goes on to state that although there was much agreement with the outlined plans of reform, several respondents' highlighted their concerns over a single national force. The concerns highlighted in the report were based on a potential central belt focus with regards to the positioning and allocation of personnel and resources, the introduction of a 'one size fits all' style of local policing across Scotland which would not meet the variety of complex policing needs experienced across communities and finally a perceived lack of clarity and uncertainty with the future role of local authorities in relation to local policing plans and accountability. The concerns raised in this report were therefore important in terms of the focus of this thesis and supported the construction of interview schedules to examine if reform had indeed brought forward any of the concerns raised.

Echoing the concerns of CoSLA in the first consultation, discussed previously in this section, the proposed new national governance arrangements for a single service again caused some debate in the second consultation with the common view being that the proposed arrangements for local accountability were unclear and confusing. Paragraphs 3.19 and 3.20 of the consultation document were singled out by 27 respondents as being inconsistent and confusing in stating on the one hand that the local authority and local Commander will develop the local policing plan "jointly", yet on the other hand reform was understood to be reducing the local authority role to one of a more consultative role.

Of further concern to the participants taking part in this consultation, was the appointment
and suitability of potential members the Scottish Police Authority (SPA). On this occasion
the Association of Chief Police Officers Scotland (ACPOS) raised their own concerns
regarding the possibility of this situation causing an overtly political influence over policing
and linking it to the ministerial appointment of the SPA board members and the future
relationship between local and national governance bodies. ACPOS members claimed that
there was a,

> "…risk [of] placing the new service under obligation to serve two 'masters'; one
> on a statutory footing with governance and fiscal responsibility but little local
> accountability, and the other with influence in determining local policing plans
> and outcomes but no statutory authority or fiscal responsibility to support
> delivery" (ACPOS reply 21 February 2012: 11 (para 3.4).

The analysis contained in the report also produced themes based on the proposed
communications strategies which would be employed in the implementation stages of reform
with suggestions made that there would be a need for "…. changes [to be] managed carefully
in order to reduce conjecture and maintain staff motivation" (ibid 2012:iv). Police
personnel's perceptions of how the communications were eventually managed through the
reform process are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

In addition to the consultation processes discussed above, the Justice Secretary, in August
2011 organised an international policing summit where it was announced he would be
introducing a bill to create a national police service for Scotland. Policing representatives
from across European countries who had reformed or were planning to reform their existing

police structure, were invited to attend the summit. The delegates invited by the Scottish

Government to attend included policing professionals from Norway, Denmark and the

Netherlands. However, questions were raised with respect to who was invited and why, with

Fyfe and Scott (2013) claiming those who did attend were invited to provide support for the

Governments move towards a national police service in terms of them being representative of

existing or planned national policing organisations. Within weeks of the conference the

Cabinet Secretary announced that a single police service for Scotland, the Police Service of

Scotland would be operationalised on the 1 April 2013. This announcement and the

subsequent reform of policing in Scotland, sits in tension with the findings collected during

the consultation processes discussed above.

3.6 The Police and Fire Reform Bill

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill 2012 was first introduced to Parliament on 16th

of January 2012 becoming an Act in August 2012. The bill was the first step as required by

law, in setting out the legislation that would be required to amalgamate the existing eight

regional police forces in Scotland and replace them with the Police Service of Scotland

(PSS). The bill stated that reform would.

- Protect and improve local services (despite financial cuts, by stopping duplication of

    support services eight times over and not cutting front line services);

- Create more equal access to specialist support and expertise, and

- Strengthen the connections between services and communities (by creating a new

    formal relationship with each of the 32 local authorities, involving many more local

    councillors and better integration with community planning partnerships)

(Scottish Parliament Session 4 2012)

Scott (2012) explains the change in description from 'police force' to 'police service' as discussed in the new legislation as "…reflecting the current emphasis and promotion of the police as a provider of public services rather than exclusively as a law enforcement agency" (ibid 2012:2).

The Reform Bill proposed a new direction for policing in Scotland with the creation of the PSS which would be managed and directed by a single chief constable, the creation of a national governance body that was to be called the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) and local scrutiny of policing being performed by committees or groups of locally elected representatives. However, between the introduction of the bill and its eventual passing as an Act, the Justice Committee of the Scottish Parliament conducted five evidence sessions to which many policing academics, professionals in the field and police partner organisations where invited to answer questions on the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill by the MSPs.

The evidence sessions included questions from the committee concerning the projected savings of reform, staffing levels of the new police service, the new command structure of the service and the role and membership of the newly formed SPA. In relation to the focus of this thesis, the second evidence session which occurred on the 6th of March 2012 is the most relevant in terms of the questions raised around local policing and national and local accountability. A police manager from the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) was invited to this particular evidence session to discuss the PSNI recent reform with a specific focus on how they had experienced change in terms of local accountability. A representative from Reform Scotland was also in attendance at this session and raised some interesting questions regarding the membership of the SPA. Reform Scotland argued that in their opinion

membership to the board should include elected representatives from each of the 32 local authority areas in order to "…ensure that local voices are heard" (Justice Committee 1st Evidence Sessions 2012:1040) claiming that "[U]nless the police board is made up of councillors, so that the chief constable is, in turn, answerable to councillors from across Scotland and can take all the local circumstances into account, the system will be messy…" (ibid 2012:1041). Further potential issues regarding the unelected nature of the SPA membership and the accountability of the authority were also highlighted in the session.

Previous research examining police reform in Europe was also discussed at the evidence session with questions asked regarding the impacts of previous reform on public satisfaction with local policing and how this could relate to the Scottish experience of reform. As discussed in Chapter 2, the overall lack of a definition for local policing was also highlighted at the session with the director of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research's (SIPR), Nick Fyfe suggesting that the bill's lack of definition on local policing had the potential to cause confusion at a local level as he argued, "…local will have very different meanings in different parts of Scotland" (ibid 2012:1043). However, when published it became clear that the legislation was still lacking any formal definition of local policing continuing the vague and ambiguous concept.

As a consequence of the evidence sessions and the input by witnesses available, the Reform Bill was amended in specific areas before being resubmitted. As the focus of this thesis is local policing, I will offer a brief over view of some of those amendments which relate to Chapter 7 of the Reform Act which focused on local policing.

- Section 44 (2) states that the Chief Constable must designate a local commander, the addition of "after consulting the local authority" which was not present in the original bill to the Reform Act provides a role for the local authority in deciding who the local commander will be.

- In section 45 of the original bill there was no mention of how each local authority could feed into in the construction of local policing plans for their area. In the Reform Act this was amended to include section (3) A and (4) A which allowed local authorities to highlight specific policing priorities to their local commander for inclusion in the local policing plan and also for them to be able to give feedback on the local plans.

- In section 45 of the bill which sets out each local authority's ability to request "…information about the policing of its area" (The Reform Act 2012:21 45 (5) c) the addition of section 6 and 7 to the Reform Act now allows local commanders to refuse to comply with certain requests and refer them directly to the chief constable.

3.7 The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012
The following section will now explore the details of the Reform Act with a specific focus on local policing. Diagram 3.3 below sets out the proposed changes to the structure of policing in Scotland as set out in the Reform Act.

