"An Independent Assessment of the 'Prevention First' Crime Prevention Strategy in Ayrshire".

Research Report commissioned by Police Scotland and the Ayrshire Councils

Professor Robert Smith
Dr Liz Frondigoun,
Dr Denise Martin,
Dr Ross Campbell
Linda Thomas

Acknowledgements

The Authors

The research team from the University of the West of Scotland consists of the Principal Investigator Professor Robert Smith; Dr Liz Frondigoun; Dr Denise Martin; Dr Ross Campbell and Linda Thomas who acted as Research Assistant. The first three investigators are all members of/affiliated to The Scottish Institute of Policing Research [SIPR] and are experienced and published Policing Scholars.

''Prevention First' is delivering real results across Ayrshire with fewer victims of crime and reduced violence and antisocial behaviour."

An endorsement by Chief Sup. Gillian Mac-Donald, ex Divisional Commander, Ayrshire division.

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Chapter 1 – An introduction to the evaluation.

1.1.   Introducing the evaluation and the research context.

The aim of this study was to conduct, an assessment of the Police Scotland, 'Prevention First', Crime Prevention Strategy currently being operated in Ayrshire. The approach has been operationalised previously in New Zealand (See 'Prevention First' document, undated) and is operating across the Local Authority areas in North, East and South Ayrshire. Understanding the complex concerns and needs of all who work and live in these communities is key for Police Scotland in keeping people safe and therefore their approach focuses on prevention and, as necessary, enforcement: a proactive, flexible, problem-solving approach to local community issues.

The stated aims of the Pan Ayrshire programme are to "…*prevent crime, reduce victimisation and reduce locations where offending takes place, through a partnership early intervention approach which gets to the heart of issues and identifies the best way to solve problems and tackle community concerns*" (Prevention First proposal document, 2014). 'Prevention First' was first introduced in North Ayrshire in February 2014 and rolled out across East and South Ayrshire following that.

The programme encapsulates a partnership approach to tackling violence, anti-social behaviour and community concerns regarding violent crime. The main ethos of the programme is that violence is preventable, not inevitable and that crime, violence and anti-social behaviour are driven by underlying social conditions and span the household, community and school environments, entailing a multi-agency approach to address them. Key stakeholders include a wide range of 'Community Planning' partners including Police Scotland, Scottish Fire & Rescue, North Ayrshire Council, East Ayrshire Council, South Ayrshire Council and others organisations from the Third Sector.

The purpose of this evaluation was to assess the veracity of initial internal assessments of the pilots in North and East Ayrshire that indicate that 'Prevention First' is delivering better outcomes for individuals and communities whilst simultaneously significantly reducing demand on police and partner resources through the early implementation of more effective, joined up, solutions. In doing so, we took cognisance of austerity measures and financial pressures which out pressure on all initiatives to be efficient and effective. We aimed to establish, or determine, whether the project is effective, efficient and viable as a partnership policing operational strategy / methodology.

This report comprises of an evaluation of the impact of the programme across the three local authority areas but focusing on its impact on levels of crime, disorder and community well-being. We examined and scrutinised the organisational mechanisms that contribute to this impact and assess the relevance of local context in helping or hindering impact. We also endeavoured to develop an understanding of the implementation process in each area; and provide an assessment of cost and benefits of the 'Prevention First' approach. We focus on stated objectives to:-

- Identify examples of good practice and in particular the 'added value' and efficiency savings provided by the approach.
- Assess the extent to which it delivers on the Christie Commission recommendations (Christie, 2011) and include an examination of the flexibility of the model, how it can be adapted for use in different localities and alongside other existing problem solving models.
- Suggest improvements and recommendations regarding methods of measuring community benefits and efficiency savings for partners, including any recommendations specific to each local area.
- Assess its potential as an 'approach' to reference longer term partnership service delivery and provision.

1.2. 'Prevention First' – An overview of what it is and its origins.

It is necessary to understand the origins of the 'Prevention First' programme in New Zealand, how it was implemented and how it has developed over time in order to develop an understanding of its underpinnings and develop an overview. This section is based on 1) a review of available official documents; 2) an interview with New Zealand Police Officer Mark Evans; and 3) a review of academic critiques of the programme.

1.2.1. 'Prevention First': The New Zealand Model: This section relates to a review of available official documents: The strategy was conceived and implemented in New Zealand.[1] The Operating Model originated in Auckland, New Zealand as a different model of policing to engage with communities. In 2011 it became the national operational model. In his forward to the strategy in the 2011-2015 strategy document the Police Commissioner Peter Marshal described it as "… *the new operating strategy for New Zealand Police*" which "…*puts prevention at the forefront of everything we do.*." Marshall describes its purpose as being to reduce crime and gain greater control of the criminal environment to make New Zealand a safer place to live, visit and to do business. It was designed to be a balanced approach which uses intelligence, enforcement and

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[1] 'PREVENTION FIRST': NATIONAL OPERATING STRATEGY 2011 2015.

alternative ways of resolving cases to better understand and respond to the drivers of crime. Change and flexibility are embedded in the strategy as are innovation and enhanced service provision directed towards reducing victimisation. Indeed, 'Prevention First' was designed as a framework for understanding and responding proactively to issues at the root of crime to avoid reactionism, stasis and solving individual cases. Marshall announced that '*Prevention First' marks the beginning of an exciting new era for New Zealand Police. We know it will take some time to change our traditional thinking and the style of policing we have become accustomed to, but we are committed to making it happen. I hope you will support us on this journey*". From this impassioned appeal, it is apparent that it is an approach which both the police and their partners including communities have to buy into.

'Prevention First' was introduced as a strategy, placing prevention at the forefront of the organisation and people at the very centre. The rationale for the strategy was that over the past decade although overall reported crime had been gradually reducing, the actual cost of crime to society had increased exponentially to an estimated cost to New Zealand in excess of $11 billion per annum. This was viewed as being unsustainable and mirrors the reality of many criminal justice systems worldwide. Simultaneously there was a rise in overall demand for Police services accompanied by an increase in the public's expectations. The strategy was designed to cut crime; and contribute to a reduction in the overall economic and social costs of crime to optimise the deployment of finite resources[2]: it focuses on 'targeted policing' to reduce offending and victimisation. The stated aim was to reduce reported crime to 13% and reduce the number of cases referred to the Justice Sector by 19% by 2014/2015.

'Prevention First' is the responsibility of all Police employees. It recognises that 'it would require a change of policing mind-sets and greater leadership to foster a new mind-set on treating victims and discharging responsibilities and obligations. Accountability and Compliance Frameworks were designed and implemented. It also provides additionality to existing services and requires all staff to seek out prevention opportunities as part of their existing day-to-day work. This approach entails "looking beyond single issues" associated with individual cases. Staff were encouraged to be aware of and leverage community services and networks to protect vulnerable people, particularly repeat victims. At the same time staff were urged to act with urgency against priority and prolific offenders. The aim was to develop innovative and sustainable, practical solutions using problem-solving approaches to manage Crime Hotspots and Priority Locations. The stated objective was to achieve real outcomes for communities. A tool kit approach was adopted to develop specific enabling actions to:-

- Deploy to beat demand;
- Understand and respond to the drivers of crime; and

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[2] Working with Maori and other indigenous and ethnic communities was a major part of the strategy.

- Foster a change in policing 'mind-sets' that puts prevention and the needs of victims at the forefront of policing.

Deployment is a crucial component of the strategy. This entails being prepared and flexible to mobilise resources pre-emptively, and proactively, to stay-on-top of demand. 'Prevention First' provides a structured and disciplined framework for utilising resources in an informed and well-directed manner to achieve and maintain demand reductions by synthesising and coordination four crucial components:-

- Critical Command Information.
- Tasking and Coordination,
- Workforce Management; and
- Operational Delivery (Execution).

This entailed developing district-wide demand and capacity (internal and external) profiles that identified overt and latent demand. Once these were compared it necessitated the development and implementation of a new performance management framework. It was necessary to align the strategic priorities to the New Zealand Police Statement of Intent and National Business Plan. New actionable and district based intelligence products were developed to enable change. A change of Intelligence gathering was required to inform key tasks and activities to resolve neighbourhood issues along with a better use of a crime science to inform such plans. This involved the use of big data sources.

The new approach required a more thorough tasking and coordination approach to improve and focus on priority and prolific offenders, crime hotspots and vulnerable victims. This required an up skilling of community police officers and 'District Tactical Coordinators' to drive the implementation of locally developed tactical plans. These are directed towards actions taken to address drivers of crime are integrated within District tasking and coordination regimes. Simultaneously there is a need to improve decision-making by strengthening the Tasking and Coordination process. 'Prevention First' (in a New Zealand context) requires a nationwide framework for the development and implementation of tactical plans that aligns them with individual districts and district level priorities. The tasking and coordinating process is illustrated in figure 1 below in relation to the crime prevention triangle.[3] It operates under the '4 Ps principle' of protection, priorities, participation and partnerships.

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[3] Located at http://koawatea.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Andrew-Coster-Prevention-First.pdf

Figure 1 – The New Zealand Police Tasking and Coordinating process.
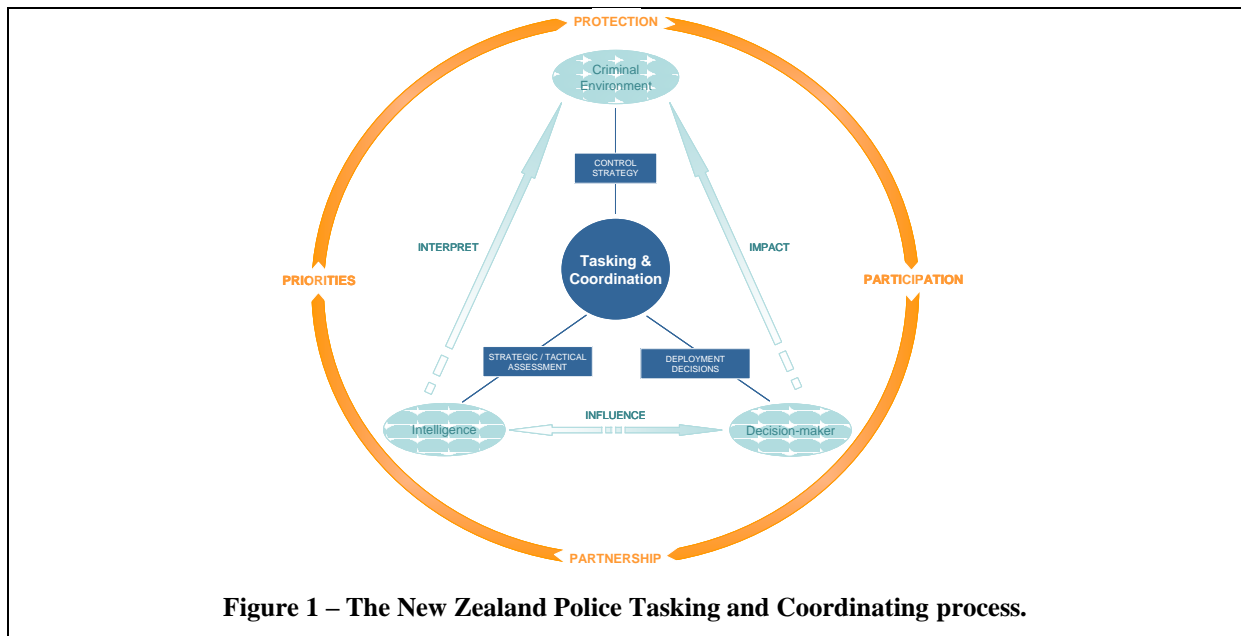
In relation to Workforce Management, 'Prevention First' as a strategy required the development and implementation of a more nuanced workforce management system to facilitate centralised rostering tailored to meet each District's demand, capacity, skills and availability profiles. This was necessary to ensure that the resources match demand.

In terms of the fourth component, Operational Delivery (Execution) it was necessary to develop a partnership model that ensures greater connectivity between Communication Centres and Districts to enable the coordinated deployment of 'Neighbourhood Policing Teams' in priority neighbourhoods with a focus on addressing the underlying causes of crime.

It is essential to understand that as a model it operates on an evidence-led approach and requires the development of an understanding of the drivers of crime to hold priority and prolific offenders to account.[4] A decision was made to concentrate on families and youth. Emphasis was placed on supporting and protecting vulnerable and dysfunctional families to: "*lift the veil of secrecy around family violence, child abuse and expose familial organised crime groups*". This entailed improving responses to victims by engaging more effectively with communities. Greater liaison was encouraged between Family Violence coordinators and Child Protection Teams and greater enforcement of Child Protection Protocols.

In relation to youth issues the aim was to keep vulnerable children and young people safe and decrease the number of young people represented in the criminal justice system. This necessitated prioritising the response to children subjected or exposed to family violence, child abuse and neglect. The focus was placed on 'at-risk youth' and on early and prioritised intervention. New programmes were developed and the use of alternative actions encouraged.

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[4] There is a danger that policy-based evidence-making can result in internally collecting evidence on that basis.

Reducing alcohol and drug consumption by youths was a central facet of the strategy. A community based education approach was adopted to work on the issues holistically to promote and increase safety in Schools and Community groups and in particular to policing high risk locations. The aim was to foster a culture of responsible drinking and reduce incidents of alcohol-related offending and victimisation through embedded District-level collection plans specific to alcohol offending. A high visibility approach was initiated to reduce the sale and consumption of alcohol to youth.

The 'Prevention First' strategy is a stand-alone Policing Strategy and although partners were mentioned it was not a coordinated or synthesised strategy to which partners were consulted and invited to participate. It must be stressed that the approach has not been independently evaluated although a formal evaluation of New Zealand Police was conducted in September, 2012 which rated the strategy as being robust.[5] Moreover, it won several Awards including the Public-Sector Excellence Awards.[6] Since its inception crime prevention activities have increased by more than 5% leading to an increase in visibility of Police within communities and a 17.5% reduction in crime. It has exceeded/maintained and built on the 2014/15 crime reduction target of 13%. The programme has also won the Excellence Award for Improving Public Value through Business Transformation.

1.2.2. Key points from the interview with Mark Evans:[7] 'Prevention First' is a problem orientated methodology and requires policing holistically. The key to its success is that it is a way of thinking about policing and deciding how to think differently. Thus it drives community policing. It is not about segmenting crimes into different types. It is:-

1. A mind-set – which encourages staff to think about the range of options available: the ethos is to prevent victimisation from occurring again. It is not a passive model. The approach requires leadership from the top and for all staff to think differently about addressing crime.

2. A sophisticated deployment model – which works on interrogating critical command information. It places prevention at the point of delivery. This can impact on the allocation of resources. It considers the needs of victims and the police are there for them, not offenders.

3. An approach that addresses the drivers of crime and its underlying causes. For every crime problem there is an underlying issues such as drugs.

The New Zealand model aims to build robust systems and processes, and revolves around a more mobile workforce who engage with real-time information. The victims are the most important element in the model, not detection and punishment. This ensures that it engenders a sense of

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[5] Performance Improvement Framework: Formal Review of the New Zealand Police, September 2012.
[6] See https://www.ipanz.org.nz/Story?Action=View&Story_id=
[7] This section has been placed here for the sake of completeness albeit it is derived from an empirical interview with the respondent.

going back to basics of policing and entails being available and visible in communities. The philosophy is all about the mind-set. It is about response and resolution and ensuring that offenders do not come back into the system. One key plank of the model is about developing alternative resolution models. In New Zealand, there were thousands of low level offenders and the aim of 'Prevention First' was to take them outside of the system by providing alternative pathways. For example, 'Community Panels' were set up to deal with low level offenders in order to divert them from the formal criminal justice system. Whilst it revolves around identifying people and enabling them into alternative pathways, simultaneously, it is necessary to come down hard on violent offenders. Thus 'Prevention First' is not an either/or thing, it is a viable option.

The key to success is that it is enshrined in New Zealand government policy, relating to social investment. It is data and evidence driven, and centred on reducing the cost of crime. The model fits with social investment policy and helps policing contribute to government policy outcomes. The future plan is to ensure that other government departments adopt the model. It is intended that a whole of government approach will help develop new interventions and a systems approach. For example, there is a need to bring mental health services on board because many repeat scenarios involve such issues. The key to 'Prevention First' is partnership working.

In New Zealand, 'Prevention First' works because there is a national police service, and this enables ideas to be implemented quickly (similar to Police Scotland).[8] Thus Police can implement ideas more quickly than other agencies can because other government partners are more devolved and have complex decision making processes. Stability and continuity are important themes which underpin it. The current Chief Constable has been in post for 7 years and New Zealand has had the same policing philosophy for over 10 years now, which is almost unheard of in the international context.

However, it is acknowledged that as a model, it is difficult to assess in terms of effectiveness. Traditionally, there is a tendency to look at the volume of reported crime but requires a more sophisticated set of metrics. It is not about quantitative number sets but qualitative judgements. The problem with evaluating 'Prevention First' is that traditional evaluation models work on the basis of, either building on achievement or killing projects which do not appear to achieve. It has to be remembered that 'Prevention First' takes time to deliver and embed, and has to become the way the police do things. This is an important point as will be discussed in chapter 7.

1.2.3. A review of academic critiques of the programme: Whilst there has been no systematic evaluation of the New Zealand strategy there is an emergence of some academic commentary on this approach: A number of academic articles have begun to appear about the 'Prevention

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[8] The structures are similar in terms of centralisation albeit local authorities have some autonomy on how it is implemented.

First' strategy in New Zealand including den Heyer (2016 and 2017) and Pol (2016). In general terms, the academic reviews have been of a positive nature thus den Heyer (2016) records that since the 1990s, New Zealand Police have introduced three extensive change management programmes to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of their core services. These were the Policing 2000, Policing Excellence, and 'Prevention First'. Indeed, den Heyer argues that each programme has been fundamentally different, with the more modern programmes influencing the way that New Zealand Police deliver services. Policing 2000 evolved from implementation of the first strategic plan, while Policing Excellence and 'Prevention First' were introduced in response to the 2007 fiscal crisis. Moreover, den Heyer compared the programmes to identify the differences, and whether these later programmes increase service delivery efficiency and effectiveness. Pol (2016) highlighted the 'Prevention First' approach arguing that socio-economic factors other than the five causes of crime are also in play and that these could and do impact on the success or failure of the programme.

1.3. Contextualising the importance of place: Ayrshire Councils.

The above section is of significance because in many respects the demography of New Zealand is similar to that of Ayrshire, being a mixture of urban and rural areas. Thus many of the socio-economic as well as crime issues which are of concern in New Zealand are also of concern for Scotland. This section deals with issues of context and place, which are of importance to the operationalisation of the programme throughout Ayrshire because as will be explained all three Councils have different aspects to their operational plans. Ayrshire is a predominantly rural county with several urban towns with areas of high deprivation and recognised crime hotspots. North, East and South Ayrshire are all predominantly rural and are of similar size.

Ayrshire is a standalone Police Division for Police Scotland purposes. The following statistics are of interest to this report:-

- It has a total population of approximately 371,000.
- It comprises of three Local Authorities (North, East and South).
- Is organized around three Police Area Commands (North, East and South).
- Has approximately 900 officers and staff, including specials.
- There are 14 police offices across Ayrshire.

It has a mixed urban and rural geographic makeup. In South Ayrshire, there are large sparsely populated areas. In North and East Ayrshire, there are pockets of social deprivation. This is important because as a methodology, 'Prevention First' is most successful in such areas of deprivation. The SIMD (Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation) data indicates that, North Ayrshire is in the top 15% of most multi-deprived data zones. See table 1:-

Table 1 – Data on areas of multiple deprivation.		
	2016	2012
North Ayrshire	27.4	25.7
East Ayrshire	22.1	20.8
South Ayrshire	12.4	11.6

See figure 1 for a map of the Ayrshire Division and corresponding council areas:-
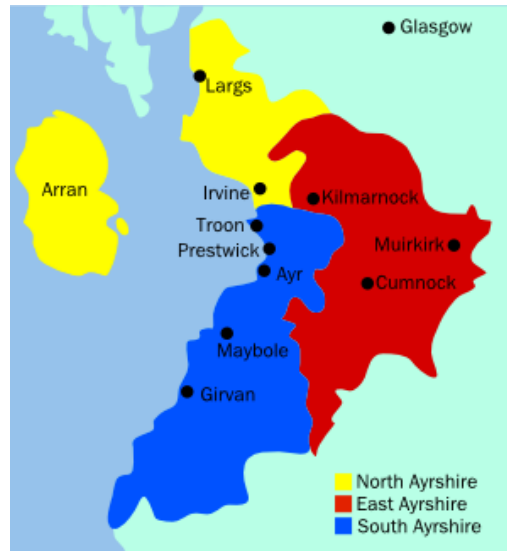
Figure 2 – map of the Ayrshire Division and Council Areas.

North Ayrshire Council: The North Ayrshire Council area totals 342 sq. miles (885 km^2) and is predominantly rural. It has a population of approximately '138,000. The main administration centre and largest settlement in North Ayrshire is Irvine (a new town) on the coast of the Firth of Clyde, with a population of 39,527. The second biggest settlement is Kilwinning with a population of 18,000.

Figure 3: North Ayrshire Council logo.
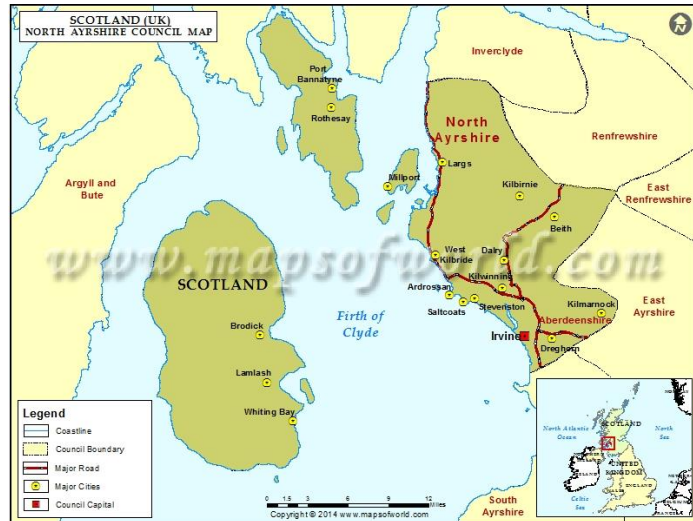
Figure 4: Map of North Ayrshire Council Area.

South Ayrshire Council: The South Ayrshire Council Area totals 472 sq. miles (1,222 km^2) and is predominantly rural. It has a population of approximately '113,000 whom are mostly concentrated around the adjoining coastal towns of Ayr, Prestwick and Troon located to the north-west of the area. The towns represent around 68% of the council's total population. Other towns are Maybole and Girvan, located to the south of the council area in the district of Carrick.

Figure 5: South Ayrshire Council Logo

Figure 6: Map of South Ayrshire Council Area.

East Ayrshire Council: The East Ayrshire Council Area totals 487 sq. miles (1,262 km^2) and is predominantly rural. It has a population of approximately '123,000. Kilmarnock is the largest town and county capital.

Figure 7: East Ayrshire Council logo.
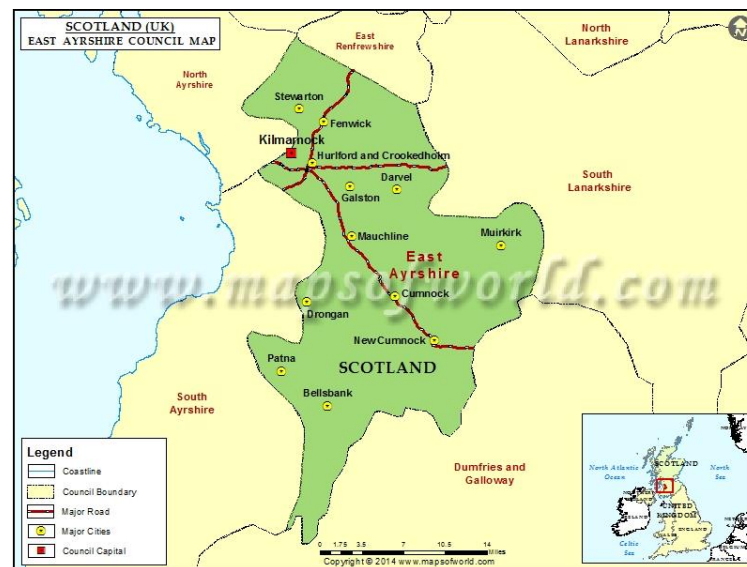
Figure 8: Map of East Ayrshire Council Area.

1.4. Outline and discussion of chapter contents.

Chapter 1 provided an outline of the assessment and introduces the research context before providing an overview of the 'Prevention First' Crime Prevention Strategy and its origins. Chapter 2 discusses the methodology used in the evaluation, outlining the aims and objectives. Sections on the mixed methodological framework and data collection detail what was done and why. Assessment and evaluation methodology (Davidson, 2005) is also explained. Chapter 3 reviews the Crime Prevention literature as it relates to this evaluation discussing the main theories applicable before concentrating on Situated and Situational Crime Prevention. We consider the development of Crime Prevention in Scotland. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 constitutes the empirical research and the evaluation material. Chapter 4 outlines the development of the 'Prevention First' Strategy by Police Scotland in Ayrshire, introducing both context and practice. Chapter 5 deals with the case studies which explain how it is operationalised in context. Chapter 6 provides the statistical evidence, analysis and best practices identified in the programme. Press and Social Media coverage is also analysed. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the efficiency and effectiveness of the programme and closes with conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2 – The Methodological Approach.

2.1. Introduction.

The 'Prevention First' programme has been operating in North Ayrshire since February 2014, and was introduced to East Ayrshire in September, 2014 and South Ayrshire in June 2015. The programme is therefore at different stages of operation in each of the areas making comparison difficult. In this chapter, we outline the mixed methods we used to capture, analyse and interpret our data: both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used. The use of mixed methodologies in applied 'real world' social research is common (Robson, 2011). These are broadly qualitative in nature and were undertaken in 4 pragmatic stages, albeit we made provision for a quantitative analysis of any available statistics. We:-

- Conducted a review of the available literature on 'Prevention First' looking to identify other similar crime reduction strategies to establish a baseline for our assessment. The purpose of this was to enable us to us to see if accepted practice fits extant theory.

- Undertook a critical analysis of in-house documented evidence of the 'prevention' and other relevant partnership documentation in relation to operational delivery of the programme from education, health, and police as appropriate.
- Interviewed/conducted focus groups with the identified key stakeholders including Council and Third Sector participants.
- Conducted focus groups with selected officers involved in the delivery of the programme.
- Liaised with/reported to Sergeant Boyle and the 'Prevention First' Group.

Stage 1: We conducted a brief literature review to identify what the literature says about what works. This was followed by an analysis of documentation and identification of the 'Prevention First' objectives, what it involves, how it was delivered and identify any existing programme indicators or outcomes. This provided an understanding of theoretical and practical underpinnings to the programme.

Stage 2: We conducted a mapping exercise to identify who the current key stakeholders are for the Ayrshire pilot were and if other stakeholders are identifiable.

Stage 3: We conducted focus groups as detailed below. We also conducted a quantitative evaluation of crime statistics provided by Police Scotland and an analysis of Facebook data provided by Police Scotland.

Stage 4: We worked with 'Prevention First' Programme Board and Police Scotland in the development of a monitoring tool and explored the possibility of evaluating the programme longitudinally.

Our justifications for adopting this staged process are to assist in:-

- Identifying the 'added value' of 'Prevention First' activities for policing in the community, for the safety and well-being of those who live and work in these communities, and for youth engagement.
- Identifying the lessons learned and good practice.
- Developing indicators/outcomes which will contribute to assessing the programme longitudinally.
- Informing the development of measurable objectives which will identify the impact on the programme.
- Assessing the impact of 'Prevention First' on/against the Local Policing Plan.
- The independent assessment element provided a clearer picture of how the various 'Prevention First' programmes are being implemented; how well their aims and objectives are being met; how additional council resources and support helps meet these objectives (particularly added value) and how the programme reduces demand on resources.

We also took cognisance of Evaluation Methodology (Davidson, 2005) in designing the interview questions to include questions relating to generic, process, outcome and economic assessment to add rigour to the assessment and make it objective rather than subjective. A professional evaluation is defined as the systematic determination of the quality, or value, of something (Scriven, 1991). This ensured that in terms of accountability we delivered an independent evaluation based on academic rigour. This is essential because the assessment relates to building organizational learning capacity (i.e., the organization's ability to learn from its successes and failures) and because stakeholder participation in the assessment process was deemed essential. We are assessing 'Prevention First' as a project, a service, a systemic process.

2.2. Aims and Objectives.

The primary aim of this research project was to provide an independent review and evaluation of the pan Ayrshire 'Prevention First' crime reduction strategy.[9]

The objectives of this review are to:-

- Review the available documentary evidence of the operationalisation of the programme.

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[9] Some of the original objectives relating to reporting timescales were relaxed by Police Scotland and the programme board because of issues relating to the serious illness of two of the research team.

- Conduct an independent academic review of both qualitative and quantitative evidence to assess the effectiveness and efficiency and of the programme.

- Produce an evaluation report and a six page executive summary of the findings of the report.

- Report periodically to the 'Prevention First' programme board.

- Develop a monitoring tool to explore the possibility of evaluating the programme longitudinally.

- Provide a briefing of the findings to Police Scotland and North Ayrshire Council, South Ayrshire Council and East Ayrshire Council.

