



Policing 2026 Evidence Review

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An Overview

The specially commissioned papers collected together to form this Evidence Review have been written by a group of international policing experts with extensive experience as academic researchers, senior practitioners and policy makers.

The strategic importance of this evidence review is that it embodies an **evidence-based approach to policing**, which values the role of research, science, evaluation and analysis to inform decision-making within police organisations. As Professor Fyfe highlights in the first paper, such an approach has several wider benefits:

- Politically, evidence-based approaches are central to the governance, accountability and legitimacy of policing and citizens expect police forces to draw on evidence to identify effective and efficient practices as well as emerging threats;
- Economically, developing policy and practice on a robust evidence base of effective and cost-efficient activities is vital to the future sustainability of the police service;
- Organisationally, evidence-based approaches are vital to claims about police professionalism so that the building of a body of knowledge on which good practice is based is key to achieving an enhanced professional status.

There are also more immediate operational benefits to policing of an evidence-based approach:

- Employing strategies and tactics that have been shown to reduce harm means more effective responses to community concerns and an increase in police legitimacy;
- Evidence based approaches requires the police to access and analyse their own data which can lead to improvements in managerial accountability and better data recording and analytics;
- The use of evidence to support innovative and creative ways of tackling problems can increase satisfaction with police work among officers and staff.

Policing in Scotland is in a strong position to play a **world-leading role in evidence-based approaches** given the established strategic partnership between Scotland's universities, Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority embodied in SIPR. Established in 2007 and now with an international reputation for research and knowledge exchange, SIPR plays a key role in contributing to evidence-based approaches in policing, supporting a strategic approach to innovation,

contributing to education, professional development and organisational learning; and building research and analytical capacity in policing and universities.

The use of evidence is central to the arguments about **prevention** addressed by Professor Laycock who focuses on the importance of **Problem-Oriented Policing (POP)** as the core of a preventative approach and how this should be rooted in the SARA model of Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment:

- Scanning provides insight into the nature, frequency and impact of problems;
- Analysis focuses on understanding the problem, collecting relevant data, and assessing the effectiveness of the response;
- Response involves assessing what type of response would work in different contexts and then implementing an appropriate mechanism drawing on relevant knowledge and experience, including the on-line Crime Reduction Toolkit developed by the College of Policing.
- Assessment focuses on whether an intervention was implemented effectively (a 'process' evaluation) and what the impact was.

By embracing POP and experimentation, analysis, and assessment as a means of clearly defining the problems faced by communities and of developing evidence-based means of addressing these problems, Police Scotland has the potential to establish itself as a **Learning Organisation**. But to do this they need a different kind of police training and a supportive infrastructure that values experimentation, accepts risk, and encourages trust and delegation.

Prevention must be focused in particular **places** because problems are not distributed evenly or randomly and the evidence clearly demonstrates that targeting specific locations where crime concentrates yields the best effects on crime prevention, and will also typically involve some form of **partnership** working between police and other organisations. These are the key message of the following 2 reviews. That on **place-based policing** by Professors Lum and Koper reinforces the conclusions of the Prevention paper, by identifying the key pillars of a place-based policing strategy:

- Conducting geographic crime analysis of micro-places (neighbourhoods, street intersections etc.) and long term time trends so that a better understanding is achieved of the social, environmental and routine activity characteristics of hot spots
- Proactively directing patrol to hot spots
- Optimizing deterrence at hotspots
- Problem solving at hotspots

- Community engagement at hotspots

Embracing these elements is vital to both more **efficient** and more **effective** policing. Their conclusion is unequivocal: ‘Problem-solving and community-oriented approaches at crime hot spots can enhance long-term effectiveness of police actions and help strengthen police-citizen relationships’.

These conclusions are echoed in the paper on **partnership** by Dr O’Neill which spells out the ways in which partnership needs to be recognised as an essential component of contemporary policing. The Christie Commission has set the broader strategic context for this in Scotland and this is reinforced by the Policing Principles set out in the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012:

the main purpose of policing is to improve the safety and well-being of persons, localities and communities in Scotland, and that the Police Service, working in collaboration with others where appropriate, should seek to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which (i) is accessible to, and engaged with, local communities, and (ii) promotes measures to prevent, crime, harm and disorder’ (para.32).

The research evidence base clearly highlights a number of key ingredients for successful partnerships which include relationships of trust, stability in staffing, co-location and pooled budgets. Within police organisations, there is also a need to ensure people have to the right skills for partnership working, that they receive appropriate training and that there are internal processes to support and reward partnership work. Officers also need to think differently about performance and success in relation to partnership working by focusing on broader outcomes, like harm reduction, and long term benefits rather than quick fixes. More generally, O’Neill makes the points that there needs to be a shift from viewing partnership work as ‘nice to have’ to seeing it as a core component of contemporary policing which allows the police to learn about which organisations are best placed to address particular problems.

This problem solving focus is also central to Stanko’s assessment of **performance frameworks** in policing. She cogently argues that a focus on crime narrows public discussion about the wider benefits of policing and disables the police from playing a broader partnership role in delivering safety and security in local communities. A good performance frameworks requires command of **evidence and analysis** and for the police this means that they must not only have command of the information they hold on the needs of users, the nature of problems, and the resources they can mobilize to deal with these issues, but also the ability to convert this

information into a joined up conversation with other partners in the public, private and third sectors and with communities. In this way, it is possible to develop a 'whole of government' approach to the delivery of safety and security in a local area strongly aligned with the Christie principles.

Stanko points to specific example of performance frameworks which begin to allow this more joined up, outcome focused approach. In New Zealand, for example, the police have 3 high level outcomes:

- Protected communities and preventing harm
- Minimizing harm to victims
- Delivering valued police services

What this offers is a way of seeing the NZ police as part of a whole of government approach to improving security and justice for New Zealanders and the interconnectedness of what the police do with other parts of the public, private and third sectors.

The focus of performance measurement therefore needs to be on outcomes and, through the use of evidence and analytics, allow informed debates of the underlying problems affecting communities which can then bind public, private and third sectors together in **problem solving partnerships**. As Stanko observes, numbers of crime don't tell you whether crime or security has changed within a community - it just counts what people have told the police.

If the focus of performance is to be on reducing harm and vulnerability through **collaborative partnerships** then there need to be a range of key measurement indicators to reflect this, which might include: a reduction in repeat violent offending, reductions in repeat victimizations for domestic and sexual violence, a reduction in the number of repeat visits for knife injuries in A&E, an increase in the reporting of sexual violence etc. The police would play a key part in some of these but each indicator would also need contributions from others (in health, victims' services, probation etc.). Furthermore, there needs to be local analysis of this information to feed into problem-solving at a local level. Drawing on their data, Police Scotland can lead a conversation about safety and security at national and local levels, but this needs to be integrated with data from other organisations to create a shared evidence base focused on outcomes relating to key questions such as: is violence getting better or worse in Scotland? what drivers of well-being should government focus on to improve safety to which the police can contribute? and is Scotland getting safer?

Police performance is scrutinised through **governance and accountability** mechanisms and Dr Henry draws on a wide body of work to distil some key principles of what good democratic governance of policing should look like. This includes a focus on:

- *Equity* in terms of organisational resource allocation and priorities in delivering services and in terms of individual experiences in police encounters;
- *Delivery of services* that are responsive to public needs and which benefit all citizens and are based on fair, transparent processes and procedures;
- *Responsiveness* in that policing should in part reflect the will and interests of people in terms of delivering the priorities and services they need but also draw on the knowledge of other professionals and partner organisations. It is also crucial that responsiveness does not compromise equity if being responsive to public demands would create discriminatory actions;
- *A distribution of power* which balances central and local interests, with the centre contributing stability, consistency and equity, and the local focusing on responsiveness, flexibility and public participation;
- *The provision of information* given that the viability of the principles of good governance depends on good information which is needed to ensure efficiency and effectiveness, to gauge public sentiment and document processes and procedures. This information might come from the police but would also include other knowledge from a range of other sources including neighbourhood data, academic research and information from other partner organisations;
- *Redress* which relates to the need for organisational accountability of senior management and the individual accountability of officers in exercising their powers;
- *Participation* in that the public should have a sense of ownership of how their society is policed and that there is an opening up of deliberation around policing to a breadth of voices.

All the different thematic areas covered in the Evidence Review require good **leadership** and in the final paper by Dr Brookes the focus is on the need to think differently about police leadership. This means moving beyond thinking about the ‘who’ of leadership (i.e. the heroic leader) and asking other questions about the ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of leadership. In addressing these questions, Brookes argues, a much more holistic view of leadership emerges, less focused on the traits of individual leaders, and more on the importance of setting a long term vision and developing shared norms that are adaptive and

respond to changes in the external environment. This is the basis for transformational rather than transactional leadership and creating an organisation which prioritises professionalism, information sharing, quality assurance, an orientation towards service users, working with others and a problem-solving focus.

Evidence-based policing¹

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Professor Nick Fyfe is the founding Director of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, a strategic collaboration between a consortium of thirteen universities, Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority. In 2014 he was awarded the Distinguished Achievement Award by the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason University in the United States for his work on developing the use of research evidence in policing policy and practice. Most of his recent research has focused on police reform and he is the co-editor of *Centralizing forces? Comparative perspectives on police reform in northern and western Europe* published in 2013. He is currently leading a 4 year evaluation of police and fire reform in Scotland on behalf of the Scottish Government and with colleagues from across the UK he is part of the team delivering the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction.

What is evidence-based policing and why does it matter?

Evidence-based policing is an approach that values the use of research, science, evaluation and analysis to inform decision-making within police organisations. The research can relate to a wide range of policing activities and functions, from evaluation of specific policing interventions to tackle crime and enhance well-being, to broad assessments of the management and governance of policing (Lum & Koper, 2015).

One of the most important statements on the value of evidence-based policing was made some 20 years ago by Professor Lawrence Sherman (1998) in which he made a compelling argument that ‘police practices should be based on scientific evidence of what works best’. Specifically he highlighted two issues which should provide the foundations of a research police organisation:

- Using the results of rigorous evaluations of policing tactics and strategies to guide decision-making;

¹ Although the term ‘evidence-based’ policing is used in this paper because it is widely deployed in discussions about the use of research evidence, I prefer the term ‘evidence-informed’ policing because it recognises that research evidence is only one element in police decision-making, alongside other considerations such as professional judgment and experience.

- Generating and applying analytical knowledge derived from a police organisation's own data on crime problems and other issues.

Use of research evidence to inform policing policy and practice is seen as increasingly important both at a strategic and operational level. Strategically evidence-based approaches are important in political, economic and social terms:

- Politically, evidence-based approaches are central to the governance, accountability and legitimacy of policing: Just as in medicine and public health, there are requirements that treatments are supported by robust evidence of effectiveness, so in policing there should be expectations that decisions are being taken about the use of tactics, deployment of officers, and interaction with communities that are based on sound knowledge of good practice. In his 2011 Benjamin Franklin Medal Lecture on 'Professional Policing and Liberal Democracy', Sherman (2011) makes the case that 'police legitimacy may be established not just on the basis of effectiveness under the rule of law, but on demonstrated police mastery of a complex body of knowledge generated by scientific methods of testing and analysis'.
- Economically, in a context of diminishing resources, developing policy and practice on a robust evidence base is vital to the future sustainability of the police service: 'The identification of effective and cost-efficient practices and policies is essential if policing is to gain legitimacy and secure investment in an increasingly sceptical world of public services in which the competition for public finance is growing ever more acute (Ayling, Grabosky, and Shearing, 2009);
- Socially, evidence-based approaches are vital to claims about police professionalism: While 'crime fighting' and 'law enforcement' exemplified the understanding of police professionalism in the UK and the US during the 1970s and 1980s (Stone and Travis, 2011), from the 1990s there has been a gradual shift towards developing a 'new' police professionalism characterised by increased accountability, a greater focus on legitimacy, and moves towards evidence-based practice. Herman Goldstein (1990) in his analysis of problem-oriented policing has argued that 'The building of a body of knowledge, on which good practice is based and with which practitioners are expected to be familiar, may be the most important element for acquiring truly professional status' (p.46). Although, in the past, the police did not place much value on higher education and scientific research (Neyroud, 2009), the quest to make policing more effective in tackling crime and to enhance levels of legitimacy has driven important changes in the relationship between police organisations and the research community. There are now a range of innovative approaches to building strong and sustainable collaborative relationships between

researchers and police practitioners (see Johnston and Shearing, 2009; Cordner and White, 2010; Murji, 2010; Fyfe, 2012)

In addition to these strategic reasons for promoting evidence-based practice, there are more immediate operational benefits to policing. These include:

- The benefits from employing strategies and tactics that are shown to reduce crime, increase legitimacy and address community concerns . As Lum and Koper (2015) argue, 'Policies deemed harmful or ineffective could be discarded (or at least critically questioned), potentially saving law enforcement agencies time, money, frustration and blame'.
- The requirement of police organisations to access their own information and data in order to undertake outcome evaluations and analysis. This may in turn lead to improvements in managerial accountability, better data recording, collection and analysis, and improvements in information technologies to address these needs;
- The potential to increase officer satisfaction with police work, providing innovative and creative ways to tackle problems and challenge the status quo. As Lum and Koper (2015) observe, 'Evidence-based policing...could influence organisational and cultural forces that can inhibit both growth and a dynamic learning environment in policing' (p.4).

Contesting and challenging evidence-based approaches: understanding the barriers to evidence use

Although these strategic and more immediate benefits of evidence-based approaches are well established, many would claim that the impact of research evidence on policing policy and practice remains limited. Researchers in the United States have struck a consistently pessimistic note over the last 15 years regarding the integration of research-based knowledge into routine police practice. Bayley (1998), writing in the late 1990s, observed that 'research may not have made as significant, or at least as coherent, an impression on policing as scholars like to think'; five years later Goldstein (2003) noted that 'there is no discernible, sustained and consistent effort within policing to make the basic premise that 'knowledge inform practice' a routine part of policing; and more recently Lum *et al* (2012) have acknowledged that 'the notion that science should matter is often trumped by the reality that public opinion, political will, or consensus-based opinions about best practices are what should underpin and drive police practices'.

The barriers that limit the use of research in policy and practice settings can take a variety of forms. Research findings are often messy, ambiguous and contradictory; there may be a lack of autonomy to implement findings from research and a lack of support for research-based change; and there may be cultural resistance to research and its use (Nutley, Walter and Davies, 2007). All these barriers are of considerable relevance to understanding the constraints that impact on the integration of research evidence into policing. Bullock and Tilley (2009) highlight how within policing there is often disagreement about what counts as evidence of effective practice, issues about the accessibility of evidence to practitioners, and organizational constraints in terms of a lack of support for practitioners to engage with research that might be seen as a threat to professional expertise. Similarly, Lum *et al* (2012) highlight a range of issues that hinder receptivity to research in policing. These include an organizational culture and system of promotions that focus on 'rewarding knowledge of procedures and reactivity [and so] help strengthen barriers to using research that promotes proactivity and problem solving' (p.65).

Other attempts to make sense of the limited impact of research evidence on police policy and practice have pointed to a broader problem of a lack of effective communication between academics and police practitioners. Constructing an imaginary conversation between a police officer and an academic, Bradley and Nixon (2009 citing MacDonald, 1986), for example, have characterized the problem as a 'dialogue of the deaf' in which police and academics appear unsympathetic to the different concerns that each have about research:

- Academic: Why do the police ignore research findings?
- Police: Why don't researchers produce usable knowledge?
- Academic: Why do the police always reject any study that is critical of what they do?
- Police: Why do researchers always show the police in a bad light?
- Academic: Why don't police officers even read research reports?
- Police: Why can't researchers write in plain English?

Weisburd and Neyroud (2011) argue that despite progress in terms of the production of knowledge about policing, 'there is still a fundamental disconnect between science and policing'. Policing innovations are, they contend, rarely science-based, relatively few countries in Europe place a high value on police science; and that science is still viewed as a luxury rather than a necessity by the police (in contrast, they argue, with what happens within the medical profession). For Weisburd and

Neyroud there are important structural reasons why this disconnect between evidence and practice persists:

The police operate in a reality in which decisions must be made quickly. And issues of finance and efficiency can be as important as effectiveness. But academic policing research generally ignores these aspects of the police world, often delivering results long after they have relevance, and many times focusing on issues that police managers have little interest in (p.5).

Against this background they outline a proposal for a new paradigm that changes the relationship between science and policing, a paradigm that demands:

- The police adopt and advance evidence-based policy;
- Universities become active participants in the world of police practice;
- A shift in the ownership of police science from universities to police agencies which would facilitate the implementation of evidence-based approaches and change the relationship between research and practice.

Connecting evidence to practice I: mechanisms to support evidence-based policing

How do you make research evidence 'part of the conversation' when police practitioners strategize about policy and practice (Lum, 2012)? In attempting to overcome some of these barriers, the literature on evidence-based policy highlights several different mechanisms which together can help support effective research use (Nutley, Walter and Davies, 2007, p.132). These include:

- *Dissemination*: presenting research in formats tailored to their target audience;
- *Interaction*: developing stronger links between researcher, policy and practice communities via partnerships and collaborations;
- *Social influence*: relying on influential others, such as experts and peers, to inform individuals about research and persuade them of its value given that within policy and practice contexts people typically turn to colleagues as a key source of knowledge about how to approach routine tasks;
- *Facilitation*: enabling the use of research through technical, financial, organizational and emotional support; for example, via professional development activity that equips people with the expertise to use research themselves;
- *Incentives and reinforcement*: using rewards and other forms of control to reinforce behavior that encourages the use of research; for example, additional funding to academics to engage with practitioners to ensure that research findings are effectively communicated.

Within police research there has been considerable progress in recent years in some of these areas. In terms of more effective dissemination strategies, for example, there is the work led by Cynthia Lum and colleagues in the US around the Matrix Demonstration Project (MDP) (Lum *et al*, 2012). The MDP is centred on an innovative knowledge translation tool, the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix, which brings together a large body of police-related crime prevention research that has been evaluated as at least ‘moderately rigorous’. By mapping these studies using a three-dimensional visualization process, police are in a better position to access the key findings from a large body of research and use this knowledge to guide interventions to deal with specific problems. Within the MDP, the aim is to ensure that the matrix becomes institutionalized within everyday police activities so that, following Weisburd and Neyroud (2011), the police take ownership of how to use findings from existing research (Lum *et al*, 2012, p.21).

Within the UK, there has been a similar initiative to improve the accessibility of the evidence base to police policy makers and practitioners. This comprises an online toolkit (developed by an academic consortium in partnership with the College of Policing) that allows the police to access research findings on the effectiveness of interventions to reduce crime. Based on evidence from a series of systematic reviews of the research literature evaluating the impact of different crime reduction strategies, the toolkit provides information on effect of particular interventions, the mechanisms that brought about any changes, the contexts within which the interventions were located, the implementation conditions, and an economic assessment of the cost-effectiveness of what is delivered. Although police research remains a broad field of scholarship (see above), these examples of ‘tailored dissemination’ exemplify the ways in which much recent police research is now increasingly focused not just on ‘knowledge creation’ but also on ‘knowledge exchange’ and ‘knowledge integration’ in order to create opportunities for research evidence to inform decision-making.

Connecting evidence and practice II: the strategic role of police-academic partnerships

In addition to specific mechanisms that can assist in the integration of evidence into discussions of policy and practice, there is growing recognition of the value of more strategic partnerships between police organizations and universities (Engel and Henderson, 2014). These can take a variety of approaches and Bradley and Nixon (2009) have suggested the following typology:

- *Critical approach* where the goal is to contribute to the general knowledge base around policing, inform government level decision-making rather than to influence police practice;

- *Policy approach* where police research is grounded in practical applications and seeks to influence police practices directly;
- *Full collaborative approach* focused on long-term partnership between practitioners and researchers and might involve (i) individual researchers working directly with police agencies; (ii) an academic unit within a single university working with police agencies; (iii) collaborations of researchers across academic institutions working directly with agencies.

The Scottish Institute for Policing (SIPR) exemplifies the ‘full collaborative’ approach, involving a network of research across 13 universities working directly with Police Scotland and SPA but also engaged in a broader set of partnerships with policing and research organizations in Scotland, the UK and internationally. Established in 2007, SIPR’s aims are:

- To undertake high quality, independent and relevant research;
- To support knowledge exchange between researchers and practitioners and improve the research evidence base for policing policy and practice;
- To expand and develop research capacity in Scotland’s universities and the police service;
- To promote the development of national and international links with researcher, practitioner and policy communities.

Central to the way SIPR operates is through the use of three models for developing evidence-based practice (see too Nutley, Walter and Davies, 2007):

- *The research-based practitioner model*: within this model, it is the responsibility of individual practitioners to keep up-to-date with and apply research; it assumes professional autonomy; and emphasises professional education and training. SIPR supports this model through its Practitioner Fellowship programme, and secondments to work with SIPR; collaborative activities with the Scottish Police College; and the availability of graduate programmes relevant to policing within consortium universities.
- *Embedded research model*: within this model, research is embedded in systems, standards, programmes and practice tools; responsibility for research use lies with policy makers and managers; and performance management, funding and regulatory regimes can encourage the use of research-based programmes and tools. Examples of this approach within SIPR include the way in which research was embedded in new recruit training on procedural justice, protocols for police interviews with children, and guidance on searching for, and supporting families of, missing persons.

- *Organisational excellence model:* within this model, leadership from within the organisation is key as it is founded on a learning organisation culture which is committed to collecting and analysing local data, and testing out research findings from elsewhere. It is this model that frames SIPR interactions with Police Scotland, SPA and other policing organisations within Scotland and provides the context in which research and knowledge exchange activity takes place.

SIPR exemplifies the call made by Weisburd and Neyroud (2011, p.15) for a 'shared academic-practitioner infrastructure' in which there is regular and routine engagement around the nature and value of the research evidence base for policing. This has helped secure a culture of engagement and a commitment to the co-production of research between the police and academic communities as well as engaging high level champions for research within Scotland's policing organisations and building social capital in the forms of relationships of trust and reciprocity (Fyfe and Wilson, 2012; Henry and Mackenzie, 2012).

Moving forward: strategic priorities for evidence-based policing in Scotland

In their reflections on evidence-based policing in the US, Lum and Koper pose the question: *What would an evidence-based policing agency 'look like'?* Based on at least three decades of research they contend, it would be an agency that:

- Prioritised proactive, problem-oriented policing of crime hotspots;
- Supported problem-solving approaches involving multiple agencies working together in local communities;
- Focused on due process, respectfulness, and fairness in interaction with citizens based on the principles of procedural justice;
- Assessed and evaluated tactics and strategies drawing on analytical capacity within the organisation committed to data collection, analysis and evaluation;
- Having systems and procedures for using research evidence for organisational functions, from managerial meetings to promotions and the production of standard operating procedures;
- Incorporating research into training and professional development.

Policing in Scotland already exhibits many of these characteristics and while there is further work to be done, the existence of SIPR ensures that there is strong, strategic collaboration around the

development of the knowledge base for professional police practice. Indeed, over ten years SIPR has pioneered an approach to evidence-based policing and police-academic collaboration in Scotland which is recognised as world leading and is now being copied across the UK and internationally. Writing from a US perspective, Engel and Henderson (2013) observe, ‘the future of policing will be tied directly to the establishment of effective collaborative partnerships that span across multiple universities and police agencies. The SIPR in Scotland will facilitate incremental changes in police practices based on research Public and private investments in collaborative police-academic partnerships should be increased because the incremental change they have shown to produce currently represents our best opportunity to advance evidence-based practices in policing’ (p.233).

