

**'PARTNERSHIP POLICING' IN THREE MARGINALISED
COMMUNITIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

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Waqas TUFAIL

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**School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences,
University of Salford, Salford, UK**

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ABSTRACT

The development of community policing in the UK initiated the formation of 'policing partnerships'. These early attempts, emerging in the 1980s, by police forces to establish partner relations with public and private sector organisations as well as communities followed a largely informal and ad hoc approach. In contrast, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and more recently the Neighbourhood Policing agenda are examples of attempts to formalise such methods of working through legislation and policy.

This study, utilising data collected from extensive ethnographic research in three socio-economically deprived communities of Northern England, addresses a so far under developed area of the extant research on 'policing partnerships'; namely, the relationships and outcomes that can be observed when state institutions come into contact with marginalised communities. This study has adopted the standpoint of critical criminology in order to foster an analysis of the subject matter.

It is contended that despite local and national policy rhetoric to the contrary, 'policing partnerships' primarily serve a largely enforcement based agenda that offers little discernible benefit to residents. Residents in marginalised communities occupy a relatively powerless position in relation to other actors and have little capacity to influence local agenda setting in respect of local policing matters. The police remain the dominant player within 'policing partnerships' and continuously seek to reinforce the goals of the policing 'mission'; which, in its modern day iteration, is a primary interest in intelligence, surveillance and enforcement.

For residents within marginalised communities to seek redress for matters of local concern, largely related to their socio-economic position and environment, a radical departure is required. One form that this may take is the pursuance of local partnerships without a police presence, prioritising a welfare agenda over the current status quo.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Crime control has emerged in the UK in recent decades as a politically contested arena. Two of the most notable developments in this area have been the political calls for greater participation from communities in managing crime and the development of partnerships between state agents such as the police and communities (Garland, 2001; Hope, 2005). Community safety partnerships (CSPs) are the latest iteration of attempts in the UK to forge local partnership between the police, partner agencies and communities. They have variably been known, since their introduction in the 1980's, by terms such as multi-agency partnerships (MAPS) and crime and disorder reduction partnerships (CDRPs). Such partnerships were developed partly in response to a crisis in police legitimacy stemming from racist policing of black communities (Scarman, 1981); from this an agenda emerged, in the 1990's in particular, placing communities at the centre of crime prevention (Hughes, 2003). In the UK partnerships between the police, local authorities and fire and health services became mandatory under legislation introduced by the New Labour Government in the form of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

Community Safety Partnerships, the preferred term of the current Coalition government, are now effectively tied together with neighbourhood policing, which emerged under the previous New Labour government¹. Neighbourhood policing teams are now present in every ward in England and Wales and are made up of police officers, police community support officers (PCSOs), special constables and other members of police staff. According to the Home Office:

Neighbourhood policing today is about fighting crime more intelligently and building a new relationship between the police and the public – one based on active co-operation rather than simple consent. We want to harness the energy of people themselves to make neighbourhood policing a success. It is about local people – for the first time – being truly part of the solution to the kind of local crime and disorder problems that can blight their lives and their neighbourhoods (2005: 5).

Furthermore, neighbourhood policing is regarded as an essential vehicle from which

¹ Data collection took place between 2010 and 2011, coinciding with the introduction of the Coalition government. As a result, this study is largely concerned with the community safety policy of the New Labour government.

partnership working can be delivered. The Home Office outlined the expected role of partner agencies and of communities in partnerships within neighbourhood policing in the following terms:

Making a reality of neighbourhood policing requires a genuine partnership – between Government, the police service, police authorities, local councils and other partners responsible for community safety; and with local people themselves having a role. Individuals and families have every right to live in a safe and secure society. But we believe that people also have a responsibility to play their part in helping tackle crime and disorder and keeping their communities safe. At the neighbourhood level, policing is done best when it is a shared undertaking between the police and local people (2005: 9).

The expected role that the Government anticipates partner agencies and communities adopt in CSPs as part of the stated goals of neighbourhood policing is therefore evident. However, the 'Neighbourhood Policy and Partnership Guide' (2006) explicitly referred to the role of partners within CSPs and added more detail to their expected contribution. For example, under a heading 'Community Safety is not just a policing issue', reference is made to the need to deal with matters not solely related to crime, but also to issues such as 'anti-social behaviour, incivilities and disorder'. This report stated that:

Communities' perception of the overall quality of public service provision can therefore be disproportionately influenced by performance on community safety issues. For example, dealing with abandoned vehicles, clearing away graffiti or tackling nuisance neighbours has a huge impact on the way in which the public judge the quality of all public services - even those not directly connected (Home Office, 2006: 17).

Within this document direct reference is also made to the importance of 'community engagement'. A list of guidelines is presented for police and partners to follow when engaging with the community. It is stated that they must:

- have a detailed, neighbourhood-level understanding of the demographics of the area they serve
- have a detailed and regularly updated picture of the interests, needs, priorities and preferences of communities in their area

- adopt an approach to engagement that reflects an understanding of how different communities feel most comfortable in interacting with the police and community safety partners
- have an on-going and consistent dialogue with all sections of communities (including the hard-to-reach/hard-to-hear), listening, acting and reporting back on actions taken
- allow priorities and service delivery strategies to be driven by concerns and priorities determined by local communities
- deliver services in partnership with the community, both groups and individuals

(Home Office, 2006: 12).

An increased emphasis on partnership working and community involvement therefore is at the centre of both neighbourhood policing and CSP government rhetoric. The ambition of CSPs is perhaps reflected by the following Home Office quote:

Local people and communities will be empowered to lead change and will be given the confidence, skills and power to influence what public bodies do for them (Home Office, 2005: 8).

As Young (2001) and Squires (2006b) have argued, the policy development surrounding the interrelation of the themes of community, safety and crime has been problematic, not least in terms of the ambiguous answers they provide to the question of who benefits from them. Furthermore, Hughes summarises the difficulties that CSPs, in their various iterations, have encountered and the dilemmas which they present:

... crime prevention is characterized by a political struggle between the extremes of an inclusivist, pan-hazard and essentially liberal community safety approach and a more exclusionary, enforcement-oriented and potentially illiberal crime reduction (2007: 75).

The research to date on community or neighbourhood policing and partnership working has largely concentrated on the effectiveness of policies and the ways in which they can be improved (Foster and Jones, 2010; Lowe and Innes, 2012). Other research has pointed to the contradictions and limitations of policy in this field (Crawford, 2001; Hughes and

Rowe, 2007), whereas a range of studies have critiqued the state in its approach in calling for and attempting to implement partnership working in the context of community safety (Skinns, 2008; Squires, 1999). The research on CSPs has to date largely neglected the voices and experiences of the residents within them, bar a few notable exceptions (Hancock, 2001; Karn, 2007). Moreover, as demonstrated in the following chapter, this is related to a more general scarcity of research that addresses how CSPs are experienced by the actors within them and the ways in which they make sense of one another. Specifically, this refers to the police officers, partner agency staff and residents of communities in which the CSPs operate. Furthermore, it is recognised that:

The support for partnership within the higher echelons of government has meant that there is a paucity of research that explores, from a critical perspective, the problematic aspects of partnership... (Jacobs, 2010: 928).

This thesis has adopted such a critical perspective. Specifically, this thesis has been informed and guided by a critical criminological standpoint. Critical criminology, though subject to differing interpretations within criminology, is influenced by Marxism and can be described as seeking to:

... explore the ways in which the variables of class, race and gender are played out in the criminal justice system. This version of criminology argues that each of these variables articulates a different structural relationship with the interests of the state... It reflects a concern with the ideas that underpin discriminatory practices and consequently contribute to their perpetuation: how they become institutionalized (Walklate, 2007: 34).

It is this focus on the *structural* that is significant and sets critical criminology apart from other branches of criminology. Specifically, critical criminology emerged in the 1960's and 1970's from debates that began to challenge previously held assumptions about, for example, the role and function of the criminal justice system. It was at this point that critical criminology began to consider more closely the role of the state rather than the role of the individual, which had at that point dominated criminological thinking. Critical criminology emerged at the same time as 'radical criminology', also influenced by

Marxism and which is now known as 'left realism'. In contrast to the assumptions of critical criminology, left realism asserts that crime committed and experienced by working class people is a significant problem in society and that furthermore it should be possible to work both 'in' and 'against' the state (Burke, 2009). Whilst critical criminologists would not deny the realities of crime committed and experienced by working class people, they would posit that the 'crimes of the powerful' and the dominating structures of society that, for instance, foster the conditions for systemic inequality are of greater significance. A recent article by Hallsworth and Lea (2012) (the latter being a prominent early proponent of left realism) highlights the fate suffered by left realism:

In retrospect, Left Realism may be seen as the last attempt on the part of a liberal left to reason with the state... While New Labour under Blair would embrace the need to 'get real' about crime, the punitive neoliberal response that would follow bore very little relevance to the socialist agenda that Left Realists advocated. Left Realists were quickly consigned to the margins (2012: 189-190).

It should be the role of critical criminologists, as Walters argues, to offer 'a criminology of resistance' in order to challenge the orthodox of mainstream and embedded criminology that makes claims to 'the only 'legitimate and useful' regime of truth' (Walters, 2007: 16). This criminology of resistance should seek to, as one example, highlight the intensification of the authoritarian state. Some of the central themes adopted by many critical criminologists include those of power, class relations and inequality and therefore it is evident why critical criminology is considered as the criminology of the left (Russell, 2002). However, these are not the sole or even the dominant reasons as to why critical criminology is a useful standpoint from which to explore the research question this study is concerned with. As Scraton (2007) argues:

Critical social research sets an oppositional agenda. It seeks out, records and champions the 'view from below', ensuring the voices and experiences of those marginalised by institutionalised state practices are heard and represented. Through in-depth, contextual analysis it unlocks the potential of turning 'cases' into issues (2007: 10).

Scruton's statement is evidently influenced by the work of influential sociologist Howard Becker (1967) who, in advocating support of critical research highlighting the plight of the powerless, famously stated, 'whose side are we on?' Furthermore, at this juncture it is necessary to state what is meant by 'marginalised' as it is an important term that will be used throughout this thesis. In this regard, Jefferson's portrayal is relevant:

.. the marginals, the powerless, the dissidents, the 'toe-rags', the variously 'de-legitimated', the 'outsiders', the disaffected 'minorities': in short, those routinely subject to police attention (1993: 49).

In adapting the above for the purposes of this study, the deprived, predominantly working class communities of the areas studied as part of this research are referred to as marginalised communities. However, reference is also made to the nuances and differences of residents' within these marginalised communities, such as in relation to social and moral status and ability to exert influence. In light of the lack of attention paid so far to this issue in the extent literature and the theoretical approach adopted, this study has examined, from the perspectives of each actor, the relationships and outcomes that can be observed when state institutions come into contact with marginalised communities under the guise of 'partnership'.

Structure of the thesis

The following chapter offers a review of the current literature on CSPs and identifies the intellectual problem this study has addressed. Chapter Three provides justification for the chosen methods employed in this study and details how the research was carried out. Chapter Four examines the place and role that residents occupy within CSPs and the ways in which they make sense of other CSP actors. This chapter includes the views of police and partner agency staff and focuses on how they construct residents within the context of CSPs and what implications this has in understanding the role that they occupy. This chapter also examines the ways in which community engagement was useful to police and partner agencies within CSPs and suggests that priorities and concerns of residents are marginalised at the expense of those of other CSP actors.

Chapter Five focuses on the role of partner agency staff within CSPs. This chapter addresses the ways in which partner agencies assist the police in pursuing enforcement related actions. This chapter also details and presents evidence suggesting that partner agencies occupy an inferior role to the police in terms of influence and the setting of priorities within CSPs in marginalised areas. It is argued that whilst some aspects of partnership working within CSPs are mutually agreed and shared, other divergent objectives reveal the extent to which partner agencies attempt, through rhetoric and action, to resist demands placed upon them by the police.

Chapter Six, the third and final empirical chapter, assesses the dominant role police officers occupy within CSPs. It is argued that the police's involvement in a community safety agenda whilst at the same time being unable to abandon an enforcement-based perspective presents a number of problems for how policing in marginalised areas is experienced. It is also argued that there is little evidence of what may be termed as police community partnerships, including with those residents that do engage with the police within a CSP process. Finally, this chapter suggests that the police, as a dominant player in current CSPs, are in danger of pursuing partnerships which ultimately may result in worsening, rather than improving, relations with the community.

In Chapter Seven the thesis concludes by examining the findings of this study in the context of previous research and outlining the implications these findings have in regards to critical criminology. It is argued that the democratic deficit within CSPs requires urgent attention in order for community priorities and concerns to be addressed. One form this may take is the creation of local partnerships that do not include the police.

CHAPTER TWO - EXISTING RESEARCH ON COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIPS

As Young (2001) has noted, the term 'community' emerged, in the context of debates surrounding crime, law and order, as a key focus of concern for social commentators and policymakers. Now routinely meshed together with 'safety' and 'crime', Young argues that the use of the term 'community', at least in its imagined sense, has developed to be considered as a countenance to crime; '... the intense, socially rich interacting community is seen to be the very antithesis of crime and is indeed the place and source of all safety' (Young, 2001: 26). However, it is also noted by Young that 'community' in the context of crime, law and order has been problematically constructed and argues it is the role of critical criminologists to challenge the use of such terms. For instance, Young argues that more community does not necessarily mean less crime and may indeed foster crime. Furthermore, Young suggests that more community exists in 'sink' estates than in middle class areas and that whilst people seek community under capitalism it is actually capitalism that destroyed it.

Whilst the term 'community' is now familiar and synonymous with debates surrounding the crime 'problem', calls for communities to mobilise in response to crime have been a relatively recent phenomenon. The 1970s and 80s in particular, as Evans has noted, saw the politicisation of crime under a Conservative government that resulted in the championing of 'formal social control mechanisms... as the way to bring disordered populations into line' (2011: 7). These formal social control mechanisms took the form, for instance, of aggressive policing strategies towards ethnic minority and poor communities which ultimately, as the Scarman report later acknowledged, were a significant factor in sparking the nationwide inner-city riots of 1981. These events followed as a result of central government criminal justice policy that had followed a punitive rather than welfare centred crime prevention approach in the midst and aftermath of the social and economic upheaval of the 1970s and 80s, most starkly highlighted by the policing of the miners' strike. Stuart Hall and other critical academics, noted Scraton, were aware that authoritarianism generated resistance, '... yet the populist appeal for tough legislation, hard-line policing, heavy sentences, and uncompromising punishment regimes was fulfilled' (2004: 131). Such a punitive approach

to criminal justice typified this era, and was only brought to a partial halt by Scarman who recommended the police seek greater community relations. Shortly after this period, the Conservative government in 1984 sent a Home Office circular to every local authority informing them that crime was to be considered the responsibility of the whole community (Evans, 2011). As Evans argues, this move was wrought with contradictions, such as not taking into account that vulnerable individuals, groups and communities were at the same time given the burden of protecting themselves from harm whilst also being victimised. Furthermore, it was considered to be an attempt by the state, already committed to cutting back significantly on social and welfare expenditure for public services, to pass on to the public a degree of responsibility for crime prevention. This attempt to 'responsibilise' (Garland, 2001) individuals and communities is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw the slow turn from a predominant policy focus on crime prevention towards a more community safety oriented approach. As Squires (1999) notes, however, this transitory process was far from fluid with the ruling Conservative party largely ignoring the Morgan Report of 1991 that encouraged local authorities to be given a co-ordinating role for community safety, primarily due to it conflicting with their ideological stance of rolling back the influence of the state. However, this began to change in the early 1990s due to the introduction and influence of (and subsequent take up by central government) of the political philosophy of communitarianism. Communitarianism emerged as a prominent and influential political philosophy within and beyond the area of criminal justice policy and was described as having a '... strong and recurrent emphasis... on duties and responsibilities to the wider society rather than freedoms and rights for the individual' (Hughes, 1996). In this respect communitarianism emerged as an apparent response to liberalism and held the idea that current ills in society were a product of a breakdown in moral order; such as, for instance, poor parenting. The focus on 'duties and responsibilities' is paramount under the tenets of communitarianism and particular emphasis is placed on individuals taking an active role in their local communities. In the context of crime, law and order, influential communitarianism scholar Etzioni advocated public shaming and suggested that tight knit

communities had significant impact on crime rates without having to make recourse to 'extremist' or 'vigilante' groups (Hughes, 1996: 22-23). Though constructed as neither left nor right in its political sway, communitarianism was regarded as an alternative to the individualising effects of neoliberalism in the US, UK and further afield. Yet it quickly became apparent that communitarianism developed '... a moralistic and rightist tone' (Evans, 2011: 51).

Communitarianism was particularly influential in shaping the criminal justice policy of New Labour in the aftermath of their election win in 1997. As Evans describes, New Labour set out to distance itself both from the social democratic principles of Old Labour and the 'hyper-individualism' of Conservatism, thus clearly highlighting their commitment to the 'Third Way' political philosophy. Communitarianism was, therefore, an important vehicle from which New Labour began to impart responsibility for crime control and other spheres of public life more firmly at the door of individuals and communities (Evans, 2011: 52). It has been recognised that the development of community safety under New Labour, evidenced by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that mandated the police and other agencies to work together in partnership, had progressive elements and marked a clear departure from the earlier Conservative administration and its administrative crime prevention focus. Squires highlights the apparent achievements by stating:

... the renewed priority afforded to victims... and the broader academic legitimisation provided by 'left realism' appeared to suggest that the prevention of crime and the maintenance of law and order could form part of a wider project of progressive and inclusive social reconstruction (2006a: 237).

However, Squires and other commentators have noted that the promise of a progressive and inclusive criminal justice policy were ideals that went largely unrealised. In particular, Squires notes the New Labour policy focus on young people and anti-social behaviour aimed at 'early intervention' which ostensibly flew in the face of established theory, research and evidence (Squires, 2006a: 239). Indeed, Squires goes as far to state that this '... can be seen as one of the wheels falling off the community safety bandwagon...' and

that it was ‘... certainly not to be the only one’ (2006a: 239). Scraton (2004), too, discusses the ‘net-widening’ and processes of criminalisation that extended under the New Labour government, through the targeting of young people and through a populist focus on tackling anti-social behaviour. The following quote from Scraton neatly summarises the development of criminal justice policy under New Labour and the disappointment and ‘authoritarian renewal’ it engendered:

In Britain, the determination to use prison more readily and for longer sentences, committing prisoners to ever-more restricted and harsh regimes, proceeds apace. Despite assurances that the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, and subsequent legislation, is preventative, it is increasingly evident that the use of civil injunctions, particularly ASBOs, is criminalizing and punitive. Children and young people have been, and continue to be, targeted by teams of “soft cops” using permissive powers in neighborhoods blighted by structural unemployment, endemic poverty, and depleted public services. In these sites of exclusion, New Labour’s appeal to “communitarianism” and “responsibilization” is one without reason (2004: 155).

Hughes notes similar negative findings with the progressive promises associated with communitarianism remaining unfulfilled. As Hughes describes, crime control in the 21st century is typified by ‘... increasingly militarized control, targeted containment, privatized consumption of the dual city, aided and abetted by a morally stifling and authoritarian neo-conservative communitarianism’ (2007: 190). In addition to this, Crawford and Evans (2012) suggest that central government’s conflicted approach to communities in the context of criminal justice policy, under both the Conservatives and New Labour, undermined attempts at fostering a more inclusive and participatory community safety agenda. Crawford and Evans contend that, ‘In the end, the Government’s view of communities as fragmented, mistrusting, and crime-ridden severely impinged on their promise to deliver on a vision of positive, community-centred, and local, governance’ (Crawford and Evans, 2012: 797). This chapter will now consider in more detail the development of community policing in the UK and in particular the development of early forms of partnership working under the umbrella of community policing.

The development of partnership working between the police, communities and other public sector, private as well as voluntary organisations can be traced, in the UK, to the development of community policing. Brogden and Nijhar identified community policing as having three key components; ‘... community partnerships, problem-solving, and the commitment to the policing of a limited area’ (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005: 38). It is argued by Brogden and Nijhar that community policing developed in the West in response to the failure of traditional policing, a model that was subject to criticism from the public as well as political commentators. They further argue that central to the community policing approach was a shift towards a police focus on crime prevention, rather than its traditional focus as a reactive service. They contend that, ‘In the community policing context, crime prevention is regarded as not just a police responsibility but also as an activity that should be conducted in liaison with other agencies and more generally with the public’ (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005: 42).

Focusing on the UK context, Hope (2005) suggests that a conflict between central government and local authorities in the 1980s on the issue of democratic police accountability led to partnerships between the police and communities being promoted. These partnerships between the police and communities, importantly, did not signify a shift in ownership of the crime problem and a key reason to move towards such a method of policing was ‘... to develop partnerships between police and community so as to improve the effectiveness of the police service by creating a more cooperative relationship with the public’ (Hope, 2005: 372). Adopting a more critical focus, it is suggested by Gordon that community policing and more formalised partnerships between the police and communities developed in the 1980s as a policing method in order to address perceived ‘problem’ groups such as black communities and young people; groups which may have been opposed to policing (Gordon, 1984).

This review of the extant literature on community safety partnerships (CSPs) will consider the work of key writers and address the key claims, concepts and ideas developed to date. The literature reviewed for the purposes of this section is primarily focussed upon police partnerships with communities and other agencies within a community policing context, as it is recognised that the police work in partnership in a variety of other ways,

such as internationally with other police forces; such partnerships are not the focus of this review, or this study.

The following chapter will be split into four sections that will address the key themes that are central in the academic literature on CSPs. The first section, *From responsabilisation to co-option – the role of communities within CSPs*, will address a recurring topic of discussion, namely that of the tension and debate regarding the community contribution to and responsibility for crime, crime prevention and community safety. The second section will address the theme of *The experiences of practitioners within CSPs - Contested leadership, contested roles*. This theme will discuss another well-researched area in the CSP literature, namely that of the somewhat contentious and contested arena of ownership within partnerships; between organisations as well as individuals. The third section will include discussion on *Considering the impact of the state on CSPs – from facilitation to hindrance*. In the literature, there has been a consistent focus on the state in relation to CSPs, including a critique of calls for performance measurement, to analysis of the impact central governments have had in this key policy area within criminal justice. The fourth and final section will address *CSPs in review – a failure of implementation or a failure of research?* and provides a summary of the state of CSPs as defined by the literature, as well as address how this study seeks to add to growing debate within this important academic and policy area. This literature review concludes by establishing that there is little critical research on CSPs examining the nature of the relationship between residents, police officers and partner agencies that work within them thus highlighting the intellectual problem this thesis has addressed.

From responsabilisation to co-option – the role of communities within CSPs

David Garland, writing in *'The Culture of Control'* (2001), highlighted what he saw as the development, in the late 20th century, of a 'responsibilisation strategy' that involved central government placing onus on to individuals as well as non-criminal justice agencies in taking a more active role in what may have previously been considered an area of responsibility that lay primarily with the state. This area of responsibility was in the area of crime, disorder and community safety. As Garland notes:

This is the essence of the new crime prevention approach that has been developed by the governments of the USA and (especially) the UK over the last two decades. It is also a crucial element in the community policing policies, properly so-called. The key phrases of the new strategy are terms such as 'partnership', 'public/private alliance', 'inter-agency co-operation', 'the multi-agency approach' 'activating communities', creating 'active citizens' 'help for self-help' and the 'co-production of security (2001: 124).

Garland suggests that this shift towards 'responsibilising' individuals and non-criminal justice agencies and tasking them with a degree of ownership in relation to crime is a defining feature of crime prevention policy in the 20th century. This approach Garland considers as falling under what he terms an 'adaptive strategy', with the state calling for partnerships to form between individuals and agencies, however, at the same time he recognises the existence of the 'sovereign state' that is predominantly punitive in its approach to crime. This 'adaptive strategy', primarily concerned with calling for individuals and communities to take responsibility to some extent for matters of security, was for Garland a response by governments to the normalisation of high crime rates and the predicaments they presented. Responsibilisation, in summary, is an approach directed at extending the capacities of the state in regards to crime control. As Garland notes:

Instead of addressing crime in a direct fashion by means of the police, the courts and the prisons, this approach promotes a new kind of indirect action, in which state agencies activate action by non-state organizations and actors. The intended result is an enhanced network of more or less directed, more or less informal crime control, complementing and extending the formal controls of the criminal justice state (2001: 124).

Garland's thesis of responsibilisation has been critiqued for several perceived shortcomings; one of which is highlighted by Crawford (2009) who states that the shift by central government towards responsibilisation in the area of crime prevention was exaggerated and in fact was already taking place within other areas of civil society and the business sector. Other critiques, such as that developed by Matthews (2002), are much broader in their scope and highlight the perceived lack of theory and concepts in Garland's work. However, it is fair to suggest that a reason for the level of critique aimed at Garland's work is the impact and influence his book had on criminology for those

interested in crime prevention and social control as well as other fields. The work of Garland is relevant to this review and is a suitable position from which to begin as it deals with many of the themes this section will now seek to elaborate upon. Garland's ideas are primary to a popular debate in the CSP literature; namely the degree to which individuals and agencies have at different times been encouraged or compelled to take on greater responsibilities in relation to crime prevention and community safety. In order to address this topic, it is necessary to consider the political contexts in which such debates have occurred.

This political context is discussed by Hope (2005) who argues that the multi-agency partnership style of managing community safety arose in the 1980's, primarily as a result of conflict between a Conservative central government and local authorities headed by the Labour party. Hope argues that central government was faced with a number of contradictions in implementing new policy related to crime prevention:

Consequently, in this new culture of crime control, central government politicians would find themselves in a dilemma: on the one hand, a need to talk tough in public to assuage growing demands for safety and protection; on the other hand, a need to address, covertly and within the "system," the evident failures of criminal justice institutions to deliver that security, without undermining further the increasingly desperate trust placed in them by the public (2005: 370).

Commentators have noted this shift towards appealing to communities in the context of crime prevention as problematic. Sampson et al. (1988) found that early multi-agency partnerships were actually causes for tensions between communities along ethnic and class lines, in that some groups were treated 'better' by the police and other agencies for choosing to co-operate and for having good communicative links and relations with them. They further argued that state agencies treated certain communities as though they were homogenous groups, creating a dialogue with what they perceived as representative members of a community, whilst at the same time marginalising others. However, although rejecting multi-agency partnerships as a solution to numerous social problems experienced by communities, they did assert that some partnerships functioned better than others and some achieved more success than others. More recent research has confirmed some of the findings reported by Sampson et al. in relation to the role of

communities within partnerships. For example, Evans (2002) suggests that partnerships involve an 'illusion' of working together with communities when in fact a political paradox exists in that communities are at the same time considered the source of their own problems.

Skinns (2008), citing her empirical research on CSPs, argues that communities' involvement in partnerships is unclear and that in fact the police's command and control approach to police-community relations may inhibit communities providing solutions to some of their own problems related to crime and disorder. Furthermore, Skinns argues that 'it is state institutions, such as the police and local authority that are the key players, at the local level, there being little involvement from local citizens' (2008: 314). Other research has pointed to a varied picture of community involvement within CSPs. For example, Jacobs (2010), commenting on research conducted into police-community partnerships within Australia, found that community groups were reluctant to get involved with law enforcement activities as these groups saw their role as assisting other members of the community such as families in need, rather than getting involved in formalised partnership structures. Hancock (2009) has similarly found that community groups within CSPs may have different priorities with those that are presented by agencies. Hancock argues '... residential community groups frequently conceptualize neighbourhood problems differently from those agencies sitting at partnership tables...' (2009: 169). Citing the work of Karn (2007), Hancock further argues that agencies within CSPs achieve legitimation for actions by consulting with select 'moral' and 'authentic' voices from within communities that essentially prioritize the views of one section of the community, over the other.

Karn's ethnographic work, carried out within a Northern English estate, produced findings relating to how members of that community experienced interactions with the police, local authorities and other state agencies within a partnership working context. Karn contends that already vulnerable and marginalised residents, such as those from an ethnic minority, received a 'worse than useless' (2007: 96) response from the authorities that in effect resulted in them being doubly prejudiced; firstly by other residents (for instance, through racism), then by state agencies (through their failure to support such vulnerable residents). Karn further found that residents' vulnerabilities and 'sense of

abandonment' were heightened by their consideration of how they are perceived by authorities, the extent to which they are treated fairly and the extent to which they are able to influence priorities. Karn also found that communities experienced a tension between a 'need for' and 'threat from' agencies and that residents had a sense of powerlessness, attributed to their perceived inability to influence agencies and reluctant acceptance of the way that things were. Skinns found a similar frustration amongst residents:

... on the one hand, they are expected to share the responsibility for crime and disorder, with other state and non-state agencies and on the other hand, they receive little in return, as their priorities are bypassed, in favour of priorities prescribed by central government (2003: 10).

However, Skinns also found examples where community pressure was placed onto partnerships that then had to respond accordingly (for instance, to community concerns regarding anti-social behaviour). Skinns argues that this is an example of how crime and disorder at a local, partnership level is a contested matter and involves contestations not only between communities and agencies, but hierarchically within groups too. For example, Skinns discusses the tension between local authority practitioners and central government with the latter exercising a greater degree of authority and influence over the former. Skinns states that a possible reason for the perception among local residents that the police and local authorities were more responsible than residents within community safety partnerships was because the community were actually involved very little in them. What this demonstrates are problematic relations between residents who experience CSPs and the state agencies, primarily the police and local authorities, who make up the other actors within the partnership. In drawing such empirical data to the question of community involvement within CSPs it is evident that factors such as hierarchical tension and contested agendas may influence the degree to which a particular CSP has a greater or lesser community involvement. The extent to which communities have actually been 'responsibilised' to engage with practitioners and others is a debated issue within the literature, and Skinns concurs with Garland by arguing that central government, at the local level, dominates the community safety agenda and that responsibilisation occurred in rhetoric but not necessarily in reality (2003).

A range of other studies have also addressed community participation with CSPs. For example, Bull (2010)² found that despite negative external depictions within the media of a particular community group, this same community group was dedicated to change, despite their portrayal and disadvantaged status. However, it was also found that residents experiencing the CSPs were much more willing to engage with specialist community officers³, but less so with other police officers. Bull argues that a reason for this may be that community policing perspectives do not filter down to other officers. Interestingly, Bull also noted that the specialist community officers were isolated not only from some residents, but also from other officers who did not consider what they were doing as 'proper' police work. Returning to the UK context, Coleman et al. (2002) in their study of a CSP within a regeneration area in Merseyside argued that, within CSPs, 'on board' partners received funds, as did uncritical community groups and voices. They further argued that other community groups and voices were marginalised by practitioners within CSPs, such as at regular consultative meetings with community residents, thereby ignoring genuine community concerns. They referred to this process as 'the politics of responsabilisation' a process that involves the orientation of state agencies within CSPs towards working with certain individuals and certain community groups. However, they did also find ways in which the local community challenged this process and they highlighted the success of community campaigns and protests that did so. The authors assert that it is possible to challenge the domination of local CSPs by communities employing such means.

Bullock (2012) has found, in the context of community policing, that information provided by communities is valued little by police officers, who prioritise other sources of information. In addition to this, Bullock further argues that police officers do not value police-community consultative meetings, now a common and regular feature in

² Partnership working within a community policing context has emerged in Australia, as in the UK, as a prominent area of criminal justice policy. Therefore reference will be made in this thesis to Australian studies as well as those conducted in the UK.

³ The 'dedicated liaison officers' Bull refers to in the Australian context appear to be very similar to the work of police community support officers within the UK; non-warranted officers that have a limited range of powers and who primarily, but not exclusively, assist in neighbourhood policing teams as support staff to police officers.

neighbourhoods across England and Wales. Rather, police officers tended to prioritise their own observations and sources of information (which, ironically, may still include information from the community), over that which was provided by members of the community. This differs to analysis presented by Gordon (1984) relating to police-community consultative meetings in the 1980s. Gordon argues that the police were keen to be involved in these partnership meetings, primarily to secure legitimacy from local residents in communities that experienced disproportionate levels of policing.

Hughes (2007), a prominent writer in the CSP literature, outlines a critical yet optimistic view on the future of CSPs. In relation to the contribution of communities to CSPs, Hughes states that the terms 'community' and 'partnership' are problematic in what they imply and by what they assume. He further suggests that they are conceptualised weakly and are terms too often applied when discussing marginalised groups; in other words, appeals to community are often made to marginalised groups yet rarely to, for example, affluent groups within society. Hughes finds the issue of community representation inherently problematic, particularly in regards to decisions made by CSPs as to which community voices are to be included, and which are to be excluded. He states:

Whilst it is rare for representatives of the business community to be challenged about their legitimacy or representativeness, representatives of officially defined 'hard to reach' groups such as disabled people may find themselves in a 'no win' situation... sometimes dismissed by social and health officers as being unrepresentative of users because they appeared too articulate to be 'real' users (2007: 69).

Hughes addresses what he perceives as significant issues with community representation in CSPs and he further argues that in some communities, community involvement with state agencies may in fact be quite undesired. He contends that in some of the most excluded communities, community involvement or representation may be risky and dangerous. Analysing the assertions from central government that residents should be doing more in their communities in terms of getting involved with crime prevention and community safety related matters, Hughes quite pessimistically notes that 'bottom up' community politics are always a problem when you consider that they are a 'David' to the 'Goliath' of capital and the state (2007: 70-71).

Following Hope (2005), Hughes (2007) notes that community representation at forums such as police-community consultative meetings can not only prioritise certain individuals who may represent the interests of the most well organised communities but at the same time exclude those who do not have the means or capacity to have their voices heard. Hughes considers this as having a doubly damaging effect, as those excluded groups in most need effectively lose out on policing resources to other well organised groups. Hughes continues his critique by suggesting that community involvement in CSPs, where it does exist, is limited to consultation and does not, for example, include any involvement in leadership. This leads Hughes to suggest that, despite claims from central government, CSPs are still operated on a 'top down' basis.

Squires usefully summarises several of the key issues at the heart of community participation and representation within CSPs:

Consent has usually to be won, local co-operation and support achieved and, ultimately, forms of working partnership secured. The apparently simple definition of a crime problem (or, worse, 'nuisance' problem) may mask a host of ambiguities about how the issue ought to be addressed, whether it ought to be addressed, whether there are sufficient resources, for whom it is a priority, whose interests are at stake, whether there is any shared sense of what the intervention is intended to achieve, and so on. The preferences surfacing in much community safety partnership activity tend to reflect the world view of a middle-aged, suburban, largely owner-occupied, largely male, section of opinion. As a result, crimes against women, young people, minority ethnic group members and gay men and lesbians are under-represented as 'community problems'. Naturally, any selective appropriation of the ideas of the local community in consultative processes could lead to a rather selective articulation of local interests or, worse, even a *misrepresentation* of them (1999: 13).

Squires (1999) is critical, too, of the construction of community by practitioners within a CSP setting and implies that practitioners consider community as places as opposed to people. As a result, the importance of local social, demographical or cultural factors is overlooked by practitioners, who, in their consideration of community as place, favour situational crime prevention measures. This, Squires argues, depoliticises and homogenises community, failing to take into account differences within communities. As

Squires notes, 'ultimately, of course, this is not just bad social policy but bad crime prevention' (1999: 14).

Gordon (1984) identified that early police-community partnerships were about penetrating or breaking community resistance in areas that may have had poor relations with the police previously. He further suggests that partnerships were not equal, with overwhelming police dominance and were typified by having an enforcement role, rather than a welfare-centred role. Gordon argued that partnership working was an extension of community policing; working with schools, social workers and other agencies was to be encouraged, enabling the police to occupy a powerful position from which they could dismiss dissent from sections of the community. Gordon argued that the community was afforded a weak role within police-community relationships at the expense of police leadership which enabled fractures within communities as well as punitive responses from the police; 'Invariably groups which do receive money have to accept some form of police involvement as a price of financial support, and there have been allegations that groups which do not take police money and involvement are subjected to harassment such as raids and searches' (1984: 46). Furthermore, Gordon is cynical regarding the intentions of police-community partnerships; 'The creation of consultative committees, however, is not just a government and police smokescreen or public relations exercise. It is not just against accountability - it is for the co-option of the community into policing' (1984: 52).