2.3. The Mixed Methodological Framework.

Our methodological framework is broadly qualitative - interviews and focus groups - with some secondary quantitative analysis of available crime statistics that were provided by Police Scotland. The research methodology is also underpinned by documentary research and analysis (Scott, 1993; Hill, 1993; Bailey, 2004; Coles, 1997; Ventresca & Mohr, 2002; Prior, 2003; Scott, 2006 and 2014). A Systematic Review Methodology approach was adopted for reviewing the academic literature to provide a theoretical underpinning and conceptual framework for analysis: Systematic Literature Review (SLR). The review thus bridges the gap between the theory and practice of policing (and particularly community policing), academics and practitioners (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2004), as well as implementation (Silverman, 1995). The methodological framework/research design is presented in figure 9 below:-
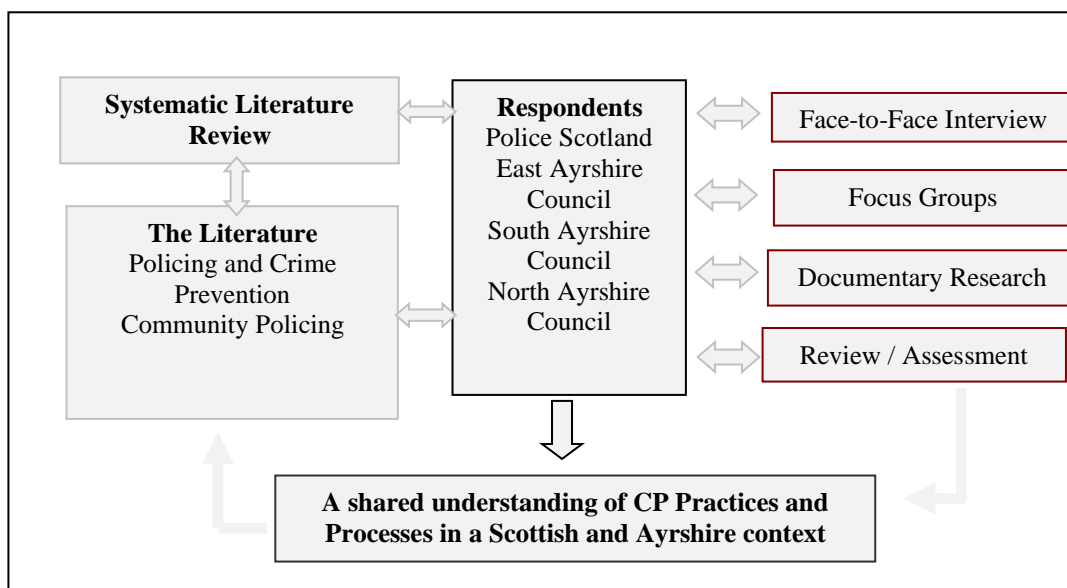
Figure 9 – The Qualitative Methodological Framework.

The analysis and the interpretation of the quantitative data must be viewed in conjunction with the findings of Babuta (2017) in relation to the police use of big data sets. Babuta offers new

insights into the limitations of the police's current use of data and the police's priorities for expanding these capabilities. According to Babuta these are fundamental limitations. These are paraphrased below:-

1. The use of big data technology in UK policing has so far been limited despite the police collecting vast amounts of digital data on a daily basis.

2. There is a lack of research exploring the potential uses of big data analytics for UK policing.

3. The fundamental limitations include - the fragmentation of databases and software applications which significantly impede the efficiency of police forces; and that police data is managed across multiple separate systems that are not mutually compatible. Moreover, the analysis of digital data is almost entirely manual.

4. Despite software being available to automate this process, police forces do not have access to advanced analytical tools to trawl and analyse unstructured data, such as images and video, and for this reason are unable to take full advantage of the UK's wide-reaching surveillance capabilities.

Babuta's report has the potential to make a significant impact on crime prevention activities including 'Prevention First' because predictive crime mapping could be used to identify areas where crime is most likely to occur (hotspots), allowing limited resources to be targeted most efficiently. Also, predictive analytics could help identify the risks associated with particular individuals at increased risk of reoffending, going missing, or becoming the victims of crime. Such use of advanced analytics could enable the police to harness the full potential of data collected through visual surveillance (CCTV images, ANPR data). Moreover, big data technology could be applied to open-source data, such as social media, to gain a richer understanding of specific crime problems, which would ultimately inform the development of preventive policing strategies. The suggestions and findings of Babuta are in line with the ethos of 'Prevention First'.

The inability of the data collected to address the issue at hand (the efficiency of 'Prevention First' in reducing crime statistics and Anti-Social Behaviour) is therefore not a criticism of Police Scotland but results from an acknowledged systemic issue. Moreover, from interviews with Council respondents it appears that this caveat also applies to Council databases. A salient observation is that the Council do not make the best use of their data and would benefit from the use of more analysts.

2.4. Data Collection.

We conducted two focus groups, and 32 'face-to-face' qualitative interviews, with respondents and two focus groups before reaching information 'saturation point'. Focus groups and interviews were organised with the support of Police Scotland and the community focus group were organised by the research team. The police focus group was organised by the local area

commanders and comprised of officers involved in the initiative, resulting in four additional senior officers / commanders being interviewed. The focus group with tenants associations and residents added an additional 14 respondents. All interviews and focus groups were pre-arranged to encourage participation and when requested we forwarded the questions beforehand. The qualitative data was augmented by, as stated above, an analysis of the crime figures supplied by the police[10] and some demographic statistics supplied by the councils and partners. In total, we interviewed 48 respondents. The interviews ranged in duration from 25 minutes to 2 hours and fifty minutes and in interview terms comprised of over 55 hours of research time. This is important because this independent evaluation is 'evidence based' in nature and based on sound empirical practices and is a strength of the evaluation policy.[11]

Consequently, the interviews and focus groups allowed us to gather a range of views and opinions from a cross section of all those with a commitment to and/or interest in 'Prevention First' in Ayrshire from members of Police Scotland, the Council and residents in each of the identified council areas (See appendix 7 for details). Although their names are provided in the tables their responses were anonymised as is standard qualitative procedure unless it was impossible to maintain anonymity and objectivity – i.e. in the case of Chief-Superintendent MacDonald, Sergeant Mo Boyle and Mark Evans as key respondents.

2.5. How we analysed the data and themes emerging from the interviews. This section details how we analysed the data and how this led to themes which emerged from the interviews. It reports on the interviews with the police and partner agencies and is structured around 4 key themes: 1) practices; 2) processes; 3) outcomes and 4) behaviours. The following broad themes were recurrent in the interviews and used in respect of being either descriptors of the 'Prevention First' processes and practices; outcomes of it; or trait based behaviours: See table 2-

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10 Crime statistics supplied by the police relate only to incidents/crimes that have been recorded/reported to them it does not take into account the use of 'discretion' by officers in their day-to-day community patrols.
[11] This is an important point because some evaluations and academic critiques are based primarily on desk research with supplementary conversations with a few key respondents.

Descriptors of practices	These consist of actual and abstract practices such as engagement, targeting, early intervention and also multi agency working and information sharing, networking and partnership. The more abstract include cross pollination of ideas and contacts, thinking outside the box, transference of ideas and practices and integration of activities.
Descriptors of processes	These consist of actual processes e.g. actual things like civil law, abstract ideas such as informality and processes driven by practices such as action orientated, business driven, dialogue driven and process driven.
Descriptors of outcome	These consist of high order concepts or things which must be worked towards such as accountability, additionality. Complexity, consistency. Continuity. They involve working with others to achieve relational issues such as reciprocity and visibility.
Trait based behavioural descriptors.	Such as confidence, respect, trust, focus, flexibility, immediacy, positivity. Proactivity, proportionality and a personal touch. .

Table 2 – Descriptor themes emerging from the research.

They are characterised by their complexity and hence difficulty of articulation and implementation. The theme of flexibility of approach was also highlighted as a strength of the programme. Another interesting facet of the interviews was the fact that respondents answered many of the questions in a 'stream of consciousness' that covered multiple aspects of interest to the study. The respondents effectively storied the effectiveness of the approach using experience based vignettes and illustrating these with examples of real cases.

2.6. What we did.

We first obtained approval from the UWs Ethics Committee for the research – see appendix 1 '*UWS Ethics Form'*. Based on our initial research and experience we drafted a list of questions to help us collect appropriate data from the partners. See appendix 2 – '*UWS Information Question Sheet'*. We shared this list with all the partners and the 'Prevention First' Project Board to ensure that there was a consensus on the questions asked. We then drafted an information sheet to be forwarded to all respondents prior to the interviews to explain the nature of the research. See appendix 3 - '*UWS Respondent Information Sheet'*. This explains their rights to them and was accompanied by a consent form. See appendix 4 – '*UWS Interview consent Form'*.

2.7. What we did not do.

The fact that the 'Prevention First' programme was operationalised on different dates and is therefore at different stages of operation in each of the areas makes direct comparison difficult. Consequentially, this assessment is <u>NOT</u> a comparison of 'Prevention First' across the three council areas. Also, because membership of the operational groups varies across all three local authority areas this entailed utilising a nuanced research approach.

Chapter 3 – A directed literature review on Crime Prevention.

3.1.   Introduction.

Crime Reduction is a topical subject of interest to the UK and Scottish Governments (For example, see - Crime Prevention Strategy: SCD Safer Communities / March 2015 / v 1.0; and Modern Crime Prevention Strategy, 2016). This academic study and evaluation takes place at a time where there have been many changes to the Community Policing and Crime Prevention landscapes in Scotland including the inception of Police Scotland in 2013 and the Christie Report (Christie, 2011). These have collectively resulted in changes to policing practices and process. The key objectives of the Christie Commission of 2011 were based around 4 principles. These are paraphrased below:-

1. That public services are built around people and communities and their aspirations and skills.
2. That public services are required to work effectively to achieve outcomes.
3. That public services must prioritise Prevention Strategies to reduce inequalities.
4. That public services must seek to improve performance and reduce costs in an open, transparent and accountable manner.

Also of interest here is the Police Scotland 2026 Policing Strategy document. The strategy sets out seven key policing principles which will guide policing strategy until the year 2026. These principles are – 1) Localism; 2) Inclusion; 3) Prevention; 4) Response; 5) Collaborative Working; 6) Accountability; and 7) Adaptability. One must also consider issues such as post 2008 austerity measures which led to a reduction in Police and Council budgets; and to funding issues in the 'Third Sector' all of which impinge upon resources and reduce the funding for community based projects. Additionally there has been a shift towards partnership working particularly in the context of Community Policing and Crime Prevention measures which has changed the nature of who is responsible – the police or other agencies – for dealing with complex community issues within the principles endorsed in Protecting Scotland's Communities: Fair Fast and Flexible Justice (Scottish Government 2008) and reinforced by the Scottish Government's Reducing Re-offending Programme and the Criminal Justice and Licensing (Scotland) Act 2010.

As a theoretical field of study, Crime Reduction/Prevention can be regarded as a sub field of the Community and Neighbourhood Policing literature (Moore, 2008). Much of the literature on Crime Prevention comes to us from text books which all cover the basic theories (See Albrecht & Das, 2011; Evans, 2011; Rogers, 2011; Gilling, 2013; Kennedy, 2012; Tilley 2009; Knutsson & Tilley, 2009; Wood & Gannon, 2013) most of which have limited relevance to this study. Moreover, although we acknowledge that many of the texts and theories discussed are dated they

are nevertheless still relevant. As experienced policing scholars, we the authors have a sound working knowledge of, various other policing related literatures and draw on these as and when required including that of anti-social behaviour (Moore & Scourfield, 2005). From experience, fieldwork invariably unearths fresh insights which require theoretical and conceptual clarification. Also of interest are the literatures of Neighbourhood Watch (Rosenbaum, 1987) and Asset Based Approaches (see the study of Jack, Frondigoun & Smith, 2014 for an appreciation of how such approaches can help in 'hot spot' areas of crime and anti-social behaviour).

Our research topics were to an extent directed by the aims and objectives of the research contract and by the practical nature of these:-

- Thus considering characteristics of the 'Prevention First' strategy (e.g. what does the strategy involve; how is it implemented; what are its strengths; and in considering areas for future development, etc.) limited the relevance of many theoretical aspects of crime reduction/prevention. From experience as academics and practitioners we appreciate that it could be argued that a knowledge of theoretical underpinnings to crime and social problems whilst desirable and helpful is not necessary at a practical level to implement community policing and crime reduction measures. However, we argue that the approaches based on context and localism but also an understanding of the deeper social issues rather than just the criminal justice issue.

- Methodological issues and the need to consider stakeholder perspectives and experiences of 'Prevention First' (e.g. programme set-up in each area, the implementation of objectives, intended/unintended consequences, good practice and lessons learned); and the need to take cognisance of the role of the individual officers, involvement e.g. crime reduction officer, campus officer, early intervention officer etc., and what works well and areas for development/improvement); and to try and ascertain public and client perceptions of the approach limited the need for an extensive literature review.
- The requirement to develop an assessment framework against measurable objectives to facilitate programme monitoring also influenced the decision to concentrate on particular theoretical aspects from the literature on crime prevention.

3.2.   Selecting appropriate theories of relevance.

The main theories of crime prevention and reduction include Primary Prevention (relating to people), Secondary Prevention (relating to at risk places) and Tertiary Prevention (programmes that interact after the crime has been committed). Crime Reduction strategies can be categorised

as being punitive, corrective and protective. Of particular interest to us for assessment are the related theories of: 1) Situational Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1997; 2) The Crime Reduction Triangle (Clarke & Eck, 2003); and 3) Routine Activities Theory (Felson, 2006).

3.2.1. Situational Crime Prevention: The most relevant theory for this evaluation of this programme is that of Situational Crime Prevention (Sutherland, 1947; Clarke, 1997; Clarke & Eck, 2003). Situational crime prevention relates to initiating activities which increases the amount of effort expended in tackling the underlying causes of crime and fear of crime. It covers situational and environmental crime factors often ignored by mainstream criminologists who historically have concentrated on the role of the individual, their personal histories and their networks. The seminal work of Edwin Sutherland (1947) was one of the first to consider the environmental factors encompassing the commission of repeat crime. However the main theorist of note is Ronald Clarke (see Clarke, 1983) who defined the key elements of the theory, focusing on the 'event' of crime and its immediate physical settings and wider social settings. Indeed, Clark defined situational crime prevention as a science and art of decreasing the amount of opportunities for crime using "measures directed at highly specific forms of crime that involve the management, design and manipulation of the immediate environment in a systematic and permanent way (Clarke, 1983:225). Clarke's idea was to control situation and environmental factors which he considered easier than seeking to reform offenders. However, situational crime prevention theories have moved on since then to incorporate changing offender behaviours. Situational crime prevention is based around the assumption that opportunities lead to an increase in crime which attract more offenders leading to an escalation in crime. Clarke (1983:223) posited three categories of prevention approaches 1) degree of surveillance; 2) target handling measures; and 3) environmental changes. There are 4 elements of Situated Crime Prevention (Clarke, 1997):-

1. It has a theoretical foundation, based on Routine Activity and Rational Choice Theory.
2. It operates on a standard methodology, based on an Action Research Paradigm.
3. It operates on addressing a set of opportunities in order to reduce crime.
4. It is underpinned by a body of evaluated processes.

Crime reduction efforts are also directed towards reducing the rewards to the criminals and removing the excuses for committing such crime (Clarke & Eck, 2003). Clarke regularly updated his understanding of Situational crime prevention (see Clarke & Felson, 1993; Clarke & Homel, 1997; and Clarke & Eck, 2002) to take cognisance of advances in the theories.

Of particular interest to us are the related issues of 'criminal areas and places (Morris, 2013)[12]; 'crime hotspots' (Sherman et al 1987; Sherman 1995; Sherman & Weisburd, 1995) and 'repeat offending' (Spelman and Eck, 1989) which are all aspects of situational crime prevention theory. Morris (2013) argues that there are identifiable criminal areas, particularly in urban areas where there are concentrations of criminal families and professional criminals who commit identifiable crime types and that concentrating on policing such areas is essential. The works of Sherman and of Sherman and Weisburd extend this argument into how to target and reduce crime via concentrating efforts on particular identified crime types in such criminal areas but also in areas or 'hotspots' where such activities manifest itself.

3.2.2. The Crime Reduction Triangle: This theory (Clarke & Eck, 2003) is central to our understanding of 'Prevention First' methodology. In this theoretical standpoint one has to consider the triangle from: 1) the police have to consider the criminals desire to commit crime and 2) their ability and opportunity to commit said crime against 3) their victim or target. In the basic model the police have to consider the criminals desire to commit crime and their ability and opportunity to commit said crime against their victim or target. For example, is their desire motivated by profit (professional and organised criminals) or is driven by alcohol or drugs misuse issues compelling them to commit crime (opportunists). From a crime reduction perspective the police have to try and control the offenders by seeking to handle them (e.g. via inquiry, arrest or imposition of an ASBO) through the use of various laws and tactics. Simultaneously, they must manage place and places where crime is routinely committed (via increased patrols, intelligence gathering, surveillance, target hardening and proactive policing) to prevent or deter crimes (see also the work of Felson, in the next section). The police must also act as guardians for the victims and targets. The crime reduction triangle considers the matter from a criminal's perspective. See figure 10 below

Figure 10 - The Crime Reduction Triangle.

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[12] Morris first posited this theory in 1957 but has regularly updated it.

To enable successful interventions the police have to use the triangle as a problem solving technique, or tool, to consider how best to reduce the incidence of crime and what tactics to use. The problem analysis triangle deals with offenders, place and the target or victim by helping the police develop a profile. See figure 11 below.

Figure 11 – The Problem Analysis Triangle.

One of the most successful techniques is to apply 'Problem Solving Policing' Methodologies [PSP] which entails conducting an analysis using the SARA model which entails scanning, analysis, response and assessment.[13] See figure 12 below:-

Figure 12 – The SARA Model.

PSP methodology can be a very successful policing methodology to prevent and detect crime in individual crime series but when it is applied in full generates a large file. The ethos of PSP approaches was to conduct research into an identifiable problem or crime pattern and in essence come up with an 'action plan' to resolve the issue or reduce the crime. As such it is an initiating strategy to ask Command to resource the issue. Many PSPs were entirely police orientated and did not involve other Agencies. Not all suggested PSPs were ratified by Command and supported with appropriate resources. It was very popular when first disseminated but fell out of favour because it is focused on the paper work. It is also a very time intensive process and was primarily used by community officers. As a result, over time officers often used its practices and processes

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[13] PSP is also referred to Problem Orientated Policing [POP].

informally without generating the formalised PSP paperwork. A strength of PSP was that it had inbuilt evaluation.

3.2.3. Routine Activities Theory: This theory (see Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1994; 1986; 1987 and 2006; and Eck, 1994) builds upon the above situational and spatial theories and extends our understanding of the crime reduction triangle. The work of Cohen and Felson (1979) posited the concept of 'guardianship' and the role of guardians in protecting targets from motivated offenders thereby suppressing crime. Cohen and Felson (1979) suggested that the routine activities of individuals can be used to explain societal crime rates. Building on this the work of Felson (1986) linked routine activities theory with control theory added another potential crime suppressor demonstrating that people close to offenders whom he designated as handlers (parents, relatives, spouses, teachers and coaches) who can prevent the offender from deviating. The work of Eck (1994) extended the role of guardian's to include those people who manage or control places (i.e. store-clerks, stewards, security guards and attendants etc) by regulating the behaviour of people who use such places. To return to the discussion of the crime triangle collectively routine activities theory demonstrates that a predatory crime requires much more than a criminally inclined individual and that victims and offenders' must converge in space and time without the presence of crime controllers - guardians, handlers and managers - for crime to occur. Crime prevention requires a change to be put in place via strategies or tactics to disrupt the dynamics effecting the triangle.

Recent studies relating to routine activity theory have expanded its scope to explain differences in crime rates across places. Routine activities theory helps explain and account for the complex variation in the dynamics of criminal careers and their effect on places. The work of Felson (2006) extended routine activities theories to cover routine activities committed by organized crime groups using the rubric of the eco-systems approach. In particular, Felson (2006) emphasised the importance of reading predictable events, sequences and settings and in understanding offender convergence settings. Where organized crime groups differ from chaotic offenders is that they are able to maintain a degree of concealment of their activities which make them more difficult to interdict primarily because of the links between organized crime and legitimate business settings and practices. This is of vital importance to contemporary policing in a Scottish context because a recent communication from Police Scotland's Specialist Crime Division in relation to the high number of Organized Crime Groups (OCGs) with links to legitimate business.[14] Nevertheless, Felson argues that it is still possible for police to remove

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[14] Their website reports that serious and organised crime centres around acquiring money, profit, influence and power and that the type of activity or business used to achieve this varies enormously (from taxi companies, a tanning salon or any other type of legitimate business). The profits generated are invested in other types of criminal activity, thus fuelling a 'cycle of crime'. See http://www.scotland.police.uk/keep-safe/280693/280696/

opportunities to commit crime by understanding the 4 levels of exposure. Felson argues that the intellectual study of organized crime suffers from four major distractions: (a) mixing overall analysis with the requirements of prosecution, (b) understating the diversity of criminal cooperation, (c) underestimating how crime cooperation interacts with legitimate activities, and (d) overestimating the degree of planning and sophistication needed for offender symbiosis to occur. Implicit within this argument is that the practical prevention work of the police also fails to engage with the four levels of exposure by failing to manage public space. Felson argues for a need to organize our minds to understand how serious and organized offenders cooperate and suggests that for heuristic purposes this is best achieved by viewing organized crime as a social network and thus a complex eco-system. Felson complains about the dramatic fallacy whereby too much attention is paid to specific organized crime groups and their reputations when more attention should be paid to specific and tangible events, their specific sequences, and their specific settings. Felson suggests that organized crime can be tackled by considering and disrupting the interface between semi-public and semiprivate settings which allow crime to occur. Crime is easiest dealt with in public (most exposed) and semi-public settings (increasing difficulty). Most difficult to interdict are criminal activities committed in semi-private settings (e.g. council and RSL housing) and private settings (privately owned houses and business). Felson argued that the way forward is by using situational crime prevention and problem oriented policing techniques.

What is missing are studies aligning the routine activities of police and other legal guardians' such as for example the Council and Third Sector organisations etc into the equation. It is essential to develop our understanding of the other side of routine activities in order to combat the routine activities of criminals and those committing anti-social behaviour. There is a need to develop a more nuanced understanding of which policing routine activities add value in addressing crime and its causes and which ones do not. Situational crime prevention and reduction strategies have a major role to play in respect of this.

3.3.   The Development of Crime Prevention in Scotland.

The landscape of Scottish Policing, and particularly Crime Reduction/Prevention, has changed considerably over the past three decades and since the inception of Police Scotland, has become more localised (Donnelly & Scott, 2005). Crime Reduction as an operational policing strategy, has a long history in Scotland, and has been in existence since the 1960s (See Monaghan, 1997; and Henry, 2009). Initially, such policing departments were referred to as Community Involvement Departments, before evolving into Community Engagement, then Crime Prevention

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and   http://www.scotland.police.uk/whats-happening/news/2015/december/police-scotland-at-the-forefront-of-tackling-organised-crime.

Departments in the 1990s and laterally as Crime Reduction Departments (Rogers, 2003; Myhill, 2006; Henry, 2009). Crime Reduction Units have now been rationalised to provide a local service and draw on a wide variety of Policing specialisms. Numerous national initiatives, and in particular, the inception of the Violence Reduction Unit in Scotland, led to a change in attitudes towards violent crime and crime of violence. All these are of relevance to the success of the 'Prevention First' Strategy which broadly fits a situational crime prevention model (Tilley, 2009).

Our quest to find other crime prevention programmes with a similar ethos to 'Prevention First' to establish a baseline for our assessment proved fruitless highlighting the uniqueness of the project to Police Scotland and the Ayrshire Councils. We were however, able to determine that the accepted practices of 'Prevention First' did fit with extant theories of crime prevention.

3.4. Making use of the literature from a practical perspective.

This academic review provides a basic awareness provides starting point for those not familiar with the tried and tested theories which underpin the programme such as Council and Third Sector partners. The review is useful for those who wish to expand their existing knowledge base.[15] Text books on crime prevention listed at the end of the reference section are a good starting point for self-study.

3.5. Utilising literature and theory to expand the 'Prevention First' model and capability.

This review has concentrated on aspects of situational crime prevention relating to problem-solving techniques and how these are used to prevent and even deter crime and anti-social behaviour. Whilst we appreciate that theory will likely be the last thing on a busy police or council officers mind it is nevertheless of considerable importance because it has the potential to be expanded to cover other crime prevention and criminological theories which could be incorporated into its armoury and provide new strategies and tactics to combat crime. However, we appreciate that it is out-with the remit of this commissioned research. Nevertheless, we urge that Police Scotland and its partners bear this in mind because there may come a time when the considerable efforts spent on operationalising the programme do not match the diminishing returns, because situational crime prevention only takes us so far. This may come when there are no longer crime or anti-social behaviour hotspots; when there are fewer recidivist criminals and when victimisation has been reduced. At this point, there is a danger that the programme will then be disbanded in favour of newer approaches when it may only require a change of theoretical focus. We believe that 'Prevention First' requires to be embedded in the 2026 strategy for the full

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[15] We considered compiling a suggested reading list but felt that this was to prescriptive an approach. Instead, we have attempted where possible to locate article which are freely available on the world-wide-web and have embedded links to the articles in the references section.

benefits of the programme to be realised. Moreover, we see a greater role for it to be adapted to tackle 'Organised criminal groups' as part of the Prevent, Deter, Detect strategy, by reducing the pool of criminal labour available to them.

In a similar vein, whilst 'Prevention First' fits into the existing theoretical frameworks it does so much more than that. It blends crime prevention with community policing, early intervention etc., and in the process becomes a new business model. It actually expands them to become more powerful than the restrictive theoretical and conceptual frame work of the triangle allows. Indeed, we believe that the existing framework may even restrict creative thinking in terms of what can be achieved. A new model or theoretically derived conceptual framework is required. That lies out-with the remit of this commission research.

The next chapter, chapter 4 begins the empirical part of the evaluation proper, which is continued in chapters 5, 6 and 7. It should be noted that in the interests of maintaining confidentiality a policy decision was made by the principal investigator not to use direct quotes because that may lead to a respondent being identified via their role. Thus all data has been paraphrased or used to develop a coherent and cogent narrative describing how it has been operationalised. This decision has drawbacks because many of the direct quotes are very powerful. Chapter 4 therefore contains essential background information to enable the reader to understand the analysis in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 4 also contains the qualitative data from the focus groups.

Chapter 4 – 'Operationalising 'Prevention First' in Ayrshire.

This chapter is organised into two broad sections. The first focuses on Police Scotland's aims and objectives in relation to 'Prevention First' and the second on how it fits these objectives and has been implemented.

4.1. Considering context, practice and process.

This section begins the empirical evaluation work proper and is constructed from background material relating to 'Prevention First' structures and processes either located via documentary analysis of internal documents from Police Scotland or the Councils; or from interviews with Chief Superintendent Gillian MacDonald and Sergeant Mo Boyle and area commanders. The purpose of this chapter is to set the scene. In discussing 'Prevention First' that it has been articulated as 1) a philosophy with its own ideologies and beliefs; 2) a methodology; 3) a model; 4) as a set of practices, or processes and 5) a programme. It is all of these as well as a new way of working. This is important because elements of it can be implemented at different levels depending on strategic, tactical and operational considerations.

A search of the internet revealed that there were no other police crime prevention programmes in the UK utilising the 'New Zealand' model. We did find a programme operated by Fife Council with the project title of 'Prevention First'.[16] However, research indicated that this was a single agency project working with Third Sector organisations with no direct links to the 'Prevention First' methodology. What it does highlight is the move from crisis management to prevention in the first instance. It is described on the website as a new way of working to prevent vulnerable people from becoming homeless. It works by giving people information and options to avoid becoming homeless. The Fife Homelessness Partnership, which is made up of the council, NHS Fife, Housing Associations and [their] partners in the voluntary sector, helps potential clients in a range of ways by giving them a realistic solution to their housing problem. It nevertheless appears to be an example of how a related prevention based programme can be used in the public sector to reduce and problem solve pernicious social issues which have the potential to impact upon crime.

4.2. The role of Police Scotland.

Prior to the inception of Police Scotland on 1 April, 2013. Ayrshire was part of Strathclyde Police force. Feedback from partners in Ayrshire revealed that in the years prior to the 'Prevention First' approach being adopted that they had lost contact with their local community police officers due

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[16] See https://www.fifedirect.org.uk/news/index.cfm?fuseaction=feature.display&objectid=33C07F82-0D13-6D4A-93CC1789D7101723 for a discussion of the social work project to tackle repeat homelessness issues in the county.

to operational reasons. They expressed this loss as having had a significant impact on their work within the community. They missed the daily/weekly contact and the simple act of having officers dropping in to their offices for a chat, or a discussion of a particular, local incident. The approach, it is reported, has re-established such partnerships and the provision of a point of contact for them. They expressed a wish to continue working closely with local officers and to build practice.

This led to a decision to up-skill community police officers in tandem with the approach. This was necessary because of legacy issues rating to the former Internal Service Delivery Model [ISDM] which had led to a deskilling of community police officers. It is recognised that community policing skills are influential in developing 'Prevention First' and therefore a decision was taken to promote these skills across all officers. Community officers are encouraged to focus on their community role, and Divisional Sergeants were encouraged not to use Community Officers [CO's] for backfilling, or supplementing response teams. Divisional Sergeants are key agents in driving this.

The programme sits within and operates alongside the guidelines for the Police Scotland Crime Prevention Strategy - SCD Safer Communities.[17] The strategy focuses on 1) **Keeping People Safe** and the best way to achieve this is to prevent crime from occurring; and 2) i**mproving the safety and wellbeing of people, places and communities in Scotland**. The espoused coordinated approach entails shared partnership working with health, education, housing, employability and a host of other public and third sector services. A key police role is to identify and communicate crime problems to other stakeholder agencies and the community, participating in the development of comprehensive responses and assisting in the implementation of overarching crime prevention strategies. Therefore, 'Prevention First' and overarching crime reduction strategy is closely aligned with the annual report and control strategies. It incorporates both intelligence driven and problem solving policing responses, aimed at providing sustainable solutions to reduce the need for police to continually revisit crime problems. Proactivity and innovation in service delivery are key facets of the Crime Reduction Strategy.