Looking to the future there are a set of strategic priorities which SIPR can take forward in partnership with Police Scotland and SPA which will ensure that policing in Scotland remains at the cutting edge of evidence-based policing. These include:

- Facilitating and contributing to the development of evidence-based approaches to policing that focus on ‘what works’ based on research and analysis conducted in Scotland, the UK and internationally;
- Supporting a strategic approach to innovation and knowledge exchange in policing that is based on targeting, testing and tracking new interventions to assess their effectiveness, and providing opportunities through workshops and conferences to consider new models and approaches to service delivery;
- Supporting leadership and professional development and organisational learning within policing by using the partnership between Scottish higher education and Police Scotland to contribute to training and educational opportunities for those who work in policing;
- Building research and analytical capacity within policing through collaborations with higher education that develop the skills and expertise of police practitioners and police analysts.

Developing this approach has never been more important. The rapidly changing context of policing not just in Scotland but internationally - from the impacts of austerity measures to changing patterns of criminality - mean that it is vital that research evidence is part of conversation about the future policies and practices of police organisations. Sparrow (2016) cogently argues that what citizens expect of policing are organisations which are vigilant so that they can identify emerging threats, flexible to respond to new challenges, and skilful in their ability to pick the best tools for each task. All of these areas require policing to be engaged with research, analysis and evaluation. As Fyfe (2016) observed in the context of the future of evidence-based policing at a European level:

[T]he big challenge for police science is to find a way of helping inform police decision making at a time when public and political pressures for 'quick fixes' are growing. Now more than ever the police need a knowledge base for professional practice that can help inform a vision of 'good policing' in democratic societies that promotes better public security, a reduction in crime, enhanced social justice, and the protection of liberty and human rights. ... and through [evidence-based] contributions to police education, policy and training, help stimulate the intellectual development, critical thinking and problem solving skills of all those who work in and with police organizations.

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Policing and the prevention landscape

Professor Gloria Laycock OBE

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Professor Gloria Laycock OBE, was the founding Director of the Jill Dando Institute of Crime Science at University College London (UCL), and ran UCL's Centre for Security & Crime Science. She is an internationally renowned expert in crime prevention, and especially situational approaches which seek to design out situations which provoke crime. Building on her PhD research, she commenced work in the late 1970s at the Home Office Research Unit where she stayed for over thirty years, dedicating the last twenty to research and development in the policing and crime prevention fields. Professor Laycock's contributions cover a wide range of policing and crime prevention topics, including the development of a research programme on repeat crime victimisation. She was appointed Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in the 2008 Birthday Honours.

This paper provides a contribution to the vision for policing in Scotland up to 2026. It is divided into three main sections: the first considers current good and poor practice on the basis of the available research base. The second section looks at crime trends noting the substantial reductions in crime over the past two decades and the supposed reasons for those reductions. It also takes a more speculative look at future crime trends and the extent to which the police are able to deal with these expectations. The final section considers options for policing against a backdrop of reduced resources and the significantly changing crime profile.

Section 1: Existing research on good and poor preventative policing practice

In the academic literature crime¹ prevention has been described in a number of ways. One of the most commonly used divides it into three categories as follows²:

¹ Throughout this paper 'crime' is taken to include volume crime (theft, car crime and burglary) as well as violence, organised crime, disorderly behaviour and terrorism.

² Brantingham, P. J. and Faust, F. L. (1976). *A conceptual model of crime prevention*. Crime and Delinquency 22:284–296.

1. Primary prevention, which attempts to prevent crime before it happens by introducing universal policies and practices.
2. Secondary prevention, which targets individuals at high risk of offending with the aim of reducing their personal involvement in criminality.
3. Tertiary prevention, which deals with convicted offenders offering treatment programmes and other approaches intended to reduce the probability of further offending.

The method of policing most consistently shown to address each of these elements of crime prevention is *problem oriented policing*³(POP). This approach, proposed originally by Herman Goldstein⁴, has been compared to scientific method and has been operationalised using the acronym SARA⁵ (Scanning, Analysis, Response, Assessment), as described below:

Scanning:

There is a considerable collection of persistent problems with which the police habitually have to deal. These may be associated with:

1. Dishonesty (theft, burglary, car crime, fraud);
2. Substance misuse (alcohol or drug abuse, legal highs);
3. Interpersonal issues (vulnerable families, neighbour disputes, domestic violence in all its forms, sexual abuse including child sex abuse)
4. Disorder (vandalism, anti-social behaviour)
5. Internet related crime (including on-line credit card fraud, hacking, stalking, grooming)
6. Medically disordered offenders or other incidents arising from mental disorder
7. Use of firearms, knives or other weapons.

The list could be longer and the categories will in many cases overlap.

³ Weisburd, D., C. W. Telep, J. C. Hinckle and J. Eck (2010) *Is problem-oriented policing effective in reducing crime and disorder?* Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 9, Issue 1 February 2010 Pages 139–172

⁴ Goldstein, H. 1990. Problem-Oriented Policing. New York: McGraw-Hill.

⁵ Eck, John E. and William Spelman. (1987). *Problem solving: Problem-oriented policing in Newport News*. Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

The purpose of the scanning phase⁶ is to:

- Identify recurring problems of concern to the public and the police.
- Confirm that the problems exist.
- Prioritise those problems.
- Identify the consequences of the problems for the community and the police.
- Determine how frequently the problems occur and how long they have been taking place.
- Select a problem or problems for closer examination.
- Develop broad goals.

Analysis:

The analysis is not a statistical description of the identified set of recurring problems. Rather it is a purposeful search for greater understanding of the conditions which facilitate the offending behaviour with the intention of intervening (in the response phase) so as to reduce the probability of that behaviour recurring.

Useful analytic techniques include crime mapping⁷ which can facilitate the identification of: repeat victims⁸, 'near repeats'⁹, and crime and disorder hot spots¹⁰. Effective analysis might also identify 'hot products'¹¹ (e.g. mobile phones), poor management practices¹² (e.g. in licenced premises), vulnerable

⁶ The bullet points under scanning, analysis, response and assessment are modified from <http://www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara> (accessed 07.08.16)

⁷ Weisburd, David and Tom McEwen (Eds) (1997) *Crime mapping and Crime Prevention* Crime Prevention Studies Vol 8, Criminal Justice Press Monsey, New York, U.S.A Available for download from http://www.popcenter.org/library/crimeprevention/volume_08/ Accessed 08/08/2016

⁸ Pease, K. (1998). *Repeat victimization: taking stock*. Police Research Group: Crime Detection and Prevention Series Paper 90. London: Home Office. Available for download from www.popcenter.org

⁹ Johnson, S.D., Bernasco, W., Bowers, K.J. et al. *Space–Time Patterns of Risk: A Cross National Assessment of Residential Burglary Victimization*, J Quant Criminol (2007) 23: 201. doi:10.1007/s10940-007-9025-3

¹⁰ Braga, A. A. and David L. Weisburd (2010) *Policing Problem Places: Crime Hot Spots and Effective Prevention* Oxford Univ Press ISBN-13: 9780195341966

¹¹ Clarke, R. V. (1999) *Hot Products: Understanding, anticipating and reducing demand for stolen goods* Police Research Series Paper 112, London: Home Office Research Development and Statistics Directorate available from www.popcenter.org

¹² Homel, R., Marge Hauritz, Richard Wortley, Gillian McIlwain and Russell Carvolth (1997) *Preventing Alcohol Related Crime Through Community Action: The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project* In Homel, R. (ed) *Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury* Crime Prevention Studies, Volume 7, Criminal Justice Press: New York ISBN: 1-881798-10-0

families¹³ (e.g. those with parents in prison or involved with several statutory agencies), poorly drafted legislation (e.g. which facilitates tax avoidance) and so on.

The purpose of the analysis phase is to:

- Identify and understand the events and conditions that precede and accompany the problem.
- Identify relevant data to be collected.
- Research what is known about the problem type.
- Take an inventory of how the problem is currently addressed and the strengths and limitations of the current responses.
- Define the problem as specifically as possible.
- Identify a variety of resources that may be of assistance in developing a deeper understanding of the problem, including talking to stakeholders and potential partners.
- Develop a working hypothesis about why the problem is occurring.

Response:

The response phase is arguably the most important and has been the subject of sustained research over several decades. It is also the phase to which the police typically jump before completing a thorough analysis of the problem.

The criminal justice system (CJS) is expected to reduce crime through its deterrent effect (and to a lesser extent to incapacitation if offenders are imprisoned). There are two elements to this – detection and punishment. Research shows clearly that the chance of being caught is a vastly more effective deterrent than even draconian punishment¹⁴. Given the low probability of capture for most minor offending¹⁵, and the sentencing constraints of our society, there is little evidence that deterrence is effective in reducing crime. This is an important point for police who are characterised

¹³ Rodriguez, N. (2016) *Bridging the Gap between Research and Practice: The Role of Science in Addressing the Effects of Incarceration on Family Life* The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science May 2016 vol. 665 no. 1 231-240

¹⁴ Nagin, Daniel S., "Deterrence in the Twenty-First Century," in *Crime and Justice in America: 1975-2025*, ed. M. Tonry, Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2013: 199-264.

¹⁵ Burrows, J., M. Hopkins, R. Hubbard, A. Robinson, M. Speed and N. Tilley (2005) *Understanding the attrition process in volume crime investigations* Home Office Research Study 295, Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, November 2005

as the 'gatekeepers' of the CJS and are assumed responsible for the detection of crime. Although of course detection and the traditional police response to calls for service are central to police activities, the contribution they make to crime prevention through the mechanism of deterrence is limited. This is the moreso given that the public do not report all crime to the police – in other words offenders are likely to 'get away with it', particularly for minor offending committed on an occasional basis.

Recent work from the United States has, however, thrown new light on the deterrence debate and has shown that if the potential offenders are persuaded that the probability of detection, prosecution and sentencing is one (i.e. is a certainty), then behaviour can be changed¹⁶. Simultaneously supporting these potential offenders in opening up opportunities for lifestyle changes, such as access to work or other support such as treatment options increases the chances of a positive effect. These programmes work under highly specific circumstances with serious offenders in relation to whom it is cost effective to spend considerable police resources in *ensuring* detection and prosecution. The approach is known as focused deterrence.

On the more positive side research has shown that changing situations changes behaviour, including criminal behaviour. This approach is known as Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) and the associated body of research on SCP has demonstrated that there are at least five major mechanisms through which crime can be prevented¹⁷. These are:

1. Increase the perceived risks, such as increasing the perceived probability of capture by focussing on known offenders. (This is the mechanism through which deterrence, mentioned above, works.)
2. Increase the perceived effort of committing the crime. This includes target hardening such as introducing locks, bars, pin numbers, etc.
3. Reduce the perceived rewards by, for example, tagging goods in shops with ink capsules or gluing bank notes when stolen from cash carriers.
4. Remove excuses by making the rules clear, for example through use of signage.
5. Reduce provocation by, for example, controlling taxi queues when bars close.

¹⁶ Kennedy, David M. (2008). *'Deterrence and Crime Prevention: Reconsidering the Prospect of Sanction'*. New York: Routledge. [ISBN 9780415588676](#).

¹⁷ Clarke R. and J. Eck *Become a problem solving crime analyst in 55 steps* Available from www.popcenter.org

These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive, so for example, increasing effort might also increase perceived risk as offending takes longer. Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) is an example of an approach which may fire a number of mechanism to achieve its effect – it may make offending more difficult by the judicious placement of planters in front of a jewellers or reduce provocation by facilitating clear queuing arrangements in bars or shops. Goldstein stresses that this phase should encourage creative thinking going beyond traditional police responses such as increased patrol. That said, increased patrol and police enforcement approaches have been specifically tested in response to crime hot spots¹⁸ where they have been found to reduce the incidence of offending and calls for service. Increased patrol may not, however, be sustainable over a prolonged period so it is important that alternatives are also considered.

The assumed mechanisms should be clearly articulated when a response is being considered¹⁹. This is because they are context sensitive: What works in one place may not work in another. So for example, one mechanism through which neighbourhood watch may work is increasing the perceived risk (and effort if homes are more secure, and reducing rewards if property is marked). Increased perceived risk means offenders believe that if they are seen burgling a home the neighbours may call the police. This mechanism is easy to implement in a low crime, stable community. In a high crime, fractured community with poor police/community relations it is far less plausible. The outcome (reduced crime) is thus dependent upon the successful ‘firing’ of the preventive mechanism(s), which is itself context dependent²⁰. These mechanisms have been shown to work in a wide variety of contexts. The challenge to the police is to implement appropriate mechanism in their given context.

Responses may at times be complex. For example, ‘community policing’, which can encompass a range of police activities, might be introduced to address the specific problem of poor police/community relations. Mechanisms such as removing excuses (“The police don’t support the community so we don’t support the police”) would apply in this case. Community policing might also be introduced as a means of increasing perceptions of police legitimacy which itself improves intelligence flows and increases the chances of prosecuting known offenders. This response might

¹⁸ Braga, A. A. (2015) *Hot spots policing and crime prevention: A systematic review of randomized controlled trials* Journal of Experimental Criminology (2005) 1: 317–342

¹⁹ Tilley, N. and G. Laycock (2001) *Working Out What To Do: Evidence-based Crime Reduction* Crime Reduction Series Paper 11, London: Home Office SSN: 1468-5205, ISBN 1-84082-792-0

²⁰ Pawson, R. and N. Tilley (1997) *Realistic Evaluation*, London: Sage

thus serve to address a range of potential problems and, although it comes at a price in terms of police time and resources, may thereby comprise a vital element of modern policing.

In planning an initiative to address a specific crime problem, practitioners will need to consider the mechanism, the moderators (i.e. what might determine whether or not the mechanism will fire – e.g. the context), how to implement it and how much it might cost. These five elements have now been incorporated into the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction web-based toolkit²¹, which is run in association with College of Policing (England and Wales) using the acronym EMMIE²² (effect, mechanism, moderator, implementation and economy). Many of the initiatives that might be introduced in response to a crime problem can be categorised as Situational Crime Prevention²³ at least insofar as the activities do not involve the treatment of individual offenders. As such they address primary crime prevention.

One popular type of policing initiative addressing secondary prevention (targeting usually young people judged at risk of offending) are summer holiday play schemes. There is no solid evidence that they are effective in reducing offending by young people²⁴ although there was a suggestion from a Home Office evaluation where schemes were introduced in areas with no existing provision at all, that modest effects could be achieved.

Early intervention programmes for children and families at high risk of involvement in the CJS are also popular. The Early Intervention Foundation (EIF) has recently joined with the Home Office, Superintendents' Association and the College of Policing (England and Wales) to establish an Early Intervention Academy for Police Leaders²⁵. This is intended to support the police in developing good

²¹ The toolkit is available here <http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Toolkit.aspx>. On 08/08/16 there were 42 initiatives on the system.

²² Johnson, SD; Tilley, N; Bowers, KJ; (2015) *Introducing EMMIE: An evidence rating scale to encourage mixed-method crime prevention synthesis reviews*. Journal of Experimental Criminology July 2015 DOI: 10.1007/s11292-015-9238-7

²³ Clarke, R. V. and Mayhew, P. (eds.) (1980). *Designing Out Crime*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

²⁴ Loxley, C., Liz Curtin and Rick Brown (2000) *Summer Splash Schemes 2000: Findings from six case studies*, Crime Reduction Series Paper 12. Home Office. Available from <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070309120000/http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs2/crrs12.pdf> (accessed 08/08/16)

²⁵ <http://www.eif.org.uk/case-study/early-intervention-academy-for-police-leaders/> (Accessed 14.08.16)

practice in this area. A review of Preventing Gang and Youth Violence which was published by the EIF in 2015²⁶ commended early intervention, rather than programmes which depended upon deterrence/discipline, as a means of addressing gang and youth violence, but also noted that:

“..... there are a myriad of “gangs prevention” programmes running across the country, but that very few of these have a sound evidence base behind them. They may work, but they may have no impact, or even be harmful. Local commissioners should satisfy themselves that evaluation plans are in place and that they are able to assess the impact and value for money of the programmes they commission.”

This report also pointed to the need to identify risk factors that would ideally predict those children and young people most likely to be drawn into gang culture and violence, but also highlighted the difficulties in doing this. An underlying problem concerns ‘false positives’ i.e. individuals predicted to have problems but who do not, in the end, have them. Similarly there is a threat from ‘false negatives’ i.e. individuals not predicted to have problems but turn out in time to be problematic²⁷. The earlier prediction is attempted the higher the likely rate of such errors. So for example, attempting to predict criminality from a birth cohort would result in far higher rates of false positives than attempting to predict criminality from a cohort of young people in their mid-teens. This matters for agencies short of resources because they are in effect wasting effort if false positive rates are high. The extent to which the police should be directly involved in early intervention programmes is, therefore, a matter for local judgement and may vary by area.

Police involvement in tertiary prevention is also limited although it is useful for the police to have an idea of what works in the context of multi-agency partnerships. The What Works Centre for Crime Reduction toolkit, for example, shows that restorative justice conferencing (in which some police agencies have become involved) can effectively reduce violent crimes, particularly when offered as a supplement to other treatment options, but there was no evidence of success in reducing re-offending by property offenders²⁸.

²⁶ <http://www.eif.org.uk/publication/preventing-gang-and-youth-violence/> (accessed 14.08.16)

²⁷ See Tilley, N. (2009) *Crime Prevention* Willan Publishing, for a discussion of false positives and negatives.

²⁸ <http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Intervention.aspx?InterventionID=24> (accessed 14.08.16)

Dealing with persistent offenders is clearly an area of police concern and the UK Government currently recommends Integrated Offender Management Programmes, the key principles of which are:

- all partners manage offenders together
- a local response to local problems
- all offenders can potentially be included
- offenders face up to their responsibility or face the consequences
- best use is made of existing programmes and governance arrangements
- achieving long-term desistance from crime

There is no evidence of the effectiveness of these programme although the idea of *focussing* on known offenders is compatible with what is generally known of what works in crime prevention and was central to the effective programme using focused deterrence as noted above.

The response phase thus involves *inter alia*:

- reading appropriate research literature.
- Consulting relevant data bases and 'what works' websites such as www.popcenter.org.
- Brainstorming for new interventions.
- Searching for what other communities with similar problems have done.
- Choosing among the alternative interventions.
- Outlining a response plan and identifying responsible partners.
- Stating the specific objectives for the response plan.
- Carrying out the planned activities.

Assessment:

The assessment phase of POP is important in that it has the potential to contribute to the evidence base on what works. It is also the most neglected²⁹. There are, nevertheless, a number of studies demonstrating the effective implementation of POP, which include assessments led by police officers. Many of these are submitted to the US International POP Conference where they are considered for a

²⁹ John, T. and M. Maguire (2003) *Rolling out the National Intelligence Model: Key challenges* In Bullock, K. and Tilley, N. (Eds) *Crime Reduction and Problem Oriented Policing*. Willan Publishing ISBN 1-84392-050-6

Goldstein Award. The equivalent in England and Wales is the Tilley Award. Entries to both of these schemes are available as short articles from the POP website www.popcenter.org.

The purpose of the assessment phase is to:

- Determine whether the plan was implemented (a process evaluation).
- Collect pre– and post–response qualitative and quantitative data.
- Determine whether broad goals and specific objectives were attained, in particular, did the problem reduce?
- Identify any new strategies needed to augment the original plan.
- Conduct ongoing assessment to ensure continued effectiveness.

Although set out as a process which starts with scanning and moves systematically through the remaining three stages, the POP process is in fact more complex, it may sometimes be necessary to go back to an earlier stage and revise the conclusions.

Problem solving, as described here, fits well with the National Intelligence Model and with Intelligence-Led Policing both of which promote the notion of data/intelligence collection and analysis, followed by the development of appropriate strategies or tactics, their implementation and subsequent testing³⁰. There are also links to the Triple T approach – targeting, testing, tracking as promoted in the context of Evidence Based Policing³¹. Clearly insofar as these processes reflect basic scientific method they are all well supported in the wider academic literature.

According to some researchers³² POP has been strongly invested in by government and police agencies. The evidence for this is unclear however, and research looking specifically at the implementation of POP³³ concluded that despite its articulation in the 1970s and the widespread

³⁰ Tilley, N. J. (2003). [Community policing, problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing](#). In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing* (pp. 311-339). Cullompton, Devon: Willan.

³¹ Sherman, L. (2013) *The Rise of Evidence-Based Policing: Targeting, Testing and Tracking* In M. Tonry (Ed), Crime and Justice, vol. 42, University of Chicago Press, pp. 377–431.

³² Weisburd *et al Ibid*

³³ Knutsson, J. (Ed) (2003) *Problem Oriented Policing: From Innovation to Mainstream* Crime Prevention Studies Vol. 15. Willan Publishing.

discussion of the approach since, it has proved extremely difficult in practice to implement widely and in a sustained manner within police agencies.

Section 2: Past and future crime trends

Past crime trends

Over the past 20 years there has been an unexpected but largely sustained drop in volume crime (burglary, car crime and theft) in the majority of advanced Western democracies³⁴. Most of the decline has been attributed to activities addressing primary crime prevention.

Figure 1 overleaf illustrates the extent of the crime drop in Scotland from 1992-2014/15 using data from the Scottish Criminal Justice Survey. Working largely from English and Welsh data (although verified in other jurisdictions such as Scotland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the USA), Farrell³⁵ has convincingly argued that the national level crime drops were most likely attributable to reductions caused by situational measures and, where relevant, their implementation by the general public. The target hardening of vehicles from the late 1980s, for example, led to a reduction in theft of and from vehicles as car manufacturers fitted deadlocks and immobilisers and owners made use of the new technology. The drop in theft of cars was substantially due to a specific reduction in temporary loss, often the result of joyriding by young people. This was not associated with drug taking, child rearing practices or any other form of offender treatment. We can conclude that changing situations changes behaviour (this includes 'nudges'³⁶) and is an effective approach to tackling crime. Similarly the drops in household burglary can be directly related to the extent to which homes are fitted with various security devices³⁷ and reductions in credit card fraud are associated with the introduction of chip and pin.

³⁴ van Dijk, Jan, Tseloni, A., Farrell, G. (Eds.) *The International Crime Drop: New directions in research*. Palgrave Macmillan ISBN 978-1-349-33768-2

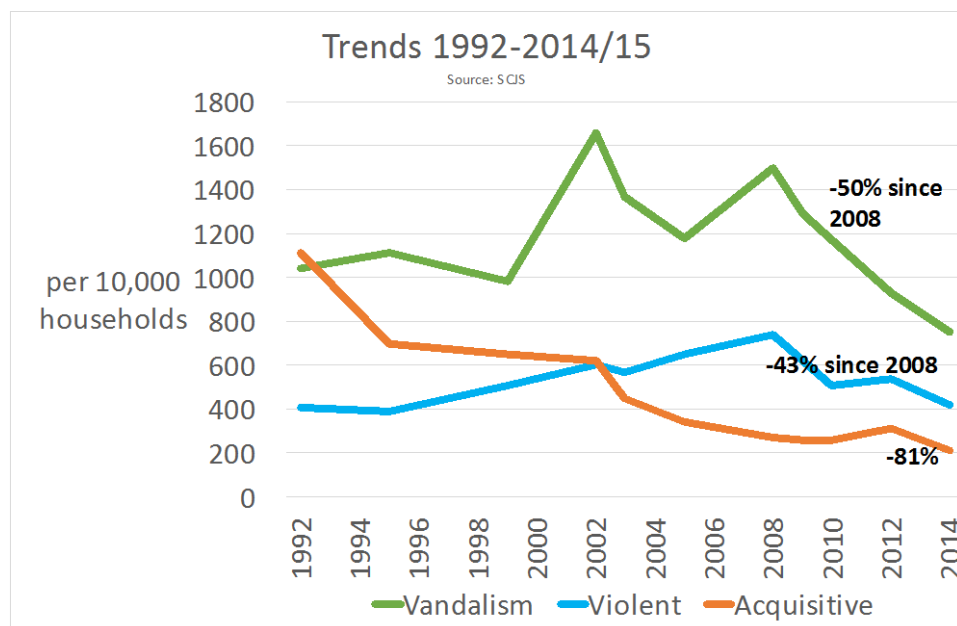
³⁵ See Farrell, G. (2013) *Five Tests for a Theory of the Crime Drop* *Crime Science* 2013, 2:5 doi:10.1186/2193-7680-2-5

³⁶ Thaler, R. and Sustein, Cass R, (2008). *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. [Yale University Press](https://www.yale.edu/yupress/).