This critical view of the police role within police-community partnerships has been supported by other studies in the 1980's, such as Stubbs (1987) as well as more recent studies such as Squires (1999). It is therefore useful at this juncture to now consider the role of practitioners (including police officers) within CSPs, an area that has included discussion regarding the CSP as a contested arena.

The experiences of practitioners within CSPs - contested leadership, contested roles

The experiences of practitioners and the numerous problems and contestations related to practitioners working within a CSP setting is a dominant theme in the literature. For

example, Bull (2010) highlights that activities associated with community policing such as partnership working are not valued and not seen as relevant by police officers, a claim that is supported by other research (Rogers, 2004). Furthermore, Bull suggests that some police officers volunteer or engage in such activity as it offers other career benefits, such as opportunities for promotion for having 'ticked the box' of community policing. It was also recognised by Bull that the police responded to community problems with a traditional law enforcement response, and Bull stated a reason for this may be restrictions of the command control structure, within which many police organisations work. Moreover, Bull found that police officers were reluctant to get involved in partnership working if they did not have a lead involvement, a view that has been echoed by other research (Noaks, 2008), and Bull again suggests that a reason for this may be organisational constraints. This viewpoint, of an existing tension between organisational structures and expectations of officers to develop a community policing approach, has also been confirmed by other studies (Davies, 2004; Fleming and Rhodes, 2005). Bull also found that police officers had different motivations towards working in community contexts. Whereas some officers used the benefits offered by working with the community (such as in the form of easy and quick access to intelligence through community contacts) others found that, 'Working with the community to proactively build relationships, implement programmes, and develop networks was seen as a drain on resources that took vehicles, personnel, and time away from 'real policing' (2010: 286). Nonetheless, Bull did find that senior police officers were very positive regarding partnership working; however this view was not replicated by front line staff. Conversely, however, Hughes and Rowe (2007) found that police officers were critical of what they perceived to be careerist senior colleagues who were interested in constantly created new programmes of community and partnership working around themes such as innovation. Bull found in her study that police officers were not actually a lead party in partnership, though they were a stakeholder. This view has been contradicted by Skinns (2008) who found that police officers were a lead and dominant player within partnerships and that this could be explained in part by their culture of being an organisation embedded with a 'can do' attitude. Recent research has indicated that police officers are adopting a more favourable attitude to partnership working (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2012).

The intentions and aims of the police within partnerships have also been brought to attention. For example, Coleman et al. (2002) suggest that the police role within partnership is to reinforce the aims of local elites. Hughes and Rowe (2007) argue that within partnerships the police are more interested in crime reduction than addressing notions of community safety and, furthermore, they call into question the development of neighbourhood policing within the UK and what it may mean for how the police work within communities. Their primary concern is that under central government guidelines, there is a concerted focus within neighbourhood policing practice for the police to focus upon performance measurement⁴.

Clearly seeking to re-position the public police in this way raises a host of further questions about police culture and training, relations with marginalized communities, mechanisms of consultation and the capacity of criminal justice agencies such as the police to provide effective responses to 'subjective' public perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour (2007: 330).

As the above quote suggests, Hughes and Rowe found that competing demands as well as cultural factors negatively affected the patrol work carried out as part of community policing activities, and rather, 'response' work (police work necessitating an urgent response) was prioritised. However, they do also recognise that community safety teams developed since the introduction of neighbourhood policing in 2005 have seen patrol work dispersed to a number of actors including police community support officers.

Rogers (2004) found that hierarchical conflict was not limited to the ranks of the police; he found that hierarchical conflict and tension was a feature of partnership working and he discovered that the decision making ability appeared to rest with the senior partnership staff (not, for example, solely with senior police partners). Hughes (2007) also found hierarchical tensions and conflict to be a feature of partnership working. Fleming

⁴ Though the Home Secretary in 2010 urged police forces to no longer follow performance targets (Greenwood, 2010), the Home Secretary has recently revealed that some police forces do still follow them (BBC News, 2013). Greater Manchester Police is one such force, which, in its 2012/2013 policing plan, documented its achievements alongside performance measures (Greater Manchester Police, 2012).

also addressed this theme in relation to her study on police-community partnerships as networks in an Australian context. She argues that,

Running through all this commentary are two contradictions. First, working through networks and partnerships is a stated objective of this police organisation, but all governing structures – bureaucracies, markets and networks fail some of the time. Second, networking and partnerships do not sit easily with hierarchical governance, strict rules, and a command and control structure or markets that favour competition over cooperation (2006: 108).

Other studies have supported the view that CSPs are hampered by hierarchical tensions that originate both within and between organisations but are also induced through interventions by central government such as in the form of partnerships being required to focus upon targets and performance measurement, which may take precedence over priorities agreed locally between partners (Skinns, 2008). As Hughes and Rowe note:

One of the persistent sources of conflict in the field of multi-agency partnership working is the ‘clash of cultures’ phenomenon. This has been widely noted in over two decades of research across the UK and internationally and it is likely that it will continue to resurface in the local enactment of NP alongside community safety work (2007: 331).

As well as cultural differences, another source of conflict is the differing backgrounds and related attitudes that partners may bring (Crawford, 1997), as well as priorities that may not concur with the priorities of other partners (Jacobs, 2010). However, despite this, studies have also indicated that police officers enjoy the challenge of partnership working, ‘Officers interact with other agencies as part of their work practices on a day-to-day basis. There were those who enjoyed collaborating with other agencies and appreciated the potential of more formal arrangements’ (Fleming, 2006: 18). O’Neill and McCarthy noted similar findings in a recent study of police partnership working in the UK (2012).

Fleming's (2006) study on partnership working from the perspective of the police includes suggestions that the police face significant challenges; including, for example, that the police have to accept new ways of working, such as with other agencies and communities, and to not do so would invite criticism. Fleming also found that police officers, though enjoying partnership working, were critical of the limitations of other partner agencies and that this attitude appeared within varying ranks of the police. Fleming found that trust between agencies was a significant factor with problematic relations between partners identified:

The responses identified here suggest that trust between agencies is in short supply. While senior officers were more appreciative of the dilemmas faced by other agencies in terms of resources and information sharing, the officers on the front line were not so tolerant (2006: 17).

Furthermore, it has been argued that partner agencies are aware of the police-centred structure of partnerships and of how this prioritises police agenda items at the expense of those brought forward by other agencies (Hughes and Rowe, 2007). O'Neill and McCarthy (2012) from their interviews with police officers found evidence that trust relations between police officers and partner agencies had gradually improved over time. They suggest that this is the result of compromise on behalf of police officers who came to trust and welcomed other partners when they had demonstrated their willingness to share resources and engage with the partnership.

Skinns noted in her study that practitioners within partnerships experienced uncertainty due to factors other than cultural issues and divergent priorities. She noted that:

In the CDRPs, there were also uncertainties about roles and responsibilities, although for quite different reasons; they arose because practitioners were pushed and pulled in different directions, as a result of inter-agency differences, governmental micro-management, as well as the need to attend to the concerns of diverse communities (2008: 315).

This view has been confirmed by other studies, such as by Crawford who found that many partnerships have stalled due to the reluctance of some agencies to participate, the dominance of certain agendas (often policing), an unwillingness to share information,

conflicting interests, priorities and cultural assumptions on the part of some partners, a lack of inter-organisational trust, a desire to protect budgets and a lack of capacity and expertise (2009: 24). Referring to Crawford's critique of New Labour's 'Third Way' strategy and its implications for partnerships (2001), Skinnis further argues that the plural nature of CSPs can lead to confusion and complications arising between partners; primarily in that it leads to the creation of 'hybrid mentalities and practices' that exist within partnerships (2008: 315). Referring to other examples from empirical fieldwork conducted in relation to CSPs, Jacobs found that the pressures on practitioners to engage in partnership resulted in negative reactions:

First, partnerships necessitate formal face-to-face interaction across different agencies. Meetings are the means to achieve this, but often they are viewed by those attending as an additional workload task and for bringing to the fore tensions within organizations. These tensions already exist but we found that pressure to institutionalize collaboration generated a reaction that was largely negative (2010: 934).

Jacobs also found that partnership working was affected by a lack of momentum, for example due to staff turnover or when new priorities were given precedence over current priorities that had not yet achieved their goals. Jacobs further found that practitioners within CSPs viewed them as a site from which to cement existing organisational boundaries, rather than as a site of encouragement from which to engage in interdisciplinary working. Fleming summarises these dilemmas by stating that 'if we consider that other agencies have very different goals, cultures and traditions, then we begin to appreciate the various challenges that confront partnership policing' (2006: 24). Conversely however, O'Neill and McCarthy (2012) have argued that partnership working has improved, particularly in respect to the role of the police within them.

Considering the impact of the state on CSPs – from facilitation to hindrance

The role of the state, both at central and local government levels, is subject to much debate within the literature in regards to CSPs. For example, Crawford is critical of and lays blame at the door of the state in regards to the failures of CSPs:

In part, the failings of community safety partnerships can be attributed to the inconsistent and contradictory burdens imposed by central government and the lack of genuine autonomy of partnerships under Home Office micromanagement, as well as broader dilemmas associated with governance (2006: 461).

This section will address the issues Crawford raises in more detail. Several commentators refer to the importance of the political context within which CSPs operate. For example, Coleman et al (2002) argue that partnerships are effectively a social ordering strategy, involving central and local government structuring relations around specific policy and ideological goals. They further argue that the development of CSPs has been central to the re-configuration of local state rule where neo-liberal hegemony is sustained and interests that are forwarded are primarily related to business and the coercive capacity of partnerships. Skinns offers an alternative viewpoint on the state, suggesting that it is central to the development of CSPs with a caveat that it acts as 'as a guardian of public interests such as justice, fairness and human rights' (2008: 314).

It is argued that CSPs, both in their early development in the 1980's under the Conservative government and later through the New Labour government, allow for the state to increase the legitimacy of the criminal justice system (Gilling, 2007; Skinns, 2008). This is achieved by offering the opportunity to citizens to raise local concerns about social problems. This is considered by Hancock (2009) as problematic and she argues, following Crawford (2006), that the state has increased its attempts in moving towards a social ordering strategy. Hancock is further critical of the lack of development that has occurred in enabling communities to be able to respond adequately to local issues:

My argument... is that government efforts to extend public participation are tension-ridden and contradictory when mapped against the much more powerful influences on policy-making... and the variety of conditions which remain *disempowering* as far as 'community participation' is concerned (2009: 168).

This view raises questions about the extent to which power and decision-making abilities have been distributed to communities and in a similar vein, Squires is critical of what he sees as the contradictory approach of central government that, under crime prevention

rhetoric, effectively pits sections of communities against one another, as evidenced, for example, by New Labour's 'war on crime' (Squires, 1999).

A familiar theme within the CSP literature is discussion surrounding the onus placed onto partnerships to meet performance measurement targets, particularly under the New Labour government and after the implementation of the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act that mandated some agencies with a responsibility to work together with the police in tackling crime and disorder. Crawford (2001) highlighted several problems with the shift towards a managerialist system for CSPs and he stated that the central government approach to a culture of performance measurement has not only not been useful but has in fact hindered the development of CSPs and created issues for practitioners working within them. For example, Crawford states that 'The massive transformation of inter-organisational relations that a partnership approach and 'joined-up government' entail have in part been hindered, rather than advanced, by a managerialist culture' (2001: 60) as 'Managerialist reforms have served, perversely, to increase the isolation and introspection of many criminal justice agencies and other public sector organisations drawn into community safety partnerships' (2001: 65).

Hughes (2007) has also identified managerialism as a debilitating and destabilizing feature of partnerships, arguing that before any call for greater community participation within CSPs, the domination of managerialism and its effects needs to be addressed. Squires (1999), in a summary of the problems he identified with CSPs, also highlights managerialism as a key factor, and similarly Fleming (2006) is critical of managerialism and its capacity as well as usefulness in measuring the success of CSPs.

Skinns is adamant that the state should have a central role in the development of CSPs. She argues that although the context is quite complicated, '... it is evident, in line with other studies on police-community partnerships, that, in practice, ultimate responsibility rests with the state or its agents, the police' (2008: 316). Skinns provides several reasons for coming to this assertion; for example, it is suggested that a possible danger, if the state were not to assume a central role, would be for security at the local level to become a private good that only the affluent could afford. This, of course, would impact unfairly on the poor.

Hope (2009) has gone further in his analysis of this issue suggesting that those who can afford private security would not be interested in supporting state criminal justice policies that may offer no immediate benefit to them; in other words, the affluent would be more interested in spending money on their own security rather than on crime prevention, despite the fact that the poor and marginalised are more likely to constitute offender as well as victim. Skinns further notes that the reason she suggests that central government are a key institution within the CSP setting are that they *already* occupy a leading and influential position within them. Skinns is critical of the state of the CSP, arguing that genuine partnerships have not been achieved in reality and she argues that a reason for this is, 'the hierarchical nature of government interventions (such as national targets, monitoring of performance, tight timescales) as well as unintended consequences, such as the undermining of trust (which is crucial to partnerships)' (2008: 317). Hughes and Rowe (2007) are similarly critical of the state's attempts at calling for community participation within CSPs whilst at the same time hindering the progress and development of them through onerous and bureaucratic processes such as performance management measures.

CSPs in review – a failure of implementation or a failure of research?

There is widespread agreement within the CSP literature that expectations in relation to their potential have not been met. This agreement appears to evidence a reluctant acceptance of missed opportunities, and the state is at the centre of the critique;

... the reality is that, in most instances, they have singularly failed to meet even the most limited aims of networks. They lack significant autonomy from central government, and can hardly be described as 'self-organizing'. Under pressure from government to prioritize national targets that reflect a preoccupation with police-recorded reductions in crime, the community safety remit of CDRPs has narrowed to a focus on crime reduction (Crawford, 2006: 460).

Moreover, it is noted that the role of non-professional actors within CSPs has been downplayed and instead there has been reliance on 'scientific' and 'intelligence led' policing strategies which as Hope (2005) has identified are heavily critiqued themselves.

Following Hope, Hughes and Rowe agree that CSPs have not only failed to produce tangible outcomes in terms of success, but have also singularly failed to address the more recent and problematic political concern with the fear of crime (evidenced by the focus on anti-social behaviour) (2007). Jacobs (2010) is critical of CSPs and argues that in many instances their rhetoric does not match the reality; a reality that involves instances such as clashes between agencies which can lead to unstable working conditions. Although Hughes and Rowe refer to central government addressing concerns by introducing a CSP reform programme with minimum standards in 2007, they are at the same time mindful of a potentially dangerous future scenario where the remit and powers of CSPs are extended:

According to a differing ideological calculation, this same inter-agency vision may conjure up the grave risk to democratic renewal of a new 'joined-up', expert totalitarianism associated with new 'intelligence-led business processes' and the new 'community intelligence' of the surveillance state. Perhaps even more potentially catalytic or calamitous in its likely consequences is the mobilization of bottom-up communal processes around local ordering and safety (2007: 341).

Rogers, however, suggests that partnerships have historically failed as well as succeeded. In his own study he admits that the partnership failed, which he puts down to factors such as political forces, a lack of community consultation and cultural differences (Rogers, 2004).

Hancock (2009) argues that the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act resulted in more central government, not less, to the detriment of community safety working at a local level; new priorities were established here too, including the focus on anti-social behaviour as well as reliance on evaluation based research in order to provide support for projects and initiatives. It has been argued too that CSPs have extended the enforcement potential available to practitioners, with the example provided of the increase in use of civility orders (Darke, 2011). Darke argues that partnership working results in more, not less policing and that local government has been co-opted into enforcement, rather than the police being co-opted into welfare. These findings by Darke concur with the findings presented in this thesis, which call into question the embedded nature of partnership

working that has developed under the umbrella of neighbourhood policing. Furthermore, Darke is damning of a recent central government initiative that prioritised enforcement as a way in which partnerships should respond to anti-social behaviour:

The most controversial aspect of the Labour government's enforcement approach came with what the Home Office described as its 'Respect Agenda', launched in 2006. Under documents produced by the Respect Task Force (e.g. Home Office, 2006), crime prevention partnerships were encouraged to *prioritize* enforcement over social and situational measures when dealing with anti-social behaviour. In the first year Respect Task Force officers were given the task of distributing £40 million funding for enforcement measures (2011: 422).

Darke is further critical of the future of CSPs, noting that most CSPs in England now have specialist enforcement teams, though he does suggest that the more localised a partnership, the more inclusionary it will be. Other studies have also suggested that where local practitioners are allowed autonomy, constraints levelled by central government can be challenged leading to successful outcomes (Foster, 2002; Hallsworth, 2002; Skinns, 2003).

Karn (2007) stressed that partnership was less important for citizens than other factors – she argued that what local groups needed was links to other democratic structures such as participative democracy, which were otherwise unavailable to them. Evans notes a similar point in that crime control partnerships need to radically alter in order to understand local complexities (2002). On the topic of democracy, Hope argues that partnerships are typified as consisting of undemocratic processes, where the power rests with the central (2005). Crawford develops a critique of CSPs that highlights them as not taking into account local complexities and that defines communities as well as practitioners in homogenous terms:

At the heart of appeals to partnerships and policy networks is an ambiguity as to what partnerships entail and their purpose, inclusiveness, responsibilities, working relations and lines of accountability. The discussion tends to treat partnerships as if the public sector, voluntary organisations, private businesses, communities and groups are undifferentiated clusters of organisations, as if they present the same

issues and opportunities as well as difficulties. There is little sense of the diverse priorities and forces as well as the plural traditions, cultures and practices which differentiate such clusters of interests (2001: 60).

In summary, it can be stated that much of the research on CSPs indicates that they have not fulfilled their expectations or potential and recent analysis by Crawford and Evans (2012) highlights the 'political disappointment' they have presented in light of their failures. This study seeks to re-consider CSPs and address an area of research that has been highlighted as missing within the literature. As Jacobs contends:

The support for partnership within the higher echelons of government has meant that there is a paucity of research that explores, from a critical perspective, the problematic aspects of partnership... (2010: 928).

This study has adopted such an approach and furthermore, has provided an original contribution to knowledge by examining partnerships as experienced by the police as well as by practitioners and residents within marginalised communities; a study currently missing from the CSP literature. This study will also address another gap in the literature as identified by Hughes and Rowe:

... almost without exception the burgeoning community policing literature has been remarkably silent on the vital and fast developing relationship between initiatives branded in contemporary UK as neighbourhood and reassurance policing and community safety and the institutional architecture and new governmental expertises of local authority-led crime and disorder reduction through the technique of the multi-agency partnership (2007: 322).

In other words, there is a need here to address the emerging relevance of community policing that appears in recent times, primary due to the development of neighbourhood policing in the UK, to be more wedded to notions of multi-agency working than has been the case previously. Other notable gaps in the research literature this study will address will include the calls for a focus on 'who works' rather than 'what works' as well as a need to consider whether or not community consent within CSPs has been 'won' at the local level (Hancock, 2009; Hughes, 2007). Squires also notes there is a need to consider whether or not all partners have benefitted equally from arrangements within CSPs – he

suggests that this may not be the case (Squires, 2006a). In light of these research gaps, and in the context of the literature as debated in the course of this review, this study will contribute to the extant literature on CSPs by critically analysing how they are experienced from a police, practitioner as well as community perspective within marginalised communities and the research question that will drive this study, is as follows:

What is the nature of the relationship between the police, partner agencies and residents within a community safety partnership setting in marginalised communities?

Based on this review of the literature and utilising the critical criminology explanatory framework adopted by this study and set out in the previous chapter, it was anticipated that state actors would have a disproportionate level of influence on CSPs in marginalised communities. It was also anticipated that CSPs would be a contested arena in which state actors including the police and partner agencies would vie for influence with little consideration given to the input of residents. Moreover, it was expected that the residents of the marginalised communities would be further disadvantaged when attempting to engage with CSPs and attempting to effect the decision making process due to their status as deprived areas. This thesis will now consider the methods employed in this study, the justification for their selection and will introduce the case study areas that were the subject of the data collection.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

This chapter will address the research methodology that was utilised in order to carry out this research. It will outline how the research problem was framed, the research philosophy adopted and the specific research methods that were chosen. The chapter will detail why an ethnographic approach employing qualitative methods was considered suitable for this research. The fieldwork was conducted in three case study areas and employed the use of observation and semi-structured interviews. This chapter will provide an overview of the case study areas, the sampling process and how participants were recruited for the research, as well as addressing the methodological issues that arose in the course of the fieldwork element of the study. These issues primarily related to access to fieldwork sites and research participants. This chapter will then proceed to demonstrate the data analysis process of the research. Justification will be provided for deciding upon a thematic analytical approach, aided by the use of qualitative software.

The methodology adopted for this study can be described as a *multi-site ethnography* employing a case study approach. Multi-site ethnography breaks with the traditional convention of ethnography which involves a long term, in-depth study of one site. As Falzon (2009) argues, it adopts in its place a study of multiple sites as it not possible to account for certain social phenomena with a focus on a single site.

Case study research is described as ‘a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information’ (Creswell, 2007: 73). Furthermore, as this study adopted an approach that focussed on multiple cases, it is possible to derive from these a series of ‘cross case’ conclusions (Yin, 2009: 20). Yin also notes, a single case study design can be criticised for its uniqueness (for instance, what is found there may be dependent on specific factors present in that area) whereas a multiple case study approach can temper such criticism and scepticism. Thus, it can be said that a multiple case study approach presents a much stronger argument for validity than that of a study of a single case.

Epistemological position

It is necessary at this stage to state the epistemological position adopted for this study and at the same time address why a qualitative rather than quantitative approach was taken to data collection. Critical criminology, as Hudson (2011) contends, has been strongly opposed to positivism and is not concerned with being a predictive science or with formulating causal laws. Rather, critical criminology is clear that, following the influential Frankfurt School of criminology which pioneered critical theory, that it was impossible to pursue value-free knowledge, as all knowledge is bounded by values and interests. Elaborating on this, Hudson states that critical criminology is clear about the position it states, suggesting this goal of *emancipation* was achieved by the Frankfurt School in their critique of and distinct position from positivism. Hudson argues that the role of critical criminology is to take the side of the powerless, the marginalised and the excluded:

In different contexts, 'the powerless, the marginalised and the excluded' may mean women, children, race/ethnic/cultural minorities, sexual minorities, non-citizens, prisoners, victims, but critical criminology is always on the side of those on the downside of power (2011: 333).

Moreover, for Scraton (2007), critical criminology amounts to:

... a reflexive sociology that contextualised social and cultural relations in their material history and their political-economic present. Only then could issues of power, legitimacy and authority be understood and analysed (2007: 8).

In order to achieve this contextualisation, then, it was necessary to utilise the research methods of semi-structured interviews and observation. This allowed for a rich picture to be built of the nature of the relationships between residents, police officers and partner agencies within CSPs that could not be achieved by quantitative methods. For example, it was possible to observe interactions between police officers, partners and residents both in the setting of a meeting and in other contexts such as when police officers were on patrol in communities. In addition to this, themes or items of interest that were discussed

with participants in interviews were able to be further researched due to the availability of observation as a method. Furthermore, in respect to the benefits of observation, Mason states it offers the researcher an 'epistemologically privileged' position:

Indeed, many devotees of observation would argue that the researcher can be a 'knower' in these circumstances precisely because of shared experience, participation or by developing empathy with the researched. In other words, they know what the experience of that social setting feels like, although of course not necessarily from the perspective of all participants and actors involved, and in that sense they are *epistemologically privileged* (2002: 85).

It is exactly this *privileged* position that I adopted in the field, a position from which I located myself within a variety of professional and social groups and within social settings, as required by the research question.

The case study areas

This research took place within the area of a Northern English police force. This access was achieved with the assistance of the research supervisors and thus initial access, or entry to the research field, was less of an issue in this study than it may have been for others. This police force was conducting an internal project on the effectiveness of intensive policing in deprived neighbourhoods and therefore this project complemented that interest. It was decided that data collection would be based on three case study sites from three of these neighbourhoods and these were agreed with the research supervisors and with the police force.⁵ I was able to retain control of the intellectual development of this study.

It is useful at this stage to present the three case study areas and provide details of how CSP working was carried out. Some of the features are consistent across the three case study areas and will be presented as such whereas other features merit more detailed

⁵ Access was granted to the research site by the police force on the basis that a report would be produced on policing partnerships within the case study areas. This was agreed; however the contents of this thesis are entirely separate and unconnected from the content of the report for the police.

insight as they are unique. A common feature among all three case study areas was that they were among the most deprived wards in the county in which the police force was located.⁶ Indeed, all of the possible case study areas, including the three eventually selected, were noticeable for their status as amongst the most deprived wards in the county.

Firstly, the commonalities in CSP working across all three case study areas will be addressed. In each of the case study areas, the neighbourhood policing teams of all the partners involved worked most often and closest with the local authority. This was evidenced, for example, by the fact that the majority of the meetings were chaired either by the neighbourhood policing inspector, or the neighbourhood manager for the local authority. In all three case study areas the police inspectors worked closely with the neighbourhood managers; neighbourhood managers were often described to me as the local authority 'equivalent' of the inspectors. Another common feature of the case study areas was the close working relationship police officers had with housing officers. This was evidenced at partnership meetings and during joint activities that they were involved in. For instance, in each of the case study areas joint visits were carried out by neighbourhood police officers and housing officers in order to issue social housing residents with tenancy warnings.

Other common features were that police community support officers (PCSOs) carried out the majority of patrol work whereas police officers were primarily engaged in activities such as crime investigation and associated enforcement activities such as arrests and organising and carrying out policing operations both with and without partner agencies. In each case study area a regular partnership intelligence meeting took place. This involved the agencies present sharing information and intelligence and updating one another on actions that either had been carried out or were currently planned. The neighbourhood policing teams in all three case study areas were made up of police officers, police community support officers and special constables. The case study areas

⁶ In order to preserve the anonymity of the case study areas and of the participants within them, it is not possible to present official statistics here in support of this claim.

will now each be discussed in turn in respect to how CSP working was organised and took place. The first area to be discussed is Oakdale.

Oakdale

Oakdale is a working class neighbourhood in a Northern English town with a significant Muslim population of South Asian origin. According to a number of indicators including levels of unemployment and life expectancy, Oakdale is the most deprived of the three case study areas.⁷ The CSP in Oakdale operated primarily through a fortnightly partnership intelligence meeting. This was chaired predominantly by the neighbourhood manager of Oakdale local authority but also occasionally by the neighbourhood inspector. It was at this meeting that local priorities were discussed and agendas were set. Housing officers, environmental services officers and other local authority staff such as community safety officers were regular attendees at this meeting. A regular Partners and Communities Together (PACT) meeting was held in two parts of Oakdale; I will refer to these as Oakdale West and Oakdale East. It was unclear as to why this was the case but it was apparent that one of the PACT meetings was to 'service' a predominantly Asian community within Oakdale and another PACT meeting within a predominantly white community. This meeting was held in the vicinity of a high rise tower block. Neighbourhood policing was organised separately on two fronts; PCSOs carried out the majority of patrol work and regularly attended the PACT meetings. Police officers patrolled only by car and their work was distinct from the work of PCSOs by focussing on targeting individuals and groups for arrests and other enforcement related activities.

Newford

Newford was the only case study area located within a city. Home to a predominantly white working class community in Northern England, Newford also had the largest neighbourhood policing team of the case study areas. The CSP held a fortnightly meeting which was chaired by the local authority neighbourhood manager and attended regularly

⁷ Again, it is not possible to provide official statistics here to support this claim without compromising the anonymity of the research participants.

by staff including the neighbourhood policing inspector, housing officer and youth worker. Uniquely among the case study areas, this regular Newford partnership intelligence meeting was also attended by two local residents. These residents were invited to the meeting by the CSP and were joint chairs of the local residents association. In addition to this, a number of PACT meetings were held in the Newford area. These were usually held in the evening at local schools or community centres and were chaired, again, by the neighbourhood manager for Newford. As in the other case study areas, PCSOs carried out the majority of the patrol work. However, unlike in Oakdale, PCSOs in Newford were often paired with a police constable; particularly when specific activities were being carried out, such as 'anti-social behaviour patrols' which were carried out by officers circling Newford in vehicles. Nonetheless, PCSOs still carried out the majority of patrol work on foot; usually on their own.

Ringland

Ringland was the smallest of the case study areas, both in terms of population and the size of its policing team. Ringland is a working class community that, like Oakdale, is home to a significant Muslim population of South Asian origin. Unlike in the other case study areas, the Ringland neighbourhood policing team was based in a building also shared by the council and local (private) housing authority. This had been a deliberate move by the CSPs two years before my study began; ostensibly this had been done to 'target' a particular 'problem' street within Ringland. Another unique aspect in Ringland was the monthly PACT meeting that did not have any local residents present as they were not invited. Instead, it was established that the local councillor brought to the meeting the concerns of local residents. Another partnership meeting involving the police and community took place on a much less frequent quarterly basis; unlike in Oakdale and Newford, there were no attempts to obtain community priorities at this meeting and they mainly consisted of updates on crime statistics from the Ringland neighbourhood policing sergeant. Like the other two case study areas, a regular partnership intelligence meeting was held. This was chaired by either the neighbourhood manager or the neighbourhood policing inspector and involved partner agency staff such as housing officers, environmental services and youth workers. PCSOs and police officers in Ringland often

operated separately, with, for instance, two PCSOs on foot patrol together or two police officers patrolling in the police vehicle together.

Sampling

The research participants, or sample, in this research were organised into three categories. To begin with, the first sample group consisted of police employees. This included police officers, PCSOs and members of civilian staff. The second category was partner agency staff. This sample included individuals from a variety of organisations, both statutory and voluntary, including the local council, housing officers and community groups. The final sample was residents of the communities in which I was researching. Some of these residents were currently active within CSPs whereas others had experience of them but were no longer involved in them. Including these three distinct sample groups in this study enabled me to obtain a cross section of views on experiences of CSP working and thus directly address the research question. All three sample groups were studied in each of the three case study areas.

The sampling method used in this study was *opportunistic*; this method is described by Bryman as 'Capitalizing on opportunities to collect data from certain individuals, contact with whom is largely unforeseen but who may provide data relevant to the research question' (2012: 419). This was regarded as the most suitable option as it was unknown, prior to undertaking the research, which individuals I would be in contact with. Furthermore, it was not my intention to seek out certain individuals; rather, it was taking advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves. In total, 39 interviews were conducted across the case study areas. 15 interviews were conducted with police officers, PCSOs and police staff; 12 with partner agency staff and 12 with community residents. Though it was not the intention of this study to pursue sampling *representationally* which is more commonly used by quantitative researchers (Mason, 2002) the research participants across the sample groups included men, women and individuals from a diverse range of backgrounds in respect to, for instance, age and ethnicity. Interviews were conducted with the respective sample groups until the point of 'saturation' had

been reached; that is, a point at which nothing new was being learned (Noaks and Widcup, 2004).

Observation and fieldnotes

Monahan and Fisher note that despite criticisms towards observation, (as all research methods can of course be criticised), this method provides 'truths' or insights into a certain social group or cultural phenomena that is otherwise inaccessible by alternative methods (2010: 358). In the context of this research, for instance, observing interactions between police officers and partner agencies and between practitioners and residents led to specific insight being gained beyond that which could have been achieved by solely relying upon interview based data collection.

It is evident that many previous studies in the fields of policing and of police community relations utilised observation as a key research method. This approach stems from the early classic British texts on policing and police/community relations such as Brogden's *On the Mersey Beat* (1991) and Manning and Van Maanen's *Policing: A View from the Streets* (1978) to more recent works such as *Villains: Crime and Community in the Inner City* (Foster, 1990) and *Narratives of Neglect* (Karn, 2007). These studies all incorporated observation in the research. These texts, amongst others, were influential in convincing me that pursuing observation as a research method would be one of the most suitable ways in which to tackle the research problem. Furthermore, in adopting a theoretical perspective informed by critical criminology, this allowed me to *see*, not simply listen to the narratives as to how, for example, CSPs are experienced by residents in marginalised communities. Moreover, as noted by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), observation allows for social phenomena to be studied outside of the confines of the interview - a scenario in which the interviewer is dominant.

During the shadowing of neighbourhood policing teams, I would typically follow two individuals, either two police officers or a police officer and a PCSO. I usually spent approximately four hours (around half a typical police officer's shift) shadowing the neighbourhood policing teams. To aid research validity as well as attempting to uncover potentially new information, I shadowed neighbourhood policing teams at different times

of the day, on different days and I also attempted to shadow, where possible, officers in the team I had previously not observed (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). The observation was conducted primarily by shadowing the officers on foot patrol in the respective neighbourhood, or riding with them in patrol cars. In Oakdale, I shadowed seven different police officers and three different PCSOs. In Newford this was seven different police officers and four different PCSOs and in Ringland this was five different police officers and two different PCSOs. In total, including shadowing officers and attending meetings across the three case study areas, I carried out over 250 hours of observation.

As well as shadowing police officers in the neighbourhood policing teams, the observation I conducted also extended to attending meetings involving the police, partner agency staff and community residents. The access here was negotiated through the police who authorised my attendance and at each meeting I presented the meeting chair with a prepared research statement to be read out informing those in attendance of my presence, the reason for my presence, my ethical obligations, and their research rights. I managed to obtain a rich set of data by attending these meetings which complemented the data that I obtained through observing police officers whilst carrying out their duties. However, I did have to overcome initial suspicion from those present at many of the meetings I attended; for instance, I was frequently asked about where I was from and what I was doing. This was overcome eventually by my regular attendance and familiarity in the research setting (Seale, 2004).

The use of fieldnotes is the primary data collection mechanism when using observation as a research method. As Hammersley and Atkinson note (1995), taking field notes is a difficult exercise and it is the researcher's responsibility to ascertain what is and isn't important and what is and isn't recorded. A key assertion here is that the researcher has to make decisions on how and when to record field notes and base this decision according to the context and scenario (Noaks and Widcup, 2004). I decided to take a small notebook out with me during most of my observations of the police. I did not want to rely purely on memory and run the risk of missing an important quote or piece of information. However I was also aware that on occasions this resulted in police officer's appearing to be hesitant in their answers, or glancing at my notebook before answering.

Noaks and Widcup (2004) note that a disadvantage of note taking is that occasionally they may have to be suspended, with the researcher having to make a decision on the sensitivity of a situation, or the sensitivity of a topic being discussed. However, largely, I did not see or experience carrying a notebook as a barrier and wherever possible, attempted to take my notes during a time where the police officers were otherwise engaged, such as when speaking to a member of the public. The field notes, in any case, were immediately typed into a computer document at the end of each observation period. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) note, it is not possible for the researcher to see or hear everything that goes on; they encourage a selective approach that will normally result in data of better quality, as long as adequate time is afforded to the tasks of recording and reflecting on fieldnotes. The data analysis section in this chapter will describe how field notes were coded and analysed. Taking fieldnotes at meetings, both those solely involving practitioners and those involving residents was a much more straightforward process than when taking fieldnotes whilst shadowing the police. This was due to the fact that many individuals at these meetings were taking notes and it was therefore possible for me to 'blend in' as I did not appear to others to be doing something unusual.