The vision is to ensure Police Scotland explores all Crime Prevention opportunities, to create an environment designed to reduce opportunities for crime in our communities and to keep people safe. Police Scotland define Crime prevention as "understanding and addressing both the cause and the crime. It is described as:-

- Any intervention which prevents or reduces a crime that would have occurred without that intervention;

- Police and partners working together with communities, learning about shared problems, and jointly designing unique solutions;

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[17] See the March 2015 /report v 1.0.

- The initiation of crime responses before there is a significant problem as opposed to reacting to crime matters on an incident by incident basis.

The purpose was to:-

- Ensure all Crime Prevention tactics are embraced;

- Identify best practice and ensure it is effectively implemented;

- Identify innovative approaches to preventing crime and emerging crime problems;

- Identify opportunities for collaboration between key partners and Police Scotland that will tackle the wider consequences of crime;

- Engage other practitioners to assist with prevention of crime.

The programme contributes to crime reduction in terms of the stated aims of reducing 1) violence, disorder and anti-social behaviour; 2) enhancing public protection; and 3) contributing to the reduction of public perception of crime. It is aligned to the Safer Communities agenda and delivers on physical and social crime reduction as well as utilising and delivering on the Police Scotland internet, social and conventional media policies. The strategy also feeds into the Ayrshire, North, East and South Local Policing Plans. It also contributes to the 'Prevent, Deter, Detect' strategies to combat serious and organized crime.

4.2.1. Leading organisational change via the 'Prevention First' programme:

This section considers issues of organizational change and in particular the leadership role of Chief-Superintendent Gillian MacDonald, the coordination role of Sergeant Mo Boyle and the impact of the Area Commanders in operationalising the programme. Chief Superintendent MacDonald was the instigator in getting the partners on board and delegated the operationalisation to Sergeant Boyle and other key players to engage existing partnerships

4.2.1.a. The Leadership role of Chief Superintendent Gillian MacDonald: Chief-Superintendent MacDonald was influenced in her decision to implement a preventative strategy by 1) the dialogue arising from the Christie Commission; and 2) the significant and long-standing issues around serious violence and in particular in one of the local authority areas (North Ayrshire) where it accounted for approximately 22% of the divisions violence crime. This was a long-standing problem. It was obvious that a change of strategy and tactics was required. A partnership approach was identified as the best option to support a different way to get to a different outcome for those individuals that were the victims but also for the communities and the folk that were

becoming offenders at quite an early stage in their life. In her research she stumbled across 'Prevention First' in New Zealand. This confirmed that it was essential to adopt a 'whole policing approach' based around prevention.[18] She envisaged that such an approach would work in Ayrshire where there were already existing and effective partnerships.

Through discussion with colleagues a trial of 'Prevention First' was agreed. North Ayrshire was chosen for the pilot to see if the strategy could provide better solutions to the ingrained culture of violence in that area. Three particular wards were selected due their high incidence of violence crime. Statistics are available to support this and can be provided by Police Scotland analysts if required. They were problematic wards for the police and partners as well in terms of the high level of other incidents anti-social behaviour, housing plans etc. A meeting was arranged with partners where collectively it was identified that it was an inter-agency problem. The Council were open to the challenge of doing something different. Chief-Superintendent MacDonald prepared a report with the Director of Community Safety. The initial thinking was for a daily review of the incidents to enable early intervention and early resolution. The key to the process was a joint problem solving approach to identify the best and most sustainable response to on-going issues. On a 24/7 basis it was planned that printouts of all the incidents in the three wards would enable a deeper analysis and identify patterns of repeat victims and complainers. This enabled a multi-agency picture of why the problems persisted. The ethos was to examine shared responses to date and plan alternative, more comprehensive responses to identify the underlying factors and actually address them.

The Council and other partners were very supportive and saw the benefits which included – a reduction in complaints and reducing costs in dealing with complex issues. It helped that the police were not asking for a financial commitment but pooling shared resources; and that it was couched as a pilot with a planned evaluation. The pilot was agreed. Joint planning work ensued with selected council and third sector partners. A tailored plan to suit the localities was developed with all partners. The involvement of the Communities Inspector was pivotal to this process and the setting up of the 'Prevention First because of the level of knowledge and contacts. A key feature of the plan was dynamic problem-solving. At an operational and tactical level Chief-Superintendent MacDonald adopted a hands off approach and allowed the Communities Inspector autonomy of operation. This level of autonomy empowered the 'Prevention First' teams in each area to redesign their process and the way they dealt with things effectively and efficiently. Another key dynamic was that most communication was conducted via telephone calls and this

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[18] This whole systems approach was something that the former Strathclyde and other forces were moving towards prior to the formation of the single force. However what 'Prevention First' seems to have done is pull the various strands from enhanced policing, stop-and-search, Community Services Glasgow and the One Glasgow approach which also ran in Dumfries and Galloway together. Although the ISDM model was well intentioned and more suited to larger urban conurbations the model unintentionally undermined much of the good Community Policing Policies that had been in place. This explains the background of the need to look beyond a solution to a problem and to identify a new way of policing/working.

resulted in a fluid, fast moving 24/7 work stream in which all parties contributed timeously. The economic costings toolkit provided a rationale at a strategic level for justifying the interventions and permits busy Executives to consider it in terms of numbers and demand and cost reductions. At an operational level the system provides a day-to-day methodology.

The results of the pilot scheme were impressive and as the Prevention First pilot progressed and was introduced into the East Ayrshire area the results became even more impressive and produced some surprising benefits and outcomes – for example during the pilot period there were no evictions. It is estimated that it costs around £20,000 to turn a council house around. The combined approach of reducing anti-social behaviour and nullifying the cost of evictions proved an effective and efficient use of shared resources. It stopped the previous culture of tenants playing the police and housing off against each other. It is more effective than issuing a fixed penalty, or confiscating music devices. Applying the economic costs model demonstrates the case. With the success of the pilot all three local authorities were keen to support the evaluation because, as a respondent commented, the Chief Executives were quite keen to take it to COSLA and SOLACE as an example of excellent partnership working, combining early intervention and prevention. Plans were made to roll out the pilot to the East and South Ayrshire.

Chief Superintendent MacDonald argues that implementing 'Prevention First' was not a difficult process because of the existing strong partner relations already established in the division. Developing good relationships with each of the executives was crucial in developing a shared level of openness, maturity and honesty between partners. This leads to genuine shared understandings. However, initiating the process is the most difficult aspect of it because partners need someone with the vision to 'kick-start' it. Someone needs to own it, to get to up and running. It takes hard work and commitment from partners to make it succeed. Many organisations were not set up and structured to work in the way that it requires. It takes time to embed and lead to a change of focus. In implementing the methodology it is important to assess what the challenges are in individual communities; what are the issues you are trying to deal with; and what does the partnership landscape actually look like.

Chief Superintendent MacDonald outlined her strategic vision as detailed below[19]:-

What is 'Prevention First'?

- It is a partnership approach to local service delivery.
- It underpins the policing approach in Ayrshire.
- It initially focussed on the most challenging local wards.
- It prevents and reduces crime and offending.
- It reduces anti-social behaviour and victimisation, resulting in fewer victims.
- It reduces locations (hotspots) where offending takes place.

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[19] As unveiled at the SIPR Annual Conference in 2016.

- It aims to stay on top of localised criminal environments.

- Its goal is to achieve better outcomes for individuals and communities.

Why 'Prevention First'?

- There was an obvious need to do something different.

- The levels of violence were of concern to police and community.

- Recommendations from the Christie report around prevention hadn't resulted in the shift required.

- The drive for better partnerships, collaboration and effective delivery.

How was is achieved?

- Via intense daily scrutiny of incidents, crime reports and patterns of concern.

- This enabled partners to identify areas of common concern including, victims, offenders, repeat callers, problematic locations and emerging crime trends.

- Information sharing and timely referral to partners.

- An on-going dialogue and agreed actions.

- Daily communication with partners, backed up by weekly/fortnightly meetings to discuss progress.

Why a partnership approach?

- It engenders powerful shared goals.

- Enhanced communication and a continuing dialogue.

- It facilitates early intervention e.g. joint warnings and individual tailored approaches.

- It targets issues impacting on communities in real time.

- It enables collective management and problem solving to be applied to complex, multi-faceted issues which could not be solved by a single agency alone.

How is 'Prevention First' measured?

- Performance – fewer crimes, incidents and victims.

- Demand reduction.

- Efficiency savings – using Home Officer Guide for the Economic Cost of Crime Toolkit.

Taking Prevention First into the Future!

- The Public Sector transformation conversation is on-going.

- This will lead to less money and less resources.

- There is a need for smarter ways of working.

- The pressure to work more collaboratively with partners and communities.

- The above provide better opportunities for outcomes and for re-thinking/re modelling work practices, using a collective approach.

- The need for commissioning independent evaluation of what works and what does not.

- The need to adopt evidence based approaches to service re-design.

4.1.2.b. The coordination role of Sergeant Mo Boyle: The coordination role of Sergeant Mo Boyle, as LALO for North Ayrshire, was pivotal to the development of 'Prevention First' because it meant that the police did not have to start from scratch as she already had an existing contact base. This is an important element in developing it in other areas. Sergeant Boyle continued in her role as LALO but with day-to-day responsibility for 'Prevention First'. In this respect she continued to act as a single point of contact for programme matters and oversaw the same role in relation to East and South Ayrshire. Sergeant Boyle attends all 'Prevention First' meetings and maintains an oversight of all issues relating it. She considers that this continuity, and using existing networks throughout the life of 'Prevention First', has played a key role in its success. Another factor in its success is that it has made use of all the partnerships through community engagement as well as engagement with the third sector and acts as an ideal mechanism to bring all the facets together, and feeds into the community planning structures. It also feeds in to the Safer North Ayrshire Partnership, providing updates, guidance and support and works closely with North Ayrshire Alcohol and Drug Partnership of which Sergeant Boyle is the chair: this existing synergy quickly enabled 'Prevention First' to become a recognised brand. Furthermore, she also liaised with recovery and care groups to get their views on integrating it into local networks. In North Ayrshire this process was facilitated by the fact that the council services are integrated into the Housing Hub and act as a one-stop-shop. Open dialogue with the Council was a key element to its early successes. The dialogue was two way with the police and the council discussing how each could help the other.

Sergeant Boyle is passionate about 'Prevention First' as a flexible policing innovation and acknowledges the role Chief-Superintendent MacDonald played in the implementation of the programme to impact on high crime areas that accounted for 22% of all violent crimes in North Ayrshire. The pilot was initially implemented in 3 council ward areas across Irvine and Kilwinning where intelligence showed that the police and council problems were caused by the same issues and people. Working together through 'Prevention First' has transformed joint partnership approaches. While there was a close working relationship with the council and networking and occasional sharing of information there is now a daily dialogue. Information sharing was key to the success of the programme and has transformed the nature of how the partners work. This permits the identification and actioning of issues in real time. This joint early intervention and discussion has moved the issues upstream so that previously entrenched issues are dealt with earlier. It is a more efficient and effective way of working and it is better for individuals and communities.

What is evident from the interviews with Chief Superintendent MacDonald and Sergeant Boyle is that their leadership and coordination roles provide an element of uniformity of practice and stability to the strategic and operationalisation it Division wide which is crucial because it maintains a uniform and centralised form and structure to the operational delivery and of consistency of decision making. The area commanders of the three sub-divisions provide the local element of autonomy of action necessary to make it successful.

4.2.1.c. Implementing the programme: The initial stages of the pilot were utilised to establish partnerships, networks and processes. By the end of the first month with the quantity of referrals increased. Appropriate governance arrangements were put in place to ensure the future sustainability of the approach. It was reported initially that there were challenges to be overcome. Initially, issues arose because of the leading role played by one supervisor during the pilot causing limited resilience during periods of absence. This highlighted the need to provide current and immediate information to partners and associated risks in missing relevant information. The initiative was accepted by partners as a way to facilitate early intervention to prevent individuals spiralling into increasingly serious offending/criminality and reaching crisis points in their lives; improve use of resources; reduce costs; and, ultimately, provide an enhanced service to the public.

The Partners involved were[20]:

- North Ayrshire Council Anti-Social Behaviour Investigation Team
- North Ayrshire Council Community Safety Services
- North Ayrshire Council Housing
- North Ayrshire Council Tenancy Support
- Dementia Support Service
- Together We Can
- SACRO
- The Ayrshire Community Trust (TACT)
- Programmes Approach Team
- Momentum Skills
- Social Services
- Addiction Services (Caley Court)

A pilot scheme[21] was initiated and the following process was adopted. At the commencement, contact was initiated with the key agencies identified and discussions took place on how each could contribute to the partnership. Initially daily meetings with partners was considered

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[20] The makeup of partners varies across the council areas.
[21] As articulated in the briefing on the pilot scheme by Sgt Christine Boyd.

desirable (as in the Police NIM/Daily Briefing Model). However, it was quickly recognised that due to the geographical layout of the subdivision, and where various partners were based, such a structure placed unnecessary burden on them. Initially, partners were consulted when they had an interest in a particular case. This quickly changed to a weekly meeting with partners able to attend as and when required.

The key person in the process is the 'Prevention First' supervisor. Their role is based on an in-depth knowledge of the area covered. Daily scrutiny of each incident quickly established emerging or existing trends in relation to disorder, neighbour complaints, vulnerable people, offending and Antisocial Behaviour. Where a pattern emerged, a report was sent without delay to the appropriate agency. A discussion then takes place on the case and a decision on the most appropriate manner in which to address the issue. This discussion often takes place within 24 hours of an event occurrence.

In the early stages of the pilot, it became apparent that 'Prevention First' had a locus in dealing with serious crime, as well as low level, particularly in cases involving violence. A partnership decision was made to refer the details of a serious crime (e.g. serious assault, attempted murder) on the following working day. The outcome of this is that, even though an offender or suspect may be remanded in custody, work is already underway in preparing a case for the Civil Court in relation to ASBOs and tenancy legalities and ready to proceed as soon as the suspect is liberated. This proved to be very effective. Joint warnings proved very effective in concluding the process and leading to an outcome. These are attended by the individual concerned and all relevant Partners. Consequences of the individual's actions are made clear and the strength of the partnership. These were without exception respected and accepted by those concerned.

4.3. Leadership issues impacting on 'Prevention First'.

Leadership issues emerged from the interviews as a major theme in the success (or potentially otherwise) of the programme. This is important because it adds to establishing the value of leadership and how it supports the working of 'Prevention First'.

4.3.1. Leadership Issues arising from the focus group: This section is based on a focus group with divisional Area Commanders. The three separate Divisions of North Ayrshire, East Ayrshire and South Ayrshire have Area Commanders who are Chief Inspectors. These Chief Inspectors are in charge of all policing matters in their Division, and have an oversight role for 'Prevention First'. The Commanders all have a hands-on role in relation to the programme, at a strategic level, to direct individual cases and resource them. Their objectives vary from day-to-day, but all the Commanders articulated that operating it involves taking risks. In all 3 areas, the strategic focus of attention is on engaging with partners.

Initially, when 'Prevention First' was mooted, it was emphasised to them by Chief Superintendent MacDonald that it had to be operationalised holistically, and not imposed upon areas or communities. All the Commanders concur that the programme has been demonstrable in changing the makeup of the areas in which it has been operationalised. They confirm that it has reduced crime and anti-social behaviour, as well as reducing the levels of violent crime and repeat offending whilst also making inroads in reducing criminal recidivism. From a strategic perspective, it has deepened the relationships between Police Scotland and its partners. There is also a consensus that it has been successful in addressing well-being and quality of life issues underpinning the causes of crime and anti-social behaviour. The Commanders talked passionately about 'Prevention First' being a 'real-time' policing model, emphasising that real-time follow-up with partners, and disclosure of information, was the key to its success. They highlighted the 'hands-on' nature of the model, which is embedded in its operationalisation. It is not an office-based model.

The Commanders articulated that 'Prevention First' started from a strong position in all 3 Council areas, and that although there was previously good relations with the Council and other partners, it quickly helped cement relationships. This was facilitated by the fact that 'Prevention First' is not a brand new concept, but is based on sound, common sense practices and processes within all the agencies. They argued that it quickly became a recognisably brand. The Command Team are unanimous that it is this attention to the local perspective which makes the programme particularly effective. In addition, the introduction of the new Locality Policing Model has assisted in this. Collectively, they argued that, without the Community Policing aspect, the programme would not work so efficiently because 'Prevention First' areas focus on individuals and communities, using an evidence based approach. They emphasised the importance of parallel streams of good work, carried out by both the Police and Council. The close working relationship between the Teams, the Localities Policing Teams and the Response Shifts evidence a genuine team approach, making the programme an effective way of doing things. This has led to 'Prevention First' becoming a mainstream business model, because the strategy and tactics used are not new, it is only the way in which they are operationalised that is different. A common phrase used by the Command Team, was that it was 'common sense policing' which tie in with the recommendations of the Christie Report and the 2026 Strategy.

'Prevention First' was identified as a good model for officer development, because it improves confidence and skills levels, and that 'Prevention First' officers are an asset when returned to different Policing Units. The Command Team did not see the redeployment of such officers as a problem, because they felt fortunate in having officers who 'step up to the plate'. They also articulated that the nature of policing is changing from a 30 year career to a 45 year one making the programme a valuable stepping stone in an officer's career. Nevertheless, they recognised that there was a need for a succession planning strategy for 'Prevention First', to

ensure that the right officers were available to step up. They also emphasised the importance of strong leadership to drive the 'Prevention First' brand forward.

In relation to efficiency, effectiveness and assessing the same, there is a universal awareness that measuring prevention is problematic. They appreciate that, although the statistics indicate reductions in all 3 areas that they often have to rely on a 'gut feeling' that it is making a big difference. They argued that 'Prevention First' was 'chipping away at demand'. We consider this to important because Crime Prevention methodologies are normally articulated as 'nipping it in the bud'. They report that the programme reduces the levels of escalation, by pre-emptive action, leading to reliable outcomes and has reduced the level of ASBOs initiated, and has saved on the legal costs of setting up an ASBO. However, they were cautious of using statistics alone to evaluate the programme. They warned of the dangers of focusing on cost savings, arguing that 'soft savings' were important too. They were aware of the qualitative nature surrounding well-being and mental health issues, and aware that quantitative measures are not always reliable in measuring outcomes and impact. They provided an example of the difficulty in costing Social Work interventions, and similar interventions in the Health Service. They argued for an urgent need for a more qualitative framework which captures the value of anecdotal stories and case studies. They realised that this framework would entail asking subjective and emotive questions, such as 'how do you feel?' and concentrating on life-changing issues but questioned whether such time consuming activities were the remit of the police. They appreciated that there were gaps in the recording of quantitative data, but warned against becoming unduly tied up in number crunching and qualitative data gathering, which may lead to falling in to the trap of trying to measure cost savings. They appreciate that money is not everything.

The Command Team emphasised the pragmatic nature of the programme, and the need to be realistic and adapt thinking to the circumstances and challenges. They appreciated the possibility of internal politicking and departmental agendas across partner agencies, which meant that there were differences in the adoption of the approach and consequently as a result it was not always optimised. They did not see this as a major issue because, being a creative methodology, 'Prevention First' officers, normally find an alternative path. They see a major barrier as getting wider involvement from all agencies and departments. All agree that it is a long-term sustainable model which delivers 'a lot from a few dedicated officers'. They were unanimous in their assertion that 'Prevention First' would benefit other areas in Scotland, and would build on their existing partnership approaches. There is an appreciation amongst that the marketing of 'Prevention First' could be improved upon because knowledge of it is internalised amongst partners and the Business Community. Although there were initial press releases regarding the programme, Command quickly realised that its strength was in 'doing it' and 'making a visible difference'. There was a sense that they were not sure marketing mattered.

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There was also an awareness that much 'Prevention First' work is actioned on the basis of anecdotal evidence, gathered in and from communities where police are not always welcome. Following this approach, has allowed the partners to address complex social issues and achieve long-term solutions. They acknowledge that, addressing such underlying issues is difficult, and that a balance has to be struck between proactive policing and the softer side of policing. Respondents articulated as a strength, in all 3 areas is the SPOC component. Additionally, 'Prevention First' has enabled a sense of continuity across different streams of partnership working, because the 'Prevention First' officer is at the heart of things, across different community fora. It is valued because it encourages a supportive dialogue, strong networking and creative solutions to complex problems. An observations of the Research Team, was that, the Area Commanders, like all other respondents, were candid and frank in their remarks, and that they provided pragmatic answers.[22]

4.3.2. Generic leadership issues and challenges arising from the interviews: Respondents acknowledged that leadership roles, within the 'Prevention First' and 'Localities Policing Teams', are not the easiest of jobs and expressed surprise that supervisors volunteered to take on such big problems because the problems rest with the team leader and that supervisors accept this fully. This has changed the previous 'it is not my problem' mentality. There was universal praise for the new business model of policing and for the excellent job performed by team leaders. There is an awareness amongst supervisors that some officers are better suited than others, and that others need to improve. Not everyone has the psyche, or the mentality, to think differently in terms of policing methods. Council respondents noted that there was a noticeable difference between the operating styles of police personnel based on their personalities because the system relies heavily on a few key individuals. There is a palpable disparity in the ability and skills of some shifts. Nevertheless, the new policing model provides reassurance in terms of overlap and effectively covers for off duty personnel and staff sickness. In the new model, not everyone works on the regular shift patterns, and some key officers work day shifts or back shifts, to optimise their roles. The changes made occurred at a time when constable numbers have reduced by 12, in North Ayrshire alone (a loss of 6% of staffing capacity). Despite this, performance in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, are still improving, enabling the Division to perform better, with fewer people. Realistically, this cannot continue to occur, without triggering a tipping point.

The challenges in overseeing and leading a policing initiative such as 'Prevention First' is the constant state of flux and change within the police as an organisation, because traditionally, policing has always been a fluid, fast-moving working environment. A very important aspect of

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[22] There was no evidence of staged answers, paying 'lip service' or 'having to tow the party line'.

the model is that of the continuous quality control and auditing of all incidents. It is not just about spotting crime patterns and prosecution. It is necessary to constantly ask the 'why' questions. Why is this happening so frequently – is it a policing problem? Is it a systemic, or strategic problem? Is it a social problem? An essential part of the daily discussion is reporting directly to the Divisional Commander with short, sensible discussions. The Commanders have the power to allocate resources instantly, and to escalate it to a strategic level. This has changed the culture of consulting command. There had been an unwritten maxim that, you only went to Commanders with solutions, not problems.

There is an acknowledgement from a leadership and supervisory perspective that the additional strains of the programme and its workload is stressful for team leaders. For example, whilst an ordinary shift sergeant has to deal with 6-8 staff, and a workload of live and old cases, 'Prevention First' Sergeants have to cope the extra work on top. Another stressor is having to ensure that every incident dealt with is written off to a high standard and that all referrals are updated and actioned timeously. The task is not completed until actioned and passed to a partner. This makes it difficult to leave the job behind at night, and frequently entails working over hours unpaid. It entails timeously updating the police computer systems, and in particular, the Intelligence system. It is hard to switch off, and often the solutions come during personal time. To ensure that all duties are covered, most Prevention First' supervisors come in at 6.30am for an 8am start and rarely leave at 5pm. Indeed, the programme only works because all partners are honest with each other and keeps the multi-agency conversation active and honest. It is essential not to make unrealistic, undeliverable promises, and to work only with known facts. The police cannot assume that partners know the severity of risk in not acting quickly enough. There is also a pressing need to train deputies and a need for dedicated Monday to Friday coverage in order to analyse and feed the information to Localities Sergeants.

4.3.3. Legacy issues impacting on 'Prevention First': Several respondents spoke about legacy issues which had to be resolved before 'Prevention First' could operate effectively.[23] These relate mainly to leadership issues, operational structures and former strategies which conflict with its basic principles. Respondents highlighted legacy issues from the Strathclyde Police era, when the former Chief Constable (Stephen House) conducted a review of the structure on Community Policing which resulted in the introduction of the ISDM Model which created a new structure.

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[23] Many of these legacy issues related to the Stephen House era of Police Scotland and since then the dynamics were now changing. This is not a criticism of Stephen House but a critique of the strategy and tactics of the era whereby there was a high turnover of police personnel which was detrimental to people talking and sharing ideas.

The logic behind the change, was a good idea, but there is a growing appreciation that it was not properly researched or implemented.[24]

The old policing model was pretty limited and led to 'Fire Brigade' style policing and an escalation of social problems. In Ayrshire, a total of 55% of constables were in Community Policing Units across 5 separate shifts. The same problems discussed above, were in place, particularly a lack of ownership of policing tasks. In reality, there was often no division of labour at all, because the Response and Community Officers all worked out of the same muster room. All officers turned up at the same time for their shifts and were allocated their roles and responsibilities. At peak time, it was necessary to allocate Community officers to cover for the low numbers of Response Officers. Whilst the ISDM Model works in larger cities, the model was not fit for purpose for semi-rural and urban areas, which are the norm in Ayrshire.

On paper, each ISDM Community Policing Team consisted of 10 constables, 2 sergeants and an inspector. The operational problems, caused by ISDM were considerable. Many new 'community cops' had not volunteered for their new role, and did not buy in to the ethos of community policing. At peak times, the number of Response Officers were too few to cope with the demand, resulting in instances of police failing to take ownership for incidents and crime trends. There was a lack of identifiability and continuity. Many of the new officers still preferred operating in Response Officer Mode. Those who had been trained and socialised into Community Policing Practices, still retained good connections to the community, but because of the changes and being placed on the same shift rota as Response Officers, they were unable to operate as community officers as they formerly did. Simple things like attending Community Council meetings became problematic because the dedicated Community Police Officers, who had built up connections with the Community Councils, were not able to attend on a regular basis. Other, less dedicated officers would attend meetings without preparation. Theoretically, the ISDM model should have dramatically increased the ability to grow and develop Community Policing. Ironically, it had the opposite in diluting Community Policing. Prior to the change to ISDM, there were 20 community cops who provided and excellent service and were well recognised in their areas as a point of contact for community policing matters. The ability to recognise exactly who was the dedicated community officer, in a given area, became problematic under ISDM. This resulted because of the new shift patterns. The change in structure and shift patterns impacted negatively on the ability of the police to maintain the problem solving element of community policing. The police lost the ability to operate effectively in terms of community policing. It is a prime example of the phrase 'less is more'. The autonomy to restructure the model and improve it for 'Prevention First 'restored some parity. Through building stronger partnerships with the council and other partners, the ability to engage in community policing is increasing marginally.

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[24] This is not a criticism of House, nor the ISDM model per se, but a criticism of applying a 'one size fits all' approach.

In preparation for 'Prevention First' the Area Commander for North Ayrshire restructured the old ISDM Model to the new Localities Policing Model. This allowed a return to traditional Community Policing methodologies. Community Policing became more prominent at the morning tactical meetings. Thus 'Prevention First' stabilised Community Policing. This was facilitated in the new model because all partners enforce their legal obligations and share information effectively in a genuine two-way flow of information. In North Ayrshire, the 'Prevention First' system became quickly embedded because of the very advanced and proactively inclined council. North Ayrshire Council are very committed to engaging with the new legislation on Community Engagement which obligates them to provide services in individual localities. The 'Prevention First' team quickly became the 'go-to-guys' to get things done. Each day, the priority of the day was identified and when passed acted on invariably led to a quick response and resolution. There were initial problems, for example, in North Ayrshire, the localities did not match the old ward system. With the help of the council, we merged 3 old wards into one new one. This created the same boundaries as the Policing Localities Teams. In returning to the old Community Policing Model, some additional community cops, were either returned to response shifts, or were posted to Localities Policing Teams.

Nevertheless, there is still stress in the system as, in some Localities Policing Teams, the Sergeants have to operationalise more than one role, being responsible for both 'Prevention First' and Localities Policing. At the heart of both roles, lies the problem-solving approach. The dual role is ideal in helping develop the skills of new Sergeants. One police supervisor describes 'Prevention First' as a 'beating heart that feeds the lifeblood of the Localities Teams'. There is an acknowledgement amongst Command that the current structure of the programme still requires more restructuring but, at present, it aligns the 'Prevention First' and Community policing models. The response shifts still deal with emergencies.

There is a sense that Police Scotland still have a lot of ground to make up to rebuild relationships with youths and communities. One respondent cited the example of the controversial 'stop and search' issue in the early years of Police Scotland, which damaged community relations.[25] Another respondent blamed the loss of focus for leading to increased levels of anti-social behaviour and high levels of police stress but argued that 'Prevention First' helped the police in Ayrshire re-focus. This re-invigorated community policing and restored communication

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[25] This led to a loss of focus in relation to what their core purpose was because of the high level targets for shifts to meet in relation to 'stop and searches'. This meant that instead of doing prevention work, police targeted persistent offenders, even when the circumstances may not have justified it. The high number of searches skewed the figures and achieved little. The police became a machine for issuing tickets to service the former Traffic Light System of meeting targets. This statistics based system meant shift sergeants were judged by whether their teams met the targets. During this time, drug supply offences went up by 60%. The town centre cops were the only visible community police to the public. It will take years before Police Scotland get back the trust of youth and communities. In these 'lost years' the community did not know who their cops were. There is a sense of returning to basic policing and making up for lost ground.

with the public. The combined 'Prevention First' and Locality Policing approach with increased foot and cycle patrols were turning this around rejuvenating community policing, providing a new focus. There is an appreciation that one of the problems in making 'Prevention First' work and in advancing it as a methodology is that there is a whole new generation of young officers who have not been educated properly in to how to speak to the public.