Proposed Post Reform Policing Structure

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Scottish Parliament            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    ⇓
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Scottish Ministers             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    ⇓
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│     Scottish Police Authority (SPA)       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    ⇓
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│              Chief Constable              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
        ⇓                       ⇓
┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
│   32 Local   │        │   32 Local   │
│  Commanders  │        │   Councils   │
└──────────────┘        └──────────────┘
```
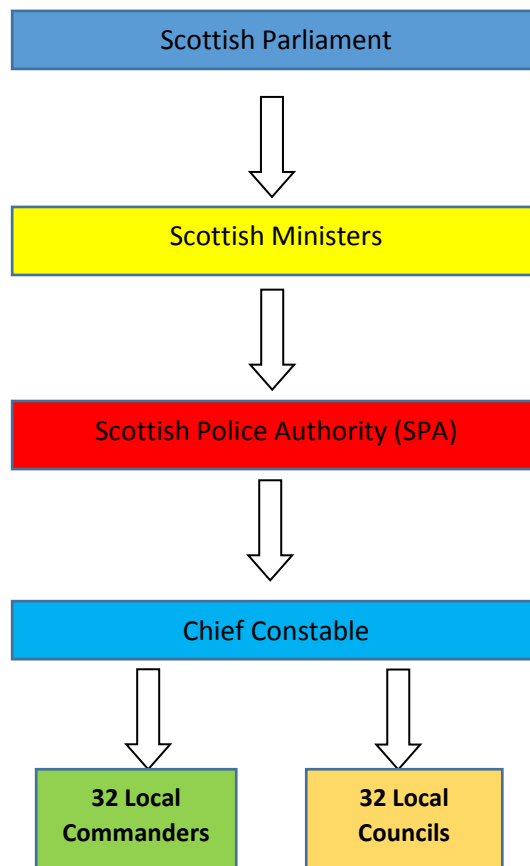
Figure 3.3 Proposed post reform policing structure

Since the introduction of the Police (Scotland) Act 1967 the role of police constables has been based around the traditional features of 'guard, patrol, watch'. However, the Reform Act also included the expansion of the legislative role of the constable related to the daily duties and responsibilities of a constable within the Police Service of Scotland. These are listed as being

- To prevent and detect crime

- To maintain order

- To protect life and property

- To take such lawful measures, and make such reports to the appropriate prosecutor, as may be needed to bring offenders with all due speed to justice

- Where required, to serve and execute a warrant, citation or deliverance issues, or process duly endorsed, by a Lord Commissioner of Justiciary, sheriff, justice of the peace or stipendiary magistrate in relation to criminal proceedings, and

- To attend court to give evidence

As reported by Scott (2012) amendments were also made to the declaration made by each new constable of the PSS which now includes "…a number of values - fairness, integrity, diligence, impartiality - which are in line with the rise of ethical policing" (ibid 2012:2) and meet the needs of upholding individual human rights as per the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR).

3.7.1 Local Policing
Local policing has for the first time been given a statutory footing with Chapter 7 section 44 (1) of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 stating that it would be the responsibility of the chief constable of PSS to "…ensure that there were adequate arrangements in place for the policing of each local authority area" (Reform Act 2012:20). In order to comply with this requirement, the chief constable allocated a local divisional commander to manage local policing within the 32 local authority areas across Scotland entailing a direct relationship between each local commander and their local authority via the construction of local policing plans.

Both the Reform Bill and the Reform Act stipulated that each local commander "…must involve the local authority in the setting of priorities and objectives for the policing of its area" (Reform Act 2012:20 Chapter 7 (45)) and provide the local authority with reports and statistics of how local policing is functioning in each area. However, as indicated above the original bill was amended, and under the terms of the updated Act, local commanders have

been given the power to refuse to provide certain details under certain conditions and instead refer any request directly to the chief constable. It was hoped that the new relationship between the PSS and local government constructed by the legislation would underpin and "strengthen the connection between services and communities". However, the foundations of the relationship have changed in the most fundamental ways with each local authority scrutiny group no longer having the statutory powers of the old police boards and no budgetary control in relation to policing. This reduction in influence has resulted in local government now filling a more consultative role with regards to reviewing local policing plans. A full discussion of how local scrutiny members have experienced this change in their relationship with local commanders can be found in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

The Reform Act set out how this relationship would move forward and described the roles of both police and local authority in Chapter 7, sections 44 and 45. The language employed in this section however, identifies the local commander as the lead in this relationship, describing how each local commander "must involve the local authority…must provide to the local authority…" (The Reform Act 2012:20) statistical data and information "as the local authority may reasonably require" (ibid 2012:20). In contrast when detailing the role of local authorities, the Reform Act indicates that they "may specify policing measures… [they] may monitor and may provide feedback…" (ibid 2012:20). The effect of this change in language suggests that the Reform Act is being clear and concise in how the local commander 'must' behave but rather ambiguous in terms of the role of each local authority that 'may' request information or question the local commander. The specific wording here implies that questions 'may' be asked, but perhaps will not always be answered. From the distinct wording utilized in the Reform Act, it would appear that overall, the role played by local authorities in terms of their involvement with local policing has been somewhat marginalised

post-reform when compared with the powers and responsibilities previously held by police

boards of local authorities.

3.7.2 General Policing Principles

The Reform Act has also, for the first time, presented a formal, legislative declaration of

policing principles which it is claimed offers a "new narrative for policing" (Fyfe 2014). The

Reform Act states that.

(a) The main purpose of policing is to improve the safety and well-being of persons,

localities and communities in Scotland, and

(b) That the Police Service, working in collaboration with others where appropriate,

should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which—

(i) is accessible to, and engaged with, local communities, and

(ii) Promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder.

(Reform Act 2012 Chapter 4 (32)

These new policing principles highlight the importance of local policing delivered locally and

the partnership approach to crime prevention. In terms of post reform governance, it is now

the role of national police oversight body The Scottish Police Authority (SPA), which has

replaced the pre-existing regional police boards, to "…promote the policing principles and

support continuous improvement in the policing of Scotland" (Scott 2012:3).

3.7.3 Governance, Scrutiny and Accountability

Forming a new national Police Service for Scotland gave the Scottish Government an

opportunity to re-evaluate traditional police governance and scrutiny practices taking into

account the concerns discussed above in section 3.2 of this chapter. The implementation of

radical reform presented an ideal situation where more contemporary governance

mechanisms, suited to a modern police organisation, could also be put in place. With this in

mind the Reform Act put an end to the role of traditional police boards that had previously held an executive role in relation to local policing and paved the way for a new national police governance body the Scottish Police Authority (SPA). It was claimed that the SPA, whose members are appointed by the Government, would deliver effective oversight and governance of the national police organisation, suggesting a more centralised approach to police governance. At a local level the disbanding of police boards ended what had been a long standing relationship between police in Scotland and local government, with Scott (2012) claiming that traditionally "…local government and policing have been inextricably linked since the late 18th century" (Scott 2012:4).

Chapter 1, part 1 of the Reform Act states that main role of the SPA is to,

- Maintain the police service

- To promote the policing principles set out in section 32

- To promote and support continuous improvement in the policing of Scotland

- To keep under review, the policing of Scotland

- To hold the Chief Constable to account for the policing of Scotland (including, in particular, the chief constable's carrying out of duties imposed by or mentioned in section 17).

(Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012:1)

As mentioned above, the Reform Act also changed how members of this new national governing body take up their posts. In contrast to the pre-existing police boards, which were made up of locally elected officials nominated by their parties to take part in policing boards, members of the SPA are instead 'appointed' by ministers of the Scottish Government. This

move away from the local towards a more centralised control of local policing, has resulted in an increased political focus on policing which is discussed in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

Section 2 (2) of the Reform Act attempts to define the selection criteria used for members of the SPA describing them as individual's whom the ministers regard as having "…the skills and expertise relevant to the function of the authority" (Reform Act 2012:70). Allowing ministers to define which individuals are suitably qualified and experienced for their roles as members of the SPA however, leaves the process open to potential abuses in terms of ministers supporting the appointment of individuals who they know would support particular political parties, and therefore policies. When we examine the previous experiences and skills of those individuals who have now been appointed as authority members, they cover a wide range of areas, there are six members who have been previous members of police boards, one ex-police officer, two ex- head of local authorities, and four members who have no previous experience of policing or police governance but who bring business or IT expertise to the authority. Further concerns around post reform governance and scrutiny of policing in Scotland have also been raised regarding the unelected status of the SPA board members in terms of "…electoral and democratic forms of accountability" (Fyfe 2012:10) and it remains to be seen if the board, appointed directly by Scottish ministers, has in the future the potential to overly politicise Scottish policing.

Mechanisms of local scrutiny and accountability for policing have also been altered post reform with the Reform Act giving local authorities the role of scrutinising local policing plans. In contrast to other post reform actions detailed in the Reform Act however, no formal statutory requirements were included on how local scrutineers should form or conduct themselves, with claims made that this would allow each local authority to be flexible in their

approach to what suited the local context. This has resulted in varying processes being adopted across Scotland with some local authorities adding police scrutiny to pre-existing committee agendas, with others structuring blue light committees which include police, fire and ambulance services and some who have created designated police scrutiny committees (for a full discussion see chapter 9 of this thesis). The variety of local mechanisms employed across the country therefore makes it impossible to accurately measure or examine how effectively local scrutiny is being delivered at present.

As a result of local scrutiny now being placed on a non-statutory footing post reform, the Scottish Government, COSLA and the Improvement Services jointly published and co-authored a document of guidance for local authority scrutineers. The guidance was based on findings from over twenty Pathfinder projects which were "…established to support local partners through the transition to the new local arrangements" (ibid 2013:2) and included a statement that there should be "A clear line of sight between local and national priorities…and a two-way relationship" (ibid 2013:2). However, it is not clear how this two-way relationship should be conducted on a practical level. There is no explanation given of what role the formal body of the SPA should have with local scrutineers and vice versa. To add to the ambiguity surrounding these new local scrutiny arrangements, the Act itself does not include any direction or method for the bodies to engage with each other, although the SPA state on their web site that they have been "…meeting with and building key relationships with councillors and senior officers in local authorities, local commanders and their command teams across Scotland" (SPA Web sitehttp://www.spa.police.uk/about-us/partnership-and-engagement/134573/).

A lack of any formal relationship between local and national scrutiny groups has the potential to ensure that local scrutiny groups do not feed upwards their issues or concerns regarding local policing resulting in the SPA losing the specific local context of policing practices and styles across Scotland.

3.8 Conclusion
In order to situate the current police reform in its own historical framework, this chapter has sought to provide an overview of the pre-reform structure of policing in Scotland and the role of the previous eight Chief Constables in delivering local policing suited to each local context, inclusive of geography and crime patterns. It has examined concerns regarding the pre-reform accountability of local policing and the role played by ACPOS as a non-elected and non-accountable body with significant influence of policing which together with national spending cuts and an SNP majority government, paved the way towards the current police reform journey.

As discussed previously (section 3.3 above) the use of 'journey' in the title of this chapter and when discussing reform in this thesis does not infer that there is or ever has been a single, endpoint destination for local policing in Scotland. Instead the notion of a journey should be read as a descriptive metaphor, used to reflect on what could 'possibly' happen over time, dependent on what options are presented, accepted and then taken forward for the delivery of local policing in the next decades. In other words, this reform has not been planned or experienced in a linear way, reform is instead pragmatic and changes within the organisation as it trickles downwards from management to frontline staff.

Reform of any description can be difficult to manage and particularly so through the implementation stages. Terpstra and Fyfe (2015) in their examination of police reforms in

both the Netherlands and Scotland, highlight what they refer to as the implementation gap between what has been "…set out in the legislation and what is now implemented on the ground" (ibid 2015:7). From the Scottish perspective this can be seen in a number of ways; the proposed structure of policing as described above in Diagram 3.3 which was set out in the Reform Act and was originally based on the Scottish Government, Scottish Ministers, the SPA, the Chief Constable and 32 local commanders working with 32 local council areas. However, as of March 2016 this structure is being experienced in quite a different way which is highlighted in the figure 3.4 below, with further changes expected at the announcement that Sir Stephen House the Chief Constable has resigned and a new Chief Constable is to be put in place.

Post Reform Policing Structure

Scottish Parliament

Scottish Ministers

Scottish Police Authority (SPA)

Chief Constable

North Region

East Region

West Region

14 Divisions with 14 Divisional Commanders

32 Local Authorities
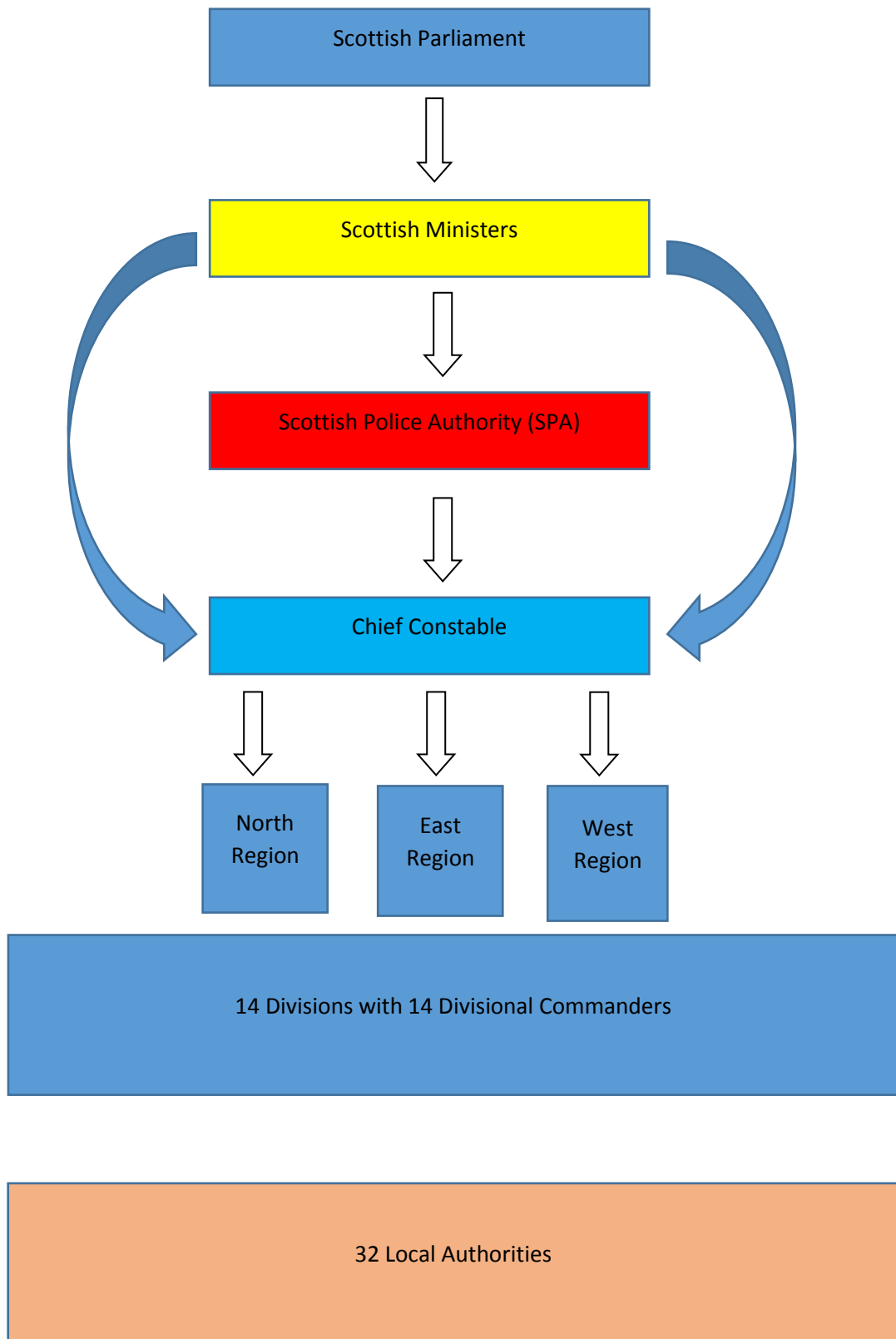
Figure 3.4 Post Reform Policing Structure March 2016

This chapter has also shown that the introduction of a national police service for Scotland, is not a new concept and that at various times since 1853 the notion has been discussed and then discounted, with this particular journey to reform beginning in 2008 when the Justice Secretary for Scotland instructed Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) to conduct an Independent Review of Scottish Policing which was published in 2009. The introduction of the Scottish Policing board, a result of the findings of the review was the first step in the reform journey for Scotland. From this group a further sub-group developed, whose main role was to identify a programme of cost savings in line with national spending cuts. The membership, input and broad scope of these groups highlights the importance placed on police reform by the Scottish Government and ultimately led to the first public consultation on proposed police reform in 2011, and a second in 2012.

Despite there being general opposition to the implementation of a single national service, legislation was drawn up and the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill (2012) was introduced to parliament. Deciding not to follow the findings from the consultations, from businesses, individuals and policing experts has been a decided gamble for the Scottish Government heading into reform and has resulted in a fervent backlash from communities and organisations regarding some of the more unwelcome policies introduced by Police Scotland such as the increased focus on stop and search on young people and the routine arming of police officers in public. This perceived disregard for the process of consultation has also resulted in a lack of support for Police Scotland with many key stakeholders and partners involved with planning and delivering community policing, who took part in this project, claiming there was an overall sense of fait accompli regarding the development of a single national force and that their opinion or support was never taken into account (see chapter 8 for a full discussion). A further interesting point with regards the consultation

process on police reform is that neither the Scottish Government nor the police organisation itself sought any input from those who would be impacted on the most by reform, frontline officers. This lack of involvement in the planning stages of reform has resulted in a general lack of support for reform from the frontline and impacted on how frontline officers now view themselves within the organisation (see Chapter 6 of this thesis for a full discussion).

The formation of Police Scotland also resulted in the introduction of new governance mechanisms as discussed above in section 3.7.3 which it was claimed would rectify ongoing democratic concerns within the traditional tripartite system of police governance. Together with the introduction of a national police body, the SPA whose members are appointed by government, and the removal of police fiscal powers or any statutory role with regards local policing, the existing relationships between local government and the police has altered beyond recognition. At the time of writing there is no way to measure or evaluate how effective these new local or national governance mechanisms have been, with local governance being particularly difficult to assess due in part to the wide variety of mechanisms put place.

Chapter 4 will now look to explain recent police reform in Scotland by utilising the concepts and perspectives found with the organisational change literature.

4 Making Sense of Police Reform: Concepts and perspectives from the organisational change literature

4.1 Introduction

Both private business and public service reform have seen a marked increase in contemporary society. For the most part, organisations change and adapt on a continual and incremental basis in order to survive the ever changing business environments they exist in. However, the pace and scope of the recent reform which has occurred across policing in Scotland, has shown that not all change occurs continually or incrementally. To be able to fully consider both the impact and implications of the recent police reform in Scotland, there was a requirement to clearly understand the origins of the reform in terms of the drivers of change. Chapter 4 will therefore offer a theoretical lens through which to view police reform and the reform journey previously explained in Chapter 3.

The key narrative focus of this chapter is based on the emergent themes drawn from the organisational change literature and the extent to which these keys themes are based around the drivers, strategies and scope of change. The chapter will also discuss three further themes relevant to police reform which emerged from the general change literature and related to the implementation of reforms; communication during the journey through change and resistance to change. Importantly, these themes also formed key parts of the analysis framework employed on the data collected for this project, (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

The main themes which emerged from the organisational change literature, which are discussed fully in Chapter 6, were based on; communication within and external to the organisation, the implementation of reform and the role played by resistance to change. This chapter will therefore act as a conduit between chapters by further developing the operationalisation of reform discussed in Chapter 3, whilst at the same time providing a

framework for the later analysis of data in Chapter 6 around how police officers in both case study areas have experienced reform.

Firstly, this chapter will give a brief outline of the themes and debates within the general organisational change literature, highlighting those based on the drivers for organisational change including the strategies of change, the implementation of change and resistance to change. The chapter will then offer a more in-depth critical examination of police organisational change literature and the extent to which these themes are represented in the police literature. The chapter concludes by summarising the similarities and differences of these themes in the police literature. Importantly, this chapter also highlights a gap in current organisational change literature regarding a specific change theory which is suited to large scale organisational change to the police.

4.2 Organisational Change; themes and debates
In their work examining the job commitment and satisfaction experienced by police officers, Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) claim that from a public sector organisational change perspective the majority of the change literature highlights the organisations ability to provide more effective and efficient public services as the main driver[s] for change. This change and reform process within the public sector specifically has become what Osborne and Brown (2005) refer to as "…continuous and continual…" (ibid 2005:65) and occurs across both a strategic and operational level of business. However, from work conducted within a social work/social justice framework examining the role of employee resistance in the change process it has also been "… estimated that at least two thirds of organizational change efforts do not result in their intended aims nor do they foster sustained change" (Hendrickson and Gray 2012:50).

Osborne and Brown (2005) argue that reform or change of public services specifically is a more radical process than that which occurs across the private sector. This argument is based on the way change, once implemented throughout public services "…crucially affects communities and ultimately, affects the quality of life of the citizenry" (Osborne and Brown 2005:67) indicating how far reaching the impacts and consequences of public sector reform can be. The recent reform of policing in Scotland which has included organisational change on a level rarely before experienced, offers this project a unique and unparalleled view of how the organisation and those within it are experiencing the impact of change through the implementation journey.

As discussed above, the majority of organisational change literature is focused on private sector organisations with literature from within a public sector context, to say the least complex. The literature around organisational change theories are in the main cross disciplinary, and are situated within such diverse academic schools as psychology, sociology, social work, economics and business management and are based on examining what works in relation to effective organisational change, implementation and management (Hart 1996, Pardo del Val & Martínez 2003, Osborne and Brown 2005). The varying academic schools in which the literature sits however, has the potential to perplex the reader with "…evidence, examples and illustrations generated in a wide variety of organisation… [and the] … diverse range of methodologies with varying degrees of rigour" (Iles and Sutherland 2001:12). However, an enduring theme found throughout the majority of the organisational literature is based on the potential for far reaching impacts and outcomes of change within an organisation whatever the strategy or scope of change employed.

Organisational change theories focus on both the organisation itself and the individual employee's experience of change and look to encompass both internal and external factors inclusive of but not limited to the driver(s) of change, the implementation and management of change and how these are perceived and experienced by the individual employees within the organisation (Iles and Sutherland 2001). With this in mind Kezar (2001) in his work within the higher education sector cautions that when designing and implementing change "…one size does not fit all when it comes to change approaches…" (ibid 2001:20) and that professionals and policy leaders should be mindful of which change strategy they employ within each organisation in order to implement the most effective outcomes from change.

Change in a public service context, such as that which has recently taken place within Policing in Scotland comprises elements of "…growth and/or development" (Osborne and Brown 2005:5) where management look to embed new methods of thinking and operating in an organisation. The literature shows that the processes followed in the formulation and implementation of organizational change however, are very similar across the divide of either public or private organizations. These stages are defined by Hart (1996), and illustrated in Diagram 4.1 below, and relate to his discussion on the impact of change on police personnel as;

- The recognition of the signs or indicators that organizational change is required in the first instance (these can be both internal or external to the organization

- Identify the target for change i.e. the culture of an organization which focuses change at an individual level, the systems of the organization and/or the structure itself.

- The final stage is identifying the type of change and processes of implementation which will occur across the organization (see Diagram 4.1 below).
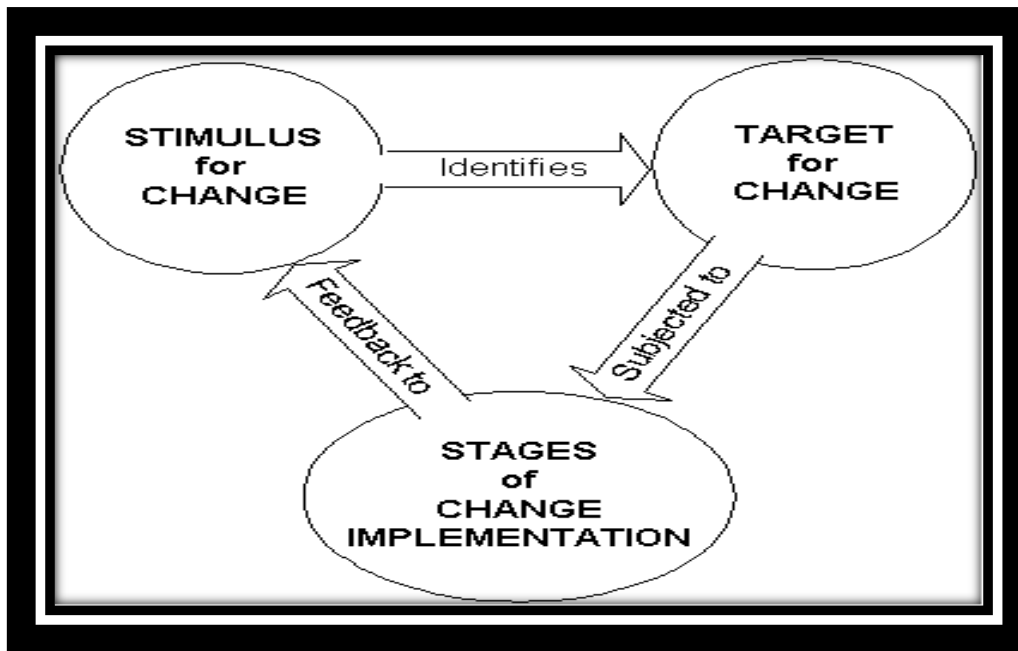
Figure 4.1 Cycle of Change (based on Hart 1996)

4.2.1 Drivers of Organisational Change

Change, restructuring or reform of public sector organisations, (particularly the police) occurs as a result of alterations in existing external or internal factors that are shaped by "greater economic integration and internalization[sic] of policy" (Osborne and Brown 2005:67). This definition relates the drivers of reform to more structural concepts, for example global economic issues and policy implementations such as the more prescriptive methods employed to manage the public sector within contemporary society. In this way change can be defined as the never ending pursuit of organisations to become more effective, more efficient and overall more successful. Osborne and Brown (2005) list four main drivers for organisational change in a public sector context as including;

1. Economic factors – including the global economic situation

2. Social factors – such as changing requirements and expectation of the public

3. Technological drivers – including the introduction of new technologies which impact on the operational outputs of organisations

4. Political factors - Continuing national policy changes for example New Labour's introduction of New Public Management

Table 4.1 below shows an example of some of the general drivers of both public and private

sector organisational change giving some examples for each.

Drivers of Change	Examples
Economic Drivers	• Allocation of resources • Global economic situation, which impacts on the individual states ability to fund public organisations • Marketization of public services, focus on cost efficiencies and cost controls
Social Drivers	• New or emerging needs of the population, i.e. security and anti-terror requirements which links to changing public expectations of public service organisations • In theory the police within any society are assumed to be representative of that specific society (Critchley 1967) it could then be suggested that as society evolves policing structures and processes also require to evolve along similar lines.
Technological Drivers	• Can be structures or equipment IT etc. • Or individual employee focused with regards skill levels and experience together with "changing labour demographies" (Osborne and Brown 2005:64)
Political Drivers	• The political machinery of the time which has the potential to either endorse and support or oppose any reforms to public bodies; • Individual political actors who have the power to create, direct and implement organisational change within the public sector.

Table 4.1 Drivers of Change

4.2.2 Strategies of Change

Within organisational change literature there are two main strategies of change which are

highlighted in table 4.2 below; planned change which is focused and underpinned by

"…conscious reasoning and actions" (Iles and Sutherland 2001:14) and in the main is

"…driven by the senior ranks" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91) of an organisation and

emergent or unplanned change which is in contrast more unstructured and "…emerges from

the external environment" (ibid 2005:39) of the organisation.

Planned Change	Emergent Change
Assesses and plans for internal or external impact on the organisation	To manage change which is not predictable and out with the control of the organisation
Develop suitable organisational responses in a controlled and managed format to meet predicted impacts and issues	Looks to develop the potential of the organisation in managing change – seen more as a learning process suitable for continual and ongoing change
Sees management as leaders of change	Views managers as enablers of change working with the workforce
Has a specific defined end point for change in either the structures, behaviours or processes of the organisation and sets goals to meet them	No end point identified – works on a continuum basis where the organisation is prepared to deal with complex environmental causes of change

Table 4.2 Planned and Emergent Change

4.2.3 Planned Change

Planned change or what can also be termed as *strategic* change is based on a comprehensive and wide ranging change to the pre-existing organisational framework of an organisation. In general, this form of change is the result of environmental conditions whether they are political, economic or social and is characterized by having a bound and defined end goal for the organisation (Newman 1998, Osborne and Brown 2005). This type of change is designed with a certain degree of prediction involving the non-human "…quantifiable and predictable issues…" (Bovey and Hede 2001:535) of an organisation where the end goal of the change is known, such as the introduction of new technologies. The predictions utilised are based on the organisations' ability to continuously scrutinise the specific external environment it is situated within paying close attention to potential factors which could impact upon the organisation and its effectiveness. An example of planned change is cited by Savage (2007) in the introduction of the 'Workforce Modernisation' programme pilots which were introduced to police forces across England and Wales by New Labour and looked to "…achieve economies, and to increase the flexibility of employment practices in the police sector…" (ibid 2007:123). The predicted outcomes for the organisational change were

expected to be stronger local policing, an improved utilisation of non-police personnel resulting in a heightened professional approach to policing.

Planned change can be rapid and unsettling for those involved as it looks to alter "…existing configurations of power relations, organisational structures and value sets…" (Osborne and Brown 2005:50). It is claimed that planned change is fundamentally focused on the concept that successful change can only be achieved by "…enacting leadership-led radical change" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91) and therefore the processes of planned change are in the main designed and directed from a top down perspective by the senior management level of an organization (Thornhill et al 2000). This top down approach has led to criticism of planned processes and design procedures which highlight the leadership role of organizations whilst simultaneously marginalizing front line workers in terms of their not having any role in the reform processes (Hart 1996, Pardo del Val, & Martínez 2003, Osborne and Brown 2005). The processes employed by management in planned change include the operationalization of "…diagnostic tools…" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91) internally which are utilised to allow an in depth examination of existing organizational "…structures, processes, climate and environment" (ibid 2005:92) which are then used to support a change framework which will enable the development of a rational and linear transition suited to the organization.

4.2.4 Unplanned Change
However, many organizations such as the police service can still at times fall prey to the impacts of unplanned or emergent change which can occur through:

- Environmental crises: that in themselves were sudden and unexpected,

- Systems turmoil or failure (Savage 2007) either internally or externally which is known and is acknowledged as creating gradual decline then suddenly and unpredictably accelerates with a catastrophic effect, forcing sudden change,

- Sudden and unforeseen psychological and social factors affecting either staff internally or the public externally.

(Hart 1996)

In contrast to the discussion on planned changes (section 4.2.3 above), organizational change can also occur in a more organic unplanned way with changes arising in an emergent manner. Unplanned change is based on the premise that not all reforms can be controlled or predicted and that in some cases organisations may require changes to their existing structures or work practices which arise due to "…unforeseen crisis" (Osborne and Brown 2005:7). The resulting features of this form of change are established in the organization maintaining its overall existing organizational framework and adopting change towards an improved and enhanced version of their previous structure (ibid 2005). In this way emergent forms of organizational change are more pragmatic in their outlook and look for the organization to be able to adapt to either internal or external drivers of change in an uncomplicated way. Examples of unplanned or emergent change where organisations have reacted to unforeseen circumstances can be seen in the responses to situations such as the 1987 King's Cross underground fire and the 1999 train crash at Paddington both of which prompted radical transport policy reform in an effort to prevent similar accidents in the future (Savage 2007).

Emergent change is operationalized by organizations through the employment of instruments based on a dynamic environment, both external and internal, with no fixed destination or end point for the organization. In contrast to planned change emergent forms of organisational change are also linked to the introduction and use of concepts such as risk management with the intention of making organizations aware of change but containing an underlying

assumption that change can "…never be entirely planned for" (Osborne and Brown 2005:7).

The main approaches included in this form of change management are

- That there are always constant changes in the external environment which are too

  complex and occur too quickly to support the use of planned change approaches

- Therefore, organisations have to involve the whole of the organisation in an

  organisational learning process which traverses across the organisation supporting

  change and innovation in a more effective way.

Unplanned change processes look to managers within organizations as enablers of change in

contrast to the planned approach to change which looks to managers as leaders of change. As

enablers of change, management work together with, and involve employees in the change

process which Senge (1990) claims leads to a more successful and effective transition.

4.2.5 The Scope of Change
As Chapter 3 states, change or reform within a policing context is nothing new with various

changes occurring across and within police organisations for generations. However, it is the

models for implementing organisational change which vary. Pardo del Val, & Martínez

(2003) in their work on private sector organisational change, refer to these as the "…scope of

change…" (ibid 2003:4) whereby the changes ongoing within an organisation can be

identified and classified by the scale of change taking place to the structures and operations

of each organisation. The scope of organisational change taking place is defined as either a

transformational or *incremental* change model. Transformational change, as the name

suggests is based on "…radical, ground breaking" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91) change

which looks to transform the pre-existing and traditional organisational cultures and work

practices of an organisation. Todnem (2005) in his article reviewing organisational change

management literature based mainly in the private sector, argues that in the main

transformational change occurs as a result of a "…organisational crisis…" (Todnem 2005:370) which can be unpredictable. In contrast to this incremental change or what Kezar (2001) refers to as "first order change…is characterised by evolutionary change, a linear process…and incremental approaches" (ibid 2001:16) where "…individual parts of an organisation deal increasingly and separately with one problem and one objective at a time..." (Todnem 2005:372). Incremental change is therefore defined as "…change that enhances or corrects existing aspect of an organisation…" (Iles and Sutherland 2001:15) and can include processes such as the introduction of new IT systems based on an advancement in technology. Incremental change is also described in the literature as change which is planned where the changes implemented sit alongside, support and develop pre-existing organisational structures (Todnem 2005, Kezar 2001, and Newman 1998).

Ackerman (1997 cited in Iles and Sutherland 2001) in his definition of models of change takes this one stage further with the addition of developmental change;

1. **Developmental change**- which looks to improve and enrich an existing operation system within the organisation

2. **Transitional change** – which has a fixed end destination for the organisation and is based on the work of Lewin (1951) and his concepts of unfreeze, change, refreeze whereby the organisation changes from an existing state to a new state (see over for details)

3. **Transformational change** – brings changes to the organisations identity "…structure, processes, culture and strategy" (Iles and Sutherland 2001:16), this is the longest change process and affects the "…basic capabilities of the organisation" (Pardo del Val, & Martínez 2003:4)

Figure 4.3 below is taken from Sette (2008) and looks to illustrate the trajectory taken through organisational change dependant on the scope of change employed.
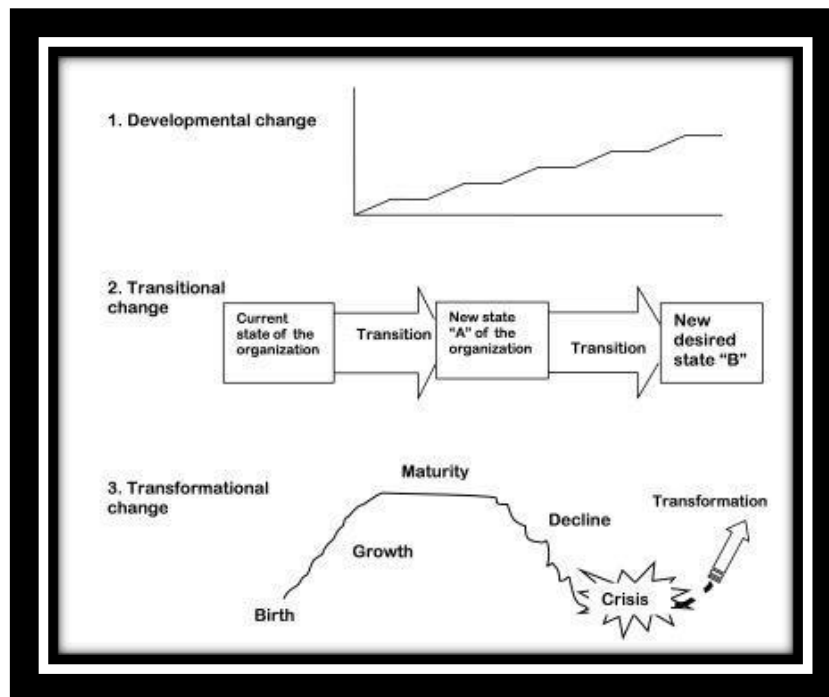
Figure 4.3 the Trajectory of Change (based on Sette 2008)

Implementing transformational or emergent change in any organization is dependent on a variety of specific concepts such as the organisations "…capabilities and resources…and the types of leadership available…" (Newman 1998:16). A further suggested concept which influences how the implementation process should be operationalised is identified by Hart (1996) as involving the ways in which organisations relate to their external environment and is based on the organisation having either open or closed borders between themselves and their external environment. From this perspective it is suggested that the level of openness within an organisation underpins how much change the organisation will experience and that the more open to impact from the external environment an organisation is, the more they will change and adapt to suit the external environment (Hart 1996 and Newman 1998)

4.2.6 Implementing Change

The final section of the change management process, is the implementation or operationalization of change. The implementations stage of change management includes an evaluation and feedback component which is employed in order to test against the initial stimulus for change. This is in contrast to the more abstract nature of the formulation of change itself and it is claimed, that a fundamental element of this part of the process lies in "…the addition of leadership and motivational skills to actually produce the changes" (Hart 1996: No page number). Human Output, i.e. employee contribution in the process it is claimed is an essential factor in implementing successful organizational change regardless of the focus or target for change (Hart 1996, Osborne and Brown 2005). Within any organisation the support for change from the workforce is necessary particularly if the intended result will engender a change in existing practices and routines. In terms of successful implementation of reform Osborne and Brown (2005) propose that change or reform processes have more success when they originate with front line staff compared with higher level management plans, in other words change is more successful when articulated from a bottom up approach in contrast to a top down approach.

A further concept which is said to support the successful implementation of change is based on the internal culture of each organization (Osborne and Brown 2005, Bevir 2010 and Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 2010). This argument claims that organisational culture has a fundamental impact on how successful change can be achieved in terms of how individuals attach meaning to the changes taking place. Organizational culture is a unique phenomenon which occurs throughout many organizations and is defined by O'Toole (1985) as being based on "…shared ideas, customs, assumptions expectations…traditions, values" (ibid 1985:275).

In the main planned processes of change are implemented around Lewin's (1952) three stage concept which looks to "unfreeze-change-refreeze" organizational attitudes and are shown in table 4.2 below;

Unfreeze, Change, Refreeze Lewin (1952)

Stage 1 **Unfreeze - unlearn**	Unfreeze or unlearn legacy workplace attitudes and behaviours to existing routines and systems. Communication with the workforce is critical at this stage to enable them to understand and thus support the imminent change.
Stage 2 **Change - Embed**	Support and inspire workforce in accepting new routines and systems, be observant and prepared for potential issues, whilst keeping communication lines open in both directions.
Stage 3 **Refreeze – Relearn**	Positive reinforcement of new systems and routines by management encourages the refreeze stage of the process. The change process is complete when the new processes have been accepted as the organisational norm and have become refrozen in the attitudes and behaviours.

Table 4.2 Unfreeze, Change, Refreeze (based on Kleiner and Corrigan 1989)

4.2.7 Communication

Throughout the corpus of literature on organizational change one of the most significant claims made is that successful change in any organisation is dependent on effective and robust communication strategies aimed at preparing, coaching and supporting the workforce through the planning and implementation of organizational change (Manuela and Clara 2003, Osborne and Brown 2005, Elving 2005, and Bevir 2010). It is through effective and open communication lines that change managers are able to firstly gain employees support for upcoming change, monitor employee concerns surrounding the change feeding back into the change evaluation process and be able to measure and evaluate outputs against how effective the change is (Elving 2005).

Communication strategies within organizational change have been described as occurring in two ways, either:

1. **Monologic communication** – which in the main is deployed in planned organizational change and based on a "… linear, one-way communication that treats communication as an instrument for conveying and receiving organizational messages" (Osborne and Brown 2005:98) and

2. **Dialogic communication** – which is reasoned to be more supportive of inclusion in the reform process and is based on "… two-way communication that creates meanings through interaction and relationship building between participants" (ibid 2005:98).

Monologic forms of communication are deemed problematic within the context of change management in that they work in a singular top down style and do not encourage an exchange of dialogue and are said to realize relationships which are "…characterized by power and authority over people to achieve specific ends" (Osborne and Brown 2005:99). With regards to the successful implementation of change which is defined as transformative and looks to rework the existing organizational framework, Frahm and Brown (2003) suggest that dialogical communication strategies be employed and encourage the utilization of "…problem solving groups or discussion boards" (ibid 2003:99) to facilitate the progression of change in as inclusive a manner as possible.

Putting in place effective, honest and reliable communication procedures between management and staff during all stages of the change process has the ability to help deliver positive outcomes for organisational change.

4.2.8 Resistance to Change

Regardless of the attention paid to organisational change by practitioners, academics and others "…many of the efforts of organisational change fail" (Elving 2005:129) or at the very least are unsuccessful in achieving their end goals. There are many reasons for these failures; timing of the change, readiness of the organisation for change, ineffective communication by change managers and a lack of support for change by employees are just a few discussed in the literature. Elving (2005) discusses the important role that effective communication strategies play within the organisation during change highlighting that "Poorly managed communication results in rumors[sic] and resistance to change" (ibid 2005:129). When employees of an organisation are not seen to fully support change or question why change, it is classified as resistance and is generally directed towards "…the sources of the stress" (Hart 1996).

Within the resistance to change literature there are two main paradigms; one which views resistance as a positive concept where legitimate issues or concerns regarding the impact of change are raised by front line staff and the other which views resistance as a negative concept and correlates resistance to the failure of change management in terms of both impeding and at times preventing the successful implementation of change. In terms of the existing literature on resistance to change, the majority of the literature supports the notion that resistance to change is perceived as a "…negative problem-centred mind set…" (Hendrickson and Gray 2012:52). Hendrickson and Gray (2012) take the concept of resistance further and highlight that within the organisational change literature there is no overall consensus on a resistance definition and suggest that internal resistance to change in itself can be "…viewed as an attempt to challenge and fight against the status quo…" (ibid 2012: 50).

As mentioned above resistance to change is not necessarily viewed through a negative lens on all occasions (Piderit 2000, Pardo del Val & Martínez 2003). Here there is an argument that resistance to change within an organisation can also be viewed more positively as a way to highlight, from a bottom up perspective, that perhaps change on the ground is having unintended consequences or that specific features of the change have not been as successful as hoped. In their review of the resistance to change literature Pardo del Val & Martínez (2003) discuss resistance as a form of feedback from front line staff which gives change managers the opportunity to "…develop a more successful change process" (ibid 2003:3) that is suited to the organisation.

Internal resistance by a workforce it is argued impacts greatly on the overall success or failure of the implementation of any structural change. Pardo del Val & Martinez (2003) claim that resistance to change "…introduces costs and delays to the change process …that are difficult to anticipate" (ibid 2003:3), Whilst Hart (1996) suggests that resistance can lead to negative or deviant behaviours by employees which "…can range from a temporary and marginal reduction in productivity, through to internal sabotage and/or major industrial action" (ibid 1996:). This point is expanded further by Piderit (2000), who suggests that the successful implementation of organisational change is based on "…generating employee support and enthusiasm for proposed changes" (ibid 2000:783).

With this in mind there are two distinct stages involved in resisting change, that which occurs during the formulation stage of change where the design of change is constructed and that in the implementation stage of change "…once the change strategy is already formulated" (Pardo del Val & Martínez 2003:5)

1. **Causes of resistance in the formulation stage of change –**

- Low motivation for change – internal or external i.e. within the policing context low political motivation for police reform.

- Refusal to accept any information that is not expected or desired.

- Reliance on implicit assumptions which are never made explicit.

- Communication obstacles – resulting in misinformation- resulting in decisions being made which are not all based in fact.

2. **Causes of resistance in the implementation stage resistance –**

- Political and cultural stalemate.

- Crisis between organizational values and new change values a focus on-"…emotional loyalty" (ibid 003:7).

- No support for rationale behind change in the first place.

(Pardo del Val, & Martínez 2003)

The concept of communication obstacles as discussed above are also highlighted as being significant in the ways in which resistance to change is constructed by employees within an organization. These are defined by Pardo del Val, & Martínez (2003) as "…communication barriers" (ibid 2003:14) and can be rooted in ineffective communication practices throughout both the formulation and implementation stages of organizational change. In this way it can be suggested that implementing robust communication systems within reform or change processes to support various levels within an organization is a valuable way in which to counteract strategies of resistance deployed by the workforce. Internal communication of reform agendas and ideas was also a theme found in the data collected in this project and will be discussed in more depth in chapter 6, section 6.5.

4.3 Police Organisational Change Literature

When looking to change or reform from within a distinctive police organisational context, it should be noted that in the main there are three types of reform which are discussed in the current literature. These typologies in the main "…refer to a range of very different processes and changes at different levels within the police organisation" (Terpstra and Fyfe 2013: 8). The levels have been defined as micro, meso and macro level and are illustrated in table 4.3 below.

Level of reform	Scope of	Reform
Micro	Changes to procedures for obtaining views of citizens on local policing or dealing with complaints	Introduction of community oriented, problem oriented or intelligence led policing.
Meso	Introduction of force based Compstat type accountability, crime mapping and hot spot policing	Introduction of national/regional quality and performance management systems
Macro	Introduction of bench marking between police forces on factors like response times, detection rates and citizen satisfaction	Changes to the organisations structures, governance and purpose of policing.

Table 4.3 the Level and Scope of Reform (based on Terpstra and Fyfe 2013:8)

When examining the definitions in table 4.3 above, it becomes clear that the recent police reform in Scotland is comprehensive in its *scope* and therefore sits within the macro *level* of change. However, it should also be highlighted at this juncture that not all organisational changes can be placed neatly within this set of definitions and at times the range and scope of change could be said to overlap these fixed boundaries.

Whilst reviewing the literature which is available regarding police reform it became apparent that there was a tendency towards a focus on operational changes which are situated within the micro level or meso level and that the current literature did not provide an adequate

discussion of police reform at a macro level such as that which has been experienced in Scotland. Some examples of this micro focused research can be seen in the work of Skogan (2008) who looked to examine 'Why Reforms Fail' in the context of implementing community policing initiatives in Chicago; Bayle (2008) and his examination of the 'instigators' of police reform again focusing on community policing and top down operational changes as reform and Toch (2008) who looked at the role of police officers as agents of change in reform with his focus of reform being operationally based on reducing officers use of excessive force again from a US perspective.

For the purposes of this research it therefore became necessary to engage with the much broader organisational change literature in order to explore change at a macro level. Some examples of this literature cited in this chapter are the work of Osborne and Brown (2005) who examine the experience of organisational change from within a broad public sector context; Iles and Sutherland (2001) who discuss managing change within the NHS in the UK; and Kezar (2001) who offers an explanation of organisational change occurring in the North American higher education sector.   However, this literature on its own was again not entirely suited to the needs of this project as it was unable to fit entirely alongside the distinctive framework of a contemporary policing organisation.

The following review of organisational change literature is based on a combination of both of these genres of literature supporting the claim that further empirical research is required to examine in a more robust manner, the impacts and implementation of macro level reforms on policing organisations.

4.4 Change within the Police Organisation

The following section will examine change literature from a specific police organisational

context and examine to what extent the themes highlighted above and drawn from the general

literature are illustrated in the policing studies discussed below. The themes can be divided

into two sections based around those connected to the journey of reform;

- Drivers

- Strategies

- Scope

And those related to the implementation and operationalisation of reform, which are based on

- Implementation

- Communication

- Resistance

As discussed in the introduction of this chapter whilst reviewing the literature on police

reform it was discovered that there was a lack of available literature on strategic, macro level

reform within a policing context and that much of the existing literature was focused on

operational reform such as the introduction of new policing techniques. It was found that in

the main the current police change/reform literature available was centred on micro level

operational changes such as Chan's (2007) longitudinal study which examined Australian

police officers experience of reform and how they made sense of changes focusing on

operational reforms such as the introduction of new shift patterns; Skogan (2008) and his

review of the implementation of community policing methods in Chicago and the work of

Bayley (2008) and his focus on hot spot policing, community policing and the introduction of

computer management techniques from a North American perspective. The challenges faced

in linking the findings from the data collected in this project to the main themes highlighted

in both the broad organisational change literature and the existing police reform literature,

corroborate my earlier assertion that to fully understand the impact and implications of macro level change of police organisations further empirical research is required.

The lack of empirical research focusing on macro level changes within the police organisation is also highlighted by Murray (2004) who states that:

> "The study of policing management and organization therefore deserves scholarly attention… scholars may find viewing their particular aspect of policing through a management and organizational prism could shed new light on their theories and research. But more importantly, police management and organization should be researched because there is so much still to be learned" (ibid 2004).

Mendel et.al. (2016) also support this claim regarding existing research and report that to date there has been a limited focus on evaluating police mergers and their impact. Of the projects they discuss in their review, the authors claim that "[R]areley is the evidence of sufficient quality to provide a clear and robust answer to the important questions force mergers raise…" (Ibid 2016:2). The lack of empirical evidence available to either support or refute the claims made by the Scottish Government that recent reform could offer both cost savings and more effective local policing, therefore raises questions as to how this reform and its predicted outcomes will be evaluated.

A further concern highlighted with organisational change in a policing context is based on the lack of empirical research surrounding frontline police officer's experiences of the change. Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) in their study examining job satisfaction and commitment

by Australian front line officers post organisational change claim, that within current policing research, the experiences of individual "…police officers in particular has been a secondary focus" (ibid 2003:44) of scholars. It could however, be argued that this lack of empirical focus on how individual front line officers experience organisational change is a reflection not of a lack of interest in how frontline officers experience change, but of the hierarchical nature of the police organisation and its general focus on the importance placed on the more senior ranks. This argument is supported by Sklansky and Marks (2008) who claim that traditional police research has looked to answer questions "…typically posed by police executives…" (ibid 2008:4) and has resulted in the marginalisation of the specialised knowledge and understanding of the role that front line officers provide.

From a Scottish police reform context Beech et.al (2015) examine the scope of change and claim that in addition to the three definitions Ackerman (1997) (discussed above in 4.2.5) there is a further typology of change which they claim is 'transactional change' which employs a hands on approach to change, based in the main, on a rewards and sanctions basis. However, although Beech et.al. (2015) looks to identify key themes in the change literature from inside a specifically policing perspective, albeit retrospectively, a lack of focus on the experiences of frontline officers is also unfortunately repeated in this work. In line with the discussion above, the chapter focuses on how reform has been experienced from the more strategic perspective of senior officers involved in the National Police Reform Team (NPRP) and although it does contain references to communications, this tends to be focused at the more strategic level with explanations given of how well each group within the NPRP communicated with each other. In terms of frontline officers, the chapter makes little mention of how internal communication was utilised in terms of either updating or including frontline officers in the reform process, a major theme in the data collected for this project

and discussed in full in Chapter 6. The data collected from front line officers regarding their experiences of recent police reform in Scotland for this thesis will supplement the rather limited knowledge base of police reform. Further to this, the data collected also has the potential to assist in the evaluation processes of reform and importantly could be utilised in any future reform plans.

The term reform when used within a policing context can be used to define change which is occurring either simultaneously or independently across a variety of levels in the organisation. Terpstra and Fyfe (2013) refer to this as this the "…level of reform and its scope" (ibid 2013:8) in their recent publication which offers a comparative view of police reform from a Northern European perspective. Understanding change processes within the complex setting of the police organisation is difficult, out with a lack of literature on macro level reforms, change within policing has been described as a continual process that is necessary for the police to continue their role in the most efficient manner possible; in order to police to each specific context, the organisation must adapt along with the society it operates in (Hart 1996, Skogan 2008).

4.4.1 Drivers of Organisational Change
As with private sector and other public service organisations discussed above, (see table 4.2) the change stimuli for policing organisations can be found in both external and internal environments. Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) claim that in so far as change in policing organisations is concerned the overarching drivers are generally based on achieving financial savings and addressing issues around accountability. However, they also recognise the impact of external drivers of change and discuss how the modified traditional societal "…expectations, values and beliefs…" (2003:44) of policing on drive reforms.

Former Commissioner of the City of London Police Force James, M Hart (1996) identifies

and defines some of the stimuli for recent police change and highlights key indicators, which

he claims are specific to policing organizations and are inclusive of both internal and external

factors:

- Managerial initiative and/or 'fashion in management', for example the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) methods

- Social and/or psychological factors of staff and the public, including criminals, victims, other involved individuals, as well as opinion formers,

- Cultural factors - assumptions by staff as to how the organisation operates,

- Structural design - the relationships constructed between the various parts of an organisation,

- Technological developments

- Organisational goals and values

- Political and/or economic factors, national, regional or internal.

(Hart 1996)

The outline business case for police reform published by the Scottish Government in 2011

claimed that in the main, reform of policing in Scotland was based on the projected financial

savings that could be made by introducing a single police service. As discussed in Chapter 3,

section 3.4, financial pressures, originating from a reduction in budgets from the UK

Government it is claimed, necessitated the need for radical spending cuts in policing. The

business case for reform reported that restructuring the police organisation towards one,

single national police service for Scotland would offer a way to protect local services in the

financial climate of the time and also offered "…the highest potential for long-term financial

sustainability" (Outline Business Case 2011:23) for policing in Scotland.

However, focusing on only the financial drivers of recent reform in Scotland would mean ignoring the political circumstances that were ongoing around the planning and implementation of police reform, namely the Scottish Independence referendum of 2014. The SNP's election victory in May 2011 had set the scene for the largest political shake up for generations in Scotland. This shake up included the build up to major policy and public service reforms, including police reform, which as a majority government, the SNP now had a mandate to perform. By August 2011, just three months after their victory, the Scottish Government announced their intention to create legislation that would introduce a single national police service for Scotland, with a further announcement that the single service would be operationalised on the 1 April 2013. The time line from the initial announcement to implementation of reform ensured that by September 2014, the independence referendum date, Police Scotland was fully operational and importantly, suitable to be employed as evidence that the SNP could create new institutions for an independent Scotland.

With regard to internally driven police change, Savage (2007) discusses both the historical background and the future potential of police reform from a policy perspective and highlights the role of police "actors and agents" (ibid 2007:125) in change. He claims that police personnel also have an important role to play in terms of their ability to raise awareness of their perceived issues in the pre-existing framework whilst offering alternative solutions and of gathering support from within the organisation to drive those changes forwards. In many ways this reflects the situation as it arose in Scotland and the stance of the Association of Chief Police Officers Scotland (ACPOS), in particular when we explore the role of the previous Chief Constable of Strathclyde Sir Stephen House, the first Chief Constable of Police Scotland. The concept of internally driven police reform is also discussed by Sklansky and Marks (2008) where they argue that regardless of the specialist knowledge and

understanding that front line officers have concerning the delivery of local policing in their local area, internal police reform originates form a hierarchical top down approach to change.

4.4.2 Strategies of change

The literature shows that the strategies which underpin the majority of organisational change within a policing context are similar to those employed with other public sector and private sector organisations; namely that change can be either planned or emergent in origin (see table 4.3 above). From a specific policing context, the concept of planned change is discussed by Skogan (2008) in his examination of the planned introduction of community policing programmes in Chicago. However, this work focuses on reform of operational styles, in this case community policing, in contrast to the recent macro levels reforms experienced in Scotland. With regards to unplanned change in the policing organisation, Savage (2007) identifies what he defines as "systems failure… [or]…windows of opportunity" (ibid 2007:12) for unplanned police change. From this perspective the requirement for change is seen as an outcome of some form of policy failure, police scandal or corruption which places the organisation under a more rigid environment of scrutiny and creates a "…window of reform…" (ibid 2007:13) which increases the possibility of effective change. Savage (2007) offers an example of unplanned or emergent change, based on a systems failure which occurred in policing as a direct response to a royal commission set up and related directly to the arrest and conviction of the "Guilford Four and Birmingham Six cases" (ibid 2007:21).

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the strategy of change experienced in Scotland was highly planned, and involved many stakeholders, policing experts and politicians discussing how best to organise and implement change. However, it is important to recognise that the planned element of change, specifically from a policing context, cannot be a fixed concept

and as was seen with the Police Scotland experience, reform of policing is not as simple as being either planned or unplanned. From following the paper trail of minutes from the Scottish Policing Board, the Sustainable Policing Sub Group and the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing it appears that many amendments and changes to the initial plans were made when the first Chief Constable of Police Scotland was put in place. Examples of this can be seen in the introduction of 353 multi member ward policing plans which, although not part of the initial reform plan were implemented as part of the new chief constable's approach.

4.4.3 The Scope of Change

The scope of organisational change within a policing context is different from that defined in the general change literature (see table 4.5 above). When discussing transformational change in non-policing public service or private sector organisations, the definition is based on change which is "…radical, ground breaking alterations that exhibit a *profound* break with accepted patterns of organisational behaviour" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91 emphasis added). With Iles and Sutherland (2001) adding that transformational change "…can result in an organisation that differs significantly in terms of structure, processes, culture and strategy… [which]…requires a major shift in assumptions made by the organisation and its members." (ibid 2001:16). This definition of the scope of change is more in line with the recent macro level reform which has occurred in Scotland and reported in more detail in Chapter 3. Conversely, within the police reform literature there are studies which claim to report "significant and fundamental changes…" (Chan 1996:122) based on "radical policy" (ibid 1996:122) which are focused on changes to operational policing styles such as the introduction of community policing initiatives. Bayley (2008) in his study examining nine specific innovations in American policing also defines the implementation of problem oriented policing programmes, hot spot policing and the introduction of COMPSTAT as "…big reforms" (ibid 2008:9) which he suggests are significant changes that have altered

police practice. In other words, when referring to the scope of change in a policing context specifically, any operational change is viewed both internally and externally as being profound and transformational in contrast to the general literature.

4.4.4 Implementing Change
Implementing police changes at any level, either micro or macro is difficult and uncertain with Skogan (2008) suggesting that "…efforts to innovate in policing often fall short of expectations" (ibid 2008:23) and Chan (2007) in her longitudinal study of how front line police officers make sense of "…police reforms that have considerably altered the field of policing." (ibid 2007:328) highlighting this difficulty in relation to police change which is specifically "…imposed from above or by external bodies" (ibid 2007:324). Terpstra and Fyfe (2013) also look to how the police organisation is perceived from both within and out with the organisation in relation to proposed reform and discuss the "…weight of tradition and institutional stability that may be a significant impediment to radical change" (ibid 2013:11).

Police culture it can be claimed is unlike that of any other organizational or corporate culture (Manning 2007). Traditional policing practices with their focus on front line officers and individual discretionary powers built inside a formal hierarchical framework, entail a very different daily working routine for front line beat officers. This is of particular significance when it comes to implementing reform in policing as it is these front line officers and their interpretations of reform who operationalise change at a street level (Bevir 2010). Front line officers are defined by Savage (2007) as "street level bureaucrats… [who]…dictate how policies are (or are not) translated into actions at the delivery end of the policy process" (ibid 2007:128). This definition of the role of frontline officers in the implementation of reform raises concerns regarding change which has been formulated without taking account of

officers daily cultural context and it becomes evident that in the main there is a need for local officers to either adapt or subvert the reform principles to suit the local context resulting in what Bevir (2010) claims to be a "…hostile police resistance to change" (ibid 2010:240).

Organisational change and the role of internal police cultures are also highlighted in the seminal work of Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) who examined the divergent attitudes and drivers to change between "street cops and management cops" (ibid 2010:297) in relation to organizational change. Their work emphasised the role of traditional police culture and values, collective police behaviour and the "…forces affecting the management and practice of police work" (ibid 2010:297) in successful change management strategies.

With regards to the input of front line officers in times of reform, Bayley (2008) claims that front line officers are "…very rarely consulted about the kind of changes needed" (ibid 2008:13) and argues that front line officers and sergeants are the best placed to understand local social conditions but are however "…regarded by senior officers as the source of unhelpful complaints rather than useful insights" (ibid 2008:14). In this way Bayley (2008) argues the policing organisation is losing out on local grass roots knowledge together with "…a wealth of unorganized and under-utilizing knowledge about which police activities are not working and why" (ibid 2008:14). This claim supports the findings reported in this thesis (Chapter 6) by many frontline officers from across Longphort and Easton who argued that although the Scottish Government had encouraged a variety of public consultations, their perception was that no one, at any point in the reform journey had sought out the views of frontline officers, ignoring their specific expertise in delivering local policing at a local level.

Policing reform however does not only have an influence on the police organisation, partners and key stakeholders also experience the effect of changes to the police organisation. Contemporary policing strategies such as community policing and problem oriented policing are fundamentally underpinned by the concept of policing with external police partners and stakeholders in a partnership approach to local policing issues. Therefore, when looking to provide effective and productive police reform, the change strategies being employed require the full support and collaboration of these stakeholders in order that they "…understand they are partners…not victims of empire building by the police" (Skogan 2008:23). Understanding the importance of taking partners through the reform process is supported by Cunningham et.al. (2002) who suggest that offering partners "…an opportunity to participate in the change process contribute[s] to readiness for organizational change" (ibid 2002:377). In order to assess how the recent reform in Scotland had been experienced by police partners, a variety of local key stakeholders, including community wardens, trading standards and community safety representatives were also asked to take part in this project, the main findings from these interviews can be read in full in Chapter 8.

Skogan (2008) also discusses potential issues with regards to the more business style change language employed by change managers in the design and implementation processes of police reform. Examining this language from within a specific policing context he cites examples of change concepts such as "employee empowerment" (ibid 2008:24) which he claims "…makes senior [police] managers very nervous" (ibid 2008:24). As a hierarchical organisation with embedded, traditional, top down supervisory and management fixed structures in place, this language is at odds with the culture of policing. The concept of top down change management, as discussed earlier, raises its own concerns from within a policing context with Manning (1979) arguing that police management is already laden with

the problem of "…confronting an autonomous rank and file displaying extreme peer group solidarity" (ibid 1979:55) which he claims makes the business of policing extremely resistant to any form of change at either an organizational or personal level.

When examining the impact and implication of change within the policing organisation specifically, Hart (1996) suggests that to provide a holistic view attention must be paid to both the individual's experience of change and also "…the mechanistic organisational functions and processes that bring about those effects in humans" (ibid 1996:). In other words, we must look to how the change has been implemented, for example 'new' or amended protocols such as those introduced post reform in Scotland in order to robustly gauge the overall macro impact of change.   For a fuller discussion on how the implementation of recent reforms, and their challenges have been experienced in Scotland by frontline staff, management and key stakeholders please see Chapters 6, 7 and 9.

4.4.5 Communication

Communication within the policing organisation between management and employees is defined as fundamental in the process of change;

 "…communication processes and practices are the pivotal mechanisms that determine whether the link(s) between management and subordinates…are meaningful/ambiguous, constructive/destructive, bureaucratic/straightforward, empowering/dictatorial, formal/informal, and/or effective/ineffective" (Brunetto and Farr-Wharton 2003:48). From within a policing reform context specifically, it is claimed that front line off icers expect to "…feel supported by their superiors" (Tops and Spelier 2012:143) and during times of change require open and honest "…practical discussions" (ibid 2012:143). This particularly relates to the expected changes which the organisation is looking to in terms of individual employee behaviours, with Elving (2005) claiming that;

 "If organisational change is about how to change the individual tasks of employees,
communication about the change, and information to these employees is vital
…communication with the employees should be an important and integrative part of the
change efforts and strategies" (ibid 2005:130)

Bayley (2008) also highlights issues found within the American context with regards to
communication practices and their impact on police organisational change. Specifically, he
discusses the importance of employing two way processes of communication between front
line officers and police management during times of change allowing those at the "…coal
face…" (ibid 2008:13) of policing to offer an important grass roots view of the impact of