³⁷ Farrell, G., N. Tilley, and A. Tseloni (2014) *Why the Crime Drop?* *Crime and Justice*, 43 (1), 421-490. doi:10.1086/678081

Figure 1: Crime drop in Scotland from 1992-2014/15

(Data from Scottish Criminal Justice Survey 2014/15, Appendix Table A1.1, p. 99)



Although there is some academic dispute on the causes of the reduction in crime, and of course the precise mechanisms through which these reductions were achieved will depend on the peculiarities of the offence, there is strong evidence that the majority of the drop was caused by reducing the opportunities for offending.

Section 2: Future crimes

Just as the rise of the motorcar created the scope for crime waves in the past, so the Internet is creating a modern crime wave, and contemporary developments in technology risk creating further crime shocks. The most recent Crime Survey for England and Wales measured cyber-crime for the first time in 2016 and estimated that there were 3.8 million fraud and 2.0 million computer misuse offences experienced in the 12 months prior to interview.

New opportunities and temptations for crime are often produced as unintended consequences of well-intentioned innovations and other social changes. The spread of the mobile phone likewise created new opportunities for crime, from street robbery to bullying to fraud. In some cases individuals or groups located in other countries commit offences with victims in this country. Early intervention, offender treatment and detection and punishment are probably not a realistic option for protecting us from many crimes we may face in the future.

We must do our best to anticipate and design out these offences by avoiding inadvertently creating temptation and opportunity. This will involve looking to developments in technology for inbuilt design solutions, ideally built as the default option – otherwise to an increasingly aware public for the implementation of countermeasures. It will require attention by the police to the development of new methods of data collection and crime recording to facilitate early warning of impending problems together with structures at national and regional level ready to act with the private sector to block opportunities. Box 1 summarises early results from a project under the What Works in Crime Reduction programme³⁸ of relevance to this approach.

BOX 1: Will Smart Cities be Safe Cities?

(Based on Innes, M. (2015) Presentation at What Works meeting, Edinburgh, 04.02.16)

Key emerging themes from the ‘Smart Cities/Safe Cities’ project:

- Crime prevention and public safety are not high on the agenda;
- A range of catastrophic and mundane criminogenic risks are being designed into the ‘informational wrapper’ of the new urban fabric;
- Benefits of smart cities are mostly framed in terms of economy and environment;
- Who ‘owns’ the risk is an issue of responsibility and competency – the private sector want government to, and government wants private sector;
- This lack of a strategic crime prevention perspective means that solutions may need to be retrofitted

³⁸ The What Works Crime Prevention research programme is composed of nine work packages and is funded by the ESRC and the UK College of Policing. Work package 8 looks at *inter alia* ‘Will Smart Cities be Safe Cities’ and is led by Professor Martin Innes from Cardiff University.

The rise in concern about terrorism, and its increasingly global nature, is almost certainly linked to the events of 9/11, which nobody predicted. Uncertainty will become an increasing feature of future crime trends, many of which might be driven by changing technologies. The police need to be flexible in response but also aware of the importance of data as a means of describing and understanding crime problems. If problems are not understood they are probably more difficult to solve.

That said, over-reaction to perceived threats is a risk in itself. Future crime prevention strategies need a thread ensuring that measures taken are ethical, legitimate and proportionate. There is, rightly, sensitivity within communities about police tactics, data protection, excessive surveillance etc. No one wants to live in a fortress society, a police state or a country where social and educational policies no longer put the well-being of our children first. Whilst we need a crime prevention strategy, we do not need one that prevents crime at all costs. One way of guarding against this might be to build into any modern crime prevention strategy routine consultation or liaison with organisations such as Liberty together with regular Ministerial monitoring of new approaches.

Section 3: Future policing

If Police Scotland were to prioritise crime prevention within their diminishing resources, then on the basis of what is currently known from research they would need to establish themselves as a *learning organisation* embracing problem solving, experimentation, analysis and assessment as a means of clearly defining the problems faced in communities, and of developing evidence based means of addressing those problems. This process, which summarises the content of this paper, is shown in Figure 2 overleaf.

A useful analogy is the way in which engineers operate. They develop potential solutions to engineering problems on the basis of known theory and experience. They test the potential solutions and modify them as necessary³⁹. There is a constant process of improvement, sometimes involving small incremental changes which together lead to significant improvements in performance. This applies to all aspects of policing, not just to crime prevention. It is how the police currently develop

³⁹ Tilley, N. and G. Laycock (2016) *Engineering a Safer Society* Australian Institute of Police Management, Public Safety Leadership: Research Focus Volume 4, Issue 2, 2016, ISSN: 2203-4552.

their approach to the control of public order for example. Typically, there would be a post-event debrief when useful lessons would be learned for future implementation. Good practice is thereby developed. The difference is that the police activities are not usually developed in association with any theory and nor is the process particularly systematic in being recorded and shared.

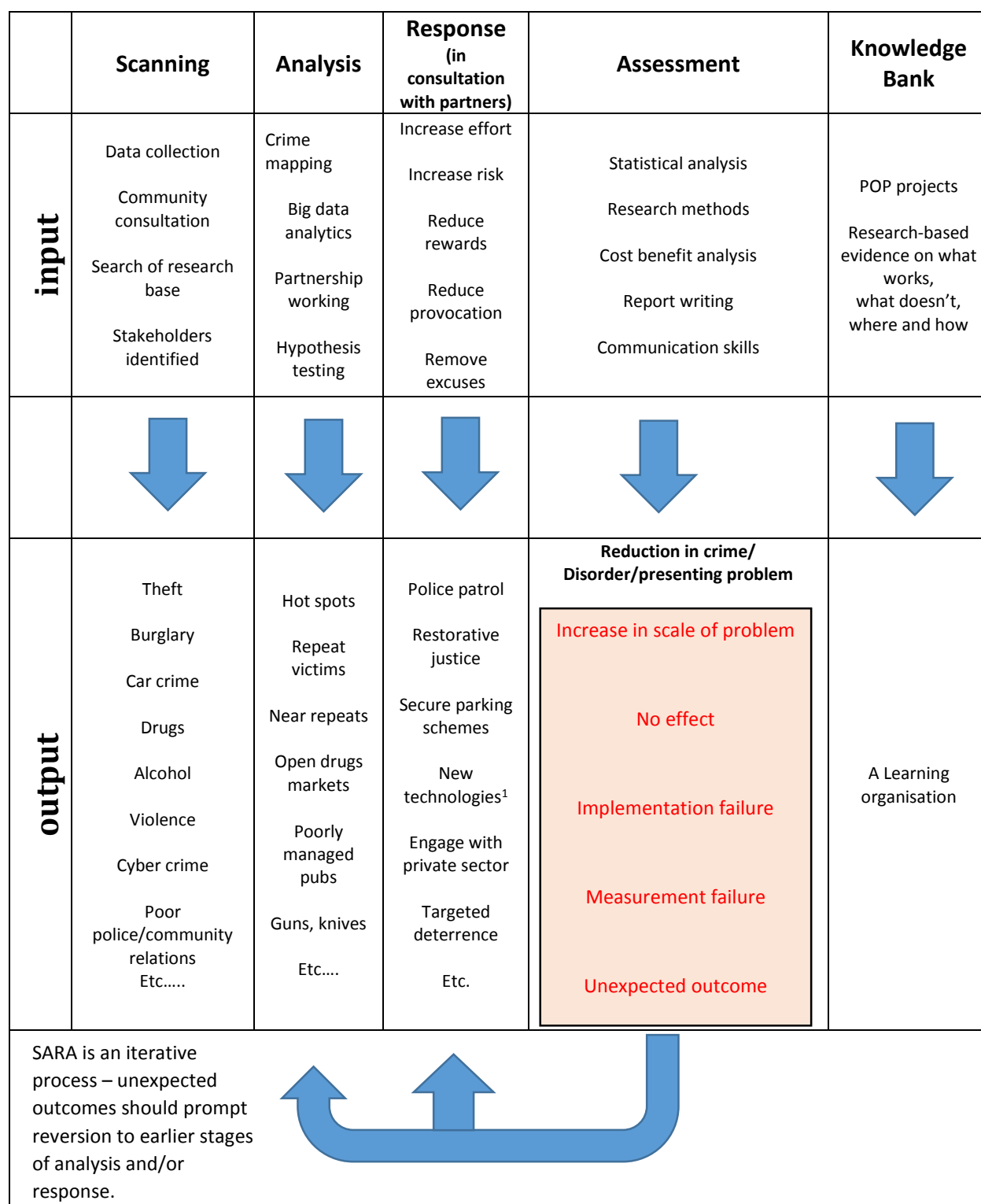
POP itself can be likened to engineering in that responses draw on established theory and use scientific method in their development. As such they can contribute to the developing evidence base on what works. If this route were to be taken, then there is a need for a different kind of police training and a supportive policing infrastructure. In particular, experimentation involves risk, trust and delegation. It means that errors need to be acknowledged and learned from. Syed (2015)⁴⁰ calls this 'black box thinking' reflecting the approach taken in the aeronautical industry following an aircraft failure when the black box data are analysed to learn what went wrong and design it out of future aircraft. The process does not stop, for example, by simply blaming pilot error. This would require a considerable change of culture in policing and is not a quick win – but there is a long term payoff.

The implications also go beyond the police service itself with a recognition that we all have a role to play in crime control – individuals, communities, central and local government and particularly the private sector who design the goods, services, management systems and larger environment which so often provides the opportunities for crime.

Acknowledgements: I have benefitted from exchanges with academics over a number of years, many of which have informed this paper. Particular thanks go to Ron Clarke, Ken Pease and Herman Goldstein as well as colleagues Nick Tilley, Kate Bowers and Aiden Sidebottom in the UCL Jill Dando Institute who commented on this draft.

⁴⁰ Syed, M (2015) *Black Box Thinking: Marginal Gains and the Secrets of High Performance* John Murray Publishers ISBN: 9781473613805

Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of the Problem oriented policing process



Endnotes

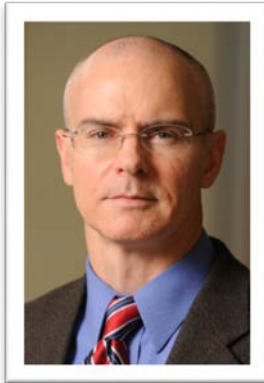
¹New technologies to support policing are being developed such as drones, smart CCTV, detection devices, real time data analysis etc.

²Crime prevention frequently requires action from the private sector or others and the police may need to develop methods of 'leveraging' this. See Scott, M. S. and Goldstein, H. (2005). Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems. Washington DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services.

Place-Based Policing

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Policing has long been connected to the idea of "place." Police agencies and their jurisdictions are usually divided into geographically defined districts, precincts, sectors, or areas in which resources are allocated. Officers are assigned specific beats to patrol, and they tend to be pulled to certain buildings, intersections, lots, back alleys, or homes where crime, disorders, accidents, and other problems repeatedly arise. Policing also occurs within communities and neighborhoods in which residents share similar concerns, and in some towns, these communities are familiar with the officers that patrol their areas. However, while places have always provided an important context to policing, a place-focused approach has been relatively new to policing. Instead, the standard

approach to policing that dominates policing in the U.K. and U.S. has long focused on reacting to individual calls for service, reacting to crime events, and dealing with individuals who commit crime.

The problem with this approach to policing (sometimes referred to the “standard model” of policing) is that many tactics associated with it (reactive arrest, preventative and random patrol, case-by-case investigations, and rapid response to 999 calls) have not been shown to be effective in either reducing crime or improving citizen trust and confidence in the police. However, recent innovations such as community or neighborhood policing, problem-solving policing, and hot spots policing have shown many promising results. Some police agencies have begun shifting their focus from a reactive, individual-based approach to a more proactive, preventative, and place-based approach. Here, we present the evidence-base for a place-based approach to policing, and describe ways that police can effectively implement place-based approaches.¹

Why are Places so Important to Police Effectiveness?

Place-based policing in its most basic form involves allocating police resources to *specific* places where crime concentrates. Many refer to these approaches as *hot spots policing* because the research evidence on both geographic crime patterns and effective place-based strategies suggests that targeting specific locations where crime concentrates yields the best effects on crime prevention. While Eck (2005) notes that there is no agreed upon definition of a hot spot, researchers and the police increasingly describe these places as micro geographic locations such as addresses, intersections, street blocks, and clusters of blocks that have the highest risk of crime, disorder, accidents, or other community concerns. We note that the terms “place-based” or “hot spot” policing are not connected to any particular intervention that police might carry out at those places. Critics of place-based policing sometimes equate hot spot policing with aggressive forms of policing such as zero tolerance policing, the use of stop-question-and-frisk, or crackdowns. While such enforcement-oriented tactics have been used at hot spots, hot spot policing encompasses a much wider variety of police strategies and tactics, including many that are not enforcement-oriented or even focused on crime reduction.

The importance of focusing on “micro” places as opposed to larger police beats, neighborhoods, or zones is solidly based on two areas of research. First and most fundamentally, studies continue to

¹ This article is adapted from portions of *Evidence-Based Policing: Translating Police Research into Practice* (Cynthia Lum and Christopher S. Koper, Oxford University Press, 2017).

find that the majority of crime is geographically concentrated at very small locations. Indeed, approximately half of serious crime consistently tends to occur at 5% or less of a jurisdiction's addresses, intersections, and street blocks (e.g., Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger 1989; Weisburd, Bushway, Lum, and Yang 2004). This finding is so common across different places and even countries that Weisburd (2015) has called this phenomenon the "law of crime concentration." Crime may be even more concentrated in suburban and rural areas; Hibdon (2013), for example, discovered that half of all serious crime in one suburban jurisdiction fell into around 1% of its street segments. Further, we also know that entire neighborhoods do not all suffer from the same amount of crime. Crime is highly concentrated even within neighborhoods that may seem to be "crime ridden," and research has found that there is a high level of block to block variability and clustering of crime even within high-crime areas and neighborhoods (Weisburd, Groff, and Yang 2012).

Places that have high levels of crime also tend to stay that way over time. Weisburd et al. (2004) found in a large city in the U.S. (Seattle, Washington) that about half of crime was generated by 4 to 5 percent of the city's street segments, and this concentration remained stable over a 14-year period. The most problematic locations also tended to be chronic; a mere 1 percent of the city's street segments consistently produced roughly 80 to 100 crime incidents every year. Additionally, the Seattle study showed that changes in crime at chronic hot spots could have a substantial impact on a jurisdiction's overall crime rates. A 24% crime drop for the city of Seattle was connected to the crime drops in just 14% of the city's street segments.

The second area of research that provides a strong justification for police to focus on preventing crime at places rather than reacting to individual cases can be found in the environmental and place-based criminology research. Extensive place-focused research has discovered that hot spots of crime are often nodes for business, leisure, and/or routine activities, and they commonly have features that create and facilitate crime opportunities. In the language of routine activities theory, they are places that bring together motivated offenders, suitable targets, and an absence of capable guardians (Felson 1987; Sherman et al. 1989a). Examples include locations with bars, convenience stores, parks, bus stops or depots, apartment buildings, parking lots, shopping centers, motels or hotels, adult businesses, street intersections, back alleys, and the like. Such locations are also referred to "crime facilitators," "crime attractors," or "risky facilities" (Brantingham and Brantingham 1991; Felson 1987; Sherman et al. 1989).

Research on crime concentrations and environmental criminology helps to make the case that police should try to prevent crime at places, and not just focus on responding to individual events of crime. For one, it concentrates police attention on the places where crime is most likely to occur, increasing the chances that officers can detect and prevent crime. For this reason, focusing on high crime places is also a more cost-effective approach to patrol than random or “omnipresent” schemes where larger areas without crime, disorder, or crime opportunities are also covered (Sherman and Weisburd, 1995). Moreover, focusing on high-crime places is likely to be more effective than just focusing on high-crime individuals, given that crime is more concentrated by place than among persons and that places don’t move (Spelman and Eck 1989; Weisburd 2008). Additionally, targeting criminal opportunities at a high-crime location can potentially affect the behavior of many offenders and would-be offenders connected to that place. In turn, targeting hot spots may have a much greater effect on crime (in most instances) than solving any one criminal case or arresting an individual offender (Lum and Nagin 2017). Finally, focusing attention on these specific locations can also help officers to identify tangible conditions that contribute to crime and disorder at these places and to develop interventions tailored to the particulars of these places and their problems.

Numerous evaluations of place-based policing interventions support these arguments. For example, nearly 60% of the micro-place policing studies in the *Evidence-Based Policing Matrix* (see Lum, Koper, and Telep 2011)² have shown significant success, and an additional 22% have demonstrated at least partial indications of success. Likewise, an in-depth review by Braga, Papachristos, and Hureau (2012) of 19 high-quality studies of various hot spot interventions found that these efforts reduced at least some form(s) of crime or disorder in 20 of 25 tests (80%) across these studies. Importantly, in most studies that addressed the issue, there were no obvious or consistent signs that crime was displaced to nearby areas. On the contrary, studies were more likely to find evidence that crime reduction benefits extended to areas outside the hot spot, a phenomenon referred to as a diffusion of crime control benefits (Clarke and Weisburd 1994; Weisburd, Wyckoff, Ready, et al. 2006).

The consistent research findings on the nature of crime over geography as well as the effectiveness of concentrating police resources at crime hot spots provide a strong justification for police agencies to engage in proactive, place-based policing strategies. How then can police translate this wealth of knowledge about place-based policing into practice? More importantly, what types of strategies

² The Matrix collects, organizes, and disseminates all moderately rigorous to rigorous evaluation studies on police efforts to reduce crime, and is available at <http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/>.

should police use when they get to hot spots that are amenable both to the citizens that live there and principals of good crime prevention?

Implementing Place-Based and Hot Spots Policing

The evaluation research on hot spots policing provides some clues as to how to achieve effective place-based policing. Studies have shown that a variety of police interventions at hot spots can produce short or long-term reductions in crime and that these effects can range from modest to larger effects. These interventions include directed vehicle or foot patrol, or even fixed presence at crime hot spots (see DiTella and Schargrofsky 2004; Lawton, Taylor, and Luongo 2005; Koper, Taylor, and Woods 2013a; Ratcliffe, Taniguchi, Groff, et al. 2011; Sherman and Weisburd 1995; Telep, Mitchell, and Weisburd 2014), order maintenance and drug enforcement crackdowns (see Braga and Bond 2008; Braga, Weisburd, Waring, et al. 1999; Sherman and Rogan 1995; Weisburd and Green 1995), operations focused on known repeat offenders at hot spots (Groff, Ratcliffe, Haberman, et al. 2015), and problem-solving interventions that have entailed situational crime prevention, nuisance abatement, clean-up activities, and various other prevention-oriented measures (see Braga and Bond 2008; Braga et al. 1999; Eck and Wartell 1998; Mazerolle, Price, and Roehl 2000a; Taylor, Koper, and Woods 2011; Sherman, Buerger, and Gartin, et al. 1989). When surveyed, practitioners identify problem analysis and problem solving, targeting offenders, and directed patrol as the most common and effective strategies in general for hot spots. However, police officials also vary widely on how they define hot spots and what they think might be the most effective strategies for different types of hot spots (Koper 2014).

Despite these complexities, some guidelines can be pulled from the existing research to guide practice. These guidelines reflect four key pillars, grounded in research knowledge, that we recommend should form the foundation of an agency's place-based policing strategy. These pillars are: (1) conducting geographic crime analysis emphasizing micro places and trends; (2) regularly directing proactive patrol to hot spots (and doing so in ways that maximize a deterrence effect); (3) using problem-oriented policing to develop long-term prevention strategies tailored to the specific problems of individual hot spots; and (4) engaging with the community for both enhancing prevention and understanding citizen reactions to police activity in hot spots. We discuss each of these pillars below.

(1) Conducting Geographic Crime Analysis of Micro Places and Trends

Geographic crime analysis is a central element of hot spots policing and a prerequisite to any place-based policing approach. Conducting hot spots policing in the most optimal ways will require police agencies to not only increase their crime analytic capabilities, but also to shift their analyses and operational emphasis to smaller geographic units of analysis. More precise targeting of crime hot spots can also focus scarce police resources effectively. Contrary to a long-standing belief in policing, equal and total patrol coverage of a city or jurisdiction is not only difficult to achieve, but both an inefficient and ineffective use of police resources.

In tandem with sharpening geographic analysis to specific places and locations where crime concentrates, understanding the social, environmental, situational, geographic, and routine activity characteristics of hot spots that contribute to crime opportunities at these places is also needed to improve the effectiveness of a police agency's place-based approach. This type of analysis provides an important context to crime patterns, just as understanding motivation and context provide important clues to solving a crime. In other words, understanding these locations and their features can facilitate the development of more targeted and tailored problem-solving efforts within these places.

As an example, for some years, the Minneapolis (Minnesota) Police Department's (MPD) primary method of identifying hot spots has been to identify clusters of high-risk blocks using kernel density analysis (a common form of geospatial statistical analysis). MPD crime analysts draw boundaries around these clusters, creating "focus zones" that commanders use to guide operations. This facilitates the targeting of patrol and other operations on areas that are more precise than typical neighborhood or patrol beat boundaries. Although the size of these zones varies, a typical one might be roughly 0.25 square miles (one-half mile by one-half mile) or smaller and contain roughly 1,000 to 2,000 people.

More recently, MPD crime analysts have complemented this cluster approach with analysis of high crime street segments (e.g., Koper, Egge, and Lum 2015). This has been helpful in understanding and addressing crime problems within focus zones, as they are often driven by key street segments with features such as convenience stores, bus stops, and apartment complexes that draw people and create opportunities for crime and victimization. At the same time, studying the wider areas around these key street blocks can illuminate possible interconnections between actors (i.e., offenders, targets, and guardians), routine activities, social features, and crime problems across multiple high-

risk segments within focus zones. In the words of Sergeant Jeff Egge, director of MPD's crime analysis unit, this type of iterative and multi-level approach enables the analyst to maintain a "steady hand on the tiller" that can yield a more comprehensive understanding of hot spots.

In addition to refocusing geographic analysis and deployment to smaller micro crime places, agencies may also need to adjust their geographic analyses by giving more attention to long-term patterns. As research has found, hot spots are often stable over many years; yet police generally do not incorporate multi-year analyses into their tracking of hot spots (Koper 2014). Instead, police are most likely to identify and react to hot spots in a "whack-a-mole" fashion (Willis, Mastrofski, and Weisburd 2007) based on short-term crime patterns that may reflect emerging hot spots, spikes at chronic problem locations, or random events at otherwise low-intensity locations. Although these operations are necessary, a greater focus on long-term patterns, and a commitment to dealing with chronic problems will make the police more effective in sustaining crime prevention effects over the long run.

(2a) Proactively Directing Patrol to Hot Spots

Our second pillar for translating place-based research into practice is that agencies regularly direct proactive patrols to crime hot spots and do so in ways that maximize their deterrence effect. At the most basic level, this means deploying patrol officers and specialized units to patrol particular hot spots at particular "hot times." The potential benefits of focusing patrol on hot spots were first demonstrated in the Minneapolis Hot Spots Experiment (Sherman and Weisburd, 1995). The patrol intervention in this study, which consisted of officers patrolling the assigned hot spots between calls for service, was characterized as "intensified but intermittent" police presence. This strategy reduced total calls to the police at the hot spots by 6% to 13%. These results were driven largely by the intervention's impact on what the researchers categorized as "soft" crimes (e.g., disturbances, drunken behavior, break-in alarms, and vandalism). More serious crimes also declined, although not significantly.