The former system of ISDM, created a rigid corporate culture of Community Policing and Response Teams but more divisions across Scotland are moving away from the model. This has led to morale in Ayrshire is increasing, and officers report that they are enjoying their roles. The majority of the new Community Police Officers volunteered for their roles. Similarly, most Response Officers, are where they want to be. There is less back-filling of other roles and Community Officers are generally left to do their job, leading to greater clarity of understanding between Response and Community Policing. There is less evidence of a 'this is not my problem' culture. Another challenge is in tackling geographical variations in the 'Prevention First' philosophy. There is a consensus that the new Ayrshire model of policing allows flexibility in meeting demands and to vary the number of officers on shift, for early, late and night shifts.[26]

4.3.4. A SWOT Analysis: There was an element of 'stream of consciousness' style dialogue discernible with within the responses made by key respondents. The rich material was often not related directly to the question asked, but nevertheless erudite and relevant to the evaluation. The outcomes from the SWOT analysis identified strengths, weaknesses etc. This naturally emerged during the analysis in a SWOT style format. The results of the analysis are presented in chapter 4.
Strengths: A major strength of the model is that it can be implemented in full, or partially without extra money. It does not entail following a fixed model either. Moreover, 'Prevention First' provides sustainable solutions for individuals, agencies and communities. It allows action to be taken quickly and timeously and deals with low-level concerns that can escalate. That is the rationale behind the model. The innovative mix of police and council data was also a key factor in the success of the programme. Prevention First is a flexible approach and it can work face-to-face or by video or tele conference. The 24/7 police review is an important feature of the model but it is complimented by a similar 24/7 review by Council ant-social behaviour officers were doing a 24/7. This symbiotic approach permits pooling of information in real time. Another strength of the model is that referrals can be initiated without the presence of an initial complainer. A strength of the programme is that no one agency is left dealing with everything in isolation. However, the most powerful response was that 'Prevention First' engenders a "can do" mentality which makes partnership working more successful.

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[26] The ISDM Model did not allow for this and often had large numbers of officers on duty, out with peak **times.**

The sustainability of the programme lies in its immediacy and permanency and because it has become a shared way of doing business. Previous interventions were made on an ad hoc basis. It has become a daily working routine. It does not entail spending more money and what is delivered is far superior in comparison to previous collaborations. The programme provides a strategic overview of what is happening in individual communities. It ensures all partners understand the problem through each other's lenses. It provides a 24/7 awareness of what is happening across the community. It works by following core principles and utilising existing partnerships landscapes and resources to achieve better outcomes.

Allowing for the tailoring of local relationships and is essential. It entails genuine commitment instead of just talking about problems. It cannot become just something else to do. It entails redesigning approaches to the way business is done daily. It must be genuinely owned and not imposed on staff. The basic model provides a framework to follow. Another strength of the model is that the 'Prevention First' label is a good name because it is easy to understand what it is all about. It is a continuous process, which focuses on delivering outcomes. Although the communities might not know what it is they can see the results. The process is useful because it is not just one agency 'doing it alone' and because of its flexibility in allowing each partner to continue to use their own toolkits. There is a sense that 'Prevention First' compliments these and has helped in the streamlining of ASB procedures. This has resulted in the long-term benefit on wasted work by tackling things before they escalate. Another strength is that agencies no longer play people off against each other, and the joined up approach is more effective.

'Prevention First' is a holistic approach and has become a tried and tested model which delivers the correct services required to resolve issues and because the programme mechanism allow problems to be identified much quicker. It was described as a 'finely oiled machine' which stabilises people's lives. It appears to genuinely impacts on people's lives and works by putting simple solutions in place. It has encouraged positive institutional and community traits of openness, honesty, trust and friendship. It is a very visible increase in police activity, as cases are prioritised. 'Prevention First' deals with low level repeat problems, but there is a need for all agencies to bring their real problems to the table. The programme drops barriers, allowing all agencies to be jointly proactive, permitting different opinions to coalesce to reach focussed solutions. It has reduced the silo mentality in the work place. It is about spotting outliers and breaking the cycle of depravation and crime because it is prevention rather than prosecution based. It works best in areas of highest demand and is flexible in that it can be scaled up or down. Its raison d'etre is to come up with solutions to problems. However, there is an appreciation that it is not the answer to solving all problems and that if the problem is not suitable then the partners revert to other methods. Another respondent remarked that the new processes have helped develop a sophisticated level of knowledge on offending and mapping problems. It works by

taking direct action, whenever possible. It is not about meeting targets although targets are important, but about being proactive in achieving solutions to problems.

Weaknesses: There are many generic, systemic weaknesses in the programme. When rolling out and implementing the model it cannot just be put in place. It requires opening a dialogue with partners and setting up a small working group that will become the implementation support team. One of the issues in expanding the programme into the third sector is that they receive their funding at the other end of the spectrum when an offender is released from jail. Thus organisations like Turning Point like the 'Prevention First' approach but it does not suit their funding model. The level of calls to be screened is phenomenal. It requires further consideration to funding streams.

Opportunities: One respondent remarked that 'Prevention First' was an entrepreneurial approach which allowed agencies to tap in to new opportunities. Future possibilities include extending the 'Prevention First' energy elsewhere – for example by tackling either the other end of the prevention continuum or at alternatively tackling issues at least half way along to stop thing at the front-end. In future roll outs it is essential to have conversations with COSLA, SOLAC and other staff associations to establish a small divisional support team to design a package that can be taken to divisions. There is scope for holding a 'Prevention First' Conference to provide an overview and harness the established momentum. Alternatively, Community Inspectors from across Scotland could be asked to lead the implementation in their area. However, the best approach is to engage in a hearts and minds scenario to capture their imagination.

Threats: A number of potential threats to the 'Prevention First' programme were discernible in the respondents' responses. Several identified that in the current climate, everybody, including the council and police are busy and under-resourced. Thus failure to resource and fund 'Prevention First' initiatives may lead to its stagnation and decline. Poor leadership could cause the system to fail as could a change of leadership with a different policing philosophy.

- Complacency and routinisation.
- Loss of efficiency and effectiveness if 'Prevention First' becomes the norm.
- Under resourcing (doing it on the cheap).
- Loss of passion and commitment due to routinisation.
- Paying lip service to the concept.
- Failure to put genuine community policing and supervisory structures in place.
- Lack of visionary leadership (if made compulsory).

- Danger of individual and organisational stress and burn out due to high workloads. It would be worth considering a five-year tenure for 'Prevention First' roles.
- High turnover of policing staff leading to a loss of experience and organizational forgetting.
- Failure of any partner to buy into the process.
- Failure to adapt the programme to suit local needs, changing demographics and crime trends.
- That the programme is abandoned prematurely if a new strategy is proposed or if a new Chief Constable or area commander chooses to adopt a new strategic focus. 'Prevention First' should be enshrined in the 2026 strategy as a long-term commitment.

4.3.5. Appreciating the inter-relationships between community policing, early intervention, information sharing and partnership working: It is worthy of note that 'Prevention First' is only one potential strategy available to Police Scotland and that other strategies which mix blends of community policing, early intervention information sharing and partnership working can produce sound results and case studies with similar outcomes to 'Prevention First'. For example, the assessment/study of Frondigoun, Smith and Horseburgh (2016) into the 'Thriving Places' in Glasgow illustrates this point. Different strategies and models are required for different divisions and areas. What works in Glasgow may not work in Aberdeen or Edinburgh.

4.4. The role of the councils.

The role of the three Councils and the enthusiasm and vision of Council leaders are both pivotal and crucial to the success of 'Prevention First'. Council respondents reported that 'Prevention First' joins up varied multi-agency approaches and builds a profile which ensures that people get a better service. It was reported that:-

- The programme enables tenants to complain to them, instead of just telephoning the police.
- As a result clients now feel engaged, included, supported and above all else, consulted. The clients no longer have to go through the repetitive process of complaining to different people and agencies.
- The aims of the programme fit well with the council community planning targets and that, as the programme becomes more embedded there is the potential to harness it towards achieving long-term outcomes.
- From a council perspective, being involved in the programme has been invaluable and has engendered new ways of looking at very old problems.
- The programme has helped save on resources and for example having police transport to attend joint visits speeds up the process because it saves time and bureaucracy in planning and booking council vehicles.

- It has cut down on the amount of wasted time that used to occur due to having to make repeat phone calls and being passed from pillar to post.
- It has shortened turnaround times in dealing with cases and follow-ups.
- It is useful for dealing with persistent complaints, party houses, vandalism and noise nuisance.
- It has helped reduce the number of abandoned tenancies, which is a costly processes for the council.

Under 'Prevention First', the ethos of the councils is to support problematic tenants to succeed and to support them in sustaining their tenancy. It deals more effectively with those already in the system by involving relevant agencies in the delivery and solutions and in all council areas it has led to a reduction in the number of warnings issued. However, there is an awareness that it does not always work with, for example, chaotic tenancies. However, all council respondents praise the introduction of joint warnings. The importance of council involvement cannot be stressed enough. However, it does impact on workloads. For example, in North Ayrshire it resulted in a 40% increase in council workloads. It is necessary to take cognisance of this when seeking to expand the programme. There is a need for careful planning. There is a synergy between the 'Prevention First' processes and council working practices. The combined police and council approach works well because of the 24-hour nature of policing. From a council perspective it is noticeable that the police now take greater ownership of community issues than in the past. This respondent remarked that most council departments finish at 5pm and operate on a Monday to Friday basis so the council benefit from the new 24/7 perspective supplied by the police. Another council respondent highlighted that 'Prevention First' was process driven and tackled the core business of both the police and the council.

In East Ayrshire, the Community Safety Group play a part in the 'Prevention First' programme and this allows Community Safety to use it as a mechanism to feedback into the Council's One Agreement Process. Community Safety, via the Risk Management Centre, provides services and peace of mind to people being harassed by crime and anti-social behaviour. This is utilised via the use of CCTV, mobile camera units, alarms and other prevention devices.

There are also Council operational structures which are worthy of highlighting. These include the North Ayrshire Council Anti-Social Behaviour Team [ASBIT] and South Ayrshire's Multi Agency Tasking & Coordinating Group/Problem Solving Group are worthy of highlighting.

Operationalisation Case Study - North Ayrshire ASBIT.

A major factor in the success of 'Prevention First' in North Ayrshire is the structure of the Anti-Social Behaviour Investigation Team (ASBIT). This team consists of a manager and 6 investigators, who deal with anti-social behaviour in relation to housing matters. The ethos of the

team leader is an integral feature of the success of the team because he provides inspiration via the adoption of innovative approaches. It is significant that the team leader has a Community Learning [CLD] qualification. This unit is an example of best practice because it consists of an innovative mix of council and police members. North Ayrshire Council pay for a police officer seconded to the team. Other council investigation teams do not have access to such police experience and police anti-social behaviour teams do not have council / housing experience and as a result they tend to think and act in silos.

Another innovative practice is that the ASBIT team hold the 'Prevention First' meetings and case conferences, freeing up police time. This is a valuable 'quid pro qou'. The ASBIT team also deal with private landlords and can report them to licensing if they breach their responsibilities. ASBIT are one of the first housing teams to use all the powers set up for Registered Social Landlords. The ethos of the team is to help tenants by adding value and enforcement is seen very much as an act final resort. One of the successful strategies used by ASBIT is the joint police and council warning. The philosophy behind ASBIT warnings is not to threaten, nor or intimidate tenants but to simply explain their powers and the consequences of failing to comply. The ASBIT team has enforcement evictions in the past and has a reputation for following through. Without the ultimate threat, such enforcement letters were previously regarded as junk mail and ignored. This is no longer the case.

Engagement with 'Prevention First' has improved the confidence of the investigation team, who now routinely tackle complex cases, they would not have touched before. Indeed, 'Prevention First' has become central to the core work of the investigation team and the Housing Department. ASBIT team members ensure that referrals relating to vulnerable clients, are dealt with by the correct services and that feedback is provided to all partners. This has led to less entrenched cases. Another innovative aspect of their approach is the adoption of an informal approach which reduces paperwork and ensures that requests are dealt with timeously. 'Prevention First' philosophy and practice have become fully integrated into council working practices. The ASBIT informal approach allows other partners time to work and the new approach works because ASBIT no longer has to direct problems upwards for approval. Most complex issues are dealt with via face-to-face meetings, or by phone calls where resolutions are agreed and implemented quickly. Due to the informal nature of the interventions, solutions are often reached before the next weekly meeting and the weekly meeting are not required to keep the momentum going, but nevertheless act as a focal point for dialogue which reenergise the conversation.

Key to their successes are innovative approaches such as the use of civil levels of proof, and information sharing which allow for a quicker resolution. Central to the success of the information sharing protocol is the role of good communication in building trust. The ASBIT team manager is keen to stress the confidential nature of case conference minutes for serious and persistent problems, and, as a result, adopts an approach that it is not necessary to minute everything. They are aware that other councils, who adopt multi-agency meetings, which still result in talking shops where they do not reach a consensus and at best agree to disagree, are not as effective. Civil level of proof allows for more flexibility and innovation. This has been facilitated by joint training between council and other partners. The ASBIT team are convinced that the major factor in their success is finding new ways of working and that, the innovative use of civil levels of proof, is the key to achieving such creative solutions. One of the reasons why civil levels of proof are required is that, because many offenders cannot afford to drink in pubs and clubs, so the most likely locus for a serious assault or a murder, is within private or rented houses. This has led to an increase in noise disturbance reports which must be taken more seriously by the police. Combining police and council information, helps build a more sophisticated picture of what is going on in local communities and any misinformation is quickly identified. As a result, all partners know about high tariff cases more timeously now. Their (ASBIT and 'Prevention First's) core values have also been integrated into the team's working practices. These are 1) Keeping partners informed; 2) Sharing information; 3) Respecting other partners agendas; and 4) Good communication. There is also a shared understanding that early intervention is required to prevent the establishment of party houses where minor disturbances can escalate into more serious incidents.

The ASBIT team manager has worked in other council areas where the council and social services refused to work with the police. In contrast to this, the Ayrshire Councils adopt a more positive approach and there is no active resistance from any council department. The ASBIT team work extremely hard to develop trust with other council support workers and find that the key to building such trust is to offer genuine support and enforce the message that 'Prevention First' is not just about enforcement. Other support services must trust in the reassurance that the ASBIT team will not do anything without talking to them first. If there is a professional disagreement, the ASBIT team always look for another solution. However, other support workers must understand that there is a tipping point, which is violent behaviour. Most support workers appreciate that if violence is in play, enforcement is the answer.

The ASBIT team frequently receive comments from other services that they did not know about the programme and explain that, if they are not dealing regularly with anti-social behaviour, they are unlikely to have heard about it. It is a matter of awareness because the North Ayrshire Council website highlights its espousal of the programme and its methodology. The now embedded 'Prevention First' process has changed the nature of the ASBIT workload. For example, ASBIT members no longer have to attend evening meetings with Housing Associations, and angry tenants complaining about the lack of action.

All partners have developed a confidence in what the other partner promises and delivers. There is no longer a sense of hidden agendas, or of false promises coming back to bite you. The new practices and processes have engendered a system whereby the same people regularly liaise with each other. There are no random attendees who promise action and do not deliver, as happened in the past. The ASBIT team adopt a sense of realism when dealing with complex issues, and understand that any client or tenant, who has social work involvement, will try to minimise that involvement. They value liaison with the Social Work Department which ensures that Housing now have a full understanding of what is happening.

Another strength of the ASBIT team is that it has been in place since 2004, and has developed sound working practices. One respondent remarked that 'Prevention First' has, in effect, turbo charged their practices. Again, informality is the key. The ASBIT team encourage police officers and other partners to telephone them with problems, and to run scenarios past them. In this manner, potential cases are screened and where the ASBIT team can take action, they always do. The ASBIT team regularly use ABCs and ASBOs, if appropriate, but can suggest other civil legislation if it is more appropriate. The key to success is being prepared to use enforcement if tenants call their bluff. As a result of the new model ASBIT claim to have reduced the number of former hot spot areas.

The new model has changed old ways of thinking and working. For example, the ASBIT team find that the 'Prevention First' model is superior to the old Mediation model which was formerly best practice. As part of their new working practices the ASBIT team have developed a new resolution model which saves time and money. The old Mediation model used to entail meetings of 2 to 3 hours for simple complaints, and up to 4 days for complex ones. Complaints which used to result in mediation, are now dealt with via joint visits. This saves on setting up meetings, booking rooms and dealing with conflicts of attendance. In the old Mediation model, anything said was confidential, and if someone admitted criminality, it could not be used in evidence in future proceedings. The old Mediation system resulted in approximately 12 mediations per year. The new system has approximately 40 cases running at any given time and mediation is now only used where other resolutions fail. The new system works with half the former budget and resources. Moreover, mediation was limited because, it could not be used if there were criminal charges or mental health issues involved.

One of the strengths of the new model is that, council tenants in Ayrshire, no longer have inappropriate action taken against them and the processes and practices support both complainers and offenders. Another strength of the ASBIT approach is that the team are careful not to invoke ASBOs against under 16s, unless it is a measure of last resort. They use the interventions mainly against adults because an ASBO can prevent young people from entering various career paths. A strength of the ASBIT approach is their discretion in not having to enforce in sensitive cases. This may entail a promise not to do anything, or looking for alternative solutions. The ASBIT team now provide informal advice to other investigation teams and have delivered training

sessions at Tulliallan. Indeed, officers from other forces do not understand why 'Prevention First' is not happening in their areas. A weakness of the ASBIT and council approach is that they do not have analyst support. This would increase their efficiency dramatically. There is a pressing need for a dedicated 'Prevention First' Officer, to work with ASBIT.

More than half of ASBIT cases involve criminality or mental health issues. One of the philosophies underpinning the ASBIT team's success is to ensure they do no harm mentally or physically to tenants. For example, if consultation with NHS practitioners reveals that there is a danger of any form of self-harm, the ASBIT team back off and look for a different resolution. They always respect and act on medical advice. For example, there is no point in trying to enforce a change of verbal behaviour if a tenant has Tourette's. Other partners have praised ASBIT and have identified and acknowledged the pivotal role played by ASBIT in the success of 'Prevention First'. ASBIT adds value to the process and this has led to high degrees of trust and confidence amongst partners. They have stressed that it is invaluable to have committed partners, who, on a daily basis, highlight problems, locations, individuals and vulnerable people in the community who require support. The council homelessness team have also been recognised as being invaluable. The ASBIT approach to working has gone beyond partnership working, to a system of parallel working.

Operationalisation Case Study - South Ayrshire MATAC and Problem Solving Groups.

In South Ayrshire there is a Multi-Agency Tasking & Coordinating Group [MATAC] which is designed to deal with vulnerable people across the whole of South Ayrshire. It adopts a similar problem solving approach to 'Prevention First' but is a more targeted, strategic approach. There is also a South Ayrshire wide problem solving group which can feed into 'Prevention First'. This use of existing structures is to be commended.

Council respondents identified that they conducted other work streams which fed into and supported 'Prevention First' philosophy. One council housing department conducted a review of the housing stock in a 'Prevention First' area. As a result, they improved the stock by fitting soundproofing and cladding, to address fuel poverty.

Housing Case: This led to less requests from tenants to be moved from areas which were formerly ASB hot spots. There is a 5 year plan in place to refresh the housing stock. It is more cost effective to work on improving the housing stock in a rundown area, than re housing people in other areas. The programme has stabilised the communities. Tenants are now more aware that misbehaviour may lead to a loss of tenancy. Improving the environment around council housing stock is very effective. Each area has an improvement budget to spend on improvement works such as fencing off communal areas, installing new lighting, planting trees and initiating community gardens. These changes all help to improve the community. Taking control of overgrown areas can also improve sense of community. Encouraging competitions, such as 'best garden' or even encouraging tenants to make use of hanging baskets, instil a sense of pride in an area. Referrals which deal with predominantly housing related issues are relatively easy to resolve and that it becomes more difficult if crime or ASB is driven by drugs and alcohol. Housing input is invaluable in terms of knowing the housing history of tenants and who their GP is. Cases which involve lifestyle choices of alcohol or drugs misuse, are more difficult to deal with because the tenant may be unwilling or unable to make the changes required which can lead to a war of attrition. Problem tenants have no interest in maintaining the standard of their house. It just becomes a place to stay. This results in repeat homelessness and a vicious cycle of drugs, alcohol, criminality and incarceration. It is difficult to break the cycle because, on release from prison, chaotic offenders, return to the same environment, with the same problems.

4.5. The role of the Third Sector.

Third sector organisations are on the radar of the 'Prevention First' and are highly valued partners. The main theme to emerge from the interviews was that of integrating them into the model. There is an acknowledgement that more work requires to be done in this respect. We identify this as a recommendation. Numerous respondents spoke of the need for more funding and resources to identify projects and good practice that can feed into the programme to support its aims and objectives and enhance it. There are obvious inequality issues in play here whereby less affluent partners may find it more difficult to implement 'Prevention First' thereby reinforcing pre-existing levels of antisocial behaviour. For example, one respondent highlighted the excellent project in Glasgow is the Street and Arrow Project.[27] Another excellent project we should be introducing is the Alcohol and Drug Partnership at Ardrossan – Café Solace[28], which opens on a Wednesday night for meetings for people recovering from substance misuse. There is a pressing need for a more structured way of doing such diversionary prevention work. There is a need for all statutory partners to engage with the 3rd sector to establish how funding issues may be resolved.[29] There is a strategic awareness amongst Command and core group members that more use could be made of the 3rd sector by inviting a designated representative at all meetings.

One of the innovative projects to develop of the back of the programme is the Hope Project which supports people who have been involved in violent crime. This is an ideal illustration of the work of third sector organisations. Sergeant Boyle is also coordinator for that project which both contributes to and piggybacks on the success of 'Prevention First' programme.

Case Study - The Hope Project.

This project supports individuals at different levels of support and intervention. It is about identifying those young people who are on that escalating scale of criminality, sometimes even minor criminality but who are obviously 'bubbling up'. It seeks to remove young offenders from the criminal justice system and break the vicious cycle of crime and anti-social behaviour which produces adult offenders. The 'Prevention First' mechanisms provide another way of intervening. Referring young offenders to the Hope project provides them with alternative options. It is not just about diverting and distracting but is about genuinely getting them on to more positive pathways. Ayrshire College work closely with the Hope Project because they recognise that a lot of young people drop out of school with poor literacy. This can be challenging for them as they

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[27] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-38694214/street-food-project-gives-offenders-a-second-chance. The Street and Arrow food van is an American-style training project.

[28] See http://www.sfad.org.uk/get-help-now/local-services-directory/dir/cafe_solace_ardrossan. Café Solace is a community resource providing low cost, good quality food and opportunity for the people of North Ayrshire. The café is run by volunteers in recovery, all with appropriate training, experience and qualifications, who want to support their local community.

[29] There is scope for a full time post to research such issues and obtaining funding to get them up and running. The programme would benefit from more shared money because of a lack of police funding. It revolves around building and maintaining lasting relationships, which 'Prevention First' does.

get a older and need the basic literacy and social skills to gain employment. The College put together courses on literacy. This provides them a pathway to further and higher education, focusing on the vocational.

There is also engagement with the business community across Ayrshire so hospitality industry take students from Ayrshire College. Other positive pathways included getting them into sports or into education to break the cycle of violence. The Hope project offers a joined up approach. This augments the work of Criminal Justice Social Work who tackle the problems from the other end. There are on average 10 to 15 youths on the project. The project supports the aims of the 'Prevention First' programme because it involves taking high tariff and high risk individuals, in danger of reoffending, out of the system. The Hope Project offers different pathways and provides support for vulnerable victims and offenders. The ethos is to provide opportunities for change and to encourage engagement through partnership working. The opportunities include training and up skilling. There is a link with the Third Sector and SACRO. The project differentiates between over and under 18s. Those under 18 are filtered through the Whole Systems Group whilst over 18s are discussed at the 'Prevention First' forum.[30] The Hope Project has links with similar prison groups and violent offenders being released from prison, are referred to 'Prevention First' group by the prison group. Thus 'Prevention First' is vital in providing support via Housing and Health. Violent offenders being released from prison have their housing needs met prior to release and their health and GP appointments set up in advance. This ensures that there is a level of stability on their release.

4.6. The role of Tenants associations and Registered Social Landlords [RSLs].

The information in this section was gleaned from focus group 2 and from other respondents who worked with RSLs as partners. Five different associations and several tenants were involved in the focus groups. The responses varied from association, to association depending on areas. This is only to be expected. Some tenants expressed concerns when the problems are caused by a young adult or when children are involved. This may result from the adult offender focus of 'Prevention First and because of the fact that adults are reported to the Procurator Fiscal and children to the Children's panel but the council anti-social behaviour officers would be involved in resolving the problem. Several tenants expressed that they were unaware of the activities that the ASBT or Environmental Team did or how this was helping their community. They also mentioned being misinformed about which services they could access for various issues. Several reported discontentment due to the lack of Community Police officer's in their area as they felt that problems were escalating. However, some tenants praised the efforts of individual police officers in building links with the community and listening to their concerns. Other tenants elicited they did not get help from the police or have any awareness of police involvement in resolving their problems. Conversely, other tenants stated otherwise and reported a very good working relationship with the community police team as well as anti-social behaviour teams and officers expressing that whilst previously morale and faith in services were low they reported

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[30] The whole systems approach links back to the background and context of developing preventative strategies within the legacy police forces, leading to identifying and understanding the significance of 'Prevention First' as a new way of working.

greater satisfaction. Some respondents argued that some of the discussions held painted a very optimistic picture which did not resonate with them in terms of effectiveness. Other tenants praised the ease of being able to use social messaging platforms as Facebook very effective in reporting local problems (for instance, they reported an incident when a car was dumped into the river. After posting pictures of this on Facebook on Friday, this was cleared by Monday).

The focus group was useful in establishing that some tenants were reluctant to report local issues due to fear of retribution from the perpetuators. This is a perennial issue in 'hot spot areas' where offenders and victims live in the same community and their witness statements and complaints could easily be tracked back to the reporter, making them feel more vulnerable. As a result they did not feel confident that their identity was being anonymised. They stated that often the inability of the police in identifying the perpetuator was another reason for lack in confidence in both police and council services. Finally, the tenants stated that thy felt there was a need for the progress of cases to be relayed back to them more timeously. Again, these are perennial problems and not germane to 'Prevention First'. Nevertheless, the overall tone of the focus group was positive and the criticisms levelled were offered in a constructive manner albeit that it pointed to a need for the police and council in some areas to be more proactive in getting the 'Prevention First' message across. The less positive comments should not be read as a direct criticism of the programme but are part of a wider police/partner community relationship dialogue. They are perennial often ingrained issues. This must also be read in relation to the specific strategy of 'Prevention First' not to make capital on the early success es of the programme (a point repeatedly reiterated by Chief Superintendent MacDonald). This causes a real dilemma because such tenants are active community participants and should be brought into the 'Prevention First' information loop. This is an obvious area for improvement. Individual police and council respondents expressed that more work needed to be done with the third sector and housing associations to develop a greater shared understanding of what the programme is about and how it fits in with existing police and council practices. This may be an artefact of the media strategy not to over saturate the media channels with 'Prevention First' success stories. It does point to a need for more information sharing and a review of problem areas where tenants do not appear to be engaging with the police and council and for an information sharing event. This has been raised a recommendation. Another salient point is that the less positive comments whether from internal, or external respondents tended to come from participants who are on the peripheries of the programme. This points to a longer term need to engage with communities to get the message out there. Perhaps a short briefing sheet to peripheral stakeholders to explain what the programme is, and how to access it would be a good start. This is another recommendation raised.

This perception was balanced by police and council respondents. According to one respondent working for an RSL, that working more closely with other agencies has been their biggest gain and has been useful at an operational level in working with Scottish Secure Tenancy

Agreements. Some properties owned by RSLs did not experience high rates of anti-social behaviour and as a result did not report complaints. Whilst, acknowledging that many RSL properties have a better reputation due to their selection processes, the respondent articulated that some properties operated by RSLs still have youth disorder and other ASB issues and that 'Prevention First' provides a process through which RSLS can now evaluate problems as they occur. This respondent commented that the programme has impacted on them as an RSL and the process has helped shorten their time to meet internal targets. Through the process RSLs are now more aware of who is who and has provided the private sector with another tool in our toolbox. One respondent provided feedback from one victim of tenant / domestic abuse victim that the joint intervention through 'Prevention First' had been the best thing that had ever happened to her.

4. 7. Operationalising 'Prevention First'.

This section deals with issues of operationalisation and the delivery of 'Prevention First'. It deals with operationalisation structures; tactics and tactical tools and resources.

4.7.1 – Operationalisation structures of note: Although each Ayrshire Council area operates a different model of 'Prevention First' there are two police structures in particular which are worthy of highlighting because of their key roles in operationalising the process. These are the North Ayrshire Priority Policing Team and the Localities Policing Teams.

Operationalisation Case Study – The formation of the PPT.

In North Ayrshire to facilitate the 'Prevention First' process, the area commander implemented an innovative approach of forming a Priorities Policing Team [PPT] to expedite the priorities identified by the 'Prevention First' team on a daily basis**.** The team comprised of 4 officers selected for their proactive policing abilities and investigative talents. The team was set up because it had become apparent that there was a limit to what could be done from an office based team, however talented.

The PPT self-generate work and 'Prevention First' intelligence packages only make up 20% of their work. This is important because proactive policing work is essential in tackling crime and anti-social behaviour from both ends. More can be done to examine prosecution files and undetected cases to establish crime patterns and learn lessons from why the cases were detected or not. It was envisaged that the PPT would provide a support mechanism for enhancing the capability of the 'Prevention First' approach. This was designed as an extension of the model, forming a new hub. Their remit was to go out and fix problems quickly. However, the PPT, although aligned to the programme structure, became a divisional resource, available to Localities Policing Teams. The PPT quickly made an impact and built a reputation for solving crime and resolving community issues. The PPT (and other divisional resources) have made a real impact in reducing HBs. Individual cases of good policing still come to light, but most of the reduction is down to working through a partnership approach, utilising crime prevention, catching offenders and targeting problem areas.

Operationalisation Case Study – The Localities Policing Model.