change supported by their local area knowledge. Citing a variety of change studies,
conducted between 1967 and 1993 and again predominantly focused on micro operational
changes, Bayley (2008) claims that in the main police officers are not routinely asked for
their input into change in either the planning, implementation or evaluation stages and that in
contrast "… police officers and sergeants…are regarded by senior officers as the source of
unhelpful complaints rather than of useful insight" (ibid 2008:14). The importance placed on
internal communications by front line staff during the reform journey and their ability to
engage with and feedback on the processes of change was found to be a consistent theme
amongst officers involved in this project and will be discussed in detail in chapter 6.
As discussed previously many contemporary policing strategies involve a partnership
approach to policing.   Therefore, when designing effective communication process for
change management, processes which include communications between the police and their
partners, stakeholders and members of the local communities should be taken into account.
From this perspective it is important that relevant stakeholders are identified at an early stage
of the planning process of organisational change and that communication is based on

promoting engagement with the change process which in turn allows stakeholders to realign their own resources and systems as required (Elving 2005). Communication between police organisations and the public is also regarded as being an important component in promoting successful police reform, Skogan (2008) claims that "the public must understand how the investment they have in policing will be enhanced and not threatened" (ibid 2008:23) if they are to continue supporting local policing. As with communication processes within the organisation, communication between the police and partner organisations throughout the reform process was also a theme in this project and is examined in more detail in Chapter 6.

4.4.6 Resistance to change

As discussed above resistance to change is a phenomenon that impacts on all organisations going through reform. Bovey and Hede (2001) examined the role of the individual employee in resisting change, and claim that resistance to change "…is a natural part of the change process" (ibid 2001:534) and link it to notions of fear of the unknown. Their definition of resistance is correlated with employee behaviours which attempt to preserve the existing cultures and behaviours of the organisation. They endeavour to explore this further and identify what they believe to be the most common methods of resistance utilized by employees as the ability to "…oppose, argue, obstruct, undermine, ignore, withdraw and avoid" (ibid 2001:540) organizational change processes and implementation. It is also important at this point to repeat Piderit's (2000) warning discussed above, that to simply interpret internal resistance to change as negative and problem oriented prevents any legitimate operational issues being heard.

Much of the general change literature focus on attempts to counteract or reduce resistance to organisational change is based on involving employees in the processes of reform (Hart 1996, Piderit 2000, Pardo del Val, & Martínez 2003). However, Clayton and Gregory (2000)

suggest in their findings of research conducted within a prison context that "…providing opportunities for participating in decision making may not be the change management panacea that it is often portrayed as being" (ibid 2000:147). This is based, they claim on the different experiences of change within what they term as "rule bound systems" (ibid 2000:140) such as the police or the prison service from those in the private sector. From their description rule bound is defined as an organisation or system which is;

"…bound together by the rules of the institution which define both the possible relationships and the nature and scope of interactions between different actors within the organisation" (ibid 2000:141)

and has the ability to obstruct reforms based on pre-existing power relationships within the organisation.

Resistance to change within a hierarchical organisation such as the police does not guarantee that resistance strategies only come from the front line officers. The causes of resistance by senior police managers has been explained by Skogan (2008) in his review of the implementation of community policing initiatives as relating to perceptions of loss of control, a lack of promotion prospects and changes in management roles and responsibilities. Skogan (2008) discusses how through his research examining police reform in Chicago he came across a senior police manager who stated that "We're not going to let the sergeants kill this" (ibid 2008:5) indicating potential resistance at front line supervisor level. This also supports Muir's (1977 Cited in Skogan 2008:25) definition of the role of sergeants as being the "real employer" (ibid 2008:25) of front line officers.

Resistance to change by front line officers has been identified as belonging within two separate models. The first model is reinforced by concepts of a "…we versus they, or insider versus outsider" (Skogan 2008:26) culture which is bolstered by police suspicions of non-policing personnel such as politicians and academics identifying and developing change programmes. As Skogan (2008) reports, front line officers "… do not like civilians influencing their operational priorities, or deciding if they are effective" (ibid 2008:26). The second model discussed for front line resistance is based on how altered roles and responsibilities resulting from the change are perceived by officers to "…lie outside the traditional roles for which they were selected and trained" (ibid 2008:26) whether in terms of new processes or additional responsibilities. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2010) also discuss the role of culture but on this occasion they focus on the divergence between 'street cop culture and management culture' and claim it has engendered a "…resistance of the street cop culture to attempts by management to introduce organizational change" (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni 2010). Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) support this concept of front line resistance to change and link it to changes in the context and procedures of policing which can result in increased office based administration work which is "aimed at the increased accountability of each officer for his/her actions" (ibid 2003:46).

In their study exploring police commitment in an English police force Metcalf and Dick (2001) discuss the role of organisational commitment by front line officers impacting on their ability to either support or resist change. They define policing as a "…unique public service that rests on high levels of employee dedication" (ibid 2001:24) and claim that policing originations require the full commitment of their officers to the culture and ethos of the organisation to ensure that they are involved and fully supportive of "...improving both individual and organisational performance" (ibid 2001:243). The support officers receive

from their line managers through organisational change, the feedback they receive and the level of input they perceive themselves to have in the change process generally influences their levels of commitment to the organisation, resulting in their support and acceptance of change. This concept is again supported by the findings of this project and will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

However, the role of resistance to change should never be underestimated as it has been argued that the failure of many organizational changes attempted can be solely attributed to employee resistance (Bovey and Hede 2001, Pardo del Val, & Martínez 2003, Osborne and Brown 2005). Resistance to change also increases the costs associated with change and impedes and frustrates the implementation of the process. When examining resistance to change in the context of this project, the former paradigm which views resistance as a positive concept should be taken. This is particularly relevant in terms of examining the scale and pace of the macro level changes which occurred in Scotland. A positive view of resistance by change managers in Scotland would allow policing personnel, managers and front line officers to feedback on specific issues occurring in specific change processes without them being regarded as non-supportive of the reform as a whole. The findings from the project which support this view will be discussed in a later section.

This can be seen from a Scottish policing perspective in the amalgamation of the eight regional police forces into one national police service which now works under one chief constable and has changed how police personnel both view themselves in relation to legacy regional arrangements and how they operate on a daily basis.

4.5 Conclusions and Research Questions

As stated at the outset, the key narrative focus of this chapter was to provide an examination

of the main themes which emerge from the organisational change literature around the divers,

strategies and scope of organisational change and the context to which these themes inform

the existing police literature on organisational change. Due to the complicated nature of the

policing organisation and the process of change, the chapter has engaged with the broad

general organisational change literature and literature surrounding police reform to support an

understanding of the processes of change in this specific context. The discussion here has

thus incorporated change literature and studies which have included change from the

perspective of the private and public sectors together with police reform studies.

In terms of the drivers of organisational change as discussed above in section 4.2.1, it was

found that overall, although there is little in the way of police specific research, the stimulus

for change in both public sector and non-public sector organisations are based on similar

drivers, i.e. economic, social, technological or political which can be either internal or

external to the organisation. In the case of recent police reform in Scotland the drivers of

change were linked to the external political situation in Scotland with an SNP majority

government together with financial cuts which were related to the ongoing UK wide

economic environment.

The strategies employed in organisational change discussed in 4.2.2 above, according to the

literature are based on two specific models of change, planned and unplanned change. Again

it was found that there was no apparent difference between the strategies employed in private

sector change and that experienced in the recent reform of policing in Scotland. However, it

should also be noted that viewing the strategies of change simply as being one or the other is

a rather naïve way to view change and that we must always be cognisant of the impact of individual management style in relation to how change is implemented at a local level.

In terms of the recent reforms in Scotland, and the scope of change experienced, it cannot be denied that there has been radical change to the structure of policing in Scotland, taking eight regional police forces and amalgamating them into one single service. Generally however, the new police service still works within the "…accepted patterns of organisational behaviour" (Osborne and Brown 2005:91) with very similar "…processes, culture and strategy[ies]" (Bovey and Hede 2001:16) as it did prior to reform. The data therefore shows that the variation of scope of change on this specific occasion is very different to that which is described in the literature for non-public organisations.

In general, the differences found between change in the public/private sector and change in the police organisation specifically, was found to be related in many ways to the hierarchical nature of the policing organisation and the priority focus given to senior management with change being driven and directed from a top down perspective. This can be seen in planning stages of reform in Scotland in terms of how frontline staff were marginalised with regards to their input to reform during the consultation process. Resistance to change, which Bovey and Hede (2001) (in section 4.4.6 above) describe as a common occurrence in all organisation going through change, and is linked to fear of the unknown, is somewhat restricted in a hierarchical organisation such as the police. The findings drawn for the data collected for this project, during the implementation of reform in Scotland, show that a combination of the traditional police culture of following commands given by senior ranks and the ongoing change which occurs within the police has diminished the ability of frontline officers to resist

any form of change, and led to a general malaise among many of the officers who took part in this project.

In conclusion, reform which occurs within the policing organisation is experienced in a fundamentally different way to that of any other organisation, in either the public or private sector. The perception that reform in public sector organisations generally has a more radical impact on communities and individuals is discussed by Osborne and Brown (2005) above in section 4.2. Although not specifically directed towards policing, their claim resonates particularly with change in a policing context. To explain, the role that the police play in UK society is based not only on them being the visible agents of social control with the power and authority to remove an individual's freedoms, they must also maintain a level of institutional legitimacy which in turn promotes public compliance with the law. This then necessitates that policing in Scotland, as with the rest of the UK is underpinned by the concept of policing by consent which is based on the ability of the police to achieve the consent of those who are being policed. Policing by consent links to notions of democratic policing, which Jones (2003) relates to the equitable ways in which police services and personnel are deployed, the allocation of power in relation to policing policy and fundamentally that "…as far as possible, citizens from all social groups should have the opportunity to participate in discussions of policing policy…and influence over policy choices" (ibid 2003:607).

On the basis of the literature reviews on community policing (Chapter 2), police reform (Chapter 3) and organisational change above, it is now possible to articulate a set of three key research questions which will provide the focus for this thesis;

1. **How have police reforms and the processes of organisational change been experienced by local police personnel in Scotland?**

The research will focus on understanding the experience of reform by frontline officers and their supervisors. The views of partner organisations and key stakeholders who are involved in the planning/delivery of local policing are also included. (See Chapter 6 for a full discussion)

2. **In what way has recent reform reconfigured local policing and does this differ from pre-reform arrangements?**

This question will look to understand how reform has impacted on key areas of local policing in terms of the efficiency and effectiveness of post reform local policing. The research will also explore if and in what ways changes to the function of local policing have been experienced against what went before, including the nature of partnership working and community engagement (see Chapter 8) focusing on the impact of temporal and spatial change brought by the recent reform (See Chapter 7 for a full discussion)

3. **How do post reform local police governance and accountability arrangements now function across Scotland?**

Finally, the research will explore the new police scrutiny role for local authorities at a local level and the emerging relationship with national governance via the newly created Scottish Police Authority (SPA) (see Chapter 9)

Chapter 5 will now set out the research design and methods employed in this thesis and offer a critical reflection of the field work conducted, including the role of the researcher in the process.

5 Research Design and Methods

5.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter will set out the research design and methodology employed in this thesis and offer an explanation of why a qualitative approach was deemed the most pertinent in dealing with the research questions as set out in Chapter one. The final section of the chapter will be a critical discussion of field work, including a reflexive examination of arriving in the field utilizing extracts from my field diary, my role as a researcher in the field and managing relationships locally.

Although a large corpus of research already exists focusing on community policing policy in practice, there has been a distinct lack of empirical work carried out from within a UK context (Kautt 2011, Fisher and Poland 1998 and Stenson 1993). The findings presented here will therefore add to the qualitative knowledge base of UK community policing. Claims have also been made regarding the dominance of quantitative research methods employed in existing research with Kautt (2011) suggesting that in the main, this provides findings which have a "…statistical significance…" (ibid 2011:357) missing out on "…the rich descriptive details and analysis" (ibid 2011:357). Ross (2009) supports this claim and further suggests that by using "…states or cities as units of analysis…" (ibid 2009:77) researchers have been missing out on more robust data that could be collected if the research were to be focused on "smaller jurisdiction (e.g. neighbourhoods)" (ibid 2009:77). Therefore, the findings which are presented here which were collected from a qualitative study conducted in two local neighbourhood case study areas will provide more robust data in answering the research questions discussed in Chapter 4. The chapter will firstly set out the rationale behind the research design and strategy taken, before discussing the merits and limitations of case study design and how access to each type of participant was negotiated.

5.2 Research Design and Strategy

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of this thesis it was decided that the collection of data should be carried out using a qualitative research strategy, underpinned by an interpretive epistemological position employing a constructivist ontological viewpoint. These approaches were chosen for two reasons. Firstly the research questions (described in Chapter 1) in their own right demanded an in-depth qualitative reasoning; secondly the focus of this project is to go beyond the more typically quantitative trend reporting and draw out the subjective meanings associated with the recent police reform in Scotland. The claims made regarding the suitability of qualitative research methods for this thesis are supported by Silverman (2001) when he suggests that the principle underpinning qualitative research is to "...enable respondents to have their voices heard" (ibid2001:124) whilst Miller and Glassner (2011) in that same volume claim that data collected via qualitative methods;

 "…reveal evidence of the nature of the phenomena under investigation, including the contexts and situations in which it emerges, as well as insights into cultural frames people use to make sense of these experiences and their social worlds" (ibid 2011:133)

 A qualitative approach was therefore deemed the most fitting for this thesis in order to extrapolate each participants own lived experience of "policing as they experience it" (Sunshine and Tyler 2003) whilst collecting data from within a natural setting and situational context providing an "…authentic account of subjective experience" (Miller and Glassner 2011). To enhance the robustness of the findings a variety of qualitative strategies were employed including semi structured interviewing, non-participant observations and documentary analysis. Marks (2004) in her work examining transformations in the police organisations, suggests employing a mixed methods approach as "Interviews alone may not provide an adequate tool for understanding organisational culture" (ibid 2004:870).

In relation to the interpretive epistemological standpoint taken in this thesis, Alan Bryman (2008) claims that in order to study the social world we, as researchers are required to acknowledge "…the fact that social reality has a meaning for human beings… [and] it is the main job of social scientists to gain access to people's 'common sense thinking" and hence to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view" (ibid 2008:16). A constructivist ontological position was also judged to be the most suited to this project as this implies that the social world around us is continually constructed and then re-constructed by the individual actor and evolves and changes over time and place with an emphasis on each respondents "…specific version of social reality" (Bryman 2008:19).

As discussed in Chapter 4 the level of organisational change experienced across policing in Scotland has been comprehensive in its scope sitting within the concept of macro level change. Existing research examining police change has, in the main, focused on micro level changes, such as Skogan (2006) and his longitudinal study examining the impact of community policing initiatives and Bradford et.al. (2013) who examined the "…relationship between the practice of individual officers…" (ibid 2013:111) during the implementation of new police policies such as community policing (CP). It was therefore decided that given the prominence of the scope and level of police reform and the unique timing of this thesis (which ran in parallel to the implementation of reforms) a qualitative research strategy would provide valuable in-depth data, based on an authentic insight into each participant's lived experiences of reform to the wider academic and policy communities. Figure 5.1 below sets out a diagram of the thought processes behind the construction of the project.
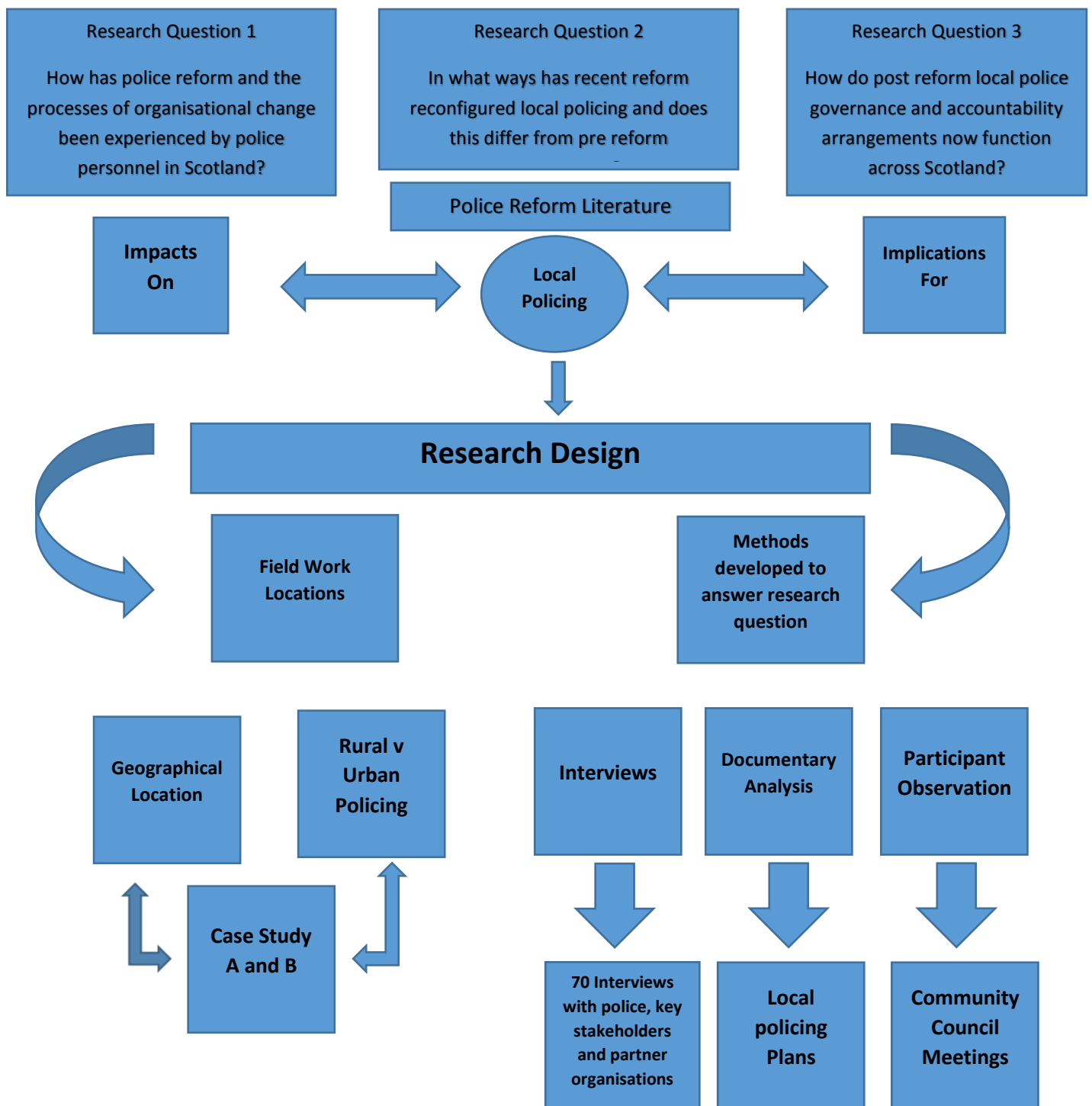
Figure 5.1 Strategy for decision making progress on research design

5.2.1 The Case Study Approach

This section will firstly explain the rationale behind utilising a case study design before

offering an explanation of how the specific case study areas were chosen. As stated above

the focus of the thesis is to examine the impact and implications of police reform on local

policing in Scotland. Due to the time constraints of a PhD and the geographical scale of

Scotland as a whole it was decided to employ a case study design for the purposes of data collection.

A case study design, is the most suitable design to study social phenomena from within a real life framework "…location…community or organization" or within a "…bounded system" (Creswell 2007:73) which can be defined as a distinctive or one off case (Yin 2003). In terms of this thesis a collective case study design allowed the researcher to spend time in each specific location and to collect data from within a naturally occurring environment opposed to an artificial or experimental environment to produce data which could be used to identify the common characteristics and differences between each area.

Bryman (2008) suggests that data collected within a case study design offers "…an intensive, detailed examination of a case" (ibid 2008:53) which is supported by Yin (1994) who claims that "…any finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode" (ibid 1994:92). Employing a collective case study design in the data collection therefore offered the researcher "…the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence" (Yin 1994:91), in this context observations of community council, community safety and police scrutiny meetings together with the addition of non-police participants which will be discussed further in the chapter.

5.2.2 Rationale and introduction to the case study areas
Once the research design was confirmed it was then decided that to offer as wide a view as possible of post reform local policing across Scotland, the thesis should include two case study areas for field work. In choosing the case study areas for the project, the responses from the public consultation process were used as a guide with regards to questions or issues

raised. The responses, including those of the police themselves included but were not limited to, concerns regarding the geographical positioning of resources and the potential impacts this could have on the more outlying police areas in Scotland. During the consultation process there was a high level of media coverage from what was the Grampian Police area including local MSP's, members of the Grampian Joint Police Board and the Grampian Chief Constable himself highlighting what they believed to be specific issues with regards to the differing methods of local policing carried out in some of the more northern and rural areas of Scotland. It was therefore decided to include a field work area in the central belt of Scotland (Easton) and one north of Perth (Longphort) and more geographically removed from the central belt.

The final choice of case study areas therefore included one highland, rural area and one centrally situated urban area to highlight any variations contained within the reform and allow for a greater comparison to be made Scotland wide. This also enabled the collection of data that could help extrapolate the concerns raised together with negating the external validity issues associated with case study design discussed above in terms of choosing which areas to utilise as case study areas Table 5.1 below is used to illustrate the population break down and numbers of both Easton and Longphort, with table 5.2 showing the total number of serving officers in each of the locations.

2011	Longphort	Easton
Total Population	14,717	25,584
% Children 0-15 years	17.84	13.61
% Working age 16-64 years	61.22	74.87
% Pensionable age +65	20.93	11.53

Table 5.1 Scottish Neighbourhood Statistic 2011

Location	Number of Ward areas	Population	Total Officers	Offences per 1000 population	Officer numbers per 1000 population
Longphort	**6**	**74,814**	**94**	**106.16**	**1.26**
Easton	**4**	**100,000**	**118**	**127.33**	**1..18**

Table 5.2 Source Police Scotland (2013)

5.2.3 Introduction to Easton

Easton is one of four ward areas which are under the command of one divisional commander.

A traditional working class urban community, with an estimated population of 22,000 plus

people, the area has undergone major redevelopment in recent years in terms of both

commercial activities and residential properties which has resulted in an increase in more

professional people moving to the area resulting in a very mixed community. The traditional

population in general are settled and any movement tends to be within the same area.

The 'gentrification' which has occurred over past decades has changed the area in terms of

the mix of affluence and deprivation with selected neighbourhoods continually sitting in the

bottom 10% of deprived areas in Scotland (Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation). In the

2012 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) figures it was noted that the number of

data zones within this area which sat in the 15% most deprived had reduced to 1.2% from

1.3% in 2009, 1.4% in 2006.

In terms of policing Easton has traditionally been linked to high rates of drug crimes however

the area also has a long history of community activism, with a plethora of community and

self-support groups. Historically there has always been a culturally diverse community with

a large number of ethnic groups in this area and in recent years this number has increased in

line with the rest of the Scotland. Figure 5.2 below illustrates where Easton sits with the

current Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD)
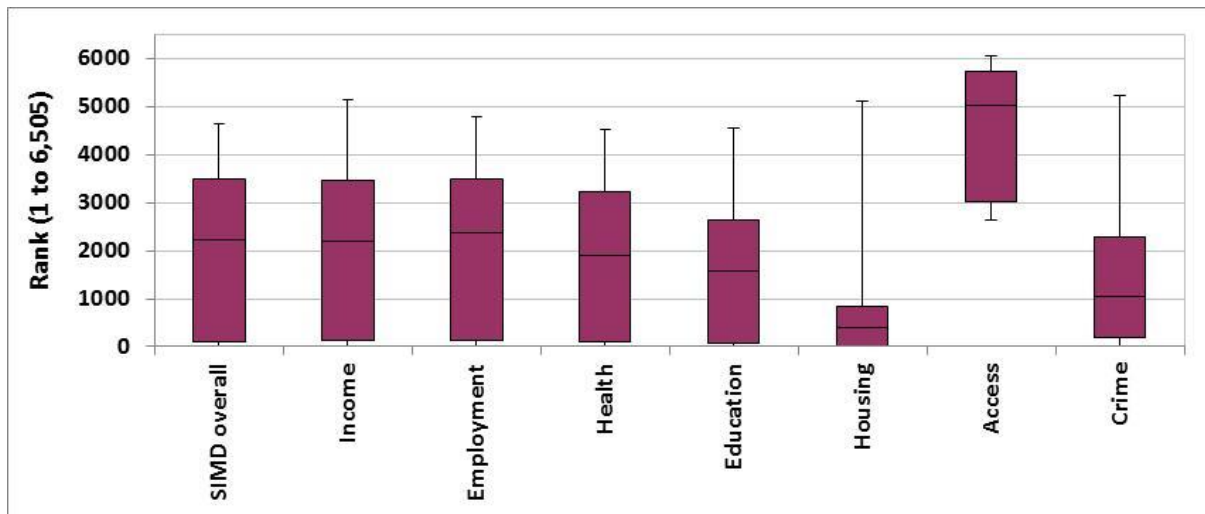
Figure 5.2 Boxplot Easton and how it ranks in SIMD domains (Scottish Government)

5.2.4 Introduction to Longphort

Local authority figures cite the overall estimated population as of 2012 is 13,140. However,

in contrast to Easton this population is not condensed into a single area and is dispersed

across a large rural space and broken down into villages, small hamlets and market towns.

Longphort is a small town over one hundred miles north from Easton and is made up of a

unique mix of great affluence and even greater deprivation which changes on a street by

street scale. The area is surrounded by both coastal and farming landscapes with the main

local industries traditionally being fishing and farming. The fishing industry brings many

overseas workers to the area for employment, with many more seasonal migrants coming to

the area to work on the local farms. Unemployment in the area is below the Scottish national

average. Longphort has a police station, a main shopping street and two supermarkets at

either end of the town which draw in individuals from the surrounding outlying villages and

hamlets. From a policing perspective Longphort sits within a police division which contains

six ward areas and has one divisional commander. Figure 5.3 below, is used to illustrate the

current standing of Longphort in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation.
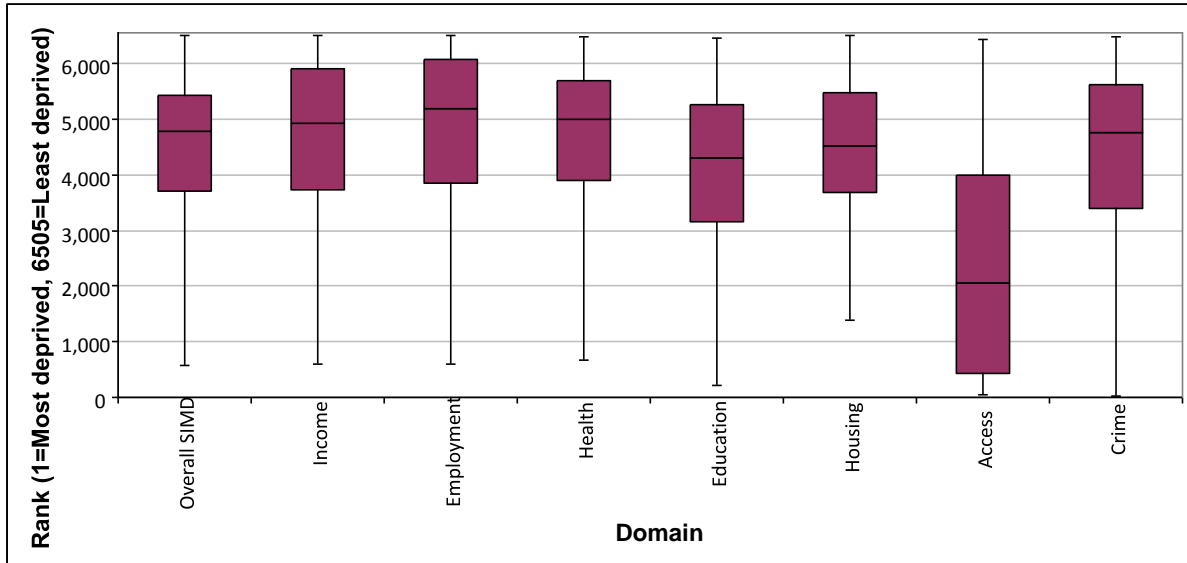
Figure 5.3 Longphort SIMD domains (Scottish Government)

Utilising geographically varying case study areas in this thesis is fundamental to the examination of post reform local policing in offering a variety of representations on the change. In terms of policing styles local policing is based, in the main on the organisation of spatial factors within neighbourhoods taking into account certain visible and invisible boundaries between populations and the engagement of residents within these boundaries in local policing matters. Therefore, including two distinctive geographical areas one rural one urban, one based in the Central Belt and one in the North of Scotland allows for the examination of how post reform local policing is being experienced within these distinct locations. As mentioned previously the researcher will not be attempting to make any broad generalisations regarding post reform local policing across Scotland from the findings collected from these case study areas. However, similar themes highlighted in the findings as being experienced by both case study areas could provide a framework to explore further areas and divisions by Police Scotland or policy makers alike.

A further consideration taken when deciding the case study areas for this thesis was the socio economic profile of each area. From the perspective of this thesis this is important in two ways; firstly that previous empirical research and policing literature has shown that the policing of public spaces can be varied dependent on the socio economic background of the area which in turn influences the style of local policing employed and secondly that socio economics also play an important role in how and why residents become involved with their local policing teams (Sunshine and Tyler 2003, Jackson and Bradford 2009 and Bradford 2014) .

5.3 Negotiating Access and Recruiting Participants
This section will explain the rationale behind the sample design inclusive of police and key stakeholder participants. It will explain why each group was included and then offer a description of how each was accessed and invited to take part in the project.

The intention of this project is to provide empirical evidence in relation to the impacts and implications of reform on local policing in Scotland. It was therefore decided that to provide the most robust data concerning the experiences of reform local police personnel, key stakeholders and partner organisations who support local policing would be recruited to the project. In this way, it is possible to examine from a variety of perspectives how the reform processes are being integrated into current community policing practices on a daily basis. Table 5.2 below illustrates the breakdown of all participants who took part in the project from within each case study location. Easton, is a centrally based, urban neighbourhood and Longphort a rural community in the Highlands of Scotland. In terms of policing personnel, Longphort unlike Easton has no dedicated community policing team and a much lower number of policing staff in general.

Table 5.2Total Number of Participants by Case Study Area

Easton		Longphort	
Police Interviews	24	Police Interviews	17
Partner Interviews	5	Partner Interviews	4
Local Scrutiny Members	8	Local Scrutiny Members	3
National Scrutiny Members	2	National Scrutiny Members	
Locally Elected Members	3	Locally Elected Members	2
Community Members		Community Members	2
Total	**42**		**28**

Table 5.2 Total Number of Participants by case study area

5.3.1 Access to Police Scotland

As stated earlier this project has been supported by Police Scotland (legacy Association of

Chief Police Officers Scotland) at a strategic level since its inception. The support from

senior police managers together with the researchers' affiliation to the Scottish Institute for

Policing Research (SIPR) proved invaluable in the access to police personnel across all levels

of the organisation and meant that no long term negotiations were required resulting in more

efficient use of time for field work whilst also keeping Police Scotland gatekeepers to a

minimum. The practical support received by the researcher from Police Scotland also

included access to a designated, named liaison team who mediated the research and offered

the researcher assistance in accessing contact details for senior police management, setting up

meetings and on occasion offering reassurances to police managers as to the researcher's background and security clearance.

Some of the realities of researching within a hierarchical organisation such as the police became apparent very early in the research planning process and were most prevalent in the approaches taken to access police staff to take part in the project. In order to begin field work and data collection a succession of top down meetings with national, regional and finally local management were required to introduce the project. The first meeting held with Police Scotland regarding the project and field work details took place at Police Scotland's temporary headquarters at Tulliallan and involved the researcher, her supervisor and the Deputy Chief Constable (DCC). The discussions revolved around the research design, and gaining official approval for field work and access to police staff in the areas identified by the researcher (see section 5.2.2 above for a full discussion) with the DCC at one point providing suggestions for field work locations. From the beginning of the project the DCC has been fully supportive of the project informing us during the initial project meeting that a centrally based, post reform local policing team had been appointed to act in a liaison role and should be the researchers' first point of contact regarding access to police personnel and any questions or issues found.

The next stage in the process was to arrange meetings between the researcher and the local divisional commander in order to introduce the researcher and the project. The meetings with local commanders were based more on following the hierarchical structure of the police organisation in contrast to negotiating access which has already been agreed at a strategic level. The contact details and email addresses of the commanders were supplied by the liaison team however, contact to the local commanders was made directly by the researcher. During these meetings the local commanders passed on the contact details for the locally

based Chief Inspectors (CI) from the station in each case study area to allow the researcher to make contact regarding access to the local CPT. Introductions to the researcher and the project were repeated at these meetings with local CIs together with seeking permission to access the CPT. As a result of the meetings with both CIs introductions were then made to the Community Inspectors and Community sergeants at each station and on one occasion the sergeant being brought into the meeting with the CI. In real terms daily working relationships was with the community sergeant or equivalent (Longphort did not always have a sergeant on duty) and it was the sergeants who facilitated my access to members of their team and assisted me in time tabling the interviews around officers tasked duties as and when they became available.

On arriving at each police station the original request had been to access the complete CPT team in order to source volunteers for interview in order to avoid any suggestion that participants had been 'encouraged' to take part by local management. However, it soon became apparent that due to work commitments, court attendance or training courses there was very little time when all the CPT team were together in the muster room and if they were it was focused on tasking. Therefore, after further discussion with the community sergeant in Easton it was suggested that I be given a spare empty office in which to conduct my interviews and that the most effective, if not efficient way to access participants would be for me to make myself available between the hours of 10am and 5-6pm. In this way the sergeant claimed any 'free' members of the team could be made available for interview with as little disruption as possible to their daily routines. Having free time from interviews in the hours based at the station offered an opportunity to observe members of the CPT in their 'natural setting' allowing me "…enter the life space…" (Marks 2004:872) and build relationships with the officers. The conversations held or overheard at this time between the researcher and

police officers were not employed as data in this project, however, there were occasions where they did guide future interview questions.

Working with the assistance of the liaison team had both advantages and limitations in the field. In the first instance, the team itself was constructed as a result of the reform and therefore not all police personnel were aware of them or their role in the organisation. However, on at least a couple of occasions individuals in the team were approached and asked to confirm that I had permission to be interviewing officers and explain my role. It was then arranged that I should be given a Police Scotland photograph identity card, which described me as a "contractor" to ease further police access. However, during initial interviews with frontline staff it became evident that some officers, on seeing my identity card, had assumed that I was in fact an employee of Police Scotland. Fortunately, this was brought to my attention at the early stages of the field work and as a result I reiterated by PhD status before every interview, and removed my ID once inside the interview room.

During the period of field work across both case study areas, communication between the liaison team and myself was by email every couple of weeks where they were kept informed of my whereabouts and in reply offered further support if required.

5.3.2 Local Police Personnel
As discussed previously, the focus for this thesis is the impact and implications of recent reform on local policing, in order to achieve these aims data collection from a policing perspective was centred on officers and staff whose role was directly associated with the delivery or management of current community policing (CP). From within each case study location a purposive sample of police personnel encompassing front line officers, supervisors and senior management inclusive of a variation in age, gender and length of service were

invited to take part in the project via key informants (police management team). Creswell (2007) writing on Quantitative Inquiry and Research Design defines this form of sampling as a "purposeful maximal sample" (ibid 2007:75) which is best employed when looking to show various perspectives on the same issue.

By engaging police managers in the project, a more strategic view of the reform process was offered which can then be placed alongside the experiences of local officers, enabling a holistic examination of the process of change. In Easton this consisted of members of the designated Community Policing Team (CPT). However, in Longphort there was no distinctive or separate CPT and all officers were defined as a 'local policing team'. There were also fewer police officers based in Longphort than there were in Easton, resulting in fewer police interviews being conducted.

Police participants in Longphort:

- 16 officers

- 14 men and 2 women

- Range in service from one year (probationer) to 21plus years' service

- Experience of community policing ranged from no direct experience to 24 years

Police Participants in Easton

- 24 officers

- 18 men and 6 women

- Range in service from one year (probationer) to 21 plus years' service

- Experience of community policing ranged from no direct experience to 21 years

5.3.3 Access to Key Informants from Local Authority Scrutiny Panels
Under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 legislation it is entirely up to

individual local authorities to create new structures for scrutinising policing at a local level

and engaging with their local police commander. In order to examine the nature of the new

local police governance and accountability arrangements and how these were being

operationalised in each case study area a purposive sample of locally elected members who

sit on the newly formed police scrutiny groups (in whatever variety of formats they have been

constructed in) were also invited to take part in the project. The interview schedules

(Appendix 1) were therefore structured to focus on collecting data which would enable an

examination of the new and diverse local governance arrangements post reform and also to

explore each local authority's relationship with Police Scotland and the newly formed

national scrutiny body the Scottish Police Authority (SPA).

In the first instance a list of elected members who were involved with local police scrutiny

was sourced from each local authority web site. Emails (Appendix 2) were then sent to all

the councillors involved, introducing them to the project and inviting them to take park in an

interview. In Easton where there is a newly formed standalone local scrutiny committee,

eight of the ten committee members replied that they were available to take part in the project

and arrangements were made to meet with them at their council offices. Conversely, in

Longphort the role of police and fire scrutiny has been added to an existing full council

member committee which has representation from all elected members in that area. As access

had been a relatively straightforward process in Easton it was decided to follow similar

methods in Longphort to access key informants. After multiple emails and attempts to

contact members of the relevant committee only three members of the committee agreed to

take part in the project. It could be suggested that the political landscape of that specific

time, in the weeks leading up to the Scottish independence referendum, made policing a

highly contentious concept impacting on availability of locally elected members to take part in the project. These interviews were also conducted in the council offices in the semi-private location of each councillor's office.

5.3.4 Access to Key Informants from the Scottish Police Authority (SPA)

The SPA is the new body established under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 which replaces the previous eight regional police boards with the powers to hold the Police Service of Scotland to account. The roles and responsibilities of the SPA are based around their ability to effectively maintain the Police Service of Scotland (for a full discussion on these roles see Chapter 4).

It became apparent during interviews carried out with local scrutiny members in both Easton and Longphort that they themselves had concerns relating to post reform scrutiny roles and responsibilities in terms of their own non statutory position and the proposed relationship between local committees and the national scrutiny body.   In order to address some of these concerns it was decided to approach SPA members and invite them to take part in the project with a focus on post reform police scrutiny and relationships with partners and local committees (Appendix 3).

I was made aware of the names of two members of the SPA by police staff and other local sources and decided to follow a similar method as before and email them directly. Fortunately, before the emails were sent I attended a policing function where there were representatives from the SPA and I approached them directly, introducing myself and the project and asked if they would consider taking part in an interview which would allow me to explore the new national arrangements with them. Two representatives did agree to take part and offered me their contact details. Within a week or two of the function I emailed two

representatives to arrange a convenient time to interview them and was subsequently invited to interview them at their office. However, after the interviews had been conducted I was contacted by telephone by a member of the SPA and asked to follow procedure through the appropriate channels if I required to contact any further members. These procedures were unknown to me at the time of my first approach to the SPA.

5.3.5 Access to Key Informants from the Local Community
It had always been anticipated that members of the local communities from within each case study area would also be invited to take part in focus group discussions in order to offer the community an opportunity to have their voices heard and importantly to examine the impact and implication of police reform from a bottom up perspective. It was proposed that pre-existing groups would be chosen to take part in the focus groups (if possible), for example a running group or members of a local football team etc. as it would be less problematic to access a group of multiple participants in this manner and it would also be a way of viewing the joint constructions of post reform local policing. However, access to this sample group proved to be more difficult than expected with an overall lack of engagement by community members from both case study areas. Challenges in accessing participants for social research is nothing new as Gibbs (1997) states "[O]nce the types of participant have been decided, locating them is the next challenge" (ibid 1997). To offset this lack of local community voice I decided to go along and observe two community council meetings in each case study area where locally elected representatives from the ward areas involved would be approached and invited to take part in the project as discussed in section 5.3.6

5.3.6 Access to Locally Elected Representatives
As discussed above there was a failure to engage with local groups or individuals in this project, it was decided that the most effective and efficient way to source any local data regarding local policing would be to instead invite locally elected representatives for the ward

area to take part. In this way it was hoped that any public feedback received by the

councillors in their role as elected representatives through community engagement could

supplement findings from the professionals. Inviting local councillors to take part in

interviews would also offer a bottom up view of local policing in the area that would

otherwise be missing from the findings. It became very apparent, very quickly that many of

the locally elected representatives were putting forwards a party political perception of police

reform throughout the interview with several participants representing the Scottish

Government party, SNP unwilling to be critical in any way of reform whilst other

representatives from the variety of opposition parties appeared to be overly critical of the

reform solely based on the policy being an SNP policy. My methods for managing these

interviews then required modification particularly in the probing questions in an attempt to

get behind the 'party politics' of the participants replies to extrapolate their own experiences.

Access to local councillors for the ward area within the case study boundary was again

negotiated via email. The local council web site holds all contact details for each councillor

for each area and contact was made initially by email with a resulting five interviews

conducted. Accessing elected representatives in Longphort through the summer holiday

period proved more difficult and multiple emails and telephone calls resulted in only two

coming forwards to take part.

5.3.7 Access to Key Informants from Partner Organisations
The involvement of community staff and community wardens in the project was actively

sought as suggested by Donnelly (2007) "…they have a unique perspective on community

policing and a better understanding of the problems officers experience, than most other

community members" (ibid 2007:137). The inclusion specifically of community workers in

the project is also supported in a Scottish context by Mackenzie and Henry (2009) who

highlight their role in the partnership model of community policing (local policing). The inclusion of partner organisations in the project was further emphasised during interviews held with local CPT members when they began recounting details of missed meetings with partner organisations and the cancellation of events already planned and in the diary due to tasking duties. It was decided then to widen the scope of partner organisations invited to take part in the project to provide a broader view of post reform partnership working arrangements.

The criteria used in identifying partner organisations to be invited to take part in the project was based on their ability to aid with planning, delivering or managing local policing initiatives and included, but were not limited to local authority community safety members, community wardens, NHS partners and trading standards. The addition of these external partners in the project is also used to triangulate the data provided by police personnel and is discussed later in the chapter. Table 5.3 below shows the partner organisations whose representatives took part in the project.

Partner Organisations	Easton	Longphort
NHS	0	1
Community Safety Partnership	3	2
Local Authority	0	1
Licencing	1	0
Trading Standards	1	0

Table 5.3 Partner Organisations

As discussed above the criteria employed to source partner organisations were based on the role each organisation plays in local policing. Initially a snowballing technique was utilised

and information was gathered from police personnel in relation to which organisations they worked with and also with the community wardens who were interviewed. Details of each organisation were then viewed via the internet including management teams etc. and emails introducing them to the project and inviting them to take part in interviews were then sent. Replies overall were poor and further negotiations were required to arrange access to those who did reply. In the end nine interviews were conducted with partner organisations.

5.4 Research Methods and Data Collection
Qualitative research looks to emphasise "…the interviewee's point of view" (Bryman 2008:437) in keeping with this tradition it was decided that to fully explore each participants experience in the most robust manner and in the time frame required, a mixture of qualitative data gathering techniques inclusive of in depth semi structured interviews and non-participant observation would be conducted. Semi structured interviews in the main are best suited to this form of empirical study as they offer a more flexible style of interview to be conducted and allow the interview to flow more openly and freely and in a conversational style. This style of interview gives the researcher an opportunity to add follow up questions when something unexpected but relevant arises in the course of an interview.

Due to the nature of this specific project, examining macro level reforms not seen in policing for decades, employing the more flexible semi structured interview method proved invaluable and allowed participants to highlight concepts and/or issues that were important to them regarding the impact of reform which the researcher had not included or pursued in any great depth. An example of this was partnership working with external agencies which was discussed by CPT (Community Policing Team) members during their interviews, this alerted the researcher to the need to explore further police partners out with local authorities and adjusted slightly the focus of the research.

Interview schedules were designed specifically to target each group of participants in the project in order that varying levels of data could be collected covering different views of the reform and its impacts on local policing (see section 5.3 above for fuller discussion of recruitment and access of participants). For example, police interview schedules were divided into three groupings to examine front line officer's experiences, that of the front line supervisors and also from a strategic standpoint in the senior management interviews (see Appendices 5, 6 and 7).

To be able to generate as accurate an account as possible of each participant's interview all interviews were recorded using a digital recorder after consent was given by each participant. The recordings where then transcribed verbatim by the researcher onto a word document before being uploaded to the computer software for analysis. Taking the time to transcribe the interviews allows the researcher to engage fully with the data collected and to be able to begin to see the emerging themes arising from within the data.

5.4.1 The Interview Process
This section will discuss the field work and data collection process for the thesis by firstly reviewing the time frame for field work, explaining the interview process itself before giving a more detailed account of police interviews and stakeholder interviews.

The field work and data collection stage of the thesis began in the Easton in October 2013 and in Longphort in May 2014 with the data collection in both case study areas being completed by August 2014. It was decided at the outset of the project that the interview sequence would commence with police personnel. The discussions around which direction police reform would be taking had been ongoing within legacy forces for a number of months

prior to the general public being informed of the details, therefore, the policing organisation were felt to be further along the reform journey in terms of knowledge and processes than those out with and would be able to provide more detailed data regarding the impacts and implications of the reform. It was anticipated that beginning the data collection with the police would allow key stakeholders and others time to digest and experience the reform resulting in more robust data being collected at a later date.

Miller and Glassner (2011) define the qualitative interview as an interaction between the researcher and the interviewee and claim that the way we as researchers present ourselves is "of paramount importance regarding…the…interviewees ability and willingness to tell various sorts of stories" (ibid 2011:137). The researcher interviewee relationship is therefore one which requires to be managed in order to "…overcome any existent suspicion of the researcher's motives" (Ryan and Dundon 2008:443). From this perspective it was important that the researcher was able to develop a rapport with each participant. Leech (2002) defines rapport building in semi structured interviewing as "…more than just putting people at ease. It means convincing people that you are listening, that you understand and are interested in what they are talking about" (ibid 2002:665). Therefore, all interviews began in a similar fashion with the researcher presenting a professional but friendly face introducing herself, the aims of the project and explaining the background to the thesis. It was also important that the concept of anonymity was reinforced with the participants and an explanation given to each that pseudonyms would be used in place of actual location names in order to build trust with the participants. However, the approach to each individual interview was varied and at a broader level was related to who was being interviewed and what information was being sought. For example, the interview approach taken within the police organisation between front line officers and managers required the researcher to acknowledge the hierarchical

structure of the organisation and present herself and the interview in a manner suited to the status of the participant. In a similar vein, the approach taken during interviews conducted with locally elected representatives also had to include an awareness of each participant's specific political affiliation which in turn had an impact on how they viewed reform and the creation of Police Scotland in general.

In general, each interview last approximately one hour, with some lasting almost two and began with each participant being given an informed consent form (Appendix 4), which included a brief synopses of the project, explained how all participants and the data collected would be treated as confidential and anonymous, and each participants' right to remove themselves and their data from the project should they wish to, before asking for signed consent to record the interview. Throughout the time of the field work only one participant refused to allow the interview to be recorded, this created issues as the transcriptions were then based on field notes alone. The consent form also included contact details for the researcher including email and telephone number and also those of her supervisors. Once this had been signed by the participant and collected by the researcher, the participants were given a further unsigned copy to keep for their records. Before beginning the interview each participant was asked if they had any further questions relating to the project and then the interview began with some broad general and demographic questions to put them at ease.

5.4.2 Interviewing police officers
Traditionally police organisations have been known as closed organisations particularly from a research point of view and in recent times researchers have faced many issues in attempting to access the police organisation (Marks 2004, Wise 2010 and Chan et.al.2003). On arriving at each police office and after discussions with local management introducing both myself and the project and negotiating access to the police personnel, on both occasions I was

allocated a spare office in which to conduct the interviews. This arrangement was

recommended by police management as the best way to access front line officers throughout

the day as they would be able to come along and take part in an interview in their quieter

moments. Having this designated space in each of the offices offered flexibility to the

interview time table which suited local police management. The space also offered a semi

private environment in which to hold the interviews, allowing participants to be direct in their

reply without the possibility of being overheard by others. With more senior members of the

police organisation the interviews were held in their own offices.

Access to each individual officer was mediated through front line supervisors who reminded

officers that I was in the building and available when they were. I also spoke individually to

officers in their coffee room informally, reminding them the interviews were taking place.

The interviews were conducted using a semi structured interview technique as this allowed

for flexibility in the process of exploring reform and, importantly, was an opportunity for the

participants to highlight concepts that they believed to be important which had perhaps not

been covered in the interview schedule. The interview schedules for police personnel were

divided into three, one for front line officers (PCs and Sergeants see Appendix 5), one for

management (Inspectors and Chief Inspectors see Appendix 6) and one for senior

management (Chief Superintendents and Assistant Chief Constables see Appendix 7) this

was necessary as although there were some similarities in questions asked, more strategic

data was required from the management team.

All the interviews that took place were recorded as per the discussion above and each

participant was asked to sign an informed consent form agreeing to the recording for

transcription purposes. However, from the 70 interviews which took place across the project

only one participant, a senior police manager refused to allow the interview to be recorded. This raised some methodological issues with regards to the interview and the notes taken and changed the way the interview was conducted slightly.   Managing an interview and taking full and robust notes whilst probing specific answers, did have an impact on the overall interview and produced notes that were at times difficult to read.

> *"Well that was difficult, the most difficult interview yet. I was told that I couldn't record it!! The first time ever…XX appeared very suspicious and very guarded. Writing notes whilst interviewing without a recording device is more difficult than I imagined…I hope I can remember everything to add… XX also asked me to provide written proof of support for the research project by Police Scotland as I could be anybody…contact liaison this evening to email them through…" (29th April 2014)*

Once access to the police organisation has been granted acceptance of the researcher by police personnel is also cited in the literature as impacting on data collection. Chan et.al. (2003) discuss the impact of the researchers "…sex, age, ethnicity and life experience…" (ibid 2003: 57) on acceptance by the individuals in the police organisation with Huggins and Glebbeek (2009) also highlighting the role of researcher identity and its impact in the field "We have discovered a number of gender-related problems and possibilities associated with women researching male-dominated police institutions…" (ibid 2009:373). Initially I did have some reservation about entering a traditionally male dominated environment not only as an outside researcher but as a female in that role. However, in my experience of field work it appeared that being a mature student was of more interest to some interviewees than my gender. I was asked questions regarding background and experience and how I had come to be a student, in this case I believe being a more mature student with life experience advanced my role, particularly with management.

5.4.3 Walking Interviews with Police Officers

A further data collection technique which was utilised during field work was walking interviews. Evans and Jones (2011) define walking interviews as "…highly structured tours that are designed to elicit responses to specific, premeditated places…generating richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surroundings" (ibid 2001:849). Walking interviews are part of the ethnographic tool kit that researchers may draw upon in the data collection process of field work where they walk "…alongside participants in order to observe, experience, and make sense of everyday practices" (Clark and Emmel 2010:1). As the focus of this thesis is local policing or community policing it was decided to seek permission with police management to conduct walking interviews with the CPT officers in Easton walking with them in their designated beat area asking questions regarding local policing.

After meeting with local management and confirming that I would not place myself in any danger should the officer come across a situation which required his attention while conducting the interview and providing a risk assessment form (Appendix 11) from the University of Dundee, permission was given to conduct two walking interviews with members of the CPT in Easton. As all interviews were being recorded for transcription purposes, a clip on microphone was purchased which the officer could wear and was connected directly to the Dictaphone. However, methodological issues with utilising this technique with on duty police officers soon became apparent when on the day of the walking interviews it transpired that one of the officers had been given other duties to fulfil, they were given citations to deliver as they would be out 'walking with the researcher and there was no one else to do them'. This resulted in the walking interview being conducted in an unstructured way whilst the citations were delivered all over the local neighbourhood and out with the officers designated beat area. The second walking interviewing began in a more

structured way, although a little short on time as it had been timetabled just before the officer was due to go off shift resulting in the interview being slightly hurried and then ending early as he was approached by a member of the public for assistance.

5.4.4 Stakeholder and Partner Organisation Interviews

Interviews with participants accessed from key stakeholder and partner organisations were conducted at each participants' work location within a semi-private situation at their own request. In this way the participants were comfortable in their own environment which Ryan and Dundon (2008) claim aids in their relating "…richer stories and elaborated explanations" (ibid 2008: 444). As the selection criteria for stakeholder participants was based on each organisations relationship to local policing, in general there were no issues in recruiting participants who showed a genuine interest in the project and post reform local policing. The semi structured interviews focused on examining post reform partnership arrangements in terms of information sharing, police priorities and joint working (see Appendix 8). A similar approach was taken with all interviews and I presented myself as a professional but friendly researcher with the added ability of drawing on my previous corporate management experience to engage and build a rapport with partner organisations. On these occasions being an outsider to the organisation being researched was perceived in a positive way and allowed me to build a trusting relationship in a short time with the participants.

On one occasion I interviewed two members of the one organisation together as one had taken early retirement and had left the organisation two weeks before and no longer had an office. Although not specifically a focus group the interaction between the two colleagues was apparent as they discussed questions amongst themselves before answering and they supported each other's view point. However, they did at times speak over each other and at some points attempted to answer on behalf of the other. The two interviews conducted with

community council members who agreed to take part in the project were conducted in their own homes with others present at their request. From the partner organisations there were two interviewees who did not show up for interview.

5.4.5 Non-participant Observations of Community Council Meetings

As discussed in section 5.3.5 above, there were issues in engaging community members in both case study areas with the project. To resolve this deficit in data of the impacts and implications of reform on local policing at a local community level it was decided that I would conduct non participant observations at local community council meetings in both study areas where it would be possible to view the interactions between local officers, community partners and members of the local community. On a very practical level attending community council meetings as an observer also proved to be a useful way to familiarise myself with each area and all that was going on there.

Observation as an ethnographic approach to data collection is based on accessing "…people's social meanings and activities and involves close association and familiarity with the social setting" (Brewer 2000:312). Non-participant observations or what Bryman refers to as "…unstructured observation" (ibid 2008:257) were conducted in two community council meetings in each area. Employing observation in the field involves the researcher "getting to know" the people they are studying by joining their world (Kawulich 2005). From this perspective it means that the researcher is able to observe the ways in which a group of individuals engage with the research focus, in this case local policing, but specifically we are able to observe the "…interrelatedness of different aspects of people lives…" (Ritchie and Lewis 2003:7) and view how these interactions function.

In order to conduct observations at community council meetings I made contact with the chairperson of each committee by email introducing myself and the project. In the introduction I was careful in emphasising the focus of the project was looking to examine post reform local policing in their area and not their committee or neighbourhood. I then sought permission to attend a meeting explaining that I would be acting as an observer and taking notes with a focus on how the members of the committee and the local officer interact. I then received an email reply from another member of the committee in Longphort who asked to me to confirm my background and role and also what I would be looking to 'measure'. It appeared this member was not happy with the introduction given to committee members (before my arrival on site) by the chair of that committee and wanted to check me out personally. I replied to the member assuring them that the focus of the project and my visit was on post reform policing and not their committee and emailed copies of the background material to the project for their perusal.

The protocol at each meeting appeared to be very similar, I arranged to arrive ten to fifteen minutes before each meeting to introduce myself to the committee. Once the meeting had begun I was introduced by the chair as a researcher and asked to give a short synopsis of my thesis which I did before explaining to the room my reason for being there as an observer. I also took these meetings as an opportunity to continue to attempt to access participants for the project and handed around information sheets (Appendix 9) to everyone which included my contact details. In Longphort this was effective in that two members of the committee agreed to take part and be interviewed. As the meeting began I took notes in my observation focus sheet (Appendix 10) which included noting how the room was set out, where individuals sat and how many people attended the meeting.

5.4.6 Strategies to ensure Reliability and Validity

From a qualitative research perspective and opposed to the more rigid quantitative

perspectives of reliability, validity and generalizability this thesis will follow the criteria set

out by Lincoln and Guba (1994) in order to assess and evaluate qualitative research which is

based on "trustworthiness and authenticity" (ibid 1994:112). The criticisms or limitations of

the case study design are based in the main around perceived issues with "…lack of controls,

for inadequate measurement of independent and dependent variables, and for arbitrariness in

the interpretation of data" (McKinley-Runyan 1982:440). These critiques relate to the

subjective nature of the questions asked of participants and highlight the issues of reliability,

validity and generalizability in the findings of data from case study designs. In order to

provide more robust findings this thesis has followed the criteria set out by Lincoln and Guba

(1989) which is based on "…authenticity and quality" (ibid 1989:112) to refute the perceived

issues of using a case study design.

In order to add a form of credibility and reliability to the qualitative findings of this thesis the

project employed "…data source triangulation" (Shenton 2004:66) methods in the data

collection process. It is suggested that incorporating specific frameworks which are able to

emphasise the rigorous ways in which the data has been collected supports the internal

validity of findings produced by a qualitative strategy (Van Maanen 1983, Shenton 2004 and

Bryman 208). From the perspective of this thesis this was accomplished in two ways, firstly

by the variety of participants who were invited to take part in the project, inclusive of both

police and non-police personnel all of whom were able to provide differing viewpoints and

experiences of local policing post reform corroboration to the data collected. Secondly what

Shenton (2004) refers to as "…site triangulation" (ibid 2004:66) was also incorporated into

the thesis by the inclusion of two very diverse geographical case study areas which reinforced

the data collected from the participants by providing a "variety of perspectives in order to get

a better, more stable view of 'reality' based on a wide spectrum of observations from a wide base of points in time-space" (Dervin 1983 cited in Shenton 2004:6)

A further critique of the case study design relates to the reliability and "…integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research" (Bryman 2008:32), this is known as the validity criteria of research. Within a case study design the biggest limitation discussed is in connection with the external validity of the findings produced. This discussion is underpinned by the argument of how can the findings from one single case study be generalised in the wider social world? In the context of this thesis the case study design is defined as a "…representative or typical case…" (ibid 208:56) which represents the typical experiences of police reform within Scotland. The researcher acknowledges that the methodological design employed in this thesis impacts on the generalizability of the findings to any wider population. However, what the findings can produce is an "…analytical generalization…" (Yin 2011:101) whereby they can be used to inform and encourage future in-depth discussion and interest in the topic for future research.

5.5 Ethical Issues

Before the field work began ethical approval was given by the University of Dundee Ethical Committee. All participants were allocated an informed consent form (Appendix 4) before the interview began which they signed and returned to the researcher. Bryman (2008) defines the principle of informed consent as giving each participant "…as much information as might be needed to make an informed decision" (ibid 2008:121) regarding taking part in the research. Participants within this project were notified that their data and their identities would be kept confidential and anonymous; they were also notified of the voluntary nature of their participation in the project and advised of their right to remove themselves and their data from the project at any time. Before each interview began all participants were given the

contact email addresses of the researcher and her academic supervisors from the university. Permission was also sought from each participant to record their interview with an explanation that this would be for transcription purposes only, kept in a password-protected file and would be destroyed once the project was completed.

The thesis included data collection which entailed the researcher being away from home on extended overnight stays in the field. To comply with the Code of Safety for Researchers written by the Social Research Association on arriving in the field both academic supervisors and the researchers' family were contacted by email to inform them of her accommodation contact details together with the arrival and departure dates of the trip.

5.5.1 Confidentiality and Anonymity
Participant confidentiality and anonymity are fundamental in the social research process and relates to each participant right to privacy. Bryman (2008) claims that it is concepts such as these which encourage participants to take part in research in the first instance with Milliner (2014) adding that "…respondents may be reluctant to take part in research if the information they provide were to be freely disseminated to other parties" (ibid 2014:178). Every effort has been made in this thesis to prevent the identification of any participants who have taken part in the interview process. In order to anonymise each participant and prevent them being identified their data was labelled with a numerical code upon transcription and each case study area was also assigned a pseudonym which is only known to the researcher and supervision team.

5.5.2 Ethical Issues and Considerations in Researching with the Police
There is a plethora of literature which supports the claim that in general policing organisations are suspicious of outsiders particularly researchers (Reiner 1992, Chan 1997

and Marks 2004). Marks (2004) claims that this suspicion impacts on the reliability of the data collected from within a policing organisation particularly "…during periods of organisational change, when police members are likely to feel defensive and vulnerable" (ibid 2004:871). I would argue however, that in the context of this thesis on many occasions there were police participants who appeared to use the interview process itself almost as a cathartic exercise with one officer telling me at the beginning of the interview "…maybe one hour won't be long enough for all I have to say." As a result, my main concern conducting the interviews was maintaining the interview schedule and keeping participants focused on the questions being asked.

Managing the interview schedules for front line officers was difficult in the early stages of field work due in part to my lack of experience in the field and my awareness of the situational context of the ongoing reform around me.

> *"…some officers were more difficult to interview than others…there is such uncertainty and anxiety at the moment…everyone seems nervous…I don't think it was related to me or the project"(Field notes 4th December 2013)*

From my first local meetings with police personnel I was aware of a sense of unease and frustration amongst some front line officers, as staff were being notified of multiple changes daily and together with the reconfiguration of local management structures many were commenting that they "…had no idea what was going on".

Consequently, this impacted on how I attempted to manage these first interviews and now that field work is complete I believe that I could have directed and probed in greater depth. Although I am very honoured to have been given access to Police Scotland in the early stages

of the reform and view reform up close, there is one entry in my field diary where I compare

researching police reform whilst the changes are still occurring as.

> *"I have been trying to access community inspectors but staff are being redeployed*
> *all over the place, even management aren't sure who is where or how to contact*
> *them…it's a bit like walking on quick sand" (Field notes 18th November 2013)*

A further concern for front line officers in their acceptance of me as a researcher emerged

prior to or during initial interviews and was based on my identification tag which was