Several additional studies since then have reaffirmed the crime prevention value of focusing vehicle or foot patrol on crime concentrations (e.g., Lawton et al. 2005; Koper et al. 2013a; Ratcliffe et al. 2011; Rosenfeld, Deckard, and Blackburn 2014; Telep et al. 2014), particularly when this is done on a daily or frequent basis (Koper 2013). However, reorienting patrol to crime hot spots could be a major deployment adjustment for police agencies, as many patrol officers are assigned to police beats or

districts and are guided by responding to 999 calls, not to proactively addressing crime hot spots. Such a reorientation could involve simple changes within existing patrol deployment structures or major changes to deployment schemes.

An example of a simple change is to direct patrol officers to crime hot spots when they are not handling calls for service within their existing daily patrol deployments (as was done in the Minneapolis study). This approach to reorienting officers to hot spots may be least disruptive to existing patrol schedules and can serve as the cornerstone of an agency's place-based policing strategies. To implement this type of patrol strategy, agencies will have to produce crime analysis that identifies micro hot spots as described above, and they will have to ensure that this information is accessible and conveyed to patrol officers (for example, through their mobile computer units or through information passed out daily or weekly at roll calls). Ideally, agencies should also develop accountability and supervisory systems to track and monitor officers' time and activities in hot spots, and managers should use this information to guide, monitor, and evaluate officer performance.

Chronic hot spots should be priority locations for daily patrols, given that these are the most persistent and contribute to the overall crime rate of a jurisdiction. However, targeting can also be adjusted as needed to address new locations (emerging and "pop-up" hot spots) or even chronic hot spots that have experienced recent spikes or that appear to be at elevated risk for criminal activity. For example, studies have shown that street blocks that have experienced a burglary are at elevated risk for another burglary for approximately 14 days following the initial event (see Bowers and Johnson 2005; Johnson and Bowers 2004; 2014; Johnson, Bernasco, Bowers, et al. 2007).

A more radical way of reorienting patrol deployment to hot spots is "flipping" patrol. Currently, patrol officers are deployed to reporting areas such as patrol beats, and their primary responsibility is answering calls for service as well as keeping a watchful eye on crime and disorder that may occur in that beat. In this more traditional patrol deployment, anything above and beyond responding to calls for service and investigating crimes is extra activity at the discretion of officers. A "flipped" patrol deployment would be one in which officers are dynamically assigned to crime hot spots rather than patrol beats ("dynamic" because such hot spots may change), and in which responding to calls for service is not the anchoring activity of officers. Indeed, the goal would be to reduce the amount of calls for service that officers have to respond to by using more proactive and targeted approaches at hot spots (i.e., directed patrol and problem-solving) in-between calls for service. Of course, officers still must answer calls when they do arise. But the emphasis would be on long-term crime prevention strategies designed to prevent crime

calls from happening in the first place. This type of deployment change also means that new performance metrics would need to be developed, as well as ways for officers to communicate their activities with the agency's records management or computer aided dispatch system.

Another way that agencies can adjust deployment towards hot spots is by supplementing adjustments within the existing patrol deployment strategy with specialized units oriented towards patrol. These units may emphasize visible deterrence-based presence in hot spots and/or carry out deeper problem-solving work (we return to the latter issue below). Some research suggests that even brief operations in hot spots (e.g., two weeks) can have residual deterrent effects that reduce crime for several weeks after an operation has ended (Koper et al. 2013a).

Reorienting the daily deployment of patrol officers, whether using simple or more radical approaches, does not mean police should create hot spots or predictive policing automatons who just look at maps and go to them (a critique of hot spots policing sometimes used by police or researchers as a justification to stick to the status quo). Officers need to know *why* these places are hot and the various tools at their disposal to cool them. This may require more training, mentoring, guidance, and practice to enhance their understanding of the underlying opportunities and routines that lead to these hot spots conditions, so they can be best positioned as well as mentally motivated to carry out hot spots policing (see Lum and Koper 2017). Police are often given many hours of training on how to respond to specific calls for service, doing investigations, making arrests, or processing evidence. But they are given almost no guidance at all about understanding why crime concentrates at places or knowing how to carry out place-based policing.

(2b) Optimizing deterrence at hot spots and calibrating patrol dosage

Increasing police visibility at hot spots through regular visits by patrol officers or specialized units will likely have significant deterrent effects on its own. However, in developing patrol strategies for hot spots, practitioners face several operational and practical considerations. Two key operational concerns are what patrol dosage levels to use at hot spots and what officers should do while at hot spots. Focusing first on the dosage issue, operational questions include how often officers should visit hot spots, how long they should stay per visit, and what overall dosage levels they should try to achieve per day or per week. At the extreme, police could establish fixed presence at hot spots around the clock or during all high-risk hours. As a practical matter, however, this may be too resource intensive, as agencies will likely need to spread resources across numerous hot spots in a jurisdiction. Indeed, maintaining even two to three hours of patrol per day at hot spots, as done in

the Minneapolis study, may not be feasible for some patrol officers. Officers may also be resistant to such static assignments.

Fortunately, research evidence suggests that police need not establish round the clock or otherwise intensive fixed presence at hot spots to reduce crime. In fact, there is some theory and research suggesting that such deployments may have diminishing crime control returns and even reduce crime prevention effectiveness if they become too predictable and routine (Koper 2013; Sherman 1990). Although existing research does not yet provide specific guidance on optimal patrol levels and schedules for hot spots,³ there is growing evidence that short, periodic, and unpredictable patrol visits provide a cost-effective way of reducing crime at these places.

In an early study on optimizing patrol time in hot spots, Koper (1995) used data from the Minneapolis experiment to show that when officers stopped at a location for at least 10 minutes, they generated a significantly greater deterrent effect on crime and disorder than when they simply drove through the location. However, staying more than 15 minutes brought diminishing returns to this deterrent effect, as measured by how quickly crime and disorder occurred again after the officers left.⁴ This finding, which has come to be known as the “Koper curve,” suggests that police can potentially maximize the effectiveness and efficiency of preventative patrol by making 10-15 minute visits to micro hot spot locations on a periodic basis. Koper’s study did not address how often officers should make these visits, but he suggested that officers make them on a random and unpredictable basis (so that offenders cannot anticipate them) and that they make the visits a part of their regular patrol routine.

A small but accumulating body of evidence from field experiments suggests that a hot spots approach utilizing the Koper Curve works without causing too much burden on patrol. An experimental study in Sacramento (California), for example, tested the effects of making 12 to 16-minute patrol stops at hot spots every few hours during an entire shift (Telep et al. 2014). As in the Minneapolis study, the emphasis was on manipulating patrol dosage; what officers did at the hot spots was left to their discretion. Results showed the proactive patrol stops reduced total calls for service by 11% at the experimental locations and reduced serious crimes by 25%. In contrast, the control locations experienced increases in calls for service and crime during this same period.

³ See Sherman, Williams, Ariel, et al. (2014) for an in-depth discussion of theoretical concerns surrounding this issue.

⁴ For further discussion of the details and theoretical issues surrounding this finding, see Koper (1995) and Lum and Koper (2017).

Another field experiment in St. Louis (Missouri) by Rosenfeld et al. (2014) found that making three or more 15-minute patrol stops per shift in gun crime hot spots significantly reduced gun crime in the targeted locations, though this effect was contingent on officers' self-initiated activities. In smaller jurisdictions, making just one 15 minute stop a day may be sufficient to reduce crime at hot spots (Hegarty, Williams, Stanton, and Chernoff 2014).

These studies do not prove that 15 minutes is always the most optimal time for officers to spend in a hot spot, and we do not recommend rigid adherence to a 15-minute guideline that would preclude officers from spending longer amounts of time at hot spots when needed for problem-solving or community engagement activities (see below) or other reasons. However, what these studies do suggest is that short, proactive and periodic patrol stops at hot spots can be sufficient to reduce crime significantly, even for hot spots in high-crime urban environments. Accordingly, police may be able to manage their hot spots approach effectively with modest dosages of patrol (and cost).

(3) Problem-Solving at Hot Spots

What should officers do when they get to hot spots? A possible answer is found in another important pillar for effective implementation of place-based policing—problem-solving. Problem-oriented policing, first articulated by Herman Goldstein (1979; 1990), calls for police to transcend reactive incident-driven policing by studying and addressing underlying problems that contribute to crime and disorder in the community. Goldstein's notion was for police to take proactive, preventative action against the causes of continuing crime and disorder issues. Further, Goldstein argued that police responses to these problems should not be limited to traditional law enforcement actions but, rather, should also include the use of civil legislation and reliance on other municipal and community resources. Eck and Spelman (1987) later developed the well-known SARA model for implementing problem-solving, which consists of four steps denoted by the acronym: *scanning* for problems, *analysis* of problems, development and implementation of *responses*, and follow-up *assessment* of results. Problem-oriented policing thus represents a process of identifying problems and developing responses rather than any specific type(s) of response.

As noted, problem-solving may be particularly effective in the context of hot spots policing insofar as focusing attention on these locations can help officers to identify conditions that contribute to crime and disorder at these places and to develop both enforcement and prevention measures tailored to the particulars of these places and their problems. In addition to targeted enforcement actions,

reported problem-solving efforts at hot spots have often included measures such as situational crime prevention, nuisance abatement, municipal/county code enforcement, securing or removing abandoned buildings, clean-up activities, and improvement of social services (e.g., Braga and Bond 2008; Braga et al. 1999; Eck 2002; Eck and Wartell 1998; Mazerolle et al. 2000a; Mazerolle, Ready, Terrill, and Waring 2000b; Taylor et al. 2011; Sherman et al. 1989b; Weisburd, Telep, Hinkle, and Eck 2010). Police often implement such measures in cooperation with place managers (Eck 1994) and other stakeholders (such as business owners and managers, residents, and other government agencies) with interests in or responsibility for the area. Notably, Braga et al.'s (2012) assessment of rigorous hot spots studies found that interventions grounded in a problem-oriented policing framework tend to produce larger reductions in crime than those based solely on traditional patrol and enforcement measures.⁵

One study that illustrates the benefits of structured problem-solving relative to other enforcement-oriented approaches was conducted in Jacksonville, Florida, where police and researchers separately tested the effectiveness of problem-oriented policing and directed patrol at violent crime hot spots (Taylor et al. 2011; also see Koper, Taylor, and Roush 2013b). The study focused on 83 micro hot spots of street violence which were randomly assigned to problem-solving (22 locations), directed patrol (21 locations), or routine (i.e., "control") operations (40 locations) for a 90-day experiment. Problem-solving activities at the first group of locations were conducted by teams of supervisors, officers, and crime analysts who received training in the principles of problem-oriented and intelligence-led policing. The officers and analysts attempted to identify and address the underlying factors driving crime in these locations, working closely with community partners where possible. Officers working the problem-solving locations implemented a wide array of measures of the sort noted above with a particular emphasis on prevention-oriented measures.

Results indicated that the problem-oriented policing intervention produced stronger and more lasting effects on violent crime compared to directed patrol and routine operations. This study, along with many others, underscores the importance of complementing day to day patrol presence at high crime places with problem-solving and situational crime prevention to achieve larger and more lasting reductions in crime. We should also emphasize the importance of considering prevention measures as well as enforcement actions in problem-solving interventions. One criticism of problem-oriented policing efforts in practice is that they often fall short of their ideal in that they involve limited analysis, limited community partnership efforts, limited organizational support (e.g.

⁵ It is also notable that most of the leading studies on POP (i.e., those that are considered to be most rigorous) have involved POP as applied to hot spots (Weisburd et al. 2010).

officers not having enough time or other support to do good problem-solving), and heavy reliance on aggressive enforcement tactics.⁶ Placing more emphasis on in-depth problem analysis and prevention may help police to produce more lasting reductions in crime at hot spots. Broadening officer toolkits beyond aggressive enforcement could also improve their relationships with community residents and stakeholders, as prevention measures are more likely to be implemented in cooperation with other community actors. Agencies also need to consider how problem-solving should be implemented. Officers who patrol the locations on a regular basis will likely be in the best position to diagnose and address problems at hot spots. However, there may be benefits to having special units conduct problem-solving work (as done in the Jacksonville study) in collaboration with area patrol officers.⁷

(4) Community engagement and hot spots

Related to our third pillar above, the final pillar we suggest is that police anchor their place-based approaches in engagement with residents and community leaders, consistent with the principles of community-oriented policing. Community policing has been described as both a philosophy of policing and an organizational strategy (National Research Council 2004; Greene 2000) in which police agencies embrace a larger vision of their function that involves community groups and citizens co-producing safety, crime prevention, and solutions to local concerns with the police. This is an approach that has received much less emphasis in the practice and evaluation of targeted place-based policing. Although community policing is often described in ways that encompass problem-solving (which has become a common component of hot spots policing), it is distinct from problem-solving, which may or may not involve community members or resources (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, et al. 2014; Scott 2000). Further, most research evaluating community policing has examined its effects in larger geographic units, such as police beats or neighborhoods, given that the target of these interventions is often inclusive of a larger social and geographic location.

Early manifestations of community policing emphasized tactics such as foot patrol, neighborhood watch, order maintenance, and community meetings or newsletters. More recently, community policing has encompassed such notions as problem-oriented policing (particularly when citizen input is used to identify problems and develop solutions), building collective efficacy and empowerment

⁶ Some have called this “shallow” problem-solving (e.g., Braga and Weisburd 2006; Braga and Bond 2008; Cordner and Bielbel 2005; Eck 2006; for examples of unsuccessful POP efforts at hot spots, also see Groff et al. 2015; Sherman, et al. 1989b)

⁷ There are many guides available for conducting problem-solving and tackling specific types of problems which may be applicable to hot spots (see the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing at <http://www.popcenter.org/>).

(see Sampson 2011), procedural justice and legitimacy (see Tyler 1990), and also efforts to increase police accountability through citizen review boards and improved citizen complaint processes. By its nature, community policing is a proactive policing approach and therefore matches well with a hot spots approach that relies on proactive police activities. At the same time, the goals of community policing as a proactive approach extend beyond crime control. As Skogan (2006) and Gill et al. (2014) point out, community policing is intended to reduce fear, improve police-citizen relationships, increase citizen involvement in producing safety, reduce disorder, and increase police accountability to communities.

While place-based policing often involves targeting hot spots of crime and disorder with patrol presence, problem-oriented and tailored strategies, officers might also use regular patrol visits to hot spots as an opportunity to enhance their agency's community policing strategy in much more targeted ways. Under Pillar (1) above, this includes making community contacts to better understand the environmental, social, and routine activities context of crime hot spots, as well as the more dynamic features and actors of problem places. While officers will undoubtedly make contact with known offenders and high-risk individuals in crime hot spots, officers should also emphasize making positive contacts with residents and others who regularly visit or work in those places, and who can serve as capable guardians. Guardians are essential to enhancing informal social controls, providing valuable information, and assisting with problem-solving projects. Developing good relations with community members may also bolster officers' abilities to persuade others to change problem behaviors and conditions when needed. In all of these ways, getting to know hot spots better through regular presence and interaction should facilitate officers' long-term efforts to develop stronger behavioral controls and problem-solving strategies for the locations.

At a minimum, officers can exercise community policing by being transparent with residents about the crime prevention and enforcement activities they are carrying out in hot spots and by soliciting feedback about their efforts. Some evidence indicates that a community approach at hot spots can yield important fruit for police legitimacy. For instance, in a Kansas City, Missouri crackdown on gun crime studied by Sherman, Shaw, and Rogan (1995), officers knocked and talked with almost 800 residents in a targeted hot spot, providing information to residents about the upcoming crackdown as well as tips and information about crime prevention. Before and after surveys of the intervention found that citizens were less fearful and more positive about their neighborhood than respondents in a control area that did not receive a crackdown. Informing and also surveying residents about police operations in hot spots can

thus improve police legitimacy with residents and provide a feedback mechanism for citizens to monitor police efforts.

The importance of including community policing components into a hot spots approach cannot be overstated. Adopting an approach that increases transparency, feedback, and engagement with the community on police strategies and tactics at crime hot spots can make the difference between hot spots policing that worsens community-police relations and hot spots policing that improves them.

Conclusions

Targeting high-crime places is one of the most effective approaches that the police can use to prevent crime and increase their legitimacy. However, *how* they carry out place-based policing matters, not only to the accurate targeting of the problem, but also to citizen reaction to their efforts. Simply going to crime hot spots and carrying out enforcement measures may not be enough to create a long-term effect and may result in community backlash. We suggest more accurate identification of crime hot spots through micro-geographic analysis of crime and disorder, and a stronger emphasis on analyzing the environmental, social, geographic, situational and routine activities context of crime concentrations. Once these spots are identified, agencies have to develop and alter their patrol deployment to proactively patrol these hot spots, and do so in ways that are unpredictable and use resources most efficiently. Problem-solving and community-oriented approaches at crime hot spots can enhance the long-term effectiveness of police actions and help strengthen police-citizen relationships.

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Partnerships

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Introduction

This review of the literature on 'Partnerships' for the Policing 2026 strategy will examine the existing knowledge base of this area of police work, reflect on current challenges in relation to localism and suggest steps for policy and practice. As much of the relevant literature derives from studies in England, these will be considered as well, with awareness that there may be some differentiation of experience north of the border. Partnership work can happen in a variety of public sector contexts, one of the most common for the police being community safety.

Partnership working, or 'co-production', is an important aspect of community safety strategy and practice in Scotland as well as in England. This involves police and other public sector (and some private and third sector) organisations working collaboratively in local areas to achieve mutually beneficial goals. In Scotland, much co-production takes place in the form of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs). Working in partnership in the public sector is not new in Scotland, but was given a statutory basis in the Local Government in Scotland Act 2003. The police are one of a number of agencies in CPPs, and do not on paper play the lead role. In England and Wales, partnership working was made a statutory obligation under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (also referred to as Community Safety Partnerships) are not the only fora in which the police work with other agencies in the public sector, but it is one of the main ones. As these groups are focused around crime, anti-social behaviour and community safety issues, the

police have tended to take the lead in these groups. Both nations' methods emphasise a local focus – that police and other agencies at local authority level should be working together to address the needs and challenges of those specific areas. In Scotland, this has been developed through a technocratic and bureaucratic structure, especially after the amalgamation of Scotland's eight police forces into the single national service, Police Scotland. In England, community safety work has been democratised through the creation of locally elected Police and Crime Commissioners.

However, there are already suggestions that these recent police reform projects in Scotland and in England and Wales may have a detrimental impact on co-production, or at the very least, change it in significant ways. While PCCs in England hold the funding for community safety within their police force areas, community safety is not a part of their official remit and they are not one of the named partners in the relevant legislation. CDRPs have always held a crimino-centric view of their work in England and Wales (as opposed to that of improving safety or harm reduction). The danger now with PCCs controlling the funding is that this policing and crime bias may be exacerbated and will increase the opportunities for 'governing through crime' (Simon 2007, Crawford 2016). The 'governing through crime' concept refers to the process by which increasing amounts of public sector policy and practice is orientated around crime control, which may at times mask other motives (Simon 2007). It is argued that appeals to 'crime control' can motivate law makers and the public in ways that discussing a lack of educational or diversion opportunities for young people (for example) will not. By framing social policy and legal develops in a 'crime' context, however, contemporary society (it is argued) becomes more polarised and fearful, rather than innovative and welcoming of difference. Solutions to contemporary social problems are viewed through a 'criminal' lens, rather as complex issues that require the skills and knowledge of a variety of agencies (Crawford 2016).

In Scotland, while work with partners is one of the main principles on which the new single police service is based, concern has been raised about the integrity of co-production in policing post-reform. The Scottish Community Safety Network (SCSN) undertook research into community safety partnership work in 2013 after the launch of Police Scotland and found a number of developments which place co-production at risk. These include a shift by Police Scotland from prevention and partnership working to an enforcement-driven ethos and output-led performance measurements. Many new teams have been created, often without consultation with CSP partners, resulting in duplication of work and a 'silo' approach. There has also been a high turnover of police personnel and a reduction in the rank of officers who engage with CSPs (SCSN 2013). However, as Police

Scotland now has a new chief constable and has had three years of 'bedding in', some of these concerns may be diminished in the near future.

Literature on partnerships

Partnership working in England and Wales began formally with the Crime and Disorder Act (1998), but there were some localised existing relationships prior to this. As might be expected, studies of partnership working between the police and a host of community agencies received sizeable attention during the 1990s and early 2000s, with some early research conducted in the 1980s. There have been several changes and additions to these modes of working. In particular, the development of Neighbourhood Policing in the 2000s brought about an extension of partnership working philosophy and practice (see Hughes and Rowe 2007, more on this below). Policing became a series of operational practices linked to a diverse range of problem-solving tasks within communities, taking the officers involved beyond their traditional remit of just managing crime and disorder. This section will discuss the literature on individual and organisational responses to partnership working as well as the operationalisation of these within Neighbourhood Policing in England and Wales. It will then examine some of the issues specific to partnerships in Scotland.

Individual and organisational responses to partnership work

It is not uncommon for research of this period to detect a sceptical attitude from the police to working in partnership with other agencies (Sampson et al 1988, Pearson et al 1992, Gilling 1997, Bullock et al 2006). Officers have demonstrated a reluctance to alter their view of what 'true' police work is and embrace the tasks and functions normally associated with partnership work (Skinns 2008). Often referred to as 'talking shops', partnership meetings do not yield the expected tasks and tangible outcomes to which police officers are accustomed (Pearson et al 1992, Liddle and Gelsthorpe 1994). Police officers perceived an incompatibility between their readiness to the 'take charge' of situations and their general action-orientation (Holdaway 1986), with the negotiation and process-based working models of partner and community agencies. Further exacerbating police scepticism was the lack of a clear hierarchy and chain of command among partner organisations. Many writers have found this element of joint working particularly difficult for some police officers to negotiate (Pearson et al 1992, Edwards 2002).

In addition to the scepticism of individual officers, the processes and priorities of the police organisation itself also demonstrates a reluctance to embed this method of working as legitimate police activity. The personal skills most needed for partnership work tend to be viewed internally as

low-status, being branded 'soft', 'social work-like' and regarded as a poor substitute for the traditional crime-fighting activities and orientations of policing (Sampson et al 1991, McCarthy 2011). This is reflected in the preponderance of female officers allocated to partnerships in the 1980s and 1990s. Ironically, despite a tendency towards contempt for partnership work, research on policing in this area reveals that officers tend to dominate proceedings, often leading discussions, directing resources, and coordinating responses. This also included, at times, using 'partnership' as a selective agenda to suit policing priorities (Pearson et al 1992). Partnership working often involves compromise and flexibility, and as Bullock et al (2006) discovered, police departments can struggle to adapt internal processes and systems to accommodate this, especially as it entails losing aspects of their traditional public order mandate. More recently, policing in communities has been a much more pluralised activity, with the police working in parallel with a variety of other agencies, known as the 'wider policing family'¹. This has included joint patrols with youth workers which focus on young people in the local area, collaborating with neighbourhood wardens (managed by local authorities or housing associations), helping to support service users in custody (or in the community in general) with drug and alcohol service providers (Johnston 2003, Crawford and Lister 2004). The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) brought about 'a long overdue recognition that the levers of crime and causes of crime lie far from the traditional reach of the criminal justice system' (Crawford 2002: 31).

Partnerships in the context of Neighbourhood Policing in England

It is important to keep in mind that partnership working can occur in several areas of policing, such as domestic violence, mental health or public protection and road traffic. However, much of it in England and Wales falls within the broader context of Neighbourhood Policing, which was fully rolled out across those nations in 2008. This method of policing stems from a broader political project from the New Labour government (1997 – 2010) to re-orientate policing around citizens and 'communities' as the central focus of police work, and to move away from a more reactive 'crime fighting' focus. Neighbourhood Policing was initially trailed as 'Reassurance Policing', and is a derivative of the more long-standing method of Community Policing (Innes 2005).² With the arrival of Neighbourhood Policing came a renewed emphasis on partnership working in England and Wales.