The Localities Policing model is integral to the operationalisation of community policing in Ayrshire and to 'Prevention First' in some areas. Each localities team consists of a Sergeant and 10 constables. Some but not all Sergeants are also 'Prevention First' Sergeants. The strategy to move responsibility for Community Policing into the Localities Teams is working well. However, all council departments they report to are not aligned to the 6 localities. This can cause overlaps and frustration. More work is required to align these boundary issues. All structures must be made to match the council's. One of the strengths of the localities team model is that it has absorbed 'Prevention First' philosophy into its working practices and does not need to continually promote its practice. Having lost the funding for 8 former Campus Officers, a decision was made to utilise them in the Localities Policing Teams. They are an asset to the Locality Model. North Ayrshire Council had to make significant savings somewhere. These officer provide a scaled down Campus Officers service in schools they formerly had 100% allocation of time in. Children are an important part of the community and the police cannot afford to break the link to the successes achieved over the years the Campus cops were in place. In times of austerity, the police and local authorities have got to come up with half-way measures to plug the gap.

Each area operates the localities policing model differently. The mix of officers in each team is different. However, it is an innovative model which in North Ayrshire utilises community officers and ex-campus cops effectively. The job of a Localities Policing Sergeant, in operationalising 'Prevention First', is to build up profiles and action plans, to pass to PPT, the CID or other units. Localities Sergeants have a level of autonomy to run their teams and areas as they see fit which enables them to prioritise pernicious community problems. This involves making trade-offs between supporting different functions e.g. whether to have a campus officer or a town centre officer. Often more than one problem identified in a day and the challenge is to find time to develop intelligence on them, and prioritise them by what is achievable in the short, medium and long-term. This has to be conducted timeously, and liaison made with the council and other relevant partners. It is envisaged that, in time, each Locality Sergeant will become a 'Prevention First' Sergeant. It is vital that this happens. 'Prevention First' is an excellent programme but there are gaps, and if the Locality Sergeant is off work or on annual leave, there is no provision for covering the programme workload.

There are also a range of operational tactics and tactical tools at the disposal of 'Prevention First'. These are worthy of highlighting.

4.7.2. Tactics and tactical tools at the disposal of 'Prevention First': The following tactical resources and interventions are available to the police and council to deliver the programme function, effectively and efficiently:-

- PF warning letters
- PF joint visits
- Use of Civil Law sanctions and proceedings – with eviction being the ultimate threat
- Interventions (Early Intervention and Diversification Measures)
- ABC contract
- ASBO application
- PF Intelligence package
- PF Referral forms
- PF meeting
- PF warning flag
- ASBIT forms
- Multi-agency case conference
- PPT and Localities interventions

These are a mixture of generic and specialised interventions. Figure 13 illustrates the 'Prevention First' hierarchical tactical interventions available for delivering the programme.

Tactical Operational Support – PPT, Localities Teams, Campus Cops, CID and Specialist Services, Analysts and High Visibility Patrols.

Strategic Level Support at Senior Level - increased attendance at community meetings MATAC and Council Plans.

Civil law intervention
ASBO intervention
ABC Intervention
3rd Sector intervention
Wellbeing-intervention
PF Joint Visit
PF Warning letter

Underpinning Support Packages and Admin Structures – Multi-Agency meeting, PF Intelligence packages, PF Warning Letter, PF Warning Flag, PF Scanning and Screening Process, PF Meetings, ASBIT Forms, Action Plans, PF Referral Form, Mediation, PSP Option for longer term issues.

Figure 13 – Hierarchical Tactical Interventions available to deliver 'Prevention First'
(Author generated)

Stop and Search is a valuable policing tactic which has fallen in to disrepute in recent years (Murray, 2014; Murray & Harkin, 2016). Part of the 'Prevention First' methodology was to make more effective use of the tactic. It is a difficult tool to use, because it can spiral in to a vicious cycle which alienates young people. It is an essential element in dealing effectively with young violent criminals, who carry weapons. Violent crime is part of the PPP Plan[31]. Another sound tactic available to officers works on the approach of 'door stepping' people.[32] The most effective tactic is the use of regular 'Prevention First' meetings to drive the place to address or lessen their vulnerability; and reduce repeat calls/incidents to specific locations. The use of existing campus

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[31] The Triple P – Positive Parenting Program ® is a parenting and family support system designed to prevent – as well as treat – behavioural and emotional problems in children and teenagers. It aims to prevent problems in the family, school and community before they arise and to create family environments that encourage children to realize their potential. See t/glo-en/find-out-about-triple-p/triple-p-in-a-nutshell/. In North Ayrshire, the PPT have responsibility for managing the PPP Plan.

[32] Door stepping is a tactic of turning up unannounced at a client's / tenants property and thereby catching them unaware and unprepared, thereby preventing them from avoiding awkward circumstances r The North Ayrshire Council Anti-Social Behaviour Team [ASBIT] and South Ayrshire's Multi Agency Tasking & Coordinating Group/Problem Solving Group are worthy of highlighting.

officers to augment the programme is also a valuable strategic community policing tool. However, their loss in North Ayrshire led to an increase in reported incidents.

The implementation of the pilot, led to significant buy-in from partners. For example, North Ayrshire Council Anti-Social Behaviour Investigation Team [ASBIT] changed their processes to accommodate the approach have recognised huge benefit from it. This has led to an increase in individual case-loads but has led to earlier intervention which they report has increased efficiency and effectiveness and will ultimately reduce their workload in the longer term. The pilot had immediate impact in that the Council recruited two new neighbourhood investigators whose role was to take on, and tackle/address the more, low level incidents, leaving the ASB investigators to focus on more serious issues. This was a significant innovation. During a Council staff training exercise, 'Prevention First' is described as being 'essential' in the course of the Councils business. This takes Community Policing and Crime Prevention into new domains heralding a new era of multi-agency policing where the focus is not primarily on the police per se but on shared processes and practices.

Another consequence of the approach is that Council Social Work in North Ayrshire have embraced the approach and committed to the 'Joint Warning Process', as well as providing 'Prevention First' operatives direct access to addiction workers. The results of the pilot were presented to the multi-agency EEI meeting which led to an increased commitment of partners to work more closely together with the Police in North Ayrshire and the lead for 'Prevention First' to investigate ways to improve the system and raise issues of concern.

The programme links in to the Community Learning and Development [CLD] structure in all 3 areas. CLD provide local knowledge and diversification activities. For example South Ayrshire involves education more and this imbued it with a different dynamic. Also, the admin in each council is different. In East Ayrshire they work more closely with the Council's Vibrant Community Structure. The East Ayrshire 'Prevention First' group meets once a week whilst North and South meet fortnightly. Nevertheless, in all 3 areas, the core groups talk to each other on a daily basis. In her divisional oversight role, Sergeant Boyle oversees all 3 structures. This enables her to quickly implement good practice across the Division. Notwithstanding this, the 3 structures maintain a degree of autonomy, and do not always implement suggestions. Sergeant Boyle encourages innovation and 'thinking outside of the box'.

4.7.3. Differences in its operationalisation: Although all three authorities operationalise 'Prevention First' in different ways and have different community planning partnerships the police and NHS Chief Executive provided consistency. There will always be teams that are more innovative than others and others who will play catch up. However, the underpinning principles are the same so it is about preventing and reducing incidents, preventing and reducing victimisations and getting better outcomes for the communities of Ayrshire. The programme is

still producing varying degrees of success in each area. Indeed, it is deeply embedded in North Ayrshire with strong and robust mechanisms. East Ayrshire is developing a strong model and in South Ayrshire the structures are slightly different and are more informal and flexible. To reiterate, there is a sense of playing catch up in South Ayrshire but the main point to note is that in each area the programme is developing a relentless momentum that is reducing crime, anti-social behaviour and victimisation. It is making inroad into violent crime and initiating change for organisational structures and working practices. All three councils are fully invested ideologically in the programme and the council and police leadership provide support and stability.

4.7.4. The Figure 14: Prevention First Model Illustrated (a generic model).

Partners (beneficiaries)
All Communities in Ayrshire. Victims of crime and ASB. Increased community wellbeing. Reduction in Hot Spots.

Peripheral — Core — Peripheral

| Other Dep't s. | SWD | Housing ASBIT | Police | F&R | NHS | SAS | 3rd Sector | RSL | Housing Assocs. |

PF as Philosophy → PF as ideology → PF as Strategy → PF as Model → PF as Practices → PF as Processes → PF as Outcomes

PF as a continuing process, internally evaluated.
PF as a Model Mapped and articulated graphically.
PF as a programme as a descriptive label.

Feedback loop

Diagram Key: In the above line, the diagram illustrates that 'Prevention First' can be articulated as a philosophy, with theoretical and practical underpinning. This allows it to become a shared ideology, albeit each partner may have different ideologies in play. Thereafter, it can be forged into a shared strategy and mapped, modelled and articulated graphically. This, in turn, allows it to become a practice which generates new processes and ways of working which

4.7.5. Concluding thoughts: What is significant is that the 'Prevention First' programme was designed by leadership in consultation and conjunction with operational officers and council colleagues and was operationalised via community and localities policing structures. There is no traditional 'Crime Reduction Unit' input into the programme because there are no such units in Ayrshire. Consideration is required into how such an input / resource could improve the model, particularly in large cities with a crime reduction unit in situ.

Chapter 5 – Analysing and discussing the case studies.

5.1. An introduction to the cases.

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses details of the 'Prevention First' case studies collected during the qualitative face-to-face interviews. It does not present all the studies because that would lead to excessive repetition. Nevertheless, the cases possess explanatory power in articulating and highlighting the 'Prevention First' methodology; and the effectiveness and efficiency of the methodology. The cases consist of 1) micro cases that illustrate particular points of the processes or practices; and 2) more detailed cases that articulate the processes and practices in more details. The detailed cases provide more detail of the actions and processes involved in 'Prevention First' interventions and as such could be used for training purposes. The cases themselves have been annexed as a repository in appendix 8. Both types of cases have their merit. In addition these are separated into cases that deal with crime, anti-social behaviour and other issues of well-being.[33]

Individually and collectively, these cases provide worked examples with the power to educate and inspire other professionals to implement the embedded practices and processes. They act as a 'how to' tool. It should be noted that some cases span more than one of the three case types. The cases also illustrate the diversity and scope for implementing 'Prevention First' as a crime and social prevention tool. Moreover, they provide qualitative evidence for the power of the programme to address complex social issues and also address the principles of the Christie Report (2011). The cases also demonstrate the four key themes through which 'Prevention First' is articulated and operationalised, namely 1) practices; 2) processes; 3) outcomes and 4) behaviours.

5.2. Reducing Crime (case studies relating to crime).

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[33] Initially these were organized via which council area they were enacted in but this did not highlight any useful differences or variations.

As one would expect the crime cases are varied in nature from littering, theft, persistent shoplifting, domestic abuse and domestic violence, drugs cases, assault and child neglect. Solutions are reached via technological innovations such as CCTV usage; forensic evidence, educational initiatives; and the use of ASB tools. Joint investigations are a common theme. Teamwork and sound investigative policing skills synthesised with council led alternative powers feature heavily. In relation to the domestic cases vulnerability, early intervention, multi-agency working and stalking are all common themes. Addiction issues also feature heavily. In relation to the drugs cases joint visits and alternative approaches feature as does the presence of ASB indicators. When reviewing assault cases ASB and Mental Health issues commonly feature. The overarching narrative of the crime cases is of doing what the police do, but doing it more efficiently and effectively. In these scenarios the council input provides added value to the process.

5.3. Reducing Anti-social behaviour (case studies relating to ASB).

The cases relating to ASB are as varied as those relating to crime and can be divided into tattooing minors, noisy parties, neighbour disputes and street drinking. The use of joint warnings and diversionary activities feature heavily as do mental health issues. The overarching narrative is that of relentlessly implementing ASB procedures and practices to close down and resolve individual cases as they arise. There are no 'quick hits' and this is the 'bread and butter' of the new policing model. In these scenarios the added value is that of the council intervention.

5.4. Tackling health and wellbeing (case studies relating to health and wellbeing).

The cases relating to health and wellbeing are more generic than crime and ASB cases. This is the most surprising of the case study types in that it is primarily a story of police intervention. The language is of the Council and Health Service with joint agency working, care plans and multi-agency case conferences being the order of the day. It is all about reducing vulnerability and sometimes predatory behaviour. Illnesses such as dementia feature heavily. It is in respect of this category that the police add value to partners via the patient use of 'Prevention First' practices and processes.

5.5. Fire & Rescue 'Prevention First' case studies.

This section deals with cases studies of how The Scottish Fire & Rescue Service has engaged with 'Prevention First' and supported its preventative ethos through multi-agency working. The role of the Fire and Rescue LALOs is pivotal in the success of 'Prevention First' in addressing fire-raising issues. An integral part of the integration of partnership working can be attributed to the fact that the Fire and Rescue LALO and his deputy 'hot desks' with partners when required. The LALO articulated that talking face-to-face with counterparts is essential for information

sharing and effective communication. The Fire & Rescue respondents unanimously agree that involvement with 'Prevention First' has led to a change in operational behaviours and practices within Fire and Rescue. It has enabled them to reach more vulnerable people in the community and has proven invaluable in generating more joint safety visits with harder to reach people, with a high risk of being vulnerable to fire. Fire and Rescue have enforcement powers which the police do not have, making interagency working essential. Prior to the inception of the programme, although there was regular liaison between the police and fire and rescue, there was less information sharing and both the police and fire were reactive services. Joint meetings quickly became talking shops and the Fire & Rescue Respondents are agreed that 'Prevention First' has changed this for the better. The overarching narrative is that of joint agency working between the Fire and Police services adding value via 'Prevention First'.

5.6. Summing up.

The case studies provide really positive ideas of what can be achieved and are all powerful examples of 'Prevention First'. What is interesting about them is the inter-relationship between the crime types, categories, underpinning social issues and the sheer diversity of examples. There is tremendous scope for them to form the basis of creating a database of 'cases for evaluation, training purposes to act as a repository for the purposes of inspiring future users of the methodology. These should be categorised by crime type. All the above cases demonstrate the positivity of the 'Prevention First' methodology. However, as a methodology it has its limits as demonstrated by the three cases below which were unsuitable, unresolvable and time constrained:-

An unsuitable case: This non-referral related to a prolific shoplifter, who was released from prison and was rehoused in a block of flats next door to a known drug dealer. It was the only house available at the time. It is obvious that it is not the best place for him. Without appropriate funding, there is nothing more we can do. This case was not referred to the programme and until 'Prevention First' is in a position where it can have such conversations months before a person is released, then the system simply perpetuates crime. Such missed opportunities are quite common because, although all agencies do their best, they do not always have the time and resources to do something about it. A more forward looking approach is merited.

An unresolved referral: 'Prevention First' does not always deliver on its potential. One example relates to anti-social behaviour and assaults occurring at a derelict old training hospital. A plan was formulated to have the building demolished but this could not be done because there are two stairways within the building that are classified as being 'listed'. It was established that the council could knock down the rest of the building but would have to leave the designer stairways. This stopped the momentum and the building is still in place and still subject to ASB and assaults. Prevention First' principles were applied in working with the council and NHS, but it did not achieve the desired result. An alternative plan had to be initiated in which officers explained to youths the dangers of frequenting derelict buildings and the impact the ASB and assaults had on

scarce resources. Information letters were sent to parents. Gradually, it appears to have had a temporary solution to the issue. Work with the NHS to secure the building more effectively and clean up the graffiti from it was undertaken. However, it is only a partial success. The desired resolution is still the demolition of the building, but to move from 50 calls in 2 months to no calls, is still a reasonable result. Despite this, there are still police officers who would argue that such time is wasted and has nothing to do with policing (the Guard, Watch and Patrol model).

A time constrained report of drink driving: This referral related to a parent suspected of drink driving on a school run. This was reported to the programme when it became a repeat call. Realistically, this should have been dealt with on the first call, because calls like that, must be acted upon immediately. This case is on-going, but what happens if there is an accident outside of school with this offender.

These cases illustrate that 'Prevention First' has its limitations and does not work in every case. Of interest are the high number of cases with metal health and wellbeing issues underpinning the criminal and anti-social behaviours. Also, of interest was the fact that in their internal evaluations of the pilot project and of South Ayrshire the evaluations contained micro case studies of referrals/cases and these were both illustrative and inspirational in terms of documenting and explaining the approach. However, the cases lacked sufficient detail to be subject to serious analysis or to be used as teaching cases. It would have been beneficial and more persuasive to have incorporated details of estimated savings into the narrative of the cases. The cases are important because they are the 'success stories' through which 'Prevention First' is articulated and promulgated internally amongst partners. They capture the essence and preventative power of the programme, providing a 'how to template' and a form of storied evaluation and validation.

Chapter 6 – The Empirical Evidence.

6.1. An Introduction to the empirical evidence.

This chapter provides findings based on data driven evidence of the effectiveness of 'Prevention First' derived from empirical research. The evidence based findings includes 1) Statistical evidence from the quantitative analysis of data provided by Police Scotland; 2) A review of documentary evidence including internal evaluations of 'Prevention First' conducted by Police Scotland; 3) An analysis of the qualitative data in order to answer the research questions; 4) An analysis of social media coverage from data provided by Police Scotland; and 5) The presentation of Best Practices Identified.

6.2. Statistical and Quantitative Evidence.

One aspect of the evaluation of 'Prevention First' was to investigate the degree to which levels of crime varied in the 'Local Authorities' (LA) during the period in which the programme was piloted. Aggregate crime data were provided by Police Scotland and analysed for the local authorities (North, South and East Ayrshire). The aggregate data provided was not specifically collected, labelled or coded for 'Prevention First' purposes. This is an important aspect for the analysis and evaluation of future projects. The data provided were for violent crime and reported incidence of anti-social behaviour.

Figure 15: Violent Crime, 2011-2016

Source: Police Scotland
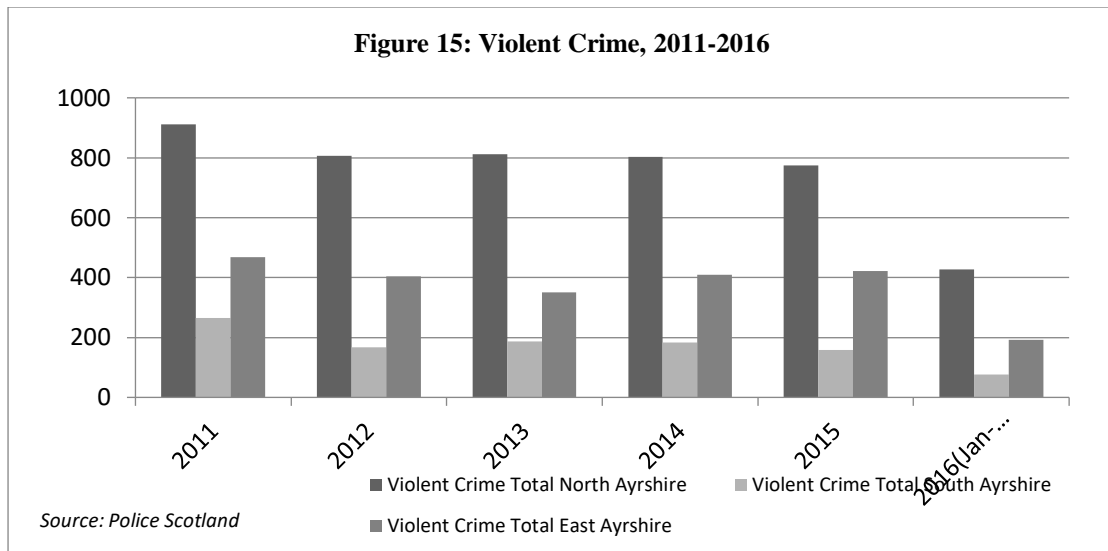
As shown in the figure above, it can be seen that violent crime declined in all local authorities during the period for which there are data. The levels fall precipitously over the time frame, but decline sharply, between the years 2015-2016 (the period of the inception of the 'Prevention First' programme). However, without further data and a more experimental research design, it is difficult, however, to attribute this to the initiative. Clearly, there is the possibility that 'Prevention First' was an important contributing factor. But statistically, it is unlikely that the decline can be attributed to a single factor alone. Other contributing variables may include the changing levels of resources available to Police Scotland, policing strategies and deployment, along with more complicated shifts in the social, economic and demographic structure of the Local Authorities. Further, there is the possibility that the trends form part of a nationally observed reduction in violent crime. This raises the important possibility that the reductions may not be wholly attributable to factors operating at the local authority level. One avenue for further research, therefore, may be to compare the levels of violent crime in the LAs in which 'Prevention First' programme was piloted with a representative sample of those in which it was not piloted.[34] This may well be instructive, but not definitive.

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[34] This would require selecting LAs with a similar geographical and population size and ensuring comparability in important social and economic factors.

Figure 16: Anti Social Behaviour, 2011-2016

Source: Police Scotland ■ North Ayrshire ■ South Ayrshire ■ East Ayrshire
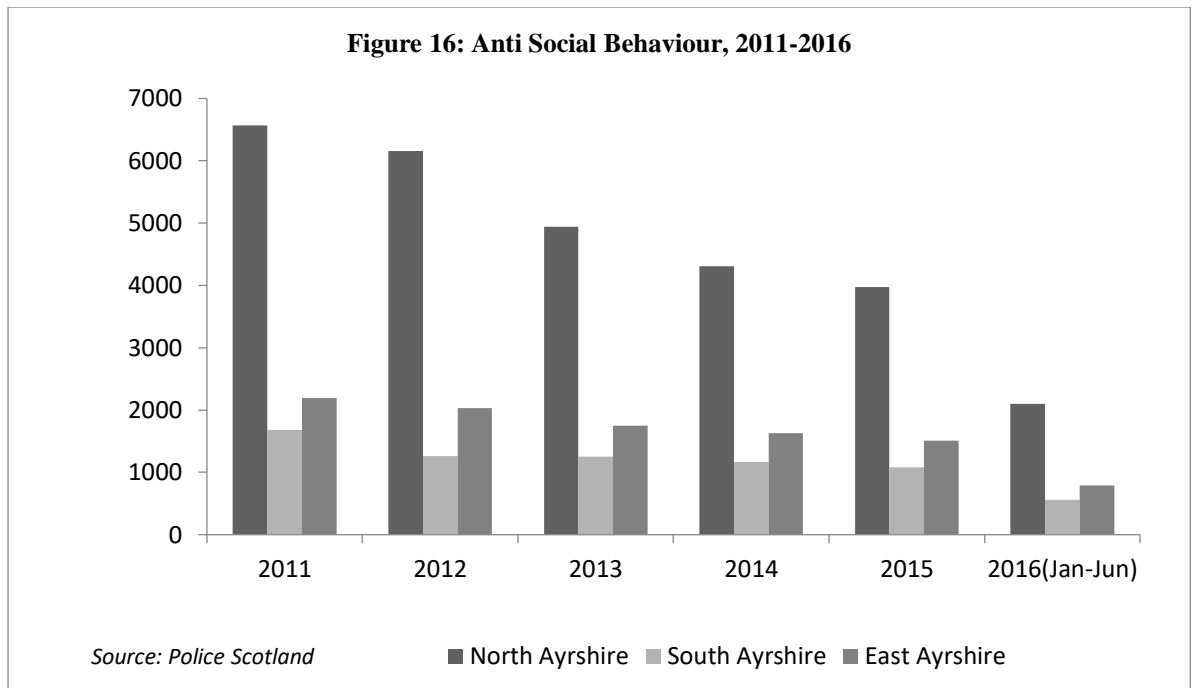
The data provided in the figure above reveal reductions in anti-social behaviour. The reductions are steady and consistent in the local authorities for the time frame for which there are data. Across all three local authorities, there were fewer incidences of anti-social behaviour in 2016 (after the inception of the 'Prevention First' programme) as compared with 2011. However, similar caveats apply to interpreting these trends in that 'Prevention First' could be a contributing factor, but we are unable to confirm this definitively given the structure and nature of the data. Another reason for the inability to conduct a conclusive quantitative analysis of the 'Prevention First' programme was that each Council area operated a different style of the programme, thereby introducing new and different variables. It may, or may not be significant but the highest reductions in crime and anti-social behaviour are recorded in North Ayrshire where 'Prevention First' is most embedded. It should also be stressed that issues of wellbeing and victimisation are difficult to measure quantitatively.[35]

In summary, there are crime reductions during the period in which the 'Prevention First' pilot was conducted. Statistically, it is unclear, however, if and how 'Prevention First' contributed to these. The evidence is suggestive, but not definitive. Given that a cursory examination of the crime data is unlikely to produce a robust evidence base, Police Scotland should reflect on whether a more extensive research design would provide a more detailed evidence concerning its impact. To better understand the role of 'Prevention First' in reducing Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour it is necessary to review the qualitative evidence.

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[35] It is to expected that since they led with the introduction of PF that they would show a higher rate of decline than the other areas who followed some months/a year behind.

6.3. A review of documentary evidence and internal evaluations.

This section is based upon a documentary review (Scott, 2006) of Police Scotland and the Council documents and websites provided by these organisations. These included the evaluation reports, good practice records, the 'Prevention First' Pilot Scheme briefing note and 'Commanders Newsletters'. One of the major strengths of the programme was the fact that it was decided by Chief Superintendent MacDonald that they would be subject to internal evaluation. We identify this as best practice. In this section we discuss key points of the evaluations but readers are encouraged to read in conjunction with the evaluations in the appendix section. The first evaluation was carried out was the evaluation of the pilot project.[36] This internal evaluation is sound practice and is to be applauded as not all initiatives and programmes are evaluated internally. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine where successes have occurred and areas where work should continue to ensure the continued success of the project.[37]

The evaluation report which was restricted, identified a number of key findings, which are listed and paraphrased below[38]:-

- There was an overall reduction of 3.8% in the level of violent crimes committed within the 'Prevention First' area.

- Group 1 crimes, Serious Assaults and Robberies noted marked decreases whilst Common Assaults have remained static.

- Carrying of knives/bladed instruments and offensive weapons reduced significantly with Irvine West recording the reduction whilst the other two ward areas remained the same.

- Consuming alcohol in a public space reduced by 31% across the whole area with each Ward noting a reduction.

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[36] The remit of the evaluation was to determine – *"In the first instance all violent crimes – Group 1 crimes, Robbery, Assault with Intent, Serious Assaults and Common Assaults were examined for the period 3rd February 2014 to 2nd February 2015 with a comparative period from 3rd February 2013 to 2nd February 2014. Added to this crimes relating to detections for carrying knives/bladed instruments and possession of offensive weapons and consuming alcohol in a public place were included as were all crimes relating to domestics and hate related crimes. Incidents relating to anti-social behaviour, disorder and public reported street drinking were also examined for the same time periods as was stop search activity"*.

[37] Based on the information in the internal evaluation report.

[38] The internal evaluation identified limitations, and in particular relating to so called domestics and hate crimes. It was noted that the official statistics relating to crimes raised through the Interim Vulnerable Person Database changed part way through the first reporting period and as a result the database could not be used to determine the figures required and therefore only information on actual crimes raised has been included. This highlights the statistical issues raised in the section above. On a similar point incident data underwent a similar system change and all data could not be assumed to be accurate. The discrepancy was dealt with by an amalgamation of data from the two systems. A caveat was inserted that the evaluation was only *"a snapshot of the information currently available as of the date extracted"*. The assessment was issued with the caveat that *"…this data cannot be quoted to external agencies verbatim and should only be given in general terms on the understanding that it is not officially provided"*. This is important from a statistical standpoint and it is appropriate that this was highlighted and the parameters documented.

- Both Domestic Abuse crimes and Hate crimes have increased in the area examined by 2.9% and 32.5% respectively. Irvine West has recorded the greatest increases in both crime types.

- Overall there was a 19.3% decrease in the number of incidents reported during the 'Prevention First' period.

- Incidents of Public Nuisance, Disturbance, Public Reported Street Drinking and Damage recorded decreases whilst Noise and Neighbour Disputes recorded increases.

- Stop Search activity decreased but this is similar to decreases across the Division however positive rates have increased slightly on the previous year.

The evaluation concluded that, overall reduction of violent crimes and of group 1 and knife crimes appears significant as does the overall reduction of in the number of incidents reported and these can be hailed as a success given that they occurred in the 'Prevention First' wards. The evaluation highlighted the reduction in alcohol related crime across the whole area is notable and stressed that it may be a factor in the reduction within the 'Prevention First' wards. The evaluation highlighted a "regrettable" increase in Domestic Abuse and Hate Crimes across the area and in Irvine West but stressed that the increase in reporting of domestic abuse may be down to increased confidence of the public to report such crimes to the police. The evaluation also provided information on other reasons for the reduction in reported street crime, citing the possibility of higher levels of proactive policing in the wards and the increase in reporting of noise and neighbour disputes may have resulted from increasing confidence in the police and ability to report such crimes. The evaluation highlighted an increase in positive 'stop and search' 'Prevention First' approach. This is interesting considering the Police Scotland Stop and Search debate and because a subsequent report into Stop and Search highlighted that Ayrshire had the highest level of successful stops in Scotland.

For illustrative purposes the six case studies presented in the internal evaluation are reproduced below. The case studies presented below were developed by Police Scotland personnel to illustrate outcomes achieved via the 'Prevention First' operational methodology and are represented verbatim. Cases 1 to 5 are of individual interventions and case 6 relates to an area wide case.

Case 1 – Vulnerable Adult: A vulnerable male with additional support needs was identified through the pilot. He was a repeat caller regularly contacting '999' for non-urgent matters. The calls seemed to have been made out of vulnerability, including unsubstantiated fear of youths passing by his house and uncertainty in living alone. Several domestic incidents were reported and investigated. An Adult Support and Protection meeting was arranged. A joint visit was carried out by police and housing and the impact of his behaviour was explained. During the visit it was recognised the male's housing situation did not suit his needs. Intervention by the group ensured the male was re-homed in a more suitable locale and provided support from partners to assist him in day to day living. There has been a significant reduction in calls received by police and if intervention was not provided by the 'Prevention First' Group he would no doubt have continued to call 999, diverting resource from genuine emergency cases.