provided to me form the liaison team, ironically to ease access to police stations and

personnel. It appeared that some of the staff thought this ID card was a warrant card and that

I was a Police Scotland employee and would be reporting back to the executive with my

findings with a number of officers asking "are you working for Mr House?" This concept is

also reported by Brewer (2000) in his ethnographic study of the Royal Ulster Constabulary

(RUC) when he highlights the way in which strategic approval for field work can be a

"…disadvantage in the field because it raised doubts in the minds of the people lower down

in the organisation about why the management had agreed to the research" (ibid 2000:135). It

was possible to allay most suspicions or concerns with a brief discussion before the interview

began. In general, this consisted of some further discussions around the aims of the project

and who was involved. However, there were occasions where the researcher had to offer

personal information regarding previous work experience and background and where

participants would only agree to take part in the interview after contacting the liaison team to

verify permission had been granted for field work to take place, although in the main this

occurred more at a senior management level.

A further consideration when researching with the police is the language that the police use.

In terms of being an outsider to the police organisation it becomes difficult for the researcher

to comprehend the vast use of acronyms which police personnel so readily use. In the case of this research, I utilised the outsider, naïve researcher standpoint whilst asking interviewees for a translation or definition. In the early stages of the field work it became apparent that the wording of some questions was more focused on academic language and was not suitable for the officers. In order to make them feel more comfortable with the interview process amendments were made to rephrase questions and make it more in keeping with the everyday language used by the officers.

As the thesis was a collaborative partnership with Police Scotland there was an agreement in place for the researcher to provide confidential interim reports at a strategic level on the progress of filed work and initial findings. Therefore, senior police management were kept aware of initial themes arising from the data before any in-depth analysis had been performed. The provision of regular feedback is discussed by Thomas et.al (2014) in their literature review of policing research which suggest that "…police practitioners need timely results from the research in order to take action" (ibid 2014:9).

5.6 Analysis
Noaks and Wincup (2004) describe qualitative research as producing "…a vast amount of rich and detailed data. The challenge for the researcher is to make sense of that data and provide an illuminating analysis" (ibid 2004:122). However, with regards to the analysis of qualitative data Bryman (2008) claims there are "few well established and widely accepted rules for the analysis of qualitative data…what can be provided are broad guidelines" (ibid 2008:538). From this perspective the data collected for this project was analysed using a thematic analysis by way of the data being broken down into broad categories before a thematic coding system relating directly to the research questions was used to label and connect each category into a systematic pattern across the data. Richie and Lewis (2003)

describe this as a "cross sectional code and retrieve method" (ibid 2003: 03) which is used to organise and highlight in a systematic manner the emerging themes across the data set. This resulting pattern was then thematically organised. The code and retrieve method of analysis is not without its criticisms with claims that it is easy to categorize data and loose the contextual background (Coffey et.al. 1996). In an attempt to offset this criticism and to retain important contextual information, where appropriate larger 'chunks' of the data were included in the coding process. This allows the context of any particular statement to be maintained on initial viewing without the need to revert to the original data set.

In order to enhance the analysis of the data collected in this thesis, the recordings made at each interview were transcribed verbatim to a word document which was then uploaded to the computer software NVivo 10 which is used to analyse qualitative data as a 'source' document. NVivo software allows the researcher to create thematic 'nodes' which are based around the collection of multiple interview references linked to a singular theme. Figure 5.4 below is a screen shot of the list of parent and child nodes created for the analysis of the data collected in this thesis.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Training_support for new scrutiny role	8	8	26/11/2014 09:45	YH	28/11/2014 11:13	YH
Training Given	6	9	06/11/2014 10:13	YH	03/12/2014 16:43	YH
Strengthen the lnks between police and communities	42	54	28/10/2014 14:03	YH	11/12/2014 21:56	YH
Roles, Resources and Workloads	0	0	06/10/2014 15:51	YH	06/10/2014 15:51	YH
Political Influence on policing	7	16	05/11/2014 22:30	YH	11/12/2014 15:49	YH
Policing Priorities	35	76	08/10/2014 12:15	YH	11/12/2014 21:15	YH
Organisational Change	1	1	06/10/2014 15:51	YH	03/11/2014 20:52	YH
Recording Crime	5	6	07/11/2014 10:19	YH	11/12/2014 14:03	YH
Perceptions of the change and management of reform	53	161	28/10/2014 16:09	YH	11/12/2014 22:02	YH
PC contributions to reform process	21	28	06/11/2014 10:38	YH	04/12/2014 09:21	YH
Pace of Reform	12	19	28/10/2014 12:55	YH	11/12/2014 12:33	YH
Ongoing change in the Police	6	9	05/11/2014 21:39	YH	02/12/2014 11:03	YH
Morale (Staff)	15	25	06/11/2014 10:35	YH	08/12/2014 22:08	YH
Hoped Reform would change things	4	5	07/11/2014 10:08	YH	11/12/2014 18:28	YH
Early in the reform process_Early Days	16	21	28/10/2014 12:55	YH	11/12/2014 22:03	YH
Communication	40	91	28/10/2014 16:05	YH	11/12/2014 21:59	YH
Internal police communication	19	37	17/12/2014 09:51	YH	17/12/2014 10:05	YH
Communication with partners	0	0	17/12/2014 09:50	YH	17/12/2014 09:50	YH
Communication between police and public	3	7	17/12/2014 09:52	YH	17/12/2014 09:55	YH
One size fits all policing	36	59	28/10/2014 14:21	YH	11/12/2014 21:50	YH
National model for local policing	12	14	05/11/2014 11:07	YH	11/12/2014 19:41	YH
Local Accountability	36	55	28/10/2014 13:59	YH	11/12/2014 21:52	YH
Governance	4	4	06/10/2014 15:51	YH	28/11/2014 15:47	YH
Engagement	1	1	06/10/2014 15:52	YH	11/12/2014 16:13	YH

Figure 5.4 Screen shot of NVivo coding system

5.6.1 Analytical Strategy

As the main focus of the thesis was to examine the impact and implications of reform on local policing an "analytical strategy" (Noaks and Wincup 2004:124) was devised which would look to draw themes from the data centred around police personnel's experience of organisational change with a focus on their perceptions of the processes and management of the reform journey. It was felt that these initial themes would be the most relevant in terms of offering insights which would assist future policy regarding broad organisational change within the public sector and importantly it would offer feedback to Police Scotland on how the reform was being experienced operationally on the front line of policing.

After the initial themes were noted further recurring themes also began to emerge from the data during the transcription stage of the project. These included themes based on the data collected from interviews conducted with police partner organisations, locally elected

representatives of the case study locations and members of the newly formed local police scrutiny committees. A colour coding scheme was used for each theme as it emerged and was recorded by way of the highlighting tool available through Microsoft Word at the time of transcription. These additional themes were also documented in a field diary and were later added to the node list in the analysis software. In this way all references made in the interviews pertaining to a specific theme are coded to a single node.

During the analysis the main themes were divided into further sub themes as discussed by Ritchie and Lewis (2003) who refer to this as organising data into "…higher order categories" (ibid 2003:221). For example, under the Organisational Change node there are child nodes which reflect the experiences of the role of local management in supporting staff through the reform, perceptions of the internal communications sent regarding change and perceptions of the post reform working environment. Again these sub-themes offer valuable findings concerning the impact of macro level reforms on the day to day operations of front line staff.

Using computer software in the analysis of qualitative data is not without any drawbacks. NVivo can be time consuming and labour intensive particularly when you are using the package for the first time. There are also limitations related to the coding of data within NVivo as codes, and it would be easy to lose the context of the quote if you were not familiar with the data-certain words or phrases only highlighted as chunked – (Ritchie et.al. 2003, Bryman 2008).

5.6.2 The SWOT Analysis
A further methodological tool employed in the project was the operationalisation of a SWOT analysis which examined each participant's perceptions of the strengths, weaknesses,

opportunities and threats of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland. The framework for SWOT analysis is based from the school of management theory and is utilised as a flexible "…strategic planning tool" (Kessler 2013:3) which looks to "…analys[ing] internal and external environments in order to attain a systematic approach and support for decision making" (Gazinoory et.al. 2011:24). The SWOT matrix is based on examining both internal strengths and weaknesses and external opportunities and threats and is described by Kessler (2013) in the Encyclopaedia of Management Theory as a method to search "…for insights into ways of crafting and maintaining a profitable fit between a commercial venture and its environment" (ibid 2013:3).

The use of a SWOT framework analysis specifically from a police organisation perspective, is discussed by Hart (1996) who suggests that employing this method of analysis is particularly effective at times of change in the police where the changes "…act directly upon, and influence existing members of the organisation [and are] reflected on the attitudes and culture of staff" (ibid 1996:6) thus offering a more comprehensive examination form numerous viewpoints of how change is being experienced.

In the context of this project, examining the impact and implication of reform on local policing, a SWOT analysis was utilised as a methodological tool to help participants provide focused and condensed feedback in terms of their perceptions of the recent reform by highlighting both the positive and negative aspects experienced at a local policing level. This was achieved by adding the SWOT questions to the end of every interview and presenting them as a way for the participants to sum up their experiences of reform in a more concise format.

The replies form the SWOT questions were entered separately into the NVivo programme and a thematic analysis was conducted. The findings from the SWOT analysis (presented in appendix 15) in particular highlight the threats and weaknesses identified by participants, provide policy makers and strategic police managers with a lens through which to view the very specific policy and practice issues raised in this thesis, in order to attempt to address them.

5.7 Critical Reflection of Field Work
This section will be used to offer a critical reflection of the "doing" of this research project. As discussed by Finlay and Gough (2003) introducing a reflexive component to the qualitative based project allows the author to "…acknowledge the situated nature of their research and to demonstrate the trustworthiness of their findings" (ibid 2003: ix). This section will therefore begin with a presentation of my arrival in the case study areas. Arrival stories are part of the social researcher's tool kit, they are used to "…describe the author's first encounter with the field and set the scene for the reader" (Hine 2013:3). The arrival story can be defined as a narrative method for including the audience in the experience of field work. Van Maanen (2011) describes the arrival Story as being an important way to "… permit[s] readers to hold the attitude that whatever the fieldworker saw and heard during a stay…is more or less what any similarly well placed and well trained participant observer would see and hear" (ibid 2011:46).

5.7.1 Arriving in Easton
As Easton is within an easy commute from my home I had decided to have a pre first police meeting orientation visit to the area and spent a morning familiarising myself with the area before field work officially began. The area itself was more or less what I had expected, a large urban town with a busy main shopping street running through it which contained a mixture of small locally owned shops and small supermarkets. There was also a very

traditional feel to the shopping area, which I did not expect. There was an old fashioned looking butcher's shop which had a tiled doorway with the carcasses hanging inside and a greengrocer with boxes of fruit and vegetables outside on the street. My diary entry here stated;

> *"I feel as though I have gone back in time to my childhood, rows and rows of busy, small shops on …… street, it made me think of shopping with my Gran when I was younger. It's nice to see there are still some areas like this" (Field Diary 23rd September 2013)*

Easton is very similar to the working class, urban community that I had grown up in and this helped me relax into my surroundings easily. There was nothing really unknown to me here, although I was unfamiliar with this specific area I was aware that in an area like this I could blend in with the local population and that on first glance I would not look out of place. However, having lived for the past fifteen years in a relatively middle class, rural village I had forgotten just how hectic the urban pace of life could be.

> *"It just seems so busy here, there are people coming and going, lots of traffic and noise and it seems as every bus for miles travels along this route…I've forgotten just how anonymous you can become in this urban setting" (Field Diary 23rd September 2013)*

The multi-cultural aspect of this area also becomes apparent from the first visit. There were people on the streets here who represented the majority of ethnicities from across the globe with a variety of shops and cafes which cater for and are operated by individuals who have come to the area from overseas. To get a feel for the area and how it functioned on a daily basis I decided to take some time to observe the shopping area and found a café with the biggest window on to the street and stopped for lunch.

> *"I went for lunch and sat in a café on the main shopping area just to watch the people go by and to try to get a feel for the place…there are so many different places to choose from…there are African, Indian, Polish, Russian… sandwich bars, artisan coffee shops, traditional Scottish tea room and even the more*

> *traditional greasy spoon…something for everyone…although I was feeling*
> *conspicuous as the researcher, nobody seemed to notice that I was out of place"*
> *(September 23rd 2013)*

As people came and went from the café some of them nodded or smiled indicating that I was

being treated as a "local" and that perhaps they thought they knew me. After lunch I walked

to the police station as I had my first meeting the next morning with the CI to introduce

myself and the project. The police station is located in a quieter part of town and appears

more affluent only five-minute walk from the busy shopping area. This area has mainly

offices and business premises and is situated next to a large expanse of open space bounded

by mature trees and high end housing.

> *"The area where the police station is, is much nicer than I thought, not quite what*
> *I expected after this morning's initial view of the area…it's a very old and grand*
> *building which obviously has a lot of history...this is obviously the more affluent*
> *area of Easton" (Field Diary 23rd September 2013)*

.
It was surprising to find this open green space not far from hustle of busy urban life, it was

clean and well-kept and even on a cool September day was being used by many people

walking their dogs or sitting on benches. Surrounding the park are large Victorian style

villas, some of these have remained homes whilst others have been renovated and are now

used as office and business premises. The affluence of this part of town is in direct contrast

with the tenement style buildings in the shopping area of town and is indicative of the mixed

community which lives in this area.

Beginning field work in Easton I was more nervous than I imagined I would be. Due to the

previous introductory meetings I had with police management I was more than aware that this

was a particularly difficult period for police personnel and that at this time the organisation as

a whole was in a state of flux. I wondered how the officers would react to me and if any of

them would actually turn up for interview. As I parked the car and walked towards the police station I was also beginning to feel the weight of responsibility as an early career researcher examining the most radical police reform for decades.

5.7.2 Arriving in Longphort

My arrival in Longphort was tinged with more than a little trepidation. Before arriving in the field I had called ahead to inform them that I would like to begin data collection and would arriving on a certain date. As the field work area was too far to travel to daily it was planned that I would travel there and stay for two or three days each week and conduct as many interviews as possible. During this conversation I was asked where I would be staying I replied that I had no idea as yet and was informed that I should be careful and probably best not to stay in Longphort itself. I then received a call from another officer with a list of accommodation that was felt to be suitable for me. Although I felt this was very supportive of them it did the raise a few questions in my mind as to where exactly I would be going.

> *"I'm a bit concerned now, officer I spoke to asked where I would be staying and I said I didn't know yet I was working on that and they said to be careful!!!! They checked the ideas I had and then called back with accommodation that they said would be more suitable…what am I getting myself into? (Field Diary 26th May 2014)*

I arrived in Longphort on a sunny Scottish June afternoon and began to feel slightly more optimistic about the area. To get here I had driven through some beautifully lush countryside and some stunning and picturesque villages before following the coastal road into Longphort.

Entering Longphort from the south I notice the rather large and somewhat grand homes. As you enter there is firstly a large modern estate with modern new build homes and a large supermarket which also appears new. As you travel north towards the town centre the houses are older and more traditional with rather grand Victorian designs. This section of town I

later discover speaks for the wealth that is available in Longphort. The closer to town you get the less grand the houses become and although still traditional in design are much smaller and you are aware that this is a rather less affluent part of town.

> *"This place is nowhere near as bad as I had been told…I drove around town first… the area has seen better days, it's a bit drab and in need of a face lift but not so bad…there are a lot of boarded up shops and businesses around it looks as though there is not a lot of money at this end of town…I decide to park the car and walk around the harbour area for me this is like being on holiday, seagull's boats and the sea and I think I may look like a tourist……" (Field Diary 3rd June 2014)*

> *"…I wander along to the main street, there is a mixture of small local shops, a large chain pharmacy and three second hand/charity shops which all look not quite run down but perhaps tatty is a better way to describe the main shopping area…everything looks as if it needs a good clean up…There is building work going on at the top end of the main street where they are building a bar/restaurant which sits within the town square next to the old town council buildings which would have been rather grand in their day. I look for somewhere to buy a coffee, I look for a coffee chain shop, there are none so I head to a local café where as soon as I open my mouth to order it is noticed that I am not a local by my accent and I'm ask if I'm visiting locally" (Field Diary 3rd June 2014)*

Unlike Easton the main shopping area in Longphort seems to be missing the more traditional shops like the local butcher or fruit shop which I would have expected in a small town. There is also evidence of the local impact of the recent economic down turn with a large number of local shops and business standing empty and boarded up. It appears the area is made up of opticians, second hand shops, a clothes shop, (but not large chain) and take away food shops. The deprivation is more apparent here than in town centre of Easton, perhaps because there is such a divergence between the affluent areas of town and here. The town centre is busy but not always with shoppers. There are a lot of younger people who congregate and hang around the main shopping area on benches and at times this can result in shouting and certain behaviours which become loud.

The town centre runs parallel to the harbour in which you can see a range of fishing boats berthed from small four-man crew boats to the much larger fish factory boats which spend weeks at sea. Alongside the harbour are the fish processing plants where a large majority of people in this area are employed. There also seems to be an overabundance of bars in this part of town although the majority of them do look as though they have been closed down for a number of years. Again this area of town could be said to be in need of some investment and refurbishment.

> *"There is a large hotel in the middle of town which looks like it has seen better days and I found out today it has been turned into a homeless persons unit…it seems the locals are not happy with its use…it really is a bit of an eye sore to be honest" (Field Diary 4th June 2014)*

There is a real mix of affluence and deprivation in this area, with the changes becoming visible on a street by street level and evidenced by the varying housing stock locally. Towards the north end of the town centre is local authority housing mainly in the form of flats which appear to have been built in the 1970's which are rather faded and unkempt looking with some graffiti and litter lying around the central doorways.

> *"…at the other end of the town there is a new sports complex which has a pool and sports facilities. It really does seem this is a town of two halves…" (Feld Diary 3rd June 2014)*

A further indicator of the affluence in this town is the quantity of very expensive cars which are regularly driven around town.

Similar to Easton there appears to be a large number of foreign nationals living and working in Longphort. I am informed later that the fishing and agricultural industries locally have traditionally supported a non-local work force and that historically there have always been migrant workers here. However, once interviewing began and I had the opportunity to speak

with participants it soon became clear that the people who live in Longphort have their own unique regional identity which they are extremely proud of that in the main this is a close knit community where everybody knows everybody else.

5.8 Critical Reflections of a Researcher in the Field
This section will offer a reflexive examination of my role as a researcher in the project. It will examine the challenges and dilemmas of the field work undertaken for this project and the remedial actions taken.

As discussed above my intention had been to conduct focus groups with members of the local community in each case study area to examine the joint perceptions of the reconfiguration of local policing from a local community perspective. The recruitment of community members however, proved more difficult than first imagined and resulted in no focus groups taking place in either case study area. On reflection it may have been the timing of recruitment which was awry. In Easton recruitment began just before and after Christmas and in Longphort is was the traditional school summer holidays. Unfortunately, when planning the field work the holiday periods had been something which had been completely overlooked. It could be possible to argue that it was these specific times which prevented individuals from taking part in the project or simply that local community members believed they had nothing to offer the project in terms of post reform local policing.

A further oversight which was made was with regards to accessing frontline policing personnel. The timing of the second stage of field work coincided with multiple social events occurring around Scotland. During the time of field work the Commonwealth Games, the Ryder Cup at Gleneagles and T in the Park music festival were taking place. These events required all ranks of police personnel in either their planning or security and resulted in a

temporary 'shortage' of staff being available specifically when field work was in progress in Longphort.

> *"...there are local officers here being sent down to Glasgow to work for the games... Some will also be based in Dundee...general feeling is not good, there is a lot of negativity in the station about this just now. The main concern is that most of the girls and guys still do not know what shifts they will be working...one chap here has a son and his wife is working abroad at the moment he hasn't been able to organise childcare" (Field Diary 17th July 2014)*

A further challenge faced in the data collection process was related to the use of walking interviews. As stated above (section 5.4.6) walking interviews which are employed as part of the ethnographers' tool kit are defined as "...highly structured tours that are designed to elicit responses to specific, premeditated places...generating richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surroundings" (Evans and Jones 2011:849). However, after obtaining permission from local management in Easton to conduct walking interviews and providing them with a risk assessment from the university, the reality of attempting walking interviews with on duty police officers soon became apparent. When I approached management and asked for permission to conduct these interviews I explained that the rationale behind them was for the CPT officer to walk me around their 'beat' whilst we discussed their perceptions of the impacts and implications of reform on local policing in that specific area. Nonetheless, when the day arrived for the interviews to take place it transpired that one of the officers who had volunteered to take part had been tasked with delivering citations as he was *"going to be out of the office anyway"*. The delivery route required resulted in us covering a large part of the local area excluding this particular officer's beat. Subsequently the interview ran over time and impacted on the second interview planned for that day resulting in a very short second interview.

> *"Walking interviews today what a disaster...both cops were late as they were busy no fault of their own...go to meet first cop downstairs and they have a big*

pile of citations to deliver they say XXX has told them if they are going out (with me) then they can take these and deliver them. This is not what should happen I explained this to management that I wanted to walk with them around their beats, we go anyway. Second interview also late but now running close to the officer going off duty, start the interview half way and then get stopped by member of the public who requires assistance (not emergency). Cops were both supportive and up for the interviews however, I think conducting walking interviews with on duty police officers is more difficult than a non-police participant. I could try to conduct them with off duty officers but I don't think there would be much support for that right now not with all the other upheaval going on…" (Field Diary 24th February 2014)

As the extract from my field diary above highlights, conducting walking interview with on duty police officers appears to be a more difficult concept than would be expected with non-police participants. In Longphort it proved to be unrealistic to even attempt to conduct walking interviews. The reason for this was twofold, firstly there were generally very few if any foot patrols conducted in the area and secondly the pre-existing low levels of staff, which at that particular time was being compounded by the temporary displacement of staff due to the summer events calendar discussed above.

5.8.1 Managing Relationships

Effectively managing participant relationships in the field is fundamental to the qualitative researcher who is looking to extrapolate the lived experience and associated meanings of participants during the social interaction of a one to one interview. It should never be taken for granted that because the participant has agreed to take part in the interview that the resulting data collected will be of a suitable depth or focus to answer the research question under investigation. Ryan and Dundon (2008) argue that "…the better the quality of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, the richer the quality of the data elicited" (ibid 2008:443). This section will look to explain how I managed my relationships in the field in an attempt to gather the most robust data available.

As discussed previously (section 5.4.7) my initial contact with participants in this project was by email. When I met with many participants for the first time I noticed a sense of surprise at my age, I could tell they were not expecting a 'mature' student in their forties and had instead pictured a more traditional and much younger PhD student. This resulted in me being asked many pre interview questions by participants regarding my own family and academic background and how I had come to be a mature research student with an interest in policing. This 'researcher self-disclosure' was not a concern for me as I felt that if the participants had taken the time and agreed to be interviewed by me, then I could answer their questions in the hope this reciprocal method of interviewing would be a way to build rapport between us. Sharing relevant and contextual biographical information with research participants has been employed by many qualitative researchers particular those undertaking ethnographic study, as a method of rapport building. Neal and Walters (2006) in their paper discuss their use of researcher biographies as a "…resource for making ourselves seem less 'strange'…" (ibid 2006:177) to participants and less of an outsider. After conducting the initial police interviews and noting how participants reacted to my biographical stories I decided to include this as part of my general interviewing technique which proved to be an effective way to build rapport with participants and engage them in the research process.

> *"Some of the officers were very sceptical and suspicious of my intentions, some were pacified after I explained the how and why but others were more difficult to pacify and tended to give mono syllabic answers even when pushed. Some were very cautious of what they were saying no matter how hard I probed them" (Field Diary September 2013)*

Finding common ground or utilising the biography method was of particular benefit when participants appeared to be hesitant in answering questions or repeatedly gave one word replies to questions. Being able to find a common theme with these participants whether that was focused on the project or some other non-agenda topic enabled me to show the human

side of the professional researcher and highlight the similarities between us in an effort to develop a trusting relationship and eventually collect more detailed data. The use of non-agenda discussions between participants and the qualitative researcher as a means to manage relationships in the field are highlighted by Ryan and Dundon (2008) *who* cite examples of non-agenda discussions focused on "…organisation, business or any recent events" (ibid 2008:446) which they utilised as a way to build trust with, and negate the suspicions of participants.

Overall I believe participants, particularly those within the policing organisation responded positively to me being an 'older' researcher with obvious life experience which resulted in a very different researcher/participant relationship than perhaps would have arisen with a much younger researcher. However, there were also occasions during field work when my maturity made no impact on participants. In particular, I am thinking of a meeting I attended with two senior police managers at the same time where one began to question my academic background and knowledge of policing.

> *"I have just had a meeting with two senior managers at the same time that was nerve wracking! One seemed more accepting of the project than the other. There was a lot of discussion around measurement and no matter how many times I mentioned this was a qualitative project XXX continued to ask me what I was measuring and how I would measure it…has asked to see my masters' dissertation…is this a good idea?" (19th July 2013)*

In order to facilitate positive working relations with both managers and ease access to frontline staff within their command, and after discussion with my supervision team, I forwarded a copy of my masters' dissertation to the manager as requested.

In terms of the most challenging interviews to manage in this project, these were interviews with frontline officers and locally elected officials. Conducting research within a policing

organisation can by problematic for a number of reasons. The literature around police research supports the claim that in general policing organisations are suspicious of outsiders particularly researchers (Reiner 1992, Chan 1997 and Marks 2004) and that this suspicion impacts on the reliability of the data collected from within a policing organisation, particularly "…during periods of organisational change, when police members are likely to feel defensive and vulnerable" (Marks 2004:871). The concern and anxiety officers were experiencing in relation to the ongoing changes did not become apparent until I had completed the first interviews in Easton. Although prepared somewhat for their suspicion regarding an outside female researcher, I had not fully anticipated the extent to which the ongoing changes were impacting on frontline officers in terms of their levels of unease and anxiety which appeared to be adding to their overall level of suspicion. With this in mind I therefore decided that in order to gain the trust of these participants, and effectively engage them in the project, I should present the interview in a way which would empathise with their current situation and promote the project as a way to facilitate having their voices heard.

Conversely, there were also officers who appeared to treat the interview process as a cathartic experience and without any need for prompting sat and down and began to talk without hesitation. This outpouring of information necessitated me managing the interview in an attempt to keep the participants focused on the questions and on occasion, to probe and drill down for further support on claims they were making.

> *"Initial feedback to the project seemed positive from the majority of the officers, although they were all in the office together, one officer commented that maybe one hour wouldn't be long enough for all he had to say…keeping my fingers crossed" Field Diary 15 October 2013*

Managing early interviews with elected members also proved to be challenging in terms of the political backdrop of the field work. Interviews with locally elected members from both

case study areas took place in the lead up to the Scottish Independence referendum of 2014

with the overall perception from many councillors that police reform in the first instance was

exclusively a result of SNP policy.

> *"This had been a nightmare interviewing local Politicians, the interviews are
> basically based on party political rhetoric and I have to mine my way through
> each answer…I did find out though that if I turned the conversation to general
> politics or the referendum it focused the participants more Field Diary 14th
> January 2014*

The majority of local councillor interviews were politically biased towards the political party

they each belonged to, for example, SNP councillors tended to avoid any criticism of the

reform at all with one local councillor admitting.

> *"…my party is the party of government you see, so I am not
> going to say anything bad about the Scottish Government I will
> be honest with you…"*

In order to manage these interviews and build a trusting relationship with local councillors it

became evident that I would first have to allow each participant to run through their own

political philosophy prior to interview and be able to recognise the ways this impacted on

their perceptions of reform. In this circumstance I decided to alter my biographical story to

include my own political knowledge during discussion in a similar way to Neal and Walters

(2006) who used their own rural identities to engage with participants, relating it to the works

of Erving Goffman (1956) and his concept of impression management. From this

perspective, Neal and Walters (2006) view impression management as a "…means through

which to build rapport, to say this is familiar to me, I know this/your world" (ibid 2006:187).

An additional challenge that I faced when interviewing front line officers was based on their

perceptions that not only was I an outsider to the police organisation under study, I was also a

'stranger' in both case study locations which was clearly identifiable through my accent.

Askins (2006) refers to the stranger as not only unknown but different from "us". Neal and Walters (2006) further suggest that "as researchers we inhabited the place of the professional stranger finding out about strangers" (ibid 2006:180) with the ability to suspend our stranger-ness by way of our "sameness" (ibid 2006:180) with the participants involved. Therefore, researching within the policing organisation would always define me as being different form "us" however the similarities between myself and the participants with regards to ethnicity and social class ensured that I was eventually viewed as the "recognizable or professional stranger" (ibid 2006:181).

How researchers present themselves is also fundamental in managing relationships in the field (Askins 2006). My approach was always to appear professional and friendly at all times with all participants. When I attended initial introductory meetings with police management I always made sure to present myself in a professional way suited to the rank and role of the individual inclusive of the clothes I chose to wear. This is again in line with the work of Erving Goffman (1956) and his notion of perception management and how we as individuals choose to present ourselves to others in a specific role in a variety of social interactions.

On my first visit to Easton to conduct interviews with frontline staff I presented myself in a similar professional way. It was not until after the first day, back at home completing my field diary that I remembered that some of the participants had referred to me as "Mam" and I began to think that perhaps when dealing with front line officers I had presented myself as being too professional. This was the beginning of my learning process in how to move between the ranks in a hierarchical organisation such as the police. I then decided that when interviewing front line officers, I should possibly 'dress down' somewhat and avoid presenting myself in a managerial role to help officers be more relaxed and at ease with me.

This appeared to be an effective strategy making it easier to build a rapport with the officers and I was not referred to as 'Mam' again.

When conducting interviews within the ranks I also found it important to be able to communicate on a variety of levels, I could not conduct an interview with front line officers in the same manner that I approached senior staff and expect the same engagement in the interview or collect relevant data. When dealing with senior staff I was aware that in order to build genuine rapport with them I had to meet them on a similar level and that the language I used and the way that I spoke had to be in line with each participant's rank and role. However, attempting to be as formal with front line officers had the possibility to create a gap in the relationship and therefore I learned to approach frontline officers in a more informal way.

Deciding to take a more informal approach in the interviews with CPT members also encouraged me to think more specifically about the interviewer/interviewee relationship between myself and the officers. The room I had been allocated was an unused office containing the usual office furniture of desk, chairs and filing cabinets and, unfortunately and without thinking, I had sat behind the desk with each participant sitting on the other side during the interview. I had not considered the room setting and how this would be perceived by the participants. I then decided that on my next visit to the station I would remove the desk as a barrier between myself and the participants and moved my chair around to the front of the desk and sat alongside each participant. This proved to be successful move and there was a definite change in atmosphere within the room in the next set of interviews.

It was when I was in the midst of field work in Longphort that I had an indication that perhaps I was achieving some form of success in managing my local relationships,

particularly with police personnel. After arriving at the station in Longphort one Thursday morning to begin waiting for officers to be interviewed I decided to go along to the recreation area to get myself a coffee. I noticed that the offices and corridors were quieter than usual and on my way back popped my head in the duty room. There was no one around, there was also no one in any of the other offices; I was alone in the station.

> *"...I discovered that I had been left in the station alone today, I walked along to the coffee room as XX said there was cake for all, they are very generous with their baking here, and there was no one around at all. I have no idea where everyone has gone and it feels really spooky being here on my own" (17th July 2014)*

On my return visit to Longphort the following month I had a similar experience when I had arranged to meet a local councillor inside the station. I could hear the outside door buzzing but no one answered. I could not go downstairs to open the door as I did not have a security pass which would allow me to access the front door. I walked along the corridor in an attempt to find someone who could open the door for me and discovered that again I had been left in the station on my own.

> *"...found myself alone in the station again, no one on reception, XXX is off on holiday and there is no cover and all the cops are out on jobs...I had an appointment to meet Councillor XX here, he came and rang the bell but couldn't get in because nobody was here to let him in and I do not have a swipe card to get through the doors...a police station is a very strange place to be left alone… (20th August 2014)*

It was only through discussing the events above with my supervision team at a much later date that I began to understand that in being left alone in the police station I was being trusted by the staff there and our working relationship was moving into a new phase. It could be suggested that in the eyes of the Longphort participants I had moved from what Janes (1961) defines as the 'newcomer' stage to the 'categorical acceptance' stage where the project and myself had achieved a form of recognizable legitimacy.

5.8.2 Leaving the Field

Leaving the field is as important as arriving particularly with an organisation such as the police. Iversen (2009) refers to it as the "disengagement aspect of the research process" (ibid 2009:13). I was always very aware that I am only one in a long line of researchers who will look to access Police Scotland, key stake holders in policing and their external partners in the coming years and felt a sense of responsibility that I should leave the field with positive relationships intact in both case study areas having left no negative impact for any future researchers. To this end I entered what Janes (1961) refers to as the 'imminent migrant' stage for the researcher where I attempted to finish all interviews in as positive a way as possible, leaving contact details for myself and academic supervisors informing participants they could contact me at any time with questions. Many of the participants were interested in the next stage of the thesis and wanted to know when my findings would be published and if they would be kept updated with progress. I informed participants that I would be offering a presentation of findings locally at the end of the project and would contact them with details should they wish to attend. From a policing perspective I have continued, intermittently to email the liaison team and front line supervisors from Easton and Longphort to keep them up to date with the progress of writing up the thesis.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the research design and variety of methods utilised in this thesis and has provided a rationale for the choices made linking them to the research questions. It has discussed the benefits and challenges of the methods used in terms of the qualitative approach employed and the case study design adopted for data collection. The framework and software chosen to analyse the data collected has also been explained together with a description of the strength and weakness of each.

The chapter has also explained the recruitment of participants to take part in the project and the negotiation processes which took place in order to access them, including Police Scotland and the national police governing body the SPA. It has described the issues and concerns which arose in connection to accessing particular groups of participants and discussed the steps taken by the researcher in order to mitigate these challenges. It has also provided an introduction to the case study areas themselves with a description of why they were chosen.

Having set out the research framework above regarding the design and strategy utilised in the thesis, the final section of the chapter provides an important critical reflection of how the field was experienced with a focus on the roles and relationships experienced in the field.

The following four chapters will now explain the substantive findings which emerged from an analysis of the data collected.

6 Experiencing Organisational Change: Local police perceptions of reform

"JUST NOW IT FEELS THAT THERE IS ONE SHOE AND
IT'S FITTING US ALL, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SOME
OF US HAVE A FEW CORNS AND BLISTERS AND THE
SHOE DOESN'T REALLY FIT"

PC 12 EASTON (F 2)

6.1 Introduction

As previously discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis the literature based organisational change from within a policing context is based in the main, on micro level or operational changes. This chapter will therefore employ a variety of literature from across the general organisational change and change in policing literature, to support an explanation of the themes found in the data collected relating to participants' perceptions of the processes of reform and their experiences of organisational change.

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the broader view of organisational change taken in Chapter 4, into the narrower and specific context of police reform in Scotland. In this way, Chapter 6 will act as a link between the more general literature chapters that have gone before and the empirical work that is to follow in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

For the purpose of the project police participants have been placed into three categories, there are;

- Frontline officers which represents constables and sergeants

- Middle local police managers

- Local senior police managers (superintendents and above)

Frontline is a term also used by Tops and Spelier (2013) to define the police organisation. From their perspective a frontline organisation is distinct from other organisations in terms of its employees, in this context police officers, who have "…direct contact with

public/citizens… [and work with a] …large degree of independence in the performance of tasks" (ibid 201:176). Throughout the substantive chapters, police participants will be identified after their quotations by their grouping and numerically by location i.e. PC 12 Easton followed by their gender and years of service in brackets. Providing this level of detail for each police participant will allow the data to be viewed through the lens of each rank of officer with varying years of service.

As discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.3, I was successful in conducting 42 interviews in Easton and 28 interviews in Longphort, of this number there were 24 police interviews in Easton and 17 police interviews in Longphort. Overall, Longphort was a much smaller community in comparison to the urban sprawl that is Easton and consisted of fewer police officers, therefore, although the number of officer interviews appears much less in Longphort, almost all of the local policing team did take part in the project. In terms of key stakeholder and locally elected member interviews, the number of participants from each case study area was relatively similar. The local scrutiny group in Longphort however, was much larger than that of Easton and consisted of a full council membership. In spite of this increased membership, accessing these individuals in the run up to the Scottish independence referendum proved a difficult task and only three members of the group acknowledged my emails and agreed to take part in the project.

The inclusion of a variety of police ranks within the project was always intended to provide a holistic view of reform. However, in terms of the shortage of existing literature which focuses on frontline officer experiences of macro level reforms discussed in Chapter 4, this chapter will also offer an insightful and original examination of the perceptions of change and change management processes from a frontline perspective. The data collected for this project

also offered an opportunity for an innovative examination of how police personnel interacted

with each other through the change process. In an attempt to offer a wide ranging view of the

macro level reforms experienced in Scotland the experiences of police personnel will be

placed alongside those of key stakeholders and partner organisations in this chapter.

This chapter will review the general perceptions of reform and the management of change by

frontline officers including the pace of reform and officer's perceptions of their role in the

reform process before looking to partner organisations and key stakeholders general

perceptions of recent reform. It will then go on to discuss themes relating to the

communication strategies put in place by Police Scotland through the reform journey for both

police personnel and partner organisations.

6.2 The Context of Local Policing
As discussed at the beginning of this thesis, the focus of the project has been to examine the

impacts and implications of reform on local policing. In order to support this local policing,

focus it was decided to access police participants from the community policing teams (CPT)

from both case study areas, who in the main are responsible for the delivery of local policing

at a neighbourhood level. However, after deciding on which case study areas to use, applying

for and being granted access to each police station, it was discovered that only Easton had a

dedicated CPT with all PC's based in Longphort being described as community beat officers

(CBO's). Therefore, all available police officers in Longphort were approached to take part in

the interview process.

6.2.1 Easton
The area of Easton sits within a wider policing division which covers 4 local ward areas.

Previous to reform there were 14 sergeants working from within Easton police station, 11 on

the response side and 3 who covered community. In terms of front line officers there were 70

response officers and 20 CPT members. Overall the CPT members worked a direct 50-50 split in shifts between day shift and back shift ensuring adequate coverage for local business and community group engagement, access to the general population and an availability to attend community council/policing priority meetings as required. Post reform there has been a restructuring of shift patters in Easton (discussed fully in section 7.5.2 below) which entails CPT members working to a 24-hour shift pattern and also the addition of 2 sergeants and 15 officers to the CPT who were previously response officers.

6.2.2 Longphort
Longphort is part of a wider policing division which covers 6 ward areas and prior to reform there were 94 local officers covering the larger divisional area. In Longphort itself there are 5 teams who make up the total 25 officers who cover each 24-hour period. On a general shift there are 4 front line officers available and a sergeant, this does not take into account abstractions for court, training, sickness and paperwork/station duties for ongoing arrests. There are also times in Longphort when the duty sergeant will be providing supervision cover for other outlying areas as far as 30-40 miles away from Longphort police station.

 6.3 General Perceptions of Reform: The frontline versus management
This section will offer a view of how police officers in Scotland perceived their recent experience of reform. It will do so by disentangling the experiences of frontline officers and management level officers to reform.

As a result of reading through the responses to the public consultations on police reform, it became apparent that together with there being an overall lack of empirical research on frontline officer's experiences of change, there had also been a lack of focus on attempting to access frontline officers' perceptions of potential reforms (discussed in Chapter 5). This

project therefore, presented a unique opportunity to access the perceptions and experiences of these frontline officers, collected during the implementation of change which could be used to expand the current police reform literature and importantly highlight to policy makers the impact of change on the frontline of the organisation. A lack of focus within empirical research on frontline police officers experiences was also noted by Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) in their study examining job satisfaction and commitment by Australian frontline officers post reform, and from Sklansky and Mars (2008) who suggest that traditionally police research has looked to answer questions "…typically pursued by police executives…" (ibid 2008:4) which has resulted in the marginalisation of the frontline officers experiences. In times of change or policing reforms it is important to focus on the experience of frontline officers and their attitudes to change. Savage (2007) defines these frontline officers as the "…street level bureaucrats who dictate how policies are (or are not) translated into actions at the delivery end of the policy process" (ibid 2007:128). In other words, although the police organisation is known for its hierarchical, top down structure, it is frontline officers, out on the street who can help make or break change policy directives issued by internal change "…police entrepreneurs…" (ibid 2007:129).

Initially police responses from the project indicated that change, although not of this level or scope, was not a new experience for the policing organisation and that generally police personnel were adaptable and pragmatic in their approach to change with officers commenting that.

> " I've been in the police force X years and it changes all the time, change happens all the time regardless if it's the first of April or not… you know shift changes all the time people get moved left right and centre…" PC 05 Easton (F 8)[1]

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[1] Indicates the gender and years of service of each participant

> "…the police is always changing, this is what happens…this is not the first time things have changed…it's just the transition period people don't like, it will change again in five years and people will be like 'we liked it the way it was…' Sgt 03 Easton (F 10)

This concept of continual growth and evolution within the modern policing organisation was also discussed by police management who corroborated the view of frontline officers and claimed that change was not a new concept for the policing organisation.

> "…it is perpetual in the sense that we are all about keeping people safe, preventing crime and catching criminals that continues to evolve that whole picture. So the structure within policing generally, not just local policing, is it will continue to evolve to meet the demands that are needed…it is ever evolving to be honest… you are always refining your processes and systems" Chief Super 03 Longphort (M 29)

The comments above supported the existing works of authors such as Hart (1996) and Skogan (2008) who both refer to continual change within policing organisations highlighting the ways in which policing requires to adapt to the specific historical or cultural context the organisations operate in.

Discussions with police participants then focused on the recent macro level reforms and their perceptions of how the reform was being experienced at the grass roots level with several participants highlighting the role of traditional 'street cop culture' and how in general they believed that members of the policing organisation because of their pragmatic approach to change were not finding the concept of change difficult.

> "Police officers are good team players it's a good organisation to be in and because we are all in the same boat we help and support each other, we are all in it together and nobody is enjoying it…" PC12 Easton (F 4)
> "The policing mentality is you are a cop, get on with it…it is almost like being in the military" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)
>
> "…its change just do it. Really it's probably the best attitude to have for us because I have never wanted to be anything other than what I am doing."
> PC 05 Easton (F 8)

Many middle management level officers mirrored this pragmatic approach to change, supporting frontline officer's claims. In this case, there was an overall general consensus between frontline and management officers that change was not a new concept for the policing organisation.

> "…we policed through it and didn't change too much. We still have the same people doing the same jobs, we have changed names a little bit… Over time things will bed down, this isn't a normal merger this is a merger of the police and nobody else does what we do, nobody else can do what we do, this is the largest public sector reform in Police history, we have never done anything as big as this…. it's all opportunity, we have got to keep marching forward no point going back…"CI 01 Easton (M 26)

> "…it is organisational change and it's not exclusive to the police…if its change nobody likes change right…so it is very much in its infancy" Sgt 02 Longphort (M 24)

Comments such as those above from frontline officers, supervisors and management from within both case study locations indicate a consensus that the concept of change per se has not been identified by police personnel as being significant in itself and that overall officers and management within the organisation are understanding of change as a part of modern day policing.

Making the distinction between frontline officers and middle and senior police management perceptions of reform is important to this project in two ways, firstly the role of the frontline supervisor in times of reform has been defined as one of a mediator between the strategic management team and the frontline or what Skogan (2008) refers to as "…the transmission belt that translates the policies of higher ups into action" (ibid 2008:25). From this perspective it is important to examine in what ways change is being transmitted to the frontline by supervisors. In focusing on communication and consensus between frontline officers and supervisors the data collected in this project is able to add to the knowledge base of the ways organisational change on a macro level impacts on frontline officers adding a further layer of

knowledge centred on how large scale reforms influences inter-organisational working

relationships. Secondly the experiences of supervisors to the change can be placed alongside

those of frontline officers in an attempt to either support or refute their claims.

When examining police perceptions of reform from the perspective of the officers' years of

service, the only variation which can be seen is amongst those with less than 5 years'

service, where there is a perception that they have experienced much less impact from

reform in terms of operational changes.

> "I can't say it has impacted majorly…I try to carry on as was…I only had
> less than a year as a (legacy force) officer" PC 04 Longphort (F 2)

> "I have not had much dealing with the change. When I got here the
> change had taken place…" PC 07 Longphort (M 2)

In discussing their experiences of reform, the two officers cited above believed that as a

result of them having less familiarity of how their legacy force structures operated, there was

less for them to "unlearn" in terms of post reform local policing. The first Police Scotland

Staff Survey, published in 2015 also commented on how years of service impacted on the

perceptions of officers, in particular how well informed officers said they were about what

was going on in the newly created Police Scotland. Although not a specific question

regarding their general experiences of reform, we can relate the concept of being kept

informed on what had been happening within the organisation at the time to more general

understandings of the reform process.   Of the respondents who replied, 38% of those who

claimed they were fully or well informed were new to the organisations (SPA/Police

Scotland Opinion Survey 2015). This finding would suggest that frontline officers with

longer service, 20 + years for example would have a more difficult adjustment to reform.

However, overall there were no significant differences found in the perceptions between

officers with 5 + years and 10-15 years' service (SPA/Police Scotland Opinion Survey 2015).

The data collected for this project was also analysed to extrapolate any local variations in perceptions with regards to the geographical locations of each case study area. Initially this was conducted to examine concepts such as access to centrally located resources post reform. However, upon further analysis an overall consensus on the general experiences of the reform was found amongst the majority of participants between the case study locations which are approximately 100 miles apart. This consensus between the case study areas would indicate that overall reform has been experienced in similar ways across both central and highland areas.

The one geographical difference which was brought to light during the analysis of the data was related to the implementation of change in Longphort. The key theme which emerged from both frontline and management level staff, was associated with their low staffing levels which pre date the introduction of Police Scotland. It emerged during interview that under regional force arrangements there were ongoing issues with staffing numbers in Longphort and that as a result of these low levels of frontline operational staff they were finding the implementation of some aspects of the reform more difficult than they anticipated.

> "I am juggling and spinning plates…building a house with three bricks, it's impossible … you know your tool box needs to be filled with tools, and they are just taking the tools out and giving us more jobs and more jobs it's very, very, very difficult…we are so understaffed here it's more difficult for them…" Sgt 01 Longphort (M 15)

> "The unfortunate thing is that we don't have that vast number of staff here to start with…The reality is if they gave us the staff to do the job we would be able to do the job…" Sgt 02 Longphort (M 24)

And a local middle manager stating,

> "The main challenges have always been, and there is certainly no changes pre
> or post reform is trying to staff all that is expected of the police" Middle
> Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

The use of a building analogy above, indicates there is an understanding and awareness of how reform is reconstructing the policing organisation in Scotland and is presented in a way which implies that the participant believes they are performing to the best of their ability with what the resources they have available.

The overall perception from Longphort, from both frontline staff and management is that they are aware of the macro level changes they are required to implement, and in the main they have few concerns with conforming to the actual change. What they do recognise however, is that in this very specific location some operational details are proving more problematic to implement with the limited staffing levels they operate under.

> "…the organisation says that you are required to have a Domestic Violence
> Investigation Unit and it will be staffed by one inspector, one sergeant and 6 cops.
> You are required to have a Divisional Rape Investigation Unit; it will be staffed by one
> inspector, two sergeants and 6 cops. You are required to have an Area Violence
> Reduction Unit to tackle gang and knife related culture that will be staffed by an
> inspector… well I don't have a big amount of officers…and I am saying will you just
> leave us to deploy our officers to meet local demand because with the greatest of
> respect we are best placed to make that judgement not you. But we just don't have that
> autonomy…" Senior Manager 01 Longphort (M 28)

When discussing their own individual experiences of reform the participants in the project including police participants, partner organisations, locally elected representatives and scrutiny bodies the recurring caveat added by the majority of participants was focused on the timing of reform and its relation to the field work being conducted. Overall the feeling was that in many ways it was early in the reform process and that there were still ongoing changes which were yet to operationalised and experienced.

"…we are still very young as an organisation and don't think we have reached a level of maturity" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 22)

"I think there is still a bedding in process here and they are getting used to different ways of operating" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

"I think the jury is out and it is still early days I would say…you will have to come back in six months…" Partner 02 Easton

"…it's the early stages and a lot of people are feeling the pain but you know in the longer term it's for the greater good.…" Senior Manager 04 Easton (M 29)

"I would say that the general consensus is that it will get better…" PC 04 Easton (M 6)

Taking into consideration the above cited extracts and the overall consensus of all participants including frontline officers, police management and partner organisations (see Chapter 8 for a full discussion) it can be said that all are aware of the processes of change and that a bedding in period was expected and viewed as an acceptable part of the reform. The expression, content and effect of the statements above inclusive of "…it's for the greater good", "…it will get better…" and "…the jury is out…"   indicate that these participants are nonetheless optimistic about the final outcomes of reform and its impacts on local policing.

6.3.1 Pace of Change
When engaging with the literature around organisational change it became apparent that at present there has been little attention paid to the pace of organisational change. Overall there is an absence of empirical work which focuses on the impacts experienced by frontline staff as a consequence of rapid implementation strategies.   Conversely, an additional critical theme which emerged from the data in this project related to the participants' experiences with the pace of change the organisation was experiencing. Kotter and Schlesinger (2008) however, do discuss the "optimal speed of change" (ibid 2008:1) and define two separate categories to assist organisations in deciding how quickly or slowly their change should be implemented. In the first instance they suggest that the organisation should implement rapid change when

"…the organisation risks plummeting performance or death if the present situation isn't changed. But proceed slowly if resistance will be intense and extensive" (ibid 2008:1).

Within the context of this thesis, the speed at which the changes have occurred within the policing organisation was identified by participants as causing difficulties for operational policing. On the whole participants regarded the pace of reform as being the biggest obstacle to them engaging with post reform operational changes. It should be noted however, that the majority of comments related to the pace of change came from frontline officers with little or no mention made by management of the speed of reforms. From the perspective of frontline officers and supervisors the speed at which the changes have been implemented throughout the organisation appears to have caused the most anxiety.

> "…it's all been so rapid and constant…it's too quick and too much
> change…too much change too soon and it's not over" PC12 Easton (F 4)

> "…maybe things need to change but not all at once…" PC 05 Longphort (F 17)

With a frontline supervisor also adding that;

> "I am struggling to keep up the change of pace…if you asked me am I on top
> of what is happening with Police Scotland I would have to say no, because
> there is so much change…" Sgt 01 Longphort (M 15)

As discussed in the previous section of this chapter police participants were shown to be generally adaptive to changes within the organisation and viewed it as part of modern day policing. However, the comments above illustrate how frontline officers and their supervisors appear to be struggling to keep up to date with the pace of current organisational reforms resulting in them paying less focus at this particular time to the specifics of operational changes to local policing. There was a general sense of resignation from across the participants to the pace of change within the organisation with a consensus between frontline

officers and supervisors from both case study locations adding weight to the claims made regarding the speed at which change as taken place.

6.3.2 Frontline Officers perceptions of Involvement with Reform

As discussed previously in Chapter 4 concerns have been raised in the literature regarding the role and input of frontline officers at times of reform. Bayley (2008) claims that in the main frontline officers are "…very rarely consulted about the kind of changes needed" (ibid 2008:13) and are "…regarded by senior officers as the source of unhelpful complaints rather than useful insights" (ibid 2008:14). In this way frontline workers can be marginalised by the organisation in terms of them having no voice in the reform process. In order to add to the knowledge base of frontline officers contributions to organisational change from a Scottish reform perspective, frontline officers and supervisors where asked how they perceived their role in the reform journey and in what ways, if any, where they and their colleagues able to contribute to reform. In the main responses were negative with frontline officers commenting that they believed that they had no input to either the planning or implementation stages of reform.

> "None whatsoever, there's always people complaining about stuff" PC 08 Easton (M 12)

> "when the discussion came about whether it was a good idea to have a single police force they didn't actually ask anybody who worked in it, they asked people who go home at night and have their glass of wine…their grasp on reality is getting a read of a daily info or checking the NIM process sitting at their monthly meetings…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

> "…we haven't had any input into this process…look at the shift changes they are talking about; there has been no consultation with us officers or line managers" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

And one officer adding simply

> "…it would have been nice to be asked…" PC 03 Easton (M 17)

Frontline supervisors also supported these claims of no internal police consultation on reform adding that they also perceived they were not given the opportunity to contribute to the reform process.

> "…has anybody ever asked me about police Scotland? No" Sgt 02 Longphort (M 24)
>
> "I would say no, it was just how it was going to be…" Sgt 03 Easton (F 10)

Officers' perceptions of having no real voice in either the consultation, planning or implementation of reform has the potential to lead to high levels of internal resistance to the change process. Resistance to organisational change is a natural reaction from employees (Bovey and Hede 2001), and in general is linked to notions of fear of the unknown (For a full discussion see Chapter 4). From a policing perspective Skogan (2008) claims that resistance to change is based on a perceived lack of control. The language and tone of the examples cited above illustrate the officers' frustrations and a lack of ownership or control of the reform process and suggest that rates of resistance to reform have the potential to be high within the organisation going forward.

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6.3.3 Partner Organisations and Stakeholder Perceptions of Reform

Police reform does not only impact upon the policing organisation, contemporary policing strategies including community policing (CP) are strengthened by the inclusion of external partners in the planning and delivery of local policing (Skogan 2008). Therefore, it was decided that to offer a comprehensive view of the impact of recent macro level reforms on local policing, partners and stakeholder participants involved in the planning and delivery of local policing initiatives in each area would be invited to offer their own personal perceptions of recent police reform. As with police personnel, partner organisations and key stakeholders also offered a mixed review of opinions related to the reform.

"The opportunity is for a different way or working, a different way of policing and maybe realizing the aims and intents of community planning" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

"At the end of the day it's the service a lot of folk didn't care who the CC was here, it's the service that is important, it's the service that the police has to the local community, the people they serve that's the important bit all the rest to me is not important… Well again if I said if we had kept the 8 police forces there would have been massive cuts to frontline services and there would have been less police on the beat. If we had stayed the same there would have been thousands of police paid off," Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

"I see glimmers that a more focused managerial approach might deliver better results, I see glimmers of that it's difficult to tell…the sense that I get is that local police officers are grappling and adapting to the changes it's a great time of change for them…one I spoke to said it was an opportunity, someone else said it was like riding a stormy sea…I get the sense that our local inspector is steering through it to me…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Easton

From the statements above it can be seen that in the main, partners and stakeholders were

optimistic about the impact of policing reform in terms of its potential to support local

policing and the opportunities which could be offered in relation to the delivery of local

policing and in particular the maintenance of frontline officer numbers.

6.4 The Implementation of Change

The importance of the final section of the change management process, the implementation

stage is discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2 where Kezar (2001) cautions that when designing

and implementing change "…one size does not fit all when it comes to change approaches…"

(ibid 2001:20) and that professionals and policy leaders should be mindful of which change

strategy they employ within each organisation in order to implement the most effective

outcomes from change. However, in contrast Hart (1996) suggests that the implementation

stages of reform are one of the universal processes of organisational change which can be

transferred easily between the private and the public sectors.

This section will examine the themes found in the data which reflect participant's perceptions of the implementation stage of reform including police officer and management personnel experiences of how they were supported through the reform process and the evaluation and feedback processes available to frontline staff.

6.4.1 Perceptions of Support through Change

An important theme which emerged from the data was related to the support which frontline officers perceived they had received through the reform process. It has been suggested that implementing successful change in policing organisations, at any level can be difficult (Skogan 2008). With Tops and Spelier (2012) highlighting the importance of the support officers receive from their line managers through organisational change influencing the levels of commitment to the organisation, resulting in the support and acceptance of change by officers. From a management perspective police middle managers appeared to be cognisant of their supporting role.

> "I think the biggest part of my job now is to support them (my officers) through the reform and to be able to speak to them and understand the difficulties they are having because of the change or change of focus or anything… it's an awful lot of change for the frontline officer to take but sometimes it's as simple as a sergeant or an inspector sitting down with them and allowing them to get things off their chest…" Middle Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

One manager offered a detailed description of why he thought support for frontline staff had been a problematic role for some managers in certain areas.