¹ Although as Johnston (2007) has pointed out, this phrase can also refer to just the police and the auxiliary staff in their employ, such as Police Community Support Officers in England and Wales.

² The National Reassurance Policing Project (NRPP) was a pilot of the new incarnation of Community Policing in a selection of police forces, with the emphasis not only on providing a visible and accessible police service, but also a practical element of addressing 'signal crimes'. Developed by Martin Innes and colleagues at the University of Surrey, signal crimes refer to incidents or types of disorder which provoke fear or anxiety in members of a community. By addressing these specific events or crimes, communities are expected to feel safer and are more confident in the security of their area (Herrington and Millie 2006).

Despite a tendency to orient partnership activity around a crime reduction focus (favoured by the police to meet performance targets set by the Home Office prior to 2010) rather than community safety perspectives, there are many ways in which Neighbourhood Policing and partnerships complement each other (Hughes and Rowe 2007). Neighbourhood Policing is based on a problem-solving ethos within communities which is reliant in large part in the cooperation of other local public sector agencies (Innes and Fielding, 2002). However, this collaborative working has been inhibited by factors such as different operational cultures across the partner organisations, scepticism around neighbourhood policing from within the police as well as the aforementioned crime reduction focus from the Home Office (see Innes 2005). Current economic conditions could be seen to position partnership working as an ideal method of sharing work with other agencies, thereby reducing the demands on police forces with lower numbers of officers and staff and restricted budgets. It is also seen as route to boost public confidence in policing (Home Office 2010). Research by O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) which occurred just prior to the reduction in staffing numbers, indicates that there were signs of a growing acceptance and valuing of partnership work within police forces, in contrast to the existing literature reflecting scepticism within the police. However, the dramatic reductions in police officers and staff since the fiscal restraint measures were introduced in 2010 have largely resulted in fewer staff and fewer resources available for Neighbourhood Policing in general in England and Wales, where much partnership work takes place (HMIC 2016, Greig-Midlane 2015).

Partnerships in Scotland

In 1998 when the Crime and Disorder Act was being introduced in England and Wales, the then Scottish Office, the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), and the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) agreed a joint approach to developing community safety in Scotland, emphasising the establishment of partnerships under the leadership of the local council and the police force. The key difference here is that this arrangement was developed without the use of an Act of Parliament, as was the case in England. In 1999 the Scottish Executive published *Safer Communities in Scotland*, with detailed guidance for the establishment of Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs). By 2000, formal authority-wide CSPs had been established in 30 councils, most of which comprised police, health, fire and the local authority with some community or voluntary group representation as well (Accounts Commission 2000). CSPs are usually located within the wider Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) of local authorities. However, an Audit Scotland report in 2000 found that only a quarter of CSPs had attempted any systematic analysis of available data on local community safety and only one had completed a community safety audit. Most CSPs relied on

government funding and the main dedicated staffing resource came through the provision of police Local Authority Liaison Officers. This presents a picture of a largely under-resourced and under-achieving approach to community safety partnerships.

The introduction of the Police and Fire Reform Act (2012) changed this landscape significantly by requiring public agencies to consult with each other in the development of CPPs. When the Scottish Community Safety Network (SCSN) undertook its own review of CSPs against the background of fiscal restraint and national public sector reform in 2012, the situation for public sector partnerships had improved compared to that revealed in the analysis of Audit Scotland in 2000. The SCSN report highlighted that 25 local authority areas had CSPs while only two did not. Community safety appeared to be a priority within CPPs, aided by Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) which provided clarity on the relationships between the CPPs and the CSPs. The SCSN report noted good working relationships between CSPs and CPPs, involvement in the production of SOAs and in some areas joint CPP and CSPs plans. It also noted that 'There is evidence that joint working between police, fire and local authorities is becoming the norm, however, only a few exhibited partnership working with equal buy-in and responsibility and workload shared between all partners. These tended to be in areas where there was some degree of co-location and/or strong leadership' (2013: 8). This finding echoes some of the literature above, and especially that of O'Neill and McCarthy (2014), which argues that partnerships tend to work better when direct relationships are built between specific staff members in the relevant agencies. The report does, however, note a word of caution that while police reform in Scotland does present new opportunities for integrated working across the nation, there is a potential risk of partnerships becoming police-centric (SCSN 2013: 11).

This move towards more integrated public sector working is in keeping with the recommendations of the Christie Commission (2011). The commission was established by the Scottish Government in 2010 to report on the future of public services in Scotland in light of increasing demands for service and reduced resources. The commission's report presents a compelling case for integrated public sector services which empower service users to be involved in service design and delivery, with a focus on harm prevention and improving efficiency across all sectors (public, private and third). In terms of partnerships, Christie argues for greater service integration, which could include inter-agency training, performance monitoring and budgeting as well as shared objectives and projects. All services should be working towards a prevention approach, with a view to reducing duplication of work and should do so from the perspective of the service user. This brings us to the next area of discussion for partnership working, local areas.

The role of the 'local': citizens as partners

Both of the current policing reform initiatives in the UK (PCCs in England and Wales and amalgamation of all eight terrestrial forces in Scotland) came after the enshrining of public sector partnership work in statute. The impact of these two major, yet divergent, reform programmes on the co-production of community safety is not yet fully apparent. In one nation, Scotland, reform has increased centralised control (for example, with the use of national performance targets) while in the other, England, centralisation has given way to local planning and democratic accountability. Scotland has endeavoured to retain all police constable positions which existed prior to reform (although with fewer senior officers), whereas in England, strict budget cuts and a removal of funding 'ring-fences' have resulted in a reduction of police officers and staff in all constabularies. Thus a situation exists where one nation has retained its staff and increased centralised control whereas the other has lost officers and staff and increased local discretion on budgeting and priorities.

Despite divergent systems of police governance (technocratic vs democratic) both nations still place the same emphasis on the 'local' as a tangible location, identification with which can engender citizen involvement in the co-production of community safety. Localism is also a prominent component of policing structures and accountability systems (Coaffee and Headlam 2007, Featherstone et al 2012, Davoudi and Madanipour 2013). 'Local areas' (the 32 local area units in Scotland and local authority areas in England and Wales) are assumed to have functional cohesion which can be mobilised for community safety planning, crime reduction initiatives and general consultation and accountability with the police and their public sector partners in a 'bottom-up' governmental format. This conception of the local emphasises the responsibility of the citizen to be directly engaged with her or his own community's safety and wellbeing (Davoudi and Madanipour 2013). On the surface, this seems to give 'local people' opportunities to have their policing preferences heard and to hold their local public sector agents to account. What these systems conveniently neglect is that 'local areas', while they may be identifiable on a map, may also contain a wide diversity of populations, some of which will have no interest in working with the police or other state agents, let alone with each other. There can also be a great fluidity in local areas, with movement of populations in and out of a defined space (Featherstone et al 2012).

While this conceptualisation of 'local' is similar in both nations, the mechanism through which it is consulted and engaged varies in interesting ways between the two. In England and Wales, Police and

Crime Commissioners represent police force areas which are not only very large (and include multiple parliamentary constituencies within them), but hold little relevance as an identifiable 'place' for community members (Crawford 2016). They are not actually 'local enough' to be held accountable by the public who elects them (Loader 2014). In Scotland, the 2012 Police and Fire Reform Act has made 'local policing' a statutory requirement at the level of the 32 council areas. Each area has a local commander with responsibility for preparing a local policing plan and for consulting with the local council over this plan. The local council must also establish arrangements for the scrutiny of local policing but the Act does not prescribe what form this scrutiny should take. Critics maintain that despite an appearance of local accountability what we are now witnessing is the emergence of 'the SNP's Police State' characterised by a significant local democratic deficit, a strong focus on enforcement and the emergence of a 'one size fits all' approach to policing for the whole of Scotland (Fyfe 2014).

This diversity of practice comes about as a result of the ongoing reform projects, and can be illustrated clearly in the specific context of the co-production of community safety. Community safety, or 'crime prevention' as it was initially known (Crawford 1997), is a logical home for issues of the local and for co-production (partnership working) in the public sector. Prevention work is often viewed as beginning in local areas and relates to the remit of many public sector agencies, which have historically struggled to work together on issues of crime (Crawford 1999, O'Neill and McCarthy 2014). In addition to which, as was discussed above, the working conception of the 'local' which police hold in both nations is problematic in itself. Thus a situation exists where, while partnership work and co-production within the public sector and with local populations is regarded not only as good practice but as a legal requirement for police forces, the mechanisms by which this is achieved are problematic and the 'local' population is a nebulous one and, at times, uncooperative or even non-existent in practice.

Suggestions for policy and practice

This section will examine possible routes for improving partnership work, or co-production, in Scotland as part of the Policing 2026 programme in light of the existing knowledge base. It will begin with the policing organisation and its staff and then consider relationships with local communities.

Within the police

As discussed above, Police Scotland continues to find itself in a process of change with the recent appointment of a new chief constable. While ongoing change can have a detrimental effect on staff

morale, it does also present a unique opportunity to address some of the concerns identified above about the impact of police reform on community safety partnerships. Despite the bulk of literature discussing the difficulty in integrating police working methods in a partnership context, there is evidence that it can be effective (O'Neill and McCarthy 2014) and is a necessary aspect of policing in order to fully and appropriately reduce crime and improve safety in modern society (Crawford 2002, 2016). The police cannot effectively address a community's 'wicked problems' on their own and to attempt to do so is not only short-sighted but will also only serve to increase the police workload in the long term (Morgan 1991, Christie 2011).

Fully engaging in partnership work may require some additional change journeys within Police Scotland. As previous research has found (O'Neill and McCarthy 2014, McCarthy and O'Neill 2014), trust is an integral part of successful partnerships, especially those with the police. This can depend on members of the individual agencies having the opportunity to form direct working relationships, as much partnership work can be informal (happen outside of scheduled meetings). In order to facilitate this process, there needs to be a consistent approach to police staffing. Regular transfers of officers out of geographical regions or areas of work will undermine the trust-building process as partners will need to rebuild relationships and reciprocity arrangements with each new police officer. Co-location has also been cited as a useful way to build these relationships of trust (SCSN 2013), and this can be even further enhanced with pooled budgets. Allowing police officers to remain in an area of work for a significant period, with dedicated (and, ideally, pooled) resources, co-located with partner agencies can enable the kind of trust-building which police officers tend to favour when it comes to working with those outside the organisation.

Trust-building is of course not an end in itself, but will lead to other positive outcomes for co-production. Once trust can be established between the police and their partners, this will facilitate particular ways of working, for example, joint deployment. Working 'on-the-ground' with partners not only enables better problem solving in communities, but can also engender a better understanding of each other's roles and working practices, as well as skills and resources. This is one of the key benefits for the police from partnership work – learning not only which organisation but also which people within that organisation are best placed to address a particular problem or issue in a local area. This allows the police to transfer work that they are not best placed to address, saving time and resources as well as building working relationships with other agencies.

However, it is important to not assume that anyone in the police organisation is suited to partnership work. It is a particular method of working that requires a certain skill set and cognitive orientation. The police are known for working quickly and efficiently, as these skills are often needed in emergency situations. Other agencies, however, work in an environment based on discussion, reflection and debate and will at times resist making decisions quickly. Officers involved in partnership work should be chosen with this in mind: that they will need to be flexible in their approach to working with partners. Additional training for partnership work is also advisable, to ensure that officers are aware of these issues and have some background knowledge of what the various agencies do and why they do it. Thus, additional resources which officers involved in partnership work will need is training and time: time for training and a period of orientation as well as time to allow projects and interventions with partner agencies to come to term at a timescale which may not always fit with the usual way of working for the police.

Having internal processes to support and reward partnership work is also important to its success. Officers tend to be encouraged to gather a range of experiences in policing, rather than specialise in one particular area (or to remain in one area for a long period). Building in mechanisms which reward successful partnership work would signal the importance it has for the organisation. In addition, officers and staff who wish to remain in a partnership environment should not be penalised for doing so with reduced opportunities for promotion. Encouraging and rewarding officers for partnership work will raise its profile and legitimacy within policing.

Finally, working with partners on particular problems in local areas will probably require the police officers involved to shift their focus away from traditional police priority areas. Partnership working may be orientated around more generalised outcomes, such as harm reduction (see Christie 2011), rather than quantifiable targets, such as rates of domestic burglary. This will require the police officers involved to be open to this new way of working, and for more senior levels to appreciate that the benefits of partnership may not be easily evidenced on a quarterly report. However, this does not mean that there is no positive outcome from the work. It may take longer to appear, but the investment of time, resources and patience required will be worth it.

With local areas

Partnership, and co-production in particular, is often positioned as involving members of the public as well as the various state agencies (such as police, youth services, health services, etc.). Indeed, this is a key element of the findings of the Christie Commission (Christie 2011). There are a variety of

ways in which co-production can take place. For example, Osborne and Strokosch (2013) differentiate three modes of co-production at the operational, strategic and service levels which relate to 'consumer', 'participative', and 'enhanced' modes of co-production.

- *Consumer* co-production focuses on the engagement of consumers at the operational stage of the service provision in order to balance their expectations and experience of the service. The aim is user empowerment.
- *Participative* co-production relates to attempts to improve the quality of public services through participative mechanisms at the strategic planning and design stages of the service production process (e.g. user consultation and participatory planning). The aim here is user participation.
- *Enhanced* co-production combines these operational and strategic perspectives to challenge the existing paradigm of service delivery and the aim is user-led innovation of new forms of public service. The Christie Commission recommendations sit here.

However, there is a danger here of assuming that members of the public, or as they are usually presented, 'local communities', are able or willing to be involved in these processes (Featherstone et al 2012). As discussed above, the 'local' is a fluid entity and in addition, transformation requires change at multiple levels: local, regional and national (Davoudi and Madanipour 2013). Attempts to reach out to 'local people' may only result in those individuals with the most resources, skills and the best connections getting involved. These are often not the populations that most need assistance and engagement with public sector services. These appeals to 'local areas' tend to brush over entrenched inequalities, population diversity and disparate power relations in a given region (Featherstone et al 2012). Therefore, in order to fully engage both partners and the public in co-production, more innovative methods of working may be required. Innes (2014) presents an example of such an approach with the 'Community Intelligence-Led Policing' (CILP) model. This blends elements of intelligence-led policing with community policing. Open community meetings are often a feature of community policing in which the police report back to local residents about their work and seek views on what police priorities should be going forward. However, this method is often unsuccessful in that only the 'usual suspects' turn up to the meetings or the police do not engage in sufficient dialogue with residents. In the CILP model, officers involved in community policing will instead use a systematic and structured method of face-to-face engagement, which ensures a representative sample of residents are consulted. A carefully designed interview instrument is used in these discussions and the results are analysed across the area to identify which problems are affecting the most people or those which affect a small number, but with a high degree of harm. Targeted interventions are then put in place in collaboration with the appropriate

partners. While this is a police-centred approach, it is presented here as an example of a more representative method for gaging what the needs are of a particular area or for gathering the views of 'local people'. The police and partner agencies should ensure that their attempts at co-production with the public can use representative methods such as this, rather than just seeking out the usual 'community leaders' or other representatives who may have vested interests.

Conclusion

The challenge for the police when it comes to partnership work is to move from viewing it as 'nice to have' when resources allow to seeing it as a core, and essential, component of contemporary policing. Not only is partnership and the greater integration of public services advocated by the Christie Commission (2011) and enshrined in statute with the Police and Fire Reform Act (2012), research has suggested that it is the ideal way of working for the police in particular and the public sector in general (Crawford 2002, Ostrom 1972). However, making the transition to an integrated public service, or even to just prioritising partnership work within policing policy and practice, will be a challenge. Working in partnership with other agencies and members of the public involves skills and methods not usually employed in day-to-day policing. Adaptations will be required at all levels of the organisation. At the strategic level, police leaders and managers will need to restructure processes involved in budgeting, training, communication, performance monitoring, rewards, promotions and accountability mechanisms. At the operational level, change will be required in terms of deployment, allocation of time, management of staff office space, management of IT systems, and many others. These changes need to happen across the organisation, not just in specific departments or work areas, to ensure that there is no duplication of work and that co-production and full integration with other services is seen as a priority within Scottish policing. Once this is achieved, however, and the police are not just 'working with' partners but are fully integrated with them, Scotland will have a much more effective and efficient public sector that is better equipped to address contemporary social problems and harms.

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Thinking about performance

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One of key challenges ...is the way in which performance measurement continues to focus on the short term and on outputs rather than outcomes, so there is still important work to do to achieve a longer term, outcome focus. (Review of Reform 2016: 30-1)

This briefing focuses on understanding *performance frameworks* in policing, how these are *measured*, and how, when outcome focused, *performance assessment* provides information, evidence and insight for managerial oversight within policing and aligns with wider partnerships and stakeholders' objectives. This review aims further to explore how *smart* performance improvement (as an iterative outcome-focused *process*) could assist in the long term aspirations of Police Scotland for the promotion of safety and well being in Scottish local communities. It offers a theory of change for performance management, welding scholarly knowledge about the benefits of problem-oriented policing to selecting grounded outcome (and outward looking) performance measures. Together, outcome focused police performance framework harnesses a dynamic and interactive analytically-informed and evidence based way of working to a 'whole of government' partnership for safety and security problem-solving across Scotland.

Performance frameworks for policing – start with police only and advocate for a whole of government high level with a pyramid design

Policing knits together a complex and dynamic set of activities aimed to promote safety, security and well being in Scotland. Policing is expected to provide a professional expertise to the community for the balance of safety and security in the context of a free, democratic society with respect for human rights. Policing has a critical role in orchestrating the weaving together of the public sector, the third sector and local communities for a safer Scotland. Although safety and security involve challenging criminality and the criminal harm of exploitation and of terrorism, it also has a role to play in managing public spaces and proactively identifying risks and threats to public security.

Assessing how well ‘policing’ is doing in fulfilling its obligations to the public is a requirement of oversight as well as responsible leadership within the police service. The public have a right to know ‘how well’ the service they rely on does this, and information about performance should be available in an understandable form in the public domain. Many people have questions about the effectiveness of Police Scotland. Some may ask whether crime is up or down, whether their children are safer in Scotland than elsewhere, or whether Scotland’s well being is ‘getting better’ as a consequence. People may wish to know whether Police Scotland, as an employer, treats its own employees well. As research evidence suggests, if staff experience of organizational fairness is strong, the way to public experience policing improves¹. Performance management thus is not just an approach to internal corporate governance. It is also a mechanism for assessing whether there is iterative and continuous improvement in the delivery of a public good.

A police performance framework is used widely to assess how well policing as a service is fulfilling its public sector obligation to provide leadership for the safety, security and well being. Scholars have been arguing for decades that a performance framework for managing continuous improvement in policing should not be solely focused on *reported crime* as the indicator of successful policing. Too often this measurement looks inward to what the police themselves deliver. While important in running an effective and efficient service, emergency response times, the number of recorded

¹ Ben Bradford and Paul Quinton (2014) ‘Self legitimacy, Police Culture and Support for Democratic Policing in an English Constabulary’ *British Journal of Criminology* 54(6):1023-46.

serious crimes or numbers of arrests are presumed to represent outputs of good policing. While traditionally policing performance has been judged implicitly and explicitly solely through the reduction of 'crime' measures, *this approach is overwhelmingly criticized in academic discussions.*² Critiques of CompStat – a US style performance regime created in NYPD and credited for its contribution to New York City's fall in crime – note that these very performance management meetings too narrowly focused largely on the rise or fall of crime in local areas, impacting crime recording and did not always foster good working relationships within the police service itself.³

Managerial police performance frameworks, as others note⁴, risk skewing police leaders' approaches to policing priorities, devoting resources to those matters that were 'counted' and were most visible to oversight. Despite attempts to create a more rounded understanding of police performance in the round, crime measures found themselves central in most debates about the quality of policing⁵. In England and Wales, for instance, the Police Performance Assessment Framework (PPAF) was created in 2002. This framework for police performance, morphed a number of times under successive national governments, was used to appraise policing as a public service in England and Wales⁶. This pillared framework for police performance has morphed over the years and political regimes, and continues to include public satisfaction with police service as a core platform of performance. Interestingly, it is public satisfaction with policing that is seldom publicly debated. HMIC currently publishes a broader view of policing focusing largely on outcomes for policing through its PEEL assessment framework (see box below). The three pillars are effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

² See most recently Malcolm Sparrow (2016) *Handcuffed: What holds policing back, and keys to reform* Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press.

³ John A. Eterno, Arvind Verma and Eli B. Silverman (2016) 'Police Manipulation of Crime Reporting: Insiders Revelations' *Justice Quarterly* 33(5): 811-35.

⁴ Mike Hough (2010) 'Policing, New Public Management and Legitimacy' in S. Brookes and K. Grint (eds.) *The New Public Leadership Challenge* London: Palgrave Macmillan: 70-84.

⁵ In my own 13 years at the heart of performance management debates in the MPS, reported crime dominated senior managers' concerns. See also HMIC inspection reports which routinely include an assessment of the quality of crime recording by police forces in England and Wales.

⁶ First managed by the Police Standards Unit in the Home Office under the second Blair administration, police force assessment is now in the hands of HMIC. See www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk.

PEEL is an annual assessment of police forces in England and Wales. Forces are assessed on their effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. They are judged as outstanding, good, requires improvement or inadequate on these categories (or pillars) based on inspection findings, analysis and Her Majesty's Inspectors' (HMIs) professional judgment across the year.

The pillars each comprise three or four questions that focus on core areas of the work of the police. Judgments are also applied to these questions.

At the end of the PEEL year (in February), HMIs bring together all the judgments made throughout the year together with other findings and information to produce a rounded annual assessment of each force).

Source: www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk

The wider outcome-focused policing frameworks like that of HMIC's above suggest Sparrow (2016) citing Moore (see below), should enable police leaders to think about the efficiency, effectiveness and efficacy of policing in the round. Yet considerable national and international attention still too often spotlights the level of crime and public concern about crime. This narrows the public discussion about the benefits of policing (much wider than that of crime reduction) and disables the police in playing an important part in harnessing the wider public sector and other key stakeholders in integrating their activity to the widest benefit. Oversight of policing may mistakenly narrow its gaze on crime reduction if the information available to partners only reflects performance driven by recorded crime, response times and the numbers of arrests. This continued narrowness of police performance discussions in the public domain recently prompted Sparrow (2016), the Public Practice Management Professor at the Kennedy School of Government to lament, "it appears that many police organizations have not yet take some of its most important lessons [about wider frameworks for performance management] to heart." Sadly, police performance framework discussions have distorted the work of the US police, jeopardizing the reputation of American policing when other important policing outcomes are neglected as a consequence⁷. Sparrow is especially concerned about the gap in the public's confidence in policing brought about by a police defined, tunnel vision focus on performance as reduction in reported crime. The PEEL framework adopted by HMIC in England and Wales does embrace a more outcome focused approach to the public accountability of

⁷ Sparrow op cit. clearly articulates his frustration with the state of US policing in his recent book. See also the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (2015), available at www.cops.usdoj.gov

policing, and could be treated as good practice in the UK in terms of its attention to a high level outcome framework for assessing the quality of policing.

These policing performance frameworks are stand alone judgments (within policing) and do not reflect a whole of government approach to the delivery of safety and security in a local area. Drawing on the Christie Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services (2011), policing performance frameworks in Scotland have the opportunity to align here and would look different. Public Services, according to the aspirations of Christie, must be prepared to be meet the needs of a changing environment in public spending and at the same time improve the quality of public services to meet the needs of people and communities that these services support⁸. Any police performance framework in this light, must be prepared

- to engage and involve people and communities that are policed;
- to integrate services and align best outcomes;
- to prioritize policy that prevents negative outcomes;
- to maximize efficiency by reducing duplication of services across the public, third and private sectors.