Shadowing the neighbourhood policing teams in two of the three case study areas, Ringland and Oakdale, was relatively straightforward in the early stages of the fieldwork and I managed to carry out a number of observations in both areas with relatively little difficulty. Newford, however, was an area in which it proved to be quite a challenge to be able to shadow the neighbourhood policing teams, primarily I believe due to the poor relationship with the sergeant there. On one occasion in Newford, when in e-mail contact with the neighbourhood policing sergeant, I asked to attend a regular partnership meeting that I had previously attended. 'Why do you want to go to that, you've already been, I don't see what you will get from it', he said. I found this to be quite intriguing, as the sergeant clearly attempted to dissuade my attendance. I managed to convince the sergeant, over a period of time, that I was interested in observing routine activities more than once and this insistence worked as the issue gradually became less of a problem.

I spent a lot of time during the fieldwork process observing a variety of meetings both between the police and partner agencies and between police, partners and residents.

Attending the meetings allowed me to learn a great deal about partnership working within CSPs and also offered opportunities to meet with partner agency staff and residents. Therefore, the observation method also became a useful mechanism from which to recruit research participants. I attended a range of meetings, but the meetings I came to be familiar with and attended most regularly as they were attended by the police, partner agency staff and community residents were the PACT meetings. These meetings, officially at least, were offered as opportunities for residents to be able to share their concerns with police officers and partner agencies and most importantly, to assist in setting local CSP priorities. As discussed in Chapter Four, the PACT meetings were a site for many controversies and illuminated many of the tensions inherent within CSPs.

Interviews

Interviewing is considered a reliable and valid alternative to other methods of data collection. As noted by Noaks and Widcup, 'Probing the interviewee perspective is at the core of qualitative research with such activity typically represented as a distraction in the quantitative approach' (2004: 75-76). As I built and sustained relationships with interview respondents over a period of time through the observation process, interviewing enabled me to gather data that other of data collection methods would not allow, such as the meanings people place on their experiences and circumstances (Bryman, 2012).

During the course of this research, semi-structured interviews were carried out. These interviews (with a separate draft interview schedule⁸ for each of the three sample groups), were based on addressing the research question and issues identified during observations. All of the interviews were tape recorded (reservations have been raised by Noaks and Widcup (2004) about taping interviews with police officers) and typically lasted for an average of an hour each. Some interviews, particularly those with police officers, lasted a great deal less, sometimes only twenty minutes. This was due to the availability of police officers, some of whom were able to only dedicate short periods of time to interviews. Nonetheless, some interviews with police officers lasted upwards of one hour, enabling detailed insight to be obtained. All of the interviews were transcribed;

⁸ See Appendix 3 for an example.

I personally transcribed several interviews, however the majority were transcribed by a professional company, primarily due to time constraints. I checked the interviews I did not transcribe personally for consistency and to ensure that they were an accurate account of what was said. Pseudonyms were given to all interviewee audio transcripts in order to preserve anonymity and they were at all times kept on password protected computer files.

When conducting some of the early interviews for this study, an issue arose in regards to police officers not being forthcoming with their views. Where this did occur, it was impossible to ascertain whether or not this was due to the interview being recorded or any other factor beyond my control, such as reluctance in general at taking part in the research. However, some of the interviews with police officers were typified by officers engaging in discussion with me in a formal style that included regular reference to internal policy documents. Jacobs (2010) experienced a similar issue in his research and following him I also encouraged respondents to be more forthcoming with personal opinions rather than 'official speak'. This was done by reassuring participants that I was interested in their personal view, rather than that of the organisation they were working for. Marks noted in her interviews with police officers that the time she had spent observing these same officers resulted in more open and valid research data: 'I would only have developed superficial relations with the police that would have rendered the interviews bald and possibly invalid' (Marks, 2004: 872). This was found to be the case in this study too, with officers' familiarity with me over a period of time clearly leading to more in-depth interviews.

The interviews with police officers and staff all took place within police buildings, including police stations and headquarters. The interviews with partner agency staff were all carried out in local authority premises. The interviews with residents were conducted in a number of locations including cafes and community centres. Prior to each interview every participant was presented with a copy of a statement regarding the purposes of my research (including a section on ethics) and a consent form.⁹ These were in most cases presented to participants well in advance of the interview so they could properly consider their participation; however, this was not always possible. No participants voiced any

⁹ See Appendix 1 for a copy of the consent form.

concerns regarding their participation and every participant willingly took part in an interview.

In this study research participants from the community were most difficult for me to recruit (that is, individuals that were not already known and recommended to me by police officers). In Oakdale and Ringland, I built up a good rapport with local partner agency staff who shared a demographic profile with me. Being of the same ethnicity, age group and religion it was perhaps inevitable that we had other things in common and I subsequently struck up a friendship with these individuals. They assisted me in reaching interviewees that would otherwise be unavailable; this in turn allowed me to listen to stories of which I would otherwise be unaware. Brewer comments that key informants are selected by researchers to make accessible otherwise inaccessible areas of the field, and are chosen according to demographic data which is most relevant for that particular locale (Brewer, 2000: 81). Although this statement may be correct of many researchers, and I did indeed benefit from assistance provided by these two individuals, I did not initially seek them out for this purpose. In fact, one of the individuals initially approached me and introduced himself during a charity football match I was attending with the police one particular weekend. The local context provided by these two individuals was invaluable and I was regularly taken around the communities to visit sites of interest and be introduced to a variety of people. Nonetheless, useful as these contacts were I was not utterly reliant on them and I sought interviewees through my own initiative, primarily by approaching community residents at the PACT meetings that I also attended.

Access

Although initial access to the police force was achieved, this did not mean that recruiting police officers as research participants was a straightforward process. It was difficult to arrange interviews with police officers as they frequently had to cancel or postpone them due to other commitments. From the sample groups I interviewed, police officers were the most cautious in their answers. However, this improved over time and my interview technique developed to become more probing, eliciting further information than had been the case before.

In communication with the neighbourhood policing teams in the case study areas, it was quite difficult at times to be able to research without impediment. For example, on many occasions when I had wanted to carry out fieldwork, and contacted the respective sergeant in the neighbourhood policing area to arrange it, I was told that there was 'nothing interesting going on'. There appeared to be an assumption that I was only interested in the 'interesting' when in fact I wished to simply observe them as they went about their day to day activities. Having said that, I certainly did not sit and observe police officers carrying out paperwork duties as that was not particularly productive for me. Rowe, when carrying out observation within a police force and requesting to see 'the usual flow of police work' also experienced difficulty in obtaining access and I can echo his sentiments when stating that it is not possible to determine to what extent the police are selective about what experiences they finally exposed to you (Rowe, 2007: 47).

I was approached on more than one occasion by partner agency staff as well as community residents that expressed an interest in my research without any initial prompt from me. This was reassuring in that I knew that there was at least a certain level of local interest in my work. This contact was also welcome as it can be difficult as a stranger to recruit research participants. I very much valued that these individuals had approached me and I ensured that I progressed the contact any time this happened. As I had regular recommendations of individuals to speak to and organisations to approach I was never short of and never found it too difficult to locate potential interviewees. This was a relief as due to the nature of the fieldwork I was conducting, in three separate case study areas, it was not possible for me to immerse myself in one area for any prolonged period of time. Therefore the contacts that were available were much appreciated. This was not the case with Goldsmith (2003), who commented on the difficulty and frustration of maintaining a series of informants and networks. I managed to meet some key informants in this manner and it proved to be a vitally important attribute of my research. As Brewer notes,

Key informants can be useful in providing ethnographers with contacts to other group members, and different individuals can be selected in this way so as to provide access to different sites or open up difficult corners of access in one site. The more individuals who act in this capacity the better,

since no person has full knowledge and it avoids being misled by one informant (Brewer, 2000: 81).

The role of the researcher and taking sides in critical research

Reflecting on my fieldwork experiences in the course of this study, it is apparent that a number of issues affected both the development of the research and impacted on me personally. It is possible to consider my fieldwork problematic for the reason that it involved close interaction with a police force and with police officers; in prolonged periods of observation as well as in communication through e-mail, telephone and face to face meetings. As Engel and Whalen (2010) suggest, there exists a tension amongst scholars as to the extent to which academics should pursue research relationships with official agencies including the police, and what this tension may mean for the integrity of the research. It is my assertion that the research was not possible without access to police officers as afforded to me by the police force. Furthermore, it would have been at best unwise not to take advantage of a rare opportunity at having access to shadow and interview police officers whilst at work. This factor, ultimately, undermines criticisms of the approach that I adopted, as no other option was available to me from which to address the research problem. However, I do appreciate and understand the dilemmas that these issues raise and I would like to highlight some examples of how I perceived my position within the study and to what extent I believe this influenced the course that the study took.

My personal or demographic profile I found was of importance in this study. For instance, when introduced by some police officers, I would be introduced as 'the student'. I did not find this to be particularly problematic and it was quite frequently welcome as it avoided the necessitation for a long winded overview of my research project. However, there were times when I was affected by the way in which my student status was used by police officers in their interaction. For example, one particular sergeant I had regular difficulty communicating with in Newford (and who I found to be quite dismissive of me), chose to assist me on one occasion. Whilst interviewing him, he stated that a university had completed a project on his particular area just a few years ago. He told me he would

send me the report from that project so that I could 'copy and paste it' and 'save myself the work'. The interview I had with him, which lasted no longer than 20 minutes, was rushed and many of his answers referred to the research report he was planning to send to me. I found this disrespectful and frustrating, particularly as this particular sergeant was my gatekeeper for the Newford area and in fact had more knowledge of my study than any police officers under his command in the area. I understood in hindsight that he did not have much time (or care) for my research, and spent as little time with me as he could. This experience indicated to me that researchers have to be aware of how their profile, in this instance as a student, can have negative or unintended consequences related to an aspect of research. I will now move on to discuss another aspect of my researcher profile that I felt influenced how I was dealt with by some police officers.

As a British Muslim of Asian origin, I am a visible ethnic minority and I found that this status led to some awkward moments between me and some of the police officers I was shadowing. For example, an early exchange with a sergeant on the topic of hip-hop music I found to be quite difficult (particularly as I hadn't raised the subject). Furthermore, I was offended when, on observing the snow outside whilst driving, he turned and said to me 'It doesn't snow like this in Pakistan does it?' I didn't inform him that I was a British citizen just like him, that I hadn't been to Pakistan since 1991 or that indeed that it snows in many parts of Pakistan in the winter months. I considered that I was in conversation with a bigoted police officer but recognising my need to co-operate with him as one of the gatekeepers of the research, I essentially ignored his comments without prompting him further or directly responding to him. On reflection, I perhaps should have questioned the suitability of his comments, but I feel, for the benefit of the research, I made the right decision in not doing so. Similarly, on another occasion, a police officer in Oakdale took a great deal of time to explain to me how the reasons behind how some of the local Asian population behave are down to a 'village mentality'. Again, I chose not to address these comments directly as on the one hand I would find it personally difficult to do so, but on the other hand I would not want to damage in any way the research access that had been afforded to me. On another occasion, a police sergeant in Ringland, when stopping a man he knew in the street, looked at me for my reaction after the person he was speaking to referred to the term 'Paki'; the sergeant did not do anything and the man

went on his way. These examples refer to a dilemma I had in the course of the fieldwork of this study, namely in relation to my lack of response or reaction to what I believed to be prejudicial or racist incidents. As stated above, I was not willing to damage my research access and was conscious that I had to accept the reality of such circumstances. These experiences were similar to those reported by Quraishi (2008) who documented explicit incidents of racism by prison officers towards him, which he decided not to report for reasons primarily related to not wanting to damage rapport with research participants. Like Quraishi, I too felt powerless during these incidents; however, I believe that raising them as issues in the course of my fieldwork would have resulted in negative, unintended consequences on me personally as well as on my research. My personal biography was also a significant factor in determining, as a critical criminologist, which 'side' I would be taking in the research.

Growing up on a council estate of a deprived Northern former mill town, policing was a familiar fixture. I have personal memories of family members being wrongly arrested, of the police being an institution feared by the local community and of knowing, as a young boy, to run whenever they were encountered. It became apparent to me, as I entered adulthood and university, that not every individual, group or community experienced policing in this way. It became further apparent in the course of this study that policing was concentrated in precisely the poorest, most deprived and already marginalised sections of society. My personal biography, together with my experience of policing whilst growing up, are significant factors that no doubt (to one degree or another), shaped this study. The following quote from Wonders accurately reflects my own experiences and sentiments as a critical criminologist:

It should be no surprise that those who succeed as critical criminologists often come from backgrounds that are less advantaged. Critical criminology is unique and important because of its attention to difference, inequality, perspective, and power; it invites and welcomes critique of the status quo and change in the interest of a more democratic, inclusive, and just world. It offers a space within the academy for the voice of outsiders concerned with justice to be heard. Given the global forces that are daily linking diverse peoples ever more tightly together, such alternative voices are now particularly welcome (and needed) because of the unique vantage point their perspective brings to the discipline (2009: 91-92).

It is this alternative perspective that my biography adds to this study. As noted by Carrabine *et al.* (2004) however, Howard Becker's famous call for sociologists to take sides in social research was not a call for biased research or a partisan sociology but in fact an attempt by Becker to advise sociologists that in social research a side *had* to be chosen; for Becker, this had to be the side of the oppressed. Carrabine *et al.* also noted criticism of Becker's position, from sociologists who had termed it as 'underdog sociology' from a sentimental, liberal perspective. This critique called for a focus in social research on the *powerful* or the 'overdog' as opposed to the *powerless* as it was suggested that the former group were able to victimise the latter through power relations and law enforcement, for instance and thus merited further scrutiny. This study, due to its focus on gathering data from *powerful* as well as *powerless* actors, sits somewhat between these perspectives by providing viewpoints from both groups. However, it is evident that a side still had to be taken and in this study (and as justified in Chapter One) the side that was taken was that of the marginalised, of the oppressed; in short, the residents of the researched communities subject to intensive levels of policing. In order to provide further justification for this position, it is important to refer back to personal biography and in particular the role of race and social class. As Wonders (2009) highlights, for the critical criminologist it is impossible to ignore the systemic inequalities related to race and social class in society and in the criminal justice system in particular. In this regard academia and the associated roles of research and teaching cannot be separated from a critical criminologist's attempt, as in my own case, to strive for equality and justice through activism and protest. This activism and protest inevitably falls along the lines of race and social class; to attempt to conduct social research through a value free lens is an impossible feat for any researcher irrespective of background, least of all a young, Muslim, working class male. Personal biases and sympathies be they conservative, liberal, socialist or otherwise are present for all researchers and it is the researcher's biography, background, history and experiences that determines, uniquely for each individual, the way in which a study is to be approached and which side is to be taken.

It is evident, therefore, that for the critical criminologist, the personal *is* the political. Understanding the marginalisation and oppression of others, through lived experience or otherwise, is a catalyst for making a commitment to taking sides in social research. This

decision is not motivated by bias, or by an attempt to 'redress the balance' in a discipline that historically and contemporarily is dominated by conservative academics. Rather, it is motivated by an attempt to link the experiences, struggles and tribulations of the most marginalised sections of society to wider systemic inequalities and injustice by witnessing their hardships, sharing their viewpoint and telling their stories. As Scraton notes, the critical analyst is required to historicise and contextualise the local to the wider context as it is only through this method can sense be made of the marginalisation and exclusion of 'others':

Critical analyses of criminal justice... demonstrate how differential policing, discriminatory prosecution, and inconsistent punishment reinforce structural inequalities within society. Marginalization and exclusion through class, "race," gender, sexuality, and childhood are not arbitrary forms of subjugation. They are consistent and material manifestations of a "social order" derived in the overarching power relations of advanced capitalism, neo colonialism, patriarchy, and age (2009: 179).

Data analysis

In analysing the data I collected in the course of this study, I followed a thematic approach with themes produced from both an analysis of the extant literature as well as those that emerged during the course of the fieldwork. The coding and analysis of this data was completed manually and with assistance from the qualitative software tool, NVivo. Hammersley and Atkinson contend that 'there should be movement back and forth between ideas and data... analysis is not just a matter of managing and manipulating data' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 185). The analysis was carried out with this approach at the centre of it; a constant referral back and forth between the themes emanating and the data already present.

To begin with, a coding scheme was developed using Microsoft Word, in which a priori and emergent themes were recorded. This was done after the transcripts were read initially to look for broad themes, and then re-read in order to highlight more specific themes. As the amount of data collected grew, it was necessary to use NVivo which also offered a greater degree of specialist functionality, specifically with the ability to visualise

a large data set in an easily accessible fashion, and the ability to run a variety of searches and queries in order to find patterns and links between data. Seale (2004) notes that coding is an appropriate analytic method particularly to identify issues not present when the research began: 'Coding schemes are the creative beginnings of the eventual insights which the researcher hopes to gain by investigating the social world' (2004: 313).

The themes developed in this study were identified and developed from the literature and from the fieldwork data from across the three sample groups. The identified themes were also informed by the development of the study's theoretical framework, which is centred on critical criminology and specifically with its focus on viewing social phenomena from the perspective of those occupying a 'view from below'; in this case, the residents of the marginalised communities. This in turn allowed for an understanding to be developed of the nature of the relationship between actors within CSPs with particular emphasis on the roles of power and authority, as suggested by Scraton (2007).

To offer an example as to how the themes developed, the major theme discussed in Chapter Four, the place and role of residents within CSPs, emerged during the early observations of Partners and Communities Together (PACT) meetings. This theme was prominent at many of the meetings I attended and was then elaborated on by interviewees from across the three sample groups. It was evident from the data collected that this theme was of key concern to research participants.

The multi-site ethnography approach utilised in this study led to the collection of a significant amount of data from a variety of CSPs actors within a variety of situations that included but also went beyond the confines of interviews. This approach was the correct method to conduct this study and led to the development of a series of themes that are considered in detail in the following three chapters. The following chapter addresses the first of these themes in its examination of the place and role of residents within CSPs.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE PLACE AND ROLE OF RESIDENTS WITHIN CSPs

Laura: No I don't have a say in how my community is policed – they never come round knocking on my door. They only come to kick the door in at 7am in the morning like they did a few weeks back.

In the first of the data analysis chapters, the topic to be explored is the place and role of residents within CSPs; what position do residents occupy within CSPs and how is this place and role established, negotiated or maintained? This chapter will be split into three sections and will refer throughout to empirical data in the form of interview transcripts and fieldwork diary entries.

The first of these sections will consider the feelings that residents within CSPs have in regards to their position and the ways in which they make sense of their position to other actors within CSPs. This section in particular will give prominence to the voice and experiences of residents within CSPs, which, as highlighted in the review of the extant literature earlier, is an area of study that is very much under developed when considering the functioning of CSPs.

The second section will address the ways in which residents and communities are constructed by other actors within CSPs; that is, in what terms are they described, what meanings can be attributed to those terms and what importance can such constructions have for how residents ultimately experience CSPs. As previous studies have highlighted, communities in CSP settings have felt powerless in comparison to other actors (Karn, 2007) and therefore this section will seek to both test and expand this idea in order to understand the effects that constructions of community by ostensibly more powerful actors, may have.

The third and final section will address a theme that developed quite prominently in the data analysis, that of the reasons why and the extent to which community engagement within CSPs is useful. It was suggested by a variety of actors in this research that

community engagement was 'useful'; an exploration of this idea will be developed in order to further an understanding as to how this relates to the place and role of residents within CSPs. Previous research has identified the state pursuit of legitimacy at the local level and a resulting social ordering strategy (through state led attempts to connect the local to the central and vice versa) as two outcomes of engagement with communities within CSPs (Crawford, 2006; Skinns, 2008). However, this section will seek to further this discussion by establishing the specific ways in which such processes take place. In particular, attention will be paid to the ways in which community engagement with CSPs is demanded by state actors, whilst offering residents in marginalised communities at best a subjugated role with little or no decision making abilities and similarly limited potential to influence local priorities.

In this section and in the next three chapters I will make reference to several interview respondents, as well as fieldwork diary entries. Data collected from across the three case study areas will be presented; some interview respondents and fieldwork diary entries will be referred to in more detail, primarily due to their usefulness as examples in highlighting themes arising from the analysis. Partners and Communities Together (PACT) meetings are referred to frequently in this section (and elsewhere in this chapter and thesis) as they were local events in which residents could directly engage with CSP actors such as those from the police and local authority. Many interview respondents discussed with me their feelings and experiences of PACT meetings, as well as their reasons for attending or not attending them. PACT meetings proved to be one of the most fruitful areas for data collection and idea formation, both through details of how interview respondents experienced them, and by my own observations.

Frustration, anger and powerlessness

A common theme that became apparent through the data analysis were the feelings of frustration, anger and powerlessness experienced by residents in respect of their (in)ability to influence the setting of priorities and their level of influence in the decision-making process. However, these feelings were not limited to these topics; rather, there was evidence of frustration and anger towards partner agencies and police officers not

taking residents' concerns seriously and marginalising or ignoring their voices altogether. Furthermore, evidence will also be presented that indicates frustration and anger from what may be termed 'respectable' community organisations towards other residents in the community.

The Oakdale PACT meetings were held on a quarterly basis, usually at the local primary school or Church and chaired by neighbourhood policing inspector *Andrew* or council employee and neighbourhood manager *Zahoor*. The PACT meeting, as in the other case study areas, was the primary public forum directly connecting the various agencies within CSPs with members of the public (other forums such as weekly 'street surgeries', effectively a drop in centre to report crimes or other issues were notoriously very poorly attended across the three areas). The Oakdale PACT meetings were usually attended by three or four police officers and/or PCSOs as well as several (although this tended to fluctuate significantly) partner agency members of staff. These particular PACT meetings followed a somewhat rigid structure that included presentations on crime statistics from the police and a 'workshop' exercise in which residents were asked to get into groups to discuss and come up with local priorities.

In Oakdale, two separate PACT meetings took place. The reason for this was explained to me as the need to 'service' different communities; my own understanding developed to consider one PACT meeting for the predominant section of the community that contained a significant number of residents with Asian heritage, and another PACT meeting for the largely white community of what was perceived by the CSP to be a particularly problematic housing estate. For purposes of clarity I shall refer to the former as Oakdale West and the latter as Oakdale East. I regularly attended both meetings and it was noticeable that the CSP actors were much more engaged and enthusiastic about attending the PACT meeting in Oakdale West; it was also noticeable that the PACT meeting in Oakdale East tended to be poorly attended by police officers and partner agency staff though it was generally well attended by local residents, including *Benjamin*.

Benjamin, a retired former bus driver from the Oakdale area, was a regular fixture at the local PACT meetings and I spoke with him on a number of occasions. *Benjamin* was, in perhaps quite a peculiar sense, a regular attendee at such meetings despite having many

misgivings about their format and the ways in which residents' concerns were addressed (or not).

In discussing a prominent Homewatch representative's defence of the local neighbourhood police officers, *Benjamin* offered an insight into his perspective on the workings of his local PACT meeting:

Benjamin: He really protects the police. Which, I can understand that. But I posed a question, as I've said to you before, about we, as a body of people, should we, instead of coming down here every month and listening to the police's report and how many criminals they've caught and how many criminals they haven't caught, those figures are false. Those figures are obviously false. Because people aren't reporting them. I know that by my, just walking, I don't know anybody in here that would. I could ask most people here now and they'll all tell you the same, 'Oh, we don't bother talking to the police because what's the point?' Most of them say the same.

Benjamin also spoke of his frustrations and difficulties in attempting to reform the way in which the CSP operated. He stated that the police were resistant to such ideas:

So can we not sit down as a body of people together with the police and reverse that situation, so that everybody is saying, 'Oh yeah', and work with the police, or the police work with us. When I pose this question, maybe I'm saying it wrong, maybe I'm not putting my point across too well or what, I don't know, but... I feel frustrated. And when I said this, I've mentioned this in the Oakdale PACT meeting and I've been shouted down. So I've tried to put it round a different way round and still got shouted down. So I've tried at this side, on the neighbouring side, to the Chief Constable and one thing and another to come and give us a talk. And they take, they back, maybe I say it too forcibly, I don't know, maybe, I don't know what it is, and their backs seem to be up and they seem to be firing back at me, as if I'm trying to... I'm not against the police. I wanna work with them, you know. And I just feel so, I really do, feel so mad about it.'

Benjamin was frustrated at what he perceived to be a lack of focus at the PACT meeting on crime-related issues that were relevant and important to him. Whilst this in itself is perhaps not particularly revelatory, what it does reveal is a sense of disillusionment from a local individual who did engage with the police, that actively engaged with the CSP process and who felt as though his voice was being marginalised. Tellingly, he revealed

that the Homewatch representative was robustly defensive of the police; and research has indicated that such individuals may be interpreted as local 'do-gooders', as described elsewhere (Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994). *Benjamin*, however, despite his criticism and frustration did make hopeful references for local people and the police to work together towards common goals, and he also pointedly stated that he wasn't anti-police. What is evident from the exchange with *Benjamin* is that his experience of PACT meetings had left him feeling powerless, disconsolate and angry. Such feelings were also invoked by residents in other areas.

The account of PACT meetings provided by *Benjamin* had some similarities to and can also be contrasted with an account provided by *Malik*, a young employee of a local charity in Ringland. *Malik*, as the following quote suggests, offered a critical view of PACT meetings that indicated a frustration over police and partner agency inaction at dealing with local crime matters. Moreover, unlike *Benjamin*, *Malik* no longer attended the PACT meetings and cited their ineffectiveness as a primary reason. *Malik*, like *Benjamin*, also felt strongly about matters related to crime and broader issues related to security not being taken seriously:

W: Have you got any particular experience that you've experienced yourself or seen, as to where something was raised and then not dealt with?

Malik: Yeah. In our local area, in the area forum meeting, the parking issues were raised because of the university and the building works that were happening with the new college and things, and it was a nightmare for us residents to park our cars. And it was just flooded with students' cars, council worker cars. And then there was an increase in the rate of crime, burglaries, you know. There was once an incident of car-jacking. Again, you know, that's why, this is what I'm saying, in the previous question when you asked about, what's important to you, again safety in cities, it can cover a vast area.

W: And how did the lack of response, as you mentioned, make you feel?

Malik: I've never been back to one ever-after. I went to the one following to see what's happening, the follow-up to it. Nothing happened of it and ever since I've not been. I was at the Mosque today for Zuhr prayer, then there was a letter from the area forum guys and it said that we hold these meetings three times a year and attend, you know, you've been very

supportive and this is the next one. I think it's on the 7th of February, the next area forum meeting. So I do know of it and when it is but I have no intention to go.

W: And that's due to your personal experience?

Malik: Yes.

Malik had become disillusioned to an extent that he no longer wished to engage with the PACT meetings. He, like *Benjamin*, did not believe that local concerns were being taken seriously and whereas *Benjamin* retained a degree of hope, evidenced by his regular attendance at the meetings, *Malik* was essentially fed up with what he perceived as inaction on behalf of agencies over a period of time. Discord with and resentment towards CSP actors, such as the local council, were not limited to commentary from interviews but were evident in many of the meetings involving CSP actors that I observed across the three case study areas and *Malik's* views were typical of those raised in this regard. As the following respondent highlighted, the experience of undemocratic and unfair policing was central when discussing the CSP.

Laura, a full time nurse and single mother residing in the Ringland area, offered a wide ranging and at times scathing analysis of her local CSP and of local policing more generally. In interviewing *Laura* it was evident that she offered a class based analysis of her experiences, in which she stated that communities were treated differently because of their location within deprived areas, or because they were from an ethnic minority. It was apparent that *Laura* made sense of her position and role locally in terms relating to class and racial inequality and a perceived sense of injustice. However, though heavily critical of the way in which she and her family had experienced policing locally, *Laura* did offer pessimistic statements that suggested she would prefer to have better and more equitable policing.

As the following quote suggests, *Laura* had little interest and desire in attending her local PACT meeting:

W: Have you attended, or do you currently attend, any police or partnership meetings that go on in Ringland?

Laura: No. I don't know when they are really. I think the last I heard, because of the cutbacks, that they were cutting some of the forums. So I don't generally go.

W: So you wouldn't be interested in going to any of it?

Laura: Yeah, I would be, but sometimes I just don't see the point because it's just generally, you know, they're just paying lip-service to the community, you know, and until we see results, why would we believe anything and sit there for two hours listening to it?

What is perhaps most striking about *Laura's* comments is the extent to which she was condemnatory about policing locally. On being asked whether or not she felt she had a say in how her community was policed, *Laura* responded in the negative she but also made a link to the experiences she had of local policing:

Laura: No I don't have a say in how my community is policed – they never come round knocking on my door. They only come to kick the door in at 7am in the morning like they did a few weeks back.

Laura also reverted to a class-based analysis of policing in responding to a question as to whether or not she thought the local police treated people in the community equally and fairly:

Laura: No the police don't treat people the same. If you live on the Oak Barn estate you're treated differently to if you live in a more affluent area of Ringland. They talk to you like you're scum in areas like Oak Barn.

Julie is retired and had lived in Newford for nearly twenty years, having lived in a variety of areas across the UK previously. During the fieldwork she was a constant presence at PACT meetings and she was clearly an individual interested and active in engaging with CSP actors. This, perhaps, was primarily due to her involvement as an employee of a local charity, the Newford Trust, which assisted local people with advice on a range of matters including finance, for instance. *Julie's* specific job role was to encourage community

participation. The Newford Trust, I came to learn, was also central in lobbying the local MP, council, police and other partner agencies on a variety of issues related to local community life. The group was clearly considered as respectable in the local community, with Newford Trust representatives chairing many of the PACT meetings I observed and their offices were regularly used by police officers for a variety of purposes.

Julie, in her own words, recognised that the Newford Trust occupied a position of importance and influence within the Newford CSP, yet she also recognised how this had its limitations:

Julie: because... that's, I feel that's, our organisation, we are very much a broker. I always say, we're always a whipping boy, whatever side, everybody whips us because it's like if it's not the residents, it's the partners. But we don't mind it because, in the end, you need that broker, don't you? It's a voice of reason.

The above quote and the last sentence in particular reveal the extent to which *Julie* considered the Newford Trust's importance locally. One example of the instances in which the Newford Trust got involved was as an arbiter between the established working class community of Newford and the relatively recent influx of a middle class population, who in essence were enticed through a variety of housing schemes to purchase property in the area. The arrival of this community had led to tensions; tensions which were visible during debates and arguments at PACT meetings and *Julie*, as her role was specifically linked to community participation, had attempted to act as a peacemaker of sorts. This is an example then of how the Newford Trust had a degree of influence, which it imparted on a daily basis in its role as an established community organisation. (This is not to say that the matter described above was resolved; this was clearly an issue that had developed over several years and was a frequently discussed topic at PACT meetings and raised by all of the respondents I interviewed in Newford.)

Julie was critical of what she perceived as other residents lack of understanding in relation to local matters, and she was frequently defensive of the actions of local

agencies including the council, police and private developers. The following quote from *Julie* highlights her views on this issue:

Julie: Well, I think the problem with the PACT meetings is that people come along, and obviously it's a public meeting, you don't really want to say, sometimes it spills over and it gets really personal. And they'll say, 'Well, you don't do this, you don't do that.' And then they're not giving the police a chance to, or they don't understand the way the area's policed, they don't understand the finances, they don't understand what constraints they're under, you know. And I mean, I think coming from an organisation myself, I totally get all that thing about there are processes and things like that and, you know, you've all got to go through a sequence of processes to get the thing that you need.

This could be interpreted as *Julie* attempting to suggest that state actors within CSPs had the community's best interests at heart and acted within the restrictions they were placed under; however, another viewpoint may be that *Julie* was perhaps condescending in her questioning of residents' understanding of local matters and perhaps did not take into account her ostensibly privileged position of access to these agencies. There was evidence across the three case study areas of residents' working closely with CSPs being critical of other residents for the reasons that *Julie* stated.

In the interview sections discussed above, the prevailing themes were of anger, frustration and powerlessness. These feelings pervaded in many of the interviews but despite this, residents continued to seek their own personal goals; for instance, despite what *Laura* described as police harassment, she was committed to local political activism and despite his deep sense of their ineffectiveness, *Benjamin* was committed to attending regular PACT meetings. *Malik* too, despite being heavily critical of policing, was in a sense united with the concerns of *Laura* and *Benjamin* in calling for or demanding more *just* policing. It was their belief that this did not exist that was the source of their anger, frustration and powerlessness. However, it was *Julie's* position as a resident within the CSP that perhaps revealed most insight into the potential influence residents had. As a member of a respected local organisation, *Julie* was afforded legitimacy by the police and partner agency staff within the CSP and acted as a 'broker', in her own words, between the police and partner agencies and residents. As Hope (2005) notes, there are

dangers regarding local 'worthies' who claim to represent the community and such individuals were present in each of the case study areas. Echoing Hope, the influence of these individuals and the community groups they represented appeared to be undemocratic and unaccountable, calling into question the potential representation of selective interests.

Though residents' views will be referred to throughout this thesis, it has been important to introduce how residents in this study have experienced CSPs and to discuss those opinions and feelings in some detail. The feelings that emerged, of anger, frustration and powerlessness, indicated that residents occupied a relatively weak position in the context of their CSPs; some residents engaged and others did not, yet all retained a sense of hope for better, fairer policing. These feelings, however, worked to assist in confirming their specific role as residents within a CSP setting; a role that ostensibly occupied a lesser role than other actors. Crucially, however, this was not the case for all residents; a select number of residents and residents groups enjoyed good working relationships with police officers and partner agencies within CSPs, evidencing that for this minority of residents a modicum of power and influence was available.

In establishing that many residents occupied a relatively powerless position in the context of CSPs, it is useful at this stage to now consider in a wider sense the role and place of residents within a CSP setting. Namely, it is important to consider how actors such as police officers, police community support offices (PCSOs) and residents themselves, made sense of the position occupied by residents within CSPs and to what extent, and in what terms, they '*perceived*' residents and communities. Such an analysis offers an insightful view in to the ways in which police officers and partner agency staff maintained and negotiated their respective positions of influence and power.

How residents and communities are perceived by CSP actors

The literature on police culture has comprehensively addressed the topic matter of how police officers consider those they are policing, and under what terms. For instance, classic studies in police culture have suggested that police officers consider certain

groups as inherently problematic (Van Maanen, 1978). More recent research has confirmed that many fundamental aspects of police culture have endured over time, despite other changes to policing (Loftus, 2009). In light of this, it is important to consider the ways in which residents and communities are perceived by police officers and partner agency staff. It is not the purpose of this section to locate examples of what may be termed as elements of police culture or to situate an analysis within this topic; rather, this section will offer, with reference to empirical evidence, an insight into the terms and processes through which police as well as non-police actors understand and perceive residents and communities within CSPs.

Malcolm, a police officer in the Newford area, offered an insight into how he approached what he saw as two distinct communities. Within the working class and deprived community of Newford there was an emerging middle class incomer community. Many of these individuals were young professionals and were primarily located within one private housing block known as Waterside that was parallel to a social housing estate. Interviews with individuals from this middle class community indicated that they moved to the area due to the low house prices and the proximity of the location to the city centre. As the following quote suggests, *Malcolm*, though qualifying his statements somewhat, suggested that the demographics of the two communities were a factor in how he approached policing in those areas:

Malcolm: The style of policing? To be honest with you I think it's a tough one to answer because the neighbourhood obviously... have got two completely different ways of policing and that's, you adapt that to the people who live in those area and the people you're generally dealing with on a day to day basis. Newford is... erm... I'm sure there's obviously other different kinds of people who live in that community, but generally, the people as a police service that we're dealing with in Newford due to the crimes that are committed there and things like that, are very anti-police. And you have to be a bit more abrupt and a bit more... err... assertive with those kind of people because if you talk to them nicely and you give them a lot of time, you know, they kind of see you as a weak prey then and that's when they'll start to, you know, swearing, shouting at you and you have to basically make them aware that you won't tolerate that kind of action straight away. But obviously with Waterside you get a lot of young professionals there, obviously with all the business on the Waterside, so you do have to adapt the way you're dealing with people there. But you

know, there is, like I say, you will have certain people from different areas who commit crime will come onto the Waterside and I suppose you have to adapt your policing style for that and vice versa. There's a lot of nice people who live in the Newford area and a lot of people who've never been in trouble with the police and again, you have to adapt the way you police them as well. You treat people, you treat everyone with the same kind of respect you'd expect yourself but like I say, at times, unfortunately there are a lot of people who are anti-police.