> "Did we get our cops through it? It depends… …six months in to reform we only have one member of the senior command team still there from day one so I think that hasn't helped us to nurse our people through they have seen things happen and we put in new processes and then they literally disappear and that has caused layers of confusion… Over time things will bed down, this isn't a normal merger this is a merger of the police and nobody else does what we do, nobody else can do what we do, this is the largest public sector reform in Police history, we have never done anything as big as this…" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 26)

The extract above is taken from an interview with a police middle manager, the language employed reveals a supportive tone with a reference to frontline offices as "*our cops*" signifying a sense of belonging between the frontline ranks and management. In referring to management support of frontline staff the description of how managers *"nurse our people through"* also suggests that certain managers quite clearly see their role as one of fostering a sense of encouragement amongst frontline staff.

With regards to frontline officers and their perceptions of management support there was relatively mixed feedback with officers describing their own personal experiences of support from each area. The variations in perceptions of support between and within case study areas appeared to be dependent on individual team leadership.

> "We have been very lucky here we have a great chief and a great inspector…they are both very switched on…" PC 12 Easton (F 4)

> "Yes I think so…there wasn't that much really to support, probably things that we needed clarity over you know, new procedures yes they covered it ok if I am honest, as best they could…there was no kind of boss came up and sat down and had a chat to us about things…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

Other officers were also clear to point out that they were aware of the impacts of reform throughout the whole organisation and how this level of reform had engendered organisational restructuring which impacted on all members of the organisation and through all ranks.

> Well the supervisors are going through the change too…we are all in the same boat…we are going through it together" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

> "To begin with I think we all muddled through this together, including sergeants obviously the inspector would come and see us… so yes I think everyone was just trying to get used to it and make sense of the information we were given" PC 04 Longphort (F 2)

However, there were also many officers who perceived that they had received no specific

management support through the reform.

> "One minute we were (legacy force) the next we were Police Scotland… but I
> don't recall being supported, I remember them saying oh you can't wear
> anything (legacy force) after this…no specific support……" PC 05 Longphort
> (F 17)

> "…nobody knew what was happening…we were asking questions and they
> (local management) had no idea. We ask up, so if we ask up and they don't
> know who is going to tell us…they didn't have the information even about the
> way the computer system was going to work… It was a half arsed approach
> and even now we are still having to change things or things are changing and
> that is well past a year" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

From the varying perceptions cited above it appears that the support from management for

frontline officers through reform is being experienced at present unevenly across teams,

within stations, and command areas with no universal support offered across the organisation.

The support which is available is dependent on individual supervisors and local management

which in many areas have been replaced post reform by new management structures and

personnel.

6.4.2 Officer Feedback in the Reform Process
As discussed in Chapter 4, (section 4.3.6) the implementation stage of organisational change

should include an evaluation or feedback component to test against the initial stimuli for

change, with Hart (1996) claiming that employee contribution in the process is essential for

the successful implementation of any reforms. When looking to examine the

operationalization of organisational changes from a policing perspective it is therefore

important to take account of the role of frontline officers. It is these officers who experience

first-hand how any changes are being experienced at a ground level and are therefore able to

contribute important insights to managers on how effective the reform has been in achieving

its predicted outcomes.

From a policing perspective Bayley (2008) claims there is a requirement to employ an

effective two way process of communication between frontline officers and police

management allowing those at the "…coal face…" (ibid 2008:13) of policing to offer an

important grass roots view of the impact of change. Therefore, participants in this project

were asked if they were aware of any processes which had been put in place whereby they

could offer management feedback on their daily experiences of reform at an operational level

and if they had at any time utilized them. On the whole the responses received from frontline

officers and their supervisors were similar in terms of them having no knowledge of any

specific processes having been put in place which would allow them to offer feedback into the

reform process.

> "Definitely none… because if it was the case we wouldn't have the one size fits all."
> PC 12 Easton (F 4)

> "Well you could do it locally just through your supervisor but whether it is
> going to go anywhere is pretty much…I hear what you are saying but there is
> nothing we can do about it…that's the general answer I would say." Sgt 02
> Longphort (M 24)

> "… I can't really think of anything…no I don't think so, of course if we were
> aware of something that we felt was not working we would mention it to the
> sergeant but…you know whether that gets fed up to the bosses and something
> gets done about it I don't really know…I don't think there was…I don't
> know…" PC 04 Longphort (F 2)

> Well you can provide feedback quite regularly, one of the good things we have
> got now as an organisation is that the Chief Constable does his live question
> and answer feed, it's a live thing and you can ask questions to him, its great fair
> play to the man…it gives him instant feedback. Or you can do the same old
> fire it up the line to the sergeants…it's not that effective." PC 03 Easton (M 17)

The quotes cited above demonstrate that the hierarchical nature of the policing organisations

does not in the main, lend itself to supporting effective internal two way communications as

discussed in the organisational change literature. The pre-existing rank structures prevalent in

the police organising, ensure that frontline officers have specific routes through which they

can access management and at present they do not appear to have confidence that these routes are effective for this specific feedback at this time.

Osborne and Brown (2005) refer to this style of communication as monological communication which in the main is deployed in planned organizational change and is based on a "… linear, one-way communication that treats communication as an instrument for conveying and receiving organizational messages" (ibid 2005:98). It therefore appears that within the policing organisation there is at present no formal observation methodology being applied which is monitoring how the implementation of changes at a grass roots level is being experienced.

However, it is appears that although frontline officers are not aware of any general processes which have been put in place by Police Scotland for them to offer feedback on their experiences of the impact of reform, some local management teams and frontline supervisors may have put in place local arrangements.

> "…any information that we get is fed back to the officers and is done quite often and also feeding back their worries and anxieties to management and getting them answered and then going back to them making sure, well they're my family really, that they are happy and if they are not happy what is making them unhappy and what can I do about it. Giving them reassurance that is something that we are constantly doing" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 2)

This localised arrangement could have the possibility of marginalising some frontline officer's experiences and not others in the feedback process and could be determined by individual management at various levels within and across command areas. If this is indeed the case a potentially unbalanced view of the impacts of reform will be fed back to management with any resulting amendments made unsuitable across the whole of the service.

6.5 Communication

By far the largest theme which emerged from the data regarding the implementation of recent reform concerned communication strategies both within the organisation and with key partners and stakeholders. As discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.2.7 communication processes throughout the implementation of organisational change are vital in preparing, coaching and supporting the workforce through the change. This section will therefore discuss communication within the policing organisation and focus on the quantity and regularity of communications, the perceived quality and relevance of communications before then examining the perceptions of partner organisations and communications with Police Scotland during the reform process.

Existing literature on organisational change cites effective and robust communication strategies aimed at preparing, coaching and supporting the workforce through the planning and implementation of organizational change (Tops and Spelier 2012, Manuela and Clara 2003 and Osborne and Brown 2005). With Elving (2005) claiming that.

> "If organisational change is about how to change the individual tasks of employees, communication about the change, and information to these employees is vital …communication with the employees should be an important and integrative part of the change efforts and strategies" (ibid 2005:130)

From this perspective communication within the organisation is fundamental through both the planning and implementation of organisational change. This section will firstly examine participants' perceptions of the quantity and regularity of communication received during the implementation of reform before examining themes related to the quality of communication and will conclude with the perceptions of communication processes by key stakeholders and partner organisations.

6.5.1 Quantity and Regularity of Communication

When frontline officers were questioned regarding how they were kept up to date with changes that were being operationalised across the service during the reform, journey they stated that in the main information was relayed using the internal police *Intranet*. Overall the majority of officers raised no concerns with regards to the methods of communication employed by the organisation, however, what they did highlight was the quantity and the regularity of the emails they received.

> "…we get bombarded with information…" PC 01 Easton

> "…you get sent so much it's too much information sometimes" PC 03 Easton (M 17)

> "…you were bombarded daily with emails…" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

> "… I do think you get bombarded with emails…" PC 04 Easton (M 6)

The above extracts were collected from three male participants and one female with their length of service varied between less than 5 years to 15 plus years'. Two of the participants were based in Easton and two were based in Longphort. The negative tone in the responses is highlighted by the repetition of "bombarded" by officers in both of the case study areas and illustrates the general consensus held by frontline officers concerning the volume of emails received. Although these extracts are taken from officers in only two Scottish policing areas, the similarity of experience indicated from the varied geographical locations, gender and years of service adds emphasis to the comments and, it could be suggested, could be used as an indication of how communications are being received across the organisation as a whole.

There were however, a minority of participants, again from both Easton and Longphort who viewed the quantity and regularity of emails in a very different way to that above. From their perspective the continual distribution of emails was seen in a more positive light as a way for managers to keep frontline workers up to date with ongoing change.

 "…you always get an email updating you making sure you are doing the right thing because they are keeping themselves right in keeping you right" PC 07 Longphort (M 8)

   "…cannot fault them that way we were kept in the loop" PC 08 Easton (M 17)

In addition to the perceptions of frontline officers, middle and senior police managers were also asked to relate their experiences of internal communications through the reform process. The addition of this data to the project relates to the seminal work of Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2010) who defined two separate and distinct cultures within the policing organisation; the street cop and the management cop and claimed that both cultures experienced policing in diverse ways and could at times be seen to be in conflict with each other. By exploring the perceptions and experiences of varying ranks of officers and placing them side by side in this project, the overall findings could then be described as being more comprehensive in their range whilst also offering the potential to extrapolate and explore any differences in perceptions which were based on the ranks of participants.

Generally frontline supervisors and management perceptions surrounding the quantity and consistency of communications throughout the reform journey reflected those of frontline staff. In the main they supported the notion that staff were being inundated with emails and operational packs which arrived on a daily basis.

   "…as for how we communicate I don't think that has changed, as for how much we communicate yes that has changed" Sgt 03 Easton

   "…its email overkill…" Middle Manager 01 Longphort (M 2)

With one middle manager adding that;

   "the intel side are saying that we have to very recognisant of the number of things that we are sending out to officers that it doesn't get too flooding…there is that awareness there… I could spend all day and I still wouldn't get through what was on the briefing sites," Middle Manager 02 Easton (M 20)

From the extracts above it can be seen that on the specific focus of internal communications the experiences of officers from across a variety of ranks is similar. Again the extracts above are from officers who operate in both the case study areas of Easton and Longphort and lends support to the claims made by frontline offices with regards to their experiences.

The quantity and regularity of the emails received was also criticized by frontline officers with a specific emphasis on the impact of officers returning from days off, holidays or training courses to find their inboxes filled by a multitude of backdated emails.

> "…some places are worse than others, some supervisors are worse than others but you can regularly come in after your days off to maybe 30 or 40 emails…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

> "…if you have been on holiday and the stuff just flows and you think does this stuff refer to me? Do I really need to know this?" PC 05 Longphort (F 17)

The frequency of emails received also raised concerns amongst all levels of officers with regards to the time it could potentially take officers and their supervisors to read through and digest the emails they received regarding operational changes. This was perceived by officers to be a direct result of the quantity and frequency of emails dispatched from management which they were expected to work through in shift hours.

> "…you are expected to look at your emails, look at what has been happening, check the intelligence data base, check the daily infos, check the briefing and that is before anything…oh the public dam we forgot them (sarcasm)" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

> "…it's unbelievable there is no time to read them all and quite a lot of them get deleted without being read…You would get emails…this is the new standard operating procedure for dealing with you know whatever but it's a massive document kind of 50 pages long…." PC 07 Easton (F 6)

The extracts from frontline officers above are also supported by frontline supervisors who likewise claim they are struggling to manage internal communications regarding changes.

> "I don't have the time to read a 50 page document or every email with a document attached…I put them in files unless it is something that is particularly important…" Sgt 03 Easton (F 10)

> "…emails are great for telling people things if you have got time to read them…" Sgt 01 Longphort (M 15)

When I asked one officer how they got the time or opportunity to work through the communications from management including the learning packages that were attached to emails, he replied;

> "Night shift, 3am when you are not really awake [laughing] you have just got to find the time, if we are super busy then you just can't…there is always time if you make time…" PC 04 Longphort (F 2)

As a result of this perceived lack of time available to frontline officers and supervisors to read through the communications being received, some officers admitted that in general they were skim reading operational documents in the hope of gaining an overview of the contents. Other officers claimed that they were depending on officers in their teams having read the documents and sharing that knowledge on an ad hoc basis as it was required.

> "…I don't think you can keep up with everything, you have just got to read as much as you can and hope for the best! But there is always someone to ask, that is the beauty of being in the police there is always someone about, there is always someone who can tell you the answer." PC 04 Longphort (F 2)

> "…you just kind of hope that somebody in the office will read it or save it to a useful folder to read if it ever happens." PC 07 Easton (F 6)

> "…I tend to have a quick scan and get the idea of it if I can get the specifics then good, I don't have the time I have too much else to do…I am a supervisor and a community officer we don't want to be in the station reading we want to be out…" Sgt 03 Easton (F 10)

This method of working by frontline officers was repeated across both case study areas and from officers with a variety of service years. Although adopted through necessity, this potentially raises questions regarding how up to date officers are with operational policy amendments and changes brought forth by Police Scotland. The quantity of these emails received, and the lack of time each officers has to spend at their desk reading them, suggests that new operational policies are being conducted by officers who have an insufficient knowledge of the processes, not as a result of simply ignoring or misunderstanding internal communications but not having the time required to fully digest and understand them.

6.5.2 The Quality of Communications
Additional to the quantity and regularity of email communication received officers also highlighted their frustrations with the relevance of some of the information being passed to them claiming that they sometimes received multiple paged emails which had no direct correlation with either their role or their rank status.

> "I will be honest I do not read a lot of the emails we get…because it doesn't mean a lot to me…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

> "…the official information we get is not great at all" PC 04 Easton (M 6)

> "…so I think they are very bad at passing information on to us, that happens in two ways, there is not enough about what is really important and there is a total overload about what is just crap…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

One officer compared recent communications as;

> "…a bit like propaganda though" PC 13 Easton (M 6)

The frustration felt was also related to communication not only regarding reform processes but operational issues ongoing through the reform process such as proposed shift plans for officers attending the Commonwealth games:

> "…we have the commonwealth games coming up and they are due to start…nobody knows what is happening. We don't know what shifts we are working…nobody knows if we are…some of us have volunteered, but we haven't been told what is happening. Are we going? When are we going? What shifts are we doing? What duties are we doing? Nothing! Now I am hearing, and I don't know if it's true or not, but I am hearing that the first deployments are due the 29th June, this is the 18th and nobody really knows!" Middle Manager 01 Longphort (M 30)

As can be seen from the above comments, similar themes regarding the communication processes employed throughout the reform journey were discussed within the ranks and across the case study areas with an overall consensus that police personnel were feeling overwhelmed and were receiving an overabundance of emails with no time to read them and that there are occasions when the information they receive is not entirely relevant to them or their role. One middle manager suggested that perhaps internal communications between the ranks could have been managed more effectively;

> "…we could have done more though in speaking to them we could have put in more face time which was a challenge here…" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 26)

As previously highlighted in section 6.2, the first Police Scotland staff survey was published in September 2015. The survey was emailed to all 23,438 officers and staff of Police Scotland and the SPA and recorded a response rate of 11,796 returns which is equal to 50.4% of the total surveys sent (Axiom 2015: No page number given). From the 11,796 returns, 5225 of these respondents defined themselves as working in local policing. The report states that the survey "…was commissioned to determine officer and staff opinion…" (ibid 2015) on management feedback, training and development, wellbeing and commitment. Although there were no questions relating directly to the reform process or police staff's experiences of the process, again showing the unique data contained in this thesis, there were some similarities in themes, specifically related to internal communications.

In terms of communication processes the findings of the report stated that information and communication were issues faced by police staff and that since the introduction of Police Scotland there had been "…a heavy reliance on non-verbal communication (particularly email and intranet) … (ibid 2015:38). In a similar vein to the discussion above, respondents to the staff survey also commented on the relevance of much of the communication posted, claiming that it was not always relevant to them or their role.

The survey also asked staff how well informed they felt about what is happening in Police Scotland or the SPA. While not directed explicitly on the reform process, we can make a comparison on how well informed police officers felt themselves to be regarding what is happening in Police Scotland. The report claims that 33% of police officers felt that they were "…fully or well informed…" (ibid 2015:11), however, the report then goes on to explain that of the 33%, 47% were based in a national role within the organisation, 38% were new recruits to Police Scotland and 48% defined themselves as line managers. Respondents who had been in service between 6 and 15 years were those who stated that they were less well informed (ibid 2015). The findings from the staff survey regarding communication and information are similar to what has been discussed above and support the claims of local police officers cited here.

6.5.3 Communication with Partner Organisations and Key Stakeholders
As discussed previously in Chapter 4, section 4.4.4 many contemporary policing strategies such as community policing (CP) involve partner organisations, (Neighbourhood Watch, Trading Standards and Crimestoppers etc.) and key stakeholders (locally elected councillors, community safety wardens and housing associations) being involved in the planning and operationalising of many initiatives. Therefore, during times of organisational change police organisations also have to be aware of engaging with their external partners and key

stakeholders to ensure that they are cognisant of the changing roles and needs of the organisation and are able to realign their own resources and systems as required (Elving 2005). Communication between the policing organisation and its partners during change is essential in two ways, firstly to reinforce the pre reform relationships in order that partner organisations "…understand they are partners…not victims of empire building by the police" (Skogan 2008:23) and secondly that partners are encouraged to participate and contribute to the "…readiness for organizational change" (Cunningham et.al.2002:377).

When stakeholder participants and those from partner organisations were asked has reform changed or altered the existing relationship between themselves and Police Scotland post reform, themes relating to communication processes became evident. Initially the comments focused on the difficulties partners were experiencing with communications regarding pre-existing joint working projects with a consensus between the organisations from within both the case study areas that had seen a decline in communications.

> "I have noticed more significantly than the staff at the front end that lack of exchange of information and discussion with the police about how we are going to work together." Partner 05 Easton

> "…to me there seems to be whole breakdown in communication in organised work there…"Partner 02 Easton

> "…it might be a teething issues but I have seen a deterioration in [communication] I have to say" Partner 02 Longphort

The extracts above indicate that many partner organisations and stakeholders perceive communication processes, specifically with regards to joint working have declined since the introduction of Police Scotland.

Similar to the experiences from within the policing organisation, external partners also

discussed the difficulties they have recently faced in accessing certain individuals whom they

had worked with previously.

> "…I had a period where I thought I wasn't getting the feedback I used to get
> but that was because of the new changes or new email designations…"
> Partner 02 Easton

> "…we don't know who is working where, who is responsible for what,
> who to get in touch with to discuss you know future working together… It's
> been very frustrating to try and get anybody to talk to…" Partner P05
> Easton

As discussed above maintaining effective communication systems with partner organisations

in the reform and change process can be crucial in aiding each organisations ability to realign

their own resources and systems to support the changes implemented by reorganisation

(Elving 2005). Participants from partner organisations in this project also voiced their

concerns regarding changes to operational policies, which they claimed they were not made

fully aware of and which they perceived would impact negatively on their ability to realign

resources and systems to the new Police Scotland structure.

> "…there was no proper discussion about it at all and that was hugely
> disappointing…sometimes there are things that happen and you are like Ha! We used
> really to be on board with that, not that we are not on board, it's just that simply we
> didn't know…some sort of initiative comes out and you think where did that come
> from?" Partner 03A Longphort

> The shift changes are making it seem that the police don't even know we
> exist…we still have to work with community officers but there has been no
> thought to our day shift working…although it may be beneficial to the police
> changing shifts it won't be beneficial to us and our partnership working…"
> Partner 03 Easton

> "…we have lost what we had and it's a little chaotic. I think we need a two way
> communication between people who represent the community and the police…"
> Locally Elected Representative 03 Easton

6.6 Conclusion

The overall conclusion of this chapter indicates that in terms of how recent police reform across Scotland has been experienced by frontline officers, the role of place in terms of geographical location has shown to be of less significance than was first imagined. The participants who took part in this project from two distinct geographical locations in Scotland have had very similar experiences in relation to their perceptions of reform including but not limited to communication processes and their experiences of constant change in the police organisation.

In contrast to the work of authors such as Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2010) and claims made that there is divergence between 'street cop culture and management culture' particularly at times of organisational change, the above data clearly shows that police reform in Scotland has initially been experienced in a similar manner by both frontline and management level police personnel. The one exception to this was with regards to the pace of changes which were being experienced and the impact this was having on local officers. Frontline officers from across both case study areas discussed in great detail (section 6.2.2 above) the concerns they had in keeping up to date with the constant changes to roles and routines, which neither middle nor senior management discussed at all. This would indicate that the majority of changes which were being made on a daily basis were more operational in focus and therefore had more of an effect on how local policing was being delivered post reform.

The pace of reform also underpinned the communication processes which were employed through the implementation stages which was by far the largest theme emerging from this section of data. Effective communication processes were highlighted as an integral part of successful organisation change in Chapter 4 and in terms of this thesis proved to be an issue for both frontline and management officers from across both case study areas (see section 6.4

above). Overall the general feeling from all police personnel was that the quantity of communications, in the main, emails or intranet notices, prevented officers from engaging with all the material sent to them. The changes they claim were occurring at such a fast pace it was impossible to keep up with the notifications which were mailed out to each officer to support each new process or change.

Frontline officers also highlighted issues regarding the relevance of some, if not all of the communications they received. The general feeling from frontline officers specifically, was that Police Scotland were posting all information to all personnel with a sense of disregard for each recipient's role or function. As a result of shift patterns, days off and court attendances, many officers returned to their stations to perhaps 50 plus emails which they then had to filter depending on their relevance to them. This was time consuming they claimed, with some officers stating they were deleting all emails and depending on other colleagues to keep them informed when specific situations arose.

The key themes therefore to be drawn from this data which could be utilised to support further organisational change within the policing organisation would be based on:

- Including frontline officers in the planning of future change; making the most of their very specific experience and knowledge.
- Managing the pace of any change more effectively
- An effective and efficient two-way communication system which includes a bottom up feedback mechanism for management to receive direct feedback.

The following chapter, Chapter 7 will now look to examine the impact reform has had on the roles, resources and workloads of police personnel.

7 Continuity and Change in Local Policing: experiences and perceptions of local officers

> "I AM JUGGLING AND SPINNING PLATES…BUILDING A HOUSE WITH THREE BRICKS, ITS IMPOSSIBLE…"
>
> (MIDDLE MANAGER 2 LONGPHORT (M 30)

7.1 Introduction

As detailed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the Scottish Government stated that the strategic desired outcomes for police reform in Scotland were based on being able to;

- Protect and improve local services

- Create more equal access to specialist support and expertise, and

- Strengthen the connections between services and communities

This chapter will look explore police perceptions of the continuity and change in post reform policing in terms of the impact and implications for local policing. To set these experiences in an appropriate framework, the chapter will firstly provide a contextual view of the structure of local policing from each case study area before exploring participants' definitions of local policing. The chapter will then discuss officers' experiences of changes to the delivery and function of local policing in their area against what went before, whilst exploring the impact of temporal and geographical changes brought forward by recent reform.

7.2 What is local policing? A Police perspective

This section will look to show how local policing was defined in each case study area by the officers taking part in the project. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis community policing (CP) itself is not a definite or exact product, with commentators such as Skogan (2008) claiming it to be a process of operational policing which takes a broad mandate over

the planning and delivery of local policing including but not limited to a specific local focus

and responsibility at a neighbourhood/street level, problem solving with the local community

members focused on a crime prevention outcome. In order to examine the impact and

implications of reform on local policing, I had to firstly establish what each participant

defined as local policing in their area, therefore all interviews began with participants being

asked to give their own definition of what local policing was to them in their area and what

they believed was either included or excluded. In this way each 'variety' of local policing

would be acknowledged within the project.

The more senior police management viewed local policing from a more strategic point at a

macro level which was in the main based on the policing strategies.

> "… I don't think you can define local policing simply I think it's a network of
> different structures and processes which in total allow for the public in a divisional
> area to feel as if they are being supported, managed, looked after and that they can
> have trust and confidence in us and that we are a legitimate enterprise in terms of
> what we do and why we do it" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

> "Local policing in its broadest terms is access by communities to the right services,
> policing by consent…local policing needs to be at the heart of communities" Senior
> Police Manager 02 Longphort (M 25)

As can be seen above there was little or no discussion around relationship building between

local officers and local residents or the importance of local knowledge with regards to local

policing from senior management participants. In contrast the data collected from frontline

supervisors regarding their definitions of local policing began to acknowledge the importance

of relationship building in local communities and defined local policing from a more

operational level as being grounded at the very local neighbourhood level.

> "…local policing is about being out there, being visible obviously in the response
> side of things they are in cars, they need to be to cover such a large area going from
> job, to job to job…where as local community you are out there, walking about and

> engaging taking the time to know what the issues are, what can we do and how things happen…" Sergeant 03 Easton (F 10)

> "To me local policing is obviously the presence in your local area, that's fine. It's all very well being present in your local area but it's knowing your local area and being given the opportunity to identify the kins[local networks], the contacts and I am speaking about the community people, housing, and social work and really having that relationship with them…" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

Local PC's from both case study areas whether part of the CPT or not showed similarities in their definitions of what they perceive local policing to be.

> "A familiar and recognizable officer in the area catering to the needs of the local community…" PC 08 Easton (M 12)

> "I think it's about your knowledge of the area you work in and the people who live there" PC 12 Easton (F 4)

When we view the police management comments above, alongside the statements collected from frontline officers they support the claims put forward by Chan (2007) and Reuss-Ianni (1983). Both authors explain the difference in operational policing experiences between frontline "…street cops [and] management cops…" (ibid 2007:334). In her article, Chan (2007) claims that although there has been a tendency amongst commentators in the past to explain police organisational culture as a homogenous concept, there are fundamental differences between the experiences of street cops and management cops highlighting the importance of understanding police culture itself as a complex phenomenon changing within and between policing organisations.

Overall all frontline staff from across both case study areas concurred in their definitions of what they believed local policing to be and in the main concluded that community officers should also be seen as part of the community they police. Officers from both case study areas claimed that being seen and seeing themselves as part of the community they serve has assisted them in building relationships within the local communities.

"…it's not all about going out there and arresting people it's about going out there and solving problems …I think I am a professional with a job to do but I am part of this area because it's my area and I'm here to help people, so yes I think I'm part of the community…" PC 13 Easton (M 6)

"…we definitely need to be part of the community and that community means with all people, from people with drug habits to people with problems, people who want to report stuff to us, to people who just want to spend 5 minutes of their day speaking to the bobby about the weather…"PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

The comments above are from frontline officers from both case study areas who have between them a mixture of service ranging from twenty plus years to two years and include two male and two female participants. Similar comments were collected from across both case study areas and show that in general the frontline officers who took part in this project strongly associated themselves as being part of the communities they serve and importantly recognised the substantive role that members of the community play in crime prevention and problem solving.

The comments made by the officers above regarding the influence of how they view themselves and are viewed by local residents on local relationships, mirrors the concepts put forward by Herbert (2006) who argued that local level relationships between the police as an agency of the state and the public they serve are, in the main, based on how the police are both perceived and perceive themselves to be in relation to the local citizenry. From within this perspective, Herbert (2006) defined three distinct models of community officer,

1. The officer who is viewed and views themselves as *Subservient* to the community in that they "…should be responsive to public input; they should do as they are directed by the citizenry" (ibid 2006:65).

2. The officer who is viewed and views themselves as *Separate* and autonomous "…. from public input…to protect the rights of all citizens against the possibility of unjust majoritarianism" (ibid 2006:65).

3. And finally Herbert (2006) defines the police as an apparatus of the state which "…is *Generative* of community [and] helps determine the central characteristics of communities" (ibid 2006:65).

Frontline officers also emphasised the importance of being allocated to geographically bounded beat areas supporting the claims of Skogan's (2006) and Terpstra's (2009) that having officers who are situated within and responsible for a specific geographically bounded area, enables them to engage and build relationships with the local community which in turn supports each officer's ability to source local knowledge in terms of delivering effective local policing.

> "…to me local policing is being within one area, and being able to do foot patrols, being able to speak to people, know your local shop keepers, know your local councillor almost personally know people…"PC 05 Longphort (F 17)

From a Scottish perspective the 2008 Justice Committee Report on Community Policing and Aston and Scott's (2014) paper both claim that officers being allocated to fixed and bound geographical locations is one of the fundamental concepts which underpins the main philosophical groundings of CP in practice.

Many of the frontline officers cited above also mention the importance of local knowledge when discussing their definition of local policing emphasising the importance PC's on the ground place on having this knowledge. Having an 'insiders' view of what is happening locally, who the local bad guys are, is seen by these officers as being fundamental in the

delivery of effective local policing allowing them to focus on problem solving at the very local level. From a Scottish perspective Fyfe and Hunter's (2012) study on the *Fife Community Engagement Model (*CEM) also discussed local knowledge in terms of it being a part of a local officer's tool kit enabling officers to "…facilitate[s] working with local people and partners and solving crime." (ibid 2012:57) supporting the core pillars of effective community policing.

The theme of prevention raised by frontline officers and their positive responses to it indicates their acknowledgement and support of a crime prevention approach to the delivery of local policing. The role of prevention is a common theme running through the CP literature beginning with John Alderson, the former Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall who it is claimed, was the man responsible for the laying down of the UK's ideological foundations of CP to Wesley Skogan (2008) describing community policing as "…an organizational strategy which supplements traditional crime fighting with problem solving and prevention oriented programs …" (ibid 2008:43 emphasis added).

The findings reported above also indicate that in the context of this project the processes of reform appear to have accentuated the differences between "…street cops and bosses…" (Reuss-Ianni 1983:148) in terms of how they are experiencing post reform policing with frontline officers specifically experiencing more uncertainty in their roles. Atherton (2012) also discusses this variation in reform experience when she suggests that it is differences in experiences which engenders a "…them and us…" (ibid 2012:11) mentality further separating street cops and management cops at times of reform.

7.3 Business as Usual? Local policing post-reform
After establishing what policing personnel defined as local policing participants were then

asked to share their experiences of post reform local policing in terms of any perceived

changes to the delivery or function of local policing in their area. The following two sections

of this chapter will explore police officers' experiences of what has changed and what has

stayed the same in terms of post reform local policing. The main themes which emerged can

be divided between two sub headings, continuity in post reform local policing and change to

local policing post reform. This section will firstly discuss the familiar concepts which

underpin participants' claims that there are enough similarities in local policing post reform

to say the function and delivery are comparable to what went before.

7.3.1 Continuity in Local Policing
When discussing participants' perceptions and experiences of post reform local policing

many officers defined post reform local policing as being similar to pre reform local policing

in terms of the core roles and values of policing in Scotland, with senior managers from both

case study areas commenting that

> "…what local policing is I don't think it has changed. We are still there to
> respond to the needs of the public we are still there to keep people safe…we
> might have called it something different in the past, we might have said it's
> about wellbeing and safety but regardless the principles are the same, the trust
> and confidence of the public to us is sustained and made legitimate by our
> responsive approach to meet their needs and that is still what we do" Senior
> Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

> In terms of how it went before and how it is now in terms of operational
> policing teams it's very, very similar… Every police officer in my mind is a
> community policing officer and they have got to take responsibility for the
> policing issues and priorities within their area" Senior Police Manager 02
> Longphort (M 22)

These statements were supported by a police manager who claimed that in their experience

frontline officers across the country had worked tirelessly during the implementation of reforms at

keeping the public face of local policing relevant to their own specific areas and that overall

frontline officers have been successful in keeping the delivery of local policing as similar as possible to what went before.

> "…we policed through it and didn't change too much. We still have the same people doing the same jobs…" Senor Police Manager 01 Easton (M 26)

Many frontline officers from across the case study areas also agreed with this claim and suggested that for all the changes they had been experiencing to procedures and processes they believed that overall they were able to keep policing through the reform and discussed how they would not let the implementation process of the reforms impede them in their role as police officers.

> "I haven't changed how I work… I don't think anything has particularly changed that much, other than a lot of the paper work…" PC 06 Longphort (M 6)

> "I don't think my job has changed any, I come in and I get sent to jobs I get enquiries, I stop folk, I search folk my job is no different, it's just the same" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

With a frontline supervisor citing an example of the Police Scotland strap line "Keeping people safe" claiming that it is not a new concept and has always been the role of police officers.

> "…keeping people safe? As cheesy as that sounds that is what we do, it's what policing is all about" Sergeant 03 Easton (F 10)

Although they perceived local policing to have remained the same, there were acknowledgements that change had occurred across systems and processes within the organisation and that post reform many existing processes had been altered or in fact deleted and replaced with others. A particularly common example given of this was with regards to paper work processes.

> "Well I don't think it's different…well maybe some structural and processes to local policing…" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

However, in terms of the continuity of local policing it has not all been a positive experience for the policing organisation, for police managers and frontline officers in Longphort the single largest theme which emerged from the data related to their continued low staffing issues which local officers and management claim have overshadowed their ability to delivery effective local policing both pre and post reform. The impact of low staffing levels on the delivery of local policing in rural areas of Scotland was also a theme raised in previous community policing research conducted by Aston and Scott (2011) who suggested that the constraints this placed, specifically within a rural context placed significant pressure on the organisations ability to "…engage with the community and spend time on foot patrol…" (ibid 2011:24) two main concepts of CP.

Supervisors and managers in Longphort were particularly vocal on this theme with regards to their ability to manage and plan for the duties of their officers. There was a real sense of confusion and frustration regarding ongoing low staffing levels with one frontline supervisor who had worked in the area prior to the introduction of Police Scotland in April 2013;

> "…sometimes I wonder why we are so under staffed and it is not being addressed…" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

Many frontline officers also discussed a similar sense of frustration at how long they have been expected to work with reactive staffing which appeared to have exacerbated their feelings of remoteness which were not related to the recent reforms.

> "…we are just the poor cousins here anyway…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

One local officer when questioned regarding the delivery of community facing policing in Longphort reacted somewhat angrily that with the numbers of officers available to them CP

practices had always been an issue claiming that there was no real capacity for them to fulfil a community facing role;

> "…community based? How can you do that if there are only two cops?" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

Whilst another officer when asked to give his opinion on what had traditionally helped or hindered the delivery of local policing in Longphort added that staffing levels and capacity were in his opinion the reason.

> "…staff…its lack of staff that hinders us here… all the problems here boils down to there is not enough staff that is the problem…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

Ongoing issues with low levels of staff locally was cited by *all* police participants in Longphort, with capacity issues in the main given as a caveat to replies on most questions in the interview process. Whilst questioning local participants as to why such low levels of staffing had been an ongoing issue locally, frontline staff suggested that it could be seen to be as a result of the traditional police organisations focus on quantitative outputs, in other words as long as there were a certain number of officers showing as being based working out of Longphort, no attention was being paid to how many were part time or off on long terms sickness for example. In Longphort there was a relatively large number of probationer officers within the existing squad with more expected to arrive later in the year, part time officers and others off ill or on light duties consistently appeared on the duty rota with no explanations as to their status.

> "…they cook the books with staffing, you get somebody on maternity leave who has never touched a shift before and has been on our books for a year and is down as one of our staff members…other people in other areas are down as light duties and they have to be put on to a team, so for a boss down in Glasgow they will look at it and say well there are cops there look at all these, it says there are 8 cops on a shift but there isn't there are four…and two part

timers here as well…It's a false…all the problems here boils down to there is not enough staff that is the problem…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

The strong emotional responses shown by the officers when discussing how limited they are in their ability to deliver effective local policing, their frustration and sometimes anger is indicative of how much they value the overall concept of local policing. I would suggest that in contrast to the claim put forward by Bradford et.al. (2014) who claim that "Police officers have an action oriented sense of mission…that may clash with some of the more service oriented goals of modern policing" (ibid 2014:111), that in fact many frontline officers who took part in the project were more service oriented than response oriented and their perceived inability to deliver the service they intended or felt their neighbourhood required, was a burden on them.

For some officers in Longphort there appeared to have been an expectation that reforms, when implemented, would have improved local resourcing conditions:

"…which is one of the things we hoped would happen… hopefully we would get back to common sense… A lot of people thought it would perhaps change when the amalgamation happened and that somebody would see sense…but no…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

At the time of data collection this had not been the case.

Issues around staffing levels and capacity were also raised by middle management with regards to their impact on the area's ability to implement Police Scotland reforms in the Longphort area.

"… with the changes and what we are being asked by Police Scotland ideally, if I was working at full strength here I would be able to put folk out do stop searches or to tackle serious assaults…I haven't got that, I am working at

> reactive staffing levels here all we can do is react to the jobs that are coming in and address them…" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

The idea that locally Longphort had been working with reactionary staffing levels well before reforms and have continued to do so post reform was supported by a further frontline supervisor who explained that there was a minimum reactive level of staffing;

> "…reactive staffing…there is a minimum on the back shift that is three and of course how much have I got? Three…there is no resilience…" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

When I later probed this suggestion further with frontline officers they confirmed the view explaining that on those particular days the interviews were taking place staffing was below even the reactionary level;

> "…like today, this afternoon there is only going to be me here…from 1pm to 3pm I will be it for [this area] so…I will just have to…if something happens I will have to go to it." PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

With another PC offering an example in the context of delivering community policing in Longphort;

> "Our minimum staffing for this area is 3 police officers, today between 7 and 9 we are down to 2 cops…so we are now below minimum staffing…how can two officers effectively themselves police a town of 10,000, people do the enquiries that they have outstanding and engage with the community as well…how can you…you just can't physically do that…" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

The examples given above were not out with the ordinary and appeared to be very much the norm for officers in Longphort. The overall sense amongst the staff was that they were professionals and would continue to perform their roles as best they could under whatever circumstances they found themselves in. The above extracts were taken from interviews with staff from a variety of ranks, with similar comments coming from front line PCs to senior

management and all ranks in-between. The consensus also became apparent through my

observations in the station in the noticeable way that management and frontline supervisors

interacted with PC's in terms of group discussions around the balancing of shift patterns and

staffing levels where management could almost be seen as taking a paternalistic, protective

approach in their dealings with officers.

7.4 Change in Local Policing?
This section will now examine the main themes which emerged from the data relating to the

perceived changes in local policing by officers taking part in the project. In terms of the

general changes to the delivery of local policing the overarching themes which emerged from

the data were in the main based around temporal and geographical change and can be divided

into the following groupings:

- A change of focus in local policing

- Temporal Changes

- Geographical Changes

- Changes in policing style

- Accessing specialist expertise

7.4.1 A Change of focus
Amongst the police participant's there were many who believed that post reform the biggest

change to local policing had been a general loss of focus on community policing (CP), with

frontline officers from across both case study areas claiming that in their experience since the

introduction of Police Scotland there has been a deficit in the delivery of local policing.

> "Initially when I got here the emphasis was on foot patrols in the areas…we are
> losing that now, knowing who is who…we are losing that familiarity and with
> that local knowledge of what's going on in our areas" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

> "…at the moment I think with Police Scotland community policing has been
> thrown away in a corner and forgotten about…" PC 07 Longphort (M 8)

> "…if Police Scotland as an organisation, to be perfectly blunt about it says we
> are community orientated and we are focused on effectively community
> policing… in reality well we are paying lip service to it. We really are…"
> Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

The comments cited above are from frontline staff, both PC's and supervisors who it could be argued have more of an insight into what is happening at what Maurice Punch referred to as the "…sharp end…" (Cited in Marks 2004:866) of local policing. That there is a consensus between frontline staff across both case study areas adds weight to the claims put forward.

However, the comments from frontline staff were in contrast to senior police managers who in general stated that in their experience there was little if no change to local policing and perhaps post reform there had even been an increase in community focus, with one senior manager who was new in post claiming that it was Police Scotland's intention to increase the focus and manpower towards CP.

> "…the structure was pretty much 79% of uniformed resource was a response
> resource and 21% was a community policing resource so I am going to change
> that and make it much more 50-50…" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M
> 20)

The next section will look to examine some of the apparent causes of this perceived loss of local policing as put forward by police officers.

7.4.2 Temporal Changes
Recent reform in Scotland has also included temporal changes which are related to the time spent by officers on delivering community policing. The first of these changes which officers from Easton in particular discussed was associated with a realignment of frontline personnel. In only a matter of months after the introduction of Police Scotland there was an amalgamation of response and community teams in Easton were staff from response were transferred into the local CPT with the concept due to be rolled out across Police Scotland. At

the time of data collection, a senior manager explained that the renewed focus of Police

Scotland on community policing had included providing these additional staff, who were

being transferred from the existing response teams.

> "…what we have done in Police Scotland is re focus our attention back into the
> community and as a result of that we are changing the ratio of community
> officers and response officers…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

A frontline supervisor also claimed that the reasoning behind this move was to have more

officers on the streets and a greater synchronisation between all frontline staff in Police

Scotland claiming that;

> "…it brings them much closer together so there isn't so much of a void
> between response and community…really we are all officers serving our
> community to a certain extent…" Sergeant 03 Easton (F 10)

At the time of data collection, the realignment of response and community personnel had

only been in effect for approximately four weeks in Easton, however many of the officers

already had much to say about the change and in the main it was negative. One officer

discussed how in his opinion the officers who had been transferred from response to the CPT

without their agreement were having a negative impact on the team.

> "…a lot of them who are here now didn't want to be there in the first place,
> they don't want to be community officers but… it's like who do you want to
> punt to the CPT team? They are not going to punt their best thief catcher they
> are going to punt who they want to get rid of so you have pressed men and
> women up there who don't want to be there…" PC Walking Interview 02
> Easton (M 12)

Before adding sadly that the CPT were now simply a second response team due to the

shortages caused by transferring response officers over to CPT;

> "…we are called the CPT but we all do is backfill for response as there are not
> enough of them…" PC walking interview 02 Easton (M 12)

The potential for negative outcomes on the delivery of CP in relation to the realignment of

CPT with response staff was also discussed by Hamilton-Smith et.al (2014). Their work,

which was conducted with CPT officers from the previous Strathclyde policing area, reported

that many officers had felt their community facing roles had been marginalised in favour of

supporting response teams after they had undergone similar reform and "…they had become

in effect a 'b-team response unit' (ibid 2014:169). However, from the point of view of this

project, the realignment of staff was not the only issue to be faced by the CPT in Easton.

Reform has also introduced a new shift pattern for CPT members which was described by

police management as a way to increase the number of officers on the streets, as Police

Scotland say 'having the right people, in the right place at the right time'.

However, from a frontline point of view many officers questioned the methods employed by

strategic management in working out who were the right people, where was the right place

and what was the correct time highlighting a lack of consultation from those on the frontline

in the decision making process;

> "I think we are the folk that should be asked about the right folk and the right
> place and the right time you know we are here and it's like yes well is that
> really the right place to put them you know?" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

One frontline officer, who had moved to Easton specifically to become a community officer

within the legacy force area was particularly frustrated with the new shift arrangements. The

argument he made was that due to the change in working hours' members of the CPT are

now classified albeit unofficially as response officers and abstracted from their local area to

police the local night time economy in the city centre.

> "…so because of the new shift pattern…from a community policing point of
> view its killed it, its killed it stone dead… now I will be either be working a
> 4pm till 1am in the morning, a 2pm till midnight or a 2 till 1…When we do the
> weekends its 9pm till 7am we arrive at [the station] at 9pm and we are then

deployed in the City centre so we are out of [the area]!"PC walking interview
01 Easton (M 19)

One senior police manager claimed that he had attempted to highlight potential issues to his

superiors which could be experienced by changing the working hours of CPT Officers before

the implementation of the change.

> "…I said a way back when Police Scotland were discussing putting us on a 24-
> hour shift pattern, I said don't envisage that you are going to see loads and
> loads more of us! If anything you will see less of us because there is the same
> number of us covering a 24-hour shift pattern so we are going to be spread a lot
> more thinly. And low and behold there we are!!" Middle Manager 02
> Longphort (M 30)

The change to pre-existing shift patterns however, did not only impact on frontline staff, there

were also changes across the organisation to many management officers' working hours

which it was claimed would offer 24-hour coverage. The change in shift patterns has altered

the way management officers engage with partner organisations with one local manager

suggesting that although;

> "…on paper it hasn't but in reality it has because I don't have the time…since
> reform I am now working on a 24-hour shift pattern, so I am working day shifts,
> late shifts and also working night shifts. That has an immediate reduction in my
> availability to link in with partners and the community work that I should be doing
> and was doing before the reform" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

These claims made regarding the impact of shift changes for management on partnership

working were supported by many partner organisations and are discussed in more detail in

Chapter 8 of this thesis.

7.4.3 Geographical Change
The plethora of literature which examines the delivery of effective local policing in the main,

discuss the importance of utilizing a policing style which situates designated officers in a

geographically bounded space, usually at a street or neighbourhood level. Therefore, in any

discourse which is centred on policing and community safety, the role of space or place should not be ignored. Massey (2004) argues that it is the varied and individual "…practices, trajectories, [and] interrelations…" (ibid 2004:1) which occur both within and across the bounded spaces of neighbourhoods and communities which shape the nature of individual identities living there. In other words, space is a place of relations where we not only feel a sense of belonging, it also helps us as individuals to understand who and what we are.

Crime also is experienced differently within and across space, with some neighbourhoods and/or streets being more susceptible to experiencing crime and anti-social behaviour than others. If local policing is to be effective in its core principles, including crime prevention and positive local engagement, the individual characteristics and nuances of each local neighbourhood space should therefore be of significant importance to the policing organisation in an attempt to deliver cost effective, efficient policing to the areas which need them the most. Empirical examples of the importance researchers have placed in the role of space, crime and policing can be seen in the works of amongst others, Sherman et.al (1989) and their theories of crime patterns and hot spot policing and Wilson and Kelling's (1982) concept of 'Broken Windows' policing.

In light of this a further theme which arose from the data collected in Easton was focused on officer's perceptions that post reform Police Scotland had altered CPT policy and removed designated beat areas.

> "…we don't have a beat any more, there is no more beats…that is the worst thing that they could have done. People now sit in the office with no ownership of things that happen in their area" PC 02 Easton (M 7)

The overall consensus amongst officers in Easton was that post reform CP officers had been informed that the division as a whole was to be looked upon as a large "priority beat area" that all local officers were responsible for.

> "…They have taken our local beats away from each officer…now there is a priority beat that officers are all covering…" PC 12 Easton (F 4)

During the second walking interview I conducted, the officer became particularly saddened when discussing the loss of his beat area which we were walking through at the time. As he began to recall various stories of incidents which had occurred over the many years he had worked there he also talked of having ownership of *his* beat area and a feeling of responsibility towards the residents of that area.

> "…you felt that that was your own wee empire if you like and that was yours to look after and you would take it personally to a degree if there were issues in your area it was left to you to solve it." PC Easton Walking Interview 2 (M 12)

The negative impact on the delivery of CP caused by enlarging the traditional beat area that officers are responsible for was discussed quite recently and from a Scottish perspective in Hamilton-Smith et.al (2014) who drew on research conducted in Scotland just prior to reform with two projects conducted within the previous Strathclyde policing area and one from what was Lothian and Boarders division. In the second study the field work, which was conducted in 2011, highlighted themes around officers' capacity to conduct CP in areas claiming that their "…problem solving capacity had been severely diminished….and the greater size of the new CP areas only allowing for very superficial responses…" (ibid 2014:169).

7.4.4 Changes in Policing Style
A further theme which emerged from the data related to a perception that there had been an overall change in local policing style post reform. Although much of this can be accounted for in terms of the temporal and geographical changes discussed above, in Easton specifically

there was a focus by officers on the perception that has been a shift away from prevention to a more enforcement style of policing.

> "… [Its] not about prevention, it's about disruption" Sergeant 02 Easton (M 9)

This again was felt more acutely by officers in Easton where they were more accustomed to a designated team of CPT than in Longphort, with both managers and frontline officers agreeing that there had been a significant change in direction for policing post reform.

> "…where as before, under the legacy force our big strategy was prevention clearly now with Police Scotland we have gone on to enforcement… our main driver is now enforcement… we can't have detailed engagement and enforcement at the same time" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 2)

> "…community was the priority here not now it's like community has been put on the back burner…we are starting to loose contact with some of the community groups and that all adds to our reputational risk…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

With one member of the CPT in Easton admitting that they felt that the shift in policing style should be seen as a positive move.

> "…I quite like the way we have gone from less community to more response and crime that suits my style of policing…" PC 07 Easton (F 6)

Signalling that perhaps this particular officer was more suited to response policing and not community focused policing.

However, although this theme in the main was correlated with officers from Easton, there were still comments made by officers in Longphort highlighting what they perceived to be a change in policing style;

> "…the style of policing has gone nuts, it's totally gone downhill…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

When at a later date I interviewed a senior police manager in Easton I probed further the claims made by frontline staff regarding the change in policing style. During the interview the senior manager agreed and stated that it was no longer the role of CPT Officers to focus on crime prevention and that since the introduction of Police Scotland the role of all officers was to enforce the law;

> "…the core purpose of my community team is to enforce the law… it's not to teach children, it's not to be parents to children it's not to be one of those crossing people…we are here to enforce the law and to have a certain gravitas and presence when engaging with the public… in some areas, we lost our way a little bit we tried to grasp the idea of prevention… I think cops better understand what is expected of them now, they don't like it so much but they better understand it… cops are not teachers cops are not educators, they are police officers and they are there to arrest and charge people when it's appropriate…" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

When probed further and asked to define the changes in local policing style the senior manager referred to a re-branding of community policing in Scotland.

> "…we have undoubtedly re branded and re marketed what community policing is…" Senior Police 01 Manager Easton (M 20)

By using the terms 'rebranded' and 'remarketed' the manager appears to be attempting to diminish the impact of the changes he is describing to make them appear more innocuous. However, when probed later in the interview to further explain the specifics of what changes had occurred across the front line for local policing teams in Easton, the same manager did concede that post reform community policing in Easton was being operationalised in a different way.

> "…we have come away from some of the community, softer aspects of policing…" Senior Police Manager 01 Longphort (M 25)

The terms 'softer', 'fluffy' and 'cuddly' which have more feminine connotations were used intermittently by police management from across both case study areas in connection to CP and support the claims made by Herbert (2001) that in general 'real' police work is viewed, particularly from within the organisation, in a masculine context with community policing seen as being more effeminate. In his paper Herbert (2001) highlights this by discussing how officers who define themselves as a "hard charger" (ibid 2001:68) in relation to their policing role approach policing in a style more accustomed to taking control and view community policing as being "…simply too effeminate…" (ibid 2001:68) for them to take seriously.

In contrast from a local perspective, the majority of officers who took part in this project who could be described as CP motivated officers overwhelmingly viewed the delivery of effective CP in a positive way and importantly saw the importance in delivering a public facing style of policing which included working with the community and other external partners to prevent crime and ultimately keep people safe. The claims made by officers cited above, are in direct contrast to the available literature surrounding community policing, (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis) indicating that post reform the style of community policing employed by Police Scotland is quite unlike that which was operationalised pre reform.

7.4.5 Access to Specialist Resources -Change for the good

Not all change to local policing brought forth by the recent reforms has been perceived as a negative concept within the organisation. A majority of participants from across both case study areas and from within the variety of ranks taking part in the project agreed that improved access to specialist units such as a unit which manages serious or violent crime, sexual crimes and alcohol and violence reduction was in the main welcomed by front line officers and managers,

"I think we have definitely had more use of the specialist resources since reform. At the start it was more difficult as we didn't know how to bid for them its seven months on now, we know what we are doing…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

With a further frontline supervisor explaining that the most difficult aspect to accessing resources post reform was locating the individual responsible for access.

"…for me it's been difficult because previously you knew that Bob Smith was in charge of that particular unit so if you wanted something you contacted him, but now we don't know, who is that person in charge so it's more about the bureaucracy of it all again it's a new way of doing things and once you know how to do it well it's as simple as it was." Middle Manager 03 Easton (M 2)

Many frontline officers when asked for an example of an internal strength in the post reform structure of Police Scotland commented that it was related to the easier access there now was to specialist resources, with many participants discussing the police helicopter in particular, which all regions now have access to.

"…the helicopter and stuff like that, we didn't have access before…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

"…Well we have certainly seen more of the helicopter…" PC 10 Easton (M 8)

However, although in the main increased access to physical resources such as the helicopter was viewed as a positive outcome from reform, issues did arise with both frontline officers and supervisors regarding access to certain resources such as police dogs. Police dogs in the main are utilised during operations where an individual's property and buildings are being searched, but can also be required on an ad hoc basis in terms of daily operational routines. In the case of drugs warrants being issued there is ultimately the opportunity for policing staff to pre-book the arrival of the dogs from their central base. However, front line

supervisors and officers highlighted that post reform there have been problems sourcing

resources on a daily ad hoc basis.

> "I have lost track of the times we have requested a dog handler and been told
> that there are none available" PC 12 Easton (F 4)

Although one senior police manager did comment on this perceived problem of accessing

police dogs and suggested that it was related more to the timings when dogs were normally

required and was not related to the post reform central location police dogs were now based

at.

> "…the issue seems to be that the dog is never there when you want it. Because
> you are normally wanting the dog at 4 in the morning when somebody has run
> off from a house they have just broken into where is the dog? It's in its bed."
> Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

Reform has also included the establishment of local dedicated specialist teams to support

local policing. These units are present in all 14 divisions of PS and include a domestic

abuse investigation unit, alcohol and violence reduction unit and a rape investigation unit

together with a National Rape Task Force which covers the whole country. Although

laudable in their inception, to place specially trained officers at a local level, frontline

officers and management from both case study areas claim that the units have had a negative

impact on the overall delivery of local policing. Although highlighted by police participants

from both areas, officers from Longphort, an area of historically low levels of frontline staff,

appear to have been impacted disproportionately by these additional units which have been

manned from members of the frontline policing team.

> "…the support functions that are being put in place, in an ideal world where
> they are fully staffed, and we are fully staffed would be great. The reality is
> they are fully staffed and we are not and they are creating work for
> us…something is going to break…" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

As is clear from the above comment, the concept of being able to access specialist units from a local level is in the main supported by police personnel. However, in Longphort there are serious concerns regarding operational staff numbers with anecdotal references made that in general it has been the officers with most service years who have been selected for or requested a move to these units, leaving a gap not only in frontline numbers but in policing experience and local knowledge.