In light of Christie, there is an opportunity in the long term strategy for Police Scotland to build a performance framework that meets the aspirations of the Christie Commission. Indeed, many of the core issues and demands for policing require partnership and stakeholder alignment of mission and activity. There is little support across the scholarly community for a narrow police performance framework that privileges only crime reduction over wider social outcome priorities for Scotland. It would be useful to draw some inspiration from New Zealand's whole of government⁹ reform project to influence the Scottish approach to police performance framework that works for 'good of the system as a whole'. In looking at the Policing Plan of the New Zealand Police (see below), the look and feel of the narrative of delivery begins to change. The NZ police approach is smarter, grounded in the use of an evidence-based framework of crime reduction aligned to smarter outcome based narratives with a whole of government approach to public security and safety. Integrating a police

⁸ Commission on the Future of Public Services available at www.gov.scot/resource/doc/352649/0118638.pdf

⁹ See Nehal Davison (2016) *Whole of government reforms in New Zealand: The case of the Policy Project* as found on www.instituteofgovernment.org.uk

performance framework into a whole of government approach does not, Sparrow (2016) argues, diminish the work of policing. Instead it elevates it to the role of expert professional in a rounded discussion about a safer and more secure Scotland.

Best practice for a police performance framework in this light would however require an expertise that is backed up by a command of the insight and evidence analytics. The tools and methods of *good law enforcement* could and should be judged by its command of its (the police's) unique knowledge (drawn from understanding the needs of its users, its problems, its resources and expertise, and its powers for smarter solutions), and the ability to convert this information and remit into a joined up conversation with the public, third sector and private sectors – and local communities. A police performance framework should reflect how well the police service as a whole is delivering safety and security *as measured at a high level* to the people of Scotland. While an alignment with government priorities appears in the Scottish Police Authority performance reports published in the public domain¹⁰, the framework displays a count of outputs, with no clear understanding to the reader what the contribution of the police actually is to the outcomes for a better Scotland. It does not enable those living in the fourteen districts to see how their local area contributes to safety and security, nor does it enable harnessing local resources to tackle the problems facing local areas and communities in particular.

At a high level, the police performance framework should enable and require the police to display its contribution cross departmental outcomes of public good. High level measurement indicators enable the public to see how well the police in their local area contribute overall to the attainment of safety and security on the local environment. Measurement indicators, as discussed in the next section, should also align these high level whole of government outcomes with those achieved in local areas, enabling Police Scotland to assess with competence the performance of its staff at local levels. This also enables better management of resources in the places where these resources are needed to tackle particular problems. Aligning a police performance framework with a logic of change – put your resources where they are most needed and seek to improve staff competence in areas that may not be achieving best results, can be achieved with smart measurement and analysis.

¹⁰ See, www.spa.police.uk

This is the overwhelming consensus of the scholarly literature. It is also the lamentable observations that few police forces have achieved this anywhere.¹¹

Police Scotland would benefit from reviewing New Zealand Police's Four Year Plan¹². At the highest level, there are three outcomes:

- Protected communities and preventing harm;
- Minimizing harm to victims;
- Delivering valued police services.

The Plan clearly and simply sets out how NZ Police are part of a whole of government approach to improvement in security and justice of New Zealanders. These objectives set the vision for the business, aligned to the recognition that public services as a whole deliver the public good to the people of New Zealand (see, for instance, p. 22 of the plan). What this approach requires is a clear alignment and understanding about improvement in the business of policing, the competence of the organization to acknowledge the whole policing 'offer' and police/staff's role (and their local community's part) in knowing their (local and corporate) business, and the interconnectedness of this business to other public, third and private sector partnerships. We turn now to thinking smarter about performance measurement in light of the above.

Measuring police performance: knowing your business in the context of whole government improvement

Police performance frameworks set the stage for oversight and public examination of police promises. Performance indicators are transparent props for assessing whether that performance is judged as 'good' or not. Although policing as a profession pays (too much) attention to public media scrutiny, it often draws on its old and tried indicator – crime volumes – to demonstrate its competence and legitimacy. But these measurement indicators are not merely numbers, which are judged as going in the right or wrong direction, as compared to the previous rolling year's data¹³. Internal measurement indicators require smart analytics, trend analysis, strategic forecasting, and

¹¹ See Sparrow 2016 op cit.

¹² See New Zealand Police: Four Year Plan (2016 -2020), www.police.govt.nz

¹³ See spa.police.uk

knowledge of what works best in policing and insight about the capability and competence of the workplace. The job of oversight and senior police leaders is to assure the public that they have the right police service that can do this. The ultimate test is whether the people of Scotland feel better as a consequence of policing, and feel more satisfied with security and safety following contact with police. Sparrow (2016) argues for creating useful broad frameworks for measuring performance in policing that demonstrates that police not only know their business, but also know how people (and other public and private sectors) feel about the business of policing. He summarizes key components of police management measurement information necessary for demonstrating good performance, so that senior police leaders understand their service delivery in the context of:

- Volume (to locate and analyze demand and resource allocation);
- Timeliness (to assess the efficiency of process transactions);
- Accuracy (to assure best information and inferences drawn from good information);
- Cost efficiency (to challenge and seek improvement for inefficiencies in the process and to argue for better partnership action);
- Client satisfaction (to assess effectiveness and efficacy in the eyes of the public);
- Quality of risk-based work (to recognize the special role and obligation for police to reduce harm and to mitigate vulnerability).

This information and analysis, aligned to a police performance framework that priorities **outcomes** rather than outputs, is critical to enabling *informed* discussions of community problems and citizen requests for help and assistance that is aligned to whole of government priorities and local performance. The management information¹⁴ contained in police information too often is reduced to numbers, direction of travel (up or down), and too often masks the underlying issues which bind a public, third and private sector provision together in a robust problem solving partnership.¹⁵ Numbers alone do not tell you whether crime or security has changed or criminality or crime has morphed. It just counts what people tell police, translated into crime types by the police themselves. Only good analysis will be able to answer the kinds of questions and assist in best value problem solving for local communities.

¹⁴ In my experience of 13 years in the Metropolitan Police Service, London and the London Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, police information – based on crime records, demand analysis and analytics for understanding key policing problems – is a gold mine seldom mined for its contribution on proactive problem solving. See E. Stanko and P. Dawson (2015) *Police Use of Research Evidence*, Springer. See also www.london.gov.uk, MOPAC's data and research cite where there are a number of interactive dashboards available for scrutiny and for some diagnostic, local information feeding local discussions.

¹⁵ See also Prevention First (NZ Police Crime Prevention Strategy) at www.police.govt.nz

Sparrow (2016) and others (see box below) have warned over a number of years of the dangers of “a dominant focus on one dimension of performance” which suppresses other legitimate safety and security concerns. A focus on ends, he continues, if not matched by effective controls on means, “can lead to behaviours that are unwise, risky, or illegal.”

It takes strong leadership, good communication skills and creative analytic nous to demonstrate the drivers of key issues. It requires collaborative and local partnerships to deliver them.

In recent review of the literature (Tiwana, Bass and Farrell 2015), police performance measurement repeats the observation that it falls more often on crime reduction as opposed to harm reduction (even if the problem is domestic abuse, where the consensus is that a competent management of domestic abuse is likely to result in a *rise* of reporting). There too is a common complaint that ‘what gets measured gets done’, leading to a neglect of issues which fester or the police-alone solution leads to other problems (such as a drop in confidence or trust). CompStat, a process for oversight of policing problems, largely held police leaders accountable for knowing what the local problem were located, requiring the leaders to take responsibility for diagnosis and manage resources to address these problems. The scholarly consensus on CompStat as good practice is mixed. It credits CompStat for getting police to focus on what they contributed to crime reduction. Yet, the credibility of information (accurate recording), bullying and a focus on the numbers rather than the context were found to be unintended consequences¹⁶. There is little evidence that CompStat per se led to a more joined up whole of government outcome for solving the wicked issues facing the public sector (mental health, substance abuse, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, for instance). NYC’s solution is to begin to integrate the information and intelligence of the ‘whole of government’ delivery of New York’s public sector offers.

Key measurement indicators embrace outcomes that require collaborative partnership cooperation to achieve. Say, for example, a whole of government priority is to reduce harm and vulnerability in Scotland. As examples, measurement indicators for the SPA/Police Scotland could be some of the following:

¹⁶ See Eterno *et al.*, *ibid.*

- A reduction in repeat violent offending;
- A reduction in repeat victimization for domestic and sexual violence;
- A reduction in violence in areas that reported high levels of alcohol related disorder over the past 5 years;
- An increase in the reporting of sexual violence;
- An increased awareness (of the public) of child sexual exploitation and how it impacts a local area;
- A reduction in the number of repeat visits for knife injuries in A&E;
- An increase in the number of staff in women's refuges, rape crisis, citizen's advice, mental health services, A&E, police, probation and prison services that say that the approach to violence reduction is 'getting better'.

This information and data could be available on a local level. Police might lead 'reducing violent harm in Scotland' but the outcome could not be delivered through police effort alone. Each of the measurement indicators would need to be influenced by the work of the probation service, the prison service, schools, local health authorities, women's refuges/help services, citizens' advice, victims' services, business employee policies and so on. Necessary to the success of this approach to measurement is the right analytic information¹⁷, available in an accessible and transparent format, so that government-level, local level and individual members of the public can have insight and oversight of how well policing is contributing to outcomes.

Choosing a SMART measurement is not a problem of finding the right indicator drawn from a single column of recorded crime, leading to perverse responses and falling prey to the adage 'what gets measured gets done'. It requires finding an *analytic* approach to problem identification and a credible proxy measure for a social problem that is understood by partners in the round and can only 'move' if all parties across the public, third and private sectors collaborate. The aspiration of finding a good measurement is to embed jointly understood *way of working* that creates a common outcome, and that fosters learning from doing, learning from research based learning, and in partnership with knowledge that rests across partnership perspectives combining a 360o view of harm, safety and well being.

¹⁷ Sparrow (2016) makes a strong case for investing in analytics for problem oriented policing, and says that collaboration is "unlikely to reach maturity unless police develop a clearer vision of the analytic support they should be seeking and analysts and research are poised to deliver it."

At the same time, scholars concur that performance measurement needs to include citizens' views of policing and how the public feel they are or would be treated. This kind of measurement exists in the data collected from people, has often focused on victim satisfaction and public confidence¹⁸.

From Mark Moore and Anthony Braga (2003) *Recognising Value in Policing: The Challenge of Measuring Police Performance* built around seven dimensions:

- Reducing crime and criminal victimisation
- Holding offenders accountable
- Reducing fear and enhancing (personal) security
- Increasing safety and order in public spaces (including traffic)
- Using public funds (resources) fairly, efficiently and effectively
- Using force and authority fairly, efficiently and effectively
- Enhancing customer satisfaction

No doubt, specific questions commonly arise in conversations about the impact of policing and to answer these questions, the organization requires good analytic services. In my experience of nearly a decade and a half in London's policing world, these kinds of questions are frequently asked, and require a forward thinking, more robust ability to manage data across sectors in order to understand a direction of travel *in the round*:

- Is Scotland getting safer?
- Is violence up or down? Is rape up or down?
- How safe are Scotland's roads?
- What is the level of crime in my local area compared to other areas in Scotland?
- Are the police doing a good job in my local area?
- How safe are vulnerable people in Scotland?
- Are criminals getting 'worse' or 'better' in Scotland?
- How well is Police Scotland managing criminal offenders?
- How satisfied are the public with the services from Police Scotland?
- How many times do Police Scotland 'stop and search' and what is the contribution of this activity to public safety in Scotland?

¹⁸ See in particular, B. Bradford, J. Jackson and E. Stanko (2009) 'Contact and confidence: Revisiting the Impact of Public Encounters with Police' *Policing and Society* 3; E. Stanko and B. Bradford (2009) 'Beyond Measuring "How good a job police are doing": The MPS Model of Confidence in Policing' *Policing* 3: 322-330.

Local communities' information aligned to this outcome will enable grounded discussions of addressing local problems¹⁹. More importantly, it enables diagnostic views of strengths and weaknesses in local responses which often differ because communities have a range of services and capabilities. Diagnostics allow for improved gap analysis and spotlight where improvement is specifically needed. Framing performance through the lens of any of the above questions through police data alone would not truly answer any of the above questions. A fuller response requires partnership data, knowledge of scholarly research and credible (and randomly collected) views of the citizens. Without the fullest view of data in the round, understanding performance of the police provides a partial view of progress.

As a starter for ten, the policing plan for the New Zealand Police (2016) offers an illustration of how high level objectives can be aligned to best practice about what works better in reducing harm.

Simply, a crime prevention (harm reduction) approach for policing strategy requires:

- Acting with urgency against priority and prolific offenders;
- Leveraging community services and networks to protect vulnerable people, with a particular focus on repeat victims; and
- Developing innovative and sustainable practical solutions to address crime hotspots and repeat locations²⁰.

Key Principles for measuring improvement require:

- good analytics;
- intelligence horizon scanning;
- understanding local contexts;
- collaborative partnership problem solving.

As a theory of change and iterative improvement, using good metrics for performance management in policing aligns the scholarly knowledge about problem-oriented policing, grounded measurement

¹⁹ See www.reformscotland.com (August 2016) *Reinventing local policing*. While this briefing does not address aligning performance measurement, an agreed policing performance framework that enabled local communities to understand and to analyse policing centrally and locally would facilitate better conversations about resources, capability and competence in the delivery of safety and security.

²⁰ See New Zealand Police (2016) op cit.

outcome performance indicators (some of which will indeed be drawn from partnership data), and adopts a dynamic, interactive analytically-informed approach inviting whole of government outcome debates.

Outcome-focused police performance assessment framework for envisioning the future:

Harnessing best analytics to create an active feedback and information loop for local communities too

Police Scotland's strategic mission and management of its operational business requires good analytics. Moreover, when good information is also transparent to partnerships and the public, its logic and its use (where possible) enable Police Scotland to work more productively on difficult problems and particularly on reducing social harm. Conversations about reducing harm, promoting safety and security, and employing police officers who value and respect citizens' rights should be analytically robust and outcome focused. Collaborative problem solving is therefore informed, and the direction of improvement can be seen and communicated. Partnership assurance is gained through *sharing* analytic insight produced from *shared* data and information. All of this information can shed light on local communities, local resources, local best practice and opportunities to share learning.

There are lessons learned about evidence based policing strategies that should responsibly adopted as *performance* business as usual²¹. Performance frameworks can embed these best policing practices. Generating insight from analytic support creates an active knowledge of the business of policing²². Sharing knowledge, building knowledge with partners and partnership data, can lead to a more robust and evidence-based approach to innovation for the business of safety and security.

So what is the theory of change which underpins an outcome based performance framework for policing? A number of assumptions accompany any framework, and these will be listed here.

²¹ See Sparrow op.cit.

²² Too often neglected, good analytics enable focused action, can anticipate changes or consistencies in problems, and help diagnosis changes in criminality and crime.

- A SMART police performance framework, analytically driven and using best lessons gleaned from evidence based scholarship, is outcome focused.
- Available police information analytically mined offers unique insight into the police side of the business of well being, safety and security. While partial, police data has extensive information on, for example, victims of crime, witnesses, locations of incidents, suspects, vulnerability, missing people, gangs, stop and search, police use of force, complaints, taser-use, officer misconduct, demand for service and changes in demand for service²³.
- An outcome based performance framework is mindful of the partial nature of the above yet analytically ambitious in understanding the police side of the business of well being, safety and security.
- An outcome based performance framework is used as a tool for oversight as well as managing the business.
- Although the detail for managing the business may differ in its presentation and visual format, information must be compared and where possible aligned with the high level information available to partners, local communities and oversight.
- Learn from London's MOPAC website how to enable local communities to access local performance aligned to whole of Police Scotland outcomes.
- Using the outcome based performance framework as a tool requires an agreed process for hosting conversations about key problems in local communities.
- Sharing analytic products requires openness, transparency, collaborative working and problem solving as a conversation about continuous improvement in the well being, safety and security of Scotland.
- Learning from these conversations is critical. When tragedy happens (and it inevitably will) lessons learned must be integrated into the conversation about iterative improvement.
- People's experiences of policing must be incorporated as routine monitoring of policing.
- The public must be part of the conversation.
- Blame and defensiveness must be left at the door.

²³ See Paul Dawson and Elizabeth A. Stanko (2016) 'The best-kept secret(s) of evidence based policing' *Legal Information Management* 16, pp64-71. Doi:10.1017/S1472669616000190

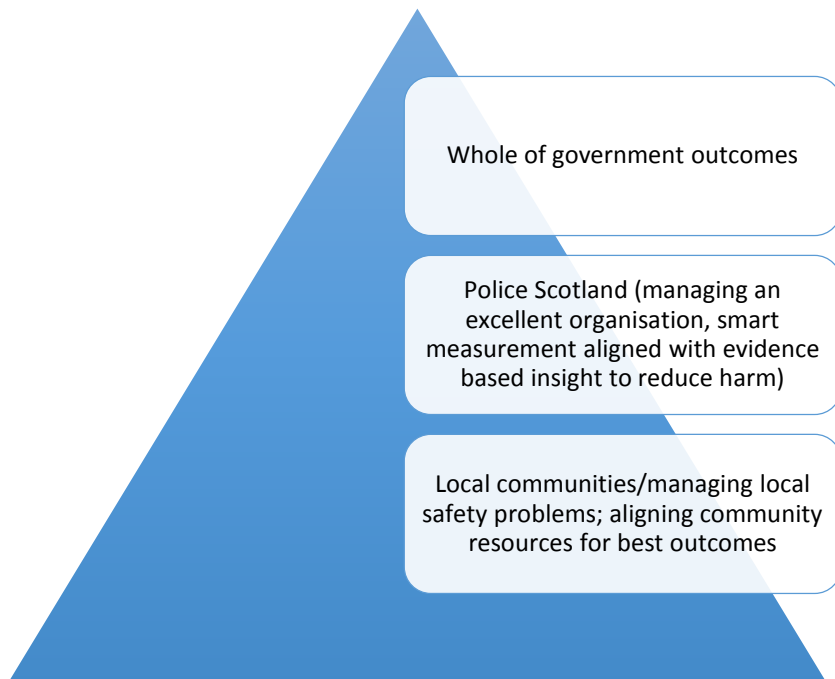
None of the above specifies the geographical specificity of the information. There is no academic consensus on centralization or localization of the police service²⁴. Enabling local analysis of police information is essential to offering local communities problem solving at the community level. The above assumptions about what a good police performance approach could be though requires are a different way of working. This approach expects buy in at the strategic level over a period of time long enough to alter the conversation to reducing harm and vulnerability. It also urges the police service to review and to develop its staff to provide the best analytics for organizational intelligence. Police Scotland can lead the conversation through their command of knowledge gained with a thorough understanding of well being, safety and security *as their data demonstrate*. Partnerships and stakeholders are welcome to offer their own data driven understanding of issues. In the round this enables bringing together a shared, evidence base within which measurement can capture a direction of travel (is violence getting better or worse? Is Scotland getting safer? What drivers of well being should government focus on to improve safety overall (to which police can contribute the right strategic priorities)?).

This change in conversation will be a challenge to some cultures²⁵ still remaining within policing. These are not unique to Scotland, but should not be ignored. Performance frameworks inevitably lead to some resistance within policing services because 'performance' evokes command and control. These issues should be acknowledged by those wishing to bring change. As Sparrow (2016) argues, what people want is responsive policing, and the desire for this outcome is not the narrative of rocket science. "Citizens of any mature democracy can expect and should demand police services that are responsive to their needs, tolerant of diversity, and skillful in unraveling and tackling crime and other community problems. They should expect and demand that police officers are decent, courteous, humane, sparing and skillful in the use force, respectful of citizens' rights, disciplined, and professional. These are ordinary, reasonable expectations."

²⁴ Nick Fyfe, J. Terpstra and P. Tops, (2013) *Centralizing forces? Comparative perspectives on contemporary police reform in northern and western Europe* (Hague: Eleven publishing).

²⁵ Stanko and Dawson (2015), *op cit*.

Figure 1 Police Performance Framework Alignment from Local Communities to Whole of Government outcomes for well being, safety and security



Police governance and accountability

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Overview

The review will begin with some definitional issues around the concepts of ‘governance’ and ‘accountability’ in order to highlight the interrelated nature of them in practice, the range of things they focus upon, their purposes, and the breadth of stakeholders with potential roles and interests in them. These issues resonate throughout the review and will be fleshed out initially in the following section which will give some focus to the literature on police governance and accountability specifically, through unpacking some recurrent themes and issues that have shaped much of the debate. They are overlapping in practice but will be discussed in turn:

- constabulary independence;
- individual and organisational accountability;
- legal accountability;
- local versus central governance and accountability; and
- styles of governance and accountability.

The review will then move on to examine principles of democratic policing and good governance that may be used to critically evaluate any institutional design of police governance and accountability. The utility of this approach is that it does not assume that there is any single ‘right’ answer to police governance and accountability. Different sets of arrangements (comparing, for example the single force model of Police Scotland with the Police and Crime Commissioners in England and Wales) may give more/less robust articulation to particular principles. However, taken as a whole, consideration of democratic and good governance principles allows coherent analysis of

governance arrangements in the round, provides a clear rationale for their fundamental importance in a modern democracy, and sets out markers against which governance arrangements can themselves be subject to reasoned scrutiny.

Governance and accountability: definitions

It should be noted from the outset that there are no clear, agreed definitional distinctions between governance and accountability in the literature on policing. The terms have often been used interchangeably, or at least with uncertainty as to where one begins and the other ends, indicative of “a relationship that is untidy and ill-defined” (Walsh and Conway 2011: 63). However, although there are clearly overlapping dimensions of governance and accountability that need to be recognised, distinctions can conceptually be made between them that allow for appreciation of their interaction, and of the breadth of mechanisms relevant to the consideration of each.

Governance can refer abstractly to *all processes of governing*. It supplements a focus on the formal institutions of government with *recognition of more diverse activities that blur the boundary of state and society*. It draws attention to the *complex processes* and interactions involved in governing. Governance can also refer, more concretely, to the rise of new processes of governing that are hybrid and multi-jurisdictional with *plural stakeholders working together in networks*. (Bevir 2012: 5, emphasis added)

Bevir’s definition in his accessible introduction to the now voluminous literature on governance is a good place to start. Governance is a broader, more encompassing, term than accountability referring to ‘all processes of governing’ and the ‘complex processes’ and ‘plural stakeholders’ who may have a role and a stake in it. In talking about the governance of the police we’re not just talking about ways in which formal institutions of government exercise top-down control over the police, although this may be part of it. Multiple agencies are likely to be involved, including courts, central and local government agencies and auditing bodies, for example, and if looking more broadly at ‘policing’ it would also require consideration of commercial and voluntary sectors too (see discussion of Loader and Walker and the ‘governance of security’, below). In concrete terms the processes of governing the police identified in the police governance literature have included internal managerial processes (resource allocation and accounting, priority-setting, information strategies, and processes of appointment, training, promotion and discipline, for example) as well as external monitoring, collaboration and standard setting (including HMICS reviews, Audit Scotland monitoring, local and

central priority-setting, complaints handling, law reform and collaborative partnership arrangements, for example) (Walsh and Conway 2011; Reiner 2010; Jones 2008). Implicated in both internal and external governance arrangements is the issue of values and how they might be expressed in governance processes and in the orientation of the police organisation that such processes of governing seek to engender. We'll return to this when we examine principles of democratic policing and good governance, below. However, one such principle is accountability itself:

(Accountability) may consist of four components: assignment of responsibilities; an obligation to answer for those responsibilities; surveillance of performance to ensure compliance with direction; and possible sanctions and rewards. (Norman 2003: 144, cited in Liddle 2007: 404)

In the policing literature 'accountability' is most commonly used in relation to the regulation of police powers and in relation to police complaints and misconduct where individual officers, and sometimes the organisation as a whole, is held to 'account' for unlawful or inappropriate actions (and occasionally omissions) primarily through the courts, internal management processes, local and central police authorities, and formal complaints procedures but also, increasingly, through the media (see: Reiner 2010: 205-222; Jones 2008: 711-714; Dixon 1997). However, all of these authors recognise that examining policy, management practice, organisational processes, efficiencies and outputs as primarily 'governance' and examining legal regulation and misconduct as primarily 'accountability' is a matter of academic expedience (in how we write things up in an organised manner), and that governance and accountability are more tightly interrelated than that. For example, audits and reviews of practice may require the police to be held to account for perceived deficiencies, strategic policy setting necessarily requires holding the police to account for their proposals, and individual wrongdoing of officers takes place within a wider organisation whose culture, policies and practices might be closely implicated with it. In all these examples governance requires accountability and accountability is predicated on effective governance. They are not conceptually the same, but they are not easily divisible in practice either. Tensions between them come to the fore again in discussions of constabulary independence, individual and organisational accountability and the legal regulation of policing, throughout this review. 'Accountability' as a conceptually distinct aspect of governance, however, emphasises issues of compliance in exercising responsibilities to appropriate standards, with scrutiny and monitoring of action necessary to this

end, and reasoned account giving, strategies for improving compliance, sanctions and rewards being both possible outcomes of and processes for achieving accountability.