Case 2 – Antisocial Behaviour: Reports of anti-social behaviour, noisy parties and excessive noise were received by police for a householder within the pilot area. Reports of this nature had become a

regular occurrence and had resulted in a male being stabbed outside the address due to a fall out within the house. Intervention from the 'Prevention First' group resulted in an Anti-Social Behaviour Order being granted for the individual, placing restrictions on the number of visitors allowed to her property and her conduct. There have been no further calls to that address or negative involvement with the individual. Following a year of peace and quiet, the 'Prevention First' Group discussed the case and agreed to rescind the ASBO, however within days of being told of this agreed action, she partied continuously again and the decision to rescind the ASBO was revoked. Again she is behaving and we have not issues with her property or disturbances for the surrounding neighbours.

Case 3 – Repeat Caller: A repeat caller complaining about his neighbours, was identified. The complaints were investigated and it was established the calls were fictitious and appear to have been made in order to vex his neighbours. Early intervention from the 'Prevention First' group ensured a joint warning was issued, preventing the situation escalating. Since the group's involvement the individual has made no further unwarranted calls to police.

Case 4 – Street Drinker: A recidivist street drinker was identified in Kilmarnock Town Centre. The male was arrested and placed on Town Centre Bail, effectively preventing him from entering the town centre, as a result of the pilot. Since then he has committed no further offences. Although the cost is not as considerable as the other case studies the benefit of quick multi agency intervention cannot be underestimated. Removing this male from the town centre has contributed positively to a reduction in fear of crime and anti-social behaviour within the town centre. The cost would have undoubtedly been considerably higher had he not have been placed on bail.

Case 5 – Mental Health: As a result of 'Prevention First' intervention into what seemed to be an on-going neighbour dispute, it was identified one of the parties involved had mental health issues and had been fabricating most of the incidents. The ''Prevention First'' group sought assistance from the Community Mental Health Team who put an emergency care package in place for the female. This intensive support led to the female being detained under the Mental Health Act and receiving the treatment she needs. Prior to their involvement the female's behaviour ventured into criminality with her verbally abusing her neighbour. This is very much a work in progress and the situation is fluid. The group will continue with support and intervention on her release and the female will continue to receive the help she needs for her and her neighbours to live a better quality of life.

Case 6 - Wallacetoun and White City area: This case was discussed in an internal performance document.[39] The 'Prevention First' Officer continues to become embedded within the Wallacetoun and White City area. The objective of ''Prevention First'' is to reduce the number of victims, reduce violence and reduce repeat locations. Since the commencement of this initiative 11 months ago, there have been 32 less victims. Through effective collaborative work with key partners, vulnerable persons have been identified and environmental scans undertaken. This has resulted in successful early interventions which ultimately result and support positive lifestyle choices making our local communities safer and allowing our communities to fulfil their potential. Within this area, the level of violent crime has decreased by 37.5%, serious assaults have decreased by 41.5% and common assaults have decreased from 146 to 121.

One noticeable feature of the cases is that they were all positive resolutions. In future internal evaluations, consideration must be given to including negative cases and outcomes which did not result in a positive case story. It is important to document such cases to provide a data base of cases where 'Prevention First' methodology does not work so well. This would be helpful in rolling out the programme. It would have been useful for their evaluation to have identified how

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[39] POLICE SCOTLAND: SOUTH AYRSHIRE LOCAL POLICE PLAN 2014-17
PRIORITIES AND OBJECTIVES APRIL 2015 – MARCH 2016 PERFORMANCE.

they dealt with challenging circumstances and how they were ultimately resolved. Such information would be invaluable to others who wish to adopt the approach.

A second major strength of the evaluation was the innovative use of the 'preventative spending' formula (See the Christie Commission objective of "prioritising prevention" discussed earlier and the Scottish Government preventative spending approach). Consequentially, the internal evaluation made a number of claims in relation to cost saving.[40] Please note that they are based on the first 12 months of the programme and are calculated using aggregated costs from the Home Office Crime Prevention Tool Kit formula.[41] Within the first 12 months of the programme running 32 cases were identified as having been dealt with using the 'Prevention First' Methodology. In total it was estimated that the savings during the pilot equalled £818, 213.92. The savings to Police Scotland alone were estimated at £588, 537.92. These figures also included costs from other criminal justice and NHS partners only when available.[42] The potential savings were broken down where identifiable into costs for crime, violence, disorder, anti-social behaviour and also in relation to savings to the police, Criminal Justice and the Scottish Ambulance Service. There were also savings to the NHS Accident & Emergency Departments. This in an example of good practice and consideration should be given to adopting and embedding in any working model.

Another aspect of the internal evaluation was the presentation of Partner evaluations.[43] These have not been reproduced but were conducted with a high level of professionalism and fair in their evaluation. However, the 100% success rate of agreement in an evaluation is unusual from an evaluation perspective and formed the basis of our external evaluation. Initially we were sceptical. However, after having conducted the extensive round of qualitative interviews our views changed in that all the respondents were extremely positive about the benefits of 'Prevention First'. The written feedback provided by partners was in line with the type of comments made by respondents during their qualitative interviews thus demonstrating a consistency of articulation. We confirm that the internal evaluation was both impartial and robust. We recommend this as an example of best practice.

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[40] These are not reproduced in their entirety here and readers are encouraged to read the evaluation report for fuller details.

[41] All costs were calculated using the Home Office guide for the economic cost of crime (revised 2010/11). For all the cases it was appreciated from the outset that not all costs could be identified or attributed.

[42] Where ambulance, NHS and criminal justice involvement were established, these were added. However, Police Scotland appreciate that the *actual* spend was undoubtedly much greater. The figures are therefore only partially verifiable because for example, Criminal Justice costs can only be calculated for summary cases and only until the point of sentencing. Sentencing carries its own costs which are not included below. This is worthy of further calculations and research, perhaps by an independent body such as Audit Scotland.

[43] The partners involved in the project were asked to evaluate the success, or otherwise, that they felt had been achieved during that period. Please note that the questionnaire was designed and distributed by Police Scotland and is not an independent evaluation.

An internal evaluation of the South Ayrshire 'Prevention First' pilot highlighted similar results. All violent crimes – Group 1 crimes, Robbery, Assault with Intent, Serious Assaults and Common Assaults were examined for the period 5th September 2014 to 4th March 2015 with comparative periods being 5th March 2014 to 4th September and 6th September 2013 to 4th March 2014. Added to this crimes relating to detections for carrying knives/bladed instruments and possession of offensive weapons and consuming alcohol in a public place were included for the same period of the project and a comparative period of 5th March 2014 to 4th September 2014. Finally, domestic related crimes and hate crimes were also included for the 6 months of the project so far and the single comparison period of 5th March to 4th September 2014. Incidents relating to antisocial behaviour, disorder and public reported street drinking were also examined for the two most recent time periods as was stop search activity. The South Ayrshire evaluation also highlighted a number of limitations with regards to the data extracted.

The following are the key findings on the first six-month period of 'Prevention First' in Kilmarnock:

- Group 1, Serious Assaults and Robberies decreased during the period. Common Assaults however increased.

- Consuming Alcohol and Carrying of Knives/ Bladed Instruments and Offensive Weapons decreased by 26% and 54% respectively.

- Domestic Abuse crimes decreased very slightly by one crime whilst Hate crimes have also reduced but by 29%.

- Incident codes AB-24 (Public Nuisance) and AB-53 (Noise) have both recorded increases where all other Disorder and Antisocial Behaviour incidents have noted decreases or the same level of reports.

- Stop Search activity in this area has increased during the period, although the number of positive searches has shown a decrease.

- There has been no violent crime at the Dean Street shops apart from 5 Common Assaults. It is notable that Domestic crimes, Alcohol Charges and Carrying a Knife/Bladed Instrument or Offensive Weapon have all increased at the shops but this may be due to increased police presence.

Although the statistics demonstrate that there was an increase in all the crimes and offences shown here it should be noted that the Domestic crimes relate to 3 crime reports with three crimes being reported for one incident and similarly 2 crimes being reported at the same location on another report. This is an important point as one or two incidents can skew the figures. Two of the Common Assaults relate to these same domestic incidents along with a police assault which all took place nearby. Nevertheless, the increased police presence impacted on the number of alcohol and weapon charges as the police have been on site to deal with incidents. Previously, the police

would not have attended as they have occurred and not attend until later when individuals may have left the area. This is reflected in the number of incidents which have been reported which have reduced from 8 in the first period to just 4 in the second 6 month period, with no calls since the start of 2015.

We conclude that the documentary evidence supplied does indicate that the pilot 'Prevention First' programmes were a success and achieved significant results. The best practice nomination records are also a best practice.

6.4. An analysis of the social media and press strategy.

One of the constituent parts of the 'Prevention First' strategy has been its use of press and media, and in particular social media such as Facebook to gather and disseminate information. Sergeant Boyle keeps and updates an 'Excel spread sheet' of all such releases. The social media releases relate to appeals of information regarding crimes committed, missing persons and highlighting joint agency events. The council and the police make good use of social media and the press. The council has a communication team which updates social media via tweets. This is very useful in advertising for volunteers for clean-up days and days of action etc. A strength of the strategy is that the overall tone of the releases are business related and when 'Prevention First' is mentioned it is in passing rather than fore fronted. One respondent when interviewed believed that 'Prevention First' works because it is a 'best kept secret' within Police Scotland and partners. One respondent remarked that periodically, cases come to light that should perhaps be highlighted, however, there is an argument for keeping it secret because its power lies in the fact that collectively, all agencies concentrate on the solution and not on self-promotion.[44] The council have highlighted the success of 'Prevention First' through social media and articles in local newspapers. East Ayrshire Council have also initiated internal seminars, showcasing Prevention First practices and successes.

A strength of 'Prevention First' is that it concentrates on the flow of referrals and the problems at hand and that 'Prevention First' work entailed doing stuff behind the scenes and taking measured steps towards resolution. This highlights that lessons are now routinely learned and shared. We concur with this view and argue that the media strategy is working because it does

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[44] This is a very positive aspect of the strategy because there is always the temptation to use the press and social media to highlight success stories and for the purpose of self or organisational promotion. From our experience of policing we have developed a view that often success stories were often encouraged and capitalised upon by individual officers to promote their standing because there is kudos in initiating and being involved in successful inter agency working. The success story itself was the prized achievement.

not seek to capitalise on short-term gains.[45] With 'Prevention First', the focus is very much on the workflow and not on engagement with the media.

The type of Facebook data received from Police Scotland was categorised using key terms these were communities or community, locality, 'Prevention First', prevention and partner. Looking at this data as a whole the table below provides an outline of the volume of hits that each Facebook story received.

Table 3 – Face book data from Police Scotland

Type of Facebook Story as classified by Key Metrics	Number of Lifetime Hits					
	over 40,000	Over 20,000	Over 10,000	Over, 5,000	Less than 5,000	Total
Community	24	51	192	331	347	945
Locality	1	12	30	79	14	136
Prevention First	0	0	5	1	3	9
Prevention	5	6	41	60	70	182
Partner	7	26	86	170	199	488

It can be seen from the data that only a small number of stories receive in excess of 20,000 hits. In relation to 'Prevention First' category none of the stories reached this number of hits. Most posts receive between 1,000 to 20,000 hits, with quite a few stories receiving between 5,000 and 20,000. A high volume also received less than 5,000 hits.

Table 4 – Facebook data, frequency of hits.

Community	Over 40,000	Over 20,000	Over 10,000	Over 5,000	Under 5,000
Calls for Information/Appeals	10	11	28	33	16
Crime	8	29	115	170	136
Community	2	37	37	219	242
Warnings	1	5	7	13	4
Other	2	1	5	0	0
Total	23	83	192	435	398

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[45] If 'Prevention First' was too widely advertised as a success we can foresee a situation where organized criminals could seek to derail the success of the strategy by committing crime sprees and encouraging resistance to the strategy.

In relation to the type of stories receiving the most hits the face book category of community was initially analysed using key terms to identify those stories that tend to attract the most hits. Key terms were identified from an examining popular Facebook posts. Four core types of story were common, these included stories relating to crime, stories relating to community engagement or involving community organisation, appeals for information In relation to crime or missing person or similar and warnings relating to either incidents or events in the locality, such as an accident, road blockage or adverse weather conditions. Table 4 provides an overview of the number of hits each post received. The most common stories within the community category and those that received the most views were within the crime and community themes. This was repeated across all of the key metrics already identified.

When searching the term 'Prevention First', 8 stories were identified as being related to 'Prevention First'. On further examination, some of these stories did not relate to 'Prevention First' per se. One of the most prominent and popular Facebook stories, related to the use of 'Prevention First' as a strategy to deal with anti-social behaviour and actions that might raise concerns amongst residents. It related to Kilmarnock Town centre and highlights the key themes of 'Prevention First', namely that the police are working with partners to deal with specific individuals and case. This was a popular story that highlighted the 'Prevention First' Initiative with just over 10,000 hits. One of the most relevant stories relating to 'Prevention First' was directly related to its introduction. This particular post received in the region of 3,500 hits. It outlines directly the aims of 'Prevention First' and there is also a strong emphasis on community and partnership underpinning the approach overall.

.**Locality Policing in North Ayrshire (sample of full face-book)** *A locally influenced policing model with a strong focus on prevention and reducing inequalities is the main aim of a new policing approach being launched in North Ayrshire today (Monday 18th April 2016). Following extensive community consultation by the North Ayrshire Community Planning Partnership, the planning and delivery of services in North Ayrshire is being transformed by the introduction of the Locality Approach. As part of the new Locality Approach, newly formed Locality Policing teams will work closely with communities and partners to identify and address local issues, by working with local people, community groups and organisations, in newly formed Locality Partnerships in Arran, the Garnock Valley, Irvine, Kilwinning, the North Coast and Cumbraes and the Three Towns areas. Chief Superintendent Gillian MacDonald, Divisional Commander for Ayrshire Division, commented "I welcome the locality approach being adopted by the Community Planning Partnership in North Ayrshire and believe that it will support meaningful engagement with communities, closer partnership working and the delivery of better outcomes for local people. "I am committed to ensuring Police Scotland plays its part and we have developed a new community policing model to support this new approach. We have re-configured our Community Policing resources to create a Locality Policing Team for each of the six localities".*

Another popular story in relation to 'Prevention First' related to Chief Superintendent Gillian MacDonald and her moving from Ayr and her direct involvement on 'Prevention First'. This also attracted 15,000 hits albeit it was not directly related to 'Prevention First'.

Other categories of data primarily those that focused on prevention allude to is 'Prevention First' Activity without directly mentioning the term. The example below seems to provide details of the approach and how it is being applied in a local area without directly mentioning the initiative.

Locality Policing Update – Irvine (Lifetime Hits 22067, Date 07/01/2017, sample of story)

Additional officers have been deployed in the Broomlands and Bourtreehill area of Irvine this weekend in response to community concerns regarding antisocial behaviour. Officers from the Police Scotland Mounted Branch have joined local officers who are conducting foot, cycle and vehicle patrols in the area to engage with residents and tackle issues of local concern. Constable Colin Johnson, of the Irvine Locality Policing Team, commented, we have recently seen an increase in reported incidents of antisocial behaviour, vandalism, thefts of wheelie bins and associated fires in the Bourtreehill area. ....Additional officers have been deployed in the area this weekend and these patrols will continue as will our work with partners, including the North Ayrshire Council Antisocial Behaviour Team, to take action against those involved in crime and antisocial behaviour. Constable Johnson added we are committed to working with communities to tackle issues of local concern - the first step is for anyone with any concerns or anyone witnessing an incident to call us. If you see it - report it. The reporting of incidents enables us to build an accurate picture of what is taking place in the area.

Other Facebook data was analysed according to the categories, starting with Community the stories receiving the most hits (over 40,000) related primarily to appeals for information or crime. These appeals could be a direct call for witnesses to an incident that had occurred. For example one of the stories with the biggest hits was related to a Robbery (69,071). This is outlined below:-

Robbery – Saltcoats: *Police in Saltcoats are appealing for witnesses after a woman was robbed within her home address in the early hours of Thursday 25 June 2015. Around 0200 hours a 93 year-old woman was within her home in Argyle road, Saltcoats when she was woken by a man who then assaulted her and stole from within the house before making off.   He is described as a white Scottish man with a local accent, aged in his early 20's with dark hair. At the time of the incident he was described as wearing a dark clothing. Detective Inspector William McDicken said today: "This was a very distressing experience for this elderly lady and it is important that we trace the man responsible as soon as possible.   "I would like appeal to anyone who may have any information as to who is responsible, this person needs to be apprehended as he has preyed upon a vulnerable lady within her own home. "I would like to reassure the community that crimes like this are rare, but we all must do all we can to apprehend this man as soon as possible, any information however small you feel it is, may make all the difference, please call police at Saltcoats using 101 number or alternatively you can call CRIMESTOPPERS on 0800 555 111 where anonymity will be maintained.".*

While the story is a direct appeal for information to the community, what is interesting about this and the majority of the facebook data, is that they also serve other purposes. Embedded in this data is a message of reassurance. The statement by the Detective Inspector mentions the rarity of the crime itself to send a message to the public that this is unlikely to happen to them. It relation to prevention the appeals for information and calling together of the community is also evident.

Messages like this seems to have a high hit rate but could maybe be more purposeful in prevention of crime, as additional information about what is going on in that community to prevent crime might of enhance this message further. This is quite common across the facebook data, there are a number of opportunities for additional information to be added particularly where those stories are receiving a high volume of attention.[46]

The format of social media encourages a 'small stories' format because of their shortened nature. In relation to social media, the format of tweets and sometimes Facebook posts are akin to (atypical) small stories (Georgakpoulou, 2017) because they do not always have a beginning, a middle and an end. Moreover, they are often event or outcome based or centered upon breaking news. This makes it an ideal medium for police. Georgakpoulou uses the following analytic categories - ways of telling; sites; and structure as organizing features of the analysis of the websites (Facebook and twitter) to determine the levels of engagement with them. However, often the police use of social media results in a one way conversation. Moreover, Babutu (2017) argues that the police do not make the best use of their social media data. Georgakpoulou uses two key concepts of stancetaking and rescripting in conducting the analysis. It is also relevant that the police routinely make use of stories and storytelling in their everyday practices (Smith, Burnett & Pedersen, 2014).

The Press and social media coverage / strategy played an integral part of the 'Prevention First' operational methodology. In our opinion, based on our research this played an integral part in the success and visibility of the initiative. We were particularly impressed by the use of community newsletters by Police Scotland to highlight success in relation to 'Prevention First' interventions. We note that the programme received a local commander's award for this aspect.

6.5. The Qualitative Evidence Analysed.

6.5.1. Answering the Research Questions: The purpose of this section is to provide evidence upon which the evaluation of the 'Prevention First' program was based. The overarching theme of the answers is positive. In fact, all the respondents (100%) provided overwhelmingly positive feedback on the program.

General Questions.

Q1. What is your role in the 'Prevention First' Strategy?

Q2. How did you become involved, and how long have you been involved?

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[46] It would be interesting to have a quantitative grasp (content analysis of frequency) of the number of times and the contexts in which the word 'Prevention First' are mentioned on social media channels and to establish if there is much public engagement with the term. Also, do the police use social media to highlight success stories or simply to post appeals for information? However, that is another study.

Q3. Who are the key stakeholders you engage with (Community Planning partners including Police Scotland, Scottish Fire & Rescue etc.)?

The general questions 1-3 elicited the necessary job role and experience of the respondents, their experience and the key stakeholders involved. They also helped develop the experience profile of the 'Prevention First' teams across the Pan Ayrshire area. In future such information, if collected assiduously, may help predict the likely success of the roll out of the program by identifying both strong and weak teams as well as identifying gaps in experience which require to be filled.

Process related Questions

The Process related questions 4-14 were answered by all the respondents.

Q4. Describe what you do in relation to the project.

All respondents answered this question which provided excellent background material in terms of form and structure.

Q5. How is the 'Prevention First' programme being implemented in your area? Is it being implemented correctly, and efficiently? Are the most identifiable participants being reached?

All respondents agreed that the programme was being well implemented in their area and were enthusiastic and passionate about it. There was a realisation that at first the programme takes time to implement and embed but that it gains momentum and gradually makes an impact in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Some respondents found it difficult to make comment on whether it was being implemented correctly in their area because each area designed and adopted different models and they therefore have nothing to compare it with. In relation to whether the most identifiable participants are being reached the respondents acknowledged that it was not yet helping all vulnerable and hard to reach individuals but that the lives and wellbeing of those that it touched were improved. There is no one-size-fits all approach to 'Prevention First' but the key to its success in Ayrshire is that it can and has been nuanced to the specific needs of each of their local areas. This is due to the operational philosophy of the programme of problem-solving issues as they arise in real time. There is not the resources to trawl the police and council data bases for old cases where methodology would work. With this in mind it will take several years for the real impact of 'Prevention First' to coalesce and materialise. In terms of implementation, 'Prevention First' does exactly what it sets out to do. Prior to its implementation there were numerous multi-agency meetings, but this alone was not enough. The new approach works because it does not ignore issues and actively works towards a resolution and enables agencies to engage with hard to reach people which helps the council achieve targets. Its successful implementation requires a change of mindset and genuine commitment and that the implementation of allows partners to

take a more direct approach. Implementing the programme has allowed the police to get back to basics, without being patronising.

Q6. What difference has 'Prevention First' made to you, and your department/agency?

All respondents provided positive examples of how 'Prevention First' had made a difference to their working practices and operational routines. In some cases this involved a transformation in the way they worked and viewed problems. There was almost a sense of relief that the programme had revitalised their routines and several remarked to the effect that they hoped the changes were permanent.

Q7. Can you provide examples of your involvement in the work of the 'Prevention First' programme?

All respondents provided multiple examples and these form the basis of the case studies above. There is no benefit in repeating these here. However, the question provided rich contextual and qualitative data.

Q8. Who benefited most from the 'Prevention First' interventions? Please provide evidence of partnership working.

All respondents answered this question easily. There was a unanimous message that all parties benefitted from the programme but the police and councils particularly. All remarked that all services in the community benefit in the reduction in repeat calls. There is an acknowledgement that from a Housing Department perspective, the council have benefited from the focused interventions, and collectively from individual referrals to the programme. They are now enabled to tap into social work knowledge which has been beneficial to housing. As a result, communities were now palpably safer and more secure resulting in less troublesome cases to deal with. Complainers felt more valued and listened to. It is often other tenants in a block of flats or street who benefit most because of the speed of resolution. Issues are often resolved before the paperwork is addressed. This is an example of sound partnership working. Neighbours benefit the most by interventions and creative solutions. However, one council respondent stressed that the police were the major beneficiaries because they now routinely get a lot of information from the council albeit it was a two way process and that the police provide reports quickly.

There was a strong second theme of individuals and communities benefitting too despite variation across the three council areas. The implementation has been good for South Ayrshire as it provides a forum for sharing and dealing with complex issues at an early stage. It has been very beneficial to the council housing department because it has changed the nature of previously disruptive areas and has eased management problems making it possible for keeping people in their tenancies. It is a very flexible and sustainable programme which is important because, prior

to the inception of programme it proved difficult to allocate new tenants to houses in a street where an ASBO was in place. It is too early to tell whether it has prevented crime or not because there was still anti-social-behaviour in housing estates. Whilst the programme has not eradicated such behaviour, it has been beneficial for Housing Officers because it offers another route for talking to complainers and witnesses. The programme benefits of all partners knowing that there is a useful forum where action can be taken which made it a worthwhile initiative particularly in terms of information sharing. One council respondent remarked that anyone who feels that 'Prevention First' would not benefit them is short-sighted. There is a sense that the success of the programme is down to it being an exciting future and resolution focused forum to be involved in.

There were less positive comments – for example one respondent remarked they would have expected to have seen more police presence in the estates because that promise was sold to the council at the start but has not materialised. The programme has improved local knowledge for all agencies involved and the referral and feedback systems are an improvement albeit the feedback loop could be improved upon as, at present, only minutes and agendas are fed back. A higher level of police information on what has happened to referrals would be welcome.

Q9. What is better, or different, about the 'Prevention First' programme/philosophy than what was in place before its inception?

There was universal agreement from all respondents that the model had improved their operating practices and processes. The main difference articulated by the respondents was the excellent information sharing and partnership working that had been adopted at the inception of the programme. This led to an increase in local knowledge and awareness of things as they happen and with a more rapid response to deal with issues more quickly. There was awareness that there were no formal procedures in place before and different officers dealt with the same repeat incidents again and again. There was no focus on prevention but now the methodology is in place the system is more intuitive thanks to shared information. Prior to then there was not a shared picture and all agencies worked to their partial pictures. The police operated predominantly in police officer mode and doing things alone. Working together produces better results. The ensuing dialogue is very helpful because agencies have different views and opinions. The difference now is that all agencies now do it as a matter of course when before, they only took joint action, when a problem became a crisis. There is a new sense of shared responsibility whereas before information sharing was sporadic. The old timescales for reaching a resolution were longer but now resolutions are reached quickly. This is an example of best practice. Police and Council officers no longer spend weeks chasing up leads and trying to contact the right person. This streamlined process is reported to be definitely making a difference to communities.

There was a view that prior to 'Prevention First' community policing was missing from the area. This is no longer the case. The joint visits and letters were identified as an innovation

because prior to them there was less information sharing and problems persisted longer. The council respondents remember being left alone to deal with complex anti-social behaviour problems. Numerous respondents commented on the new approach being more proactive. One council respondent remarked that the new sharing means that by 9am they knew what has happened even before tenant complaints come in. This reassures tenants when they are told you know about it and are working on it, rather than you will get back to them. Other respondents recall that there was an inconsistency of approaches and 'faces' attending meetings'. Nothing was structured and there was not a sense of progress. This is now acknowledged as being better, more joined up way of working which looks for ways to prevent as well as ways to respond. The overriding ethos is to deal with issues before they become problems. A number of council respondents stressed that the programme and information sharing has expanded their knowledge of the areas and the people in them leading to the establishment of lasting relationships with hard to reach youths and with schools. Several respondents spoke of 'Prevention First' initiating a higher scrutiny of what goes on in particular areas resulting in issues being dealt with which would never have been picked up on before. Many offenders now take a joint warning on board and very few deliberately escalate matters. The threat of their tenancy being removed is a very powerful one. One council respondent remarked that they now operate in a different world of protocols and information sharing, which has improved ways of working. The programme keeps the timeline honest. Nevertheless, one East Ayrshire respondent preferred the previous problem solving arrangement, believing 'Prevention First' to be too localised and that because referrals relate mainly to adults, there is not a good fit with Social Work cases. This respondent suggested that, whilst it is a useful tool, it has limited utility to social workers in its current format. There is scope for designing 'Prevention First' responses for children.

Q10. Can you physically provide evidence of this change? For example, in terms of financial, or time related savings?

In relation to financial savings, one council respondent articulated there are various internal reports which have looked at projected efficiency savings but these have tended to concentrate on police savings using the Scottish Government tool for assessing costs. It does not include any savings to Local Authorities. The 3 local authorities compile separate figures in terms of the reductions and evictions, as well as customer satisfaction surveys. It is very difficult to measure the cost of early intervention. Crime and anti-social behaviour figures only tell you so much. There is no doubt that 'Prevention First' has led to a visible drop in violence and crime, and Ayrshire is the only area in Scotland where this has occurred. This is impacting on violent crime in public places but also in private space violence.

Q11. How satisfied are participants with the programme? Can you provide examples of any success stories, best practice, Innovative practice, or media releases to illustrate the benefits? If so, are you in a position to provide their names and contact numbers?

All respondents, both council and police reported being satisfied by 'Prevention First'. There was a general consensus that all partners were very satisfied with the programme because it provides a clearer view of the direction of travel and where jointly they want to go. This was never the case before.

Q12. Can you provide evidence of the effectiveness of early (or earlier) intervention?

This was amply evidenced by the large number of case studies and success stories gathered during the interviews. Several respondents spoke about how 'Prevention First' is superior because it highlights problems and deals with them via early intervention and information sharing. Attending programme meetings helps them build up a bigger picture whilst building relationships with partners. The programme now enables partners to evaluate as they go along because issues are resolved much more quickly than before. Early intervention allows issues to be sorted timeously and allows partners to move onto new problems and issues. Early intervention aligned to the programme methodology works for all partners because of the excellent relationships developed and because everyone benefits. Early intervention prevents the escalations of cost. Early intervention enables information to be gathered timeously, leading to early resolution. The ethos and early identification are core 'Prevention First' practices which have led to a culture of shared responsibility. One council respondent articulated a reduction in the referrals for crime in the area relating to housing issues and attributed this to early intervention.

Q13. What is your overall opinion in relation to the 'Prevention First' programme?

The overall opinion of 'Prevention' First' was overwhelmingly positive. Indeed the positivity and enthusiasm of the respondents involved in the programme is one of the most surprising findings. The respondents all appear to genuinely buy into the methodology wholeheartedly.

Q14. What can be done to improve it for the future?

Less than half of the respondents answered this question, with the majority being satisfied with the current 'Prevention First' structures. There were calls for 'Prevention First' be linked to all 'locality policing teams as best practice. There is a pressing need for a greater involvement with social work and the criminal justice team within social work. Another suggestion is that it would work better if some partners attended more regularly. There is a need to solicit better customer

feedback. 'Prevention First' must be expanded into the criminal justice system to prevent issues before violent offenders are released. Several respondents called for the social work department to be involved more but it is hard to get them along to meetings. Another theme which emerged was the danger of diluting the 'Prevention First' brand by making it bigger and trying to involve too many people. It is also necessary to engage more fully with the 2026 programme which has prevention at its forefront and to re-engage with the recommendations of the Christie Report. There is a pressing need for capturing better statistical, quantitative data regarding repeat complaints. Other themes included stability and implored that for the programme to be a success that the people involved must remain in place. This was identified as a policing problem because council services are relatively stable. There is scope for improving the process by keeping individual police officers in post for longer periods.