> "Our staffing has been decimated, and a lot of that is to do with like I said before when they create departments…where do the people who need to staff these departments come from? Front line…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

7.4.6 Police Targets – Key Performance Indicators

In addition to the changes described above a further change in local policing brought about by reforms and highlighted by police personnel was related to what they described as an increased focus on performance management. A focus on performance management from within the public sector was seen as part of the new public management systems which were introduced in the 1980's as part of wider sector reforms after it had been claimed that "…traditional[ly] bureaucratic public institutions were unwieldy and anachronistic characterised by infrequency and limited accountability…" (Guilfoyle 2015:250). In this study officers discussed the impact of both an increased focus by management on key performance indicators (KPI's) and the introduction of much wider targets throughout Police Scotland on the effective delivery of CP.

The practice of targets or KPI's within the policing organisation is not a new concept and many officers were quick to point that out, however officers also highlighted that post reform there was more management focus on achieving KPI's than there had been prior to reform.

"…we always had targets, and everybody knew there was a target you had to get each month… it wasn't as robustly enforced as it is now…it's definitely more…there are more emails coming in there are more things at briefings saying you must do this, these amounts of tickets, you must get you know whatever this amount of [computer entries] etc.…" PC 05 Easton (F 8)

Local officers and supervisors from across both areas and in equal numbers, claimed that management now focused on the delivery of KPI statistics. Officers claimed they believed they were now being managed solely according to KPI's to the exclusion of their CP duties citing manager interventions with officers who have zero returns at the end of the month in relation to KPI's.

"The KPI's mean that we police in a more responsive way now…we don't get the exact numbers for KPI's…our supervisors ask us now for reports focused on the targets…it's all target focused…if you have zero returns it's being questioned by managers…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

Local staff were perplexed and appeared confused by the messages coming from management level, they talked amongst themselves in the coffee room about Police Scotland's public claims of no numerical targets being issued to frontline officers against their own experiences of not reaching targets.

"…we were told there are no figures, however a return of zero is not acceptable and you will be counselled so we have said well there are figures…" PC walking interview 01 Easton (M 12)

"If they were to come out and say, this month chaps the focus is seat belters, as many as you can get…that would be more honest… if [reference to senior officer] can stand and say no individual officer is being targeted, that is a lie…I'm afraid, that's just a fib because you are giving targets to the man underneath you and where do you think he is going to send it?" PC 02 Longphort (M 8)

However, there were also officers from across both case study areas who refused to alter their pre reform processes of working and resisted completely the new methods of working to KPI's and focused on their more traditional duties.

"…I don't care about figures…I come in and do my job and go home. It's like the big deal with stop searches the thing they are asking for is stop search figures, I don't stop anybody unless I have got grounds to stop them…" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

As discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis resistance to organisational change is a natural reaction from employees (Bovey and Hede 2001), and in general is linked to notions of fear of the unknown. However, resistance to change is not necessarily viewed through a negative lens on all occasions, there is an argument that resistance to change within an organisation such as the police can also be viewed more positively as a way to highlight, from a bottom up perspective, that perhaps change on the ground is having unintended consequences or that specific features of the change have not been as successful as hoped.

For frontline supervisors in Longphort there was also a specific focus on their pre-existing low staffing levels which when added together with the increased KPI focus made managing the delivery of effective local policing more difficult.

> … we are coming in here daily to work and getting emails to say you are not doing enough stop searches get out there and get them done…but how can I do stop searches when I only have two staff in the town and they are tied up with a domestic…" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

Frontline supervisors, from both case study areas with a variety of years of service were both angry and frustrated in their discussions surrounding KPI's and discussed how this change in focus altered their daily routines.

> We are getting lambasted left, right and centre by dictates from the centre around we need you to do stop searches, we need you to do this, we need you to do that, if they would just back off and let us do our work a lot of the knee jerk stuff wouldn't be necessary…It's like they asking us to build a house and they are only giving us three or four bricks…" Sergeant 02 Longphort (M 24)

> "I would imagine a supervisor in Fort William is doing the same and feeling the same, you know if he was to send a constable down to a meeting here say… how

> will he meet his target of stop searches or speeding? It's not all about KPI's but
> that's the kind of daily pressures we face..." Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 2)

The comments cited above are a good example of just some of the negative language which was used by many supervisors when discussions turned to the impacts and implications of an increased focus on KPIs within the organisation. The sense of anger and frustration shown by these officers highlights the ways in which they feel the value of CP has been marginalised by a focus on KPIs which is supported by the word choices here of 'lambasted', and 'dictates'. The house building analogy was also used on multiple occasions in the interview setting and can be said to represent the concept of Police Scotland being a newly constructed organisation, however, from a frontline perspective, not all processes have been put in place to support the new organisation effectively.

The focus on measuring police performance in relation to KPI's is the subject of much policing literature. Terpstra (2009) discusses the impact of quantifiable performance targets on the delivery of local policing, and from within a Scottish context a report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) in 2004 also highlighted issues with the existing performance system and argued that it was unable to measure many of the duties carried out by CPT officers. Fielding and Innes (2007) also claim that the introduction of KPI's for policing was "…a quest for increased efficiency and effectiveness…" (ibid 2007:127) but that in the longer term they have been used as instruments to support politically driven policing priorities resulting in some operational activities being "…valued above others" (ibid 2007:127). Their argument is that the current mechanisms employed are unable to measure the majority of CP duties effectively and thus the data that is produced does not "…reflect what officers actually do…" (ibid 2007:128) from a whole organisational viewpoint.

Many of the community officers who took part in this study were frustrated by the KPI

targets set and discussed the inappropriate nature of current performance management tools

in relation to their daily work routines claiming that in general there was a lack of

measurement associated with the duties of CPT personnel as discussed by Harkin (2011) who

in his study exploring performance management and its impact on community policing in

Edinburgh stated that " a performance' mind-set is often to the cost of community-orientated

policing with things like relationship-building, partnership-working, and community

consultation overlooked in preference to crime-focused statistical returns" (ibid 2011:5).

The targets which exist, frontline officers argue are, based in the main on speeding tickets,

reductions in serious assaults and stop searches with no way at present to measure what they

do on a daily basis, in terms of engagement and prevention work leaving most of the CP

officers feeling frustrated believing their work to be undervalued by police managers.

> "…to my mind it's all about prevention but you cannot measure what you
> prevent…if I go back to my boss and he says so what have you done today I
> would say well we just took a walk up to…and he would say ok so you have
> no KPI's so well that is no use…" PC walking interview 1 Easton (M 12)

Using the example of stop and search again, one senior police manager from Longphort also

raised concerns from a management perspective in relation to what he perceived as a

shortcoming in the way that Police Scotland were recording details of the KPI's they set for

frontline officers, and questioned the methodology employed.

> "…Just now as an area all I am getting for instance is X amount of stop
> searches, this week I know my area had 17 stop searches, who has done them?
> No idea…I could have had 16 stop searches by one officer..." Middle Manager
> 02 Longphort (M 22)

When we examine all the claims above it becomes clear that although Police Scotland have in

general increased the focus and importance of KPI's for frontline staff the targets themselves

and the methods of recording them are not as robust as they could be, particularly in terms of

measuring the work carried out by CP staff which supports the claim made by Kelling (1999)

that;

> "…community policing itself is hampered by the tools police use to measure the crime problem and police performance. There is a great gap between the current bureaucratically defined measures of productivity and the kinds of help communities really want from their police. Levels of fear and disorder, evidence of mounting community tension, and, most importantly, information about the specific sources of such difficulties and police response to such problems, go officially uncounted." (Kelling 1999:27).

A further issue which arises with strict adherence to task management systems within the

policing organisation, as discussed above, is the potential for local policing to lose one of its

core concepts, namely flexibility, which is discussed in more detail below.

7.4.7 Flexibility in delivering local policing

Themes relating to a perceived loss of local flexibility around delivering local policing were

also evident in the data. In general, this was associated with three main post reform changes

across the policing organisation,

1. an increased focus on KPI's,

2. the increased tasking of CPT members and

3. the new augmented role of the Area Command Room (ACR)

The ability to be flexible is a particular concept that has been associated with the effective

delivery of CP, with both Skogan (2006) and Stenson (1993) discussing the importance of

being able to provide a flexible approach to local policing. When asked if they believed there

to be more flexibility in local policing post reform, managers from both case study locations

commented that in contrast to the stated aims of the reform, there was now less flexibility;

> "…there is a lot in theory in practice, since the KPI's I don't think so, it's just not happening…" Senior Police Management 01 Easton (M 26)

The impact of target driven performance management on flexibility was highlighted by frontline supervisors in terms of its effect on their ability to plan and organise daily CP operational practice with the majority of examples given in relation to the controversial policy of stop and search.

> "…there is a lot of mixed messages being sent, stop search is a good example… we are now at the stage that at the end of every shift the duty inspector wants to know how many stop searches has your team completed…which is odd because a few months ago it was we are not looking for big numbers we just want the right people at the right time…" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

The references above from both a police manager and frontline supervisor show that in general the increased focus on KPI's has been detrimental to local flexibility in both Easton and Longphort.

A further theme which emerged from the findings in this project related to the impact of a flexible approach to the delivery of local policing with frontline officers and supervisors in Easton particularly, discussing how there was now a sense of confusion around the roles and responsibilities of CPT officer's post reform. Local frontline staff reported that they were now unsure as to what their post reform job description was, with claims that in the main their roles and responsibilities could change on a daily basis.

> "There is no clarification of the community role anymore, we had one before but since reform it can change from day to day…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

> "…The goal posts keep changing for us, the emphasis changes daily and you have to keep adapting. I don't know what the bosses want from me consistently all of the time its daily, it's not consistent or settled enough for us to work out what our role is…" PC 12 Easton (F 4)

A lack of direction or definition for CPT members post reform in Easton resulted in the CPT team taking either one of two paths, in the first group were the CPT officers who attempted to

keep up with the duties they had performed previous to reform and continue as before whilst the other group appeared to have given up on their CP focus and were resigned to now being a backup team for response officers. Concerns around this lack of role definition were supported by both male and female officers of mixed service which suggests that the post reform roles and duties of frontline CPT staff in Easton are being impacted on negatively by a lack of any clear direction.

7.4.8 Tasking
Despite a major goal for reform being focused on strengthening the connections between the police and the communities they serve many CPT Officers from Easton commented that they were now less engaged with their local communities than pre reform. In the main this was attributed to the wider and more robust focus on KPI's post reform, which generated an increase in the daily tasking's given to members of the CPT specifically.

> "…at the start of the shift you are given tasks and those tasks need to be done.
> So you don't get a chance to go out walking, you don't get the chance to nip in
> and see folk in the area that you know and ask, what is happening? Who is
> doing what in this area? You are losing all that and we just don't get the
> chance." PC walking interview 2 Easton (M 19)

As a result of the adoption of the 'task not ask' philosophy, many officers from across both case study areas highlighted that they now believed that reform had increased their daily workloads.

> "…the work load is definitely increasing…it's like spinning plates…there is
> just too much of a work load…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

The spinning plate's analogy was also used by a frontline supervisor from Longphort who added juggling to the spinning plate's scenario when discussing his attempts to balance an increased work load and focus on KPIs and tasks with a community facing role for the organisation.

"…my cops if they are not responding to a call they have got a pile of paper work waiting to be done, if it's not done somebody will be raging that it's not done, so what always gets sacrificed is the community that is always the sacrifice they make…" Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 15)

For many of the CPT Officers their biggest complaint regarding tasking's was related to them being abstracted out of their local area. They argued that constant abstractions were having a negative effect on local relationships in terms of their ability and capacity to perform their CP duties and engage with locals and external stakeholders.

"I struggle now to do what we did prior to reform because there is less time on your beat to engage with the public. If you go see them now they ask where you've been and …I'm involved in projects I was supposed to be there on Monday but it didn't happen. I struggle to get time to go to meetings and things because of tasking duties…" PC 03 Easton (M 17)

There was a general sense of frustration and at times anger when discussing the new focus on 'task not ask' with CPT Officers in Easton. Their frustration was based on their inability to do what they did before reform in terms of engagement as highlighted by the comment above, and their anger was directed towards the Area Command Rooms (ACR) who officers argued have no idea of CPT daily routines and duties, but post reform have a greater management role in relation to frontline officers which extends beyond that of frontline supervisors with claims made that the ACR now centralises responsibility for local policing.

"…they have brought out this "task not ask" from the area control room (ACR) and as far as they are concerned, they are not bothered if you are a community or a response officer. You are just a number, just a number to be used to be deployed…" PC 01 Easton (M 5)

"…the control room, the ACR now have complete control, they have control over our sergeants …its task not ask so you can't say no…" PC 06 Easton (F 24)

The statement above was corroborated by a further PC who spoke of an occasion when a supervisor, who had pre-planned to attend a local operation, attempted to overrule the ACR

who were giving instructions to one of his officers. In the end the supervisor was overruled and the operation had to be re-scheduled.

> the ACR have started saying oh I see your next appointment isn't until… there has been sergeants given into trouble because they have interjected on the phone saying "No I would rather the cops do…"and it's no, no we will decide. To my mind the sergeant on the ground has the knowledge where his troops should be…" PC walking interview 1Easton (M 12)

The correlation between high abstraction rates of local officers and reductions in local engagement, loss of local intelligence and partnership work has been highlighted by many police scholars who study CP including Skogan (2006) in his study from Chicago and Terpstra's (2009) Dutch study. It is therefore unfortunate that even with reform, Police Scotland have at present been unable to find a solution to the issue of local abstraction, and indeed appear to have increased abstraction rates through the implementation of the tasking system.

From a local perspective the majority of participants were in agreement that the new "task not ask" directive from Police Scotland was impacting negatively on the organisation's ability to deliver effective local CP. Frontline supervisors in particular were negative in their responses in terms of the impact on the delivery of local policing.

> "…tasking can also impact negatively on CPT duties for example, the attendance at meetings with partner agencies as many PC's are too busy with tasked duties to attend…" Sergeant 01 Easton (M 13)

A further frontline supervisor from Longphort supported this concept utilising a building analogy to explain the changes.

> "…I get that we must comply with this and that…I get all that…you know your tool box needs to filled with tools, and they are just taking the tools out and

giving us more jobs and more jobs…and it's very, very, very difficult…"
Sergeant 01 Longphort (M 10)

There were however participants in the project who described the new tasking process as being a positive change in Police Scotland and claimed it supported a more directed policing service although in the main this was focused on response policing and not CP and was in the main the perception of police managers and senior managers.

"…you are getting the resources, the footfall out in those areas that matter and you are not getting hammered going from job to job they are actually getting to do what they have been tasked with through the tasking coordinating process…" Middle Manager 02 Easton (M 20)

7.5 Additional Reviews of Policing in Scotland
As discussed on multiple occasions throughout this thesis, the recent police reform experienced in Scotland has been hailed as the largest, single piece of police reform in generations. The depth and scope of the reform has resulted in the operationalisation of local policing becoming more important than initially anticipated, and has resulted in a variety of organisations, including Police Scotland, the SPA and HMICS paying particular attention to the impact of these changes with a focus on the implementation of local policing post reform. Although, none of these organisations offered a comprehensive review of frontline officers' experiences of reform as with this thesis, many of the published findings corresponded with the larger themes emerging from this project in terms of organisational change and communications; I have therefore decided to augment this chapter by adding a summary of their findings which mirror the thesis to offer a triangulation of the findings reported here. This section will therefore offer a very brief review of three of these studies.

In October 2015, the findings from the first ever staff survey conducted within Police Scotland (PS) were published. In November 2015 a further 'review' of Policing in Scotland

was published by Scottish Labour's Justice Spokesperson and ex Deputy Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police Graham Pearson MSP. The rationale behind the review was based on Scottish Labour's belief that "…there was a need to examine the effectiveness of the structures and relationships of the single force" (Pearson 2015:2). There were also ongoing reports for Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) entitled "Local Policing + Inspection Programme" which looked to evaluate how effective and efficient the fourteen local policing divisions were post reform. The initial pilot study, which took place in Fife division was published in October 2014, the inspection in Ayr was published in February 2015 with the inspection of Aberdeen division published in May 2015. The divisions selected by HMICS for these inspections did not include the same case study areas included in this project and therefore the similarity of findings found, support the ability of the findings reported here to be generalizable in the wider Scottish context.

7.5.1 The 2015 Police Scotland Staff Survey
The survey was operationalised as a mechanism to provide Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) with "…a base line of their organisational culture [and] to highlight areas of robust people management practices as well as areas for organisational development" (2015:40), in other words to examine the impact of reform on Scottish policing (see sections 6.5 and 6.2). The survey consisted of questions based on issues raised by PS and SPA staff at scoping workshops with additional free text space for respondents to add some contextual data around themes including;

- Information and Communications

- My Job

- My Line Manager

- Organisational Change

- Organisational Purpose and Objectives

The above themes can be seen to correlate to the majority of findings presented in this thesis in terms of officer's experiences of the organisational change and their perceptions of the processes and management of reform. With further findings mirroring those found in other chapters of this thesis.

- The quantity, quality and relevance of communication received with 56% reporting that they felt "…they were overloaded with information that they did not need to know" (P12);

- Lack of officer input/feedback through organisational change with 70% off all respondents stating they would have liked "…more opportunity to influence decisions made" (P30) during the planning stages of reform.

- Post reform changes to roles and responsibilities, which had resulted in CPT "…losing contact with local communities rather than increasing their focus on local issues" (P34).

- Similar to the discussion above in section 7.5.3 officers claimed an increased focus on Key Performance Indicators (KPI's) and meeting targets post reform.

However, the published survey lacks any form of contextual evidence with no further data to explain why respondents replied in a certain way. This again highlights the value of the data collected here, which when placed alongside the quantitative results of the survey, provide a more holistic overview of how reform has been experienced by police officers in Scotland.

7.5.2 The Pearson Review of Policing in Scotland
In November 2015 Scottish Labour published its own review of policing led by MSP and ex Strathclyde Deputy Chief Constable Graeme Pearson. The review focused on experiences of post reform local accountability, practical policing, staffing and targets and working relationships between the SPA, the Scottish Government and Police Scotland.

The overarching themes set out in the review, although presented from a particular political perspective, are similar to those found in the Police Scotland staff survey and again in this thesis. The general findings of the report, authored by the Scottish Governments' opposition party's justice spokesperson, is that "[T]he needs of local policing have been all but ignored in the rush to centralise the service and the drive to deliver £1.4billion in savings too quickly" (Pearson 2015:12), again linking to officer perceptions regarding the pace of recent reform (see Chapter 6).

7.5.3 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland Local Policing Inspections
As part of the Reform Act (2012) HMICS was given the statutory authority to "…look into the 'state, effectiveness and efficiency' of both the Police Service of Scotland (Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority (the Authority)" (HMICS Local Policing + Inspection October 2014)

The first pilot inspection was conducted in the Fife division of Police Scotland. Similar to the findings of the Police Scotland Survey and the perceptions of police officers presented here, concerns were raised in Fife around the pace of change and the resulting internal communications. The inspection report states that "…some officers and staff…" (ibid October 2014:41) raised concerns regarding the frequency and content of internal communications, with concluding remarks by HMICS that "…this practice has the potential for key messages to be lost and increases the risk of new procedures not being consistently followed." (ibid October 2014:41) supporting the findings discussed here in Chapter 6 section 6.4. In terms of the inspection conducted in Ayr, the HMICS report states that "[M]ore needs to be done to improve internal communications" (HMICS February 2015:11) with no real contextual data offered.

Again mirroring the findings in this thesis, (Chapter 8) concerns around police community engagement were also highlighted by "…some…" (ibid October 2015:59) Fife officers specifically regarding their ability to continue attending community meetings due to the implementation of nationwide local policing principles introduced post reform. These principles the report claims, have resulted in a change to police officer designated roles and working hours making attendance at meetings difficult. This again mirrors the findings reported above in section 7.5.2 which discuss the impact of temporal changes post reform. The inspection in Ayr also noted officers' concerns regarding post reform changes in roles which many claimed was related to an overall reduction in officer numbers, specifically response officers in line with the new national local policing principles, which "…meant that community officers had little time to engage with communities" (HMICS February 2015:54). Further concerns which related to a post reform lack of community engagement and are similar to those discussed in this thesis include the impact of an increased focus on daily tasking's explored in section 7.5.7 above, with the HMICS Fife report claiming "[C]ommunity officers were concerned that they were finding it increasingly difficult to engage with communities because of the number of calls they were being required to attend" (ibid October 2014:61). Staffing levels which are discussed in section 7.4.1 above, were a further concern highlighted in both the Fife and Ayrshire inspections, with Fife officers reporting that staff levels were "…so low they were feeling exposed due to a lack of resilience in numbers…" (ibid October 2014:59) and officers in Ayr claiming that the overall reduction in staffing levels was making it difficult for them to "…respond to demands" (HMICS February 2015:47).

The Fife pilot also raised concerns from both officers and civilian staff regarding their lack of involvement or consultation during the planning of reform similar to the findings of the PS staff survey and the discussion above in section 6.2.2. In a similar vein, officers and staff in

the Ayrshire inspection also claimed "…that they had no mechanism to voice their concerns during the reform programme." (HMICS February 2015:49) with the Aberdeen inspection reporting police officers and staff feeling "…frustrated by poor communication of decisions and policies and a lack of consultation." (HMICS May 2015:32).

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the perceptions of local officers from Easton and Longphort in terms of the similarities and differences experienced in local policing post reform. In relation to the overall focus of this thesis, the findings discussed above suggest that, when this research was carried out, the impact of recent reform on local policing has been negative. In the experience of frontline officers, the changes brought about by reform including changes to roles and shift patterns have produced unintended consequences for the delivery of CP in terms a loss of dedicated beat areas and an increase in tasking's which abstract local officers from their beats.

Many frontline officers also described what they perceived to be a change in focus for local policing away from the traditional preventive and proactive style of local policing towards the more response oriented methods. Frontline staff provided examples of an increased focus on KPI's, such as stop and search or traffic issues for example which CPT members in Easton and many of the local officer in Longphort claiming that the increased focus on targets and tasking's in their opinion prevented them from delivering the local policing service they did prior to reform.

The change in shift patterns, a result of reform which Police Scotland claimed helps put the right people in the right place at the right time, was also a cause for concern for many of the frontline staff, including middle managers. From a frontline perspective CPT officers in

Easton highlighted how the change in working patterns which included them working from 9pm till 7am had no actual benefit for 'their' community as this entailed CPT officers being deployed to the city centre and not their own 'beat'. The change in shift patterns for CPT and middle police management has resulted in less local engagement with communities and partner organisations who tend to be available during normal working hours.

Police participants from across both case study areas inclusive of frontline and management officers, in the main, defined local policing in similar terms employing key community policing phrases from the literature such as "networks"; "being visible"; "familiar and recognizable officers" and "local knowledge". This general consensus on definition, would indicate a good level of understanding surrounding effective community policing styles. The majority of frontline officers also stated that they should view themselves and be viewed by the community they serve as belonging to that community which supports the claims put forward by Herbert (2006).

The introduction of a nationwide set of local policing principles with an overall lack of defined roles for CPT post reform has resulted in many officers exhibiting a real sense of frustration when discussing post reform local policing. This had a significant impact on officers of all ranks in Longphort particularly, which as discussed previously operates with much smaller 'reactive' staffing levels. Capacity issues in Longphort overshadowed the majority of responses from local participants and in terms of their experiences of reform have impacted negatively not only on an operational level but also on their ability to engage with the communication of changes which in the main were delivered by email, some of which were 15-20 pages long.

As stated previously, police participants were unanimous in their claims that change in the policing organisation was not a new concept and that they were used to dealing with it, although not on the scale or level they have recently experienced. However, the snap shot taken during this study is not a final product in terms of the changes being experienced by the policing organisation and at the time of writing more change is now on the horizon for Police Scotland. In August 2015 the current Chief Constable Sir Stephen House announced he would resign his post resulting in the recruitment of a new chief. This will no doubt result in further adjustments to policing in Scotland which may in turn input on some of the current issues faced by frontline officers discussed above.

8 Working with Communities: perceptions of local engagement and partnership work

"ONLY WHEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE POLICE CAN TRULY WORK TOGETHER FOR THEIR COMMON GOOD, WILL CITIZENS FEEL THAT THEY CAN TRUST THE POLICE"

(FERREIRA 1996)

8.1 Introduction

In the Outline Business case for police reform published in September 2011, the Scottish Government claimed that police reform was not only being considered due to the financial climate of the time, but also as a result of the findings in the Christie Commission report which was published in June 2011. The Christie Commission was set up to examine the future delivery of public services in Scotland by the then first Minister Alex Salmond, in November 2010. The overall findings and recommendations made by the Christie Commission centred on a renewed emphasis on partnership working with all public sector services, with the added caveat that there should be a heightened focus on "…engaging with people and communities in partnership processes, including the design and development of a pattern of integrated service provision." (Christie Commission 2011:45).

In keeping with much of the recommendations contained in the Christie Report the Police and Fire Reform Act, which supported the recent police reforms in Scotland, echoed the partnership approach to working and in Chapter 4, section 32 b (i) and (ii) sets out that the new Police Service of Scotland will,

"…working in collaboration with others where appropriate, should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which

    (i)   Is accessible to, and engaged with local communities, and

(ii)   Promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder

This chapter will explore perceptions of post reform engagement and partnership work from the perspective of police managers, police officers and members of partner organisations who agreed to take part in the project. The chapter will firstly offer a definition of community engagement and partnership working which will be used throughout the chapter. The chapter will then discuss police perceptions of community engagement inclusive of the roles and relationships of police and community members, the requirements for specialist CP training for police officers and experiences of post reform community engagement.

8.2 Academic and Policy Context
As discussed in Chapter 2 and throughout this thesis, there is no clear or distinct definition of community policing within the literature. Instead what is offered is a description of various methods of policing which share enough common elements to be placed under the single philosophical heading of community policing. The core operational elements which are agreed upon under this philosophical heading are based on partnership working, problem solving and a geographical focus. This section will explain the definitions of community engagement and partnership working which will be discussed in greater detail in later parts of this chapter.

8.2.1 Community Engagement
As discussed in chapter 2, (2.3.2) effective engagement with local neighbourhood residents in community policing (CP) strategies is necessary in a variety of ways. Fundamentally, it includes the police viewing the local population as "…partners in the problem solving process" (Barnes and Eagle 2007:162). From this perspective the police organisation actively engages and consult with the residents in terms of identifying and dealing with local crime and disorder issues. By empowering the population in such a manner they are "…cast in a

role where they have direct influence upon policing priorities, how these are to be addressed and where possible, are actively involved in dealing with them…" (Innes and Roberts 2008:242). Wesley Skogan (1989) also supports this view and suggests that it is through the delivery of effective CP strategies that the police are "…helping neighbourhoods help themselves" (ibid 1998:443).

As with many of the concepts surrounding CP there is no single or universal definition of what 'good' community police engagement is or should be. Terpstra (2009) distils the concept of engagement by suggesting that it is rooted in empowering communities to become involved in identifying local policing priorities and the causes of local crime and disorder issues;

> "…a common aim in all forms of community policing is to bridge the distance
>
> between the police and citizens, to promote citizen participation, to provide the
>
> police with more information and as a result, to promote the effectiveness of
>
> police strategies"

(ibid 2009:87).

In his report, first published in 2006 by the Home Office, Myhill (2012) offers his working definition of police community engagement which is based on,

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

and communities must have the willingness, capacity and opportunity to

participate. The police service and partner organisations must have a

responsibility to engage and, unless there is a justifiable reason, the

presumption is that they must respond to community input" (ibid 2012:1).

Both of these definitions link to notions of democratic policing. Jones (2007) relates notions

of democratic policing to the equitable ways in which police services and personnel are

deployed, the allocation of power in relation to policing policy and fundamentally that "…as

far as possible, citizens from all social groups should have the opportunity to participate in

discussions of policing policy…and influence over policy choices" (Jones 2007:607). Scott

(2011) refers to this as a contractual agreement wherein the police, in order to fulfil their part

of the contract, are obliged to provide a public account of how they have used, or plan to use,

the "…potentially coercive powers" (ibid 2011:2) granted to them.

8.2.2 Partnership Work
Included in the contemporary framework of CP that is discussed throughout the literature is

the promotion of an interagency approach to the delivery of local policing which has become

known as a form of multi-agency policing (see chapter 2 section 2.3.3 for a fuller discussion).

Partnership approaches in CP have been constructed around the premise that no single agency

can deal with, or should be responsible for dealing with, the often complicated and

convoluted concept of community safety and crime problems which occur at a local level.

Effective partnership working, which includes working with health specialists, social

services, local authority environmental wardens and housing departments allows a broader

approach to community safety to be taken at a local level, particularly with situations that are

not specifically policing concerns. During many interviews with CPT staff they described the

assistance and support they received from some of these organisations as invaluable in

dealing with local issues, citing examples of joint patrolling with community wardens and visits with housing staff to addresses which were the focus of repeated ASB problems. The concept of successful joint working producing positive outcomes for the community was also supported by many of the partner organisations who took part in this project. Skogan (1994) also suggests that the police acting on their own "…can neither create nor maintain safe communities" (ibid 1994:2), and that the inclusion of external agencies working in partnership with police increases the opportunities to resolve local issues. There are many ways of describing what constitutes an effective police partnership approach; however, in the main it is described as a co-operative relationship, between two or more organisations working together to achieve a common goal with regards community safety.

O'Neill and McCarthy (2012) discuss the operational context of partnership policing in the contemporary setting claiming "…policing has been reframed as a series of practices associated with a more diverse range of community problem solving tasks which transcend those of managing crime and disorder" (ibid 2012:2) referring to the inclusion of many non-enforcement agencies who now support the delivery of local policing. The article also cites research which supports the view that in general, many police officers have difficulty in accepting frontline partnerships due to a perceived loss of power and authority including "…a fear of agencies intruding in traditional police functions" (ibid 2012:2). However, the chapter, which was the amalgamation of two separate research projects focusing on partnership work in England and Wales, goes on to state that the data collected from these projects refutes this stance. Their findings they claim, suggest that over time frontline officers have come to see the positive benefit of building relationships with key stakeholders in the community.

From a Scottish perspective the Chief Constable of Police Scotland, Sir Stephen House in his first year of leadership delivered the Apex Scotland Annual Lecture entitled *Collaborative*

Working and Shrinking Budgets: can we get better value by behaving smarter? where he highlighted the importance of police partnership work and offered reassurance that pre-existing partnership working would continue to be a priority under Police Scotland claiming that "I am 100% behind partnerships where they are strong…partnership is not under threat from Police Scotland." (Apex 2013:6). In terms of the reform process itself, and in contrast to what is discussed below in section 8.3, the Chief Constable also claimed that Police Scotland had engaged with their partners encouraging consultation and feedback from them, stating that "…If we were an isolated organisation we could make all these changes and none of our partners would be affected because we wouldn't have any partners and they wouldn't notice, but the reality is that we are bound up in our partnerships and people will notice…" (Sir Stephen House 2012:5). For a full discussion on how partners perceived their experience see section 8.3 below.

8.3 Police Perspectives on Working with Communities and Local Engagement
As discussed in previous chapters of his thesis there is no definitive definition of Community Policing (CP). However, from a Scottish perspective, and as part of the journey to reform, the Sustainable Policing Project (SPP) led by Deputy Chief Constable (DCC) Neil Richardson, released their Phase Two Report which included a focus on how they envisaged local policing being delivered across Scotland post reform. The report included an appendix entitled *Local Policing Description of Operating Model* which stated that.

"Local Policing will be delivered <u>with</u> communities through a shared business model with partners…Local Policing involves making communities safer and providing a safe environment. It is also about locally based policing teams working <u>with</u> partners to resolve issues. In this way local officers are empowered to work with partners in a problem solving approach. It is, in effect, about a multi-agency response to managing objective concerns

within any given and defined local community… Local Policing is generally accepted as locally identifiable police resources, connected to the local community that are able to respond quickly to demand…" SPP Phase Two Report Appendix 2 (2011:7 emphasis added)

This section will examine police officer perceptions of post reform local community engagement in order to assess if the claims made prior to reform have been met. One of the Scottish Governments stated outcomes of the recent reform of policing was that it would lead to improved arrangements for local engagement across the country. Prior to reform the Scottish Government and the 8 regional police forces followed a template constructed in 2009 entitled *the Scottish Community Policing Engagement Principles* which were published as a result of the inquiry into community policing in 2008 (discussed in chapter 2 section 2.3.2.). The core principles of community policing were identified as locally delivered policing which focused on a;

- Visible police presence,

- Communication and consultation with the community,

- Responsiveness to community needs,

- Responsiveness to individual needs and to those who may be particularly vulnerable,

- Accountability to the community,

- Partnership working with public and private agencies, and

- A commitment to local problem-solving.

(MacKenzie and Henry 2009:27)

Community engagement is one of the core elements in delivering community policing. Barnes and Eagle (2007) discuss how, if worked correctly, positive community engagement encourages police officers to view the local population as "…partners in the problem solving

process" (ibid 2007:162) with the optimum outcome being that an engaged community will

"…play a role in policing their own local crime problems" (MacKenzie and Henry 2009:35)

and share important, local intelligence which aids in the delivery of a more focused local

policing plan.

This concept was supported by many PC's from across both case study locations with one

officer from Easton commenting that in his experience effective community engagement was

the primary goal for local residents in his area.

> "…what they want is somebody they can trust and somebody they can focus
> on, a contact for them. Somebody that they can pick the phone up and leave
> you a message and know you are going to get back to them… I would have
> people up there who normally wouldn't speak to the police but they would
> speak to me because…he's a community polis… the amount of time I've
> had information from boys like that who normally wouldn't speak to the
> police…" PC Easton Walking interview 2 (M 12)

8.3.1 Community Engagement Roles and Relationships

In order to deliver positive and effective community engagement the relationship between the

local officer and the neighbourhood they serve is of utmost importance. This includes how

the police are viewed by the public and how the police view themselves in terms of their

community safety role. Herbert (2006) discusses three separate roles (see Chapter 2 section

2.3.2 for a fuller discussion) that the police can assume in order to assist communities to

"…co-produce solutions to problems or crime and disorder" (ibid 2006:78). The three roles

are classified as *subservience*, whereby the police view themselves and are viewed as a public

service provider; *separate* and distant from the local community and finally the police as

generative where it is claimed that the policing organisation through "…its bureaucratic

routines and its moralised discourses…" (ibid 2006:136) situates each community as an entity

that is in need of specialist protection that only the police can provide. With this in mind,

officers in both case study areas were asked how community officers should view themselves

and be seen in relation to their role. Overall the majority of frontline community officers, from across both case study areas, claimed they should view themselves and be viewed as part of the local community they serve. However, in terms of the three typologies described above, the view of police officers who took part in this project were divided between identifying themselves as "subservient" providing a public service and "separate" from the community.

> "…we definitely need to be part of the community and if that community means with all people, from people with drug habits to people with problems, people who want to report stuff to us, to people who just want to spend 5 mins of their day speaking to the bobby about the weather" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

> "Yes absolutely we should see ourselves as part of the community…"PC 01 Easton (M 20)

However, there were also local officers, in the main from Longphort (who have no dedicated CPT), who completely disagreed with the concept of being viewed as part of the community they serve, and in contrast defined themselves as being "separate" (as defined by Herbert above) from the community providing a specialist service. From this standpoint the officers described themselves as professionals who would come in to their community from outside, resolve situations, and then leave. One officer who had just over five years' service, commented that as far as he was concerned, the police were there to do one job and that was to uphold the law not make friends.

> "Well I think they have lost what the police is to be honest with you, I think I am not here to be anybody's mate, I am here to keep law and order and I think if somebody breaks the law then they will get to know who I am…" PC 01 Longphort (M 11)

With another frontline officer from Longphort suggesting that in their experience at an operational level, it was not quite as clear cut as Herbert (2006) proposed;

> "I think you can be both, you can have a professional role and be part of a community if we want to present ourselves as a professional organisation which is what we want to do…you have to still be part of the community. If you compare like a doctor who is a vital part of the community we have to be the same, be a professional and be part of the community and you know that is the difficulty of our role… our job doesn't lend itself to being that professional all the time, you can't always deal with people in the same way…it needs to suit the circumstance it's a difficult thing to juggle." PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

The above comments highlight the complex nature of relationships between front line community officers and the diverse communities they serve. Being seen as the friendly, approachable local "bobby", who as the previous officer reminded us is also there to 'keep law and order', can at times be difficult to balance for some officers which raises questions as to the training, if any, that officers receive in terms of dealing with the public.

8.3.2 Training for engagement
In order to explore what specific training was available for frontline CP officers to support them in their front facing role, participants were then asked if they had ever received any specific training for the community role which would assist them in engaging with partner organisations, and perhaps the more difficult to reach members of the community, such as rough sleepers, young people or economic migrants now arriving from across Europe. Only one CPT Officer from Easton claimed he had received relevant training suited to his role but that since reform there have been no new opportunities for community oriented training.

> "…well I have been sent on a few courses I have done the Restorative Justice, it was a fantastic course to be honest with you and now that we are Police Scotland I have not done one since…" PC Easton walking interview 01 (M 19)

Overall, none of the other officers from either of the case study areas reported that they had received any specific community training related to their community role, although some officers mentioned that there had been a little training back at Tullialan during their initial pre-employment training.

"…I have never had official training as a community officer…" PC 07 Easton (F 6)

With a frontline officer from Longphort suggesting that this absence of specific training was perhaps related to the general overall status and perception of the CP role by the organisation.

"…what training is there? There is no training, because there is no standard so there is no specific job…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

When questioned regarding CP training, police managers' general perceptions were that frontline officers did not require any specific training to conduct their community role, ignoring some specific duties that CP officers are expected to conduct, that in their opinion there were no specific skills required, and that learning occurred on the job.

"…there is no extra set of tools that you need to be a community cop. You would probably need to have a better awareness of you know community issues and community practices and local community politics because you are immersed in that. But again you learn that on the job…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

However, during discussions surrounding specific training for CP officer's one police manager did recount a conversation he had with a new recruit to his CP team, who had recently been transferred from a response team and was finding it difficult to communicate with people in an effective manner.

"I had a cop a few years ago who came from response, after 8 weeks in the community he came to me and said "I can't do this boss, I can't speak to folk" and this was a cop with 7 years' experience he was so used to kicking in doors and stuff. I had to treat him like a probationer and give him to a cop who could take him and train him." Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

A CP officer from Longphort with over fifteen years' experience in policing echoed the above statement and admitted that not all officers were comfortable engaging with members of the public in particular forums.

> "..It is scary to go to these meetings, I sometimes sit at them and go how I am
> I going to manage to get through this because all you get is this bit of paper
> given to you saying can you go to this community council meeting…" PC 05
> Longphort (F 17)

The above extracts indicate that not all frontline officers, even with some fifteen years' service in the organisation, always feel comfortable talking and engaging with members of the public on a daily basis. In the case of post reform CP delivery this could also highlight possible future consequences with the transfer of so many response officers to local CPT particularly with many of those transferred officers being 'allocated' to CP without their 'applying' for the roles. The variation in perceptions between frontline officers and police management, regarding specific training for CP officers, could also be indicative of the general lack of status placed on CP by police management.

In contrast to police manager's, frontline supervisors whose duties are more operationally focused were more positive in their attitudes to specific training being made available for CP officers by stating that in their opinion specially tailored training, appropriate for CPT, would be advantageous for the policing organisation and the public;

> "Ideally it would be great. As a line manager it would certainly be that each
> area is different, it's nice to have a manual but you need to tailor it. They
> (frontline officers) need awareness and just now they rely on their beat buddy
> to learn from them." Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 2)

On the job peer training for new police recruits has traditionally been the way the police training is 'completed', however, the level of training this provides is based on the experiences of the senior officer delivering the training together with the general availability of such officers. The loss of experienced tutor officers was of significant concern in Longphort where participants from both police and partner organisations discussed the negative impact of such a loss;

> "we are losing 10% of people with service, not probationers or anything…with experience and knowledge…but that is something that is gone and we will never get back by replacing them with a probationer so although the policing numbers cross the division, across the force will be the same the level of experience has gone. Sometimes having more cops is not always a good thing, if you don't have the right cops…" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

This concept was supported by another PC from Longphort who related the lack of CP training to the volume of new probationers that were being allocated to Longphort in an attempt to shore up dwindling frontline numbers,

> "…there are more probationers coming now because there is really a lot of people who have left...it's ok if you get ones that have maybe had a bit of life experience but young ones? I am not saying they are no use but to sit and be at a community meeting with lots of older people and they will be looking at this young officer and you think, it's not good for them and it's not a good reflection on us as a service" PC 05 Longphort (F 17)

Elected councillors also acknowledged the loss of local experience locally;

> "…we are losing experienced people right across the board…" Locally Elected Representative 02 Longphort

> "…there are so many officers, especially the older officers are leaving because of the changes introduced by Police Scotland" Locally Elected Representative 03 Longphort

> "…We have had a couple of police complaints around issues of mental health so there is clearly a training implication there…" Middle Manager 02 Easton (M 20)

The discussions around on- the- job, peer delivered training for community officers highlighted above from officers, management and local councillors however, raises issues with regards to the discussion in Chapter 7 which examines officers' perceptions that post reform there has been an overwhelming increase in workloads and a loss of experienced police tutors. An increased workload together with the loss of experienced front line officers has the potential to have a serious negative impact on any future 'on- the -job' training that

new recruits to community would receive, highlighting the need for a uniform, and consistent

specialist training regime for CP officers.

8.3.3 Post Reform Engagement

In keeping with the claims made by the Scottish Government that reform would improve

local engagement participants were questioned regarding their perceptions of the impact of

reform on engagement within their local neighbourhoods. When questioned, police

management from Easton stated that it was their perception that engaging positively with the

local community was an effective tool in the tool box of local policing and that post reform it

was their experience that it was still working well.

> "I think local engagement is well taken care of with the community team
> here, if you are talking about constables going out there and engaging with
> people who they should be engaging with nothing has changed here…"
> Senior Police Manager 02 Easton

In contrast the perceptions from police managers in Longphort were that overall reform had

had a negative impact on police community engagement.

> "That is Police Scotland, the community engagement, the local policing the
> working with the community, where is it all going? It's gone; we cannot get
> the resources to support and showcase ourselves and really get in there and
> work with the community…On paper it's supposedly the same, we are
> supposed to be linked in with our communities, we are supposed to be
> liaising with them properly, taking on what they say…From experience
> though that is not the case. There is an awful pressure coming from the
> centre that we have to keep things within the corporate guidelines of the
> force practice, policy and targets are… I don't see Police Scotland any time
> soon being seen as an approachable, comfortable, community based
> organisation…I just feel that…I feel very frustrated, almost gutted because I
> think a lot of the good work we had been doing has been undone. Not
> through any deliberate act to undo it, but just through the way the change
> has come in… the changes to the things we are being asked to do we
> haven't got the time to commit to what we should be doing, which is the
> local community…" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

The repeated mention of the centre, and centralised management influences on local policing,

appears to support the concerns raised during the consultation process regarding a

standardised one size fits all approach to the delivery of local policing. This was apparent in both frontline and management PS staff from both case study areas.

Frontline supervisors also reported that in general their perception was that there was less community engagement being conducted post reform, with a frontline supervisor from Easton claiming that the new tasking processes put in place post reform (and discussed in depth in chapter 7) had such an impact on the daily routines of CPT staff that they no longer have the same time to be out engaging with the public.

> "…as a community officer I had things to do on a daily basis but my job was to go out and engage with the public and be on my beat finding out what was going on. Now it's about the tasking process and all the other things we are doing…to be honest with you Police Scotland management have quite an influence on that, so while we do try to engage with our community and what not, the centralisation has driven what we are doing…" Middle Manager 03 Easton (M 2)

And a frontline supervisor from Longphort stating that his perception was that police community engagement had actually decreased post reform from what had been in place previously citing low levels of available frontline staff as the cause.

> "…It started off well but now…it used to be face to face…. but now because of resources we can't…" Sergeant 02 Longphort (M 24)

An additional frontline supervisor from Longphort was particularly frustrated regarding what he perceived as quite a large decline in local community engagement post reform, and offered an example of how a local gala day, which has been held for over 10 years, had been affected this year. It seems that every year since the gala day has begun all of the local blue light services have representatives present at the day, the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service send along one of their rescue vehicles and the Scottish Ambulance service are also present with one of their vehicles. The day itself is presented as an opportunity for the services to

showcase their specialist skills and engage with the local population. This year however, the

first gala day for Police Scotland there were some changes made to the legacy arrangements.

> "…We got the traffic guys up with the speed guns, the enforcement unit with the speed camera…the road safety Subaru all of that stuff was there to engage with. This year we struggled to get anything…I had previously asked about the helicopter and was told, potentially but when it came to it no…we asked about the dog unit no they don't do that, public events and things anymore. I asked about the horses, no they don't really do that sort of thing; it's not for them… we asked for traffic, no roads policing don't do that anymore, can't get that… That is Police Scotland, the community engagement, the local policing the working with the community, where is it all going? It's gone; we cannot get the resources to support and showcase ourselves and really get in there and work with the community". Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

In the main, frontline officers from across both case study areas when questioned regarding

post reform police community engagement, reported that they now spent less time engaging

with their communities on a daily basis.

> "…we just don't get the time… It's something we are really loosing, it's sad…yesterday for the first time since the change, I went into the Gudwara… normally I would have weekly contact with them just dropping in to one of the committee members houses for a cup of coffee and blether or a phone call or an email. The first thing the president said to me was where have you been? I haven't seen you for ages, we thought you had disappeared…" PC 10 Easton (M 8)

> "…no it hasn't strengthened local ties, the only reason local ties are strengthened is by the local cops or on the ground…nothing to do with reform…When you have no staff you have no flexibility…" PC 02 Longphort (M 24)

When asked to provide some background detail or rationale for this perceived change in

engagement, one frontline officer from Longphort claimed that due to an increased workload

and the resulting additional paperwork post reform, many CP officers now did not have the

time to spend engaging with their communities.

> "…60% of the shift you are sitting behind the computer, the reason why is because maybe you have a minor theft you are dealing with but you want to get it away and

dealt with because the next day it could be 101 million calls…because there is not enough cops" PC 08 Longphort (M 2)

"I struggle now to do what we did prior to reform because there is less time on your beat to engage with the public. If you go see them now they ask where you've been and …I'm involved in projects I was supposed to be there on Monday but it didn't happen. I struggle to get time to go to meetings and things because of tasking duties.…" PC 03 Easton (M 17)

In Easton, a Senior Police Manager when probed regarding the feedback from frontline officers that they were struggling to continue their engagement duties, stated that;

"I think there are valid concerns, I am glad to hear them actually but I think we should probably ask that question again in a couple of months' time…no one is suggesting that this will be easy, I am not saying that at some time if a priority setting plan has not gone the right way that some of that engagement may fall off, but hopefully we have all the safeguards in place that can pick up on that and highlight it and actually do something about it" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

Causes for the perceived reduction in local community engagement were correlated to the post reform change in working shift arrangements, a shortage of frontline staff, particularly in Longphort, the new tasking management system and a post reform policy that officers are no longer given ownership to specific street beats but instead all officers from each local station are encouraged to see the larger area as their policing beat.

The shift changes which were introduced post reform (discussed fully in chapter 7 section 7.5.2) to CPT personnel were highlighted as an obstruction to engagement from both frontline and management staff. It has been claimed by police management that the shift changes were necessary to support the Police Scotland strapline of having "…the right people in the right place at the right time…" Pre reform the majority of CPT across the eight regional police forces worked a Monday to Friday 9am to 5pm shift which suited the needs of local business, community groups and individuals. The impact on engagement from these changes in working patterns was highlighted by both police managers and front line staff

from Easton and Longphort, with many citing the changes as a reason for less local

engagement.

> "…because we worked separate shifts we were in that office and we were
> a separate entity…because of the new shift pattern which kicked off…we
> are now aligned to a team… so now I will be either be working a 4pm till
> 1am in the morning, a 2pm till midnight… or I will do a night shift…
> when we do the weekends its 9pm till 7am we arrive here at 9pm and we
> are then deployed to the City centre so we are out of [the area] … We
> don't get a piece break…and we won't get a break. So there is that, the
> fact that we are being taken out of [the area] itself you are picking up
> enquiries from the city centre and when you come back you then have to
> get time to go and enquire you know…" PC walking interview 01 Easton

> "…with Police Scotland we are now on 24 hour shift pattern our availability
> to engage has diminished…" Middle Manager 02 Longphort (M 30)

8.3.4 Geographical Changes

As previously discussed in chapter 7, section 7.5.3 of this thesis some of the geographical

changes which have been experienced post reform by frontline officers have been associated

with the removal of allocated beat areas. A localised focus for the delivery of local policing is

seen as one of the core elements of CP and is based on a policing style which situates a

designated officer in a geographically bounded area where they become a familiar face to the

local population whilst at the same time acquiring in-depth local knowledge of the area and

its inhabitants. Frontline officers from both case study areas discussed the negative impact

there had been on community engagement since the removal of their individual beat areas

whilst explaining that they were now expected to serve a much larger area which in the main

was described as being divisional.

> "Our coverage is the division that we are…each individual is not allocated a
> street or something so that all that crime that goes on the area is yours. You
> just have to take on whatever happens across the division and just work
> away. I think there is an expectation that you have an awareness of
> everything that is happening across your area which is quite a huge
> expectation but that is the police…" PC 03 Longphort (M 7)

> "What I would say is they have taken away our beat since reform. We are
> now being allocated or tasked jobs and these are done on a priority basis
> here" PC 02 Easton (M 7)

One PC from Easton was particularly frustrated at losing their designated beat, which they had worked for a number of years and commented on the sense of ownership that came with working the same area for a period of time.

> "…you felt that that was your own wee empire if you like and that was
> yours to look after and you would take it personally to a degree if there were
> issues in your area it was left to you to solve it. It was always my aim, it
> didn't always work out but most of the time it did…" PC 13 Easton (M 6)

With another PC from Easton explaining that in his opinion the lack of an allocated beat area for CP officers to focus on had resulted in a lack of ownership of local issues for many officer's post reform.

> "…we are not allocated anymore we are just meant to go everywhere…we
> don't have a beat any more, there is no more beats…that is the worst thing
> that they could have done. People now sit in the office with no ownership
> of things that happen in their area…" PC 04 Easton (M 6)

From the extracts above it appears that at the time of data collection the general perception from frontline officers was that post reform there was now less engagement between the police and the communities they serve than there had been prior to reform. In Longphort the overall rationale offered by officers was in relation to the ongoing shortage of staff together with post reform changes to officer working patterns. In Easton, although police managers stated that engagement was working as well as it had prior to reform, front line officers claimed that it was their perception that they were engaging less with their communities and claimed that changes to working patterns, and a loss of designated beat areas, had an impact on their time and availability.

8.4 Partner Organisations Perspectives: Working with communities and local engagement

As discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3.3 the police working in partnership with key stakeholders from non-policing agencies to address crime prevention at a local level is a major concept in the community policing literature with commentators such as Skogan stating that the police acting on their own "…can neither create nor maintain safe communities" (ibid 1994:2). Working in partnership with non-policing agencies such as local authorities, social service, education and health allows the police organisation to address a breadth of community policing objectives in a preventative manner, including quality of life issues which are not directly associate with policing matters.

In keeping with the importance of such partnership work, and to assess if reform had impacted in any way on these existing partnerships, participants from partner organisations were invited to take part in this project. This section will firstly discuss the partnership landscape of each of the case study areas post reform partnership working relationships between the police and local authority funded community safety wardens before examining partner s concerns re post reform policing.

8.4.1 The Partnership Landscape Longphort

Although Longphort has not traditionally created a standalone CPT, they have attempted to work within CP parameters and focused on building strong and effective partnerships with key stakeholders in a preventative manner. The partner organisations involved with policing in Longphort are in keeping with those of other areas inclusive of health, social care and education. Partners who agreed to take part in this project consisted of a manager and a strategic development officer from the local community safety partnership, locally elected members of local government, resident members of the Longphort Community Council and a senior manager from a local alcohol and drug partnership. The general consensus amongst

partners in Longphort was that historically they had enjoyed strong and productive relationships with police in terms of dealing with local issues that had been effective.

8.4.2 The Partnership Landscape of Easton

In the urban centre of Easton police work with multiple partners routinely to prevent crime and support the local neighbourhood from a broader social context. Examples of these partnerships include working with the local authority funded community safety wardens, trading standards and members of the local licencing board, with participants from each of these organisations agreeing to take part in this project. Community safety wardens work alongside CP officers jointly patrolling specific areas, trading standards and the police traditionally work together on projects to protect vulnerable individuals from doorstep crime, cold calling and bogus builders and the licencing board, who are responsible for regulating the sale of alcohol and gambling licences work with the police to ensure that licensed premises are run in an appropriate manner. These particular partnerships work at both the local and national level across Scotland. The local authority in Easton play a relatively large role in terms of delivering local policing by providing the funding for six full time community officers, one sergeant and five PC's who are embedded locally.

8.4.3 Local Government as Partners

At the same time as the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 created the new Police Service of Scotland it also set out a new role for local authorities in the delivery of local policing. Chapter 7 section 45 (1) – (7) of the Reform Act sets out the parameters of the new role that local authorities play in the delivery of local policing. As discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis the pre-reform role of each local authority was to create an executive police board comprising of elected representatives mirroring the political make-up of each council, who would appoint chief constables and contribute 49% of each forces budget with the remaining 51% being supplied by central government. Importantly the police board also had

responsibility for holding each Chief Constable to account and had within their remit the power to withdraw police funding, although this power has never been utilised in Scotland. Post reform however, local authorities have lost their executive committee role with regards to local policing and are now placed in a more consultative position whereby they have no statutory powers over policing but "…may monitor and provide feedback…" to the local commander.

The change in role for local authorities has engendered a shift in existing relationships between the police and local government, which was described by a frustrated local councillor from Easton as being.

> "…well if you are looking at what's happened with reform and how reform is panning out all that is actually happened is that power and control is being taken away from local authorities and centralised to central government…because previously as a government they had no influence over police and fire issues throughout Scotland…the whole crux of this, this whole exercise wasn't how to make the services better or the communities safer it was purely about power and control over the services…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

In Easton particularly, the perceptions of elected members with regards to their new non-executive role in police governance was in the main negative. This became particularly apparent when discussing local policing plans at interview.

> "As far as I can see we don't have the role we had before where we had a degree of say in the policing plan… the policing plan…it was presented as a fait a compli and I think that kind of contradicts the national message that it is going to be a local plan, because if it was then it would be adapted to social conditions…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 08 Easton

This criticism of the new role for local government in policing plans came from councillors from across the political divide, with members from all of the political parties agreeing that they now had no involvement or input to local policing plans.

"Well the local authority is now being asked to sign off on the policing plans but they have already been announced… the local commander was in the paper last week announcing it …what the priorities are going to be for local policing he had already announced it in the [local newspaper] …he announced it last week and we have not had a committee meeting yet…so the committee has not even met and he has announced them…so in that context… we have to agree what the local plan is.." Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

In Easton there was also the additional variable of the local government funded community police officers, which many participants believed they were losing any influence over. One local councillor explained how prior to reform, these funded officers worked alongside community wardens at a local neighbourhood level addressing low level crimes and that post reform this was not occurring on a such a regular basis.