Taken together, what this short account of governance and accountability highlights is that they relate to both internal and external processes and relationships; that they involve, potentially, many different organisations and agencies; and that ultimately they are about ensuring that the activities of an organisation, in this case the police, are responsive to and orientated around the values of society.

Unpacking police governance and accountability: recurrent themes and debates

In order to make some of the discussion more concrete it is appropriate to turn directly to the literature on police governance and accountability more specifically. Most of these issues are also found in wider debates about governance and accountability, but the police are something of a special case given their constitutional role in the enforcement of the law. The issues identified here are selective, but are nonetheless indicative of the main lines of debate and contestation around police governance and accountability, and of some of the myths associated with them.

- *Constabulary independence.* This concept evolved in the early part of the 20th century as a check to partisan interference from political masters in law enforcement, and to protect and enshrine the professional autonomy of police officers. Consideration of constabulary independence takes us towards profound questions of legal and political authority that go beyond the scope of this short review. Ultimately they can be summarised as, on the one hand, concern that political direction of policing runs the danger of partisan law enforcement, corruption and the protection of vested and sectional interests through the police. This is set against, on the other hand, concerns that police autonomy places over-reliance on the law to exercise a check on what the police do and that left to their own devices an independent police can be just as partisan (even discriminatory) in the exercise of their functions (for a detailed treatment see: Walker 2000: 54-66). In the case most associated with establishing constabulary independence (*Fisher v. Oldham Corporation* [1930] 2 KB 364) the issue at stake was whether an individual could take action against a local police authority (and its watch committee in the parlance of the day) for wrongful imprisonment. The court found that they could not as there was no “‘master-servant’ relationship between the arresting officers and the watch committee” (Jones 2008: 702) in matters of law enforcement. According to Jones, however, “over time, the notion of

constabulary independence became extended to protect the autonomy of chief constables' policy-making as well as the discretion of constables in individual cases" (2008: 702), and herein lies the problem. Despite remaining an important constitutional principle, and uncontroversial as it relates to the unacceptability of explicit direction of the constable in enforcing (or not enforcing) the law in specific instances, constabulary independence became a shield through which the police sought to deny or limit public and political scrutiny of police policy, efficiency and effectiveness, all of which are legitimate, often statutory, functions of local and central government and systems of inspection and auditing (for a critical account of constabulary independence see: Lustgarten 1986). The checks, balances and transparency promoted within democratic and good governance principles (see below) are in large part about achieving a compromise between police independence and professionalism, and appropriate levels of political and responsive scrutiny.

- *Individual and organisational accountability.* Jones (2008) uses this distinction when organising his accounts of police governance and accountability. It is helpful in demarcating the different targets of governance and accountability mechanisms, and the diversity of these mechanisms, in a reasonably common-sense way. The target of individual accountability is the activity of the individual officer, and the mechanisms for securing their accountability to law and police policy include recourse to law (through the courts' scrutiny of cases brought before them and through potential criminal or civil law actions against officers), formal and informal internal disciplinary processes, and official external police complaints procedures. The targets of organisational accountability are the wider policies, processes and administration of the police service as a whole, the mechanisms including inspection, auditing, standard-setting, resourcing, and appointment and dismissal processes for management level officers. Although individual accountability may seem to be more neatly within the realm of 'accountability' and organisational accountability of 'governance' the truth of the matter is more complex and blurred, "since the behaviour of individual policing agents is influenced by broader organisational policies and practices, and vice versa" (Jones 2008: 694).
- *Legal accountability.* Law plays an important, but limited, role in police accountability. It is through law that the police are constituted and the law both provides the police with powers and with formal limits to their exercise (Walker 2000; Dixon 1997). That the police are accountable to the law - that their presentation of evidence and the exercise of their

powers can be scrutinised in court, that officers' actions can be subject to criminal or civil proceedings, that lawyers can inform advisory groups reporting on police practice (see: Scott 2016), or that the police can be the subject of judicial review - is crucial to their legitimacy (Reiner 2010: 99-101). The judiciary, the courts, Crown Office and the wider legal establishment are thus undoubtedly important actors in the landscape of police governance and accountability, playing a vital role in ensuring that police practice remains within the confines of law. However, legal accountability is, in itself an inadequate check on the police for a variety of reasons (see: Dixon 1997; Lustgarten 1986). For example, many cases that the police bring against citizens do not end up at trial, and much of what the police do is of relatively low visibility. In particular, it needs to be remembered that there is discretion in the application of police powers: both discretion in the interpretation of individual rules, and discretion in determining what rules might be applied (resulting from police priorities and the fact that they cannot enforce all of the rules all of the time) (Reiner 2010: 19). Where legal power is exercised there certainly is scope for it to be challenged under law, but where decisions are made not to invoke the law then "the legal consequences are much more hazy...in that the legal process has nothing on to which to get a grip." (Lustgarten 1986: 68). This issue is emphasised by the fact that the police in practice do a lot more than law enforcement, also providing service to the public and having a wider (and more fundamental for many commentators) role in order maintenance (Reiner 2010) or the securing of public tranquillity (Scarman 1982), albeit that these are functions the police exercise with the potential of law enforcement in the background. Therefore, for Lustgarten, where legal institutions clearly have a role in checking active police law enforcement and instances of perceived wrongdoing, this is but a "long stop" in their wider accountability, and inadequate in relation to the more "political" judgements to be exercised around order maintenance, for which democratic institutions beyond the legal system are required. (1986: 73).

- *Local versus central governance and accountability.* Police services were originally developed through local government in Scotland, although amalgamations followed very quickly, animating discussion of police governance throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries (Davidson, Jackson and Smale 2016; and on the similar but not identical history of England and Wales see: Reiner 2010 and Emsley 1996). The virtues of both local and central organisation and governance of police are, therefore, well-rehearsed and remain relevant, even for a single police organisation like Police Scotland. The virtues of central organisation and governance have tended to be couched in general terms of efficiency and effectiveness,

and more specifically in relation to better coordination of police resources, economies of scale, improved opportunities for workforce development and promotion, promulgation of uniform standards, equitable allocation of resources, and protection of minority interests (Lustgarten 1986: 177-178). Local organisation and governance, however, allows for decisions to be made closer to local people, more flexibly through shorter local chains of command, and responsively to local interests, with local government and proponents of these interests taking ownership of and responsibility for the outcomes (Lustgarten 1986: 177; Davidson et al. 2016). In addition, having both local and central mechanisms of governance effectively creates a 'distribution of power' (see below) in the governance of the police, making it more likely that a single set of political interests does not dominate the process. Regardless of how the balance is formally struck between local and central governance in practice the virtues of both are worth remembering, each potentially contributing to different aspects of democratic good governance, as we'll see below.

- *Styles of governance and accountability.* The most famous distinction here in relation to police accountability was made by Marshall (1978), between 'subordinate and obedient' (instructions are issued and followed) and 'explanatory and cooperative' (where information has to be provided and reasons given for decisions taken) styles of accountability¹. Reiner latterly added a third, 'calculative and contractual', through which he was referring to the growing tendency from the 1980s onwards for the police to be governed through technical systems of auditing and target setting (2010: chapter 7). Although these authors see emphases in these styles of governance as emerging chronologically this is not to say that one necessarily replaces the other. Rather it might be seen that different styles relate to different mechanisms of governance, or to different functions that they carry out, and that all might have a part to play in securing democratic policing. For example, where the work of the Scottish Police Authority in formulating a National Policing Plan with Police Scotland can in all likelihood occur in an 'explanatory and cooperative' style, their exercise of powers relating to the dismissal of senior officers would be an example of a much more 'subordinate and obedient', rule-based approach. Any system of governance and accountability may show a leaning towards a particular style, but at different points and in relation to different mechanisms it might also include elements of all of them. Certainly a lot of the good

¹ I use Marshall's own preferred terminology: 'accountability'. He was writing before 'governance' became developed through public administration theorising and then prominent in commentaries on the police. However, he is primarily looking at 'organisational accountability', or what most contemporary writers would categorise as 'governance'.

governance literature is suggestive of negotiated, cooperative styles of governance orientated towards consensus are appropriate and involve stakeholders actively, but even here there are warnings (see Woods, below) that consensus and cooperation come with their own risks associated with their relative informality in practice. They can result in ambiguous lines of accountability that a certain amount of rule-based formal process can act as a check on (Woods 1999: 49-52, and below).

Principles of democratic policing and 'good' governance

The remaining section of the review will explore the question of democratic good governance, what it is, and how it might allow us to make sense of and critically evaluate police governance and accountability arrangements. Rather than attempting to summarise a vast literature the review will draw primarily on four sources that develop or consolidate 'democratic good governance' principles (even if they don't all do so in precisely these terms). Despite being written for different purposes and audiences they have strong consistencies and affinities with one another, evidencing a coherent set of principles through which to think about 'good governance'. The first two pieces come from the social science literature on the police and policing. The second two come from the field of international development (informed by work of the UN, the World Bank and the IMF), in which the term 'good governance' gathered traction (Bevir 2012: 101-119; Woods 1999:39). That they share common concerns is illustrated by the fact that in international development work in fragile and conflict affected states the development of legitimate public police institutions is understood to be a priority and a necessary condition for wider post-conflict democratisation and stability (see: Aitchison and Blaustein 2013). Much of the good governance work in international development itself focuses primarily on development institutions themselves and on recipient states. Each piece will be introduced briefly in turn, primarily to situate the contribution, but also to give an initial sketch of its particular insights. The review will then provide a consolidated overview of the principles of democratic good governance drawing from all four.

1. *Jones, Newburn and Smith's 'Policing and the Idea of Democracy' (1996)* is the most 'in point' in that it is a specific attempt to provide a set of criteria through which to critically assess public police services. They begin by exploring the idea of democracy within democratic theory and show that it is about more than just elected representation ensuring the will of the people is heard in government, as is sometimes assumed. Rather it is also a set of ideals or values (1996: 186) which coalesce around the idea of citizens as bearing rights in a democracy (good governance literature explicitly draws on Human Rights in

underlining this point, see below), rights which demand that they be treated fairly and equally with others, and that their interests should shape the services that they receive, services which in the case of the police are 'public' in nature, meaning that their effective delivery benefits everyone and not just those who experience them directly. In order of the authors' own preference the principles of democratic policing are (for their own accounts see: Jones et al. 1996: 190-193; Jones 2008: 694-697): **equity; delivery of service; responsiveness; distribution of power; information; redress and participation**. Different parts of an overall system of police governance or accountability may contribute to or articulate different ideals to greater or lesser degrees. They are also overlapping and designed to be considered together (for example, good information is a necessary precondition for the others to work). As the most expansive articulation of democratic good governance Jones et al's model will be used as the basis of the consolidated overview that follows, the contributions from others used to develop and extend the principles as required.

2. *Loader and Walker's 'Civilising Security'* (2007) looks beyond the public police to the assemblages of state, commercial and communal actors who increasingly contribute to the 'governance of security' (see also: Jones 2012; Crawford 2008). As such, their insights chime closely with the 'governance' literature noted earlier (see: Bevir 2010; 2012) and are specifically more attuned to the governance of 'policing' (broadly defined). That is not to say that they are not also relevant to the 'governance of the police' alone. Loader and Walker seek to promote security as a shared public good, with the state playing the role of a necessary 'anchor' of security provision². They identify four overlapping elements that require attention in the governance of security if this is to be achieved, thus avoiding the fragmentation, individualism and marketization that could otherwise increase levels of insecurity (see: Loader and Walker 2007: 216-231). **Resources** relates to how security is

² Loader and Walker provide a strong critique of state policing and security provision, noting the inequality of outcomes, its tendencies to exclude the vulnerable, and its lack of responsiveness to citizens, for example, but they nonetheless stress the importance of the state within the now complex and cluttered actors all engaged in security provision of some kind. Only the state has the capacities (resource allocation) and characteristics (signifier of citizenship) to foster collective, shared, and equitable experience of security. Commercial and even communal providers are individualising, or excluding (only focused on the security of particular communities) respectively, both of which undermine collective feelings of security.

provided for through the allocation of scarce public funds, as well as organisations and individuals own investment, and an equitable allocation of resources is essential for collective security. **Recognition** relates to the need for inclusion and respect of citizens as citizens, through having their voices heard in deliberations on matters of policing security. Recognition might be through a number of mechanisms, including elected representatives, but also through other forms of consultation and participation. **Rights** are key to the governance of security in a number of interrelated respects. Traditionally rights are a check on the exercise of public police power, but in a context of a fragmented policing landscape, citizens' rights can and should also act as a check on intrusions from commercial or other providers too. Rights also act as a check on a danger of recognition, where popular or majority sentiment could trample the minority interests of other citizens but for their rights not to be so treated. **Reasons** act as a further check on recognition, and are called for as a form of collective deliberation on security, challenging mere statements of preference and demanding critical (and informed) scrutiny, and acknowledgement that although not everyone can be a 'winner' in security conversations, informed justifications can be given for security choices made.

3. *Graham, Amos and Plumptre's 'Principles of Good Governance in the 21st Century'* (2003) is an example of a more practitioner-focused distillation of 'good governance' principles for international development agencies in the field of Protected Areas. They observe that good governance principles can be applied to global entities, nation states, organisations and communities before setting out and unpacking the five principles of good governance established by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2003: 3). The congruence with the principles already set out in relation to police and policing will immediately be apparent. **Legitimacy and voice** covers two ideas in this formulation: that participation, direct or through elected or other representatives, should be bound into good governance processes; and that there should be a consensus orientation within decision making processes. As we'll see in the following text there is debate around the consensus approach. **Direction** is distinctive to the UNDP's formulation and relates to the importance of having a long-term commitment to good governance and a strategic vision for attaining it with due sensitivities to the contexts involved. **Performance** is highlighted, covering here both responsiveness to stakeholders and the idea that an eye should be kept on efficient use of resources and the effectiveness of the processes and initiatives concerned. **Accountability** encapsulates accountability of decision makers both to the public and relevant

stakeholders, and is predicated (as with Jones et al's principles) on information flows that provide clarity and transparency of process and practice, allowing effective scrutiny. Finally, the UNDP also stress **fairness**, unpacking the concept into commitments to equity and adherence to rule of law and Human Rights. Echoing some of Loader and Walker's warnings about the importance of rights, Graham et al. further unpack legitimacy and voice and fairness to set out how they are underpinned by specific Human Rights, including equality before the law (Article 7), right to take part in government (Article 21), all born free and equal in dignity and rights (Article 1) (see: Graham et al. 2003: 4, box 2 'Human Rights Principles and Good Governance').

- *Woods' Good Governance in International Organizations* (1999) examines the importance of good governance principles to international organisations, arguing that they are not only essential to their effectiveness in doing things but that they are also important in making them legitimate to stakeholders who will in turn be more likely to feel ownership of them and work through and with them. Legitimacy is also a necessary dimension of police effectiveness, underscoring public willingness to call and engage with the police (see: Jackson, Bradford, Stanko and Hohl 2013). Good governance is also, for Woods, necessary for allowing organisations to be adaptable to stresses and pressures for change in ways that are coherent and manageable (1999: 43). Woods sets out three central components of good governance. **Participation** is stressed as a necessary condition for giving stakeholders ownership of processes. Participation that drives ownership goes beyond mere 'involvement' and suggests that stakeholders have meaningful input into decision-making and thus a direct stake in the success of initiatives. **Accountability** here relates to a number of elements also discussed by other authors. On the one hand it requires transparency and the open flows of information that sustains it. On the other it relates to representation (in this case of member states and of NGOs included to 'represent' specific interests) and how processes such as voting rights and decision-making ensure representation of affected interests. Contrary to Graham et al. Wood is cautious about consensus decision making which in practice has tended to lead to informal processes of building consensus (informal meetings and briefings) which have been led by powerful interests, undermining the less powerful who would have been protected by more formal (and so transparent and accountable) procedures (Woods 1999: 49-52). This leads directly on to the third principle: **fairness**. Here fairness is seen as encapsulating both procedural fairness (in terms of formal

legal and transparent processes of decision-making and working) and substantive fairness (equality of outcomes and the equitable distribution of power in arrangements).

It will already be clear that the articulations of democratic good governance reviewed here, despite their sometimes different usages of terminology, are actually very consistent. I hope to conclude by demonstrating this further by using Jones et al.'s more expansive formulation as a template through which to provide a consolidated account of good governance as it may be applied to the police.

- *Equity.* There are two senses in which equity is important for Jones et al.: in terms of organisational resource allocation and priorities in the delivery of policing services; and in terms of individual experience in police encounters. The first suggests, in similar terms to Loader and Walker, that all citizens should expect a fair allocation of resources and police priorities that neither subject them, or their communities, to unjustifiable over or under policing. Equity of access to resources and in terms of substantive outcomes of initiatives is also emphasised in the wider good governance literature as a component part of fairness commitments. The second dimension of Jones et al.'s equity is about fair treatment in individual encounters, that all citizens should expect to be subject to proportionate law enforcement and consistently applied procedural safeguards. Again, this is congruent with ideas of substantive fairness, with emphases on citizens as bearing rights which might be breached through inequitable or discriminatory treatment, and with rule of law commitments generally.
- *Delivery of service.* This includes, but goes beyond, delivery of service in terms that demonstrate efficiency and effectiveness (and so good use of public funds). Jones et al. also emphasise (in similar terms to Loader and Walker) that effective, democratic delivery of police service is crucial because security is a 'public good', in that it benefits all citizens, whether or not they experience it directly. Woods' insights extend this, indicating that delivery of appropriate services and outcomes are also crucial to organisations' legitimacy. Delivery of services that are 'appropriate', in that they are responsive to public needs and provided to acceptable standards, is thus also part of giving recognition to the public as valued citizens (which also returns us to responsiveness and participation, below). This is also an insight of procedural justice, through which fair, transparent processes and procedures (how services are delivered by the police) can have a substantial effect on

people's trust in the police, sense of identity as citizens, and wider feelings regarding the legitimacy of law (Bradford 2014).

- *Responsiveness.* Democratic policing should reflect the will and interests of the people (i.e. it should deliver the priorities and services that they want), giving recognition and voice to them. This is not necessarily easy in the context of policing. How is the 'will of the people' to be gauged? In some senses it can be gauged from public calls for police service and responsiveness to such calls, but in itself this is insufficient as we know that willingness to call on and engage with the police is unevenly distributed and that it is often communities with the highest levels of vulnerability ('hard to reach groups') who are the least willing (Jones and Newburn 2011). Elected representatives may fill some of this gap but Jones et al. and Loader and Walker also note the importance of other sources of information, such as public surveys and knowledge from other professionals (which could include academic researchers as well as other public services and local government). Another challenge, however, is that responsiveness to the public voice, or giving recognition, itself runs the danger of creating undemocratic policing where the voices of local majorities implicitly or explicitly support repression of other groups of citizens. For Jones' et al. this is why responsiveness must be a lower priority than equity, which acts as a check on it. Being responsive to public demands is not appropriate where it would create discriminatory actions that would trample the equity of others. For Loader and Walker this is also a crucial issue that emphasises how principles overlap and may place necessary checks on one another. For them, recognition is checked both by acknowledgement of rights, and by reasons and the processes of informed collective deliberation that should animate the governance of policing. Where publicly expressed interests would breach the rights of others it would be appropriate for the police not to act in this way, but in providing reasons for the decision the views have still been fairly recognised. Here there is a crucial role for evidence and professional expertise (see: Malik 2016) in police governance to provide proper justification for actions rather than acting in a repressive way on public or political whim.
- *Distribution of power.* This is a key idea within democratic theory: "(i)n any social structure, some conflict of interest between individuals and groups is inevitable. An important feature of democracy is the provision of mechanisms to achieve stable compromises in the case of such conflict" (Jones et al. 1996: 191-192). Distribution of power, and clarity about its distribution, how it manifests in voting and decision making (see Graham et al 2003 and

Woods 1999, above), and how it enables collective informed deliberation and reasoned decision making (Loader and Walker 2007; Malik 2016) is also about transparency and balance in the relationships between governance stakeholders. In relation to the police, as noted in earlier sections, a distribution of power between the centre and the local has often been considered important (Lustgarten 1986), the centre contributing to stability, consistency and equality, the local contributing to responsiveness, flexibility of service delivery, and public participation in policing. Distribution of power also acts as a corrective to constabulary independence, balancing the need for professional police autonomy (particularly in individual investigations) against the need for accountability to representative political institutions.

- *Information.* To a large extent the viability of other democratic principles in practice relies on the availability of good information. The availability of good information relates to transparency and accountability in the good governance accounts. Good information is also required to evaluate efficiency and effectiveness, to gauge public sentiment, to document processes and procedures, to assess equity of service, and to inform collective deliberation on police practice and governance. These tasks cannot be achieved through “routine information alone” (Jones et al. 1996: 192) and, again as noted previously, much of the routine information collected by the police through calls from the public and proactive actions of officers is partial (reflecting who calls and what the police decide is important) and not necessarily reflective of wider experience of crime and victimisation, security and well-being. Therefore, as well as transparency in information provided by the police, consideration should be given to other sources of information that are necessary to properly achieve these tasks. This information might, for example, come from surveys, national and neighbourhood statistics, academic research, activities of other public services, and the work of third sector and other bodies that might represent certain interests. What is certainly clear is that information is the resource through which other aspects of good governance are nourished.
- *Redress.* Jones et al begin with an analogy to systems of representative government and how the public have redress against unpopular individuals or governments through the “ultimate sanction” of voting them out of office. The need for redress, and the sanction of potential removal from office, relates to the police in two senses: the organisational accountability of senior management level officers; and the individual accountability of

officers in exercising their powers. The issue of rights emphasised by Loader and Walker and Graham et al. is important here in that organisational policies that fail on issues of equity, recognition, responsiveness, and effectiveness may breach the rights of citizens, as does, more obviously, individual wrongdoing of officers. Providing redress, as well as showing commitment to rule of law, is also symbolically important in a system of good governance, in that it gives recognition to people as bearers of rights, and transparent processes for handling complaints may also enhance legitimacy.