Malcolm was open about the fact that he policed the communities differently, even within the same neighbourhood. The two reasons that he stated for this were the 'anti-police' community as constructed on the one hand in Newford, and the 'professional' or 'business' community on the other hand in Waterside. He indicated that police officers spoke to people differently in the 'anti-police' community, and also suggested that a more aggressive style of policing was adopted. It was notable how he discussed the need to adapt policing styles from one community to the other and the justification given for this was formulated in socio-economic terms. It is this latter point that merits further analysis as speaking in homogenous terms about a community as 'anti-police' was arguably an illusory statement that reinforced misconceptions of what, in the case of Newford, was a socio-economically deprived community.

What *Malcolm* did not discuss in his interview, but inadvertently addressed when discussing his policing style towards that community, is why the community of Newford may have been anti-police at all. What was evident in Newford was the community's reputation as a 'problem' police area that perhaps led to the aggressive local policing approach towards it and this in turn raises concerns surrounding treating communities fairly, a key tenet of neighbourhood policing. *Malcolm* perceived one community as problematic and dangerous whereas when discussing the community of Waterside he indicated that the young professionals there were non-problematic, evidenced by his use of 'obviously' and his suggestion that this 'business' community needed to be in receipt of a different style of policing to Newford.

In the fieldwork it became apparent that Waterside, though officially falling within the council boundaries of Newford, was thought of, discussed and policed distinctly from the rest of Newford. It was evident that the CSP police 'operations', specific enforcement

activities such as clamp downs on litter or motorists, appeared to be limited to the residents and communities of Newford. Police and partner agency staff both spoke of and dedicated their resources primarily at the Newford area and as the following quote from a neighbourhood manager in Newford suggests, cynicism towards local people in Newford (as well as construction of them in homogenous terms) was not limited to that by the police:

Robert: One thing that doesn't happen around here I can assure you of, despite the suspicions of local communities, is that we do anything behind closed doors, secret deals, you know, have secret plans about what we're gonna demolish and build and... There's none of that goes on. And I don't think I could do this job if all that was going on and I was going out to the public saying something else. But people round here are suspicious of authority and rumours catch fire fairly quickly about, you know, less honourable intentions that we might have. You know, maintaining trust with the community is quite a challenge around here. It might well be because historically they feel they've been ripped off and betrayed, who knows? But not in my time. We're very up front about everything we do.

Robert followed this with what can be interpreted as a contradictory commentary on the ways in which relations between the local community and authority had changed in recent years:

Robert: I think the development of community policing has come on leaps and bounds as well. I think the police have got a much better relationship with the communities in Newford than they used to have. When I first started this job, they really were, you could feel the hate! It was definitely 'us' and 'them', it was a war. You know, one of my regular jobs was getting graffiti off walls round here, removing death threats to the local police officer, it was a constant thing. That was just coz they nicked somebody you know, probably. It's a rare thing that now, a rare thing. I know that's one indicator but you do get a sense that there's a lot more support for the police than there used to be and I think neighbourhood policing and PCSOs and the kind of partnership working we do and the way we facilitate the police's connection in the community here and there, has been very successful. The police used to get such stick at public meetings. Now they get a little bit still but it's more support.

The common thread discussed in both of the above quotes, that of the relationship between the local community and the authorities, is at the same time said to be

problematic, indicated by the comment that ‘people around here are suspicious of authority’, whilst also suggesting that partnership working and community relations had come on leaps and bounds to an extent that it is now ‘very successful’.

These comments, contradictory in nature, are revealing of the ways in which partner agencies and police officers and staff throughout this study offered an inconsistent analysis of praising relations with the community whilst at the same time suggesting that relations with the community, in this instance Newford, were particularly difficult. This perhaps in some sense mirrors the opinions of community residents in the preceding section who were critical of police and other agencies such as the council yet still supported the idea of partnership working. Though the comments from police officers and partner agency staff in particular tended to be contradictory, they were also critical of residents while still pursuing partnership working as a concept. However, it may be argued that it was no surprise that these individuals who as part of their job roles were required to engage in partnership working with the community and other agencies, were keen to pursue partnership. It is perhaps more interesting that residents’ persisted in engaging with partnerships whilst at the same time criticising them. However, what is missing so far in this specific discussion is a contribution from a community viewpoint and an interview with local resident, *Brendan*, provided insight into the relationship between the local community and the authorities in Newford.

Brendan was a prominent local community campaigner and organiser within Newford. When asked if he had any views as to how the local police and council would view the community, *Brendan* responded with the following:

Brendan: Guilty! Guilty mate, it’s as simple as that. It just depends on how they feel. They deserve it all and all that lot and they couldn’t care. ‘I’ve still got some sausages in the fridge. I want sirloin tonight’. You know what I mean? All they’ve got to do is finish at five and they don’t need any problems. And so when they get a problem, they can’t handle it... coz they’re used to finishing at five and just doing whatever they’re told... and taking things personal.

The above quote (whilst also indicating *Brendan*’s eccentricity) suggests that *Brendan* believed that the community, in his view, were treated less favourably and in a matter

dependent on how those actors felt at any given time. *Brendan* also suggested by his expressive 'Guilty!' quote, that local authorities considered the community in a condemnatory manner. A theme running throughout the interview with *Brendan*, and highlighted in the above quote, is a sense of injustice and inequality; injustice in that his community had been condemned as 'Guilty!' and inequality in that he suggested that local authorities were not concerned with addressing issues faced by local residents they considered to be undeserving, and would rather 'finish at five' than attempt to assist them.

Brendan was very proud of the local community work he had been involved in, and he spoke at great length and in detail about how he had managed to bypass local authorities in order to secure government funding for local community projects. He believed that local authorities were not interested in working with individuals such as him and he stated his self-determination (both individual and through his local community) as being an essential tool through which to effect change locally in providing socially useful services. *Brendan* was also open about the resistance he had faced when attempting to engage with local authorities, as well as those community groups which may be considered to be *legitimate*:

Brendan: There's a gap isn't there? There's a gap in their outlook. I've experienced resistance from senior Newford Trust, from the community committee. I've always stood up: 'I'm an ex-offender', 'Ooooh'. You know? We have nicknames for some of their committees. One's 'five houses', she owns five houses and another member, we call her 'two jobs', she's got two jobs and her household in Newford. One is earning £35,000 a year and the other one is earning £45,000 a year as committee, paid committee activists.

Brendan again believed that he was marginalised for the community that he represented, and he made reference to his status as an ex-offender in the eyes of local authorities as being a factor resulting in his exclusion. He also made reference, as he did throughout the interview, of his belief that certain local community representatives were corrupt, with vested interests that did not operate with community interests at heart. Residents across the case study areas echoed many of the statements and concerns of *Brendan*, particularly in regards to feeling marginalised from the CSP process and not having an

equal say to others. *Sharaz*, a local authority employee in Oakdale, provided further clarification of the ways in which residents were treated less favourably by the police and partner agencies within CSPs.

Sharaz had lived and worked in Oakdale his whole life and was committed to a range of voluntary activities in the local area, in addition to his paid employment. He regularly coached football to young children and had close links with local charitable organisations that, for example, organised fundraising events. I met with *Sharaz* on a number of occasions and learned a great deal about Oakdale from speaking to him. *Sharaz* evidenced his frustration at what he regarded as the underhand nature of local politics; specifically, the ability for local people to have an equal say in ostensibly democratic processes such as the CSP:

W: Okay. Would you say that the police treat all sections of your community fairly?

Sharaz: I think in some senses, because the community have certain gatekeepers, because they represent to the outside world, to the local authority and to the police and stuff. And we have three councillors maybe from one party and, like I said, the community is sort of divided. So maybe, in some instances, a certain element of the community have better access to the police and the authority and have a lot of the voice, than, you know, the other part of the community who are all second-rate citizens. They don't have as easy access and a councillor might not make a phone call for them and might not bring the issues up for them. So they can be persecuted in the whole community and nobody would know.

Sharaz discussed the importance of networks and of how it was vital that people were connected to certain individuals in order to ensure that priorities were addressed; *Sharaz* admitted that he benefitted from such contacts but at the same time found it frustrating:

W: So in terms of the decisions that are made in your community, say, by the council, do you feel as though you have a say in those decisions?

Sharaz: Yeah, if you understand the decision-making process, yeah, you can influence that a little bit, it's not a problem. I mean, I suppose if I felt I needed to raise something then I could do. But I don't think that the vast majority of people in the community could, and they won't feel comfortable because they don't know what the process is. Remember, you're talking to somebody who not only is a practitioner but was

educated here. I'm in the field so I know all the routes and it's quite easy for me to be able to tap in. But most of the people in the community won't be able to tap into that at all.

Sharaz also felt strongly about what he considered as attempts by local agencies, including the police, to demonise and criminalise young Asian men in the area. One of these attempts was through practitioners within the CSP pursuing governmental funding connected to gangs by insisting that gangs were an issue in the area. This concern was in turn linked to the placement of a crime analyst within a local school, collecting intelligence on certain members of the community (who hadn't been accused of or committed a criminal offence).¹⁰ *Sharaz* had learned of these events and dismissed the concerns of agencies wholeheartedly, suggesting that they were politically motivated and not at all interested in whether or not gangs were an issue in Oakdale or not:

W: And how does that make you feel then, or what do you think about that project?

Sharaz: Well, it's very frustrating. It's just frustrating. There was no, they just needed to speak to the right people to get the right conversations and to look at what was happening. But they weren't. They spoke to the schools and the workers, the head teachers themselves, don't know what's going on in the community. They look out of the community members, because none of them live in that area. So yeah, it's quite frustrating.

It was apparent across the case study areas that certain groups, individuals and communities within neighbourhoods were considered differently to one another by the police and partner agencies and subsequently treated in an unequal fashion by the authorities. This unequal treatment, in most cases resulting in marginalisation from the CSP, appeared to be reserved for those individuals, groups and communities who challenged the priorities of the CSP and the authority of the actors within them. *Brendan's* circumstance however, of being marginalised from the local CSP process, did not prevent him from pursuing successful central government grants. Similarly, *Sharaz* was engaged in local community projects, some of which involved contact with local

¹⁰ Oakdale police officers also discussed this in my presence. In the Oakdale neighbourhood policing team office, faces of 'gang members', adorned all four walls in a mug shot fashion. The majority of the faces were of young Asian men.

agencies, as he recognised the importance of exploiting his networks and position in the community. However, the above commentary does indicate examples of differential treatment in how CSPs engage with community groups and representatives. Nonetheless, despite its problems, contradictions and limitations as highlighted so far, it is evident that community engagement does take place. It is now useful at this stage to consider *how* community engagement within the CSPs took place - and what purpose(s) such engagement sought to serve.

The usefulness of community engagement

One of the prevailing themes emanating from the data across all three areas was the way in which the police and partner agencies within CSPs made reference to the usefulness of community engagement. This was borne out of the interview data; however, it was also apparent through fieldwork observations that certain aspects of community engagement were particularly welcomed and found to be useful. The following example, of a partnership activity involving CSP actors and residents in Newford, will be discussed in some detail as events described in this one scenario illustrate the points being made in this section. Nonetheless, further examples will also be referenced.

Across the three case study areas, one of the regular meetings that I attended was a partnership intelligence meeting. This meeting was held monthly and involved partner agencies discussing, amongst other things, crime and disorder and events and activities taking place in the community. This was followed by a routine approach of dealing with actions from the previous meeting, with each agency representative raising new matters if necessary and new actions being given to the relevant representatives. Newford was the only case study area in which this meeting included two local residents. *Robert*, the local neighbourhood manager, explained to me that these two individuals were involved with the local residents association and had been vetted prior to being allowed to take part in the discussions. It became apparent that these two individuals were valued by the partnership agencies, as they provided intelligence relating to local people which the police in particular found to be of value.

One of the frequent issues raised at this partnership meeting was related to the apparent problem of homeless people sleeping under a set of railway arches. The partner agencies appeared to be in agreement that something needed to be done and a range of ideas were discussed including contacting local hostels and drug and alcohol workers. However, it was clear that there was a consensus that the homeless people had to be removed. It was agreed during the meeting that a 'week of action'¹¹ would be utilised in order to attempt to remove the homeless people, adopting a partnership approach.

On one of the days during the 'week of action', I joined the Newford neighbourhood policing team, the neighbourhood manager, the two residents from the residents association that attend the partnership intelligence meeting and local charity workers from a hostel. The strategy for the morning, with the police leading, was to visit the railway arches and speak to any homeless people that happened to be there. We met together at the residents association and the two residents who chair this organisation were approached by the police and were asked to 'lead the way'. It became apparent at this point that their intelligence was the basis of this partnership activity. It was a short walk to the railway arches, no more than five minutes. The following fieldwork diary entry describes what happened next:

Field work diary, Newford, 20.09.11 - The railway arches, long disused and neglected by National Rail, were huge structures that clearly offered a large amount of shelter and would be appealing to homeless people. The group split up into several smaller groups in order to search the arches and in the first few arches, no people were found. However in the third railway arch, at the very back of the arch, which was very dark, was a large sheet behind which were two individuals. These two individuals, later identified as Zimbabwean nationals, were sleeping on one mattress and I noticed a

¹¹ A term used across the three case study areas to describe a week-long intensive period of partnership enforcement action including, for instance, warrants being conducted by the police and visits to social housing residents in order to issue tenancy warnings. Some of these activities took place in partnership whereas others were carried out independently by the police or partner agencies. The stated official aims of the 'week of action' included displaying a visible presence to the local community in tackling issues related to crime and disorder in an intensive fashion. However, other police officers described to me, in much more candid terminology that the 'week of action' was about 'kicking doors in'. Such activities included carrying out warrants on addresses linked to individuals wanted by the police and the police accompanying partner agency staff to visit social housing residents in order for them to issue tenancy warnings related to their behaviour.

few posters of naked women on one side of the walls. Mark, one of the PCSOs, then roused the two men and told me that all these agencies had come for them, with the offer of a free breakfast and a brew. However, at the same time I saw another PCSO, on her radio, asking for *Robert* to 'put me on to the Borders guy'. Meanwhile, one of the police officers then adopted a different strategy by approaching the men, lifting the blankets on them and shouting at them 'it's the police, get up'. At this point it was clear that the aggressive police officer clearly had his own way of doing things, but I also felt that the offer of helping these homeless men was not all that it seemed.

These two individuals were compliant with the requests of the police officers; they were offered a free breakfast and told they would be given accommodation. This same offer was made to four Eastern European men, who were found at the bottom of another deep railway arch. They appeared to have been there for some time; there was a washing line, pictures on the wall and pots and pans along with other household items. It appeared to be a well-used area. One of these men, who appeared to be the spokesperson or at least was identified by the police as such, reacted angrily to the offer of a free breakfast and accommodation, stating that he could cook them breakfast if he wanted and that he had accommodation and was fine where he was. His comments were as follows:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 20.09.11 - He then went on to say 'we are squatters, it's our squat' and 'the hostel is a legal prison' (the centre where they were to be offered the 3 or 4 days accommodation. Two representatives from the hostel were also present at this visit along with the police and other partners).

At this point I began to feel uncomfortable with the nature of the partnership activity and noted the following entry in my fieldwork diary:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 20.09.11 - It was apparent to me at this stage that a host of agencies present at this joint partner visit were there to essentially afford legitimacy to the police in carrying out enforcement action which in this case was based on the removal of these people. The police working alongside volunteers from the hostel, for example, appeared to present a 'soft' approach in dealing with these people.

After a prolonged period of arguing with the Eastern European man, he reluctantly agreed to go along with the police. Tellingly, Mark, the PCSO, informed him that there was 'no motive' to the actions of the police and quite bizarrely, he informed this man that

'his friend' was waiting for him back at the office. At this point everyone, including the Zimbabwean and Eastern European nationals, began to walk back to the residents' association for the promised free breakfast. Interestingly, I had been informed by a police officer that they had no power to remove any of these men as they were not committing any offences; with this revelation, the strategies employed by the police officers and PCSOs, particularly in partnership with staff from other agencies, in order to try and remove these men made more sense. The following fieldwork diary entry recounts what happened next:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 20.09.11 - Everyone at this point was now back at the office and quite surprisingly to me, all of the Zimbabwean men were led straight to be interviewed by a Border Agency official. There had been no prior mention of this either at any of the partnership meetings I had attended, or to the men when offering them assistance. It was difficult to see past the fact that these men had effectively been bribed with a free breakfast and brew in order to attend the office, and before even being offered a drink they were interviewed. Most tellingly, I overheard Mark the PCSO tell these same men earlier that the bed and breakfast offer was one with 'no motive'. He was not telling the truth. While all this was going on, the partner staff and the police were gathered around and discussing the day's positive action. I heard one Border Agency official comment to a council employee that the men today 'should be working or claiming benefits, they are doing neither, they are committing crime'. There was no evidence of this at all, and no one had actually been arrested.

Shortly after leaving the residents' association, I noted down my summary of the day's events:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 20.09.11 - I found the whole day to be quite bizarre and the enduring thought I was left with was that the partnership had come together to afford the police legitimacy in carrying out an enforcement action that they alone could not do. Therefore this raised many issues, namely in that the men dealt with today by the partnership were effectively lied to and bribed by the police to come along to the office. The final act I witnessed in the office also left quite a bad taste in my mouth. One of the men from the Windsor Centre (the shelter) said that he could take the tray of sandwiches to the nearby Salvation Army where they would be put to good use (the police and partners were enjoying the sandwiches as the men were being interviewed by the Border Agency). However the police officer he was speaking to, instead of putting the

sandwiches to very good use as suggested, picked up the tray and openly stated that he would be taking the sandwiches back to the police station.

In the aftermath of the events of this day, I was sent council minutes which documented the day's events¹². The only text that was highlighted in bold related to the violent behaviour of one of the homeless men. It quoted the Eastern European man who acted as the spokesperson for the group as saying 'he would defend his home with violence if necessary and would not mind if he ended up in prison'. The minutes went to great lengths to explain the positive impact of the tactics on the day, including 'pressure', 'disruption' and to make the men 'uncomfortable'. There was also a recommendation that next time the UKBA be taken along with the officers to threaten the men with removal from the UK if they do not comply. The council minutes of the day also note that 'If the focus going forward is to be on moving people out then I am sure the level of hostility will increase, unless there is a clear message'.

In e-mails later sent to me regarding updates on these events, I came across details of 'success' that had been achieved in relation to the arches. Firstly, the arches were to be 'bricked up', after National Rail had pressure placed upon them to act. Most notably, the wasteland site where the arches were based, were now sold to a private developer specialising in property. A footnote on one of these e-mails related to the fate of the homeless men, who were to be discussed at a meeting just before the arches are to be 'bricked up'. It suggested to me that the homeless men were designated with less priority as the fate of the arches and the fate of the wastelands, which ostensibly had to be resolved first.

Richard, a police sergeant in Oakdale, also made reference to the usefulness of being able to contact certain community contacts that he regarded as important:

Richard: ... there's a mechanism that, say if there was a particular incident brewing, say in an area... err... probably within in a space of an hour and a half, you will have, probably... between half a dozen and 10 members of the key individuals, whether it's from partner agency or the community, round a table and you'd be able to thrash out the game plan. People go away with individual responsibilities, actions, and I think that's something

¹² At the time of the fieldwork, I was on various e-mail lists with the local authorities and with some community groups in the case study areas.

what we've gotta pride ourselves on because I've been privy to stuff like that where things have been kicking off and within the space of making a few phone calls, an hour and a half later, you've got the right people around the table, you know, and again that's some of what Oakdale as a community, not just the police, can pride itself on because I think... erm... over the years, the links have got better.

Richard described the importance of ensuring that community engagement was carried out prior to certain policing activities. In this particular scenario, he described how the police responded to intelligence that suggested violence in the community may be taking place. Specifically, *Richard* was concerned enough, (perhaps due to the significant local Asian heritage and Muslim population), to contact and visit the local mosques to let them know of the impending searches that were to be carried out. The powers that the Oakdale neighbourhood policing team were using were Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994; the key element of this power is that individuals can be stopped without suspicion.¹³

Richard: You know, rather than go in there and again, I'm using examples of when we've had to utilise Section 60 searches, the Section 60 search where we're just stopping people, where we don't need the grounds and before we implemented that erm... there was, mosques were visited, the wider community were spoken to say: 'Look, You've got nothing to be frightened of. The police are not just gonna come and pick on you'. Even though we've got a Section 60 power to search anybody in a particular area, we would focus on the people who we believed were involved. So again, it'd be all intelligence-led. Cos there was a big worry about the the armed response and that, is that they would just turn anybody over. Well how we got round that is, we would have our staff working with them to make sure that people weren't being disproportionately searched for the sake of it. And again, that were to stop... erm... tension in the community as well so that people didn't think: 'Oh the police are just picking on us', you know, 'because they can just search anybody'.

The above assertions by *Richard* raised questions in regards to the extent to which community support had to be co-opted prior to an intensive period of enforcement using

¹³ Human rights organisations have raised serious concerns regarding these powers and research has indicated that Black and Asian individuals are far more likely to be stopped and searched. Further information can be found at <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/events-conferences/econferences/ethnic-profiling-in-uk-law-enforcement/the-report/young-people-and-section-60/section-60-stop-and-search-powers.html> and <https://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/human-rights/justice/stop-and-search/index.php> (last accessed 31/07/13).

an extraordinary policing power in a neighbourhood policing setting. In this scenario, therefore, *Richard* felt it necessary to at least inform 'the community' (the target for these searches were young Muslim men, evident from my own observations and the mosques being contacted, but not admitted to openly by the police), in order to legitimise, to some extent, the actions of the police. Within this process however and highlighted by this example, community consent was not achieved through any formal or democratic process; rather, it was suggested by the police that community engagement simply by having taken place with a select number of 'community contacts' achieved this outcome.

Patrick, a police officer in the Ringland area, suggested that community engagement carried out in neighbourhood policing did not actually produce any priorities for the neighbourhood policing team and that indeed it was the local council that had the most influence upon them:

Patrick: I don't know there's a say in exactly how we police the area... erm... Certainly through the PACT meetings, that are run and people can speak and come back to us and say what the issues that community are having, as to how that actually runs in practice, I don't know, I don't know. How many people go and speak to their local council and go and say: 'Oh this is the problem we want you to look at', or how many people just sit there in silence with their hands in the air and just leave it as it is. Erm... That's the way they're supposed to have their say as to how they want us to... what things they have priorities for. I don't know how well that is actually managed as a realistic thing or if people just think: 'It's the Council come with their own agenda. This is what they want to fix'. In theory, that's the main voice we hear.

However, *Patrick* went on to suggest that intelligence gathered from the community was central to the neighbourhood policing team:

Patrick: A lot of the time, we have done it but we've not pulled the information out of nowhere. Somebody's told the police. So it's about: 'Because of you, we can do this. If you don't help us, we can't help you. It's a two-way approach'. That's very important to get out. The more people realise that fact that we rely so much on the information from them, possibly the more they'll be willing to help us.

Patrick suggested that although community engagement within formal settings did not

produce any community led priorities for the police, the police did still value intelligence from the community that led to enforcement opportunities. This, however, was indicative of *Patrick's* approach to policing that prioritised pursuing intelligence and arrests over community engagement, which he appeared to value little. This preference for enforcement based policing is further reinforced when *Patrick* is asked about the most rewarding aspect of his work:

Patrick: Most rewarding... erm... The most rewarding is probably, still, for me, is getting an arrest for something. So if the information has come regarding with this place dealing drugs or that place dealing drugs or whatever and you can action that, get in there, get the arrest done, find the stuff there and obviously prove to people: 'Thanks for the information. Because of what you've given us, this is what we can do'. Obviously it's a quick fix but it's a case of: 'You've given us that, we've got the arrest, that's great'...

Patrick's views on neighbourhood policing summarised well the approach that officers adopted when engaging with the community in the case study areas; there was little or no scope for communities to actually influence priorities or form part of the decision making process (this is admitted to by *Patrick*, but not by *Richard*), yet the enforcement opportunities that community engagement and community intelligence provide were greatly valued.

The above examples highlight the ways in which partnership policing at the local level sought to make use of community engagement and the presence of other partner agencies to extend their attempts at enforcement, in terms of available powers, but also to afford the police a cloak of legitimacy and accountability. Carrying out enforcement action with specific residents they regularly liaised with and who were internally vetted and trusted by the partnership, and by taking along partner agencies, the police were presented as just another agency when dealing with 'problem' aspects of the local population. The partnership activity targeting the homeless people would not have been possible without the co-operation and intelligence of trusted local residents that attended the partnership intelligence meeting; such partnership working resulted in police driven and punitive partnership working. Furthermore, it was apparent that community engagement appeared to take place on the terms of the police, usually when

enforcement activities were to be carried out.

Concluding Comments

It is apparent that the role of residents within the CSPs of the case study areas was a relatively powerless position, with little potential for those, who wished, to effect change through a democratic process. Minority resident voices, such as middle class community groups, were considered as *legitimate* voices by the CSP, whilst residents who were critical or offered divergent priorities were marginalised by the CSP. The example referred to often in this chapter, of the PACT meeting, has been useful as it depicts the manner in which police and partner agency relations with residents and communities played out in the context of the CSP. The PACT meeting was problematic for several reasons; it was led by dominant actors such as the police and council employees and in many instances priorities were brought to the meeting by these CSP actors, rather than sought from residents. This process, of effectively ratifying pre-determined priorities, suggested that key decisions on matters related to policing and other local concerns around safety were made in other forums and arenas, to which residents were not a party. The effect of this has been detailed above, with residents such as *Benjamin* and *Malik* expressing their anger and frustration. Karn (2007) also makes reference to this in discussing interviews she carried out with residents' on a council estate in Northern England; she describes how residents' 'sense of abandonment' is heightened when they are treated less favourably or feel as though they are less able to influence local priorities.

A fact established after the completion of my fieldwork, on speaking to one of my community contacts I had got in touch with to clarify a piece of information, was that PACT meetings as they were, now no longer took place. He informed me that in their place were 'online' PACT meetings which are now run on discussion boards. This is a potentially concerning development in terms of accountability and inclusion; recent research has shown that seven million adults in UK have never accessed the Internet and the elderly, the disabled, and the poor are more likely than other groups to have never accessed the Web (Office of National Statistics, 2013). With the case study areas of this

research amongst the most deprived wards in the country, it calls into question the democratic process attached to PACT meetings and the rhetoric of inclusivity that is attached to it. It also calls in to question, as highlighted in this chapter, the class divides apparent in community engagement, with CSP actors preferring to engage with uncritical community groups whilst perceiving already marginalised groups in ways which affect how the local authorities deal with them. As Hope (2005) notes, such moves towards creating what may be termed as 'local worthies' or 'active citizens' (those who actively engage in CSP processes) has dangerous implications, such as an unreliable claim to representativeness of the community. Skinns (2008) notes that in any case local citizens have very little engagement with CSPs, with the power and influence held by state institutions such as the police and council at the local level.

What is revealed by *Brendan*, and by CSP actors from state institutions, is that constructions of sections of the local community as problematic are prevalent and this differential consideration and treatment can be considered along class lines. As noted by Evans (2002), community involvement appears only to be accepted when on professionals' terms, even in areas where it is considered to be working and successful. Furthermore, Coleman et al. (2002) suggest that 'on board' partners and community groups, who are uncritical of local authorities are much more likely to receive CSP support and funding than other marginalised groups, thereby dismissing genuine community concerns. This also appeared to be the case in this study, in which it was apparent that communities within the wider neighbourhood existed under a hierarchy where certain voices were listened to and engaged with, whilst others were effectively silenced and marginalised. The analysis presented here confirms those suspicions and brings to the fore the inequity of the local CSP process, calling into question the rhetoric of appealing for community participation when it was evident that certain voices are prioritised over others.

However, as evidenced, there were also examples of individuals marginalised from the CSP process that successfully organised in the community for socially useful purposes. This serves as an indicator that community organisation in such a fashion can take place outside what may be termed as the 'official' or 'legitimate' channels of the CSP. This community organisation also has relevance to a wide range of issues that were dismissed

by the police and partner agencies at PACT meetings as beyond their control or not relevant to the concerns of the CSP; for example, in regards to local education, employment and leisure facilities. Coleman et al (2002) also found evidence of this and suggested that such organisation takes the form of community campaigns and community protests and serves, effectively, as a challenge to CSPs.

The role of residents and communities within CSPs is contested and appears to be negotiated from a position in which the police and local authority, as dominant actors, have the greatest sphere of power and influence. As Hughes (2007) notes, within CSPs community involvement is limited to community consultation, and not at all in leadership. Hancock (2009) also critiques government rhetoric that suggests that power within partnerships has 'dispersed downwards' to communities. This study would confirm Hancock's viewpoint and suggests that community leadership is a necessary and required factor in order to redress the power imbalance currently heavily weighted against communities. There was also a stark contrast of police and partner agencies within CSPs appearing to consider community engagement at PACT meetings and similar events as something that had to be done and an unpopular aspect of the job, whereas community engagement for the purposes of intelligence gathering was carried out in earnest. Indeed, one police sergeant told me on the way back from a PACT meeting about 'the same faces, the same moaning fuckers', he had to contend with at each meeting (*fieldwork diary entry, Oakdale, 18.01.11*). Bull (2010) in her study also found that police officers did not value or see partnership working with communities as relevant to their work.

It is useful at this point to consider the widely held belief that the police in the UK operate on the principle of 'policing by consent'; that is, with the consent of the general public. However, as Reiner notes, 'Policing is an inherently conflict-ridden enterprise... the essential function and distinctive resource of the police is the potential use of legitimate force' (2010: 69). This statement calls into question the legitimacy of the notion of policing by consent and as Reiner further highlights, those often at the sharp end of policing on a regular basis, such as the marginalised communities the focus of this study, are much less likely to give consent than those who have no or little first-hand

experience of policing. Brogden and Nijhar (2005) tackle this issue further in elaborating on what they term as the 'ten myths of community policing'. One of the ten myths that they analyse in detail, public support for community policing, considers the role of consent. They argue that communities, particularly in those areas most marginalised and populated by minorities, are at the mercy of policing that does not take into account local needs or priorities but rather focuses on those crimes or issues that are measurable and quantifiable. In this regard, communities giving the police consent does not translate into policing on the terms of the community; what it offers instead is access for the police into communities. As Brogden and Nijhar contend, this is problematic as:

'... the police, through monopolizing the decision-making process in the community, limit the range of possible responses to perceived disorder, exclude not only the unrealistic and the illegal, but also the ones most amenable to community support. If community members want the police to engage in an activity that is not on the police agenda... they may have little potential to challenge the practical decision-makers' (2005: 74).

As detailed in this chapter, police dominance or *coercion* in terms of agenda setting was a feature in all of the case study areas. Community consultation was valued most by police officers in those instances when it was on their terms; this was typically not around a table with community representatives but through their own volition, such as when contacting known informants or attending unannounced at a family home to question an individual's whereabouts. This approach to neighbourhood policing arguably has little in common with an approach informed by 'policing by consent' and is more familiar with what may be termed a *conflict* approach to policing. This conflict approach is, however, consistent with the way in which the marginal groups and communities of society have been policed and, as this study evidences, endures as a strategy for neighbourhood police officers in the contemporary period (Brogden and Ellison, 2013).

The evidence in this chapter supports the view of Evans (2002), who suggests that communities still do not have a real decision making ability and Skinnis (2003: 10) who suggests that:

... on the one hand, they are expected to share the responsibility for crime and disorder with other state and non-state agencies and on the other

hand, they receive little in return, as their priorities are bypassed, in favour of priorities prescribed by central government.

However, as discussed later in this thesis, the priorities that were pursued were those not only of central government but of those of the police, a still dominant and leading player within CSPs who commanded a greater presence and influence in contrast to both partner agencies and local residents. The next chapter will address the role that partner agencies and the staff working within them had within the CSPs and in particular the contradictions that stemmed from their ambiguous role as partners will be examined.

CHAPTER FIVE - CO-OPTION AND RESISTANCE: PARTNER AGENCIES WITHIN CSPs

Andrew: It's about turning up with a big van, knocking on the door and bringing lots of partner agencies with us and hitting them with everything we can...

This chapter addresses the key themes that emerged in this study concerning the roles of partner agencies and partner agency staff within the CSPs of the case study areas. Specifically, this chapter highlights the ways in which competing agendas clashed and the extent to which they diverged within CSPs. The working relationship that partner agencies had with the police within CSPs will be examined as a matter of primary importance. The examples presented in this chapter are used to illustrate the major themes that are discussed.

The first section of this chapter addresses the ways in which partner agencies assisted the police in pursuing enforcement related actions, an aspect of the working relationship that was revealed to be of key importance in the case study areas. The second section of this chapter presents evidence of frustrations and tension within CSPs; suggesting that aspects of partnership were marked by police criticism of the role of that partner agencies *should* adopt and partner agency criticism of the roles they *had* adopted. The third and final section argues that whilst some aspects of partnership working within CSPs were mutually agreed and shared, other divergent objectives reveal the extent to which partner agencies attempted, through rhetoric and action, to resist demands placed upon them by the police. This chapter concludes by suggesting that the development of partnership working within CSPs, though following a dominant punitive agenda, also offered signs of resistance from partner agency staff towards a more social welfare based approach to community safety.

Enforcing together – the merits of partnership working

On many occasions during fieldwork, partner agency staff and police officers took the time when speaking to me to extol the virtues of being able to enforce in partnership. It became apparent that many police officers viewed increased partnership working in recent years as a positive phenomenon; the picture was less clear and more contradictory amongst partner agency staff, as this chapter will detail. What is not in dispute, however, is that for the police in particular, partnership working within CSPs extended the possibilities available to them in terms of enforcement opportunities.

Robert, a local authority employee and neighbourhood manager for the Newford area, was keen to stress the importance of close partnership working with the police and the benefits it had afforded:

Robert: It's crucial. Yeah, we'd be, you know, disabled in what we could do without that. A lot of what we've been trying to achieve would be fairly futile without the police around the table. So we can't really have a crime meeting without them there. It's, you know, a relationship that has blossomed into what is just second nature now. The police, despite their reputation in some circles, were always very open right from the start in my opinion. Cos I started this job just about the time... We'd just got the ASBO powers and that's what kicked off partnership working really because... erm... You couldn't really go for an ASBO as a single agency; it didn't make any sense because you didn't have all the evidence. So although it's a civil enforcement power, you need police, housing services, schools, youth services, around the table with you to get a rounded picture whether it's appropriate to sanction. So it was those new powers which triggered the start of real meaningful partnership working I think. So you know, without the police there from the start, we couldn't have really done antisocial behaviour or warnings and all those enforcement powers that come with that... That was the start of the process really. So right from the start, the police have been very open and very enthusiastic about partnership working. They know that it's the way to do business. They know it helps them do very good policing successfully. I'm sure they would say the same: Without us it wouldn't have worked as well.

Of note in the above quote is *Robert's* assertion of being 'disabled' without police assistance. As he goes on to describe, partnership working with the police *enabled* enforcement opportunities to be pursued. *Masood*, a housing officer in Oakdale, was

similarly praiseworthy of the close links his agency enjoyed with the local neighbourhood policing team:

W: How important is it in your role to work in partnership with the police?

Masood: It's absolutely paramount. What we do is, as an organisation we partnered up with Oakdale police and we actually attend the intelligence meetings. I'm sure you went to them. We share intelligence. So, quite good relationships really. I can't comment on other wards but I certainly know that the Oakdale ward tend to work quite well together. Our community safety team works well. We get the magistrates results.