"I think the problem is that the arrangement that we have had previously where there were community officers working with council officers was very, very effective…I think it worked well…in each area we have a number of police officer who have been bought in and paid for by the local authority and they would work closely with the council officers and be part of a unit focusing on community policing issues…their work was community capacity building and dealing with what I would call low level crime…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Easton

When discussing how these officers were funded, and what their specific roles were with another councillor, it became clear that there were ongoing concerns from many in local government that perhaps the continued funding of these officers would be difficult under Police Scotland in relation to the roles and duties local councillors expected them to fulfil.

"The money that the [we] gave for the extra community police officers was to specifically meet a demand that had been identified by the community and elected members… at the moment we have a budget and there is talk of taking ½ million pounds out of that, my own view is that we should take all the money as we are not getting what we had paid for in the first place" Local Council Scrutiny Member 04 Easton

Many councillors from Longphort supported the concerns of councillors from Easton

regarding a perceived loss of any control or input to local policing,

> "…there are no powers involved in this scrutiny other than the fact of signing
> of the local policing plan and that is essentially all that the committee has to
> do…" Locally Elected Representative 03 Longphort

Overall there appears to be a perception amongst elected representatives taking part in this

project, that post reform relationships between themselves and the policing organisation,

were now on a more unequal footing than before reform. This perception was based on the

loss of an executive committee role for local authorities and a belief that they were not being

as included as they could be, in the planning and drawing up of local policing priorities. For a

fuller discussion on how relationships are functioning between locally elected councillors and

local commanders post reform see chapter 9 of this thesis.

8.4.4 Community Wardens
During the reform planning journey, the Sustainable Policing Project published a report

which included an acknowledgement that amongst the various partner organisations who

work with the police, local authority community safety wardens specifically were generally

seen as being "…a component part of local policing" (ibid 2011:8). As prominent partners

working with the police local authority community safety wardens were therefore actively

sought to take part in this project. Access to community wardens in Easton was successful,

however, at the time of field work in Longphort, there were no community safety wardens

working in the area as their contracts had been cancelled post reform, and at that particular

time discussions were still ongoing between Police Scotland and the local authority regarding

funding and placement of any future wardens.

> "…the posts are vacant just now because we are just reviewing a number of
> posts…I don't know what the outcome of that will be but pending the
> outcome we are not replacing the wardens in Longphort. The posts are still

there and the funding is still there…" Manager Community Safety
Partnership Longphort

The lack of community safety wardens in Longphort was a concern raised by many
participants who lived in the area, including local members of the community council who
discussed the loss of wardens in terms of them providing a highly visible presence in the
community.

> "…we don't even have community wardens walking about, we did have
> before you know, but there isn't even that now…I don't think it's the same
> place, they don't patrol…" Community Council 01 Longphort

There was a genuine sadness amongst those who discussed the loss of the wardens in
Longphort, and a frustration that they would not be replaced, particularly with the pre-
existing low levels of frontline officers available in the area.

In Easton the general perception of the community wardens who took part in the project was
that post reform working relationships with the police were not as effective as they had
previously been. The overarching theme from the wardens was that there were now less
police available to work with them and when there were officers available they were called
away more often.

> "I think in general levels of abstraction are more now…" Community Safety Warden
> Easton

When I probed the participants further, regarding this situation, one of the wardens provided
an example of a situation which had recently occurred and described how in previous times
the police and wardens worked together at a local street festival whereas this time there was
no police presence.

> "… if I can go onto the changes with Police Scotland it had a major impact on us. Normally you would be out on patrol and the officers would be there and we would communicate with each other…but on the first night this year, we had a group of about 100 youth collected (in the town centre) and there was no police. So we were basically policing, we were having to stand there and move them along and try and contain them…" Community Safety Warden 01 Easton

However, in contrast to the claims above, a further warden reported that in their experience officers were still spending similar amounts of time on patrol with them, and that the change post reform was related to an officer's ability to commit to partnership working.

> "…they actually spend the same time with me but it's their sense of frustration… their will to do the work is there but they just don't have the time to commit to it…" Community Safety Warden 02 Easton

The perception that there are now less police officers patrolling was also discussed by a councillor from Easton, who reported that there had been a discussion at his local community planning meeting, where other attendees had reported a general perception that people now see less police patrolling the streets.

> "I was at a community planning event a couple of weeks ago and I stepped outside to take a phone call and when I came back in one of the things they had written up was not enough police and there has been a big change. I was quite interested in that because I asked them is that the general consensus? Do people feel like there are less police now than there were you know two years ago? And they said yes, there is less police…" Locally Elected Representative 01 Easton

The changing shift patterns of work for CP officers, which occurred as part of the reform was also highlighted as an area of concern by the community wardens. One community warden claimed that the lack of police consultation, or discussion with partners surrounding the changes to police shift patterns, had a negative impact on the traditional working style which they had enjoyed prior to reform.

> "The shift changes are making it seem that the police don't even know we exist, I work late I can be flexible but not everyone else can, and they are putting the local officers to work back shifts" Community Safety Warden 03 Easton

Another warden from Easton, who had over 7 years' experience working with the police, stated that changes to work patterns for CP officers, although viewed as a favourable concept within the policing organisation, held potential concerns for many partner organisations in terms of ongoing joint patrols and project work.

> "…We still have to work with community officers but there has been no thought to our day shift working, so if they are working night shift and we are working day shift when will we meet up? Although it may be beneficial to the police changing shifts it won't be beneficial to us and our partnership working. I don't think…it will be hard to find the police I think when we need them… it's a matter of the police finding their over time to do the work and us finding the overtime to do our work, whereas it was a joint approach previously" Community warden 02 Easton

The wardens who took part in this project had between two and ten years' service working as community safety wardens. They had been working in Easton for all of that time and had a vast experience of partnership working with local officers. Although they were in the main critical of post reform partnership working they were not critical of the officers they worked with on a daily basis.

This lack of critique against frontline officers was also discussed by policing partners from across both areas in terms of post reform partnership working.

> "…it's not the polices fault, everybody knows they don't have enough resources it's from higher like nobody feels the local police is the local police…" Community Council Member 01 Longphort

> "I think because we have strong local policing and a strong local commander we have been lucky. I don't know if we see the changes significantly… I think because he is a strong individual, a strong leader he has worked very

hard to maintain the partnership working as much as possible" Community Safety Manager Longphort

8.4.5 Partners Concerns

In relation to the other partners who took part in the project, and their experiences of post

reform partnership working, they overall tended to agree with the above comments.

However, they also raised some interesting points regarding strategic level partnerships

which they claimed were, at the time of data collection, unsatisfactory, with a local alcohol

and drug group partner in Longphort claiming angrily that there had been a marked difference

in all aspects of strategic level working.

> "…we have seen a dramatic deterioration in the quality, quantity and extent of partnership working with the police at a strategic partnership level… there isn't a strategic presence in this partnership from the police and there hasn't been…at all and hasn't been since Police Scotland came into existence… There are some practical examples of how it has been a diminution at an operational level; so for example we have seen a withdrawal of a range of services, so for example school liaison officers there has been a reduction in the quantity of school liaison officers and the scope of the material that they cover, road safety has gone so that is a concern as well… " Alcohol and Drug Partner Longphort

A member of the local community safety group added that engagement, at even local

inspector level, had diminished since reform and suggested that this may be correlated to an

overall shift in police focus away from prevention and intervention work to a more response

style of policing.

> "…engagement at inspector level has fallen off. Engagement with our operational groups has been… its becoming increasingly difficult to manage. But it's because we are focusing on preventative work and early intervention work and that just doesn't seem to be a priority in resourcing terms anymore…" Community Safety Manager Longphort

Concerns around strategic level partnerships were also discussed by partners in Easton, with

one participant suggesting that current legislation around partnership working was not being

realized at an operational level post reform impacting negatively on the allocation of

resources.

> "…it's not been anywhere near as good particularly at a higher level where
> decisions are made as to what resources are going to be used and what work
> is going to be carried out and coordinated in partnership so that has just not
> been happening. Nothing at all… The legislation around partnership working
> sounds good but in practice that's not happened, the opposite has happened,
> unfortunately…the police have become almost like an unknown to us in
> general…if it continues the way it's going, it is going to be increasingly that
> when the police say we want you to do this with us, with our scant resources
> we are going to have to say no because we can't coordinate it…other partners
> are… certainly government agencies that we work with have said they have
> noticed a difference as well" Trading Standards Easton

It would therefore appear that partnerships which are continuing successfully across both case

study areas are based on personal relationships constructed between individuals from the

police and the partner organisations prior to reform.

When questioned regarding the sharing of intelligence with partner organisations frontline

officers readily offered a positive view of how intelligence sharing supported local policing

and when required, officers were able to support the work of other organisations such as

housing and social work.

> "…we were encountering problems with youths out on the street it's the
> same folks that the schools are dealing with daily because we hadn't been
> speaking properly and linking in we were missing that. So now they are
> learning from us and we are learning from them and we know and can pull
> things together a lot quicker…" Senior Police Manager 01 Longphort (M
> 25)

However, as a result of what some participants perceive as a diminution of local partnership

working, intelligence and information sharing between the police organisation and many of

its partners is reported as being difficult, if not altogether non-existent, by many partners.

> "… if you are not having that same interaction then you are going to find that
> its fragmented and there may be things going on in the police that we are not
> aware of and we may be doing things that they are not aware of which is what

we got away from really, we got to the stage that everybody knew what everybody else was doing" Licencing Easton

This notion was again supported by a community safety development manager from Longphort who also offered an example of how this lack of information/intelligence sharing between the police and their partners was experienced at an operational level.

"…initiatives do seem to just pop up and you think Oh didn't know about that…and we might have a part to play in it… we have been surprised quite a few times over the last 18 months…oh were did that come from?... it's important really because at times there can be things going on within the partnership or with other partners that should have been taken on board you know or otherwise it does look like duplication. The fear is that if that continues to happen and that becomes evident to the wider public that you know…it looks like one hand does not know what the other hand is doing…" Community Safety Longphort

Members of partner organisations from both case study areas claimed that locally the exchange of intelligence between themselves and the police had previously been effective in resolving local issues.

"Before Police Scotland we would share all the information so there would be one Tasking and Coordination (TAC) sheet, with all the information on it, but now I don't know if it's a new way or working for Police Scotland we have separate TAC sheets the police have their own which we don't get to see and we have our own so it's not…it might be that there is confidential information on it but…we don't see it, its discussed at the meeting but we don't get to see it" Licencing Easton

The role of the community safety wardens was also highlighted in terms of intelligence sharing, with a number of wardens acknowledging that there are certain circumstances where a non-uniformed individual can source local intelligence that for a variety of reasons, the police cannot, and then pass it on to the local police.

"We get a lot of people who will report a drug dealer; we find out as much information as we can and then we pass it on to the police and they would rather you report on their behalf because they don't want to be seen as a

grass they are afraid of consequences… it's not that they don't like or trust the police they just don't want to be seen as a grass or whatever, you know we can go down in the day in plain clothes you know we can be like, we don't look like police officers…" Community Warden 01 Easton

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a snap shot in time of how police partnership work and engagement has been experienced in Scotland post reform. However, the themes which emerged from the data discussed above, refute the claims contained in the new policing principles set out in the reform legislation which stated that reform would support strong partnership working stating.

(b) That the Police Service, working in collaboration with others where appropriate, should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which—

(i) is accessible to, and engaged with, local communities, and

(ii) Promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder.

(Reform Act 2012 Chapter 4 (32))

Sir Stephen House in his inaugural Apex Lecture (see 8.1.2) mirrored the above statement on partnership working by suggesting that Police Scotland had actively engaged with and sought out, partner organisations feedback throughout the reform planning and implementation stages (see 8.3). However, when participants were asked for their perceptions of post reform partnership working they were in the main negative, with the majority, inclusive of frontline CPT officers, claiming that there was now less time and focus on joint working.

Local community wardens from Easton who were interviewed related tales of a fall in partnership work which occurred almost overnight post reform. For the wardens, the change in working shift patterns for CPT officers was a particular issue. In the main, the wardens

typically work day shift, 9am till 5pm, but the change in shift patterns for CPT officers has resulted in them working a variety of late and early shifts which do not match up with the warden's work pattern resulting in less joint working. Importantly it was also perceived that these changes had been planned and implemented without any thought given to how existing partnership working was being operationalised.

For other partners such as NHS workers, trading standards and local support agencies, the movement of familiar staff, changes to working shift patterns and an overall perception that there is now more focus by police on enforcement than prevention, has resulted in what they see as a withdrawal of services and support from the police

Both police staff and members of partner organisations who took part in the project not only raised concerns regarding the current lack of effective partnership working post reform, but where genuinely alarmed regarding the future implications for local communities if these working partnerships continued on their current trajectory. The concerns raised were not only confined to front line operations with many partners and police managers highlighting the negative impact on strategic level partnership arrangements with claims that they were also negatively impacted upon post reform. How these relationships evolve over the next few years is something that should be monitored to prevent any further deterioration in partnership working.

Chapter 9 will now examine perceptions of post reform police governance and accountability arrangements in Scotland.

9 "Clawless pussycats" and "Toothless tigers"? Perceptions of Post Reform Local Scrutiny Arrangements

"…WE CAN'T SERVE TWO MASTERS AND THE S.P.A ARE THE PEOPLE, WE ANSWER TO THE S.P.A…"

(SENIOR POLICE MANAGER 01 EASTON (M 25)

9.1 Introduction

One of the most fundamental changes which have occurred as part of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act (2012) has been the change made to police governance and scrutiny arrangements at both the local and national level across Scotland. As part of the Reform Act, pre-existing police boards made up of locally elected representatives, have been replaced by local scrutiny groups whose role is to "…monitor and provide feedback to the local commander on the policing of its area" (Reform Act (2012) Section 45 (2)). Post reform the national scrutiny of policing in Scotland is operationalised by the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) a public body established as part of the Reform Act with a remit to "…maintain policing, promote policing principles and hold the chief constable to account for the policing of Scotland" (Available at: http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/01/6980. [Accessed 14 January 2013].).

Having examined frontline officer's experiences of reform on operational policing in previous chapters, this final substantive chapter will examine the nature of the new local police governance and accountability arrangements, in line with the new role played by local authorities and offer a snap shot view of how these new arrangements were being experienced at the time field work was being conducted. The discussions in this chapter will be based around the main themes which emerged from the data including the quality and

quantity of local scrutiny post reform, the politics of police scrutiny and suggestions made around a local democratic deficit in post reform police governance and accountability. The first sections of this chapter will offer a brief overview of the mechanisms and process of pre reform governance and scrutiny before reviewing the general perceptions of participants with regards to post reform local scrutiny in terms of the types of committee's chosen, the quality and quantity of scrutiny and the local politics of police scrutiny.

9.2 Governance and Accountability Pre reform – Scottish context
As discussed previously in Chapter 3, section 3.3 of this thesis, pre reform policing in Scotland as with the rest of the UK, has been underpinned by the concept of policing by consent which is based on the ability of the police to achieve the consent of those who are being policed and links to notions of democratic policing. Within a Scottish context policing by consent has traditionally been supported by a tripartite structure of police governance which divided responsibility for local policing in three directions between central government, local government and the Chief Constable of each of the eight regional police forces.

9.2.1 A Critique of the Tripartite Structure
Over recent decades however the tripartite framework of police governance in both Scotland and across the UK has been highlighted as flawed with critique of the system coming from both an academic and policy context. From the broader UK policing perspective Robert Reiner (2010) refers to what he calls the "…myth of a tripartite structure of governance" (ibid 2010:235) where he highlights the ineffective and marginal role played by the local police boards in relation to local police governance, thus rendering the notion of an equal spread of power a 'myth'. Reiner (2010) shows just how powerful the other two legs of the tripartite system had become in relation to the powerlessness of police boards by introducing examples of times when Police Authorities in England had been overruled in their attempts to influence

local policing. One example of this is when the South Yorkshire Police Authority attempted to influence the policing of the miners strikes in the 1980's but were overruled by the high court which he claimed showed the disregard held for local police authorities. Reiner likened this to the idea that in reality "The police authorities paid the piper (or more precisely shared policing costs with central government) but did not call any tunes" (ibid 2010:227).

From a Scottish policy perspective Laing and Fossey (2011) argue that contemporary policing in Scotland has seen the introduction of an "…increasingly complex landscape of bodies with some level of direct or inferred responsibility for the governance of 'policing'" (ibid 2011:4) which they claim has caused an imbalance in the distribution of powers over policing. They claim that this is due, in part to a plethora of post devolution legislation in Scotland including the introduction of community planning partnerships (CPP) which looked to encourage partnership working with multiple local agencies and promote more robust relationships between the public and the police. The increasing influence of ACPOS as "a non-accountable body" (ibid 2011:4) and their influence over national policing also raised concerns pre reform specifically in relation to their ability to use this influence out with the sphere of democratic accountability.

Further concerns surrounding the tripartite system of police governance and accountability were raised in a policy setting by Tompkins (2009) in his *Independent Review of Scottish Policing* where he referred to "…gaps in the current arrangements…" (ibid 2009:5) with a specific focus on the lack of effective scrutiny underpinned he claimed by an absence of "…independent support provided to police boards or authorities, to enable them to properly deliver the degree of scrutiny, challenge and accountability required" (ibid 2009:6). (For further discussion on this see Chapter 3 section 3.3).

This concept of a lack of effective scrutiny was further supported by the work of Audit

Scotland and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Scotland (HMICS) who jointly

published an overview report in November 2012 which included future considerations for

post reform policing in Scotland. The report suggested that post reform attention should be

paid to the following.

- That the new policing arrangements operate in a way that is consistent with
  recognised principles of good governance.

- It is vital that the accountability arrangements are clearly articulated and that roles and
  responsibilities are understood and agreed.

- Members of the SPA and local authorities should receive appropriate training on their
  respective roles and responsibilities and be provided with appropriate support to carry
  out these roles effectively.

- There needs to be clarity about the respective roles of local police commanders and
  elected members in relevant partnerships and how this will support positive policing
  outcomes.

A more in-depth discussion of the critiques put forward by Tomkins (2009), Laing and

Fossey (2011) and COSLA on the tripartite system can be found in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

9.3 All Change? The transition to local scrutiny
One of the Scottish Governments stated outcomes of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland)

Act 2012 was that it would "…strengthen the connection between the services and the

communities they serve" (Justice Sub Committee on Policing 2013 Session 4). In order to

achieve this, it was proposed that statutory relationships between local commanders of Police

Scotland and the thirty-two local authorities across Scotland in a partnership approach to the

construction and approval of local policing plans would support the desired outcome. The following sections will firstly offer a brief description of the changes to local scrutiny contained in the Reform Act before presenting information on the structure and working arrangements of post reform local scrutiny arrangements from both case study areas.

9.3.1 Local Scrutiny Arrangements in Easton and Longphort

In Easton the first of the interviews with scrutiny group members occurred two weeks before the first official meeting of the group with the local commander. Most of the replies given by the participants included an acknowledgement that in the main they were still unsure as to how local scrutiny would actually be carried out. Prior to reform, and as part of the pre-existing tripartite structure, local police scrutiny in Easton was situated within a much broader setting and was conducted by a joint police board which covered policing in five local authority areas. The board was made up of eighteen locally elected members from the five local authority areas who represented a variety of political parties which met on a quarterly basis. Post reform Easton is one of the local authority areas that created a standalone committee for the sole purpose of scrutinising, reviewing and offering feedback to the local commander on local policing plans. There are ten members on the scrutiny committee who represent the political makeup of the council and they meet on a quarterly basis.

In Longphort the role of police scrutiny pre reform was the responsibility of a larger joint police board, similar in construction to that of Easton which covered three local authority areas and consisted of fourteen locally elected members representing the political makeup of the council who met on a quarterly basis. Post reform the scrutiny of local policing has been allocated to a pre-existing committee which has a full council membership and has responsibilities for overall financial management of the council, legal services and emergency

planning. There are over fifty council members who meet on average every six weeks. In a 2014 report to the SPA board the Longphort local authority reported a mixed response regarding the new scrutiny arrangements with claims that in some cases more information is being received from Police Scotland than was previously given to police boards, with examples given including; more detail on the types of crimes and offences being recorded, additional information being provided in relation to police response times and also included is a breakdown of how long it takes to create an incident on the system, identify the availability of resources and the time taken for resources to reach the scene once deployed. In contrast councillors also claim that they are not receiving certain information that they did pre reform to police boards including some crime indicators which are now being combined such as indicators of drug related offences and serious and organised crime, the number of children and young people who have been involved in criminal activity and information on those young people who have been directed into existing intervention processes. These claims put forward to the SPA highlight the complex nature of scrutinising local policing and show that in terms of scrutiny it is not as simple as good or bad scrutineering.

The case study areas where field work took place for this project included one standalone committee in Easton which was created specifically for the role of scrutinising local police plans and the other in Longphort which was a full committee of all councillors which had added the scrutiny role to its existing agenda. Councillors in both areas were firstly asked why they had chosen the particular format they had. In Easton they had decided to create a new stand-alone committee for the purpose of scrutiny.

> "We chose to have one committee, committees are very expensive to run…"
> Locally Elected Representative 06 Easton

> "…we did have a review of governance arrangements…they said they wanted something different from Health and Social care, that's got a hugely busy

agenda and massive portfolio, I can tell you… so I don't think that would have had enough and the alternative was putting it down… it's better to have it as a standalone and in its proper place" Locally Elected Representative 02 Easton

In Easton the focus for councillors in creating a stand-alone scrutiny group has been to ensure that the police scrutiny processes employed would reflect the importance that the councillor's place on local policing which in turn is reflected in the local policing plans. The data collected also shows that the decision to create a single group was generally supported across all parties in Easton although there was some discussion around the creation of a Community Safety Committee.

When councillors in Longphort were asked the reasoning behind their decision to add the scrutiny role to an existing committee the members stated that in general the feeling was that there were already too many council committees.

"Simply to minimise the proliferation of committees…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

"…the reason is that it is *the* committee of the council, which has the overall scrutiny and monitoring role as a council" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

"Because the administration did not want to set up a separate committee… which they could have done. They didn't want to set up a subcommittee which would have been a sub-committee Police, Fire and Rescue and only had the two items on the agenda Police and Fire and Rescue… we proposed a blue light committee…As our second best we would have gone for a subcommittee, but both of these got knocked back…our reading was that they just wanted to get it slotted in, dealt with and move on. We are deeply, deeply unhappy about the present [local] government's arrangements for police and fire in Longphort" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

It would seem that the format employed for police scrutiny in Longphort is not a fixed or permanent concept as the idea of introducing a stand-alone blue light committee was discussed by many committee members and had not been ruled out completely. The data

collected found that there was a very strong desire that the concept of a stand-alone blue light committee should be revisited in the near future in Longphort.

> "The present arrangements are not ones that satisfy us as opposition, we proposed something different but on the numbers that was knocked back…"
> Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

> "…there has always been some concern that we would be better with a blue light committee, so that is still under consideration…there might have been some internal tensions in some of the other groups because one councillor had his eye on the chairmanship of it and his colleagues were not too keen on him getting it…so they shunted it to a big committee therefore there was not any question of that" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

The comments cited above highlight potential issues for scrutiny members around the flexibility offered by the Reform Act for each local authority to create their own method of scrutineering.

9.4 National and Local Dynamics of Post Reform Scrutiny
The data collected which focused on participants' perceptions of the new governance and accountability arrangements post reform produced results which highlighted that the relationship dynamics between the national body of the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) and local scrutiny groups and importantly between police managers and local scrutiny members had altered from that which had existed prior to reform. This section will firstly discuss the findings which relate to the working relationships between the national and local bodies, before examining those related to the relationship between local commanders and scrutiny members in Easton and Longphort.

The findings from this project highlight key themes around weakened relationships and ambiguous roles particularly surrounding the newly formed local authority scrutiny committees. At the time of data collection many committee members and police managers appeared to be unsure of the exact roles that each should be taking with regards to scrutiny.

> "…We have the SPA and to me they are the only game in town, this is just me, locally it (LA) doesn't deliver any scrutiny it's not their role anymore" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

> "…the relationship? I wouldn't say there is one… it's all a bit dysfunctional at the moment…there just doesn't seem to be a relationship" Locally Elected Representative 05 Easton

> "I have got no knowledge of that …if there are meetings that have included them (SPA) I have not been included" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

One councillor from Easton, who was a member of the pre reform police board in the area was especially critical, adding that their perception was that overall the national body had no interest in local committees.

> "…the SPA are not particularly interested in us…there has been nothing put in place yet unless the SPA suddenly become very interested in building this relationship… I sense from the convener that there is a sense of frustration" Local Council Scrutiny Member 05 Easton.

From the extracts above it appears that there is a general consensus across case study areas that there has been no joint working or support from the national body. The consensus between the councillors interviewed who cross political divides and geographical locations, suggests that fully robust scrutiny mechanisms were not yet in place at the time of the field work being conducted.

To investigate the claims made regarding a perceived lack of relationship between the national body and local groups, SPA board members when interviewed were also asked to explain their understanding of the roles which they had to play in relation to local scrutiny groups. In the main the participants appeared to be aware of their intended role and discussed it in terms of direction and support.

> "It is my job to stay in touch with these committee's and provide a bridge between what is going on with local scrutiny at that level and what is going on at the board…our hope is that there is a continuum of scrutiny that runs through the SPA but joins up with the local scrutiny bodies and that is the bit that we are working on to try and help them understand that the scrutiny that takes place at a local authority level is of critical importance and they need to see any issues around scrutiny and referral to the SPA as a kind of open door…" SPA Board Member

> "… to liaise with local scrutiny groups…we just are there effectively to take issues from them and let them know how we are developing things and to hear anything at a local level which might affect how we are thinking about policing at a strategic level" SPA Board Member

However, the SPA statements contrast with those made above by local scrutiny members from both case study areas. I would therefore, conclude that at the time of field work the SPA were, as described by many councillors, still 'settling in' to their new roles and they were not at that particular moment in time ready to proceeded under their full remit in terms of local scrutiny arrangements.

Similar findings were reported across both case studies traversing geographical locations and temporal points which adds support to the parallel claims from both areas, that there was no existing formal or informal relationship between local authority scrutiny groups and the SPA at the time of fieldwork. However, although there was a general consensus many of the participants were also aware that it was still relatively early in the reform process and, as with many other questions, their replies came with an additional caveat that it was possible that this situation could change over time.

A lack of any formal working relationship between the two bodies raises further important questions regarding the effectiveness of post reform police governance and accountability. If there is no relationship between the national oversight body and local police scrutiny groups at the local level, how can either the SPA or the Scottish Government be sure that effective

scrutiny is being carried out at a local level across Scotland? In an attempt to answer this

question members of the SPA were asked what evidence they would require to indicate that

local scrutiny was working well locally and if indeed there was a benchmark to which they

could refer. None of the SPA board members questioned were able to answer this.

> "I'm not sure what you would use for effective scrutiny really other than the volume of activity and looking at the quality of scrutiny that is going on…"
> SPA Board Member

> "Well I think at this stage it is still very much anecdotal about how people are performing, I would hope that at the end of the work the government has sponsored there will be a study around it to at least get scrutiny body views of it and I think we as SPA have to start either through police surveys or our own or whatever start to work on whether or not the police are properly reacting to locally identified priorities…That is the sort of longer term piece of work" SPA Board Member

It would therefore appear that at the time of field work, no formal mechanisms had been put

in place to monitor how post reform scrutiny was being operationalised by local scrutiny

committees from a national perspective.

Relationships between local authorities and their local police is a fundamental concept which

underpins section 45 of the Reform Act *Local Authority Role in Policing*, with local

relationships also being a focus for the HMICS (2013) report *A Thematic Inspection of the*

development of local police plans and local fire and rescue plans and associated

arrangements for local scrutiny where they refer to "the creation of strong formal

relationships between local authorities and the services…" (ibid 2013:4). When questioned

regarding their new relationships senior police managers from both Longphort and Easton

were in agreement that a combination of the implementation of reforms, the removal of

police fiscal powers from local authorities and specifically the introduction of a new national

governance body in the SPA had altered relationships at a local level.

> "…the dynamics of the relationship have changed they (Local Authority) no longer have control of the purse strings with regard policing and that has changed the relationship…" Senior Police Manager 01 Longphort (M 21)

With some police managers suggesting that there is also now confusion amongst scrutiny members as to what their role should be post reform, which they link to a lack of support and training for scrutiny members as discussed above.

> "What would be good for a local point of view is for scrutiny boards to be more aware of what their role is and I think that is one that they really need to grasp because I don't think they really do know what their role is and there is maybe a role for the SPA to be taking that out and speaking to councils…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 22)

The extracts above show the impact on police management's perceptions of local governance arrangements now that the statutory powers once held at a police board level have been transferred to the national body. In some cases, police managers were quite explicit in their view of local scrutiny stating that the only scrutiny they have to consider is that from a national level and that post reform there is no local accountability.

> "…I don't think it can be the same, whenever governance mechanisms change, we can't serve two masters and the SPA are the people, we answer to the SPA. …" Middle Manager 01 Easton (M 18)

> "We have the SPA and to me they are the only game in town…locally it (LA) doesn't deliver any scrutiny it's not their role anymore" Middle Manager 01 Longphort (M 30)

> "…the councillors on scrutiny committee are hankering back to look at the influence they had when they were police board members making demands and things…you have no right to close counters, or change shifts etc.…well actually you have no right to object because that is not the new governance framework…" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

The comments cited above highlight the short comings experienced by those involved in the current local scrutiny arrangements and how these are being operationalised at a local

authority level. These experiences are in contrast to the Scottish Governments' stated aims of

reforms, where they claimed that reform would strengthen connections between the service

and the communities they serve.

9.5 Police Perceptions of National Scrutiny Arrangements
In order to provide a holistic view of the new scrutiny and governance arrangements post

reform it was decided to include police managers and their perceptions and experiences of

scrutiny in the project. In contrast to the above statements from local councillors, when senior

managers from Police Scotland where questioned they generally believed that they were now

under more scrutiny than they have ever been before.

> "…I think the level of scrutiny in the national basis of policing nationally has
> never been as far reaching or as intrusive as it is just now…it helps validate
> what we do and also identify whether we might not be quite hitting the mark.
> But it's quite a beast to serve…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (M 21)

> "There is more scrutiny than we have ever had…" Senior Police Manager 01
> Longphort (M 20)

However, there were also indications from police managers that from within the policing

organisation the understanding was that in connection to police scrutiny the national body of

the SPA were the only body who could hold the police to account marginalising the role of

the local scrutiny committees.

> "…it is the SPA who hold the chief to account for policing across
> Scotland…they are the ultimate masters in that sense in terms of holding the
> chief to account…" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

National scrutiny however, did not fulfil an accountability agenda that was thought relevant

for all policing regions in Scotland with a senior police manager claiming that currently

scrutiny conducted by the SPA was not always focused on the most relevant local data, citing

an example of the controversial stop and search practice.

> "…but it's that level of scrutiny that and I think most of us are saying, you
> are looking in the wrong place… it's a low crime area and the last thing I
> want to be doing is going out and stirring up the community by stopping and
> searching every second person that walks in the street for no real reason…"
> Senior Police Manager 01 Longphort (M 25)

The extract above emphasises the different approaches which were taken to the delivery of

local policing across Scotland prior to reform and the perception that these approaches are

now being compromised in relation to national scrutiny focus on data which is not always

suited to the local context.

9.6 Reflecting on the 'Quantity' and 'Quality' of Local scrutiny
When the outline business case for police reform was presented it included a suggestion by

the Scottish Government that pre-existing police boards were showing various democratic

short fallings. The premise of post reform local scrutiny as set out in the Reform Act was

therefore presented as a way to increase the overall numbers of locally elected representatives

involved in policing with the then Justice Minister stating in a press release that "…we will

ensure more local councillors have a say in shaping services in their area" (Scottish

Government Web Site) whilst at the same time enhancing democratic representation.

This section of the thesis will explore how local scrutiny has been experienced by those

involved post reform, by focusing on the impact of an increase in the numbers of local

councillors now involved in police scrutiny, the training which has been provided to support

these councillors in their scrutineering role and their access to the relevant police data which

they require to carry out their role.

9.6.1 The Quantity of Local Scrutiny

In their Annual Report for the year to 31 March 2014, the SPA claim that "Together with our local authority partners, more elected councillors than ever before are involved in scrutinising policing. We have strengthened relationships, clarified roles, and mobilised around a future direction and purpose" (Vic Emery Chair SPA Foreword to report 2014:3).

When members of the local scrutiny groups were questioned regarding claims made by the Scottish Government and the SPA that more elected councillors were now involved with policing scrutiny members agreed that in general and across both case study areas, there had been a slight increase in locally elected members post reform.

> "…it increased the amount of councillors on it by a couple of bodies" Local Council Scrutiny Members 01 Easton

> "When we had the Police Board there were slightly more elected members involved…" Local Council Scrutiny Members 07 Easton

However, this can be accounted for by comparing the total number of councillors who were members of the pre-reform joint board(s) and the number of councillors who now only focus on Easton within their standalone committee. Overall the replies concerning the numbers of elected representatives involved in scrutiny at a local level support the claims put forward that reform would increase their numbers.

From the perspective of this project the largest increase in elected members involved in police scrutiny was in Longphort and was the result of the scrutiny of policing being added to the agenda of an existing group that was also the largest committee in the council having a full complement of councillors at each meeting, which in general terms lasts around one hour. Although the councillors agreed that there were more of them now involved in local police scrutiny.

"There are more people involved but I am also prepared to bet without any hard evidence that the scrutiny and the audit of the police in [this area] is much less than it was in the old police board, much less, in fact it is tokenism of the worst kind…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

Others were concerned that perhaps a committee of the full council membership was not the correct group to add police and fire scrutiny to.

"…the size of the agendas are frequently huge …we are usually under pretty massive pressure of time and again not just in terms of the actual function of the committee, but in terms of the preparations for the committee…it's just that there is more than enough other matters coming up at the committee…we have got plenty of other things to occupy ourselves with" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

The discussions cited above highlight just some of the specific difficulties faced by this committee in being a large group with a relatively demanding agenda who have taken over responsibility for police scrutiny at a local level. When probing further on how police scrutiny was incorporated into the committee's meetings in Longphort it was explained to me that as the agenda is so large, the committee had decided to place reports of police and fire as items one and two on the agenda with one councillor adding.

"…police is more important than fire and rescue so they go first then comes fire and rescue and then we get on to all the other agenda items" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

Another councillor explained that having scrutiny as part of an already busy agenda had entailed them organising behind closed door informal meetings with the local commander in order to drill down into some of the more pressing items,

"…that is why we tend to have an informal session prior to the formal meeting…because we can spend a couple of hours with our police and fire colleagues and really flush out some of the community issues and have some maybe of the more difficult conversations that we wouldn't have in the public forum" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

With this in mind I then questioned participants further regarding why the role of police scrutiny in Longphort had been incorporated into this larger and fuller committee. Initially there appeared to be two main reasons given, one being the number of existing committees and the costs incurred to run them with the second being more politically motivated.

> "…when Police Scotland was made up the council made a decision to simply have the police report to this committee. But there has always been some concern that we would be better with a blue light committee…to minimise the proliferation of committees and there might have been some internal tensions in some of the other groups because one councillor had his eye on the chairmanship of it and his colleagues were not too keen on him getting it…so they shunted it to a big committee…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

The impact of financial constraints and local politics (for a fuller discussion on the impact of local politics on scrutiny see section 9.4 below) on scrutiny arrangements across the variety of councils in Scotland is perhaps something that has been overlooked by both the Scottish Government and the SPA in relation to how local scrutiny arrangements are being operationalised across Scotland.

9.6.2 The Quality of Local Scrutiny

In their joint report looking at best practice in scrutiny, Audit Scotland and HMICS (2012) also question the potential robustness of local police scrutiny post reform. Their publication is based on the lack of support and training which is/was available to local scrutiny groups for their role. The report argues that pre reform it was found that there were ongoing issues with existing police boards and that overall it was found that "…members responsible for almost two thirds of Scotland's policing [were] playing a passive role in setting a vision for local policing" (ibid 2012:1). The report suggests there had been pre-existing issues leading to weak and ineffective local scrutiny in many authorities across the country, due they claim, to a general lack of training and support for local scrutineers. Providing specific

scrutineering training they argue would offer members of these groups the opportunity "…to improve their confidence and capacity to lead and scrutinise police activity" (ibid 2012:14). The report then goes on to suggest that post reform members of both national and local governance bodies should "…receive appropriate training on their respective roles…and be provided with appropriate support to carry out these roles effectively" (ibid 2012:15).

Training for local scrutineers was also highlighted as fundamental to effective scrutineering in a joint report written by the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) and Improvement Services in 2013 which offered guidelines based on best practice to local authorities on their new scrutiny role post reform with claims that "…training and support for scrutineers across different disciplines" (ibid 2013:9) is characteristic of scrutiny best practice.

In order to examine if these recommendations regarding training from Audit Scotland, HMICS, COSLA and Improvement Services had been adopted and implemented post reform, elected members from the newly formed police scrutiny groups where asked if they had received any form of training for their new roles. All of those interviewed from both Longphort and Easton stated that they had received no formal training of any kind.

> "What, to be on this? No, no, no…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

> "…nothing specific for this committee… who is going to train us to scrutinise? This would be one of the big questions…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 08 Easton

> "For police? No, absolutely not. We have a separate scrutiny and audit committee, but that has no role with police…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

> "Not for the police committee… [if] the police board want to share confidential information with us they should be providing training but

everyone is very, very busy. Training for things like that is quite often "scaterogical" Local Council Scrutiny Member 06 Easton

As can be seen from the extracts above there is an overall consensus within and between case study areas that no formal training had been received by any local scrutineers at the time of data collection. The lack of specific training received by local councillors for their new scrutiny role post reform echoes the original concerns raised by Audit Scotland. HMICS and COSLA regarding how ineffective pre reform scrutiny groups had been in "…challenging the service on performance…in a robust, constructive and purposeful way…" (COSLA 2013:14) without the necessary training required. Training for local scrutineers was again highlighted by HMICS in their report published in 2012 on the previous joint policing board which covered the Easton local authority area. In the report HMICS state that in order to aid board members fulfil their role more effectively there was a requirement for them to receive specialist training and support.

Taking into account the general statements made by local scrutineers from Longphort and Easton regarding their lack of training, it would appear that there is a strong possibility that going forward local scrutiny post reform will be conducted in a similar way with the same issues being experienced as pre reform, ultimately impacting on the quality of local scrutiny being conducted. Interestingly when members of the SPA were asked at interview about delivering training for local scrutineers there was agreement that it was a requirement.

"…there needs to be an understanding of what we are doing here, what we expect of them and what they expect of us…"SPA Board Member

However, there was also agreement that it was not the responsibility of the SPA to provide any formal training.

> "...I don't think it is for the SPA to do it directly. I would be happy if we got involved in work to explain our work and that might be appropriate going forwards but I would hope that would be supplied or arranged by the improvement service or COSLA or something…" SPA Board Member

Therefore, at the time of data collection there were no official processes in place to ensure that training was being provided to local scrutineers raising questions as to how the post reform local scrutiny arrangements would be able to offer more effective and efficient levels of scrutiny as promised.

The lack of training provided to members of local scrutiny groups such as that in Longphort which is a full membership committee with on average fifty councillors taking part with a forty item agenda also raises questions as to the quality of scrutiny which is being conducted and was a major theme in the replies from group members in Longphort.

> **"**We have chosen a path in Longphort that I think is inappropriate and doesn't give due regard for the importance of the police in our society…they are important parts but they need the checks and balances…local accountability through the local authority is not the only… but is an important part of that…we are not doing it justice bottom line…we are not giving due regard to the importance of police and fire and rescue within Longphort as a whole…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

Before adding that this increase in councillors came at a cost.

> "…but I am also prepared to bet without any hard evidence that the scrutiny and the audit of the police in [this area] is much less than it was in the old police board, much less, in fact it is tokenism of the worst kind…" Local Council Scrutiny Member02 Longphort

9.6.2 Access to Data

In terms of the data and reports which were to be given to local scrutiny groups the Reform Act in Chapter 7, section 45 sets out that

"A local commander must provide to the local authority such-

(a) Reports on the carrying out of police functions in its area (including by reference to any local policing plan in the force area)

(b) Statistical information on complaints made about the police service in, or the policing of its area

(c) Other information about the policing of its area

As the local authority may reasonably require"

As discussed above, the use of the word **"must"** indicates that it is a requirement for local commanders to provide this data however, from a policing perspective it was reported that local scrutiny groups were being given the relevant data to scrutinise by local commanders.

> "…all police data is published and given to scrutiny boards…"Senior Police Manager 01 Longphort (M 22)

> "…the data was always provided to local authority levels and it still is…" Senior Police Manager 02 Easton (F 25)

However, there are no details given in the Reform Act as to the quality of the reports which should be provided by the police to their individual committees with the language used indicating an ambiguity with regards to which specific details should be included. This relates to a further theme which emerged from the data particularly from members of the local scrutiny committees where it became apparent that they were in the main dissatisfied with both the quality and quantity of the data they were receiving from Police Scotland to be scrutinised.

> "… [the committee] has no decision making powers what so ever and it can only scrutinise and analyse the statistical information that it is given and brought to us by the local commander…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

> "…the first meeting we had I was hurting quite a lot… I could see what we had lost and this complete farce with two bits of paper…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 05 Easton

Whilst another councillor explained that compared to what had been provided to the old

police board, the reports now presented to the committee were imprecise and vague.

> "…some of the statistics presented to the old board were quite comprehensive; the first interim scrutiny committee the information we got from Police Scotland was to say the least quite sparse…we had how do I put it, some heated exchanges at the very first one or two meetings…but recently the commander has been bringing along a bit more information than before and hopefully that will improve over the coming time when we start asking questions…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Easton

One councillor in Easton, who had been a member of the previous police board felt so strongly about the lack of data from Police Scotland that when I turned up for the arranged interview he was waiting with copies of documents from the old police board to show me.

> " I have some examples here for you, showing what was previously submitted…one which is thirty-four pages long and then as they were winding down something like that (five page document) and Police Scotland came about and we get a three page document…now that's the definition of it changing or not changing…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 08 Easton

In relation to this issue brought up by a scrutiny member, in terms of the quality and quantity of data received there was a mixed response in Longphort with councillors replying that in general they perceived the quality and quantity of reports to be on par with what they had been previously supplied to the police board. One councillor added that if the reports did not meet the expectations of the committee they would simply request the data they required and it would be supplied at the next meeting.

> "It's good, yes we get all the…we just ask for manpower and we get it, we get car thefts, house breaking, disturbances… there is a bit about manpower we asked about that and we got it the next time…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

However, a member of a partner organisation in Longphort who has been involved in local police scrutiny did raise concerns similar to those raised in Easton concerning the quality of

the data put before the committee and suggested that in their opinion the scope and detail

contained in the reports was not as robust as it could be.

> "…I think the information that we are getting is quite light to be
> honest…we had a report last Tuesday but it's all very light weight…we
> did this initiative and this happened…there is nothing about we only have
> twenty cops for the whole area and at least two weekends out of three
> there is nobody on shift…so all that nitty gritty is all left out…so it feels a
> wee bit light weight but the principal is sound and helpful." Partner
> Organisation Longphort

The scope and detail of the reports given to scrutiny groups post reform was also highlighted

by COSLA as an issue in their submission to the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing's call

for evidence on the impact of police reform in local policing in 2014. In their submission just

one year after the implementation of reform, COSLA discuss their member's perceptions of

there being an increase in national priority reporting at local scrutiny meetings to the

detriment of local priorities. The submission by COSLA also supports the claims made above

by the councillor from Easton who raised the idea that scrutiny groups can only work with the

data provided to them by emphasising that local scrutineers are "…restricted by what

information or data sets…can be made available to local members" (ibid 2014:4).

In Chapter 7, section 45 (4) of the Reform Act it states that *"A local authority may provide

feedback by reference to any local police plan in force for the area"*. When discussing the

role of locally elected members in the planning and construction of local policing plans the

general consensus from both case study locations was that councillors were frustrated that

they had no input to local plans and that recent plans had been presented to the committee as

a final document.

"…we were presented with the Police Scotland Policing Plan, I might have expected that to come in a draft report and then on approval of the committee after scrutiny. It's appeared to me to be a "fait accompli" Local Council Scrutiny Member 08 Easton

"…we have had no say in the (first) policing plan…it was presented as a fait a-compli and I think that kind of contradicts the national message that it is going to be a local plan…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Easton

In addition, councillors from both areas were also asked if they were aware of any conflict resolution processes that had been put in place that could be employed where a policing plan was put before them that contained priorities or plans that the committee did not or could not agree with.

"… they can comment but if the local commander says I am going to do this you know I am going to put policemen on the street of Longphort wearing a gun as is a current…I don't think [we] have any kind of strength to say no *you're not, they may* say they don't like it which they probably would, but they don't have the authority to say no that's a step too far you are not going to do that…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

"…it doesn't have any statutory role other than approval of the policing plans and it is even… it remains completely unclear and being completely candid if the local commander comes to the committee and says well if you didn't approve it I am not even sure what happens then?" Local Council Scrutiny Member03 Longphort

When members of the SPA board were interviewed they were also asked if they were aware of any processes in place, or future plans to put in place processes that would support this level of conflict. They also claimed that they were unaware of any processes.

"I don't think there are processes and plans… there is no formal framework for capturing that as such" SPA Board Member

With one member suggesting that this lack of provision was based on government plans and that in the end it would be something that each committee and their local commander would have to resolve on their own.

> "There are informal processes in place but there is no formal dispute resolution mechanism. That was a decision that government took in putting things in place the way they did… I would hope that we never needed it… it's about them negotiating things with the divisional commander" SPA Board Member

This concern around a lack of conflict resolution processes being in place should scrutiny members not agree with local policing plans was also presented to the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing's call for evidence on the impact of police reform on local policing by COSLA in 2014 where they stated that "…there is real uncertainty and concern over what happens should members not agree part or all of the plan presented to them. There appears to be a lack of clarity as to the escalation process for councils between The Police Service of Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority" COSLA 2014.

At this time, it is still unclear if further thought has been given to how potential conflicts would be resolved and if there are plans to put in place processes which would support resolution between local scrutineers and Police Scotland if it should arise.

9.6.3 Post reform scrutiny in comparison to what went before
Participants from both case study areas were also asked to discuss their own experiences and recent perceptions of post reform scrutiny and to explain how they felt this to be compared to their understanding or knowledge of pre-reform governance processes. As per the submission by COSLA discussed above, councillors from across the case study areas were in general agreement that post reform governance and scrutiny did not appear to be as effective as it had been prior to reform with a major theme from the data reflecting councillor's negative perceptions of post reform scrutiny. In Easton the general feeling was that there was less scrutiny post reform.

> "…It's not enough compared to what went before…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Easton

"…councillors played a major part in that (police boards) and that just doesn't happen anymore, so it's a big change. And aspects of policing have been introduced in this area that many councillors are not happy about."
Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

Councillors in Longphort echoed the claims from Easton when asked to comment on their experiences of post reform scrutiny arrangements.

"…Well not very effectively" Local Council Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

"…there is no desire or no culture to have incisive questions that actually dig something out, particularly on the committee" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Longphort

In support of the councillors above who stated that the post reform scrutiny was not being conducted as effectively as pre reform, an HMICS report which examined the pre reform joint policing board which covered the Longphort area stated that overall it was found that board members actively scrutinised and challenged police reports and figures in a constructive manner and were in the main focused on supporting improvements. And one Longphort councillor referring back to our conversation regarding the choice of committee suggested that adding police scrutiny to one of the largest committees on the council has in itself delivered some functional irregularities.

"…if the administration do not wish that line of questioning… the chairman in our committees have enormous power they basically can ignore the standing orders of the council and cannot be questioned…they can stop a councillor or not recognise a councillor from asking a question, they can stop a councillor half way through asking a question and they can say we don't want you to ask that question and you cannot in anyway contradict the chairman of the committee. The power is meant for the good order of the committee, but it is used politically" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

In contrast when questioned regarding their experience of post reform local scrutiny the majority of senior police managers were under the impression that there was now more

scrutiny on local policing than occurred previously.

> "There is more scrutiny than we have ever had…" Senior Police Manager 04
> Longphort (M 22)

With a senior manager from Easton suggesting that the increased scrutiny they were experiencing originated at the national level opposed to the local level.

> "We are under far more scrutiny from a national level now…" Middle Manager 03
> Easton

However, one senior manager from Longphort did report that they believed prior to reform they had been able to provide more in depth data to local police boards and that new way of working was detrimental to providing the most effective local data.

> "…well we have been doing this for the last three years and moreover we
> are providing data quarterly and its aggregated down to a much lower
> level that Police Scotland are going to do…see if we do this we will be
> going backwards…" Senior Police Manager Longphort

9.7 The Politics of Local Scrutiny
The different party political backgrounds of each of the elected members was very much on show during the interviews conducted with local councillors and at times the interviews could be said to mirror political party broadcasts. During interviews many participants simple repeated their party philosophy with regards to government centralisation and policing which caused the interviews to be generally over an hour long and necessitated a more focused approach to managing the interview. An additional theme which emerged from these interviews centred around the political impact on police scrutiny, particularly in Longphort. In the main, councillors from Easton were proud to say that as far as possible they have been attempting to operated local scrutiny apolitically,

"We don't see it as political we are quite good at dividing what's political"
Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

In contrast to the statements made by scrutiny members a senior police manager based in

Easton, stated during interview that post reform they believed the influence of local politics

had increased in Easton.

"I get caught in the sort of local politics, and in Easton it's a coalition the
SNP and Labour…the labour party are obviously at loggerheads with the
SNP trying to undermine anything they do so then they don't agree with you
know the single force…and the others just jump in on individual issues
depending on where they see it being. So you find yourself being very
politicised even locally" Senior Police Manager 01 Easton (M 20)

The data collected in Longphort indicated there had also been a significantly large political

division in both the setting up and operation of the scrutiny committee.

"There is often political points scoring" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01
Longphort

"…the SNP are a big powerful group but are not the ruling party so it's a
nightmare trying to manage relationships locally because you then become
the political football and if the SNP think it's a good thing then the rest say
well we don't like that, when privately they will say I quite like that but this
is a political thing don't take it personally and I think well that's not good for
the community… the Lib Dems and the Conservatives locally don't like this
notion of policing being held to account by one scrutiny body" Local Council
Scrutiny Member 02 Longphort

When asked to explain the impact of this perceived politicisation in terms of the

responsibilities of the members involved in scrutinising local policing and local policing

plans, councillors in Longphort described situations which highlight how far some of the

councillors were prepared to go to support their own individual parties approach to the

national force.

"… I do have concerns although for political reasons I don't tend to raise
them…the issue on Stop and search is causing a lot of concern but politically

we don't intend to pursue it…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01
Longphort

"…my party is the party of government you see, so I am not going to say
anything bad about the Scottish Government I will be honest with you…It's
supposed to be non-political, it isn't but it's supposed to be…" Councillor 02
Longphort

The extracts above offer examples of how fragile the scrutiny of local policing is under the

pressure of local party politics. That members are concerned regarding the local impact of

Police Scotland policies such as Stop and Search and allow their party politics to influence

how vigorously they scrutinise or question the local commander which raises questions as to

how robust the new arrangements will be.

The issue of local politics and the potential influence they could have on local scrutiny was

also highlighted by an SPA board member during interview. The concerns raised correlates

particularly with Longphort in that scrutiny has been placed on a committee which includes

the full council.

"…my only concern about that is that as they meet as the whole council, there
are political issues around that…having some politics in it is not a problem on
its own but having them can mean that they start to focus on some spending
and stuff and what the outcomes are and how they can work better which
won't necessarily help things" SPA Board member

9.8 A Local Democratic Deficit? Feelings of disengagement at the local level
Within the Reform Act it is stated that "[A] local authority *may* monitor…" (Chapter 7,

Section 45 (2)), "…*may* specify policing measures…" (Section 45 (3)) and "…*may* provide

feedback…" (Section 45 (4)). The wording of this section is important in terms of the post

reform powers held by local authorities, particularly when compared to how the Reform Act

discusses the roles and responsibilities of both the local commanders and members of the

SPA board. In general, when referring to the SPA the Reform Act informs us that "…the

Authority ***must***…" (Chapter 1 section 3 (1)), or "…the authority ***must*** comply with…"
(Section 5 (1)) and in a similar way it refers to how the "…local commander ***must*** involve…"
(Chapter 7, section 45 (1)) and "A local commander ***must*** provide" (Chapter 7, Section 45
(5)).

The use of ***"may"*** when referring to local authorities can be seen as the local authority having
been given permission to specify police measures or provide feedback with the connotation
being that there is no formal or statutory requirement for the local commander to fulfil any
request put forward signifying a loss of power over local policing matters. In contrast when
referring to both the roles and responsibilities of local commanders and members of the SPA
board we are informed that they ***"must",*** indicating that there is a formal requirement to
involve or provide information as requested.

The loss of statutory powers at a local level emerged as a key theme when analysing the data
collected from scrutiny committee members whilst discussing post reform scrutiny and how
they compared with what went before. Terpstra and Fyfe (2015) also discuss this loss of
power at a local level which they claim leaves scrutiny groups with the ability to request
"…information and reports from the local police commander…" (ibid 2015:8). Similarly to
the other themes around local scrutiny, there was a general consensus from across both case
study areas and from a variety of participant groups that post reform local scrutiny groups
had been stripped of what they felt were the necessary powers required to hold the local
commander to account.

> "As far as I am aware we have no formal powers, none…" Local Council Scrutiny
> Member 01 Easton

> "…we have to do and accept that we have lost that proper scrutiny role we
> have lost the leavers of powers…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 08
> Easton

Scrutiny members from Longphort echoed the experiences found in Easton

> "…there are no powers involved in this scrutiny other than the fact off
> signing of the local policing plan… it is all…a kind of enquiry function…it's
> not a police board, it doesn't have any statutory role other than approval of
> the policing plans" Local Council Scrutiny Member 04 Longphort

One councillor suggested that they believed the only option left to local scrutiny members

was.