The need for more funding and resources was a recurrent theme. There was a consensus amongst respondents with a supervisory or management role that more capacity and resources would make a big difference. However, they were realistic that this may not be achieved without affecting the balance of the system. More money needs to be spent on the programme and there is a need for a more thorough review process. An experienced police respondent considers that there should be a 3- and 6-month review for more complex, long-run cases. Whilst 'additionality is a good objective to work towards, improving efficiency and effectiveness is the key to the programme's success. Respondent made a plea for more officers and resources but highlighted that in the 'real world', 'Prevention First' has proven to be an excellent model. There was an acknowledgement that more resources would help polish the model and permit the development and implementation of new tactics, to keep the partners ahead of the offenders.

Another theme was the pressing need to employ new tactics and tools in the Crime Prevention and 'Prevention First' Toolbox because of the danger of offenders 'getting wise' to the new multi-agency tactics and in turn changing theirs to resist the programme. There is a need to develop other robust models and systems around the programme to compliment and accelerate the outcomes because it cannot operate efficiently and effectively in the long term as a 'stand-alone' programme. 'Prevention First' is necessary because 30% of the people the police and council work with are vulnerable and are targeted by criminals. Without it they would not be supported so efficiently. However, more work needs to be done to make the victim support system work more efficiently and effectively. This would take the programme to the next level.

Outcome Based Questions

The outcome based questions 15 – 26 were answered by all the respondents.

Q15. How does it meet the complex concerns and needs of all who work and live in these communities? In other words, how well does it work? Did it produce or contribute to planned short, medium and long-term outcomes/targets?

There was a consensus amongst all respondents that the issues they dealt with whether crime, anti-social behaviour or wellbeing and mental health were complex and often interlinked social issues. Respondents report that 'Prevention First' allows agencies to meet their targets in relation to the council and policing plans and in the process keep people safe. Thus the Councils now routinely focus and target complex issues which address this complexity and quality of life issues. There was wide agreement between police and council respondents that the programme had reduced the number of cases of ASB in some areas, primarily because of a joint increased awareness of the complexity of the issues. This led to all partners learning to deal with them better and quicker which in turn encourages others to report new issues. In some areas there seems to be more crime and anti-social behaviour than others but this is possibly because agencies are more aware of it than they were before. Respondents described complex issues as impacting on large numbers of people in the community but 'Prevention First' is now routinely used in more complex and delicate scenarios where information gathering and sharing is difficult to achieve.

Q16. Does it address complex community issues?

There was unanimous agreement that it has begun to address the complex issues and that as a result there is a new willingness amongst partners to tackle such issues. It addresses complex needs by early intervention and avoiding escalation and also because it is not a punitive approach. It is a 'win, win' scenario because the introduction of the programme has led to an increased confidence of reporting incidents to the police and council. This can produce a temporary spike in ASB numbers. However, overthinking a complex problem has to be avoided because over analysis will lead to a hundred reasons for doing nothing. 'Prevention First' problems are often about perception and knowing that issues are being addressed and not ignored. Clients on the programme list immediately know there is a difference. Since the inception of the programme, there has been an apparent increase in confidence in dealing with complex issues and that each agency now has a greater awareness of the others practices and processes. Only one respondent cast doubt on whether 'Prevention First' genuinely meets complex concerns but remarked that they had become more sophisticated in dealing with complex cases and now deal with 10-15 new complaints per week. The system now deals with complex social issues not previously tackled by agencies and that involvement in the programme has increased the council's awareness of how to resolve complex issues. Several respondents commented to the effect that the vast majority of 'Prevention First' cases deal with complex social issues and, as such, require multi-agency approaches. They are area problems not individual problems. One of the problems of resolving complex issues is that problematic people move about too and that the more success you achieve

there is a danger of becoming a victim of your own success. The speed with which 'Prevention First' deals with 'complex' issues is part of its success, because all partners provide an input which addresses many of the complex needs. This process ensures that all agencies are better briefed and prepared and that ultimately the process is about is about getting complaints and enquiries off of desks and out of files. It is about dealing with issues, not documenting them. As a result many more people receive additional help and support than was the case prior to the inception of the programme.

Q17. Has it prevented crime? In particular, violent crime.

One of the difficulties of reducing violent crime in North Ayrshire, is that traditionally, there is a culture of violence in some of the urban communities. This culture of violence makes it difficult to make continuous progress in reducing violent crime. In the first 6 months of the financial year 2016-2017, we have reached 64 serious assaults, which accounts for a dozen higher than the previous year. Nevertheless, 'Prevention First' has reduced robbery considerably, but the level of serious and violent crime continues to grow. This category deals with the gravest crimes and the most violent individuals. Working with high tariff individuals, with high levels of previous convictions, and a palpable propensity for violence, is difficult, because you cannot manage their behaviour all of the time. Reducing violent crime is a priority in the Policing Plan but reducing it is not an exact science. It is easy to identify high risk individuals, and try and manage them through effective interventions, involving working with partners, to try and introduce behavioural change. This approach is a key part of 'Prevention First' philosophy but all we can do is identify such high risk individuals, and working with partners to try and manage them through interventions, with the aim of introducing behavioural change. However, one cannot manage such individuals 24 hours a day, and when the individuals relapse, violent crime inevitably follows.[47]

There are currently 104 offences recorded for the year to date. In the period 2015-2016, effective policing reduced the number to 93, through hard work. However, it is hard work to keep the numbers down and there is a need to develop new prevention techniques and strategies to enable the culture of violence to be tackled effectively. It requires new models of social change. North Ayrshire are effective in utilising police officers, at the right place at the right time, in town centres on Friday and Saturday nights. Each week the weekend action plans are updated and, having 2 officers outside nightclubs is essential in reducing serious violence and disturbances. However, the pattern of serious violence is changing, and now 50% of violent crime occurs indoors. The police cannot prevent violence that happens in people's houses. That is difficult to prevent. In North Ayrshire, in terms of common assaults, the crime stats are 20 more than last year, but 160 less than the 5-year average. It is unrealistic to expect crime stats to fall

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[47] The problem is that in seeking to reduce violent crime it is difficult to manage them when 10 of them may live in one town and another 20 in another town.

incrementally each year. In 2015-2016, common assault was reduced by 70. If you have a good year, it skews the stats and makes it more difficult to achieve the same result the following year. Sometimes, despite investing considerable time and effort via 'Prevention First' and the new policing model, improvements do not happen. One of the reasons for this is the issue of context and there is a new trend of running major enquiries for historical violent crime, which occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Due to an anomaly in the Scottish Crime Recording Standards, these historical crimes have to be included in the crime stats for the year the cases were reopened. Crime is recorded by the date a case is opened. Whilst appreciating that proactive, historical and domestic abuse work must be investigated, it nevertheless, artificially inflates the crime stats because Divisional Commanders are still judged by the level of crime stats.

Q18. Has it reduced victimisation?

In relation to the issue of reducing victimisation many respondents struggled to answer this question and as a result the theme is under developed in the report. It is difficult to obtain accurate statistics to determine whether victimisation has been reduced by the programme because of the hidden nature of victimisation and because victims do not always present themselves as such. Nor does the system always flag them up. There was however, a general sense amongst respondents that the programme must be making an impact on victimisation, despite the fact that there are still dozens of repeat victims in the system. Respondents argued passionately that there is a pressing need to adopt a better recording system to identify and tag victims for 'Prevention First' action. Numerous council respondents articulated that the programme has helped them deal more effectively with noisy parties, noise complaints, litter issues, anti-social behaviour and victimisation. We commend two innovative practices adopted in North Ayrshire which are integral to their use of 'Prevention First'. These are the Victim Impact Statement (VIS form); and the Risk Assessment Form for Offenders which were designed jointly between the police and council ASB Officers.

Q19. Has it reduced anti-social behaviour?

All respondents agreed that there had been reductions in anti-social behaviour. It is difficult to evaluate 'Prevention First' cases because you cannot simply rely on measuring it using performance stats. If there is an ASB spike identified through the 'Prevention First' system, by its very nature of can lead to more joint proactivity, increasing reports of ASB and criminality, which must be recorded and dealt with. The more the programme engages with the problems in communities, the more report their problems. It is designed to identify and deal with problems, not ignore them. Increasingly, more and more people are finding the confidence to report problems to both the police and council. If the public report a problem it is acted on. They can

report direct to the council and do not need to come to a Police Station to raise their issues. As a result, more crime and anti-social behaviour is being reported. This leads to an increase in workloads initially before resulting in a reduction in crime and anti-social behaviour. It is not easy to determine if the interventions have and stopped a crime pattern. It is not as simple as declaring 10% less reports per week because 'Prevention First' looks beyond crime stats. It is necessary to treat spikes resulting in high numbers, as a success, not a failure. A reported 10% less reports in a week is meaningless if the numbers are down because people do not trust the police enough to share their problems'. The spikes even themselves out, and crime is significantly down over the last 5 years. House-breaking is down significantly. The impact is immense and the programme has played a significant part in this. Another respondent remarked that it is obvious that the 'Prevention First' model is working because it has led to a reduction in anti-social behaviour.

Q20. Has it made a difference to the amount of crime reported, or occurring at particular locations?

The majority of respondents who answered were unanimous in their belief that it had made a difference to the amount of crime reported but acknowledged that when implemented properly it often initially leads to a spike in the reporting of particular crimes as complainers gain the confidence to come forward. Respondents reported significant reductions in the number of former 'crime and anti-social behaviour hotspots which no longer existed. A police respondent commented that since the inception of the programme some former career criminals had ceased to commit crime and were no longer repeat offenders. This is worthy of further exploration.

In east Ayrshire as a result of this approach there was a reduction of 75% in complaints of anti-social behaviour in their housing department which over the entire period over 6 to 9 months reducing the draw massively on their housing department and antisocial behaviour resources. One respondent remarked that 'Prevention First' works because there are no artificial targets imposed and because the overarching ethos is to reduce violent crime and anti-social behaviour. This respondent considers that it would be wrong to put targets or percentages upon what should be achieved each year because that puts pressure on people and systems. The programme was introduced to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour and it has achieved that.

Q21. What has been done to ensure that the underlying social conditions which spawn the crime has been effectively addressed? Can you provide examples of this?

Very few of the respondents answered this question in any detail. The evidence that 'Prevention First' addresses the underlying social conditions which spawn crime is however implicit in many of the case studies and in the narratives of individual respondents. One respondent stressed that the programme works because it deals with the underlying issues effectively, and is not merely a

statistical exercise. Another council respondent remarked it had resulted in more people using council services and had reduced the number of persistent offenders.

Q22. For whom does the programme work, in what ways and what circumstances?

All respondents answered this question with brief comments and there was a lot of repetition in terms of terms of question in relation to who benefits?

Q23. Do you work with other organisations from the Third Sector? Who else should be involved?

There was a wide spread appreciation for the work of the third sector organisations by all respondents. All three council areas provided examples of working with such organisations on a variety of projects. There was a general consensus that more could be done with such organisations to integrate them into the 'Prevention First' model. At present most of the input of third sector organisations relate to diversification work. Some respondents cited a lack of time and resources to engage properly.

Q24. Were there any unintended outcomes (either positive or negative) of the programme?

The majority of respondents were initially unable to identify unintended consequences of the programme. A council respondent remarked that the 'Prevention First' joint warning system has proved very effective, producing surprising results, because the threat of losing their tenancy, and the consequences of having to move outside of the North Ayrshire region, deters even prolific offenders and hardened criminals. The private renting sector does not appeal to tenants who are used to the benefits of living in council property. Thus a surprising number of such individuals have adhered to council advice leading to a reduction in their offending behaviour. The process has led to cases being resolved, which experience suggested to all partners, that they were too complex to reach a resolution. Working together more closely with partners had broken down the barriers of institutional parochialism and issues of primacy. For some police and council respondents an unintended consequence has been the strong and robust debates which the meetings and daily phone calls engender. Often partners do not always agree which is a positive feature of the programme, which acts as an enabler. A council respondent remarked that involvement in the programme has led to a genuine and robust multi-agency solution focussed ethos. The programme has also had unintended outcomes as evidenced by the following example. Chief Superintendent MacDonald applied for funding to arrange for the Gangs Unit to be deployed; and for the Horse and Dog Units to visit Kilmarnock. These activities were very popular with the youth involved. Another initiative entailed arranging for Vibrant Communities to visit a problem housing estate, eight Saturdays in a row, to arrange activities for children,

including face painting and bouncy castles. Weekend dads gravitated towards the service helping them to integrate more into the community. The community continued meeting on their own.

Although this question was not answered explicitly, there was an implicit awareness of it in the narratives of key respondents and that community policing, early intervention, information sharing, the different partner models, partnership working, and the different operational models across the three police and council areas are all variables which can impact on the outcomes of 'Prevention First' approaches. Any one of these, or a combination of these may lie behind the reasons for the success of 'Prevention First'; and also that it is not one variable alone that is responsible for its success.

Q25. Can the changes benefits identified be attributable to any other set of circumstances?
Most respondents skipped this question and appeared unable to make the connections. However, it was reported that sometimes family members step up and resolve situations before the planned 'Prevention First' action kicks in. In one example an elderly man, who was subject to repeat complaints for playing loud music late at night was quickly reconnected to family members. He had allowed himself to become isolated. An intervention enabled him to obtain a free travel pass and he now goes on day trips which tires him out and prevents him staying up late. Other quirky examples of action included buying a lonely tenant a pet cat to occupy them and prevent repeat calls. Another case related to a woman who repeatedly complained of kids kicking footballs into her garden. A joint visit revealed that her garden was overgrown. One partner suggested that the garden could be tidied up. This was done and since then, she no longer complains. The kids' balls still land in her garden, but she no longer cares. The methodology gives partners the courage to act differently.

Q26. In your opinion is 'Prevention First' effective, efficient and viable as an operational community policing strategy?
All respondents agreed that it was an effective, efficient and viable operational community policing strategy. There was a consensus that whilst 'Prevention First' cannot replace Community Policing it augments it. The programme compliments existing structures of community policing and crime prevention, but it was not a substitute for replacing existing CBOs and Campus Officers. It requires a sound community policing structure in place because community policing lies at the heart of the success of 'Prevention First'. The community policing structure needs to be aligned to both Police and Council Strategic Plans because the key to success lies in knowing what is happening in communities. Only by knowing what is happening on a daily basis, in a community is it possible to identify and action 'Prevention First' priorities. Establishing an effective Community Policing Strategy is necessary before implementing the programme and that there is a danger that, without maintaining the basic focus of policing, attempts to implement the

programme may fail. This experienced officer highlighted the need for experienced leadership, versed in the philosophy and practice of Community Policing. It can take 6 months or longer for a team leader to get to grips with the nuances of such work.[48] The methodology only works effectively and efficiently when it has the appropriate Community Policing model surrounding it and that it would not work so effectively if it sat in isolation without a mechanism for enforcing its decisions. 'Prevention First' requires experienced community cops to solve the complex problems in the community. It is not an easy model to operate because it requires both 'Prevention First' and Community Policing to operationalised simultaneously.

Economic Based Questions

In relation to the economic based questions very few of the respondents were able to contribute to this primarily because of their job roles and because they were not budget holders. This was particularly the case of Q27 - What is the perceived ratio of costs to benefits? A few respondents were able to respond to Q28 - What has been the most cost effective option? How cost effective is it in relation to alternatives. However, there was no clear theme or message. The majority of respondents were comfortable answering

Q29 - Is the programme the best use of resources?

There was a universal appreciation amongst police and council respondents that the programme is the best use of the resources available in the current climate. This question elicited single sentence answers of a similar nature and therefore this section has not been expanded upon.

Q27 - What is the perceived ratio of costs to benefits?

None of the respondents were able to answer this question effectively and respondents either skipped it or answered it with comments relating to the difficulty of collecting or assessing such data. More work would require to be done in relation to estimated savings with partners before this could be answered definitively.

Q28. What has been the most cost effective option? How cost effective is it in relation to alternatives.

Approximately three quarters of respondents answered this indirectly but no most cost effective option emerged. It was agreed that 'Prevention First' itself was a cost effective option. The majority of answers were couched in terms of cost and savings – both financial and in time/resources. The majority of respondents argued that it was difficult to quantify and costs and that it should never be judged by crime statistics alone. There was an appreciation that the

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[48] One police respondent opined that the new 'Prevention First' model, has revitalised community policing arguing that it is now almost as if the police and their partners operate with a sixth sense.

programme is a time saving mechanism which enables agencies to deal with issues there and then, instead of having to phone numerous people, leading to faster resolution. It is difficult to assess formal financial savings but, in terms of time savings, it is easy to see the benefit of the programme because actions are dealt with more timeously saving time on dealing with repeat complaints. From a council perspective, it is also difficult to measure savings because of the difficulty in collecting appropriate data. It is possible to comment on the number of warnings and evictions etc. However, in the two and a half year period since the inception of the programme, the number of evictions carried out was 2. Prior to that, there were several evictions per year. That is a powerful validation of the programme. One police supervisor remarked that 'Prevention First' has a demonstrable logic and provides examples of specific cases where success can be demonstrated. However, the respondents were careful to stress that this does not transfer into savings in real time, because other issues evolve which require the programmes attention and use up the spare time. Nevertheless, the programme shares the burden of cases and is cost effective because no one agency has all the answers, nor scarce resources. Conducting the internal 'Prevention First' assessment audit is very time consuming but nevertheless produce a fair interpretation of the achievements of the programme.

Police respondents suggested that that in terms of proving that the programme was efficient and cost effective the use of the Scottish Government's Projected Cost Matrix was the most cost effective way of demonstrating savings. These efficiency savings, both financially and in time, extend to thousands of pounds. For example, in one resolved case there were 80 less calls to the police and that a time and motion study established that each call lasted between 30-60 minutes. That accounts for approximately £20 per hour per officer. This did not take account of the price of fuel to transport officers to the call and return to the station nor depreciation. This would add approximately £20 to the total. These savings must be being reinvested in other policing priorities. However, at a local level the savings cannot be redirected into preventing further crime and anti-social behaviour. Whilst the notional savings are just that, at present there is no way to establish conclusively that Police Scotland are saving thousands of pounds in savings at a local level but there must be more money in the central budget to be spent on other issues. Respondents commented on the absence of the statistical methodology to prove this conclusively.

After the inception of the programme, it became apparent that the other tools and tactics at our disposal, such as ABCs, ASBOs and PSP became more effective suggesting it is both efficient and cost effective. The programme is very effective because it concentrates on the process and on resolution, and not on slavishly updating paperwork and achieves results above and beyond expectations. The programme helped the council deal more effectively with anonymous complaints where tenants are unwilling to become involved for a variety of reasons. Anonymous complaints are now dealt with efficiently and effectively, whereas in the past, they were most likely to be ignored. A complainer is no longer required to initiate an action. It is evident that

'Prevention First' has, in some areas, resulted in a higher incidence of reporting and a temporary spike in numbers of complaints. This is evidence of its effectiveness. None of the respondents answered the second part of the question in relation to how cost effective it was in relation to alternatives.

Q. 29. Is the programme the best use of resources?

All the respondents agreed that it was the best use of scarce resources because it used only those resources required to address the issue at hand and therefore did not use <u>all</u> resources. There was near universal agreement that 'Prevention First' makes the best use of limited resources and is therefore definitely cost effective. It also has the benefit of pooling resources more effectively. It enables and empowers agencies to engage more effectively, using a wider focus. It addresses issues quickly which is the key to making best use of resources. It enabled council officials to gain access to tenants more quickly. In the past, before joint visits, tenants frequently ignored council employees and it would often take repeat visits over several weeks to establish contact. Joint visits with the police ensure that issues are dealt with as they occur. This has led to significant time savings and quicker resolutions save time.

Closing Question

Q. 30. Is there anything else you would like to say or add?

None of the respondents elected to provide further information or comments. This may have been because of the extensive reach of the questions in eliciting the required information. However, this open ended question should be asked in subsequent evaluations of the 'Prevention First' program because it provides an opportunity for freedom of expression.

6.5.2. Potential problems in implementing and operationalising 'Prevention First'.

Issues identified include potential problems and strains in the system:-

- There is a danger that, if more posts are cut to make budgetary savings then this will result in difficulties in delivering the results that it is capable of delivering if fully resourced.
- The move to incorporating 'Prevention First' did away with the dedicated 'Prevention First' role which was initially in place.
- Not all Localities areas have the same resources (one localities area has the PPT structure).
- Some Localities Sergeants have as much as 3 nominated job roles to do.
- Making a success of 'Prevention First' can be difficult because not all community officers take ownership of issues.
- The use of officers on restricted duties to carry out 'Prevention First' work has worked well but cannot be relied upon universally. Not all officers have the requisite skills and abilities.

- There are issues of consistency and continuity.

- There is still a level of abstraction whereby Localities Police have to cover front counters and fill in for Response Officers in shifts where numbers are depleted.

- The sheer volume of work mitigates against 'Prevention First' always working as effectively as it should do.

- It is not as simple as passing responsibility to Localities Teams, without a conversation and the need to agree the reasons for doing it.

- Austerity measures have impacted on community policing capability. The loss of funding for Campus Officers and the Wardens has impacted on the ability to provide a quality service.

- Another austerity measure impacting on workloads, is the closure of the General Enquiries Department. Thus court citations are spread around all shifts, including Localities Policing.

- More officers are required to deal with an increase in health matters in the community.

- There is a danger of reaching a saturation point in what 'Prevention First' can achieve and if it were ever treated simply as a practice, or a role, then it could lose momentum.

- Funding is an issue but part funding of projects is better than nothing, but to do prevention and 'Prevention First' properly requires a higher level of investment.

- The problem with the new model is that those operationalising it, have to trawl through 120-170 incidents a day / 1000 per week, to identify the repeat cases which the programme is capable of getting results from. It is time consuming and hard work.

- The police are now easier to contact and criticise.

- Maintaining a healthy work-life balance for officers, and protecting their mental health, is a real challenge because the programme does increase workloads and stress.

- While the outcomes overall indicate the positivity of the model a number of issues must be considered if Police Scotland are to consider rolling this model out nationally.

6.6. Summing up.

This extensive chapter provides qualitative evidence of the power, effectiveness and efficiency of the 'Prevention First' programme and complements but extends the quantitative findings. The rich data provides qualitative evidence of the aspects of the programme which cannot be measured by quantitative means.

Chapter 7 – Discussion, observations, best-practices, conclusions and recommendations.

7.1. Discussion Points.

Several interesting themes emerged from the empirical research which are worthy of further discussion including the role of civil law; what we refer to as the Policing / Social Work Nexus; the quality of the police and council staff involved; the integrity of the 'Prevention First' processes; and the inter-relationships between community policing, early intervention, information sharing and partnership working. We also consider the inter-relationships between

community policing, early intervention, information sharing and partnership working; Legacy issues impacting on 'Prevention First'; Leadership issues impacting on 'Prevention First'; and the future of 'Prevention First'.

7.1.1. The innovative use of Civil Law: One of the most important issues to arise from this research is the use of civil law by the Council to support the use of criminal law by the police. This aspect of the 'Prevention First' programme was hidden deep in the qualitative data. The key point is that it illustrates how drawing on resources across agencies allows for more effective interventions. One vital aspect of the 'Prevention First' methodology and processes is that it combines both criminal and civil law as crime prevention tools. There is a symbiosis between the two. This works because there is a lower standard of proof for civil law, which enables the council partners to act more quickly than the police. The use of civil law provides more creative options to be utilised. The use of civil law is primarily tied to the tenancy agreement between tenant and council. There is a pre-existing council system in place from verbal warning to written warning and ultimately action in the form of eviction. The Housing also routinely utilise ABCs and ASBOs. The Council can initiate monthly visits to problem tenants, to inspect the premises and can utilise joint visits with the police to reinforce issues. The decision to move towards an eviction may result in a court order, giving the tenant 28 days' notice to quit. This is a very powerful deterrent because, failure to co-operate with the council, makes the tenant intentionally homeless, and means that their only option, if renting, is to engage with private landlords. The council exercise a duty of care towards their tenants, and only utilise eviction in serious cases, as a last resort. This aspect of the model has proved very effective because the council have the power to influence the offenders' behaviour with threats to their tenancy.

7.1.2. The Policing / Social Work Nexus: This is a fascinating issue, worthy of further research and for consideration of progression within the 'Prevention First' framework.[49] Amongst several respondents there was a perception, to a certain degree, that the social workers were difficult to engage with, and it was hard to get them to commit to projects and to share information freely. There is another perception that the social work department dip in and out of matters as it suits them. It must be stressed that this was a view shared by both police and council respondents. We must also stress that we did not view this as a major criticism because the same respondents spoke positively about social work involvement in other interventions. Respondents were aware that social workers dealt with high caseloads and that they dealt with vulnerable clients and sensitive information. We are also aware that many social work departments have a large number of staff, often housed in separate council buildings and over the years social workers have developed an

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[49] This is an enduring problem.

autonomy to their working practices. One council respondent commented that, historically, there has been institutional resistance from the Social Work Department to exchanging information, because they believe it to be private and sensitive and that to share such information would be breaking client confidentiality. However, to operate successfully the 'Prevention First' apparatus does not require inclusive access to sensitive information, only an overview. From an academic perspective this is a fruitful field of future research because seldom do criminology or Policing scholars have access to social work respondents nor do they consider the vital role they play in reducing crime and the causes of crime. We believe that this is perception based issue which could easily be addressed by dialogue and education and that if/as 'Prevention First' is rolled out that the Social Work Departments across Scotland will play a greater role in its growth'.

7.1.3. The quality of the police and council staff involved: We were particularly impressed by the quality of the staff involved, both police and council, and their professionalism, dedication and the genuine passion they imbued their work with. This shone throughout their interviews. The dedication of these respondents goes above and beyond what one could normally expect from employees.[50] None of the respondents interviewed appeared to simply be 'paying lip service' to the programme. This aspect of the 'Prevention First' mix is one of the many highly subjective aspects of the study which cannot be relied upon to be transferable when initiating 'Prevention First' in other areas. It would have been helpful and beneficial if we could openly discuss the individual contributions of many of the respondents but in a qualitative study whose rules dictate anonymity we are restricted in our ability to praise individual effort which in many cases constitute best practice in developing role descriptors for 'Prevention First' operatives.

7.1.4. The integrity of the 'Prevention First' processes: We were also impressed by the patently obvious openness, transparency and integrity of the 'Prevention First' processes. This is because the continuous application of the processes lead directly to the obvious successes of the programme. It is apparent that the way 'Prevention First' is being operated across the three Ayrshire Councils is consistent with the ethos of the programme to prevent crime and anti-social behaviour because the individuals involved in the processes actively seek out new cases and apply the 'Prevention First' practices and processes rigorously. The aim of the programme is to prevent by early intervention and in vigorously pursuing its objectives they appreciate that there will be temporary increases and spikes in both crime and antisocial behaviour statistics, as well as workloads.[51] All the police and council respondents interviewed who mentioned the increase in

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[50] There is a down side to this in that it cannot be expected of all staff.
[51] There is no hint of 'gaming practices' (see Patrick, 2011) in play which seek to reduce the crime statistics recorded. This is to be applauded.

their workloads appeared to absorb the extra work and the pressures it brings. Whilst this is commendable it may not be sustainable in the long term.

7.1.5. Towards the future of 'Prevention First': It was reported that that due to limited resources, it was not always possible to put every idea into practice and that it is necessary to prioritise the most effective option because 'Prevention First' is a sophisticated conversation about solving problems. The respondent identified that informal aspects of the programme are the best and lead to improved timelines for changing bad behaviour. This respondent warned that the approach and practice, fails, if officers do not know their area. This respondent warned that the programme will only be considered successful when it transforms 'ways of working' so that it becomes part of core police (and council) duties in individual areas. Moreover, the practices and processes of 'Prevention First' are directly transferrable back into community and response policing. This responded suggested that when these are put into practice, it need not be called 'Prevention First', unless there is a dedicated 'Prevention First' officer attached to a team. The respondent continued in a similar vein that the elements of 'Prevention First' used to retrain the new generation of officers, need not be branded as such. This respondent argued that there is a danger in relying on 'Prevention First' as a mechanism to drive down crime statistics because statistics do not always tell us the full picture – it is members of the community who should judge whether the programme has been a success because simple things like fixing a light bulb or cutting back overgrown hedges make a visible difference in the community and can reduce the opportunity of crime. To make a more significant difference, there is a need to develop a more sophisticated recording system to identify and prioritise which repeat problems to tackle first. At present too much is left to chance and personal judgement.

One respondent gave the example of the 'The Divert Team' in Glasgow having four full-time officers dealing with 5 or 6 offenders at a time. That level of commitment needs to be Scotland wide. The 'Prevention First' model is not complicated, just difficult to resource. It works of flows of intelligence and information, built around developing good partnership relations, to create a system where all participants involved have a common goal and desire to problem solve issues. It works because you do not look at single cases in isolation and it thrives on looking for patterns which enhances the joint ability to solve cases. That is the Prevention First mentality. A police respondent warned that replicating the 'Prevention First' model will not be easy because it is not an easy task to make sure that every priority is covered every day. The change in the Police Scotland Executive Structure, has allowed more freedom to operate Localities Policing, to suit different areas, permitting more autonomy for Police Commanders to restructure resources to suit local issues.

7.2. Taking the evaluation forward.

This section discusses how the evaluation methodology can be taken forward to continually improve the 'Prevention First' methodology. It considers; How to develop a continual evaluation model; Presents an assessment matrix for the recording of 'Prevention First' intervention and outcomes; and assesses the effectiveness of 'Prevention First' in meeting wider strategies.

7.2.1. Developing a continual evaluation model for 'Prevention First': As far back as 1992, there was pressure for Police to act effectively and efficiently via the use of evaluation methodologies. Even then, the focus was on inter-agency working and interventions (1992:8). Berry and Carter advocated using the Quest Methodology to evaluate Crime Prevention Initiatives. Quest = Quick, Understandable, Effective, Simple and Timely. Berry and Carter, (1992) suggest that Crime Prevention and Reduction Initiatives have a limited and finite life cycle, with public awareness often leading to a spike in crimes reported before the desired reduction is achieved. This can lead to a temporary rise in crime figures. They argue that constant evaluation is necessary to ensure that money is not being spent with little effect. The life cycle model involves the initiation, growth, maturity and mortality stages. It is of note that whilst this limited life cycle model is not relevant to 'Prevention First' because it is a continuous improvement model, it is still of relevance to spin off projects supporting the programme. Despite its age it is still a useful model and a relevant evaluation methodology. Berry and Carter recommend a '9 step process' for conducting such evaluations which involves questions based scrutiny:-

- Define the problem - Where are we now?
- Set clear objectives – Where do we want to be?
- Define strategy and tactics – How shall we get there?
- Set up assessment procedures – How shall we measure how we are doing?
- Project assessment – Will it be worth it?
- Decision making – Shall we do it?
- Implementation – Let's do it!
- On-going monitoring – How are we doing in the short-term?
- Final post project assessment – How have we done and is it worth repeating?