Masood mentioned the sharing of intelligence as an example of successful partnership working and tellingly, made reference to getting 'the magistrates' results', indicating a shared partnership goal but one that arguably may be more associated with the police than a housing officer. The question asked of *Masood*, concerning the importance of working in partnership with the police, was also the question that was asked of *Richard* and both respondents in their answers made reference to the successful nature of enforcement activities. Police officers, too, were keen to discuss the positive way in which they believed partnership working had now developed. For example, *Dominic*, a police inspector in Newford, described an instance of how close partnership working with a local housing provider had led to the strengthening of a typical tenancy agreement. *Dominic* was eager to stress the success of re-focussing this agreement so it was heavily based upon enforcement-related issues:

Dominic: So you might have a housing association, for example, who don't have anything written in their tenancy agreements at the moment. Because it's never really been a problem up to this stage and the tenancy agreement hasn't been reviewed for the last five years, they might not have anything in place legally they can do. They might not have legal remedies. They might have nothing that they can sign up to when a new tenant comes in. Whereas Sandy Homes, a few years ago, we actually sat down with Sandy Homes, this is another thing which we, one of the big achievements with the priority neighbourhoods, Sandy Homes and myself sat down and we, basically, re-wrote their tenancy agreement. And it was heavily weighted towards law and order issues, crime and disorder issues, which was, again, I think it was only five pages when it first started. I think it was about 24 when we'd finished.

Patricia, a local authority employee and neighbourhood manager for Ringland, also noted the perceived successes of a partnership enforcement initiative, developed in collaboration with the local neighbourhood policing team, which enabled warnings and further tenancy action to be taken out against residents for their or their children's behaviour:

Patricia: So if their tenants... Like something that *Ryan* did quite a while ago, we had a lot of youth ASB with the youngsters who were tenants of Ringland Homes, and so linking with the Ringland Home team, they were put on notice that they could lose their houses if they didn't... erm... bring their children under control.

Patricia, very much like the neighbourhood managers of Newford and Oakdale, was frequently complimentary of the relationship she and her agency enjoyed with the neighbourhood policing team and it was evident that the policing team, as in the other areas, were largely reciprocal in their sentiments. *Patricia* in the following quote indicated the importance the police had to her being able to do her job:

Patricia: If I can't work in partnership with the police then I might as well not be here. Like I say, Ringland is the worst area for crime, so for me to actually be able to sit down and kind of, come up with initiatives to help the police, because there's the pure crime that they will deal with like... erm... you know, if there's burglaries, I won't get involved with burglaries because that's a pure policing role. But issues of anti-social behaviour, issues of needing to alley gate places, issues of needing to mediate between groups of people, yes that is part of my role to do that.

Patricia revealingly made reference to 'pure crime', thus indicating her distinction and separation of the work that she was involved in from that of other aspects of police work. *Patricia* was proud of her close links with the neighbourhood policing team and of what she had achieved working together with them. She offered specific examples, some quite lengthy in detail, of occasions of when a 'positive result' had been achieved or an initiative successfully completed, such as partnership participation in a local community event.

One of the ways in which partnership working between the police and partner agencies was carried out (outside of the confines of the office) was during joint visits to specific

areas within neighbourhoods. These visits were carried out for a number of reasons, some of which were linked to carrying out 'reassurance' activities by speaking to residents and others which targeted specific individuals or families, for example, to issue a tenancy or other warning. These visits were known colloquially amongst staff as 'walkabouts' and were regarded by both police officers and partner agency staff as positive and mutually beneficial activities. The following example relates to a typical instance of such a 'walkabout' taking place in the Oakdale area, in which *Richard* and his policing team were assisting housing officer *Masood* in visiting residents on a high rise tower block estate. These visits were being carried out in partnership in order for *Masood* to issue official and informal warnings to residents in regards to breaches of their tenancy agreements.

At the regular Oakdale intelligence meeting between police officers and partner agencies, actions were agreed which occasionally necessitated a partnership approach (as opposed to an action being given to an individual). At one such intelligence meeting, it was agreed that the Oakdale neighbourhood policing team would accompany housing officer *Masood* to visit a number of what were termed as 'problematic' residents, and to issue them with official or informal warnings about their behaviour. I attended and observed such partnership activities across the three case study areas, and this action was typical of partnership work in the other case study areas.

I arrived at the police station on the morning for which this particular partnership activity had been scheduled and met with *Richard* and his neighbourhood policing team. *Richard*, the sergeant, was the person with whom I had most contact (this was the case with the sergeants in the other areas too) and he proceeded to inform me of a recent drug operation that had sent 'shockwaves' through the community. *Richard* spoke of the housing officer *Masood* being 'a nice fellow, but sometimes a lot of what he gives us is hearsay' and that when further information is required 'he isn't forthcoming'. This was in stark contrast to *Masood's* viewpoint on this matter, which I learned when interviewing him after this partnership activity.

I left the police station together with eight officers in a riot van which travelled the short distance to the tower block where they would meet *Masood* and carry out the visits. On

meeting with *Masood*, the police officers and I followed *Masood* to the first property to be visited. The first property to be entered was a very small flat with a single occupant inside and it was a quite bizarre sight with eight police officers stood around in a cramped space while *Masood* warned the man about his tenancy. After *Masood* had done this, *Richard* then took the man outside and shouted at him for several minutes, telling him that if he didn't comply with the directions he had been given he would be 'out on his ass'. He was also warned that, if he didn't comply, next time the police could be 'coming in through your windows'. *Richard* told him that he wanted to 'clean the estate up, as it was full of dross' and that 'we are trying to protect law abiding citizens, unlike yourselves'. The man protested, when told he should ring any information he has in to the police, that he did not have a mobile phone; the officers laughed together when one of them suggested he 'could cut buying two bottles of cider and buy a mobile phone from Tesco instead'. What happened next is detailed in an extract from my field work diary:

Fieldwork diary, 27.04.11, Oakdale - The next property we went to was nearby and after a short period of knocking on the door without reply, *Cameron* (a police officer) then kicked it a few times. This action made me wonder; is kicking someone's door usual policy or does it depend whose door it is, or in which area it is? As we left this flat to visit the next *Richard* said to *Masood* (whilst glancing a look in my direction), 'come on *Masood*, you need to head it up, we're assisting you'.

The next house to be visited involved all eight officers, *Masood* and myself entering the property and on this occasion *Masood* led the questioning, telling the resident he had information about 'undesirable' visitors to his house; however, *Richard* and *Cameron* (an Oakdale police officer), also contributed. The resident at this flat, a middle aged man, was also warned that he was in danger of breaching his tenancy agreement. As we left this building a strong smell of urine permeated the air which several of the officers commented upon and *Richard* looked at me and said '... you wouldn't want to live here would you, look at the state of it'.

In the final property to be visited, the resident was also warned by *Masood*. The eight officers in attendance at all of the visits were not there simply for their presence (though this was clearly a significant tactic employed to strengthen the seriousness of the tenancy warning). At each of the previous visits, the officers collectively searched the properties.

In this particular property, a snap bag of cannabis was found. *Richard* proceeded to tell me how the man at this flat was linked to other dealers in the area and of how they 'all piss in the same pot'. A more detailed search took place which took around an hour; however, it was mostly uneventful. A wooden truncheon was found and *Richard*, in his typical gallows type humour, stated, 'I wondered where my old truncheon had got to'; when asked by a PC whether or not the residents' possessions should be seized, *Richard* looked at me and said (this time without humour), 'what do you say Waqas? Fuck em'. As the possessions were being sealed in plastic bags, *Richard* told me that '... this is what it's all about, taking the filth off the streets, we'll seize everything, the truncheon, it paints a picture; these people are not law abiding citizens'.

The partnership activity, scheduled to last an entire morning, was abruptly brought to an end. The neighbourhood policing team said they would be 'back in 30 minutes', however they did not return, and instead had left one of their PCSOs to assist *Masood*. It was evident that *Masood* was not happy about this, particularly as the policing team left due to arresting a passer-by. In interviewing *Masood* a number of weeks after this incident, I learned of his frustrations of working in partnership with the police. These frustrations will be addressed and discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The above events displayed aspects of partnership working which were greatly valued by the respective agencies involved. For instance, *Masood* was appreciative of the support in visiting addresses, not least in respect of his concern for personal safety. However, I also found *Masood* to be as cynical in his views towards residents, as the police officers were, and he appeared to adopt and display an enforcement-centred approach in his warnings to residents. It was apparent that *Masood* felt the police legitimised and enhanced the potency of his warning to residents and therefore was grateful for their presence. For the police officers, it was clear that this partnership activity led them to being able to search each of the houses, enabling intelligence to be collected and enforcement opportunities to be pursued¹⁴.

Indeed, the partnership activity came to an abrupt end due to the police pursuing an enforcement opportunity and their limited contribution seemed to annoy *Masood*, who

¹⁴ It appeared that the police officers did not have warrants to search the properties; rather, they took advantage of the opportunity afforded to them by accompanying *Masood* on the visits.

was expectant of assistance to visit a greater number of properties than actually took place. In short, the police officers appeared to take little interest in the stated aims of the partnership activity, to assist *Masood* with the delivery of a tenancy warning, and rather chose to what can only be described as 'shake down' the residents, seeking intelligence and threatening consequences if their orders were not complied with. It is of note, however, that *Masood*, though clearly unhappy at the early withdrawal of police officers from this activity, still valued the contribution of the police officers, not least as it appeared to strengthen his authority when dealing with residents.

Andrew, neighbourhood police inspector for Oakdale, indicated that one of the key benefits of partnership working had been the use of it to target what he termed as 'organised crime'. *Andrew* referred to organised crime as 'serious criminality' and criminality that would previously fall under the remit of the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA). *Andrew* spoke in glowing terms of his neighbourhood policing team and the successes they had achieved targeting organised crime and further suggested that within the force (and particularly through trials in the Newford area) such partnership working was becoming the norm:

Andrew: In the past, organised crime groups would have been targeted by, you know, various sort of senior detectives and things like SOCA and it would have been very hush-hush and very sort of covert but the change of emphasis has been: 'Well hang on a minute. These people have got an extravagant lifestyle that's way beyond what you can visibly see their income is, and they've clearly got more money than we can see where they're getting it from'. That's coming from their criminality. So how can we hit them? Well we can hit them by arresting them, we can hit them by seizing their cars off them, we can hit them by looking at their assets under the Proceeds of Crime Act but we can also hit them by looking at Department Work and Pensions and what benefits they're claiming, Customs and Excise, all these organisations, health and safety. Some of them are running business with inverted commas that are really fronts for their criminal operation. Well if you're running a business then you have to comply with the health and safety regulations so one of the ways that we're targeting these people that are running bogus businesses is to get the health and safety people in to come and look and we can shut down their operation under health and safety but we're still targeting organised crime by doing that. So it's about, not necessarily softly-softly and secrets and covert work. It's about turning up with a big van, knocking on the door and bringing lots of partner agencies with us and hitting them with everything we can and sharing information. Instead of keeping it secret,

keeping it to ourselves; sharing information. So everybody can see who's being targeted and everyone can think about how they can impact upon that person to stop them being, you know, being active criminally. So that's the kind of the way it's operating.

This approach to partnership working, within neighbourhood policing, was evident across the three case study areas, and particularly so in Oakdale and Newford. The partnership working described by *Andrew* above, was entirely centred on providing the police and the partnership with a wider set of powers, potentially leading to enforcement opportunities. It was precisely this method of operating that led to *Andrew's* neighbourhood policing team earning the internal departmental moniker of the 'Gang Unit', with police officers describing to me how the team was 'feared' due to its reputation. *Andrew* provided further clarification on the emergence of this type of partnership working:

Andrew: When we first started, it was neighbourhood policing with extra officers... erm... But it very quickly became themes around drugs and those gang issues. Erm... And I think they've been very good at partnership working because they've made the wider partnership see that this is what the issue is in this community... erm... And that... err... you know, we all need to play a part together, that we all need to enforce... I mean if these are the priority neighbourhoods and this is the big issue in those priority neighbourhoods, then what are different partners doing to tackle that? And I think we've... It's not necessarily different to how neighbourhood policing is done elsewhere, but it's more of it, it's more of it. And it has helped to focus the partners into what were the real problems in those communities.

As this quote demonstrates, *Andrew* suggested that the police had been pivotal in orienting the partnership towards adopting this crime and enforcement centred approach. His mention of how it had 'helped to focus the partners into what were the real problems' is particularly revelatory and what it further revealed was the influential role that *Andrew* possessed within the partnership.

As this section has demonstrated, the CSPs had at the core of their function a focus that was patently enforcement centred. Partnership working which assisted in developing enforcement opportunities was welcomed, and housing in particular was one agency with which the police, across all three case study areas, had developed close relationships. Accompanying partner agency staff in issuing tenancy warnings was one

typical partnership activity undertaken within the CSPs and as the example in Oakdale demonstrated, this also allowed opportunities for the police to collect intelligence and pursue further enforcement opportunities.

Moreover, there was also evidence of partnership working evolving in recent times to focus on what officers in this study termed as 'organised crime'; this involved going beyond what may be identified as 'traditional' partnership working (with agencies such as housing and youth services), to working more closely with non-traditional agencies such as Customs and Excise and the Border Agency. These developments indicated a punitive rather than preventative CSP approach and suggest that police officers were still dominant actors within these partnerships, able to set and develop policing focussed agendas. Moreover, it was apparent that CSPs in the case study adopted crime as a central theme, as opposed to broader themes associated with community safety.

Role ambiguity

A key theme that emerged during fieldwork and developed in the analysis related to role ambiguities and conflict within the CSP; in other words, discussion and debate concerning the extent to which partner agencies had subsumed aspects of a policing role (or the extent to which they were expected to by the police). This section addresses this area of tensions and frustrations between partner agencies and the police, suggesting that the police and partner agencies were critical of one another in regards to the roles they had adopted within the CSPs.

Zahoor, neighbourhood manager for Oakdale, raised issues in relation to the ownership of problems within the CSP, and he considered the frustrations experienced by his police counterpart, *Andrew*, an Inspector.

Zahoor: I think he still gets frustrated that sometimes he feels in the area action team, the police tend to be one of the major organisations that are contributing to a lot of what we're doing. So a lot of the responses, I think *Andrew* normally feels... he's got an uneven responsibility or the police do. Having said that, I mean, because we start from a crime point of view, that tends to be the case anyway. So if it's burglary, *Andrew* will put his hand up and say: 'There's not a lot I can ask anyone else to do', and we're

looking at burglary hotspot, we could ask people, so if you've got housing agencies, we can ask them to get messages out, we can talk to the local community but it comes back to the PCSOs going out, they're knocking on doors, talking to people, getting messages out, things like that. So I think he sometimes feels that and I think facilitating and chairing the area action team, there are partners who come to the meeting who don't participate like they should and that's very frustrating as well. So you've got more active partners and you've got more dormant partners and people should all be at the same level but they're not necessarily all there all of the time and sometimes you have to stimulate someone to do something by saying: 'Well, you know, we've got that issue there. Could you do something about that? You know, you're a housing landlord in that area. Can you do something about that?'

It appears from this quote that both *Zahoor* and *Andrew* experienced frustrations with the actions, or rather inaction, of other agencies within the CSP. It is recognised that some issues have to, and do, fall under a police remit which is accepted by the police and that rather the frustration emanates from a perceived lack of responsibility being taken by partner agencies on other issues. Though it was evident in fieldwork and through interviewing both *Zahoor* and *Andrew* that they enjoyed a close working relationship, *Zahoor* did suggest that information from the police was sometimes not as forthcoming as it should be:

Zahoor: Some information they give us, some information they keep and sometimes that can still be frustrating and especially for some agencies, you know, they'll find that quite frustrating, that you feel that you're not always getting the full story and if we're working in partnerships, sometimes it's a case of we've all signed up to confidential agreements, you know: 'You can trust us because if you're trusting us to be out there to work with you on this then you can trust us with the information', but sometimes you don't always get a full picture in some cases. It still does happen. When it does, that's very frustrating because we keep thinking, well we thought we'd got beyond this but it does still happen now and again.

Zahoor also provided a useful example of a typical occasion in which the police were not forthcoming with information:

Zahoor: ... we don't get all the information from the police and the police I think will sometimes say as well there's still some agencies that they don't fully trust. So I think you still get a rub up between youth service and the police and having said that I think it's mutual respect in terms of

professionalism, the youth service say: 'Look, we have a different sort of relationship with young people. You have a different sort of relationship with young people. We're both trying to achieve the same aim but we go about it a different way and sometimes... what we do conflicts', and sometimes the police will go in and be a bit heavy handed and that will set back what the youth workers are doing by quite a few months and they'll lose the trust of young people.

Masood, a housing officer in Oakdale, was unhappy with what he believed were effectively policing duties placed upon him. *Masood* was critical of the police's approach to partnership working, and suggested that they did not recognise that his role was made up of a range of duties and responsibilities that did not include policing:

Masood: ...it becomes frustrating for a multi-tasking officer like me. I can't get bogged down in chasing. I do my job, and my job is to multi-task so I'm dealing with, maybe, twenty, thirty tasks in one day. So everything isn't based round, really, helping the police. My time is valued, they're doing one task, their one task is to focus on eliminating crime and making the area a better place to live, and creating a perception that this area is okay. Whereas me, I deal with all the public, and because I deal with all the public in that area there is, people will tell me things that I think may be of interest to the police. Now, they should value that because otherwise, if I wasn't there, they wouldn't get that information. So I think not only are the police withdrawn from the areas where they should be supporting, where there should be a presence, they don't seem to get the gist of effective partnership working.

Masood suggested that the police did not appreciate or have respect for the information that he provided. He stated that he was in an advantageous position as compared to police officers, who he argued were increasingly detached from communities:

Masood: ...policing has changed, certainly in my time, from a local constable walking round the street to car-based constables on a reactive basis. So they don't know their neighbourhood at all. So a police officer's driving around on a road, does not know what's going on in the inner streets. So that's changed. Okay? A housing officer, a neighbourhood officer, on the other hand, still walks those streets, still sees what's going on, and I find that with all the technology they have these days, we've actually taken a step back. Because, when I ring the police, I'm ringing them almost as the bobby on the beat who's seen something and giving good intel.

W: So do you feel like you're a kind of police on the street –

Masood: That's right.

W: - and you're engaged in some kind of police –

Masood: Absolutely. And I get called a grass and all kind of things on the estate. So, I'm sort of effectively doing the legwork, sometimes, for the police.

W: And is that valued by the police, do you feel?

Masood: Well, it's valued in an essence where a sergeant, *Richard*, if I can, sort of did a press conference and said, 'Thanks to the housing officer of Oakdale', or whatever, 'for participating in some leads'. But it's not done on a regular basis. I've even had police officers who I've passed on intel to that could have proved very fruitful to them in terms of drug busts, they never even got back to me in the email saying, "Thank you, that was good information.

W: And why do you think that is?

Masood: I wish I knew. Ignorance, because I find people who don't answer their emails ignorant. Or are under-resourced, or was my intel not good enough?

Masood also provided an example of an occasion which he says illustrated some of the problems he had in working in partnership with the police. This example related to a tenant whose property fell under *Masood's* remit and her call to the police to report an incident:

Masood: For example, eleven o'clock at night, right, when the public offices are closed, next-door neighbour rings and says, 'We think there's a woman being beaten up next door and they were arguing. They came in with a lot of cans of beer earlier on, and I'm phoning', but they're told, 'Ring your housing office tomorrow and let them know.' It's not something I'm making up; these are genuine things that have been said on the other line. Either the person who's telling me is being economical with the truth, or the police are saying this. Now when somebody tells you this every other month, then there's gotta be some kind of truth in it. There's, 'This property's drug dealing. *Masood*, can't you get rid of them, can't you throw them out?' Well, why didn't you follow the leads and why didn't you put in some intelligence, why didn't you put in some surveillance and do your job? How am I going to throw them out if the law enforcers can't do anything about it?

In the examples described by *Masood*, he indicated the extent to which his role increasingly appeared to adopt a law enforcement approach, yet at the same time he experienced a frequently ambivalent attitude from police officers when attempting to assist in this regard. In contrast to this approach, *Masood* suggested that the police take advantage of their influence and power within the partnership, by making demands of him and of his agency:

Masood: The thing is, I think with the police they've got this idea where, when they want information they know they've got the powers to come into our place and say, "Right, we need this, this and that." That's not partnership work that is throwing your weight around because you've got the law on your side.

Liam, a PCSO in the Newford area, offered an alternative account of relations with partner agencies, suggesting that the police contributed a great deal more to CSPs than they received in return:

Liam: I think our partners are... they lack sometimes and they want things off us but we don't get much in return. As you've seen from our PACT meetings, we don't get any partner agencies that come to our PACT meetings when they're all invited. That's simply because they can't be bothered to change their shifts whereas myself and Marcus, we change our shifts, you know, weekly to fit in things that are gonna help the neighbourhood or to meet the public or like we go in on our days off to teach rugby at a school which we don't have to do as part of the Safer Schools partnership and we do a hell of a lot more than our partner agencies do. I don't know what their budgets are like or staffing issues, I can't comment on that, but from my personal point of view, they don't do a lot.

Liam suggested that partner agencies did not contribute a great deal to CSPs, and he also emphasised the role that he and other police officers played in at times going beyond what would usually be required of them. *Liam* also felt that the lack of partner agency assistance negatively affected the capacity of the police to pursue enforcement opportunities:

Fieldwork diary, 21.12.10, Newford - Liam discussed at various times the issue of cannabis farms in the area and he told me he had been involved in such raids. He had a pessimistic view on some of the partner agencies such as housing as he claimed that they could do more in support of police investigations. Liam cited the example of an offender released from prison after serving time for drugs offences who then was released back to the same property to where the cannabis farm was found. Lee also stated that this same offender was soon driving around in an expensive car despite not having a job; he suggested it may have been a 'gift for doing time' in relation to the drugs offences. Liam also commented that partner agency and information sharing was improving however 'it was nowhere near the level it should be' and wasn't dealing effectively with 'benefit fiddlers' etc.

In addition to Liam's frustration at the lack of perceived involvement from partner agencies, he also indicated that partnership arrangements in a previous role had provided him with a greater deal of influence over important local matters, such as being able to assess who was to be given a property.

Liam: It's very important. I think it could be developed a lot more... I used to work closely with my local housing officer. He used to come to us with names of people that he could possibly put into a tenancy and ask us what do we think, whether we think they'd be right for that area, whether there's... erm... some vulnerable people around them, you know, and we'd have a look and say: 'Well no, they're not quite suited there because you've got an elderly lady or elderly residents, elderly neighbours, vulnerable residents and they might disturb their life'. That doesn't happen over here much and it should do really. Erm... Trying to get trees cut for CCTV footage, stuff like that, better CCTV coverage, that can be a bit frustrating because you've got people that like trees and they don't want trees to be cut down or back and it's like: 'Well I'm sorry but which would you rather have: some coverage that we can maybe identify an offender for shooting somebody or would you rather have an extra two feet of branches?'

Liam in the above example indicated the kind of influence he previously had with other partner agencies and illustrated the priorities he believed were being overlooked due to the partnership arrangements in his current area of employment. Of note in his example is his frustration at not being able to essentially 'vet' local people before they were housed in properties and he also revealed what may be regarded as a strange criticism of partner agencies. However, the primary theme here is that Liam was unhappy with the

level of influence he had with partner agencies resulting in what he suggests are problematic consequences for local safety. The following example reveals that *Liam* was happy with some aspects of partnership working in relation to dealing with anti-social behaviour however, it also illustrates *Liam's* frustration at the police not being able to influence, as desired, the eviction of a resident from the local area:

Liam: Some anti-social behaviour issues work well. Housing issues... Not so much warrants because, I don't know whether it's a legality issue that stops the housing provider from evicting people who've had cannabis farms, you know, which is a misuse of their property and tenancy breakdown, I don't know, but for us, if someone does that kind of thing we would like them to be evicted and not re-housed in the same area, you know... erm... But what do they do? They keep their tenancies.

In response to a question asking who led when it came to partnership working, *Liam* was emphatic in his response and listed the aspects of partnership working he was directly involved in:

Liam: I've... As far as I'm aware it's us, we're doing pretty much everything. You know, we're out on the streets tackling the crime, we do the leaflet drops, you know, we've seen the views of our communities by opening the PACT meetings, asking them to come to us with any problems and they set our priorities for the forthcoming month. So we're very... We lead and we're led by the community and we have to report back to them and say: 'This is what we've done. This is how we've combated...' or 'We haven't combated yet but this is what we are doing to combat it and we'll give you an update at the next one'.

This section has highlighted that the role of partner agencies within CSPs is very much a contested area. However, it is apparent that there is a degree of ambiguity about the role of partner agencies and the extent to which they are expected to play a policing role within CSPs. It was evident that police officers enjoyed close working relationships with neighbourhood managers such as *Zahoor*, who appeared to adopt a police-led enforcement agenda much more readily than other agencies. Nonetheless, *Zahoor* was also aware of the issues the police raised when having to work with other agencies such as youth services and he recognised this as detrimental to the CSP. *Masood's* unhappiness at the police not valuing his information is compounded by his belief that he

had become, in some respects, a proxy police officer. *Masood's* experience indicated ambiguity regarding the nature of his role in the CSP, and he also recognised this, as his comments suggested. *Liam*, however, believed that partner agencies did not do enough and he was unhappy with his inability to influence decisions related to community safety and enforcement opportunities. The argument in this section, therefore, is that though CSPs remain contested arenas, there remains a degree of ambiguity regarding the role that partner agencies have adopted within CSPs, contrasted with police expectations of the roles they should be adopting. Taking this debate further, the following section will offer an examination into the extent to which partner agencies and the police had converging and conflicting priorities within the CSP areas.

Shared and divergent objectives

Though it was evident that in many regards partnership agencies enjoyed a close relationship with the police in CSPs, such as the local authority and housing providers, and often shared objectives, it was also of note that many objectives appeared to be divergent and in some cases, conflicting with those that were formally and informally agreed within the CSPs. This section will explore this aspect of partnership working in detail, and will discuss the extent to which partner agencies shared, and to what extent they diverged from objectives ostensibly agreed in the CSP.

Sandra, a local authority employee in Newford responsible for community engagement, evidenced the extent to which she disagreed with other CSP actors, specifically in respect of the pursuance of enforcement action against residents on the grounds of infringements against tenancy agreements:

Sandra: So I think the relationship in the partnership, I mean, *Robert* is much more involved in those, you know, sort of the partnership intelligence meetings and the other ones. I mean, I used to go to what was called community, it was called community safety meeting, the youth service, then it'd be housing, then it'd be loads of other providers. And I used to find myself, like, getting quite cross with some of the actions, you know.

This was when all the ASB started coming out and putting people on anti-social behaviours and orders. And, you know, I thought, 'Wait a minute,

has anybody gone out to see this family, to see what issues they've got, to see how they can be supported, instead of wanting to put the child's face on a leaflet that goes round to every house', you know. Murderers don't even get that. They've committed an offence, alright, they've caused trouble in their area but they're being put on leaflets that go to every household. Now, to me, that's making that young person vulnerable to adults or to other people, you know, and I think that's wrong. And I did say that at meetings, but I felt like I was a lone voice sometimes.

Sandra's views on this approach conflicted with those of both police officers and partner agencies within the CSPs, and of note from the above quote is her apparent isolation, due to her perspective. She was unhappy with the ways in which she felt residents were being too quickly criminalised and labelled, without taking other factors into account. *Sandra* elaborated further on what she saw as the lack of structural support for residents and families within the community coupled with an overzealous approach to enforcement in the form of forced evictions:

Sandra: So it's not that I stopped going, it's just that I was doing other things. But when I'm at those meetings, I do make those points, because I do think, sometimes, people forget that these are, you know... You see it as, "Oh, I'm providing the house and we want them to behave like this and they've got to work within this tenancy, and they've got to be, and if they don't behave like this they're going to get an eviction." And I can understand if you've got a family that continually, continually, continually just doesn't get it at all, and is not interested, when you've tried the resources, you've tried the support.

But, you know, you do sort of worry about those resources that are there for that community support. And it isn't, you know, you can't do it forever, but as long as you try, you know, like an approach to see if there are real issues there. I mean, when you think some parents are left there with, like, you know, they're single parents with, and they've got so many kids and they've got, you know, older ones and younger ones and kids getting into trouble, and you think, "Well, who's supporting that mother? Where's she getting her support from," you know, "and helping with...?" Sometimes I'd like to do that kind of, you'd probably say it's like a social work, kind of thing, wouldn't you, you know, where you go to the family and you sort of say to them, "What about this, have you thought about this, can we do this?" And, you know, then you sort of think about, "Well, where are the services," you know, "what can you offer to that family?" So I think, you know, that's something that's needed, really, a focus.

Sandra cited a series of actions that she would have liked to, but was unable to take in order to assist struggling families and individuals and pointedly referred to the term 'social work'. She felt however, that this was not only outside the scope of her current role but that she was a lone voice within the CSP; yet this did not prevent her from vocalising her concerns whenever the opportunity arose. In a similar vein, *Patricia*, neighbourhood manager for Ringland, also made reference to underlying structural causes for problems in the area:

Patricia: And things like bus prices are too far out of their reach because it's three or four quid for a one way journey, something like that, you just can't afford it. It's no wonder people get angry and disillusioned and when kids are playing football in the street, they're just playing a game, they're playing football. They're not trying to cause anti-social behaviour. But like I say, children don't get the say. It's the developers that get the say and they will only come when they can make some money out of the area and that is a real shame because if we do reduce on green space, it just makes the situation worse. You know, private landlords don't help. I know what previous government... Well, it was the Thatcher government, all around here, you go all round here [she is pointing to the map], we've got a site right here which at the moment is a fire hazard on bonfire night waiting to happen because a load of wood has been put in on site.

Patrick however, a police officer in Ringland, was pleased that the sergeant leading his neighbourhood policing team had now moved on to another role. *Patrick* believed that this would now allow for the opportunity to carry out work that was more policing focussed rather than community oriented:

Patrick: So I think it's good to have a fresh set of eyes to have a look at it, just to freshen things up, from that point of view. I think it's probably gonna be slightly less community-orientated... Erm... Probably a little bit more policing being used as the answer to a few more of the problems rather than necessarily going through some of the other things we've done with some of the other agencies, some of the other meetings. We may be doing a little bit more of the policing: 'This is what we're going to do as the police'. Like giving a fixed penalty rather than necessarily getting everybody in a room and talking before we actually get to that approach. I think they might be dealt with a little bit quicker if possible rather than only looking at the longer term...

Patrick was relieved at the team receiving a new sergeant that may offer a brand of neighbourhood policing that he was keener to pursue, rather than a community oriented

approach that was previously adopted. As is demonstrated, the approach that *Patrick* was keen to adopt was in stark contrast to the viewpoints of both *Patricia* and *Sandra* in particular, who are keen to address or at least raise the awareness of the need to address social and economic problems experienced by individuals in their respective communities. The assumption however, that neighbourhood policing in Ringland prior to the introduction of the new sergeant was in some way a utopian conflict-free model to be adopted elsewhere would be false; for instance, the previous sergeant, *Ryan*, informed me that he could not wait to begin his new position away from neighbourhood policing as it would involve 'not seeing scrotes every day which is nice' and he was frequently enthusiastic about conducting raids on residents' addresses. On one occasion that I observed, he briefed his staff on the need to 'storm' addresses that morning and 'dominate' anyone that may be inside.

As with the sergeants of the neighbourhood policing teams in Newford and Oakdale, *Ryan* enjoyed the closest working relationship with the local authority neighbourhood manager, followed by partner agency staff responsible for housing, and youth services and it was with these agencies that enforcement action tended to be pursued against residents. This focus on enforcement perhaps also explains why partnership working with most other agencies, such as the health service and fire service, was infrequent across all three areas and did not appear to be established to any great degree.

Masood, housing officer within the Oakdale CSP, offered insight into some of the problematic aspects of working in partnership with his neighbourhood policing team. The following example illustrated a tension between the priorities that *Masood* was pursuing and those pursued by the police:

Masood: Partnership work is sharing intel, supporting that partner agency in their needs. Okay? And, because they are a law-enforcing agency, giving us the backing as well with regards to the law. Not ringing us and saying, 'Oh well, such and such, he was drinking the other day and they threw loads of cans of beer off the balcony. When are you gonna throw them out?' The police are telling us to throw people out on the street, when all it could have done was, like, somebody's being anti-social. There is an element of crime involved in anti-social behaviour, if anything's anti then there's an element of disruption and crime there. So it's not the job of housing to go and stop that, it's the job of the law enforcers to go and give them the warning and then say to us, 'Look, we've done this, perhaps

you want to tell them that next time it happens it is gonna affect their tenancy'. The police have still got the attitude, 'Ah well, it's a housing issue, housing officer can deal with it'. And they've done that in some high end crimes, like drug dealing, alcohol crime, burglary offences.

Though there is a need for policing that is highlighted by *Masood*, for example in assisting with the issuing of a warning, he is at the same time unhappy with the approach they adopted. For *Masood*, there is a deficit with the responsibility that the police took in regards to certain matters, with the expectation that housing officers evict residents for minor offences not only an over-reaction, but an unfair transfer of enforcement responsibility. In the above example offered by *Masood*, the matters of housing and criminality were conflated together and *Masood* believed that this was inappropriately the case for some 'high end' crimes too in which police officers effectively 'passed the buck'. *Masood's* position on this issue was clarified further when he later told me 'I feel like, 'Why the hell am I doing the legwork for them?', because, at the end of the day, I'm a housing man. I'm not a crime solver; I'm not a person who's going out looking for crime'. It is at this juncture, therefore, that *Masood* indicates that his objectives diverged from police expectations of his contribution in the partnership.

Masood also provided examples of incidents that in his view demanded a policing response yet did not receive one, further highlighting what he regarded as the police not taking some crimes seriously and expecting partner agencies to be responsible for others, particularly those that may be related to housing, as indicated above. The following example provided by *Masood* arose during a discussion in which he explained to me that racism from police officers was a factor in leading to what issues were regarded as priorities, and which were not. *Masood* expressed his helplessness at not being able to assist a resident:

Masood: And one particular incident where I had a client on, and he's begging me, he's saying, 'The police aren't listening to me and Oakdale Homes aren't listening to me'. So he's brought himself down to a level where he's saying to me, 'Look, brother, do you understand, you're a Muslim, your Pakistani police (sic) can't understand me or this point of view, that I'm going crazy living here, and nobody's taking any notice of me'. And I'm helpless; I was helpless because I don't control the application system. And the police said to him, 'What do you want us to

do?” His car windows were broken. And what's frustrating for him is the people who broke his car windows are a well-known white family who are not to be messed with in that area and he can't open his mouth. And the police weren't willing to help him. He's too scared to name them because then he will suffer more anti-social behaviour. And he's so frustrated that he's actually taking anti-depressants now and he's suffering with his family.

Masood felt that even from his position of authority, as a housing professional within a CSP, he was unable to provide assistance for this man and he clearly identified that this was a matter that should be dealt with by the police. Its apparent relegation as a priority for the police, *Masood* indicates, may be due to racism; however, it also related to the earlier point in which *Masood* was expected to be involved in enforcement and intelligence collection duties, (and in his opinion, beyond the remit of his role), yet he was unable to influence the police in a similar way. In other words, the police objectives that resulted in demands being placed upon *Masood* did not equate to *Masood* being able to place his own or his agency's demands upon the police; it is, in effect, a process through which objectives flowed, in a one way process, from the police to partner agencies and an outcome of this was *Masood's* angst at being powerless in assisting a victim of racism.