> "…that ability to embarrass the police" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03
> Longphort

When discussing the new arrangements for local scrutiny with a participant from a police

partner organisation they also highlighted their own concerns regarding the powers held by

scrutiny groups in relation to their ability to influence local policing plans put forward by the

local commander.

> "…all of our councillors get a chance to comment, but whether they really get
> a chance to influence it, I don't know" Partner Organisation Longphort

Overall the main justification given by scrutiny members for the perceived ineffectiveness of

post reform scrutiny at a local level was based on their post reform non-executive role which

it was argued prevents each committee from fully engaging in effective scrutiny of local

policing plans.

> "There is no scrutiny and we know that, what the committee is doing is
> monitoring the performance of the police…" Local Council Scrutiny
> Member 03 Longphort

> "…all that is actually happening is that power and control is being taken away
> from local authorities and centralised to central government…" Local Council
> Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

> "Well, I have come to the conclusion that there is no scrutiny role because
> there is no power to get an answer, if they don't want to answer its quite clear
> they don't have to. Or they could answer in such a way as to avoid answering
> the question" Local Council Scrutiny Member 03 Longphort

With one scrutiny member from Easton commenting that post reform arrangements have engendered a feeling of powerlessness amongst many of the group.

> "…we are a clawless and toothless pussy cat" Local Council Scrutiny Member 05 Easton

Interestingly a senior police manager from Longphort replied in an almost identical manner regarding his perceptions of the new arrangements around local scrutiny employing a similarly analogy set in a negative tone and word choice.

> "…the scrutiny boards are toothless tigers they have no control" Senior Police Manager 03 Longphort (M 26)

The similarity of tone and word choice from across the different case study areas and from different participant groups could be suggestive of how strong feelings are in relation to the perceived withdrawal of statutory powers from the local to the national level. It therefore remains to be seen if the new post reform local scrutiny arrangements will eventually have the ability to fill the gaps which were evident in the tripartite system of governance and provide the level of effective police scrutiny that is required. This was supported by the caveats added by the majority of scrutiny members from across both case study areas which indicated that their perception was that in time local scrutiny could improve with the help and support of the SPA board members.

When members of the local scrutiny groups were questioned regarding the claim made by the Scottish Government and the SPA that more elected councillors were now involved with policing, scrutiny members agreed that in general and across both case study areas, there had been a slight increase in locally elected members post reform.

> "…it increased the amount of councillors on it by a couple of bodies" Local Council Scrutiny Member 01 Easton

> "When we had the Police Board there were slightly more elected members involved…" Local Council Scrutiny Member 07 Easton

Both the above councillors are members of the same scrutiny group but offer contrasting views, however this can be accounted for by comparing the total number of councillors who were members of the pre-reform joint board and the number of councillors who now only focus on Easton within their standalone committee. Overall the replies concerning the numbers of elected representatives involved in scrutiny at a local level support the claims put forward that reform would increase their numbers.

9.8 Conclusion
There are three key issues which inform the discussion in this chapter; firstly, with regards to the quantity and quality of post reform local police scrutiny, the national and local dynamics of local scrutiny, and finally has reform delivered a more democratic form of police governance.

The findings reported in this chapter which relate to the new local and national police scrutiny arrangements show that both senior police managers and local scrutiny members are in agreement that, at the time of data collection there was less police scrutiny taking place in Scotland. In key themes emerging from the data, it became obvious that for many senior police managers, their only focus in terms of police governance and accountability was the SPA. Many of these participants defined the national police governance board as being the only body with the powers to hold the police to account, with a general agreement that local authorities now have no role to play in police accountability locally.

The findings above indicate that the flexibility offered to local authorities within the Reform Act, which allowed them to decide how best they should carry out their local scrutiny, did not

take into account the role that local politics and infighting would play in the setting up and operation of scrutiny committees. As has been reported in this chapter, many of the local council scrutiny members from both Easton and Longphort raised concerns regarding the current methods employed to scrutinise local policing in their own areas, which they argued was being duplicated across local authorities in Scotland. In Longphort particularly there were specific issues raised by scrutiny members which focused on the regularity of police scrutiny meetings being conducted behind closed doors, which they claimed was due to the time constraints placed on the committee responsible for scrutiny, and in Easton the most common responses produced by councillors related to their loss of any executive role in local policing.

Although attempting to be non-descriptive in its purpose, the act in allowing such a degree of flexibility with regards to the construction of local scrutiny committees, has inadvertently indorsed a less structured approach to local police scrutiny and ignored previous best practice. For many local councillors the variety and complexity of the new police governance landscape post reform, has potentially created a democratic deficit which is equal to if not larger than that which was associated with the old tripartite system.

When placed together the statements from committee members cited above with regards to an absence of any formal connection between the local and national bodies, a lack of any training to support their 'new' scrutineering roles, having less data from the police to scrutinise and the loss of any executive powers regarding local policing, it is clear that the reform aim focused on the ability "…to strengthen the connection between services and communities" has not as yet been attained. Importantly, the comments above also contradict the recommendations published in a joint report by Audit Scotland and HMICS in 2012,

(discussed in section 9.2.1 above) which stated that post reform the roles and responsibilities of each group, local and national, should be clearly articulated and that each member should receive the appropriate training required to enable them to carry out these roles effectively.

As discussed throughout this thesis, the findings reported are taken from a specific snapshot in time which was relatively early in the reform process. It would therefore be the recommendation of this chapter that further work should be conducted to examine how both local and national scrutiny arrangements are functioning at present.

10 Conclusions and Recommendations

"…WE MUST POLICE THROUGH THIS…DID WE GET OUR COPS THROUGH IT? IT DEPENDS…. WE COULD HAVE DONE MORE… WE COULD HAVE PUT IN MORE FACE TIME WHICH WAS A CHALLENGE HERE… I THINK THAT HASN'T HELPED US TO NURSE OUR PEOPLE THROUGH…"

SENIOR MANAGER 01 EASTON (M 26)

10.1 Introduction

Change within police organisations occurs on a regular basis, whether that be change in operational direction, focus, leadership or change to local working patterns. However, the recent police reform experienced in Scotland has brought both a new scope and level to police reform in the UK, notwithstanding the pace at which this particular reform took place. The introduction of a single police service for Scotland in 2013 has raised much debate regarding localism and how such a merger could impact on the delivery and practice of local policing.

The focus of this thesis was therefore to examine the ways, if any, that reform has impacted on local policing paying particular attention to a localised context, inclusive of the operationalisation and governance of local policing post reform. In order to achieve this, data was collected from within two distinct case study areas, an urban centrally based location, and a more rural location based in the Highlands of Scotland. Pre reform, both areas provided their own distinctive style of local policing suited to each local context.

In order to examine the impacts and any potential implications to local policing brought about by reform, a research framework was constructed based on three main research questions which are discussed in Chapter 1;

Research Question 1. How have police reforms and the processes of organisational change been experienced by police personnel in Scotland?

- The findings from this project show that reform was generally experienced by officers in both case study areas in a very similar way.

- Police personnel confirmed that change, although not of this level or scope, has always been an ongoing concept for the police organisation.

- Frontline officers and their supervisors claimed there was no opportunity through either the planning or implementation stages of change for them to join the consultation or provide feedback on reform and in the main they felt marginalised by the process.

- However, the pace of this particular change was found to be of concern to both frontline and management officers in Longphort and Easton with a consensus that it was implemented too quickly

- The implementation of many of the changes brought about by reform was more problematic for officers in Longphort due to their pre-reform low staffing levels which impacted on their capacity to change.

- Support provided to frontline officers throughout the reform process was varied within and between case study areas and appears to be based on individual leadership.

- Communication was an issue for all police staff during the implementation of reform based on the quantity and quality of electronic communications which were not always relevant to officers or their role.

Research question 2. In what ways has recent reform reconfigured local policing and how does this differ from pre-reform arrangements?

- The findings reported here show that reform has resulted in changes to the roles, resources and workloads of local policing personnel, increasing overall workloads and creating confusion around the post reform role of CP officers.

- The findings also show that there have been changes to local policing post reform which can be divided into five groupings;

- **A change in focus** – The introduction of Police Scotland has resulted in a change of focus away from prevention to a more enforcement led style of local policing.

- **Temporal Changes** – The realignment of CPT and response officers, a change to traditional working patterns for frontline and management personnel and an increase in abstractions have resulted in less community engagement post reform.

- **Geographical Change** – The removal of designated local beat areas for CPT officers has engendered a loss of local community knowledge

- **Accessing expertise** – On a more positive note officers reported that post reform it is now easier to access many specialist resources that were not available prior to reform such as access to the police helicopter. However, post reform it is now more difficult to access police dogs and many officers highlighted that the regional specialist units created post reform have been maned from the frontline resulting in a shortage of operational staff.

Research question 3. How do post reform local police governance and accountability arrangements now function across Scotland?
- At the time of data collection there was less police scrutiny taking place at a local level in both case study areas.

- Members of local scrutiny committees had received no training for their role as recommended by CoSLA and Improvement Services.

- Scrutiny board members claimed they were being given less data to scrutinise by Police Scotland than they had received previously in their police board roles.

- The flexibility provided in the legislation for each local authority to decide how best to organise their local committees has resulted in a more complex and less structured approach to scrutiny across Scotland and increased the impact of local politics on policing in both Easton and Longphort.

- At the time of fieldwork in Longphort and Easton there were no formal relationships between the local scrutiny members and the national oversight body the SPA.

10.2 Answering the research questions

In terms of answering these research questions, the thesis gathered new data which could be utilised to respond to all three research questions. Chapter 6 of this thesis sets out the perceptions of project participants with regards to their experiences of reform, and addresses research Question 1 above.

Participants from both Easton and Longphort reported that although change was not a new concept within the police organisation, and something with which they were more than familiar with, they could identify specific problems with regards to the recent reform. The three most common concerns raised by officers were related to the rapid pace and implementation of reform, the quantity and quality of communications they received throughout the reform process and importantly for frontline officers, a perception that there had been no opportunity for them to offer input or feedback during the reform process. On a more positive note however, participants from both case study areas were in agreement in terms of the level of support they had received from local supervisors and managers throughout the reform process. Amongst frontline officers there was a general agreement that

local management, themselves affected by the reform, had attempted to support them as best as they could through the process.

The findings produced from the data collected from police personnel, when summarised create the following list of frontline experiences of recent reform;

1. An understanding that change is a fundamental part of a modern policing and not something to be averse to.

2. However, the pace of recent reform created an unstable environment caused, officers claimed, by the constant operational changes which were difficult to keep up with.

3. There was an overall lack of consultation or feedback involving frontline officers in either the planning or the implementation of reforms.

4. Support provided to frontline staff was based on individual local leadership styles, and varied within and between regions.

5. There had been an over reliance on electronic communication, which in many cases included information being sent which did not relate to either the recipients role or rank resulting in many emails being deleted without being read.

Chapters 7 and 8 both focused on Research Question 2 above and provided an examination of participants' perceptions of changes to the delivery of local policing in Easton and Longphort. Again there was a general level of agreement amongst frontline police officers, with both case study areas reporting the following concerns regarding local policing;

- A reduced flexibility in the delivery of local policing.

- The impact on operational policing from the new augmented role of the area control room (ACR) in relation to the management of daily duties of officers.

- A lack of specific role definition for CPT officers which has caused confusion around specific roles and responsibilities for officers.

- A perception that there is now less time for local community engagement and joint partnership working brought about by the changes to shift patterns worked by CPT officers, and the removal of dedicated police beat areas.

- The removal of dedicated beat areas post reform and an increase in officer abstractions away from their neighbourhood areas, both of which have resulted in a loss of local knowledge.

- A critical shift in focus for police managers away from a local, proactive view towards KPI's and targets, which do not take account of CPT duties.

Of particular concern to many local officers across both Easton and Longphort was their perception that reform had resulted in a fundamental change in local policing style in their areas. Local officers stated that post reform there had been a general shift in the focus of local policing towards a more reactive, response and enforcement approach which was in contrast to the preventative style of local policing delivered prior to reform. In other words, many frontline officers from Easton and Longphort believed local policing post reform to have been reconfigured and rebranded almost beyond recognition in relation to pre-reform arrangements. This change in direction for the delivery of local policing was also discussed by police managers who argued that the removal of designated beat areas for CPT officers, the change to their working shift patterns and a renewed strategic focus on KPI figures had resulted in reduced levels of community engagement and partnership working.

Findings drawn from the interview data collected from members of partner organisations support those statements above regarding a reduction in partnership working, with the

majority of partner members suggesting that since the introduction of Police Scotland the relocation of officers, both frontline and management, had resulted in what was hoped to be a temporary loss of relationships. Members of partner organisations also highlighted concerns around the recent changes to working shift patterns for local officers and increased abstraction levels which they claim have also had a negative impact on joint working practices since reform (see Chapter 9).

However, it is important to highlight the hard work of many frontline officers and their managers who despite the ongoing changes they were experiencing on a daily basis to roles, procedures and general working duties, continued to focus on delivering an effective and efficient local policing service. As the title of this chapter indicates, the motto to follow for many local officers and their managers was that they needed to keep policing through the change.

A fundamental part of the legislation which underpinned the recent reform in Scotland was based on changes to local police governance and scrutiny arrangements. In order to examine how these post reform governance and accountability arrangements where operating and to answer Question 3 above, members of local authority scrutiny groups, locally elected representatives and members from the newly created Scottish Police Authority (SPA) board were invited to take part in the project with their findings reported in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

In contrast to the claims made prior to reform regarding the working relationship between local committee's and national the governance body, the overall consensus of local members of scrutiny groups who took part in this project was that at the time of field work there was no relationship between local scrutiny members and the national body. Many of the members

interviewed were unable to confirm if there was a named contact for them to access in the national body and they were unsure as to what would happen or whom they should contact should they feel they could not sign off a local policing plan presented to them by the local commander.

One of the most important changes made by the Reform Act to post reform national governance was related to the recruitment of SPA members. Members of the SPA are now appointed by Scottish ministers in contrast to the pre reform arrangements where police board members were made up from the locally elected members. This information when placed alongside the claims of scrutiny members set out in Chapter 9, regarding a reduction in both the quality of local scrutiny conducted and the quantity of police data to scrutinise, implies that there has been no improvement in the democratic accountability of post reform police scrutiny. When we place all of these findings together in terms of answering research question three, regarding how post reform governance and accountability arrangements now function across Scotland, it becomes evident that the new arrangements are not functioning as effectively as they did prior to reform.

To summarise, the key themes which emerged from the data indicated that at the time of data collection

1. Locally elected representative are confused regarding their new role and responsibilities.
2. There is a lack of any formal relationship between the local and national bodies
3. Although there has been a rise in locally elected representatives involved in police scrutiny at a local level, there is a perception that there is less local scrutiny of policing post reform.

4. Members of scrutiny committees now receive less police data to scrutinise.

5. Although there are more locally elected representatives involved in local police scrutiny, there remains a democratic deficit in local police scrutiny.

6. A lack of any direction in forming local scrutiny committees has resulted in the creation of a complex landscape of police governance.

7. An increase in the influence of local party politics on police scrutiny.

The overarching key themes which emerged from this thesis and relate to the research questions posed can therefore be summarised as:

1. Police personnel have experienced particular problems around the pace of reform, and the communication processes employed during reform and were particularly frustrated regarding their lack of involvement in the process.

2. There has been a comprehensive and wide ranging reconfiguration of local policing which has included a change in style, delivery and focus which has ultimately altered the roles and workloads of frontline officers.

3. Governance and accountability of local policing now appears more complex and uneven than prior to reform, with the perception being that the national view now has more precedence than the local.

10.3 Key Academic Contributions

As discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, existing literature which examines reform in the police organisation has tended to focus on more micro level organisational reforms such as the work of Chan (2007) and her focus on the impact of shift changes on Australian police officers, Skogan (2006, 2008) and his examination of the introduction of community policing in Chicago and Bayley (2008) and his work looking at the impact of hot spot policing. In

contrast to this previous work, this thesis has examined macro level police reform, which has been transformational in its scope, at the exact time the reforms were being implemented producing a unique insight into how the reform was being experienced. This thesis therefore provides a key contribution to existing academic literature in terms of an examination of transformational, macro level police reform.

In terms of the general Organisational Change literature, police reform in Scotland was found to have similar drivers of change as other public and private sector organisations. The strategies employed during change which are cited in the literature based on either planned or unplanned change, comparable with the recent reform in Scotland in terms of the change being planned. However, via the analysis of the data collected for this project and by following the paper trail of minutes from the Scottish Policing Board, the Sustainable Policing Sub Group and the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing it appears that many amendments and changes to the initial reform plans were made when the first Chief Constable of Police Scotland was put in place (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion). This highlights that from a policing context change is not always a fixed concept and that reform is not as simple as being either planned or unplanned.

In terms of existing empirical policing research there has also been a lack of focus on the experiences of frontline police officers during times of change with Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2003) arguing that current policing research, in the main, ignores the experiences of frontline officers claiming them to be "… a secondary focus" (ibid 2003:44) for most scholars. Sklansky and Marks (2008) suggest that the exclusion of frontline officers' experiences has resulted in the marginalisation of the specialised knowledge and understanding of the role that front line officers provide.

By focusing on the experiences of frontline officers during reform, the thesis has addressed this shortfall and provides a 'bottom up' snap shot of frontline officers' perceptions of change and delivers a unique view of change, as it was being implemented from the frontline of a hierarchical organisation. The inclusion of frontline officers is of particularly significance when it comes to examining the implementation of police reform on local policing as it is these front line officers and their specific interpretations of reform who operationalise change at a street level. The findings from this thesis will also help to fill existing gaps in knowledge regarding police reform which is discussed by Tops and Spelier (2013) who claim that "[R]elatively little attention has been devoted to the cultural conditions for successful reform in frontline organisations [such] as the police" (ibid 2013:178).

The overall findings of this project therefore support the development of a police specific organisational change theory which will recognise the importance of the stimulus, target and stages of police change as identified by Hart (1996) in chapter 4, and additionally be able to situate communication methods and resistance to change from within the hierarchical nature of the police organisation during times of reform.

In relation to the existing literature on community policing as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the findings from this research support the general claims made regarding the low status afforded to CPT staff within the policing organisation and the negative impact on community engagement as a result of persistent and ongoing abstraction of CPT staff to cover other duties as discussed by Crawford et.al. 2003; Skogan 2006; Donnelly 2007 and Mackenzie and Henry 2009 in Chapter 2.

A key motivation for conducting applied research is that the findings are able to provide empirical evidence to support and promote changes to both policy and practice. It is anticipated that the findings from this thesis will be used to contribute to future local policing policy and practice with a specific focus on macro level police reform. From a conceptual point of view this thesis will add to the knowledge base of public sector reform more generally and police reform specifically in terms of the effective implementation of future police reform. From an empirical point of view, this thesis also offers the police organisations a unique insight on how recent reform has been experienced at the frontline highlighting the complex nature of policing through change, again with the intention that the findings will support the implementation of future reforms.

10.5 Recommendations for Future Policy, Practice and Research
This section will now offer a set of the recommendations for future policy, practice and research which are associated with the findings produced by this thesis. To help inform the recommendations made here for policy and practice, this section will firstly

The following policy recommendations, based on the analysis of the data collected are therefore presented below;

Policy Recommendations

1. That a theory of police organisational change be constructed which recognises the role of resistance to change, the stimulus, target and stages of change in a hierarchical, frontline, police organisation where officers on the ground translate policy into practice.

2. Future public sector reforms should be implemented at a slower pace with change managers acknowledging that not all divisions work to full capacity at all times,

which has a direct impact on how they ultimately experience the changes being implemented.

3. All public sector reforms to include a formal process which allows frontline staff to provide crucial feedback on how changes made are being operationalised.

4. All members of police scrutiny committees should be provided with appropriate training to support their role, as simply increasing the number of locally elected members involved does not necessarily equate to an increased level of democratic scrutiny (See Chapter 9 Longphort experience).

Practice Recommendations

1. In order to raise the status of CP officers within the organisation, a dedicated training course for community officers and their managers be implemented which includes a focus on the values and goals of community policing, the importance of a localised view of policing, building and maintaining effective partnerships at a local and strategic level and encouraging community participation in local problem solving.

2. Frontline officers to be more involved in consultations and feedback regarding any future reform inclusive of an effective two-way communication system which would allow them to provide input, and importantly feedback on how reform is being experienced at an operational level.

3. Internal communications within the policing organisation during times of change be more targeted in terms of each recipient rank and role.

4. That senior police managers ensure that the existing response and enforcement focus of post reform local policing is being balanced with the traditional preventative and collaborative style of local policing delivered prior to reform.

Future Research

In looking towards further future research on local policing in Scotland there are three

recommendations to be made from this thesis.

1. The first would be to conduct research which would explore if, and in what ways, the

   new policing principles, based on "…partnership working, community wellbeing and

   harm reduction." (Fyfe 2016:170) which were presented front and centre of the

   reform legislation, but never discussed in the data collection for this thesis, have been

   introduced and operationalised or are they now simply rhetoric?

2. Secondly, 3 years plus since the introduction of Police Scotland and the data

   collection process for this thesis, it is recommended that a follow up study be

   conducted gathering the perceptions of officers, partners and community members to

   establish if the new vision of local policing promised in the reform legislation is

   working.

3. Finally, further research should also be undertaken to examine new police governance

   arrangements paying particular attention to the dynamics between national and local

   bodies in terms of support, training and positive working relationships.

10.6 Conclusion

The move to a single national police service for Scotland was underpinned by the creation of

the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012, with the main aim of reform being to

- To protect and improve local services despite financial cuts, by stopping duplication of

  support services eight times over and not cutting front line services;

- To create more equal access to specialist support and national capacity – like murder

  investigation teams, firearms teams or flood rescue – where and when they are needed;

  and,

- To strengthen the connection between services and communities, by creating a new formal relationship with each of the 32 local authorities, involving many more local councillors and better integrating with community planning partnerships.

The Act along with producing a new narrative for policing in Scotland also delivered a statutory set of policing principles (Chapter 4, section 32 of the Act) based on a vision of 21st century Policing in Scotland that would,

- Improve the safety and wellbeing of persons, localities and communities in Scotland.

- That the police service, working in collaboration with others as appropriate, should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which;

  i) Engages with, and is accessible to, local communities and

  ii) Promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder.

However, the data which is reported here discussing a perceived reduction in community engagement and partnership working and move away from the previous preventative and collaborative style of local policing, suggests that these principles have unfortunately been relegated to simple rhetoric in the context of policing in Scotland.

Local policing is an important part of public facing policing in the UK, it is through their encounters with police that the public build their perception of the police. The shift in local policing style adopted across Scotland post reform towards a more response and enforcement led style, if left unchanged has the potential to undermine local police community relations, with future implications being a reduction in support from the community for the police in general and therefore reducing the local intelligence being collected by/provided to the police. Looking to the future, as the reform of policing in Scotland continues, a shift towards

an approach to local policing which is more responsive to and engaged with community concerns will be vital in building long term trust and confidence in Police Scotland.

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Appendix 1 Questions for Local Councillors

Thank you for taking part in this interview, I would just like to check if you are ok for time, this will take about 1 hour; if you agree the interview will be recorded, and I will also be taking notes to ensure I capture everything.

Some opening questions:
How long have you been an elected representative for your ward?
What previous experience do you have of local policing?

1.0 Can you tell me about the ward area you represent?	**How affluent or how deprived is it?** **High crime/low crime?** **Rural or urban?** **Would you define this area as a community?** **Would you say that in this area neighbours help each other?** **In your experience have community policing practices previously had any impact on police community relationships in your neighbourhood?**	
2.0 Within current police reform there is a focus on "local policing" can you explain to me how you define local?	**What do you think local policing means?** **At what level?** **Street?**	

	Neighbourhood? Local authority level?	
3.0 I would like you to tell me about the role that the local authority now plays in local policing matters here since the reform?	**In your opinion has the recent reform had any impact on the relationship between the local authority and Police Scotland?** **In what ways if any is this different from before?** **What powers?**	
4.0 Can you tell me about how post reform local policing is now being experienced within your ward area?	**In your opinion are Police Scotland providing a style of policing suited to this area?** **In what ways if any is this different than before?** **More or less visibility/accessibility** **Accountability?**	
5.0 Can you explain to me how local policing plans and the priorities	**How were these done?**	

contained within them have been developed within your ward?	**Who was involved?** **What role if any did you play?**	
6.0 How are national policing priorities being balanced with local policing priorities within your ward area?	**Can you give me some examples?**	
7.0 It was suggested that recent reform would enhance local accountability for policing; can you tell me about your experiences in your ward?	**Explain?**	
8.0 One of the Scottish governments stated outcomes of reform is that it would "strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve" to what extent do you think this is or will be the case?		
9.0 Can you tell me if police community engagement has been affected in any way by the recent reform in your ward area?	**Can you explain this?** **Examples?**	

10.0 In what ways have Police Scotland engaged with you at a local authority level regarding the reform process and its implementation?	**In your opinion was/has this been effective?** **If not what would you have liked to have happened?**	
In summing up I would like to explore your views on the **strengths** and **weaknesses opportunities** and **threats** of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland?		
And finally, in your opinion would you say that your own experiences of the impact of reform on local policing are in line with what is happening more generally across Scotland?		

Appendix 2 Email for Councillors

Good afternoon councillors,

My name is Yvonne Hail and I am a mature PhD student studying at the University of Dundee within the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR). My project which is co funded by Police Scotland is focused on examining the impact and implications of recent reform on local policing. I am using case study areas across Scotland, including the Leith/ Leith Walk area of Edinburgh.

Under the new legislation local policing has for the first time become a statutory requirement giving key responsibility to local commanders to devise local policing plans for each local authority area in consultation with local authorities and communities. This has resulted in a significant change of role for local authorities in connection to local policing. In order to examine these changes in the relationship between the police and local authority in relation to local policing I would like to invite you in your capacity as Police and Fire Scrutiny Committee member to take part in the project. This participation would take the form of a one to one interview which should last approximately one hour. The interview will focus on questions which will enable me to examine the new local authority role in local policing and allow me to explore how the process of consultation over local policing plans is developed.

 I have planned for these interviews to take place in January, before I move on to my next field work location and would appreciate if you could find some time in your diary to participate. I have attached some background information for the project to this email, if you have any other questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Your information will treated in the strictest confidence and all respondents in the project will remain anonymous with the area itself being allocated a pseudonym in the writing up process.

My supervisors at the University of Dundee are:
 Professor Nick Fyfe who can be contacted at n.r.fyfe@dundee.ac.uk
Dr Jonathan Mendel who can be contacted on J.M.Mendel@dundee.ac.uk
and Dr Elizabeth Aston at Napier University L.Aston@napier.ac.uk

I would be grateful if you could contact me at the above to let me know if you would be willing to take part.
Kindest regards
Yvonne Hail
07799687300

Appendix 3 Questions for SPA Members

Description	Prompts	Themes
1.0 Could you please tell me about your current role on the SPA board and what it involves?	**In what ways if any is this different from what went before in police governance?**	
2.0 Do you have any previous experiences with regards to policing or policing issues? Explain	**Where you previously a member of a police board**	
3.0 Can you tell me about some of the key partners the SPA work with and how these partnerships operate?		http://www.spa.police.uk/about-us/partnership-and-engagement/ Partnerships and engagement are at the heart of how we are operating and will be developing as a board and an organisation. We are committed to working with partners from all sectors at a national and local level. The best public services work together with their partners to improve services
4.0 Can you tell me what you would define as the main role of the SPA in relation to local policing arrangements?	**Would you say the role of the SPA is more proactive (in terms of trying to shape and support local policing) or reactive (responding to issues/problems as they merge)?** **How well do you think the SPA's national priorities are being translated into local actions here in EDINBURGH?**	We need to be able to hold Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority to account for all of its services, including how it engages with partners and local communities and responds to the outcomes of that engagement. **The SPA needs strong partnerships with local authorities and service stakeholders to do that.**

	In your opinion what are the strengths and weaknesses of the SPA in relation to local policing across Scotland?	**http://www.spa.police.uk/about-us/partnership-and-engagement/**
5.0 Can you tell me about the relationship which now exists between the SPA and local scrutiny committees at a local level?	**What role does the SPA play in local engagement and scrutiny matters with these committee's?** **Training members? Support/advice?**	
6.0 In your opinion how effective do you believe local scrutiny committee's to be in relation to local policing?	**What evidence would you the SPA board; look for to indicate that local scrutiny is working well?** **Can you tell me what you would perceive to be the strengths and weaknesses of local scrutiny committees?** **Are there processes in place which would resolve any potential conflicts which may arise between the local commander and scrutiny committee in relation to local policing plans?**	

REFORM **7.0** Although reform is in its early stages I would like to hear your assessment of its impact on enhancing local accountability for policing?	**In what ways if any is this different from what went before?** **In your opinion what would future success look like?**	
8.0 One of the Scottish Governments sated outcomes of reform was that it would **strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve**; to what extent do you think this is or will be the case?	**I am thinking specifically about the variety of diverse communities which make up a 21st century Scotland? Rural, urban, cultural and ethnic mix, socio economic etc etc** **have the links been strengthened in all these communities** **Can you give me some examples?**	
9.0 How do you view the relationship between the nationally set priorities and local priorities?	**In your opinion how will the balance between a top down and bottom up approach be achieved at an operational level?** **In your opinion how effective is this?**	
10.0 The recent reports in the media regarding stop and search practices and the saunas has prompted a public debate about a wider shift in the style and delivery of local policing	**How accurate do you think this is as a reflection of post reform local policing?**	

11.0 SWOT Analysis: As I mentioned previously, this project is focused on the impact and implications of reform on local policing, from this perspective I would like to ask you for your impressions of the SWOT of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland…		
STRENGTH		
WEAKNESS		
OPPORTUNITY		
THREAT		

Appendix 4 Informed Consent

My name is Yvonne Hail and I am a post graduate student at the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) at the University of Dundee. I am conducting a research project as part of my PhD course titled; "Local policing in Transition: Examining the impacts and implications of police reform in Scotland".

Against a background of significant cuts in public spending, the Scottish Government is engaged in the most radical programme of police reform for a generation with the previous structure of eight police forces having been replaced by a new national police service. Under the legislation that will establish the new Police Service for Scotland, local policing becomes (for the first time) a statutory requirement, giving key responsibilities to local police commanders to devise local policing plans for each local authority area in consultation with local authorities and communities.

Understanding the impact and implications of these local policing arrangements provides the focus for this project.

The interviews will last approximately one hour and be recorded to enable me to make full and correct transcriptions of the discussions taking place; these recordings will not be made available to anyone else apart from me and my supervisors at the University of Dundee.

All information gathered will be treated as anonymous and confidential and will not be reproduced out with the project specified. On completion of the project the recordings will be destroyed and until then will be kept in a locked secure cabinet. The field work location itself will be given a pseudonym within the writing up of the project in order to prevent it being identified.

I would like to remind you that this is a voluntary exercise, you are free to refuse your participation, and if necessary you may withdraw your data before the completion of the project.

My contact email is y.hail@dundee.ac.uk

My supervisors at the University of Dundee are
Professor Nick Fyfe who can be contacted at n.r.fyfe@dundee.ac.uk
Dr Jonathan Mendel who can be contacted on J.M.Mendel@dundee.ac.uk
Dr Elizabeth Aston at Napier University L.Aston@napier.ac.uk

Please sign below to confirm your consent in taking part in an interview and that you have received relevant information regarding the project and contact details for the researcher.

Name:……………………………………………………….

Signature…………………………………………………….

Date……………………………………………………………

"I agree to the audio recording of the interview"   YES   NO

"I agree to the use of anonymous extracts from my interview
in conference papers and academic publications"   YES   NO

Thank you for your assistance with this project

Yvonne

University of Dundee

Appendix 5 Questions for Frontline Officers

Introduction

Thank you for taking part in this interview, this will take about 1 hour; the interview will be recorded, and I will also be taking notes to ensure I capture everything.
We are here today to talk about your experience of the recent reform process and to examine any impacts you perceive on your daily practices and routines the discussion will cover topic areas centred on local policing provision post reform, reform itself and organisational change and post reform partnership, engagement and accountability

Do you have any questions before I start?

To begin I would like to ask some question that will give me some general background information

1. Gender:
2. Age
3. Position/rank
4. How long have you been in the police service?
5. How long have you been a community officer?
6. How were you selected or did you volunteer for this community role?
7. Did you receive any specific training for this role?
8. If so from whom and for how long?
9. How long have you been a community officer in your most recent area and what is the area? (i.e. how is it defined/bounded)
10. Do you work alone or with a partner?

I would like to begin by asking you about the nature of local policing in this area

1.   LOCAL POLICING
1.1 During the reform process there was much discussion about local policing, can you tell me how you would define local policing?

1.1.1   Can you tell me about the current neighbourhood you police?

1.1.2   Now I would like you to tell me a bit about your role and the general responsibilities you have as a local officer in this neighbourhood?

1.2   Since the 1st of April how do things like local KPI targets, ward plans, local policing plans and "keeping people safe" priorities dictate how you police your neighbourhood?

1.3   Can you tell me how local policing plans and the priorities contained within them are now determined within this area and explain how this differs, if at all from pre reform?

1.4   In your experience how are local policing priorities now being balanced with national policing priorities in this neighbourhood?

1.5   Can you tell me about how local policing performance is now being measured within this area and how this differs if at all from the situation pre reform?

1.6   Can you tell me about any issues which you feel particularly help or hinder your ability to deliver local policing?

2. REFORM & ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

2.1   ……………………

2.2   Can you tell me how management have supported you and your colleagues to make local policing reforms successful in terms of both the police service and the public's expectations?

2.2.1   In what ways have you and your colleagues been able to contribute to the reform process with regards to your experiences of its impact on daily duties and routines?

2.2.2   In your experience do you believe that the reform process has had the full support of rank and file officers? Explain?

2.3   One of the Scottish governments stated outcomes of reform is that it would "strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve" to what extent do you think this is or will be the case?

2.4   What level of flexibility do you now have in delivering local policing in your neighbourhood?

2.5   During the consultation process two of the main issues raised regarding reform were based around the centralisation of resources and decision making in terms of geographical access for all divisions, have you had any experience of this post reform in your area?

3   PARTNERSHIP, ENGAGEMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY

3.1   Can you tell me about some of the key partners you work with here on a daily basis and how the partnerships operate?

3.1.1 Should crime control and crime prevention be left solely to the police?

3.2   ………………..

3.3   …………………..

3.4   …………………

Engagement

3.5   Another of the Scottish Governments projected outcomes for reform was improved arrangements for local engagement; within your area is this being achieved? Can you explain?

3.6   Can you describe to me the various methods you employ to engage with the local community in order to gauge their local policing needs? In what ways is this different from pre reform methods?

3.7   How do you then offer feedback on issues raised to the individuals concerned? And further how do you pass those concerns "up" with regards to ward level and local level policing plans?

3.8   ………………………

3.9   …………………….

3.10   Reform has reconstituted both internal and external accountability mechanisms and relationships; can you tell me about how you now balance your responsibilities to Police Scotland management and the local community?

3.11   It was suggested that recent reform would enhance local accountability for policing, can you tell me about your experiences in the neighbourhood you police? Explain?

Ending questions:

In summing up I would like to explore your views on the strengths and weaknesses opportunities ad threats of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland?
Has this recent police reform changed in anyway how you view your own career within the police service? (Will you stay a local officer? Advancement? Leave? Will it affect your geographical mobility?)
And finally, in your opinion would you say that your own experiences of the impact of reform on local policing are in line with what is happening in other divisions more generally?

Conclusion:
Summarize and corroborate discussions, i.e. "is this an adequate summary"
Review purpose and ask if anything has been missed
Thank all for taking part and for their views – will there be any feedback? Tell them again that you will write it up and use it to inform your report

Appendix 6 Interview Questions Police Management

Introduction

Thank you for taking part in this interview, I would just like to check if you are ok for time, this will take about 1 hour; if you agree the interview will be recorded, and I will also be taking notes to ensure I capture everything.

We are here today to talk about your experience of the recent reform process and to examine any impacts you perceive on local policing in your area the discussion will cover topic areas centred on local policing provision post reform, reform itself and organisational change and post reform partnership, engagement and accountability

Do you have any questions before I start?

To begin I would like to ask some question that will give me some general background information

- Gender **(for me to fill in)**
- Could you please tell me about your current role (and what it involves)?
- How long have you been in the police service
- What are the main policing issues/challenges?

1. LOCAL POLICING
I would like to begin with questions regarding local policing in your area;

1.1 Within the current police reform there is a focus on local policing, can you explain to me how you would define local policing?

1.2 Can you explain to me how local policing is organised within this area and whether this differs at all from how it was before 1st April?

1.3 Can you tell me about how local policing plans and the priorities contained within them have been developed in this area? How does this differs, if at all from pre reform processes

1.4 How are local policing priorities now being balanced with national priorities within this area?

1.5 Can you tell me about how local policing performance is now being measured within your area and how this differs, if at all, from the situation pre reform?

Local/Community Officers

1.6 Can you now tell me about any issues which you feel particularly help or hinder your ability to deliver local policing?

2. REFORM & ORGANSIATIONAL CHANGE
   I would now like to discuss your experience of the recent reform journey in Scotland

2.1 ……………………………………………

2.2 How do you view your own role within the reform process? If the reform has caused any changes to your role can you tell me about them?

2.3 One of the Scottish Government stated outcomes of police reform is that it would "strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve" to what extent do you think this is or will be the case? In what ways?

2.4 How has reform impacted on your autonomy in relation to delivering local policing within your area? How do you go about your business?

2.5 During the consultation process two of the main issues raised regarding reform were based around a perceived geographical remoteness of some command areas from centrally based decision making and access to resources in the more outlying areas, can you tell me about the extent to which you think this is occurring?

3   PARTNERSHIPS, ENGAGEMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY

Partnerships

3.1 Can you tell me about some of the key partners you work with here on a daily basis and how the partnerships operate?

3.2 ….

3.3 Within this area what role does the community planning partnership now fulfil in terms of partnership working?

3.4 ……….

Engagement

3.5 Another of the Scottish Governments projected outcomes for reform was improved arrangements for local engagement; within your area is this being achieved? Can you explain?

3.6 When thinking about local policing in your area how well do you think local groups engage with policing initiatives? Can you tell me about the local community here what is your assessment of them as fully participating and engaged in local policing initiatives?

3.7 How do you communicate local policing priorities to the local community and how do they contact you?

Accountability

3.8 Can you tell me about the new local scrutiny arrangements in place with your local authority?

3.9 Can you describe the relationship between the police and LA in this area and how this is different if at all to pre reform?

3.10 Reform has reconstituted both internal and external accountability mechanisms and relationships; can you tell me about how you balance your responsibilities to the Police Scotland executive and the local community?

3.11 In your opinion has reform made local policing any more or less accountable at a local community level? In what ways has this occurred?

Ending questions:

- In summing up I would like to explore your views on the strengths and weaknesses opportunities and threats of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland?

- Of all the points we have discussed here regarding recent reforms and their impact on local policing in your neighbourhood, what to you is the most important?

- And finally, in your opinion would you say that your own experiences of the impact of reform on local policing are in line with what is happening in other divisions more generally?

Conclusion:

Summarize and corroborate discussions, i.e. "is this an adequate summary"

Review purpose and ask if anything has been missed

Thank all for taking part and for their views – will there be any feedback? Tell them again that you will write it up and use it to inform your report

Appendix 7 Interview Questions Senior Police Management

Introduction
Thank you for taking part in this interview, I would just like to check if you are ok for time, this will take about 1 hour; if you agree the interview will be recorded, and I will also be taking notes to ensure I capture everything.

We are here today to talk about your experience of the recent reform process, the discussion will cover topic areas centred on local policing provision post reform, reform itself and organisational change and post reform partnership, engagement and accountability

Do you have any questions before I start?

•   Can you tell about your current role in Police Scotland and what this entails?
•   Can you tell me about the geographical area you are responsible for?

1. LOCAL POLICING
I would like to begin with some questions regarding local policing in your command area;

1.1   Within current police reform there is a focus on "local policing" can you explain to me how you define local?

1.2   Since the 1st of April can you explain to me how local policing is now organised and managed within your command area? In what ways if any is this different from pre reform local policing?

1.3   Can you tell me about how local policing plans and the priorities contained within them have been developed in this area? How does this differ, if at all from pre reform processes?

1.4 How are local policing priorities now being balanced with national priorities within this command area?

1.5   Within your command area how is local policing performance now being measured? Is this different from pre reform processes of measurement?

2. REFORM & ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE
I would now like to discuss your experience of the recent reform journey in Scotland:

2.1   In your opinion what is the desired end state in terms of the structure of local policing in Scotland?

2.2   How do you view your own role within the process? Has the implementation of reform brought changes to your duties/responsibilities?

2.3   One of the Scottish Governments stated outcomes of police reform is that it would "strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve, do you think this is or will be the case? In what ways?

2.4   How has reform impacted on your autonomy in relation to delivering local policing within your command?

2.5   During the consultation process two of the main issues raised regarding reform were based around a perceived geographical remoteness of some command areas from centrally based decision making and access to resources in the more outlying areas, how often do you think this is occurring?

3   PARTNERSHIPS, ENGAGEMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY

Partnerships

3.1   Can you tell me about some of the key partners Police Scotland work with at a local level on a daily basis and how the partnerships operate? In your opinion has the reform process impacted on local partnership working within your command area?

3.2   Is there a capacity to develop national strategic partnerships which cut across local authority boundaries? Can you explain?

3.3   Within this command area what role does the community planning partnership now fulfil in terms of partnership working?

3.4   What role do police Scotland now play in community planning partnerships?

Engagement

3.5   Another of the Scottish Governments projected outcomes for reform was improved arrangements for local engagement; within your area can you explain whether you think this is being achieved? Can you explain how?

3.6   When thinking about local policing in your area, are there groups who are not engaged who you believe should be? Would you regard the local community here as fully participating and engaged in local policing initiatives?

3.7   ………………………

Accountability

3.8   Can you tell me about some of the new local scrutiny arrangements in place within your command area?

3.9   How if at all, has the relationship between the police and local authorities in this command area altered post reform? In what ways is this different from pre reform?

3.10   Reform has reconstituted both internal and external accountability mechanisms and relationships; can you tell me about how you balance your responsibilities to the Police Scotland executive and the local community?

3.11   In your opinion what has been the impact, if any of reform on how accountable local policing is at a local community level? In what ways has this occurred?

Ending questions:
- In summing up I would like to explore your views on the strengths and weaknesses opportunities and threats of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland?
- Of all the points we have discussed here regarding recent reforms and their impact on local policing in your command area, what to you is the most important?
- And finally, in your opinion would you say that your experiences of the implementation process of reform are in line with what other divisions are experiencing?

Conclusion:
Summarize and corroborate discussions, i.e. "is this an adequate summary"
Review purpose and ask if anything has been missed
Thank all for taking part and for their views and that a feedback report will be issued to them on the completion of each section of the field work

Appendix 8 Interview Questions For Partner Organisations
Introduction

Thank you for taking part in this interview, I would just like to check if you are ok for time, this will take about 1 hour; if you agree the interview will be recorded, and I will also be taking notes to ensure I capture everything.

We are here today to talk about your experience of the recent reform process, the discussion will cover topic areas centred on local policing provision post reform, reform itself and organisational change and post reform partnership, engagement and accountability

Do you have any questions before I start?

•   Can you tell about your current role in Police Scotland and what this entails?
•   Can you tell me about the geographical area you are responsible for?

1. LOCAL POLICING
I would like to begin with some questions regarding local policing in your command area;

1.1   Within current police reform there is a focus on "local policing" can you explain to me how you define local?

1.2   Since the 1st of April can you explain to me how local policing is now organised and managed within your command area? In what ways if any is this different from pre reform local policing?

1.3   Can you tell me about how local policing plans and the priorities contained within them have been developed in this area? How does this differ, if at all from pre reform processes?

1.4 How are local policing priorities now being balanced with national priorities within this command area?

1.5   Within your command area how is local policing performance now being measured? Is this different from pre reform processes of measurement?

2. REFORM & ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE
I would now like to discuss your experience of the recent reform journey in Scotland:

2.1   In your opinion what is the desired end state in terms of the structure of local policing in Scotland?

2.2   How do you view your own role within the process? Has the implementation of reform brought changes to your duties/responsibilities?

2.3   One of the Scottish Governments stated outcomes of police reform is that it would "strengthen the links between the police and the communities they serve, do you think this is or will be the case? In what ways?

2.4   How has reform impacted on your autonomy in relation to delivering local policing within your command?

2.5   During the consultation process two of the main issues raised regarding reform were based around a perceived geographical remoteness of some command areas from centrally based decision making and access to resources in the more outlying areas, how often do you think this is occurring?

3   PARTNERSHIPS, ENGAGEMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY

Partnerships
3.1   Can you tell me about some of the key partners Police Scotland work with at a local level on a daily basis and how the partnerships operate? In your opinion has the reform process impacted on local partnership working within your command area?

3.2   Is there a capacity to develop national strategic partnerships which cut across local authority boundaries? Can you explain?

3.3   Within this command area what role does the community planning partnership now fulfil in terms of partnership working?

3.4   What role do police Scotland now play in community planning partnerships?

Engagement

3.5   Another of the Scottish Governments projected outcomes for reform was improved arrangements for local engagement; within your area can you explain whether you think this is being achieved? Can you explain how?

3.6   When thinking about local policing in your area, are there groups who are not engaged who you believe should be? Would you regard the local community here as fully participating and engaged in local policing initiatives?

3.7   ………………………

Accountability

3.8   Can you tell me about some of the new local scrutiny arrangements in place within your command area?

3.9   How if at all, has the relationship between the police and local authorities in this command area altered post reform? In what ways is this different from pre reform?

3.10   Reform has reconstituted both internal and external accountability mechanisms and relationships; can you tell me about how you balance your responsibilities to the Police Scotland executive and the local community?

3.11   In your opinion what has been the impact, if any of reform on how accountable local policing is at a local community level? In what ways has this occurred?

Ending questions:
- In summing up I would like to explore your views on the strengths and weaknesses opportunities and threats of the post reform structure of local policing in Scotland?
- Of all the points we have discussed here regarding recent reforms and their impact on local policing in your command area, what to you is the most important?
- And finally, in your opinion would you say that your experiences of the implementation process of reform are in line with what other divisions are experiencing?
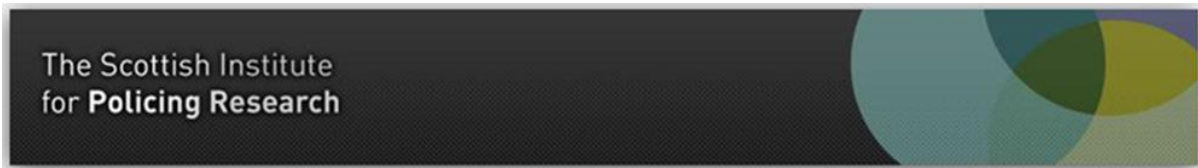

Conclusion:
Summarize and corroborate discussions, i.e. "is this an adequate summary"
Review purpose and ask if anything has been missed
Thank all for taking part and for their views and that a feedback report will be issued to them on the completion of each section of the field work

Appendix 9 General background Information

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the research study;

Local policing in Transition: Examining the impacts and implications of police reform in Scotland.

Against a background of significant cuts in public spending, the Scottish Government is engaged in the most radical programme of police reform for a generation with the previous structure of eight police forces replaced in April 2013 by a new national police service. Under this new legislation local policing has become (for the first time) a statutory requirement, giving key responsibilities to local police commanders to devise local policing plans for each local authority area in consultation with local authorities and communities. This has raised questions as to the potential gains and losses of such a merger engendering a focus on enduring academic debates regarding local policing strategies, governance, accountability and the relative merits of different styles of policing across Scotland's communities. Understanding the impact and implications of these local arrangements provides the focus for this research.

This study will examine the impacts and implications of police reform for local policing in Scotland in relation to a set of wider issues concerning community engagement, governance and accountability and local service delivery. The project will look to examine these concepts together with the new local authority role in local policing.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and do not hesitate to ask us if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Who is funding and organising the research?
The project is funded by:

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and
Police Scotland

What are the benefits of taking part?
To add to the knowledge base of local policing in general and provide feedback on local policing in your neighbourhood specifically.

Risks?
There are no known risks for you in this study

Do I have to take part?
You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not, your participation is entirely voluntary, deciding not to take part in this project will carry no penalties. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for our records. You are free to withdraw yourself and your data from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?
You will be asked to take part in an interview conducted with the researcher and yourself and I am also looking for volunteers who would allow me to join them on duty to observe them in their routine duties.

If I take part, what do I have to do?
You will be asked questions regarding your own experiences of working with Police Scotland post reform.

How will information about me be used?
You will be asked to sign a consent form to allow the interview to be recorded. This recording will be used to produce a more robust transcription of the interview and destroyed once the transcription has been completed. The demographic data collected will be used to explain gender, age and years of service ratios only. All raw data collected during the project will destroyed upon completion of the project. All names will be removed, and as previously stated pseudonyms will be given to all participants, in this way no data will be revealed which would identify any participant in any way.

Who will have access to information about me?
- The researcher and her immediate supervisors (listed below) are the only people who will have access to any data collected.
- All data will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and encrypted on a password protected computer
- All identities will remain anonymous and confidential (pseudonyms will be allocated) and will be coded in the analysis process to further prevent identification.
- No data will be revealed which could identify any respondent or group taking part in this project.

Contact for further information
If you would like to take part in this project please contact me directly. My University of Dundee contact email is **y.hail@dundee.ac.uk** or on 07799687300

My supervisors at the University of Dundee is Professor Nick Fyfe who can be contacted at
n.r.fyfe@dundee.ac.uk Dr Jonathan Mendel who can be contacted on
J.M.Mendel@dundee.ac.uk
Dr Elizabeth Aston at Napier University
 L.Aston@napier.ac.uk

Thank you
Yvonne Hail

PhD Student
Scottish Institute for Policing Research
University of Dundee
Mobile: 07799687300

Appendix 10 Example of Observational Protocol Community Council Meetings

The Scottish Institute
for **Policing Research**
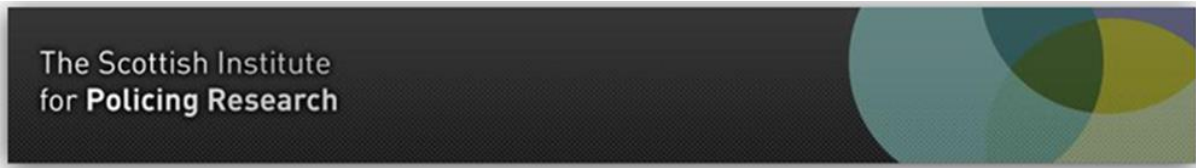
Pre observational questions;
How often do meetings take place?

Are they always in this same setting?
-
What is the average turn out at these meetings?
-
Is the local community officer always in attendance at these meetings?
-
-
Is this a general meeting?
-

Minutes for this meeting:

Descriptive Notes: **Reflective Notes:**

Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
Where meeting takes place?	
Room setting?	
Professionals in attendance	
Attendance/audience numbers	

Is there a gender/age difference in attendances	
Contributions from audience?	
Issues raised	
Feed back to issues raised	

Post meeting questions:
Was this a typical meeting?
How and when do you receive feedback on this meeting?
Do you think it is an effective method of communication?
Have there been any changes at meetings since reform?

Appendix 11 Risk Assessment for Walking Interviews

School of the Environment

Geography and Environmental Science Risk Assessment Form

Yvonne Hail PhD Student ID No 120023764

Brief details of field work including dates, destination and purpose of trip

> **I will be interviewing serving police officers both within their stations and out walking through their "beats"; Walking interviews will be conducted with approximately 3-4 officers.**

Risk	Action taken	Residual risk (High, Medium or Low)	Additional measures - and justification if not applied
Travelling to Field Work	I will travel to field work by using my own car; I will drive carefully and safely at all times and not drive when I am tired.	Medium	I will notify others when I leave for field work, my field work location and for the times involving overnight stays where the location of my accommodation will be.
Whilst in station	I have been given security clearance and a photographic identity pass by	Low	I have been given an office to use whilst I am in the building which is separate from the main offices within

	Police Scotland which allows me entry to the police stations involved in the project.		the station and I will avoid any incidents that do occur whilst I am there
Walking Interviews	Officers being interviewed will be registered off duty and therefore not required to attend incidents unless told otherwise.	Medium	I have spoken to the CI and Insp. And will remove myself from any situation that I believe to be threatening or one which would induce me to become a witness in any criminal proceedings; I understand that if a major incident occurs and the officer being interviewed is required to attend I will make my own way back to the station

High: serious injury likely; Medium: serious injury possible; Low: serious injury unlikely. If residual risk is High then additional measures must be taken; if Medium consideration must be given to additional measures. Contact Safety Services for advice.

Field work Leader   Senior manager

Name _____   Name _____

Signature _____   Signature _____

Date _____   Date _____

Appendix 12 Longphort Police Officer Demographic Data

Gender	Range of Years in Service	Years as CPT
M	21+	11
M	21+	
M	21+	15
M	21+	16
M	21+	24
F	1-5	2
F	11-21	17
M	1-5	1
M	21+	
M	11-21	
M	1-5	7mths
M	6-10	3
M	21+	
M	11-21	
M	21+	
M	21+	

Appendix 13 Easton Police Officer Demographic Data

Gender	Range of Years in Service	Years as CPT
M	21+	
M	21+	
F	21+	7
M	11-21	
M	11-21	8
M	6-10	2
M	6-10	3
M	6-10	1
M	11-21	7
M	21+	
M	6-10	3
F	1-5	2
M	11-21	7
F	21+	5
F	6-10	1
M	11-21	4
F	6-10	2
M	6-10	1
M	6-10	2
M	1-5	2
M	1-5	3
M	11-21	6
M	11-21	19
F	6-10	1

Appendix 14 Local Advertisement for project

The Speaker, December 2013/January 2014 **7**

LET'S TALK ABOUT POLICING

PHD student Yvonne Hail (left) is conducting research on local policing in a variety of communities across Scotland and is hoping for your help.

The recent merger of eight regional police forces into the single service Police Scotland is the biggest piece of police reform in recent times and has created a lot of interest. As part of her thesis Yvonne is looking at how local residents have experienced local community policing since Police Scotland was set up.

You are invited to join a group discussion over coffee and cake at the Hub to chat about what you know and think about community policing, how it's working here and any changes you may have noticed.

For full details see the notice right.

The Scottish Institute for Policing Research

Volunteers Wanted for Group Discussion on Local Policing
9th December 1.30pm
Restalrig Lochend Community Hub

I am looking to recruit volunteers who are over the age of 18 and live in this area to take part in a research project which will examine local policing.

The focus of the project is the impact of community policing in this area since the reform which recently merged the Scottish police into one national police service. I am looking to get local people's views and opinions on how this reform has affected local policing here in your community.

As participants in this project you would be asked to take part in a group discussion which will last approximately one hour. These discussions would involve approximately 10-12 local volunteers. No personal information is required and volunteers and their views will be completely anonymous.

If you would like to take part in this project please contact Liz Ferguson 0131 554 0422 or if you have any questions about the project contact me, Yvonne Hail at *y.hail@dundee.ac.uk* or call on 07799 687 300. Thank you.

RESTALRIG: A GLOBAL VILLAGE

AT THEIR AGM in November the Ripple Project announced a record-breaking number of volunteers involved throughout the year. 152 individuals from the local area and from across the globe joined together to help this community. Volunteers came from places such as Argentina, Azerbaijan, Eire, Greece, Italy, Kurdistan, Lithuania, Peru, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Turkey, Ukraine and of course the UK. This truly international volunteer force continues to share their cultures, skills, kindness, commitment, camaraderie and charm with each other and the community in the Hub and elsewhere.

Everyone has something to offer and if you are interested in volunteering in any of the Ripple's projects please call 0131 554 0422 or pop into Restalrig Lochend Community Hub.

Happy to serve: Volunteers [l to r] Julia Rybintseva from Azerbaijan, Asia Hamid from Kurdistan and John McDowall from Restalrig

Appendix 15 SWOT Analysis Matrix

Helpful to achieving reform objectives	Harmful to achieving reform objectives
Strengths • Improved national Capacity • More equal access to specialist resources • None • Information sharing • Community engagement • Financial benefits • Local Accountability	**Weaknesses** • Accountability • Change in policing style • One size fits all policing • Performance culture and targets • Staffing levels • A national focus • Less partnership working
Opportunities • For personal development • More equal access to specialist resources • For improved partnership working • For further financial savings • None • For improved staffing levels • To share best practice	**Threats** • Staffing levels • More financial cuts • Focus on the national not the local • Loss of confidence in the police • Staff morale • One size fits all policing • Powerful, centralised command and control

Based on data collected from 70 interviews with police, key stakeholders and partner organisations in Easton and Longphort.