- *Participation.* Whether termed as ‘recognition’ (Loader and Walker), ‘legitimacy and voice’ (Graham et al.) or also as ‘participation’ (Woods), the idea that recipients of police services (the public) should have some say in what the police do, is also highlighted by Jones et al. The importance of participation is in giving the public a sense of ownership over how their society is policed, in opening up deliberation around policing and security to a breadth of voices, and in ensuring that the police are continually responsive (and adaptable) to ever changing public problems and needs. However, as with all of the other contributions, Jones et al. sound some cautionary notes around participation, hence its relatively low priority in their democratic ideals. They make the pragmatic point that experience tells us that people do not routinely have the time or the inclination to participate actively in politics and civic life. Public participation in policing tends to be animated by events that generate the requisite interest, everyday efforts to establish wide engagement proving to be a real challenge. However, the insights from the other contributors add an important additional cautionary note, that participation, important though it is, needs to be balanced against principles of equity, rule of law, rights and reasons if policing is to be the democratic right of all citizens. Public calls for repressive or discriminatory policing need recognition as indicators of social problems, but need also be subjected to critical and informed deliberation through which democratic police institutions balance their voice against the other principles of democratic policing.

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Leading a Vision for the Future of Policing in Scotland

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The aim of this paper is to summarise a literature review about leadership within the context of a policing vision for Police Scotland. Derek Penman, HM Inspector of Constabulary in Scotland, has expressed recent concerns about the absence of a long-term vision of policing and a clear financial strategy for Police Scotland (The Scotsman, 2015). This paper describes a synthesis of key research findings, providing policy makers and practitioners with an evidence-informed assessment of good (and poor) practice about leadership and its applicability to, and impact upon, policing.

Leadership, workforce composition and strategic and organisational development are inextricably connected. However, this paper views this as a process that both begins and ends with leadership, but forming a virtuous cycle reinforced by reflective and reflexive activity that promotes continuous improvement.

Thinking Differently

Leadership is about collective activity by communities or groups of people (Grint, 2005a); it is not about the traditional heroic view of the leader. However, we do not need to 'throw the baby out with the bathwater'; leadership theories are cumulative, and clearly, the role of the individual leader is important, but it is not the driving factor. Thinking in a different way involves an understanding of

the complexity of leadership. Values play a key role in understanding these complexities and in determining the collective vision, goals, objectives and activities that underpin the creation and development of the workforce through strategic and organisational change. We need to make sense of the theories so that we can apply this thinking in practice. The best leaders ask the right questions and allow those with the knowledge to suggest the best answers and start with “Why (do we lead)? Such thinking has rarely featured in leadership theories.

A framework for leadership

Rudyard Kipling’s six honest serving men support a brief analysis of many hundreds of years of leadership thinking and literature:

*I keep six honest serving-men
(They taught me all I knew);
Their names are What and Why and When
and How and Where and Who
(Kipling, 1907)*

This review suggests that the ‘who’ question has been dominant for most of our history. The ‘What’ question emerged more from modernity and industrialisation, along with the ‘when’ and the ‘where’ questions, from the turn of the 20th century. The ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are relatively recent schools of thought and thus equate to the challenges of twenty-first-century leadership. The paper briefly discusses each of these perspectives before considering the application of the theories in practice.

First, the ‘who’ question

The individual leader is the main focus of the ‘who’ question in the sense of ‘the born leader’ and their characteristics or traits. Historically, these early theories were about military and political leaders; leaders took followers for granted. A relationship between the leader and follower was less important; It has much intuitive appeal. Although the ancient historical accounts have appeal in themselves, the first real attempt to study the characteristics of individual leadership was that of Thomas Carlyle (1795 – 1881) in his account of the ‘Great *Men*¹ theory of leadership’ (Carlyle, 1852). This early theoretical perspective viewed individual leaders “as independent agents, able to manipulate the world at will” (Grint, 2005b: 1471). Grint, who undertook a similar analysis differed in his view and argued that leaders socially construct the way in which others view leaders; in other

¹ At this point in time, there was no effort to explore the role of women as ‘great leaders’

words, they, themselves, construct their sense of the reality, which defines the meaning that society then follows. The focus on 'who' shifted in contemporary understanding in considering the traits that individual leaders (or potential leaders) possessed. Some have argued that this was a first attempt to characterise an effective leader (Bass et al., 2008). This argument may be true for the measurement of traits scientifically, but it takes little account of context.

Second, the 'what' question

Some theories then began to take account of '**what**' leaders do and considered the links between task and employee, the leadership style of leaders, and forms of transactional leadership, increasing exponentially with the enlightenment and emerging modernity. The development accompanied the growing (and relatively new) approach to the study of organisational theories at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We can, perhaps, look to the latter stages of the industrial revolution to see these beginnings. Social historians have well illustrated the continuing 'nasty, brutish and short lives' (Hobbes and Smith, 1909) of those who worked at the 'coalface' of the 'modern' industrial world. The management approaches of the day strongly influenced by Frederick Winslow Taylors' notion of 'scientific management' (Taylor, 1915) with its focus on improving efficiency and Fayol's principles of management (Fayol, 1930) has a key role in this thinking. Attention shifted from the 'nature' to 'nurture' debate, shaping behaviours of people at work (Watson, 1930). Watson saw no dividing line between 'man' and 'brute' (Watson, 1913). The seminal 'Hawthorne Studies' marked a turning point in considering the role of human behaviour from both an organisational and leadership perspective and led to an interesting observation in a change of motivating factors; people responded positively to being observed (Mayo, 1933). Leadership styles emerged from this research as an important factor and remain influential today. Examples include, authoritarian (autocratic), participative (democratic) and delegative (Laissez-Faire) (Lewin et al., 1939) and the political, social and psychological dimensions of leadership (Burns, 1978). Burns distinguished between 'transactional' (one person taking the initiative) and 'transformational' leadership, arguing that leadership is meaningless without its connection to common purposes and collective needs. However, Burns gave a warning; there is often a bias towards self-interests (or what Bass describes as pseudo-transformational leadership) (Bass and Steidlmeier, 1999).

Third, the 'when?' question

As leadership theories continued to develop, the importance of context emerged. There are two primary approaches to the early contextual theories, which are contingency and situational leadership theories. There is a tendency to conflate these two approaches as if-they-were-one. While there are clearly some similarities, there are also some significant differences. Time and situation are part of the currency of leadership which defines the context. '**When**' is a good question

to ask. Task, relations, and the right contexts form the backdrop. Both theories put the individual at its heart. However, contingency theory (Fiedler, 1964), (Cartwright, 1965) and (Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1957) focuses on the effectiveness of the leader. Contingency theory is based on her individual leadership style and is dependent on the situations that the leader favours. In contrast, situational theory (Stogdill and Coons, 1957) (Blake and Mouton, 1964) (Hersey and Blanchard, 1969) rely on the use of a leader's individual skills and his ability to lead in a particular situation through differing managerial/leadership grids. A key difference is that contingency theory focuses on the present situation whereas the attitude and behaviour of the leader determine a situational theory. Both approaches also have different assumptions about followers; contingency theory assumes that all followers will act the same based on the style of the leader whereas situational leaders assume that followers will differ in their responses dependent upon their particular levels of competence, commitment, and maturity. Both theories are influential, contingency theory having "made a substantial contribution to our understanding of leadership processes" (Northouse, 1997: 126). In both cases (contingency and situation), leaders recognise when the right situations occur regarding task and relationships. However, in the case of situational theory, the maturity of leaders and followers is a controlling factor. Both approaches help to identify when to intervene with followers and provide insights about effective leadership in different situations and dyadic leadership relationships and have been influential in shaping approaches to flexible, adaptive behaviour (Yukl, 2009). The approaches are intuitive and simple to understand and widely applied. However, "there is not a huge empirical base concerning the extent to which leadership development focuses on these aspects nor the study or observation of the processes by which leader's behaviour influences follower behaviour" (Brookes, 2016: 15).

Fourth, the 'where?' question

The history of leadership has shown a close association between the 'who' and the 'where' questions. At a time of crisis, followers often look to positional leaders and evaluate their behaviour "based on whether they should be believed" (Allen, 2004). The role of positional leadership is thus critical to the reputation of the organisation particularly the association between power, legitimacy, authenticity, and positional leadership. Power, as we know all too well, can be misused. There is a wealth of literature on the concept of power. Lord Acton (Acton et al., 1907) summed up the dangers well²:

² Letter to Mandell Creighton (5 April 1887), published in *Historical Essays and Studies*, by John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton (1907), edited by John Neville Figgis and Reginald Vere Laurence, Appendix, p. 504

Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority: still, more when you superadd the tendency or the certainty of corruption by authority.

Having power is the ability to influence outcomes and achieve goals, outside the realm of direct control, but not necessarily through one's efforts. A leader's right to lead, accepted by the majority based on a principle, rule or lawfulness, represents legitimacy. However, power without recourse or constructive debate can result in the sort of corruption to which Lord Acton refers. Corruption is not a property of the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Corruption emerged in many of the 'leadership scandals' of the contemporary time, such as Enron, world.com, and Mid Staffordshire Foundation Trust. In many cases, the 'position' of the leader within the organisation provides the 'authority' of leadership (Grint, *ibid*). However, leadership can be either formal or informal or undertaken 'with' or 'without' authority (Heifetz, 1994).

Fifth, the 'how?' question

Contemporary studies need a more empirical approach to looking at how leaders fulfil their role, taking more account of the global context of leadership. This thinking views leadership as a shared and distributed process, which encourages learning. Understanding leadership in this way is a relatively recent approach. Pearce and Conger tell us that "the dynamics and opportunities for shared leadership remain quite primitive" (Pearce and Conger, 2003). Heifetz (1994) says that it is in the process of leadership that its effective evaluation can take place. Leading in a complex world requires both shared, and distributed leadership and intelligent leadership sits at the heart of this (Brookes, 2011). Collective leadership – through networks - is focused on shared beliefs, values, and identities (Western, 2007). Viewing leadership as a process holds promise in addressing the all-important 'how' question. By engaging with wider stakeholders, some benefits emerge. First and foremost, is that a leadership 'community' can mitigate the flaws of individual leaders (the 'who'), the way in which they lead (the 'what') and the limitations of individual leader's position (the 'where'). It can also take account of the best time to intervene (the 'when') and define the steps to take (the 'how'). Pearce and Conger's work about shared leadership has emerged as an important contribution to the leadership debate. They contend that demands on leaders have changed with a focus on performance improvement targets. Particular leadership skills include creativity and problem solving based on enhanced cross-organisational dialogue, including learning conversations. At the core is the acceptance of relational processes, as there is nothing that a leader or group of leaders does that does not involve relationships in one form or another. This collective approach to leadership is not easy. Business and public service are not undertaken between companies but

between people. There is a need to address competing values (Cameron and Quinn, 2006), and it remains a huge challenge to get over the 'WIFM' factor (what's-in-it-for-me). In such cases:

Whether people are open enough to say it or not, every one of us in every relationship or interaction is focused on a single question: "What's in it for me?" (Bonfante, 2011: 83).

Sixth, the 'why' question

Responding to the question '**why**' do leaders lead, involves aims of inspiring, motivating or stimulating others to achieve a given end; in other words, it is about transforming individual efforts towards a shared vision (Bass et al., 2008). Burns earlier described transformational leadership as occurring when "one or more persons *engage* with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978:20) within the context of a 'higher purpose'. In asking the 'why' question, this is important. Transformational leadership differs from transactional leadership. It is a new paradigm for the study of leadership. Research indicates that a transformational culture is more successful than a transactional one when measured against the organisational vision, information sharing, quality assurance, customer satisfaction, and working with others (Avolio and Bass, 1994). There is a danger that the focus again is linked to the traits of individual leaders (for instance, with an emphasis on charisma and inspiration rather than integrity and consistency). Moreover, most studies are US based, focus on 'distant' leadership and ignore the impact of 'nearby' leadership (Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2005: 32). Collective leadership focuses on the alignment between both 'distant' and 'nearby' leadership. As Bass argued (acknowledged by Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe), the "'founders' and successors' leadership shape a culture of shared values and assumptions, guided and constrained by their personal beliefs" (Bass and Avolio, 1994: 62-3)(Bass 1998:62-3). Bass also said that what is needed is for leaders to promote and live a strong vision and a sense of purpose, based on long-term commitments and mutual interests and developing shared norms that are adaptive, and respond to changes in the external environment. In a later seminal and influential discussion, Kotter refers to the need to transform individual efforts towards a shared vision (Kotter, 2012).

Rediscovering the lost values of leadership

Why and how can we lead, to what end? Considering, where, when, and with whom

Cur quomodoque ducere possumus, quo fine?

The language and practice of leadership have its origins in the ancient world; indeed, one could suggest that its language and practice has existed since man first started to walk the earth, initially through the instinctive need for survival passed on by our primate ancestors. The origin of the words “leading” and “leadership” derive from the old German word ‘lidan’ (to go) and an old English word ‘lithan’ (to travel) (Grint, 2010). In this sense, leadership means ‘leading the way’ through one’s own action and it is suggested that leadership is about asking the intelligent questions through networks and building appropriate knowledge and skills (Brookes, 2016). In reversing the order of the six intelligent leadership questions, successful leaders always start with asking “Why” (do we lead) before determining the ‘how’ and the ‘what’ (Sinek, 2009). In taking this approach, values come to the forefront of leadership behaviours and actions. We can thus suggest that Police Scotland’s purpose (the ‘why’) is to improve the safety and wellbeing of people, places and communities in Scotland with the intended outcome of keeping people safe. How’ is not stated explicitly, although the values of the institution are those of integrity, fairness, and respect (Police Scotland, 2016)

Living the Values in achieving the Vision:

As with leadership, we tend to think of values as the property of an individual. Although this is true, we also need to consider organisational, sectoral and societal values. The focus is on the development of shared values. Heifetz (Heifetz, 1994) describes how traditional leadership is viewed through a value-free lens and yet, he argues, leadership is very much a values-laden concept. This paper argues that this is not a new school of thought and draws upon the work of Selznick (Selznick, 1957) to suggest that we need to rediscover the lost values of leadership. He was ahead of his time and thus Selznick’s concept of institutional leadership was not universally welcomed; the emphasis remained on the individual.

Selznick described the leader as:

“an agent of institutionalisation, offering a guiding hand to a process that would otherwise occur more haphazardly, more readily subject to the accidents of circumstance and history.”

It is quite difficult to identify specifically the values that Selznick admired, and it is quite possible that this was not his aim. A detailed analysis of his work helps to establish institutional values that Selznick infers (Brookes, 2016). In reviewing Selznick’s work alongside contemporary literature and

research, we can consider some collective values that help in determining what collective leadership is and how to assess its impact. The resultant acronym of 'COMPASS' is not entirely coincidental.

Collective Vision

Developing a collective vision is a critical first step in asking "Why do we want to lead?" Social values, Selznick argued, are "objects of desire that are capable of sustaining group identity" and "this includes any set of goals or standards that can form the basis of shared perspectives and group feeling" (Selznick, 1957: 108). In practical terms, this is about developing a vision based on the values and experience that exist throughout the organisation, rather than just setting the direction from the top of the organisation. The tendency is to set a strategy or parachute in a consultant or expert and then implement the strategy in a 'top-down' manner. This approach is unlikely to capture the values of those very people who will be charged with its delivery and thus is unlikely to identify the collective values of the institution. Collins describes this as 'getting the right people on the bus (and the wrong people off the bus) before deciding the direction in which you intend to drive the bus (Collins, 2001). It is interesting that Collins uses the term; "first, the who ..." as this paper clearly suggests that leaders start with the "why" question, a point that Collins does not address. However, the important point to draw from both propositions is that the 'why' question needs to be answered collectively, which supports the notion of getting the right people on the bus before you decide where to drive it! However, continuing the analogy, the 'who' (leads?) question is the last one for the *leadership* to answer.

Outcomes focused on Societal Values

At the time that Selznick was writing, the world of leaders was even then characterised by powerful agencies which operated on their initiative, was largely self-governing but becoming increasingly public in nature in what we would describe today as the 'wicked issues' of society. However, outcomes tended to be self-serving, either for individuals or the organisation. Institutional leadership, as Selznick described it, is more than this. It is about creating and demonstrating public value for all stakeholders, including those who deliver the services as well as those who authorise and, importantly, receive the services (Moore, 1995).

Multiple Levels of Leadership

Selznick was keen to extol the benefit of alignment between value maintenance and the autonomy of elites. In keeping with the human relations approach that was prominent at the time of writing, at

the more senior level of leadership Selznick saw a need to “look beyond personal relations to the larger patterns of institutional development; the problem is to link the larger view to the more limited one, to see how institutional change is produced by, and in turn shapes, the interaction of individuals in day-to-day situations”(Selznick, 1957: 4). This interaction is played out at different levels of the organisation with different people taking a lead, based on expertise or knowledge, as opposed to position, power or authority.

Partnership through collaboration

Although Selznick did not use the term partnership, a strong sense is implied by his overarching term of ‘institutional leadership’. The literal meaning of institutional is “of, pertaining to, or originated by institutions; having the character or function of an institution”, informed etymologically by descriptions of unions (OED, 2016). Although historically the term institutional has been viewed pejoratively, by aligning this with ‘leadership through statesmanship’ Selznick has, perhaps unknowingly, provided a clear rationale for collaborative leadership through social organisation. The closer we get to the areas of far-reaching decisions, the greater is the need for this deeper and more comprehensive understanding of social organisation. Selznick states that the argument of his essay is quite simply:

The executive becomes a statesman as he makes the transition from administrative management to institutional leadership (p.4).

Adaptive Institution through an Action Oriented Problem Focus

Selznick argues that an institution is an adaptive and responsive organism as opposed to an organisation, which portrays a sense of “a lean, no-nonsense system of consciously coordinated activities” (ibid: 5). Asking the why question in defining values and purpose does not imply that we ignore technical imperatives, the term that Selznick applies to ‘lean, no-nonsense systems.’ However, an over-reliance on technological perspectives becomes the victim of opportunism as only partial views emerge. Selznick favoured where the problem led rather than where the discipline dictated. Undertaking a problem-solving focus relies upon creativity, a point supported by Selznick, including strategic and tactical planning in analysing the environment and (justified) judicial reasoning.

Systems and Structures

A problem that organisations face when building an institutional core is that of formalisation of procedures. Formalisation, Selznick argued, limits the open-endedness of organisations thus reflecting more of a technical (or tame) rather than an adaptive (or wicked³) challenge. Systems are created by humans and are thus fallible (Fuller and Applewhite, 1975). Structures are often designed around systems and are likely to happen if leaders, as is so often the case, ask “what” before “why”. It is just as important for the systems and the structures to reflect the collective values as well as the technical imperatives. As part of building the institutional core (the systems and structures), Selznick reminds that “As always, the ‘openness’ of decision-making calls for leadership, in this case, to build a social structure that will induce a spontaneous regularity of response” (ibid³: 96). The alternative is to build a technical structure that will represent and indeed feed a closed approach to decision-making and thus stifle innovation.

Skills and Behaviours

Skills represent a gap for Selznick, who believed that the preoccupation with administrative efficiency led to what he described as the ‘knottiest and most significant’ problem of leadership in large organisations. He asks whether we are truly getting to the basics of the experience of institutional leaders: the improvement of self-knowledge. In considering the skills gap, Selznick also said that no social process could be understood other than its location in the behaviour of individuals. In his view, there is a need to link the bigger picture (what he describes as, the larger view) to the activity on the ground (the more limited view). This interaction is what Heifetz calls ‘constantly moving between the balcony’ and the ‘dance floor’ as a means of ensuring that skills and behaviours are reflecting the collective vision and social outcomes in a way that aligns the ‘how’ and ‘with what impact’ questions with the ultimate ‘why’ question. Only then can we identify the contextual conditions of the ‘where’, ‘when’ and ‘with whom’ questions.

³ For more information on tame and wicked problems refer to RITTEL, H. W. J. & WEBBER, M. M. 1973. *Dilemmas in a general theory of planning*.

Values to Vision and Beyond: A Leadership Blueprint for Police Scotland?

Without a doubt, Police Scotland is a large, albeit relatively new organisation, but is it yet an institution in Selznick's terms? A final quotation from Selznick is helpful in supporting a discussion about this:

"The aims of large organisations are often very broad. A certain vagueness must be accepted because it is difficult to foresee whether more specific goals will be realistic or wise. This situation presents the leader with one of his most difficult but indispensable tasks. He must specify and recast the general aims of his organisation so as to adapt to them, without serious corruption, to the requirements of institutional survival. This is what we mean by the definition of institutional mission and role" (1957:69)

So what is the institutional mission and role of Police Scotland? What is the why, and how will it be delivered to achieve its socially desirable impact?

Only when we answer these questions can the focus shift to the contextual questions of the 'where' 'when' and 'with whom' questions. In developing the capability of the workforce and creating the capacity to deliver a vision, the tendency is for 'leaders' to either create the vision or to parachute in a consultant or other external advisor to write a vision statement. External (and important) stakeholders who may themselves be focused on short-term 'quick wins' often push for decisions. Sometimes, the published vision appears alongside a list of values that adorn the walls of organisations. Such an approach is unlikely to encourage the workforce to 'live the values'. It is wise to learn the lessons of history; we look to see how the best of leadership approaches can combine in ensuring that the 'why' question is fully compatible with the values of the 'who' and then delivered in a way that helps to achieve its evidence-based socially desirable outcomes. The most important leadership task (*with the focus on the 'ship'*) is to agree the 'why' of leadership. Creating collaboration will not be easy, but is critical to the institutional sense of mission. Once achieved, those who reach agreement on 'why' find it much easier to convince their stakeholders and shareholders and get ultimate 'sign up' to, and ownership of, the resultant strategy and actions.

Professionalisation

There has been much discussion about the professionalisation of the police service. For example, in giving evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee, Neyroud said that "the police service needs to move from being a service that acts professionally to becoming a professional service." He

expanded on what he meant by this. “There has been a great deal of work to make the service, for example, much better at investigating crime, much better at dealing with particular specialist functions, but, to be frank, none of those have been pulled together as a clear, single, professional body of knowledge yet” (Home Office, 2011).

Responses to the proposals were not clearly positive or negative, and although the creation of the National Police College, and the chief constable’s Council followed, there is still a danger that operational practice and training and leadership development will not be aligned. Regarding the new council’s responsibility for the national co-ordination of critical operational functions and the NPC role in training and leadership development, there must be an acceptance that these are inextricably linked; we cannot succeed in one, without the other. Police Scotland can consider this as a real applied leadership challenge.

Applying the Leadership Challenge

The paper argues that whilst the literal definition of the professionalisation of practice describes a professional class as a ‘collective,’ it relies on professional development. The paper views this as a virtuous cycle in which practice informs the development and, conversely, development informs improved practice, and so the cycle continues. Ethics and the public interest are core to professionalisation, particularly in achieving socially desirable goals. It has been said that “Practice is the hardest part of learning, and training is the essence of transformation” (Voskamp, 2010: 56). An interesting interpretation of this statement is that while practice can be transactional, it can only be transformational if the practice is informed by training and development and vice versa. For example, the role of education in the professionalisation of practice, in the evaluation of a nursing degree, identified its impact on enhancing leadership (Gerrish et al., 2003).

A key point to make here is that practice cannot be separated from development and an appropriate and balanced approach to learning and development (pedagogy) through to applied practice could offer much promise. Such an approach, if grounded in action learning (Pedler, 1983), could provide the basis of creating a collective vision and implementing this through applied and cascaded leadership challenges. Action learning is certainly increasing in popularity as a pedagogical method and is viewed quite widely as an excellent means of experiential learning between groups of individuals facing organisational problems. An Applied Leadership Challenge (ALC) seeks to take this one stage further and apply the principles of action learning throughout the organisation, and aligned quite clearly to first, developing the purpose and vision throughout the organisation and

then aligning collective leadership values to its implementation through cascaded applied leadership challenge sets.

In conclusion, it is suggested that individual and institutional impact is continually assessed in an objective, open and transparent manner, with the full and open dissemination of the analysis, results, and actions taken to improve continually and develop the institution and its networks.

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