Andrew, police inspector for Oakdale neighbourhood policing team, offered a useful overview of the status quo in CSPs in regards to the problems, which, it appears, stem from conflicts over agency specific objectives. *Andrew* suggests that the police had a lot to learn in relation to working with other agencies who did not share a remit or the same objectives as they do. In offering an example to highlight his point, he cited anti-social behaviour:

Andrew: So the police response to anti-social behaviour will be to go in there: 'Let's find out who these young people are, let's get them locked up, let's take the alcohol off them, let's do something impactful now', whereas the integrated youth service approach will be: 'Let's find out who these kids are, let's work with them, let's understand their issues, let's get them to feel confident in us so that they'll not hang around in the park drinking alcohol but they'll come and talk to us in the youth club, let's work on their issues so if they've got an issue with drugs or alcohol...'. You know, that's not gonna be put right over night, it's gonna take a long time to deal with those issues. There might need to be more partners involved in that. So our approach to a problem might be really sort of short term,

quick hit, get in, do what we have to do. But the partner's approach will be, it might take two or three years you know, to work with a particular group of people to sort out their issues and problems. And that's the difficulty of partnership work...

This quote by *Andrew* offered a frank assessment of what he believed the objectives of partnership working with other agencies should be, and the extent to which this could be improved, and he further suggested that the contribution of the police within CSPs was *complementary* to the work of other agencies, such as the youth service. *Andrew* did reveal, to some extent, his view that there are limitations of the police in offering long term solutions and in the example he provided his suggested ways of improving the situation included working with more partner agencies. *Andrew* was, however, critical of partner agencies and accused them of not taking on their fair share of responsibility in reducing crime and disorder. *Andrew* also recognised that police contributions to partnerships, in the sense of dominating leadership, were far from ideal and also in need of improvement:

Andrew: Some of the things I've found with partnership working as well is... getting people to see that anti-social behaviour and crime is their problem too, that's an issue because we all have our targets and performance regimes, don't we? And partner agencies... erm... don't always see how contributing to reducing crime and disorder helps them. You know, it's the old: 'What's in it for me?'. You've got sometimes, part of the persuasion is getting something out of it for that partner agency as well, something out of it for reducing crime and disorder, and that can be a negotiation sometimes. Erm... and I think sometimes, erm... As police officers, because of the way we're trained, I don't know, because of the kind of people we are, we tend to jump around and take the lead and go: 'Come on, follow me, charge!', and that's not always the right thing. We're not always the right agency to take the lead. So from our point of view, maybe we need to... listen more to what our partners need from us and not be so gung-ho about taking the lead, maybe let some of the other partners lead on particular initiatives and we play a supporting role. We're not good at that. We always want to take the lead and make things happen now, and it's not always possible, it's not always the best way to solve the problem.

The problem that *Andrew* identified, of the police dominating agendas and the setting of objectives and priorities, was confirmed by the findings across the three case study areas.

What was also confirmed is that some agencies, such as the local authority, enjoyed a closer working relationship with the police as they were much more willing to adopt their objectives and priorities. It was partner agencies such as the youth service, as the example by *Andrew* illustrated, that resulted in a much more strained and tension ridden form of partnership working. *Andrew* was, however, candid about areas in which he believed the police should perhaps not lead, and he cited the example of prostitution:

Andrew: An example is prostitution... Are the police the agency to deal with prostitution? Probably not. Cos what we gonna do? We're gonna give warnings to people, we're gonna arrest people, they're gonna get very... light sentences or community sentences from the courts, doesn't really solve the problems, they're back out of the streets because they've not chosen that life style because they wanna do it, they've chosen that lifestyle because they're forced into it. And unless we deal with the reasons why they're forced into it, which can be drugs, it can be financial hardship, it can be being in abusive relationships with males who make them do this kind of thing, unless we deal with that, then you know, we're not gonna solve the problem of prostitution by policing and other agencies need to take the lead on that, and that's some of the issues and some of the difficulties around partnership working.

It was evident from this study that *Andrew's* sentiments may have been honest, yet they were also deeply contradictory. For instance, his neighbourhood policing team in Oakdale led an operation to tackle prostitution in the local area and were congratulated by *Andrew* for securing a five year Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) against a young woman who they regarded as a repeat offender. This woman, who experienced significant mental health difficulties, was the focus of several partnership meetings that I also attended and it was decided that as she was not complying with demands placed upon her, the ASBO was the correct course of action to take. Police officers on *Andrew's* team derogatorily referred to this woman as 'Sticky Vicky' in my presence and she was subsequently 'named and shamed' on the front page of a local newspaper and news website shortly after the 'successful' enforcement action against her. *Andrew* was perhaps correct to assume that the police were not the best agency to deal with prostitution, but not for the reasons he cited.

As this section has demonstrated, there existed a degree of tension and conflict between partner agencies and the police within CSPs which was manifested primarily when

demands were placed from one agency to another. Though certain objectives were shared within CSPs, reluctantly or not, it was the objectives that diverged from these that were the site of tension and conflict. It was demonstrated that although partner agencies were willing to contribute to a policing agenda that was focussed on enforcement and the collection of intelligence, there was also evidence of discord from partner agencies that recognised that such objectives led to unintended or undesired consequences negatively affecting residents. There is ample evidence that suggested that partner agencies readily adopted priorities and objectives that were oriented towards enforcement whilst at the same time there is little evidence that the police adopted objectives or priorities from partner agencies that were related to a social welfare agenda. The capacity to orient and determine the work of CSPs appeared to be heavily weighted towards the police, resulting in a CSP agenda that focused on crime and enforcement. This resulted in residents within these communities experiencing a CSP response that was primarily punitive, doing little to take into account residents' social and economic circumstances.

Concluding Comments

The claims presented in this chapter reflect similar findings uncovered by other researchers. For instance, Skinns (2008) found in her study that some agencies, such as the health and fire services, were alienated from CSPs and Skinns further noted that CSPs experience many difficulties such as inherent tensions, competing ideologies and priorities. However, this study goes beyond these points by identifying specific aspects of partnership working which result in tension and conflict. These aspects of tension and conflict are apparent when considering the ways in which CSP priorities appeared to revolve around enforcement and intelligence collection. Darke (2011), in a study focusing upon crime prevention, found that partnerships have extended the use of civility laws to punish and enforce more widely and he presents a series of examples to support his position. He also argues that partnerships are less welfare oriented, more enforcement based and less inclusionary, which ultimately results in more, not less policing. The outcome of this is that local government have been co-opted into enforcement; the

police have not been co-opted into welfare. The findings of this study would concur with these conclusions but nonetheless, there was some evidence of resistance to this punitive development, at least in rhetoric, as this chapter has identified. Darke also neatly summarises one of the existing myths of what may be termed as the prevailing CSP dogma:

... the consensus of opinion that crime prevention and criminal justice were separate areas of criminal policy began to falter as crime prevention partnerships set up 'enforcement' or 'anti-social behaviour teams', with the purpose of developing the use of civility laws (Darke, 2011: 419).

Darke is critical of administrative criminologists who in the last thirty years have promoted enforcement as a mechanism of crime prevention, which he states has intensified under the New Labour government, evidenced by its 'Respect' agenda, which ring-fenced crime prevention money specifically for enforcement purposes. In a similar vein, Karn (2007) argues that a focus on enforcement is unhelpful and damaging to communities and Coleman et al (2002) argue that the enforcement and coercive capacity within partnerships extends beyond the police to include civility matters such as ASBOs.

The uneasiness and angst experienced by partner agency staff and described in this chapter was also uncovered by Jacobs (2010) who found similar evidence in his study of a police partnership with housing agencies in Australia. Jacobs noted that housing officials were not comfortable with adopting a law enforcement role, describing themselves as welfare professionals assisting those with housing need, for instance. The picture in this study was of a blurred nature, with evidence of partner agency staff engaging in enforcement activity yet at the same time offering criticism of the increasing responsibilities related to enforcement placed upon them. This may be explained by the dominance of this enforcement led approach to partnership working in recent years which has, as this chapter argued, seen partner agencies readily adopt this agenda whilst also indicating some signs that it is being resisted. The following quote by Jacobs offers a parallel to what was also found in this study:

From our interviews with housing staff, it was evident that law enforcement was not seen as part of their *modus operandi*. Thus the

rationale for shared partnership working with the police was more complex and contested than initially envisaged (Jacobs, 2010: 939).

Hughes and Rowe (2007) also contribute to this debate by pointing out that in recent years there has been a coalescence of housing and crime policy, evidencing that social housing has increasingly become a key site of crime control. Hughes and Rowe further suggest that partner agencies are aware that the development of the neighbourhood policing agenda has led to police priorities being more prominent in partnerships ahead of those in other agencies and that partner agency staff attempt to be regarded as separate from the police under a neighbourhood management rather than neighbourhood policing umbrella in order to appear to be more inclusive to communities. Evidence of this, what may be termed as 'image preservation' in order to avoid association with the police, was also found in this study; however, more importantly clear evidence was found that social housing was a key area of policing concern and crime control for the CSPs. It was certainly the case from the areas observed that police priorities took prominence over those of residents as well as partner agencies and the manifestation of this approach was, as argued in this chapter, resultant in partnerships centred on enforcement. Hughes (2007) discusses the exclusionary aspects of crime prevention partnerships in more detail, suggesting that the hierarchical structure ensures that communities and certain partner agencies do not have an equal standing to some of the dominant CSP actors such as the police. Hughes also argues that:

... crime prevention is characterized by a political struggle between the extremes of an inclusivist, pan-hazard and essentially liberal community safety approach and a more exclusionary, enforcement-oriented and potentially illiberal crime reduction (2007: 75).

This study has established that in the cases of Newford, Oakdale and Ringland the latter is certainly the case, with the CSPs there typified by an undeniable and overwhelming enforcement focus. Following Hughes, it is suggested that CSPs will only become more exclusionary and more enforcement influenced when resources are tight and budgets face significant cuts, as has been the case in recent years.

Hope (2005) makes reference to what he sees as the undemocratic nature of partnerships, and he is critical of the focus on crime prevention and enforcement which downplays the role of other CSP actors. Hope considers the irony of CSPs adopting 'scientific' crime reduction techniques which themselves are heavily critiqued. Crucially, Hope notes that this focus, the delivery of community safety through a crime reduction and police lens, does not either lead to community safety or even the feeling of safety. This study has provided evidence indicating agreement with this point, as the case study areas, marginalised and stigmatised as 'priority' neighbourhoods, appeared unable to lift this tag, despite the numerous operations, initiatives and 'successes'. Coupled with the removal of any real democratic involvement in CSPs from local citizens, it is suggested that a marked departure is needed in order for CSPs to truly reflect local concerns (many of which evidently extended beyond the narrow confines of crime control as indicated in the previous chapter) and to truly include the priorities of residents and agencies outside of the police.

One form that such partnerships may take is suggested by Hughes and Rowe (2007), who, following Bowling and Foster (2002), suggest that CSPs need to be considered that involve either limited or completely removed police involvement in order to re-invigorate community and partner agency involvement within them and to re-orient them towards a focus on social welfare. It is suggested that such a radical departure is required in order for CSPs to truly and in a democratic fashion represent the interests and concerns of local residents who, in marginalised communities, suffer from a range of social and economic disadvantages that do not fall under the current scope of police led and enforcement focused partnerships.

The next chapter will consider the resilience of 'traditional' policing and its prevalence within the CSPs of the case study areas. It will be argued that policing of this nature prevails due to the democratic deficit inherent within CSPs and in turn raises questions as to the nature of police community partnerships.

CHAPTER SIX - POLICE WORK WITHIN CSPs: THE RESILIENCE OF 'TRADITIONAL' POLICING

Malik: There's nothing that the police do to actually help young people, nothing. Other than, you know, going round looking for young people in groups and, you know... dispersing them and handing out ASBOs and things. Other than that, I don't see an engagement from the police.

This chapter addresses the role of what may be considered as the key actor within CSPs - the police. Of central importance in this chapter is a consideration of the police role within partnerships and how this has developed in the case study areas. It will be argued that policing within the CSPs of the case study areas indicates the resilience of what may be termed as 'traditional' policing; that is, the police mission, driven by suspicion and cynicism, to focus on criminality with the use of enforcement measures. Related to this, it will be asserted that the terms community policing and neighbourhood policing effectively serve as misnomers, as the rhetoric associated with these forms of policing do not appear to bear resemblance to the reality in marginalised communities. It is suggested that such an approach to policing has deleterious consequences for CSPs and in particular for police community partnerships.

The first section considers the paradoxical position of the police who are involved within a community safety agenda whilst at the same time they are unable to shift from an enforcement-based perspective. It will be suggested that across the case study areas there was little evidence of what may be termed as the promotion of community safety and in any case this was outweighed by a police approach to working within CSPs that relied heavily on enforcement. This approach to policing, it will be demonstrated, was referred to variably by police officers by terms such as 'zero tolerance', 'proactive' and 'no nonsense' and is contradictory to the rhetoric associated with neighbourhood policing.

The second section argues that there is little evidence of a genuine police community 'partnership' in the case study areas. This also extended to those groups and individuals

who actually did engage with the police within the CSP process. It will be suggested that police officers expressing a hostile, cynical and suspicious attitude towards residents are a hindrance towards developing police community partnerships. It will further be argued that attaining such partnerships may in reality be an unattainable goal due to the resilience of 'traditional' policing in marginalised communities.

The third section presents evidence of emerging ways in which CSPs, and in particular the police, are attempting to extend their role. It will be suggested that the police, as a dominant player in current CSPs, are in danger of pursuing partnerships which may ultimately result in worsening, rather than improving, relations with the community. It will be argued that a police focus on complex social problems is an approach that should not be adopted by CSPs when attempting to address the concerns of residents in marginalised communities. This chapter will conclude by arguing that the dominant influence of the police within CSPs, coupled with a 'zero tolerance' approach to neighbourhood policing, may exacerbate community tensions rather than promote community safety and therefore a radical departure from the status quo is required.

Community safety and enforcement – incompatible bedfellows

A common theme that emerged in the analysis related to the style, or ethos of policing in the case study areas. This section will focus on addressing this issue by arguing that the rhetoric of policing carried out in partnership with the community for purposes such as reassurance did not hold weight in reality. This approach was legitimised by policing teams operating under the guise of crime prevention, and of acting in the interests of the community. It is suggested that such an approach, focusing on arrests, raids and intelligence gathering, is more associated with a traditional approach to policing rather than a style that has ostensibly evolved under the label of neighbourhood policing and now typified by its association with terms such as reassurance or 'soft' policing. The following example illustrates the way in which this took place as part of a crime prevention and community reassurance initiative.

Each morning during the Newford 'week of action', a meeting took place at the police station, chaired by the sergeant of the neighbourhood policing team. At this meeting, decisions were made as to what activities were to take place during the day. At one of these meetings at which I was present it was decided that a high visibility crime prevention activity would be carried out in the local shopping centre. I accompanied the neighbourhood policing team as they left the police station in several vehicles to travel to the nearby shopping centre.

The following is an extract from my fieldwork diary and documents the early stages of this activity:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 24.01.11 - After waiting a few minutes I was met by a team of PCSOs and PCs who told me I would be going with them. The activity that they were taking part in for this 'week of action' was the deployment of a 'knife arch' in the Newford shopping centre. The knife arch essentially is a mobile metal detector that can easily be assembled/disassembled. The first PCSO I spoke with, Mark, was not very praiseworthy of the tactic that they were using and explained to me that in London knife crime was a significant issue but it wasn't here in Newford. He went on to suggest that finding people carrying knives was not the issue and the activity was more about visibility and reassurance.

At this early stage, the PCSO informed me that the activity was not really about identifying people carrying knives but rather it was about messages associated with community engagement. The team of police officers and PCSOs began to assemble the knife arch in a part of the shopping centre that they regarded as suitable. The following fieldwork diary extracts reveals what happened next:

Fieldwork diary, Newford, 24.01.11 - As the knife arch was set up in the shopping centre the PCs and PCSOs (there were 3 PCs and 2 PCSOs in total) began selecting people to volunteer to walk through the knife arch. I found there to be an element of suspicion attached to this, for several reasons. First of all, from the number of requests I witnessed, the majority of people asked to walk through the knife arch were young white males (the available audience was by no means predominantly of this profile). Most people were co-operative and agreed to walk through after it was explained to them; however, one or two people reacted with disdain and these individuals happened to be young white males. They refused immediately to take part and became verbally aggressive and both

individuals I witnessed reacting in this way were then subsequently searched under the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE).

It was notable that the police officers present informed me that it was an individual's choice as to whether or not they walked through the knife arch; suggesting that people would be under no compulsion and would simply be asked. However, it was evident that those who did not wish to walk through were immediately viewed and treated with suspicion, with police officers making a decision, on factors which must only have related to their discretion, as to whether or not an individual was to be searched. One young man, approximately 17 years of age, was searched after refusing to go through the knife arch and this was followed by another similar incident:

Fieldwork diary, 24.01.11, Newford - When a second young white male refused to participate he was approached by four of the officers and questioned as to why he wouldn't take part. He was verbally aggressive and uncooperative and was eventually searched. It was apparent that as soon as the man refused all four officers approached him and I found there to be almost a level of excitement involved in dealing with someone non-compliant. After he left one of the police officers, Sally, commented that 'It's pathetic, he's wearing shorts and everything' (referring to the fact that he clearly didn't have anywhere to conceal anything). There was clearly a disdain from the police towards those not complying during the interactions I witnessed. Somewhat bizarrely, I also watched an elderly man with crutches being asked to walk through the knife arch. I questioned a PC as to why another young man was searched despite having passed through the knife arch without incident. 'He's known to us' was the whispered response. I found this to be an enlightening comment as it fit into other comments made throughout the day as the knife arch activity was clearly an opportunity from which to gather intelligence on individuals the police were interested in.

The knife arch activity appeared to be problematic for a number of reasons but particularly for the way in which a routine aspect of community engagement for the police developed into a quite significant incident involving the apprehension and search of a young man, who was present with his mother. The scene was dramatic, involving shouting, swearing and pushing and shoving and appeared to be distant from the stated aims of the activity, ostensibly grounded in the positive messages of reassurance. However, of further significance were the comments from the policing team involved;

there appeared to be a consensus that no-one actually expected an individual with a knife to be apprehended and rather, the activity was about the messages it displayed to the community. For example, one officer I spoke with, *Malcolm*, told me that 'the knife arch was a waste of time; I think it's a publicity thing, people aren't going to carry knives here'. In relation to another individual who from the police perspective was being difficult, *Malcolm* stated that 'from some of them you get aggro, bravado, showing off in front of their friends'.

A revealing aspect of this activity was that though the policing team dismissed the knife arch as a 'waste of time' and a tedious exercise, they still took the opportunity afforded to them to aggressively target certain individuals they believed to be suspicious. The resultant messages from this activity therefore appeared to be based on a desire to target certain segments of the community in order for the police to assert their authority and gather intelligence; actions which appear to be contrary to the positive messages associated with community engagement and reassurance. This is evidenced in the lasting images of the young man and his mother pleading for the police officers to leave him alone while members of the public walked past watching the incident with alarm.

In the Oakdale area, police officer *Carl* offered a candid account of what he saw as the ethos and style of policing in his neighbourhood policing team. *Carl* spoke about the priorities that drove his work, and of the influence that he believed his team had on reducing crime:

Carl: You can't get results like you get from our team by just doing all the neighbourhood stuff. You've still got to be a proactive unit, haven't you? You have to be, because otherwise you don't get all those lock-ups, car seizures, drugs seizures, cash seizures, weapons, stop-searches, intelligence submissions. You don't get all that from just being a neighbourhood bobby. If you take our figures away from the key one, you'd see the difference.

Carl spoke in a passionate way about what he described as the successes of his neighbourhood policing team and he suggested that what his team were involved in was not actually neighbourhood policing at all, but what he termed as 'proactive policing':

Carl: However, when we're driving around on the streets and we're just seeing our local, sort of, drug dealers and we stop them, we search them, using our police powers, a bit of nous, you know, that is nothing to do with neighbourhood policing. That's all about pro-active policing.

Carl also elaborated further on the particular tactics his team employed and what he regarded as important achievements:

Carl: Everything that we do is an achievement. We've had some good targets from all areas where they've got decent prison sentences. We've run a couple of operations where we've arrested quite a number of street level dealers for all sorts: drug supply, we've also had people in for money laundering and so far they've received quite good prison sentences.

Of significance in *Carl's* comments are what he omits to mention; for instance, he does not refer to activities commonly attributed to neighbourhood policing, such as engaging with the community and patrol work, and he describes the work that his team are engaged in as distinct from neighbourhood policing when in fact they are a neighbourhood policing team. It is to be surmised, therefore, that *Carl* did not recognise neighbourhood policing as being a particularly useful strategy for dealing with what he regarded as local priorities, such as drug dealing. In distancing himself from neighbourhood policing *Carl* suggested that 'proactive policing' was the style of policing that delivered results, which, it seemed, related to the number of arrests, seizures and so on that his team could produce. *Carl* also described an ideal scenario that would involve neighbourhood policing activities complementing his 'proactive policing' approach:

Carl: So, if you could have each little area where you had your neighbourhood officer but you had a couple of guys on top of that, a couple of officers working with the more, sort of, it's not in-your-face policing but it's a more sort of... erm... It's less touchy feely and more sort of, *police* policing as opposed to... erm... just going around picking up appointments, doing stuff that the community want you to do, there's also the other stuff that they don't see that we do and we get results from that.

Mitchell, a PCSO in the Ringland area, spoke to me about the clampdown his neighbourhood policing team had enforced in relation to the possession of alcohol. Ostensibly, this was to apply to anyone drinking in the prohibited areas however it

became apparent that young people were to be the focus of this tactic. *Mitchell* informed me that the sergeant had directed the team to employ a 'zero tolerance' approach:

Mitchell: Yeah, and the week after we just... we identified a couple of 'em of on CCTV, I did and they were arrested, but the week after, because that was alcohol fuelled, we just worked that weekend, all went out. We had a briefing and [the sergeant] says, 'Right, we're not having this. You know, we've gotta stamp this out.' Every bit of alcohol got confiscated over them next two nights, no matter, regardless of who they were. No excuses, whether they're walking home. We knew that they were, you know getting drunk on streets, and we just didn't have it. We just went out there, as a team and that's come from the sergeant saying, 'I want ya zero tolerance, tonight, tomorrow. You know we're not having it. You know, yes, he might be eighteen, but if he's in company with a sixteen year old, we're taking his alcohol off him, end of. There's no ifs, buts or anything; it's happening.' And then, since then, it seems to have like, right that's it. The police aren't taking it round here. You know, and it was in the paper, we had it in the paper, all that kind of stuff. Saying that we weren't gonna take any rubbish from any of these kids. They're not kids, they're eighteen year olds, but we're just not having it. We're just not taking that.

The use of the term 'zero tolerance' by *Mitchell* is insightful due to its connotations as a tough, no nonsense approach to policing. The above quote by *Mitchell* indicates the intentions of the neighbourhood policing team to assert their authority and to showcase their dominance by using tactics such as confiscating alcohol. *Mitchell* also spoke about what he perceived to be the lack of powers that he possessed and of the hope that more powers would be given to PCSOs:

Mitchell: I'm sure that more powers will come in. We've already got new powers this year, giving fixed penalties out for vehicles. We've had extra training on that and I do think that evolves as well. And it should evolve. I think that, you know senior leadership team should look at it and think, you know, we could utilise these PCSOs a lot more than, you know what we already do. Revenue, we could bring revenue in, by giving more tickets out. You know, the amount of time I stop people not wearing their seatbelt, on the phone, you know what I mean.

Mitchell's revelation that he could 'bring revenue in, by giving more tickets out' is arguably the most notable aspect of the above quote, not least in terms of the potential danger of issuing tickets for the *primary* purpose of increasing revenue. However, for the

purposes of this section it is important to note that *Mitchell* recognised that the 'evolving' nature of the PCSO role is in accordance with his wishes for a wider range of enforcement powers.

Jade, a PCSO in Newford, also spoke to me about the no nonsense approach that she adopted in her work. *Jade* regularly patrolled alone as part of her role as a PCSO and described the style of policing that she believed her neighbourhood policing team had adopted:

Jade: I'd say probably firm but fair. Say for example you've got a prolific burglar on the beat. If he's gone inside, he's done his time and he's come out and he's behaving himself, I will be all sweetness and light with him. I have quite a rapport with one of them but as soon as they do something wrong, that's it. You come down like a ton of bricks. That behaviour is not acceptable. I'll bust them for it and then they're back in. It's one of those, as long as you are doing right we will do right by you, but the moment you start behaving on a criminal side, then I will come in for them. I think that's pretty much our style of doing things.

From *Jade's* and *Mitchell's* comments, it is revealing that questions centred on the style of policing were answered with specific references to intensive enforcement activity and of the need to adopt tough approaches to tackling crime. *Jade's* preferred approach to criminals was to 'bust them for it'; a contradictory position in any case as PCSOs do not have the powers of arrest. However, *Jade's* comments on the style of policing were very similar in tone to *Mitchell's* and both stressed the need to assert authority through either the use of enforcement or the threat of enforcement.

The style of policing across the case study areas, evidenced through interviews and through observations, appeared to predominantly focus on an enforcement-centred approach. Rather unexpectedly, speaking to police officers and PCSOs there was little reference made to terms such as reassurance and community engagement; when these terms were used, they appeared to be contradicted by actions, such as in the example presented regarding the knife arch. There appeared to be a consensus of perspective across the case study areas in that neighbourhood policing teams adopted a style of policing that was tough and focussed on asserting and displaying authority. In exchanges with the community there was little evidence of a community safety agenda and it was

even less discussed. Furthermore, as the comments from the PCSOs suggested, this approach or attitude was not limited to police officers, despite the claim that PCSOs working within the latest iteration of community policing now act as the closest link between the community and the police.

The pipe dream of police community partnership

One of the ways in which a great deal was learned about how neighbourhood police officers perceived and valued community engagement was through conversations with officers whilst shadowing their patrol work in the community. In all three case study areas, it appeared that police community support officers (PCSOs) carried out the majority of the patrol work. Emerging through the data analysis was a prominent theme related to the realities and contradictions of police-community partnerships. As the following fieldwork diary entry suggests, *Martin*, a PCSO in the Newford area, was critical of neighbourhood policing as he saw it and preferred an alternative method of policing with ostensibly fewer constraints:

*Fieldwork diary, Newford, 16.06.11, - I asked him about his role and he told me his role was to be 'the eyes and ears of the police'. 'PCSOs are always available to the community; it is important we are segregated from the police'. I asked him if PCSOs were in effect the community police and confirmed this, saying that they were constantly 'pulled to other jobs'. *Martin* further commented that 'PCSOs have more day to day contact' and 'if you stick to the rules you won't get anywhere'. 'People say common sense policing, but don't use it'. I found *Martin* to be extremely forthcoming in his views and it appeared that he was extremely comfortable in discussing his quite critical opinions of the police with me. I felt *Martin* was quite disheartened in regards to local police/community relations, and this was perhaps highlighted by his critical views which were a familiar theme in our conversations.*

What is also revealed here is the intelligence collection purpose of PCSOs; by *Martin's* admission that they were 'the eyes and ears of the police'. However, perhaps more telling and insightful is *Martin's* assertion that 'it is important that we are segregated from the police'. This tactical revelation from *Martin* appeared to indicate an approach to neighbourhood policing that involved PCSOs having to be disassociated from other police

officers; he also considered 'the police' to be clearly distinct from his own role as a PCSO. This admission is revealing in what it represents for the purpose of PCSOs' engagement with communities. *Martin* offered further insight into this:

Fieldwork diary, 16.06.11, Newford - Martin spoke of the paradox of the police saying they want to help, but then being upset about having to deal with certain issues. 'We want people to help themselves'. He spoke of the recurrent theme of the 'no grass' culture in Newford and he told me that 'sometimes you have to be deceitful, asking people to inform, to grass'. He was critical of activities the police were concerned with locally and told me that 'people were not interested in drugs busts', and that 'it's people trying to help other people'. He further told me that 'changing policing won't change the community, the community has to change'. 'You shouldn't want to create an ideal or model officer, people have differences'.

Martin, in revealing to me some of the tactics he had to employ, such as asking local people to inform or 'grass', appeared to be uncomfortable about what he had to do. Furthermore, he did not see the merit of neighbourhood police officers carrying out drug busts as 'people were not interested' in them. For *Martin*, the neighbourhood policing team were contradictory in saying that they wanted to help people, but in reality police officers got upset at having to deal with certain issues. He also offered insight into his views on what local policing could achieve and stated that the responsibility was with communities themselves to effect change. In further conversations, he delivered a critical assessment of the outlook held by the police officers that he worked with:

Fieldwork diary, 16.06.11, Newford - Martin was fairly critical of policing in our conversations as we walked around. He spoke of being frustrated with health and safety regulations, and more strikingly he was critical of the police receiving credit when it wasn't due. He spoke of the fact that the police were ignorant about local issues due to a lack of communication with the community. He also said that 'people tolerate problems' and 'we don't deal with the real issues'.

It appeared that *Martin* was unhappy with the way in which Newford was policed and believed that genuine issues affecting the community were being overlooked or were not taken seriously by his own neighbourhood policing team. In other conversations, he suggested that 'office politics' were a factor in him not speaking his mind to others and

he was also critical of senior management who he believed were not doing the best job that they could. The insight offered by *Martin* indicated a problematic relationship between the community and the police in Newford, a relationship in which he appeared to be caught in a quandary as despite his quite critical and strong views on the faults of local policing, he was unwilling to air his opinions openly. The following fieldwork diary entry indicated his assessment of police relations with the community and is a useful summary of *Martin's* views on community engagement within neighbourhood policing:

Fieldwork diary, 16.06.11, Newford - In terms of the residents, *Martin* stated that the police would never be able to find a balance with them. 'We tell people we are investigating issues, even if we know at the start it won't go anywhere'.

Relations between the community and the police in Newford were further analysed by local resident *Brendan*, who believed that officers adopt a 'heavy handed' approach:

Brendan: Yeah and how they use their powers and how the local bobby engages with the community. It's their approach that wants looking at, their approach, how they approach the local people. To them, they're guilty. And your local bobby... If I don't want to get involved, if I'm walking down a street and I'm pulled up by a local bobby, and he asks me a question like: 'What are you doing here?', I'm gonna lie to him because I don't wanna be getting involved, but he personally takes the lie I'm saying just to stop mither as a personal insult so therefore they take it personal. Same as if it's an old criminal and he tells the police a lie, the policeman thinks that person, that criminal is lying to the policeman himself. That's not the policeman's job to be judge and jury, whether you're lying or not. Do you know what I mean? It'll be sorted out in court, will it not? And then the err... all the barriers come up then mate. It's all a mither. I mean, the doors will come in... You know what I mean? Heavy handed is heavy handed. Do you know what I mean?

Brendan's viewpoint suggested a confrontational approach adopted by the police towards individuals in the community; an approach that was imbued with suspicion. *Brendan* spoke frequently about negative encounters he experienced with local police officers, despite being an individual at the head of a prominent local community organisation offering, amongst other services, basic skills training to local residents looking for employment. It was notable that *Brendan* regarded lying as the best possible

strategy to adopt when questioned by officers as, in his words, he did not want to get involved, suggesting, at best, a poor experience of local policing.

In Ringland, the neighbourhood policing team ran a regular operation aimed at tackling crimes that occurred during the night. Therefore, the neighbourhood policing team committed to a rotational shift pattern whereby at least two officers were on patrol overnight when this operation was taking place. The sergeant of this team, *Ryan*, informed me that the specific aim of the operation was 'trawling for criminals'. It was apparent that the night shift work was not universally popular amongst those in the neighbourhood policing team. The operation centred largely on the police regularly checking up on individuals they believed to be involved in crime or individuals simply already known to them. This would involve knocking on the doors of the family home very late at night which on more than one occasion led to heated arguments with individuals and with families. The following extract from my fieldwork diary describes one of the typical instances in which I observed this policing activity:

Fieldwork diary, Ringland, 25.01.11 - ... a number of checks at individuals' addresses took place in the Ringland area. *Ryan* explained to me earlier that the operation was about targeting those responsible for criminality in the area and the purpose of the checks was to ensure that the police knew where they were, what they were doing, and where they were spending their nights. Only a few of the individuals checked up on actually had a curfew condition such as an electronic tag etc.; it appeared that the rest could choose whether or not they actually opened their door to the police. The first individual visited had been arrested by *Ryan* and Brian only the night before. He was a young white male (as were most of the individuals we came across in the evening) and he welcomed them into his house as *Ryan* and Brian questioned him. *Ryan* appeared to get straight to the point and asked him what information he had about other offenders. The individual obliged and told *Ryan* where another particular individual may be living. As we left the property *Ryan* explained to me that this sort of information from offenders was only possible by building a rapport with them. He also explained to me that he had suggested to this individual that he had helped him to get bail (insinuating to me that in reality he had no influence on this and had in fact misled this individual in order to receive information from him). The interaction we had with this individual was typical of the interaction with others throughout the evening. The information gleaned from this individual led to the address of the next person to be visited and it seemed that *Ryan* and Brian were visiting these people predominantly as a means of obtaining intelligence.

It was apparent that the police activities were for the purposes of intelligence collection. This included contacting individuals who no longer had a requirement to be officially contacted by the police, for purposes such as a curfew check. The methods employed included the police officers making promises that they knew they could not honour.

Laura, a resident of Ringland, was convinced that factors such as background and location were central to determining how the police deal with individuals, and she also offered her view on how to overcome what she perceived as mistreatment from the police:

W: Do you think the police treat people equally?

Laura: Not really, no. Obviously, I feel that if you're, not all of them, but some police officers treat people differently. If they are going to a house, say, near Oak Barn (a social housing estate within Ringland), or one of the more rundown social housing then they speak to them a lot different than they would [to] someone who lives in one of the houses at the top of Ringland, the top end of it, and it's all about class, really, isn't it? The way they speak to you. If they think you're stupid, they'll try and bullshit you. They've tried to do it to me quite a few times with my own on-going situation with my ex. If you're not clued up to the way things should be done, they'll just dismiss what you're saying or fob you off or some crap. You know, you basically have to tell some of them how to do their job, and the law.

Laura's frustration was expressed due to her experience with the police, in which she had been a victim of crime, yet she felt that she was repeatedly treated in a poor fashion. *Laura* made a distinct reference to class, arguing that this for the police was an important factor in determining how they dealt with sections of the community and she felt that this was a reason for the nature of her experiences. *Laura* elaborated on this further and also stated that her concerns with crime, which again related to being a victim, were not taken seriously due to where she lives and her social class:

Laura: I've got friends whose family are in the police and I've got a close friend whose ex-husband is a police officer and she agrees with everything I tell her. She says, 'Yeah, they are like that. They will treat people differently. If you're from more affluent areas, you're more than likely to get a better response if your house has been burgled or you're taken a bit more seriously.' Whereas if you're from one of the poorer areas such as

Ringland, where the majority of people are out of work or whatever, and there is a large Asian community there, you're not going to have, you know, be taken seriously. I am still waiting for them to come out over my windscreen being smashed four years ago.

W: Four years ago?

Laura: Yeah. Because they're just not interested. They're not interested at all, the police don't treat people the same. If you live on the Oak Barn estate you're treated differently to if you live in a more affluent area. They talk to you like you're scum in areas like Oak Barn'.

Laura further revealed that this mistreatment extended to her son, who was a teenager and had learning difficulties. She described the difficulties he faced, including the police threatening to make him and his mother homeless. *Laura* stated that she had to educate her son on how to deal with the police, specifically in regards to his rights.

Malik, another resident of Ringland and a volunteer with a local community organisation, also shared *Laura's* view that young people experienced a form of policing that had little to do with engagement and focused on enforcement strategies:

W: In your experience as a youth worker, what do you see as the links between the police and young people in this community?

Malik: From the view of a youth worker, I see there's very little link between the police and young people. There's nothing that the police do to actually help young people, nothing. Other than, you know, going round looking for young people in groups and, you know... then dispersing them and handing out ASBOs and things. Other than that, I don't see an engagement from the police.

The experiences described by *Laura* and *Malik* indicated a troubled relationship between police and sections of the community such as those residing in the poorest areas, and young people. Such experiences call into question the narrative surrounding police community partnerships and reveal a contradictory picture in which individuals including victims of crime are effectively dismissed as troublemakers. This is the case to such an extent that *Laura* has adopted an alternative strategy with which to deal with the police, including, for instance, challenging the police on their powers under the law and teaching her son to be aware of his rights. As with the earlier examples presented in Newford,

there appeared to be an inflexible approach adopted by neighbourhood policing teams across the case study areas that prioritised a suspicious and cynical attitude to communities which is in contrast to the messages associated with community safety and police community partnerships in particular.

Benjamin, a resident in Oakdale and a regular attendee at CSP events such as the local PACT meetings, spoke to me about the way in which he believed certain sections of the community were treated differently to others. On being asked the reasons for this in his view, he replied with the following:

Benjamin: I can't give you any reasons why, I can give you instances.

W: Yeah, can you give me any instances?

Benjamin: There's this weird chappie, I don't know if you remember him at one of the PACT meetings, dumpy little man, old fella, was always very vocal, but very bad with speaking. Even worse than me.

W: Glasses. Yeah.

Benjamin: Yeah.

W: He's called *Jerome*.

Benjamin: Yeah. He can't... a little bit like that (he imitates *Jerome's* speech impediment). *Andrew* (neighbourhood policing inspector for Oakdale) literally belittled him at a meeting. That's what got my back up right away. Told him that. That's not nice.

W: Did he make fun of the way he was speaking?

Benjamin: Yeah. Made fun of him, belittled him, and I thought, 'No, you don't do that.' I wouldn't do that myself, but a man in his position should never ever do that. That's totally wrong. Sorry.

W: Yeah.

Benjamin: And I thought, 'A man of his stature, that's supposed to be an upstanding man of the community should not talk to people like that.' Should always give respect where respect's due... And maybe that's why, maybe *Andrew's* now said, 'Well, don't send anybody round to his house because you'll only get small change.' But even that's wrong in a way really, isn't it? Am I not, because I'm outspoken, am I not allowed, do I not

get anybody? Do I not get police back-up? Do I not get anybody to help me from the police? I can't see a level where it can be right, that.

As *Benjamin* was telling me this, he broke down and began to cry and I had to console him. *Benjamin* and *Jerome* were both individuals that actually engaged with the police and entered into a dialogue with them regarding crime-related matters and community safety. They frequently responded to the police call for community contribution to CSPs, which in all of the case study areas was a significant problem, evidenced by, for instance, the poor attendance at PACT meetings. This experience is relevant for the purposes of this section as it displays that individuals that actually did take part in proscribed activities that constitute CSP working were belittled, marginalised and treated with disdain. The only way *Benjamin* understood his treatment was that it was due to him being an outspoken individual that did not always agree with the police view on local matters. The evidence presented by *Benjamin* suggested that not only was there a deficit in terms of police respect to those residing in marginalised communities but arguably police community partnership was only available by negotiation and through which, as *Benjamin* had found, dissenting voices could be ostracised. This negotiation, it appeared, was dependent upon the extent to which residents' views and priorities coalesced with those of the police; if they did not, they could be marginalised from it, even as active CSP participants.

Another example evidencing the neighbourhood policing approach to community was provided by *Cameron* and *Michael*, officers in the Oakdale neighbourhood policing team. I was shadowing them on one occasion as they went about their duties and this particular activity involved driving around in a patrol car until orders were received from the sergeant. The following extract from my fieldwork diary documents one incident in which they were directed by their sergeant, *Richard*, to check whether or not a young man was present at his home address; a routine task for neighbourhood police officers:

Fieldwork diary, Oakdale, 02.03.11 - The officers decided to check on a local youth to see if he was in and question him about something; however on arriving on his street they weren't sure of which house he lived. They weren't perturbed by this however and said they would eventually find him. It turned out that the first house they tried was the correct one but in

between they used some questionable tactics. They knocked on the door several times and when a lady appeared at the window they shouted at her to come down. They continuously banged on the door and I thought that this may be intimidating for those inside but the officers clearly didn't share this concern and were making light of the fact she had yet to appear at the door. When the woman finally appeared it was clear she was alone and couldn't speak English and she left to go to a neighbour's house; the officers weren't sure as to why. She eventually reappeared with a girl who it was established was the woman's daughter in law and she told the officers that the person they wanted was currently out and that they had scared the woman. The officers didn't seem concerned in the slightest, were cynical throughout this episode in terms of their attitude and simply moved on to the next job. This was the last activity that I observed as I didn't stay for long but before I left some very strange comments were made. *Cameron* commented on his surprise at how dark an elderly woman they drove past in the street was. He further commented that she was much darker than anyone else he had seen from the local community.

The police approach to this task, to check whether or not a young man was present at an address, appeared to be heavy handed and was evidently intimidating for the young woman that could not speak English. The police officers approached this task with a degree of suspicion and cynicism and did not appear to take into account the effect their actions may have had on others. Though arguably a trivial and minor matter, it shed light on to the police approach to certain communities, and in this case the police approach to the family of a young individual allegedly associated with criminality. There was no evidence of attempts at building rapport or approaching this task in a sensitive manner; qualities which *Carl*, another neighbourhood police officer in Oakdale earlier stated were typical of the 'touchy feely' neighbourhood policing that was unfamiliar to him.

The police approach to community, whether residents were actually engaging with CSPs through official channels such as PACT meetings or not, reveal little evidence of what may be termed as police community partnership. Rather, there is abundant evidence to suggest that community concerns were relegated to a status below that of police priorities and that, furthermore, residents from a diverse range of backgrounds were treated with a lack of respect, with cynicism and with disdain from police officers. Overall, and taking into account evidence from a range of CSP actors, it is questionable as to whether or not police community partnerships actually existed, aside from in rhetoric, in

any of the case study areas. In concluding this section it is useful to refer to *Helen*, a police staff employee responsible for policy regarding neighbourhood policing. The following quote sheds light on the conflicting nature of policing and partnership working:

Helen: I mean that's really key, the leadership. Perhaps at one time we might have had a Chief Constable or an ACC (Assistant Chief Constable) who wasn't a fan of neighbourhood policing because they might have felt it was the softer approach to policing. And it's anything but really. Yes, you've got to do engagement but you still go in kicking doors in and doing warrants and using the intelligence that the people have been able to provide to do those types of things.

This chapter will now go on to consider evidence of current and emerging ways of partnership working involving the police, suggesting that these may represent a danger of leading to further negative outcomes and deleterious consequences for communities.

The future and dangers of partnership working

In Chapter Five, a section was dedicated to focusing upon the ways in which the police worked in partnership in order to further enforcement opportunities, and a number of examples were presented. This section, though linked to the previous chapter, will develop this argument by focusing on emerging aspects of partnership working involving the police and the possible dangers stemming from this. Specifically, this section will address how the police seek out partnerships, be that with specific residents or partner agencies, for reasons that may be difficult to reconcile with a community safety agenda.

George, a senior police officer and the overall lead for neighbourhood policing and partnership within the force, spoke with me about his vision for partnership working. It is necessary at this point to stress that the interview with *George* was filled with what may be termed as 'policy speak', such as the frequent use of buzzwords. Indeed, it can be said that in this study it appeared that the higher the rank of police officer, the more 'policy speak' that emerged; however, despite the obfuscation, *George* presented some insightful thoughts on partnership working that merit further scrutiny:

George: Well, the most important thing is we don't have access to all the information that's required in terms of problems. So if you take, let's take the concept of the troubled family, the problem family. Again, a phrase that is quite often used these days. We will know who's been arrested in that family. We'll know what's happened to them. We'll know intelligence, perhaps, about what criminality they may be involved in. But we don't know their mental health background. We don't know, perhaps, their drug addiction. We don't know, you know, whether young people in that family go to school or not, whether they're truants or whether absenteeism. We don't know what NEETs (not in education, employment or training) are in there. There are lots of information that, you know, if you look at a family and you try to police that family, you're policing it with only a quarter of the information. What's the health, what's the social services, what's the education? There's all this information.

What is interesting about this quote is that *George* was making reference to a range of information that, at present, isn't readily available to the police. In the previous chapter there was reference made to the partner agencies that the police had a good rapport with and frequently and routinely exchanged information with; in particular the local authority and housing agencies. As also detailed in the previous chapter, the police were privy to a wider range of information provided by these agencies and, in turn, the police were able to enforce using a wider range of opportunities provided by the partnership. Of further interest from the above quotation is *George's* statement on trying to 'police the family'. In terms of a CSP approach and in light of the findings presented in the previous chapter, this raises questions as to the aims of the police in attempting to 'police' families and indeed of the appropriateness of this goal. The intention, it appeared, was for *George* to seek to increase the intelligence capacity of the police and he cited justification for this through the paradigm of the 'troubled' or 'problem' family; a term applied to families experiencing social and economic problems, arguably increasing their marginalisation. It was telling that *George* presented a picture of partnership policing in which the police were a central repository for intelligence from a variety of agencies and of the police being a central agency in tackling 'problem' families facing a number of difficulties. It was further revealing that the partnerships that *George* wished to pursue in the future were related to aspects of what may be termed as a 'social welfare' agenda and his specific references to 'drug addiction' and 'truants' suggested that such intelligence would be useful for policing purposes.

Another area in which *George* was keen to develop partnership working in future was in relation to what he termed as 'neighbourhood resolution panels'. They are described by *George* in the following terms:

George: Neighbourhood resolution panels are local people deciding what happens to first-time offenders and young people who commit crime. So rather than the police be the arbiter, or the court be the arbiter, or the CPS be the arbiter, we are setting up neighbourhood resolution panels. Local people who sit on a panel and the police refer little Johnny, or, into it and say, Little Johnny's committed a crime of anti-social behaviour, or criminal damage, or theft in this community. He lives in this community; he's committed a crime in this community. Neighbourhood resolution panel; how as a community would you like little Johnny to be dealt with? What do you want Johnny to do? Do you want to re-integrate him back into, do you want to give him a second chance, do you wanna send him to court? So, putting a bit of power back into the hands of the community through neighbourhood resolution panels is the really, great, important first step that we're going to do.

Cynthia, a senior police staff employee working closely with *George*, further informed me that neighbourhood resolution panels 'will involve communities being able to participate in neighbourhood resolution panels and manage just outcomes in the community'. Although the phrase 'just outcomes' may sound Orwellian in itself, this pursuit of partnership working with the community, essentially to assist in the selection of an appropriate punishment of individuals in that same community, can be interpreted as a further development towards the divisive binary of 'good' and 'bad' community. It can be interpreted as such for reasons related to those documented earlier in this thesis, not least in regards to how selected residents from within the community were effectively used by police officers not only as an intelligence collection mechanism but as a legitimating device in terms of enforcement action. Though the details are yet to fully emerge and this particular project was on the verge of trial and yet to be fully introduced, it indicates signs of a populist attempt for central government and by extension, in this example, CSPs, to engage marginalised communities in partnership within an agenda that is weighted towards law, order and punishment with the danger that this is the direction that CSPs appear to be further gravitating towards.

However, aside from the ambitions divulged by *George* in respect of the potential for partnerships in the short-term future, there was evidence from across the three case study areas of the ways in which police officers selectively approached and pursued partnerships. Importantly, and distinguishing this section from Chapter Five in which it was discussed that police officers and partner agencies utilised CSPs for opportunities to pursue enforcement opportunities, this section suggests that partnerships were pursued for purposes also extending *beyond* enforcement. These purposes included surveillance, intelligence collection and for opportunities to exert influence in previously unavailable arenas. It is suggested that such actions resulted partly due to police officers constructing sections of the community in problematic ways.

In Ringland it was identified that there was an issue locally with the sexual exploitation of young women. This was put to me by police officers and referred to on several occasions, such as when patrolling the local area on foot or in a car. The sergeant there, *Ryan*, spoke to me about the tactics that men employed for luring young women, such as offering alcohol and buying them gifts. Whilst this is a serious issue in its own right, aspects of the police attempts at dealing with this issue were questionable. The following is an extract from my fieldwork diary and refers to my thoughts immediately following a PACT meeting.¹⁵

Fieldwork diary, Ringland, 13.09.11 - Another problematic statement was regarding partnership work with schools in relation to child sexual exploitation – the local school *Ryan* previously described to me as ‘100% Asian’ and it was discussed that they wanted to go in to ‘school’ and ‘educate’ young boys about ‘how they treat women’. As the problem of child sexual exploitation has been constructed locally through a cultural and racial lens, I found this to be extremely problematic and another example of the ways in which specific communities can be stigmatised.

As the above extract suggests, the police officers present at the meeting suggested a questionable tactic of attempting to ‘educate’ members of the young Asian community on ‘how they treat women’. Such an approach is perhaps prompted by the wider

¹⁵ As noted in Chapter Three, the Ringland PACT meeting did not actually have any community representation aside from the local councillor; this was a unique feature of this PACT meeting when compared to the other case study areas.

racialised contemporary popular discourse (informed in part by media hysteria) which has recently associated child sexual exploitation or 'grooming' with Asian and/or Muslim men. However, in relation to policing partnerships, it is submitted that a complex and multi-faceted issue such as child sexual exploitation, whilst certainly in need of agency intervention, has the inherent danger of leading to the stigmatisation of specific communities if the issue is framed by police officers. The meeting in which this issue was discussed was dominated by the police and displayed a lack of cultural awareness and sensitivity with regards to Asian communities. It was apparent that partnership working with the school, in this example, had potentially dangerous implications not only for the stigmatisation of a community but for police community relations. There was also further evidence presented at a partnership intelligence meeting, by another police officer in Ringland, of challenging a young individual from a specific ethnic group and again the officer suggested that partnership working within the school would be a good way in which to challenge beliefs:

Fieldwork diary, Ringland, 07.04.11 - The meeting came to a close following a quite problematic hate crime profile that had been completed by the research analyst with perhaps some even further problematic views by a police officer on how to challenge Iraqi schoolchildren on their views of the British as invaders (which it was discussed leads to division/bullying in the playground). However the police did admit that they have an issue in terms of not responding to hate crimes quickly enough.

At this same meeting it was discussed that 'older Asian lads are problematic' and 'a threat' and an action was taken to speak to a local community 'representative', *Imran*, about this. *Imran* was the head of a prominent local community organisation. It was notable that *Ryan* referred to *Imran* quite often, in meetings and in discussions and indeed in a later conversation *Ryan* told me that 'it's no exaggeration that I speak to *Imran* every day of my life'. He told me that *Imran* is a former youth worker who, he claimed, 'knows all the Muslim kids in Ringland'. *Ryan* spoke with me about how he had to speak to *Imran* before 'key' events or 'threats' such as Ramadan in order to, for example, gain the consent of certain individuals in the community before a policing operation took place. Ramadan was discussed in this way and 'key' community contacts were called for by police officers not only in Ringland, but also in Oakdale - an area also

home to a large Muslim community of South Asian heritage. These examples illustrated the ways in which crime problems in the case study areas were sometimes considered as being related to certain ethnic groups or cultures. Related to this, the issues present in using community contacts familiar to the police have been documented earlier in this thesis. However, the commitment *Ryan* and his team expressed to working within schools was not limited to unfounded assertions relating to members of a particular ethnic group, though this was clearly one intention. *Ryan* also spoke to me about other benefits of working in partnership with schools:

Fieldwork diary, Ringland, 14.01.11 - Before we left *Ryan* commented on the partnership work that the PCSOs carry out with the schools and he said 'if you asked them to, the PCSOs could write down 20 names of the criminals that we will have in 5 years' time'. He then commented on the need for early engagement with children in the primary schools.

This statement from *Ryan*, concerning predictions about young people who in his view would become future criminals, displayed a dismissive attitude towards young people in Ringland. *Ryan's* suggestion further highlighted the dangers of partnership working, which for the police appeared to fall within narrowly defined parameters related to crime. It was not simply that partnership working within schools was the potential problem; it may be that the *wrong* partner agency, the police, was engaging with young people, many of whom were from deprived families within marginalised communities and, according to accounts from partner agency staff, residents and police officers across the case study areas, suffered from a multitude of socio-economic problems. Interestingly, *Ryan's* keenness for partnership working was challenged by a police officer in his team, who confided in me his disagreement with *Ryan's* approach.

Patrick, a police constable in Ringland, was unhappy at the partnership role that *Ryan* was adopting and pursuing and stated that his approach may in fact be creating more problems for the police. *Patrick* discussed *Ryan's* involvement in attempting to resolve a dispute at a local mosque:

Patrick: ... there's issues there between the committee they have and the new committee that are trying to set up, there's a bit of an in-fighting stuff. Nothing to do with the police whatsoever. That's an issue to do with their committee but we've managed to get ourselves dragged into it in

certain ways. They're having meetings and making spurious complaints about somebody else over there. It's stuff that, if it was anyone else on the street who was ringing in saying x, y, z, we wouldn't do anything with it because it's from that committee, then we end up getting dragged in and trying to work things out and taking over which we probably wouldn't be doing if it was for anyone else. Stuff like that is frustrating. I don't see why we should... It's not a police matter. I think that's the slight downside of neighbourhood, sometimes we're dragged into things which are not really a police matter, nothing to do with us.

What is revealed here is discontent from within *Ryan's* own team towards his partnership working approach and specifically for the reason that *Patrick* believes that it is outside the remit of their work. *Patrick's* assertion that they are 'dragged into things which are not really a police matter' is an illuminating statement that suggests that *Ryan* and *Patrick* have differing perspectives on what constituted partnership working and what may be considered as 'legitimate' partnership working; that is, partnership working that the police should be concerned with. As this section has established, this question is very much at the centre of the issue and is perhaps vital in understanding how police partnerships with partner agencies and residents will develop in the future. As suggested in this chapter, there has perhaps been an unwarranted optimism about the state of policing partnerships and there is evidence that current and future partnership initiatives involving the police in marginalised communities are problematic in their aims, purpose and implementation.

Concluding comments

This chapter has examined the role of the police within CSPs and the findings reflect those presented in the wider academic literature. Bull (2010), for example, found that community policing activities, such as reassurance, were not valued by police or considered as 'real' police work. Furthermore, Bull also noted that police officers preferred to deal with 'traditional' crime problems using 'traditional' law enforcement practices. However, Bull's claim that police officers are not at all a lead party in partnership working is at odds with the findings of this study as it was apparent that the police are a lead party, particularly in those initiatives that they themselves initiated and

which typically followed an enforcement based or enforcement led approach. This chapter has also revealed that the police actively utilised initiatives ostensibly aimed at crime prevention as opportunities to target and gather intelligence on individuals and 'problematic' groups.

It is important to contextualise the findings of this chapter with the development of (and intensified since the introduction of neoliberal free market economics in the 1970s) formal and informal mechanisms state agents and institutions have invoked through which to seek to 'manage' marginal and poor groups and communities. It is contended by Wacquant that this period of neoliberal penalty:

'... does coalesce around the shrill reassertion of penal fortitude, the pornographic exhibition of the taming of moral and criminal deviancy, and the punitive containment and disciplinary supervision of the problem populations dwelling at the margins of the class and cultural order' (2009: xx).

It is argued that those most disadvantaged by the onset of neoliberalism, vulnerable groups such as the mentally ill and the impoverished, have experienced 'moral indifference' from successive governments, which have pursued as a priority the 'criminalization of social policy', focussing on maintaining order and social control at the expense of services more familiar with a welfare role such as in the areas of housing, health and youth provision (Cooper, 2008: 212). As Cooper notes, the umbrella term of 'community safety' has replaced the more traditional social policy aims highlighted above with an implicit central focus on crime. This focus has sought to relegate the traditional policy concerns with a renewed attention on the punishing of transgressions and incivilities. The consequence, Cooper argues, is 'In the absence of any meaningful political commitment to social justice, the most impoverished and vulnerable in society are becoming increasingly exposed to criminal justice sanctions' (2008: 212).

Examining crime prevention initiatives and partnerships in Merseyside, Coleman *et al.* (2002) found that the city space was subject to a social ordering strategy from which local elites were able to influence areas of policy, including crime policy. This, they argued, was significant as it suggested that powerful local elites were able to co-opt policing and

policing partnerships in their attempts to promote the city as a site of consumption whilst local people did not have the ability to influence the police and local authority in the same way in order to respond to their priorities. This study called into question the 'right to the city'; that is, debate regarding the contested nature of city space and the way in which this has developed and been transformed in the neo-liberal era. Hancock (2009) analyses this issue further by highlighting, as does Squires (2006a) that significant community safety budgets are dedicated to providing CCTV as this supports the neoliberal logic of 'trickle down' economics that requires crime free shopping centres to aid consumption, yet there is little support for social interventions preferred by community groups. With the onset of regeneration/gentrification, particularly in poorer areas of large cities, Coleman *et al.* (2005) contend that these processes lead for policing to be directed against 'quality of life incidents' that primarily affect the poor. At the same time, they note that the criminal 'gaze' does not set upon corporate crime and in fact regulation and scrutiny of corporations is lowered in those spaces due to a lack of enforcement and surveillance of such actions. They argue that in such contexts a form of 'neo-liberal statecraft' has emerged where the poor are punished and the market and its harms are allowed to run free. In this respect, they contend, the overregulation of the marginalised can be understood through the underregulation of corporate activities.

As detailed in this study, a key area in which the police routinely and punitively worked in partnership was with housing agency officials. The propensity for state agents and institutions to target housing through enforcement strategies and punitive sanctions has increased apace with neoliberalism and the values espoused and associated with a neoliberal logic. Novak and Jones (2006) highlight the way in which legislation has been introduced in the UK to punitively target the housing needs of vulnerable groups and they make specific reference to the 1996 Housing Act which ended automatic entitlement to young unmarried mothers and other homeless groups to permanent public housing. At the local level, there is no better example of housing being targeted as a site of punishment than the pursuance, pioneered by New Labour, of the anti-social behaviour agenda. This focus, on incivilities as opposed to crime, has been widely condemned as being counterproductive and resulting in the exponential rise of young people entering the criminal justice system (Squires, 2006a). Among the interventions, injunctions and

orders targeting those considered to be 'anti-social' are specific punitive measures aimed at housing. To cite a more recent example, Hancock *et al.* (2012) refer to the aftermath of the August 2011 riots where the prime minister called for not only criminal justice sanctions against those responsible but welfare sanctions too, such as the eviction of social housing tenants if family members were convicted for offences relating to the disturbances.

Hancock (2009) suggests that within CSPs police officers and local authority figures often present the 'compliant' community needing protection from the 'other' community, thus resulting in punitive measures such as dispersal orders and ASBOs. Examples of such an approach to partnership working were also found in this study and Hancock further argues that this increases the legitimacy of the police and local authority. As this chapter has argued, CSPs have posited a binary of 'good' and 'bad' community and it is suggested that activities ostensibly aimed at reassurance, such as in the example of the knife arch operation and of the police partnership working within schools, ultimately may result in contradictory outcomes and a worsening of police-community relations. However, it is also recognised, as Hancock has stated, that such a binary works effectively for CSPs, particularly when seeking legitimacy in order to carry out enforcement action.

Karn (2007) noted in her study instances where police officers were accused of a lack of intervention and at the same time accused of being heavy handed. Similar findings were reached in this study where residents expressed a demand for security yet also took issue with a police approach that was too often punitive and enforcement-based. As discussed in this chapter, CSPs remained arenas in which residents had little or no say and any participation appeared to be limited and tokenistic. The lack of community participation in CSPs was therefore two-fold; on the one hand, those that attended and engaged with the CSP process were effectively marginalised if they displayed dissent towards priorities whereas other residents did not want to engage with police officers at all on the basis of how policing was carried out in their communities more generally. In this respect, an individual's willingness to engage with a CSP or even request police assistance was directly influenced by their personal experience of policing which in the case study areas

was evidently a form of policing that appeared removed from notions of community safety.

Gordon (1984), writing on early police community partnerships nearly thirty years ago, reached conclusions which are still relevant for this study. For instance, Gordon stated that police community relations in the most policed areas confirmed their status in society. Expanding on this, Gordon further suggested that partnerships were not forums within which actors had an equal say, with the police dominant. Furthermore, this police dominance led to a potential social welfare role for partnerships being marginalised in favour of control. Despite the length of time that has transpired since Gordon's research, the findings of the present study concur with these findings. This chapter has further demonstrated the contrast between calls for community contributions to CSPs and the realities of neighbourhood policing in the case study areas, which appeared to have more in common with what may be termed as 'traditional' policing. This 'traditional' policing was driven by suspicion, cynicism, enforcement and the pursuit of 'success' by way of arrests. Truly inclusive CSPs, with community participation in the setting of priorities and having policing and security concerns satisfactorily addressed, were not encountered in the case study areas. Furthermore, there was emerging evidence of the forms that partnership working within CSPs may take in the future. The evidence gathered from within the case study areas suggested that these approaches may result in the worsening of police-community relations.

It can be concluded that partnership working between the police and communities in terms of a community safety agenda was not evident within the case study areas. Rather, police control and dominance over CSPs hindered the development of CSPs, with an enforcement based approach the predominant method for dealing with local issues. As indicated in Chapter Five, where partnership working between police officers and partner agencies does occur effectively the agenda of the police is co-opted by partner agencies as opposed to vice versa and this ultimately resulted in CSPs where community safety and any related social welfare agenda was superseded by an enforcement-centred policing model. This also has implications for the role and potential of communities within CSPs. For instance, Evans (2002) describes the 'illusion' of partnership working, whereby communities are co-opted to work together with the police in partnership, with the

paradox being that they are also regarded by the police as the source of their own problems. This paradox was evident in the interview with *George* - the senior police officer for neighbourhood policing in the force - and his construction of the 'troubled' and 'problem' family.

In order to avert a future partnership model in which police officers are able to widen their partnership responsibilities to 'educate' specific ethnic groups about their apparent propensity to certain forms of sexual crime, a radical departure is required from the status quo. This point will be developed further in the following chapter in which the evidence presented in the preceding three chapters will be appraised in the context of the extant literature. In addition to this, a series of conclusions will be presented including implications for critical criminology and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The conclusion to this thesis will begin by revisiting the research question and will then recapitulate the key themes of this study. The research question that this thesis addressed is:

What is the nature of the relationship between the police, partner agencies and residents within a community safety partnership setting in marginalised communities?

The first section of this chapter will refer to the role of residents within CSPs and in particular to their marginalised role within them. The second section will discuss the co-option of a policing role by partner agencies. The third section will examine the dominant influence of the police within CSPs and how this oriented the work of the partnership. The fourth section argues that CSPs in the case study areas were undemocratic and unaccountable and that community involvement was both selective and marginalised. The fifth section demonstrates how CSPs effectively served as an extension of 'traditional' policing that was incompatible with a community safety agenda. Finally, this chapter concludes by highlighting the implications that this study has for critical criminology and some suggestions for the direction that further research within this field may take.

Residents within CSPs – marginalised figures within marginalised communities

The role of the community is an issue that is strongly debated by researchers when considering community safety and crime control. Over the last 30 years there has at various times been a repeated call from central government for greater community involvement and contribution to CSPs. As Crawford (1999) has noted, however, this repeated action of 'calling for community' is not as straightforward as central government may consider and does not take into account community enthusiasm for such initiatives. However, it is evident that across England and Wales there is to varying degrees, community involvement in the areas of community safety and crime control. In the case of this particular study, it had been found that community participation was, at the same time, called for and then marginalised. For instance, *Benjamin*, a resident in

Oakdale, was an active community participant in his local CSP, which included attending meetings and making a vocal contribution, yet, crucially, he believed that he was effectively marginalised from having a degree of influence due to his conflicting views with the police inspector who chaired that meeting.

A similar viewpoint was expressed by *Malik*, resident of Ringland, who had previously attended CSP meetings but no longer had faith in them, seeing them as a 'talking shop' from which nothing got done. What *Benjamin*, *Malik* and other community respondents in this study had in common was a desire to have problems they were experiencing relating to crime and the broader issue of security, resolved. Their responses to it were different, with *Benjamin* keen to continue participating whilst *Malik* indicated that his confidence in CSPs, and the police in particular, was at a very low level. *Benjamin's* experience, as with *Brendan's*, a resident of Newford, highlighted a particular dynamic that merits further scrutiny; the participation of residents within CSPs despite their marginalisation within them.

It has been documented both in this study and elsewhere that community participants in CSPs are often marginalised when they display dissenting views (Coleman *et al.*, 2002). However, this study also revealed the way in which community engagement was useful for CSPs. This usefulness, however, was determined by their mere presence at a CSP meeting which legitimated decisions that has already been made, despite residents having little to no degree of influence. Furthermore, there was a problematic divide evidenced by the way in which certain residents and groups within a community were able to have better access to CSPs, due to their level of influence or the degree to which they were willing to consent to the priorities already established by the police and partner agencies. This is something that particularly troubled *Brendan and Sharaz* (residents of Newford and Oakdale); *Brendan* believed that he was marginalised from the local CSP and suggested that an inequality of treatment existed in which individuals such as him, with genuine intentions to assist vulnerable people in the community, had to seek other avenues - in this respect, *Brendan* was proud of his success. However, *Brendan* also pointed to the corruption of individuals within the CSP and *Sharaz* makes a similar point in highlighting that 'who you know' was a central factor in whether or not a resident had influence regarding a local matter. Squires (1999) has also made reference to this issue,

stating that evidence points to the influence of certain interest groups in setting police priorities. Whilst this was evident in the case study areas, it is important to address the pressing issue this represents in terms of a democratic deficit within CSPs. Even for those that do reach and are able to 'access the table' at CSP meetings, this is only the beginning of being able to command a degree of influence; what is evident from this study is that previous concerns surrounding the inclusivity and perhaps more significantly, the *exclusivity* of CSPs in marginalised communities are still very much apparent today.

The data presented in the thesis suggested that residents occupied an inferior position within CSPs, compared to police and partner agency actors. It is submitted that this stemmed from residents' occupying a position in CSPs in which they were less able than other actors to exert influence – indeed, some residents described experiencing feelings of anger and frustration when attempting to do so. However, it can also be argued that this did not extend to all residents and those that were connected to community groups that adopted uncritical stances towards CSPs and generally conformed to predetermined priorities, were offered 'a place at the table'. Other researchers have also described similar findings (Coleman *et al.*, 2002; Hancock, 2009; Hope, 2005).

It was evident from this study, particularly from the way in which CSPs, dominated by the police, enlisted the support of and yet marginalised residents apparently discretionally, that these were marginalised residents living within marginalised communities. What in effect occurred in these areas was that residents were *doubly marginalised*; marginalised initially as communities and then marginalised again within CSPs. One original contribution of this study to the literature in this field, therefore, is that the policing of poor communities in partnership, as this study has documented, is but one example of the ways in ways the poor are policed and marginalised. Adapting a term from Jones and Novak (2006), this can be termed as 'punishing in partnership'. They further argue that:

... constant throughout is the view that the poorest are different, inferior and, if left to their own devices, constitute an 'anti-social' nuisance. Such stereotypes mean that there is no need to interrogate what is entailed in living without sufficient resources, or exposed to the negative gaze of the state through its teachers, nurses, social workers and the like, or in living in neighbourhoods chronically stigmatized and deprived of quality resources. The deficits of the poor are considered to be so patent that it is taken as given that they can have nothing worth saying. Repeated reorganizations

of state social agencies over the past fifty years have all signally failed to consider the perspectives or experiences of the poorest (2006: 95).

This study found a similar lack of acknowledgement by practitioners, from police officers to housing officials, that residents within these communities were indeed poor and suffering from the consequences of poverty and the topic was rarely, if ever, raised as a matter of concern. As *Zahoor*, neighbourhood manager for Oakdale highlighted, the CSP always began from a 'crime point of view'. Within the CSPs those residents that were attending and engaging with police and partner agencies were effectively dismissed through a process of marginalisation as though they had 'nothing worth saying' and this in turn spoke to the lack of democracy within CSPs and the fact that power, in terms of decision making and agenda setting, appeared to take the form of a top-down model.

As argued by Hughes (2007) it is apparent that the police and local authority still dominate within CSPs; a factor that degrades the potential of partnerships between state actors and communities. In summarising the difficulties inherent within CSPs it is useful to refer to the following quote by Squires (1999):

Chief amongst these are their exclusivity and limited accountability, the dubious and often partial community consent they engineer, their managerialist and corporatist focus, their legitimisation function (a tendency to amplify, stigmatise and reinforce a preoccupation with particular forms of deviance) and, finally, the limitations of their local context (1999: 16).

It is clear that in the case of the CSPs within marginalised communities, power had certainly not 'trickled down'. Rather, residents served as little more than powerless and marginalised figures in a process of legitimisation whereby decisions were made not on the basis of what communities demanded, but at the behest of those able to influence and pursue predetermined priorities.

Between a rock and a hard place – partner agencies and contested CSP agendas

A key finding in this study was that partner agencies within marginalised communities occupied a position within CSPs that endorsed and extended the 'crime fighting' policing mission as a primary aim. Police officers within the CSPs in the case study areas worked

most often and most closely with partner agencies that either were supportive of their aims, with 'crime fighting' as a central theme, or those that were able to provide more enforcement opportunities against local residents. The close relationship between police officers and housing officials was one that was greatly valued, primarily on the basis that housing officials had recourse to a wide range of powers, including evicting social housing residents from their homes, which the police did not.

There was evidence that partner agency staff, such as housing officials, took on roles that may be considered as falling under a police remit, such as information and intelligence gathering and surveillance. Whilst a range of literature has pointed to the pluralisation and fragmentation of policing in recent years leading to the 'extended policing family' (Crawford and Lister, 2004; Crawford *et al.*, 2005), little consideration has been given to policing roles adopted by partner agencies in the context of CSPs in marginalised communities. The present study therefore makes a significant original contribution to the literature in this field. To take the case of *Masood*, housing officer in Oakdale, he was unhappy at what he believed was an inappropriate policing role bestowed upon him by police officers, yet at the same time he did not oppose the police work being carried out; rather, he was reluctant and unhappy at having to take on such a role, whilst explicitly stating that this was the work of the police. It can therefore be concluded that police officers were able to exert influence, due to their position of power within CSPs as a dominant partner agency. These findings therefore speak to conclusions from other studies such as that by Follett (2006) who argued that the directions for CSP agendas were influenced by the 'exercise of power' from police officers.

A significant finding from the present study, then, is the extent to which it appeared that partner agencies had been co-opted by this 'exercise of power' and assumed responsibility for many aspects of crime control which were previously not regarded as responsibilities for them. Although in *Masood's* case it provoked feelings of resentment, for *Zahoor*, neighbourhood manager for Oakdale, there was little evidence of resistance to adopting such a role and his concerns were largely those he described as also being the concerns of the police; such as other agencies not taking an active role within CSPs or not sharing information as willingly as other agencies. *Zahoor's* experience and perspectives on working with police officers within CSPs were perhaps due to his close working

relationship with the neighbourhood inspector; indeed, *Zahoor's* counterparts in the case study areas, neighbourhood managers *Robert* and *Patricia*, also adopted a stance towards police officers that was only mildly critical on issues relating to communication and information sharing, for example. What this highlighted is that these neighbourhood managers, as local authority employees, were consistent across the three case study areas in their close relationship with their respective police inspectors. Similarly, *Skinns* (2008) has identified police officers and the local authority as the key players within CSPs, at the expense of a community contribution.

This thesis has also offered insight into the ways in which police officers and partner agencies both shared and at various times also had convergent objectives and priorities. It has been suggested that partner agencies were, reluctantly or otherwise, co-opted into pursuing objectives and priorities determined by police officers who were dominant within CSPs. It has also been established that the reverse cannot be said of the police; for instance, there was no evidence that police officers were co-opted into responsibilities by partner agencies that may be more concerned with a social welfare agenda, or an approach to community safety that was not predicated on enforcement.

A key finding of this study is that there was evidence of resistance, in practice, from partner agency staff at having to engage with a process that was heavily weighted towards enforcement and did not take into account wider structural problems that may have necessitated specific partner agency expertise in relieving problems identified by CSPs. There is evidence from *Masood* in the present study and from *Jacobs* (2010) that indicated partner agency reluctance to avoid involvement in police work that they do not see as their role. This is where the viewpoint of *Sandra*, a local authority employee in Newford, was distinct. *Sandra* suggested that the underlying approach to police work was flawed, or at least warranted a reconceptualization in order to consider the myriad social and economic problems of residents', which, she indicated, was an underlying cause for problems in the community. For instance, *Sandra* shared her concern that ASB was being tackled punitively, leading to criminalisation and, ultimately, the forced eviction of social housing tenants.

Sandra's viewpoint, though certainly not a dominant perspective amongst partner agency staff, added important insight into the tensions inherent within CSPs. Ultimately, *Sandra*, though vocal about these issues, believed she was powerless to change the status quo; this not only highlighted the dominance of the police in setting agendas but of the level of support gained by co-opted partner agencies. This point makes an important contribution to the recent literature that has documented partner agency willingness to pursue enforcement strategies against communities. For instance, Karn (2007) found that partnerships used a variety of laws and powers in order to legitimate coercion and enforcement, yet the evidence in this study also shed light on the reluctance with which some partner agencies took part in such actions.

Nonetheless, the most consistent and dominant finding relating to CSPs was the extent to which partner agencies played a full and integral role in assisting the police in enforcement work. This co-option demonstrated a tendency towards police-related 'crime fighting' priorities as opposed to broader, inclusive, multi-agency approaches to relieving community problems in marginalised communities, as defined and determined by a community safety approach. The close relationship that police officers demonstrated with neighbourhood managers in local authorities also extended to housing officials; this can be considered in the context of a punitive approach towards individuals and families residing within social housing and adds further weight to the evidence presented by commentators suggesting a confluence between housing policy and crime control in recent years (Burney, 2005; Hancock and Mooney, 2012).

Moreover, there was evidence from within this study which suggested that policing teams within CSPs sought to extend partnership working beyond the partner agencies mandated under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 in order to tackle 'serious and organised crime'; a key concern of the neighbourhood policing teams within the case study areas. It is well documented that certain partner agencies are alienated from within CSPs (Skinns, 2008) and thus the developments identified from within this thesis point to a re-shaping of partnership within CSPs.

However, this development in partnership working did not take place at the intelligence meetings or through other regular CSP meetings; rather, it appeared that this took place

as and when required by specific policing operations. The key point here is that partnership working from the perspective of the police appeared to operate on two fronts, even at the community or neighbourhood level; one at the level of the official CSP process and another when a specific policing operation necessitated it. Nonetheless, it was apparent that partnership working in order to tackle 'serious and organised crime' was an integral and routine part of police work in the case study areas. This was well demonstrated by *Andrew*, neighbourhood manager for Oakdale. The evolving nature of partnerships at the community level is of significance due to the admission by police officers that the partners they have recently begun working with more closely equip them with a far wider ranging number of enforcement options when dealing with 'serious and organised crime' at the neighbourhood level. This shift is perhaps best evidenced by the development of one of the neighbourhood policing teams in the case study areas into a specialist 'Gang Unit' due to its high profile 'success' in targeting 'serious and organised crime' locally.

In summary therefore, partner agencies occupied a curious position within CSPs in which key players such as local authority and housing officials had a close working relationship with police officers and shared an agenda on a variety of matters relating to crime, yet there was also evidence of a reluctance to become overly involved in police work and further evidence of attempts to resist enforcement strategies. There was also evidence of neighbourhood policing teams adopting partnership working in the context of 'serious and organised crime' as a routine aspect of police work within the CSPs of the marginalised communities. However, the dominant experience within the CSPs in the case study areas was of partner agencies being co-opted into a police-led, enforcement centred approach, ostensibly at the expense of what may be termed as an agenda based on social welfare which may be imagined and indeed expected under the umbrella of community safety as the rhetoric associated with it appears to indicate.

Policing within CSPs – Dominant influence, dominant agendas

Regarding the contested arena of partnership working within CSPs, it was found that police officers were able to exert the most influence; an influence that was able to pivot the partnership in specific directions. There was a primary concern with crime reduction and 'crime fighting' as opposed to the broader goals of community safety and it was further revealed that actors across the spectrum of those involved with CSPs, including police officers, recognised at least to some degree the limitations of the police in this regard.

It was evident that community engagement was useful to police officers for a variety of reasons, such as in relation to the collection of intelligence. However, it was noticeable that community intelligence appeared to be more relevant and important to police officers when collected by police officers *themselves*; as opposed to officers in receipt of intelligence that had been passed on to them from the community. This finding is similar to that reported by Bullock (2012) and furthermore, as Bullock also found, it was established that police officers valued little priorities presented by the community at events such as PACT meetings. Indeed it was apparent on several occasions across the case study areas that community priorities were only taken on board if they coincided with the priorities of the policing teams in those areas. However, a key finding of this study is the way in which community engagement took place between residents and police officers in marginalised communities; specifically when residents provided information or intelligence that was useful for enforcement-based actions or operations. This study found that community engagement between police officers and residents was *selective*; in other words, it took place only when residents' concerns coincided with the priorities of the police.

It was found that a level of contradiction existed when considering the police role and policing priorities within CSPs. This contradiction revealed a tension between the 'policing

mission' focussed on crime reduction and 'crime fighting', and the stated goals of community safety. This was demonstrated by the way in which police officers engaged with residents, including those participating in CSPs, and by the way in which the police approached activities that were ostensibly aimed at crime prevention.

As Bullock has recently found (2012), policing within communities appears to have come 'full circle' and is now concerned with its 'original' mission in terms of enforcement and crime control. The findings in this study concur with those of Bullock, highlighting the ways in which a reactive approach to crime was apparently prioritised over other approaches that may have been determined by a community safety agenda. However, this thesis goes further than the existing literature by illustrating the ways in which a cynical and dismissive attitude was adopted towards residents in marginalised communities, even to those residents who actually engaged with CSPs. This attitude displayed an abrasive approach to policing within marginalised communities and casts doubt on the official narrative that suggested that police officers were keen and willing to listen to community concerns and to act upon them. Whilst it may be argued that the police officers in this study simply demonstrated aspects of police culture, this approach had far reaching and deleterious effects on police community relations.

As Hughes (2007) has argued, CSPs rely on 'soft' elements such as co-operation in order to work well; however, Hughes also notes the tension this has with the demand for police to focus on performance-related outputs. Indeed, many police officers within this study cited the number of arrests and other performance figures related to enforcement as among the most important and rewarding aspects of their work. This may be one factor that explains how this 'soft' element, from a police perspective, appeared to have been lost. A number of commentators (Hope, 2005; Matthews and Pitts, 2001) have stated that CSPs provided an opportunity which, among other issues, allowed the police to improve their image within communities. The views of residents detailed in this study would indicate that this may not have been the case in the marginalised communities of the case study areas. As the following quote by Hughes suggests, the dominance of policing within CSPs is clear:

Most partnerships remain dominated by traditional policing concerns and to a great extent, the work is targeted crime and disorder reduction rather than more expansive community safety (2007: 74).

It was also found that police officers occupied a contradictory position within CSPs, particularly in relation to working within a community safety agenda. Police officers were unable to reconcile their work within the remit of such an agenda, evidenced by the focus on enforcement and 'crime fighting'. Indeed, it can be argued that this approach, coupled with the influence of the police within CSPs as discussed above, did little to invoke *feelings* of community safety within marginalised communities. Hope (2005) has also noted that community safety delivered through a 'disorder' and 'ASB' framework does not actually produce community safety or even the feeling of safety. This study has further illuminated this point by detailing empirical evidence of the ways in which this contradiction actually played out during aspects of police work.

For instance, it was noted that police officers, even when participating in specific activities in which messages of community safety and reassurance were being espoused, with the overall goal of 'positive' community engagement, were unable to shift from viewing marginalised communities with suspicion, cynicism and distrust. This inability may have resulted in, ironically, arguably worsened levels of the *feeling* of community safety; a paradox that highlighted the limitations of the single-pronged police approach to the multi-pronged potential of CSPs. However, more critically, there is the possibility both in the short and long term for such police actions leading to worsening police community relations.

With regards to the role of the police within CSPs, a key finding of this study is that the police remained a dominant player within them. Police officers were able to set and influence priorities and agendas and were keen to develop working relationships with partner agencies. Importantly, these were largely in the pursuit of further enforcement opportunities in order to, effectively, 'punish' local residents. The police role within CSPs is therefore critical in extending the ability and potential to 'punish in partnership'. Whilst there was ample evidence of police dominance and influence within CSPs as presented in this study, conversely there was little or no evidence of police officers being subservient

to the demands of other partners. As Darke (2011) persuasively argues, partnerships have resulted in more, not less policing and local government has been co-opted into enforcement whilst the police have not been co-opted into or adopted a welfare role. The findings in this thesis would support Darke's recent study and, as Hancock (2009) notes, such a reality is in the context of the 'criminalisation of social policy', which in the 1980's resulted in welfare agencies brought in to a community safety agenda predicated on interventions related to crime and disorder rather than the addressing of structural disadvantages. This was apparent in the marginalised communities of the case study areas and calls into question the political and policy wisdom of adopting such an approach.

Moreover, this study has highlighted that policing within CSPs involved practices that were contentious and provocative, ostensibly unaccountable and which stemmed from priorities that were derived from police officers. There is ample evidence suggesting the continuation of what has been regarded as a 'punitive turn' (Garland, 2001; Hallsworth and Lea, 2012) towards an enforcement or disciplining approach to individuals and groups within marginalised communities. Furthermore, this study found examples of emerging ways in which police community partnerships were developing, for instance in relation to new methods of community involvement such as the power for certain individuals to decide on suitable punishments for other community members. It may be argued that in light of such developments the binaries of 'good' and 'bad' community are being further divided. As the next section indicates, this may simply represent one element of the undemocratic and unaccountable state of CSPs.

The state of CSPs today – undemocratic and unaccountable

Crawford and Evans (2012) recently argued that in light of their failures, CSPs represent a 'political disappointment'. However, this study also points to the disappointment that residents experienced in attempting to engage with state actors to respond to matters including, but not limited to, security. This disappointment also extended to a limited number of partner agency staff who expressed regret for the priorities that CSPs pursued; however, as this thesis has argued it appeared that partner agencies, in the main, were

co-opted into a police-led and police-dominated strategy that marginalised other agency concerns, such as welfare.

This study has brought to the fore the voices, experiences and narratives of residents who experienced the workings of CSPs in marginalised communities and it is evident that, even among those individuals and groups that enthusiastically engaged with them, they represented bodies that did not effectively respond to the needs of local people. Therefore, whilst for the state and for the agencies that attempt to work within them they may have represented a political disappointment, they also at the same time served as effective mechanisms from which the police, in particular, were able to wield significant influence. This influence, permeated through other agencies within CSPs but in particular with the local authority and housing officials, effectively blurred the boundaries of the roles of the police and partner agencies by presenting a multitude of state bodies seemingly operating under one unified 'hat' – that of enforcement, surveillance and punishment. It is to be debated therefore, whether or not CSPs were actually operating within a truly 'multi-agency' remit for it appeared that the welfare role associated with non-police agencies was effectively marginalised with the choice for partner agencies ostensibly limited to co-option to police leadership or exclusion in marginalised areas. As Noaks (2008) and Bull (2010) have noted, the police are reluctant and unwilling to work in partnership if it is not police-led or police-owned and they are also reluctant to work with that which they cannot control. This was the case, too, for policing within the CSPs of the case study areas and presented a *political dilemma* for those partner agencies and community residents who wished to reorient the work of CSPs towards concerns more relevant to them and more associated with the stated goals of community safety. This political dilemma is named as such as it indicates the difficulties of achieving political change within CSPs. This political change, however, was problematic not only locally with police officers dominant and at the forefront of CSPs but at the level of the state.

As Hughes (2007) notes, in regards to reform in the area of community safety, 'bottom up' community politics are problematic as they will only ever be a David to the Goliath of capital and the state. However, it is suggested that this pessimistic viewpoint requires an urgent review as the needs and demands of local residents have to be placed at the centre of the work of CSPs. In their current form, they represent undemocratic and

unaccountable bodies with emerging evidence that police officers were further seeking to exploit the lingering binary of 'good' and 'bad' community in order to secure legitimacy from the few in order to enforce against the many, a feature also noted by others (Hancock, 2004; Skinns, 2008).

As evidenced in this thesis there were examples of emerging ways in which police officers, arguably with the assistance of an embedded and ostensibly legitimated presence within communities not previously possible, were extending the scope of partnership work. These emerging ways of working do not appear to be documented in the literature on partnership working within CSPs. These methods of partnership working pursued by police officers, many of which related to complex social problems, increase the need for a re-assessment of the police role and remit within CSPs, particularly due to the dangers of stigmatizing and criminalizing minority communities. This can only be achieved by redressing the apparent democratic deficit within CSPs which marginalises the concerns of residents and partner agency staff who present dissenting views to those of the police, who occupy the dominant positions within CSPs.

A vision of community safety is appealing in its scope yet in reality the CSPs in this study represented selective inclusivity and frequent examples of their ability to exclude unwanted or unwelcome partners. The question of what can be done about CSPs in order to, for instance, improve democracy within them and empower communities in order to alleviate local problems cannot be answered without making direct reference to the role of the dominant CSP partner, the police.

Policing within CSPs – an unremarkable role

A key feature of the case study areas was their status as marginalised communities; that is, their status as poor and deprived communities. Indeed, it is perhaps telling, in the context of the findings of this study, that each of the case study areas was assigned additional officers by the police headquarters in response to the perceived crime problems within them. It is submitted that the movement of additional police officers into marginalised communities, communities which evidently experience substantial social and economic problems, is highly significant. As Reiner has noted:

The police function more or less adequately as managers of crime and keepers of the peace, but they are not realistically a vehicle for reducing crime substantially. Crime is the product of deeper social forces, largely beyond the ambit of any policing tactics, and the clear-up rate is a function of crime levels and other aspects of workload rather than police efficiency (2010: 254).

The question of why marginalised communities experience high levels of policing can only be understood when the *history* of policing within marginalised communities is considered. As recent literature has recently clarified (Brogden and Ellison, 2013) British policing, since its inception, has neglected the policing of the powerful and its focus has consistently concentrated on socio-economically marginalised populations. It is therefore essential to note that the policing of marginalised communities in the context of CSPs was but one recent example of how the policing of marginalised communities, historically, has taken place. Understanding these processes can perhaps illuminate why the police in CSPs were a dominant actor and why, as this study has uncovered, other partner agencies were, to an extent, co-opted by the police in focusing on enforcement strategies against local residents. It is useful at this juncture to return to the work of Gordon (1984), who considered the development of police community partnerships in the 1980's as a state response to a lack of legitimacy and authority, particularly within marginalised communities.

Gordon makes a central point which lays claim to the underlying philosophy of partnership working within a community policing paradigm. Specifically, he suggests that partnership working was adopted as a mechanism as well as a *strategy* by which the police could, through the rhetoric of community policing and the inclusive features it claimed to offer, be accepted into the community as a good, whilst at the same time (and primarily as they are police led and influenced) be in a position from which to dismiss dissent. As Gordon states:

This inter-agency relationship is never one of equality for, as the police themselves emphasise, the police are in a unique position to provide leadership and initiative and generally to act as a focal point for joint work. They are therefore in a position to determine priorities, to control the direction of activities and to isolate and marginalise those who disagree or criticise (1984: 47).

Hancock (2009), in line with Gordon, argues that measures such as CSPs are indicative of the state's attempts to fashion legitimacy precisely among those individuals and groups who bear the brunt of the attention of the police; and as Gordon notes, police community relations in the most policed areas essentially confirm those areas' place in society (1984). However, what Hancock and Gordon also note is that a central theme of the pursuit of legitimacy by the police in such circumstances is just one example of the state's attempts to discipline already marginalised sections of society or to provide mechanisms through which the police can enforce a means of social control.

Gordon (1984) provides an insight into the realities of early versions of community policing and of police community partnerships and suggests that they are largely concerned with gathering intelligence (through partnership structures, as well as from community residents), achieving access to otherwise unavailable community sources, gaining legitimacy and penetrating/breaking community resistance. Further to this, a key development that this method of partnership offered to the police was an arguably undemocratic decision-making process whereby consent by some members of the community created the space for enforcement opportunities; this view, of police community partnerships being typified by undemocratic practices, has also been echoed by more recent studies (Hope, 2005).

This study has found that consent granted by selective sections of the community allowed for the police to pursue enforcement opportunities and that community priorities were rarely taken into account if they did not coalesce with those of the police and partner agencies. However, this study also found that residents were angry and frustrated at not being able to have their concerns about community safety appropriately addressed; if their concerns did not fall within the narrow confines of crime control as determined by the CSP then they were effectively marginalised.

In analysing the motivations behind community policing and the implementation of police community partnerships, Gordon notes two important developments – surveillance and control. Regarding the latter, it is argued that the creation of links with the community which the police previously did not have has offered the police opportunities from which to expand surveillance;

... community policing is an attempt at the surveillance and control of communities by the police, an attempt which operates under the guise of police offering advice and assistance, and which is all the more dangerous because it not only merges the activities of different agencies of the state, but does so under the control and direction of the police (1984: 56).

This intention by the state, argues Gordon, is to not only complement reactive policing methods already in existence but to *legitimate* this method of policing. Essentially, the tying together of community policing with reactive policing would allow the state the opportunity from which to carry out a form of 'total policing' (1984: 55). It is argued that in pursuance of this 'total policing' aim, the state is engaging in a process of fashioning social control and enforcing a disciplinary agenda;

Community policing is but one aspect of this continuum of discipline and is all the more dangerous because it appears to offer an alternative (Gordon, 1984: 57).

This study concurs with several of Gordon's findings on early police community partnerships, as they have relevance to their modern day iterations, and his observations on the nature of community policing and partnership working appearing to offer an alternative whilst in fact serving as a disciplinary mechanism holds true today for the state of CSPs within marginalised communities. This study has presented evidence of the resilience of 'traditional' policing within CSPs and of how this approach is incompatible with a community safety agenda. This thesis will now conclude with commentary offering insight into the implication this study has for critical criminology followed by suggestions for further research to be conducted within this field.

Implications for critical criminology

Critical criminology, in at least one sense, is oppositional in that it very much contrasts with the work of those that may be termed as 'administrative criminologists' (Hallsworth and Lea, 2012). Research within critical criminology has provided a great deal of insight, in particular by giving voice to marginalised communities, groups and individuals (Scraton, 2007). It has successfully challenged the dominant narratives primarily put

forward by administrative criminologists; a group that critical criminologists would argue remain subservient to power. It is the intention of critical criminology to highlight the experiences of marginalised communities and this has also been one of the outcomes of this study. This involved going beyond simply what residents thought of specific policies, as is the case with evaluative research, and sought to foreground how they actually experienced CSPs.

For instance, one of the ways in which residents were marginalised from CSPs, such as *Brendan* in Newford, *Malik* in Ringland and *Sharaz* in Oakdale, was in regards to them having their concerns effectively dismissed by police and partner agencies as they were not considered to be crime related. This raises two important points; one in relation to the apparently narrow crime control remit of CSPs and another of the concerns that residents feel *should* be considered under a community safety remit. For instance, *Brendan's* concerns revolved around issues such as education and employment and he managed to successfully organise a community group independent of the CSP, whom he had initially approached. It can therefore be argued that community safety is perceived differently by residents as it is by the police and partner agencies.

This area, it is suggested, requires further study and one of the ways this may be approached is by considering the approach of *zemiology* (Hillyard *et al.*, 2004); a discipline that emerged as an offshoot from critical criminology and concerns itself with social harms in a broader sense rather than just those that are associated with crime. Research into this area is needed in order to establish the primary concerns of residents within CSPs in marginalised communities to, for instance, establish to what extent these issues extend beyond crime, as this study has indicated. Approaching such a study from the standpoint of *zemiology* is appropriate as this discipline considers a range of issues and behaviours as inflicting social harm, such as poverty and homelessness that are largely ignored by criminology.

This issue relates to another finding of this study in which it was apparent that some residents, despite the continued marginalisation of the concerns they had raised, persisted in engaging with CSPs by, for instance, frequently attending meetings. This perhaps speaks to these individuals' hope that their concerns would be at some point

addressed. Nonetheless, as this study has demonstrated, this group of individuals effectively, by their mere engagement with CSPs, served as the local consent for enforcement initiatives by the police and partner agencies in the case study areas to be carried out. However, this group of individuals was distinct from minority interest groups such as the Newford Trust who managed to affect some influence on the CSPs due to their status as 'respectable' local community organisations.

The role of partner agency staff and the co-option of policing roles was another notable finding and merits further scrutiny. It has been established that partner agency staff in this study were co-opted into policing roles yet there was also some evidence of a reluctance to adopt such a role. Further research is required in order to establish whether or not partner agency staff have been *socialised* into this role by the dominant influence of the police within CSPs or if in fact these roles had been assumed independently. The findings of such a study would allow for a more informed judgement to be made about the scope and potential for community safety as in its current iteration in marginalised communities it appears to have adopted a narrow punitive focus.

This study is an original contribution to the study of CSPs as it has demonstrated that the relationship between police officers, partner agencies and residents within marginalised communities is one in which due to the dominant influence of policing, perceived local problems are often responded to with punitive approaches and measures rather than an approach that may fall under broader social welfare goals associated with community safety. In other words, residents in marginalised communities experienced CSPs in which the concerns of 'traditional' policing were prevalent, with the added presence of partner agency staff that effectively adopted a policing role.

From a critical criminological perspective it would be argued that this is a development from a state that is concerned with pursuing such punitive policies whilst at the same time withdrawing support under the umbrella of a social welfare apparatus; in other words, this development follows the neoliberal logic that people should be responsible for themselves (financially, for example) with minimal assistance from the state. The state however, does intervene punitively, in that the criminal justice system operates as a structure from which the wrongdoings of the poor and marginalised can be punished.

What can be said of CSPs in this study is that they represented localised embodiments of the criminal justice system, albeit with an expansion of powers that went beyond those available to the police. The CSPs were not democratic structures, with community involvement ostensibly irrelevant to decisions made largely at the behest of state agents with the greatest degree of influence held by police actors. From the perspective of critical criminology, there is strong support for the familiar response of the repressive 'arm' of the state, policing, to marginalised communities. From this perspective, policing, and now the assorted punitive tools available through partnership working as evidenced in this thesis, seek to further repress and regulate marginalised communities or *working class populations*, as a primary method.

The legacy of policing in working class communities is of course, well established (Brogden, 1991; Reiner, 2010); however, what is new, and an original contribution to the literature in this field, is the form of policing, or 'punishing in partnership' that took place within the CSPs of the marginalised communities. In response to the travails of the poor and marginalised during times of economic crisis both historically and in recent times, it is noticeable that the response of the state allows for the widening rather than the narrowing of punitive options available to state agents and crucially, extends this role to form part of the everyday work of state agents who previously did not have such responsibilities or demands placed upon them. Indeed, it can be said that such developments, as Gordon (1984) highlights, confirms the status of marginalised communities in society.

Following the approach of critical criminology, it is not the purpose of this thesis to offer policy recommendations on how, for example, partnership working within CSPs might be improved. Within mainstream social sciences there is an under-appreciation of the effects of structural forces, which serve to foster conditions such as class and racial inequality. Rather, there is a predominant focus within mainstream criminology for recommendations on the way, for instance, police officers can adjust their working practices. As Walters notes:

Criminology's origins reveal that it has been an intellectual enterprise largely dominated by a scientific causation of state defined crime for the purposes of developing a more efficient crime control apparatus...

Criminological research has... been dominated by a spirit of pragmatism that has promoted a scientific and administrative criminology to aid the immediate policy needs of government (2007: 19).

It is not the concern of critical criminology and nor it is the purpose of this study to consider short-term solutions to social and economic problems through the narrow and prescribed parameters of crime and crime control. Such an endeavour can only result in the increased marginality of the already marginalised. Following Scraton (2001), Walters suggests that criminology should serve as a discipline of resistance. As this thesis has argued, this can only be achieved by including narratives from marginalised communities and by evidencing the ways in which, for instance, their marginality is maintained; something that has to date been overlooked within mainstream criminology. It is contended that despite the obvious expertise available within the CSP arena, the CSPs in this study operated as a form of crime control with a remit that nearly exclusively revolved around crime and the response to crime, without the consideration of structural factors.

Whilst there is little scope for the radical overhaul that is required for CSPs to reorient their focus towards an agenda that is less predicated on policing and crime and more focused on addressing the social and welfare needs that are evident within marginalised communities, it is possible for alternatives to be considered. What may be possible is for community-led attempts to shape local policy, incorporating broad themes of a social welfare agenda including community safety. A number of community initiatives exist within the UK, many of which were set up in response to police violence against minority communities in the 1970's and 1980's and some of which were set up in the aftermath of the August 2011 riots (Frost and Phillips, 2012). What these organisations offer are alternatives to state-led initiatives, with community members empowered to hold state agents such as police officers, to account. Whilst it is not the purpose of this conclusion to offer a detailed vision of what form they might take, it is suggested that a version of such community-led organisations can seek to fill the current democratic deficit evident within marginalised communities in respect to CSPs. These community organisations could, as part of their remit, set local priorities independent of state actors and frequently hold these state actors to account. It is suggested that initiatives such as these are urgently

required in those marginalised communities that are at the 'sharp end' of punitive policies, as detailed in this study.

A perhaps more realistic option would be for CSPs to comprise state actors with the exception of the police; such a composition would clearly distinguish state agents whose work centres on social welfare principles from those state agents whose work centres on punitive action. This demarcation may address the democratic deficit inherent within CSPs by enabling the actions of policing and the actions of welfare provision to be separated as at this current juncture it appears that they together serve a function resulting in the 'punishing in partnership' of marginalised communities. The following words from renowned author and political activist Arundhati Roy speak to the experiences of many residents in the marginalised communities encountered in this study:

We know, of course, there's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'. There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard (Sanchez, 2006: 29).

Appendix 1

Consent Form: Partnership Policing in your neighbourhood

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| • I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I agree to take part in the above study | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I agree to the interview being audio recorded | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix 2

Meeting Statement – Partnership policing in your neighbourhood

- Waqas is a researcher from the University of Salford and he is carrying out a study on partnership policing in your neighbourhood. The project aims to assess current partnership working practices in your neighbourhood.
- He will be making notes of what is being discussed however the information will be kept confidential and secure. All quotes will be anonymised so it will be not be possible to identify an individual from their responses.
- If you would like further information on the project or if you would like to ask any questions, please see Waqas at the end of the meeting.

Appendix 3

Interview Schedule for Police Officers V.4

- Your role

- 1) How long have you been a police officer?
- 2) How long have you worked on this division? In this neighbourhood?
- 3) How did you become part of the neighbourhood policing team?
- 4) What is your role within the team?
- 5) What do you see as your key priorities
- 6) What are your thoughts on the XXXXX Neighbourhood project since it began in 2008?
- 7) What do you see as the key aims of the XXXXX Neighbourhood project?
- 8) Did the introduction of the project lead to any changes in how you worked?
- 9) What has been achieved? Do you think things have improved?
- 10) What do you attribute any success to?
- 11) What do you consider as the key lessons to be taken forward?
- 12) What aspects of the project do you think it would be beneficial to keep? What has worked well? And not so well?
- 13) How would you describe the style of policing in this XXXXX Neighbourhood?
- 14) Do you think it would be beneficial to maintain the current style of policing in this XXXXX Neighbourhood?

- Partnership working

- 15) How important is it in your role to work in partnership with other agencies?
- 16) Are some partner agencies easier to work with than others? If so, which?
- 17) Do you share priorities with other agencies? How is this managed?
- 18) To what extent do you think partner agencies have contributed to any policing successes in this neighbourhood?
- 19) Does any agency lead in terms of partnership policing? Is the responsibility and workload shared?
- 20) Working in partnership with other agencies, what works well? And not so well?
- 21) From your experience, do you have any suggestions as to how partnership working with other agencies could be improved?
- 22) Are there any barriers or issues that you face when working in partnership with other agencies?

23) Do you think XXXXX Neighbourhood status has made a difference to the quality and achievement of partnership working at a local level? If so, how and in what way?

- Community

24) Do you think the police are meeting the needs of the community? How do you measure this?

25) Why do you think this is the case, and what needs to be done?

26) To what extent are the community involved in decisions about how their area is policed?

27) In what ways do you communicate with the local community? Which methods do you think are the most effective?

28) How do you think the local community perceive the police? And how do you think they perceive other agencies?

29) In terms of addressing the needs of the community, what do you consider to be the most important issues?

30) What are the challenges going forward, in terms of meeting the needs of the community?

31) What do you think encourages community interaction with the police?

32) What are the barriers for community/police interaction?

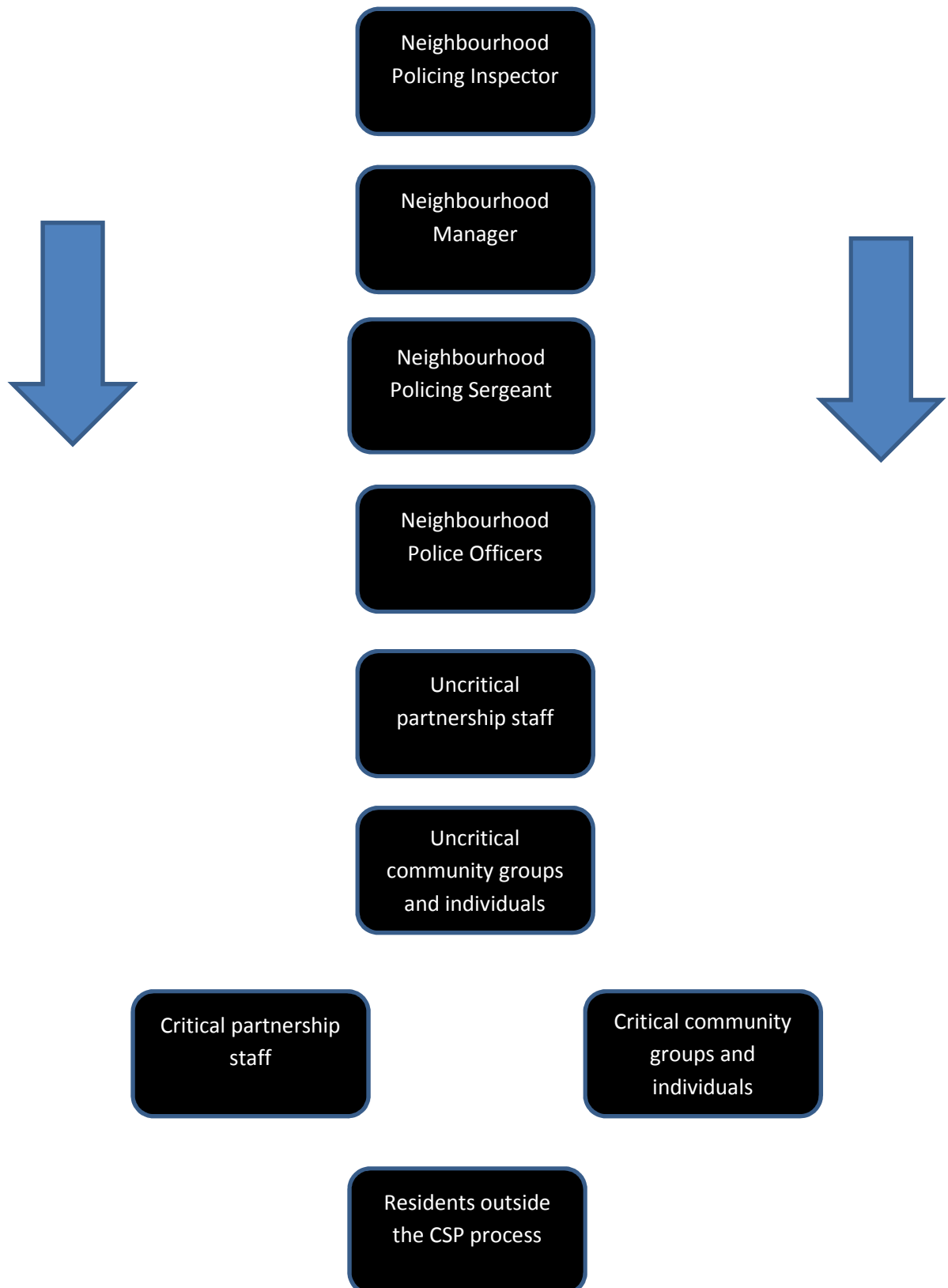
33) Are some sections of the community easier to work with than others?

34) Do you think XXXXX Neighbourhood status has made a difference to the community? If so, how and in what way?

35) Would you like to make any further comments?

Appendix 4

Hierarchy of power relations in the case study areas



Appendix 5

Biographical information of key interview respondents

Name	Age	Gender	Area	Other information
Malik	Late 20's	M	Ringland	Charity worker and lifelong resident.
Laura	Early 30's	F	Ringland	Full time nurse and lifelong resident.
Patricia	Early 50's	F	Ringland	Neighbourhood manager – responsible for co-ordinating partner agency work within CSPs. Works closely with neighbourhood policing inspector.
Ryan	Mid 30's	M	Ringland	Police sergeant. Co-ordinates police officers and police community support officers.
Patrick	Mid 30's	M	Ringland	Neighbourhood police officer.
Mitchell	Early 40's	M	Ringland	Police community support officer.
Brendan	Early 50's	M	Newford	Long-time resident. Active in the community, heads community group.
Carol	Early 30's	F	Newford	Recently moved to the area. Business owner.
Julie	Early 60's	F	Newford	Long-time resident. Volunteer for local officially recognised community group.
Robert	Late 40's	M	Newford	Neighbourhood manager – responsible for co-ordinating partner agency work within CSPs. Works closely with neighbourhood policing inspector.
Sandra	Mid 40's	F	Newford	Local authority employee and community activist. Works with neighbourhood manager.
Dominic	Late 40's	M	Newford	Neighbourhood policing inspector. Works closely with neighbourhood manager and oversees neighbourhood policing team.
Malcolm	Early 30's	M	Newford	Neighbourhood police officer.
Liam	Early 40's	M	Newford	Police community support officer.
Jade	Mid 20's	F	Newford	Police community support officer.
Mark	Early 40's	M	Newford	Police community support officer.
Sharaz	Early 30's	M	Oakdale	Lifelong resident and youth worker.
Benjamin	Late 60's	M	Oakdale	Lifelong resident, retired bus driver.
Zahoor	Late 40's	M	Oakdale	Neighbourhood manager – responsible for co-ordinating partner agency work within CSPs. Works closely with neighbourhood policing inspector.
Masood	Mid 40's	M	Oakdale	Housing officer.
Andrew	Mid 50's	M	Oakdale	Neighbourhood policing inspector. Works closely with neighbourhood manager and oversees neighbourhood policing team.
Carl	Mid 40's	M	Oakdale	Neighbourhood police officer.
Richard	Late 40's	M	Oakdale	Police sergeant. Co-ordinates police officers and police community support officers.
Cynthia	Late 40's	F	Police headquarters	Senior police staff employee.
Helen	Late 30's	F	Police headquarters	Police staff employee.
George	Late 50's	M	Police headquarters	Senior police officer overseeing neighbourhood policing forcewide.

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