The above step process approach, offers a structured methodology for assessing short-term Crime Prevention Initiatives and compliments the evaluation model developed for this research. Berry and Carter utilise techniques of Assessment including:-

- Setting objectives
- Choosing Strategy and Tactics
- Develop a framework of Assessment Indicators

- Formulating an evaluation framework.

Figure 17 - Techniques for assisting with assessment (Berry & Carter, 1992:25)
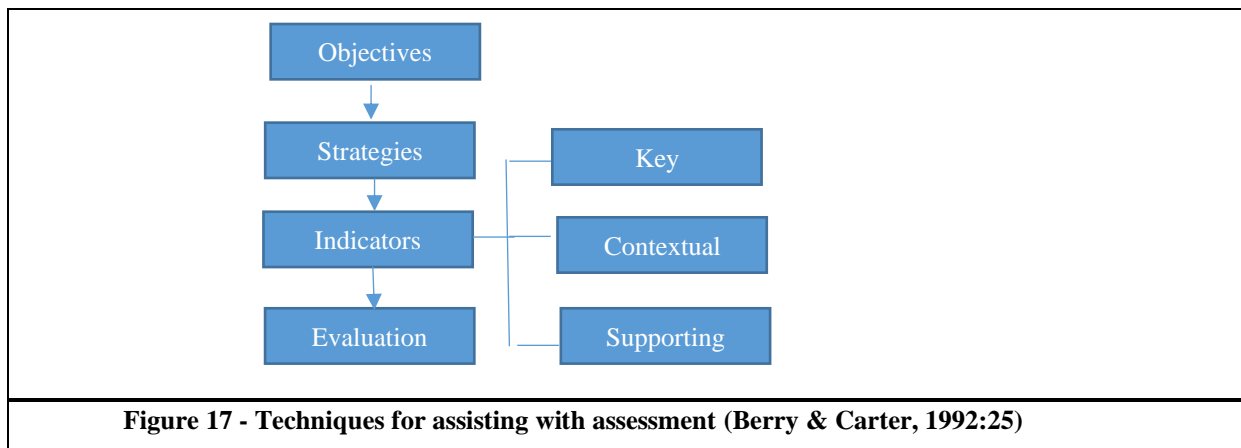
In this model one sets objectives and strategies to measure and then chooses the indications (key, contextual and supporting) to conduct the evaluation. These will all vary depending on the type of initiative.

7.2.2. An Assessment Matrix for the recording of 'Prevention First' interventions and outcomes: In order to be able to assess performance of 'Prevention First' interventions we suggest that an electronic proforma be designed and agreed between the police and partners. The forms below provide a template. A paper version could be implemented but there is a danger of forms not being processed or filed. The forms record the outcomes in the form of a brief case study with outcomes and estimated costings. The form could be a second page to the one page existing 'Prevention First' initiation / referral form. It is further suggested that a traffic light style action list agreed for closing the intervention. The presence of the form would assist officers preparing the annual evaluation assessments for each subdivision. It would create a permanent record of the intervention. The forms would also generate searchable community intelligence and if hosted on a shared platform all parties involved could access and comment on the actions taken and outcomes. This would provide a permanent intelligence record and could be managed by an Intelligence, Crime Reduction or NIM unit. For example, we would suggest a simple proforma similar to the one below. This would allow for a clear record to be kept and shared amongst all relevant partners.

Intervention Type: (Crime type / Anti-Social Behaviour / Wellbeing).	
Partners Involved / associated projects:	
Crime Reference Number:	ASB No:

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Questions to consider:
Did the intervention reduce crime?
Did the intervention reduce violent crime?
Did the intervention reduce anti-social behaviour?
Did the intervention impact on individual or wellbeing?
Was third sector involvement considered?
Was a media release used?
Case study / Narrative:
Estimated Cost savings:
What was the outcome? (Successful / Partial / Unsuccessful – please provide reasons if it is the latter).

Figure 18 – Draft Assessment Proforma

7.2.3. Assessing the effectiveness of 'Prevention First' in meeting wider strategies: To return to the key objectives of the Christie Commission Report of 2011, these were based around 4 principles paraphrased below:-

- That public services are built around people and communities and their aspirations and skills.
- Public Services require to work effectively to achieve outcomes.
- Public Services must prioritise Prevention Strategies to reduce inequalities.
- Public Services must seek to improve performance and reduce costs in an open, transparent and accountable manner.

In assessing how 'Prevention First' meets the 4 key objectives of the Christie Report, it is evident that the programme is built around addressing the needs of individuals and communities. Also, 'Prevention First' appears to work effectively to achieve outcomes for both individuals and communities, in terms of Crime Prevention. Moreover, 'Prevention First', through its problem-solving methodology, does reduce inequalities, by providing creative resolutions to complex social problems. We suggest that 'Prevention First' has the capacity to improve performance and theoretically reduce costs. It does this in an open, transparent and accountable manner. With this in mind, 'Prevention First', has the potential to lead to real reform in public service practices and processes. If implemented properly, it has the capacity to be responsive to the needs of individuals and communities, and challenges fragmented public service processes. It maximises the use of

scarce public resources, from the public, private and Third Sector organisations. It does not duplicate Public Services but implements these via a shared understanding of individual and community needs. In doing so, it delivers a genuine integrated service. In line with the major theme of the Christie Report, Prevention First genuinely prioritises prevention measures to reduce demand, at an everyday level. It involves the Prevention Strategies of all agencies involved.

We argue that 'Prevention First' does appear to identify, and target, the underlying causes of inter-generational deprivation and low aspiration by problem solving repeat events of crime, anti-social behaviour and victimisation. It also interjects an element of oversight and accountability into Public Service Practices. From the research, it is apparent that 'Prevention First' improves Council Services. It is evident that 'Prevention First' addresses elements of long-term strategic planning, relevant to both Police Scotland and the Councils. We, the Research Team, argue that it is an excellent example of effective, collaborative working as recommended in the Christie Report. The Programme provides 'joined-up services'. Finally, in line with the observation of the Christie Report, 'Prevention First' is very effective in reducing the 'silo mentality' of thinking and working prevalent to the Public Services. There is also evidence that as well as delivering reductions in anti-social behaviour and crime, community well-being issues are being improved in 'Prevention First' areas.[52]

The 'Prevention First' Programme also goes some way to address the second and third strands of the Police Scotland 2026 Policing Strategy Plan. To recap, the seven key policing principles which will guide policing strategy until the year 2026 are – 1) Localism; 2) Inclusion; 3) Prevention; 4) Response; 5) Collaborative Working; 6) Accountability; and 7) Adaptability. The Programme fits directly in to the third strand of Prevention and offers a viable strategy to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour across Scotland. There are also opportunities to integrate the Prevention Strand with that of the Response Strands and the collaborative working strands. However, there is the need for work to be done to align Response Policing to the Prevention First philosophy and practice. There is also considerable scope for integrating the Communities/Localism Strand of the Strategy with 'Prevention First' too. There is scope to develop 'Prevention First' into the central driving mechanism of the 2026 model. One of the potential oversights of the 2026 Strategy is that it is a generic plan and provides little detail on how it will achieve the desired outcomes. For 'Prevention First' to succeed and deliver on its potential, there is a pressing need for a long term commitment to its implementation and delivery Scotland wide. This would mirror the commitment of the New Zealand Government to their implementation of their 'Prevention First' Strategy.

7.3. Observations.

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[52] We can provide an evidence based table with quotes from interviews which back up these claims.

In this section, we discuss observations and recommendations based on the assessment and the empirical research underpinning it. We also consider potential problems and strains in implementing and operationalising 'Prevention First'; How to evaluate the efficacy of the 'Prevention First' anti-social behaviour strategy; and developing bespoke business models of policing; Integrating third sector organisations into the model. We then proffer recommendations.

7.3.1. Some final observations: An important observation to arise from the interviews was the work being carried out by the non-police partners. The work of Housing Departments and the Fire and Rescue are commendable. The routine input of non-policing partners, in extending community policing, moves beyond traditional community policing and heralds a new era of multi-agency policing (MAP). This important development should not be underplayed.

A major part of the success of the programme, lies with the Localities Policing Sergeants, in their respective areas (in conjunction with their counterparts in the council) who diligently scan the incidents and crime figures to spot patterns and emerging issues. This is reliant upon aperçus developed from their personal experience. This is a very time intensive and cannot be skimped upon. This is a high level analytic activity and is not the best use of police time. It is more befitting work for a divisional crime analyst, dedicated to 'Prevention First' scanning in each council area. This would free up Localities Sergeants to progress their other duties. However, we acknowledge that this may lead to incidents and patterns initially being missed, but argue that the robustness of the system, would ensure that these were eventually picked up and dealt with.

Another pertinent observation, arising from above, is that, both police and council respondents involved in the process, adopt a 'can do' mentality. They guard against the temptation to say no to aspects of referrals which increase their workload. Their positive attitude is tempered by a desire to achieve positive resolutions, using creative tools and strategies. They utilise appropriate tools and strategies, and adapt them to fit circumstance. This is reminiscent of practice of appreciative enquiry (Ludema, Coperrider & Barret, 2001). This relates to Change Management practices, which highlight positive aspects of evaluation and privilege these over, more difficult and complex analytic solutions. 'Prevention First' as a process, would benefit from staff involved being more aware of the power of appreciative enquiry which could be facilitated by joint-agency workshops. Appreciative inquiry has already been studied in relation to community policing and problem-solving (Grant, 2012).

Several respondents highlighted generic backgrounds issues which require careful consideration in maintaining the integrity and success of the programme. These include - 1) paying less attention to stats' and figures and concentrating on performance; 2) implementing a system for identifying repeat incidents to complement the existing systems of identifying repeat offenders to provide continuity; 3) The need to further resource 'Prevention First'; 4) a need for more diversification activities such as Prince's Trust for persistent young offenders; 5) More

diversion work with Third Sector organisations; 6) A programme for visiting persistent young offenders whilst in custody to engage with them. They also highlighted the excellent work being done by the Violence Reduction Unit [VRU] in developing excellent crime reduction and prevention practices. They were realistic in their aspirations because the VRU have Inspectors and Chief Inspectors on secondment, working one-to-one with individuals and groups. They praised the work of ASB teams but stressed that 'Prevention First' has to move beyond a reliance on issuing joint warnings and ASBOs to 'drill into' what causes the behaviour and stop it. They highlighted the need to work more closely with similar prevention strategies in the criminal justice and prison service. Whilst acknowledging that traditional policing and jailing persistent offenders has its place in providing much needed respite and more prison interventions are required. At present a prison sentence may result in a lost opportunity to work with them.

Another observation of note relates to the increased use of information sharing and joint intelligence gathering between agencies. There is from the interviews that this is an unintended consequence of the programme and that it should not be highlighted to protect both sources and the integrity of the individual agencies involved. We consider this a strength of 'Prevention First' and argue that there is scope for developing this into a specific intelligence product or to recording it as community intelligence' or multi-agency intelligence.

Despite the considerable successes of 'Prevention First', there is school of thought that the programme has lost some of its original focus and must get back to the principles of the Christie report and work towards the vision of the 2026 report. In particular the 4 Pillars of Prevention. There is a sense that when 'Prevention First' was first rolled out there was time to look at such issues but this time is diminishing. It may have become a victim of its own success and its relentless work load model.

The above issues impact on the organizational ability to focus on Community Policing and 'Prevention First'. This respondent warns that the dilemma with introducing excellent programmes such as 'Prevention First', is that it may take 10 to 15 years to see the full impact of the programme. The danger is that someone will change the system before then. The challenge for 'Prevention First', moving in to the future, is to continue to target the small core of people in Ayrshire, who are hard core career criminals. The challenge is also to determine how to break the cycle and how can other partners be engaged. This requires a multi-agency approach, at a strategic level, as well as resourcing, in order to support victims and offenders to change their lifestyles. There is also a need for more work to stop youths making wrong choices.

There was widespread acknowledgement amongst respondents that 'Prevention First' works because of the high level of support from partners, nothing is an issue; and also because it feeds in to core police, council and partner work streams. It requires to be carefully staffed at the operational level but without passionate and dedicated staff, it would not be so effective. It is a very intensive methodological system, and requires people who are creative and capable of

informal thinking. All staff involved have to be capable of questioning and scrutinising everything that crosses their desk. Staff also require to be assiduous in carrying out their tasks and there is no place for taking shortcuts because they will come back to bite you.

7.3.2. Evaluating the efficacy of the 'Prevention First' anti-social behaviour strategy: The article by Lewis et al (2017) challenges dominant narratives about the effectiveness and efficiency of ABCs and ASBOs, in respect of their use and impact. They demonstrate that, when used in isolation, such behavioural regulation strategies, often result in a haphazard deployment. Such ASB sanctions sit within a complex web of Prevention, ASB and Youth Justice Interventions. Many interventions primarily relate to children, but also to sanctions against repeated pernicious criminal acts committed by social housing tenants, which existing criminal procedures are deemed ill-equipped to address (Field, 2003). Lewis et al, citing Zedner (2007), report on the rise of pre-emptive and precautionary approaches to Crime Prevention highlighting issues of coherence relating to the complex interplay between ASB sanctions and other strategies of Behavioural Regulation. Early Intervention strategies can stop escalation from low level incivilities to more serious anti-social and criminal behaviour. Squire and Stephen (2005), highlight a lacuna between the positive effects of ABCs, when measured quantitatively, and their lived reality. They suggest that the proliferation of ASB sanctions, by Police, occurs because they have insufficient evidence to support a criminal prosecution, and through a desire to reduce their workload, and to be seen to be doing something. They question the logic of using ASB sanctions against serious and persistent offenders arguing that there is a contradictory logic in using sanctions against individuals who are practiced criminals. ASB sanctions form a pyramidal system of regulation and in England and Wales, most ASB interventions and initiated by the Police and passed on to Council ASB Teams. There is little or no dialogue between the parties creating a fissure in the flow of sanctions resulting in a haphazard and often chaotic system. The language of the ASB interventions is often heavy-handed and couched in Police jargon. The over-arching message is that many recipients of ASB interventions, endure haphazard and concurrent multiple sanctions and strategies. This is relevance to the operationalisation of sanctions in the 'Prevention First' approach because it provides an opposite model. 'Prevention First' is targeted towards adults and adopts a planned approach to the use of ASB interventions in the community. The object of its ASB Strategy, when used against people with established criminal careers, does not contradict the developmental logic of ASB as tools to 'nip nascent criminality in the bud'. In this context, the use of ASBOs and Eviction Orders are a sanction of last resort to gain respite for victims. It is not a punitive sanction.

7.3.3. Developing bespoke business models of policing: One of the most striking features encountered during the assessment was the business like nature of the operationalisation of 'Prevention First' across Ayrshire.[53]

The principles and practices of 'Prevention First' can be applied in day-to-day policing, without the need for a referral to a meeting. One police respondent provided examples of working in town centre areas with all businesses, but in particular, with shopping centres, to explain what 'Prevention First' is and the types of intelligence and information which would benefit the police and council. We envisage the following possibilities:-

- The full 'Prevention First' model as operated in Ayrshire;

- A scaled down version of the model working with third sector and other partners if council buy in does not materialise.

- A restricted, predominantly police model where the principles are applied and worked on in house with partners being developed and added slowly as contacts are made. The use of PSP projects and other tactics could prove beneficial. Instead of linking the process to everyday policing projects and packages could be identified which lead to improvement.

- Independent 'Prevention First' projects run by the council, third sector organisations or charities (The Fife model).

7.4. Best Practices Identified.

To reiterate, from the evaluation we have identified the following best practices:-

- 'Prevention First' is, in itself, identified as a best practice.

- The form and structure of the 'Prevention First' process, with its weekly or fortnightly meetings, are best practices. Attempts to make 'Prevention First' a monthly process must be resisted.

- The 'Prevention First' referral form is an example of best practice, in that, it is process related.

- The North Ayrshire Council ASBIT Team is commended as an example of best practice to be promulgated.

- The leading and supporting roles played by all 3 councils, are also worthy of further commendation as best practice. The administrative and management role of the council, both played a significant role in 'Prevention First' pan Ayrshire.

- The ASBIT risk management forms are examples of best practice.

- The North Ayrshire PPT is also singled out for praise as a best practice. In North Ayrshire, this proactive team provide the 'teeth' of 'Prevention First'.

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[53] It strikes us that the different models discussed form the basis for a new 'Business Model' for 21st century policing. There is scope to develop and adapt the business model canvas approach of Osterwalder, Pigneur, Clark and Smith (2010) for use in policing to problem solve operational variables.

- In South Ayrshire, elements of the MATAC system are considered best practice.
- The multi-agency work conducted with the Fire and Rescue Service, in relation to fire-raising and fire safety are also commendable best practice.
- The pan Ayrshire example of the 'Prevention First' referral, in relation to cable theft, is a best practice of national significance.

7.5. Some final thoughts.

To return to our focus to the stated objectives to, as commissioned we have - 1) Identified Identify examples of good practice and in particular the 'added value' and efficiency savings provided by the 'Prevention First' approach; 2) Assessed the extent to which 'Prevention First' delivers on the Christie Commission recommendations (Christie, 2011) and 2026 strategy including an examination of the flexibility of the model, how it can be adapted for use in different localities and alongside other existing problem solving models. 3) Furthermore, we suggest improvements and recommendations regarding methods of measuring community benefits and efficiency savings for partners; and 4) Assessed the potential of 'Prevention First' as an approach to reference longer term partnership service delivery and provision and have concluded that it is both an effective and efficient mechanism through which long term partnership delivery and provision can be operationalised.

One of the major strengths of the 'Prevention First' programme and methodology, which has emerged from the evaluation and the academic study underpinning it, is that 'Prevention First' is a genuinely transformative policing methodology. It has transformed a variety of ways of thinking and methods of working within Police Scotland at the Crime Prevention/Community Policing Interface. In effect, it has transformed the way in which problem solving policing methodologies such as PSP and anti-social behaviour interventions are operationalised. Prior to the implementation of 'Prevention First', these interventions were normally operationalised as initiating mechanisms. This entailed the police spending an inordinate amount of time in researching and writing a report based portfolio of evidence to request and justify the use of additional resources. Often these reports were not ratified and did not lead to the envisaged results. In terms of anti-social behaviour applications, there is no guarantee that they would have been ratified by police and/or council legal teams, resulting in submission to a Sheriff. This indicates that there were potential blockages in the system in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. What appears to happen now under the 'Prevention First' process, is that the problem solving process is initiated at an earlier stage, and that many additional problem solving interventions are implemented and often lead to a resolution. This has moved the time intensive

processes of PSP and ASBO interventions further along the problem solving continuum, resulting in fewer wasted applications. This is a positive outcome of the 'Prevention First' process. In addition to transforming policing practices and processes, the 'Prevention First' methodology, has also transformed the way individual employees and teams, in the three councils, work.

As experienced policing scholars, we are convinced that the 'Prevention First' methodology and practices, is a powerful and innovative tool in contemporary policing. The 'Prevention First' process augments, supports and amplifies existing community policing methodologies, practices and processes and adds value to them. It is not a reductionist methodology. To the contrary, it builds effective and efficient policing practices. We genuinely believe that 'Prevention First' has the potential to move beyond traditional community policing, towards a new era of genuine multi-agency policing (MAP). This is more than a mere play on words or semantics and the qualitative evidence that emerged from the interviews with the police and council respondents, both evidence and prove this. The innovative combinations of utilising community policing, crime prevention, early intervention, information sharing and the use of civil law, to augment criminal law, is a sophisticated advancement. This is a very complex mix of variables, both in academic and operational terms. The 'Prevention First' methodology and process appears to act as a medium or channel, through which, aspects of the individual variables, can be effectively operationalised and lead to results often in unexpected ways. It does appear that the impressive resolutions and outcomes, discussed in the case study section, are attributable to the 'Prevention First' process. However, it is not the initiating 'Prevention First' process itself, nor its structure, that drives change. One council employee remarked that 'Prevention First' is one of the best partnerships they have ever been involved in in their career because it has changed council working practices. The structure and process are important, but it is the excitement, passion, commitment and dedication of all the police, council and Third Sector participants in proactively and timeously auctioning the issues to an effective resolution, that is key to the success. In effect, 'Prevention First' creates a continuous work stream across agencies which adds value to the extent that it may become more than the sum of its constituent parts.

One of the dilemmas in conducting this evaluation is the excitement it engendered in respondents and how this resonated with us. We remain dispassionate and concentrated on evaluating and making recommendations. Nevertheless, we concede that the respondents narrated convincing arguments campaigning and championing this approach to be adopted. However, it is important to stress that 'Prevention First' is not a panacea for all complaints, and does not always work. In one case, a council respondent had tried to involve an 'Addictions Officer' in a case and that the particular officer refused to co-operate on grounds of confidentiality and could not understand why they were being approached. This is indicative of the need for intervention at a senior level amongst all potential partners, and perhaps more in-house training. There is a need to pay particular attention to the observations made by key respondents in this report because there

is a hidden level to the process that has yet to be properly articulated. For example, the roles of experience and hunches, still play and important part.

There is a need to develop and continue to map, the different models of 'Prevention First' in order to differentiate their form and structure. This would be very useful for training and consultancy purposes, and would be very beneficial in the future in relation to carrying out comparative studies into why some 'Prevention First' programmes are more successful than others. This could include a staff skills profile, to determine if future units would benefit from a particular skills profile.

We argue that, in conducting the annual reviews, that cognisance is taken of the questions in the qualitative section of this evaluation to guide the internal evaluation. It is not necessary to re conduct interviews with key partners, but it is anticipated that the officer conducting the evaluation would be aware of how the data supported or refuted the questions. An abridged version of the questions could be developed to ensure that efficiency and effectiveness was considered in each context.

There is also a need to acknowledge the training and mentoring aspects of 'Prevention First'. From the interviews, it became apparent that, 'Prevention First' often succeeds because of the leadership and supervisory experience of Team Leaders in operationalising 'Prevention First' as an effective tool. This strong leadership is often implicit, and hidden. This is vital because, due to operational reasons, many such supervisors will be promoted or retire. There is a danger that key knowledge of the 'Prevention First' process may be lost. Institutional memory loss is a growing danger in policing organisations. We also see a role for such experienced leaders to act as consultants in rolling out the Prevention First programme across Scotland.

To paraphrase the words of New Zealand Police Officer Mark Evans, 'in Scotland, there is a real conversation on where policing is heading'. He argues that the Police Service in Scotland has an enormous police force per capita of the population and in 'Prevention First' Scotland has the opportunity to lead the world in this innovation in 'preventative' policing methodology. However, although 'Prevention First' is a visionary model it must be remembered that the path of implementation can be problematic. One must continually think strategically about what policing should look like, and work towards it.

To conclude, as an independent evaluation team, 'Prevention First' is both an effective and efficient programme as currently operationalised in Ayrshire. There are obvious differences and variations in the structure and operationalisation of the programme, but all our research points to the programme making positive progress. We argue that 'Prevention First' has the potential to be instigated elsewhere in Scotland and the UK, and that, if it were operationalised in the spirit and passion that it has been in Ayrshire, then there is no reason why it would not lead to significant transformation in policing in the UK. We conclude that 'Prevention First' is an

innovative methodology, which is fit for purpose in terms of effectiveness and efficiency, bearing in mind the provisos and caveats discussed above. The 'Prevention First' model has the potential to make significant efficiency and effectiveness savings if implemented in other Divisions in Scotland. It is currently the only viable, realistic model to make Community Policing and Crime Prevention work. However, it will not work without genuine buy-in from the local authority and other significant partners. To replicate the successes in Ayrshire, will require implementing the model to suit local circumstances, utilising the correct people, with the correct attitude towards community policing, and by ensuring buy-in from all partners.

7.6. Recommendations.

We proffer the following recommendations which arose from the research study:-

- There is a need to develop a model of 'Prevention First' in the Police Scotland context to give it a unique identity, to differentiate it from the New Zealand one. There is a practical purpose to this, in that, the model and core philosophies developed, could be used to develop a flier to educate prospective partners in the core principles of the programme, and how these could be incorporated into the other agencies working practices.

- We urge Police Scotland to continue with the existing form of internal evaluations, as they are examples of good practice. However, we argue that there is a need to improve, both the quality of the data, and the basic prevention message, to include individual partner perspectives and to also provide a more detailed breakdown of the projected efficiency savings.

- Further work is required to develop a new matrix for cost savings, or projected cost savings, by incorporating data from the council, NHS and the Third Sector. This could be achieved by setting up a short-term working group. Being able to provide such financial data, would enhance the credibility of the 'Prevention First' process.

- We suggest that consideration be given to developing 'Briefing Sheets' on best practice and on dealing with the challenges faced. SIPR might be interested in supporting police in writing this up.

- The case studies developed in the internal evaluations were powerful but, were often so brief that they merely served as worked examples. There is a need to develop some of the more powerful cases into longer, more meaningful teaching cases. These could be used for internal training and briefing, and should provide sufficient information to enable readers to gain an insight into the practices and processes, so they can apply them in different contexts.

- Alternatively, instead of teaching cases, the concept of practice notes could be utilised to provide such briefing to partners (See appendix Smith & Frondigoun, 2011 for an example of a practice note).

- We recommend that consideration is given to creating a database of 'Prevention First' cases for evaluation, training purposes to act as a repository for the purposes of inspiring future users of the methodology.

- In relation to training, we suggest that consideration be given to writing an information chapter on 'Prevention First', in the manner of the training notes provided at the Scottish Police College. These should be practice based and non-theoretical.

- In relation to joint training initiatives, we suggest that consideration be given to selected council anti-social behaviour officers and housing officers attending a Crime Reduction course at Tulliallan to develop a better awareness of prevention issues. Also, selected police 'Prevention First' officers would benefit from attending CLD training courses or qualifications.

- The individual interviews with key respondents' interviews were very powerful and therefore we argue that there is scope to develop training videos on 'Prevention First', in which police and council officers involved in a particular case, tell their stories from their agency's perspective.

- There is a pressing need to be able to identify and differentiate 'Prevention First' cases from other Police Scotland statistical data. It is imperative that urgent work be carried out to place a 'Prevention First' marker on any cases referred through the 'Prevention First' system to enable future evaluations to statistically determine the effectiveness of the 'Prevention First' process. We consider this essential in moving forward.

- Still in relation to statistical data, there is a need for Police Scotland to engage in the Big Data Debate, in order to develop a clearer understanding of how to capitalise on such data for operational and prevention purposes. There is a need to incorporate more data from council systems into the bigger picture.

- We suggest that, consideration be given to implementing a short-term project with an academic partner institution, whereby, an experienced academic, with sound quantitative and qualitative skills, can train analysts on how to conduct academic analysis. This would be useful in the long-term to Police Scotland.

- Following on from the above point, there is a need to increase the level of analysis within the 'Prevention First' process. At present, this analysis is often carried out intuitively by experienced supervisors and Community Police Officers. We argue that there is a need for more innovative solutions to be put in place, such as seconding police analysts to the council to help them develop their own analytic capabilities.

- The estimated savings to all partners are a most impressive estimated saving. From an evaluation perspective, the decision to record these on a case-by-case basis is best practice as it demonstrates potential real time savings to the police and partner organisations. The overall costs identified by the internal evaluation have been described by Police Scotland and Partners as impressive however, they do not take into account the costs associated with reduced levels of recidivism in the client populations in the 'Prevention First' Wards.

- In a similar vein, we suggest that there is considerable scope to develop 'Prevention First' into the Third Sector, to increase its scope. We envisage that this may best be achieved through encouraging and developing new partnerships, operating on 'Prevention First' principles. There is not a need to incorporate such projects into the full Prevention First structure. We cite the Fife Council 'Prevention First' Homelessness Strategy as an excellent example. Further engagement with the Third Sector would also be beneficial in terms of securing grants, to allow the recruitment of new staff and resources to progress particular projects. Whilst these funding streams are often short-term, they can be used to pilot new ways of inter-agency working.

- Moving forward there is a need to develop a clearer long term Press and Social Media strategy for 'Prevention First' in order to make it more effective and efficient in gathering more intelligence and information of direct use to the 'Prevention First' Process. We urge Police Scotland and the Council continue to use it as a tool for information and intelligence gathering rather than for self-promotion purposes.

- We recommend that consideration is given to making more of the multi-agency intelligence gathered as a result of increased information sharing.

- We urge that Police Scotland and partners continue to identify and promulgate best practices, where they are identified.

- 'Prevention First' was used to highlight a volume of concern for Person type calls which led to a swift and joined up partnership response being implemented which provided appropriate support to a vulnerable individual within the community, hugely reducing, in fact eliminating, the draw on police and partner agencies thereafter.

- We further argue that there is a need to identify and support the peripheral aspects of police and council work which feed in to the aims and objectives of the 'Prevention First' programme. These include acknowledging the role of different Community Policing Models and early intervention in helping achieve 'Prevention First' resolutions because it has the potential to be more than an early intervention strategy.

- There is a pressing need to develop a greater knowledge base, in relation to the innovative use of Civil Law in achieving police and multi-agency resolutions. An understanding of the power of this innovative practice, should be built in to other policing strategies.

- 'Prevention First' thrives on local knowledge, and we argue that there is a role for recruiting or allocating members of the Special Constabulary to work exclusively in 'Prevention First' areas, to take up the slack left by the loss of the Warden Service.

- There may be an argument for considering the co-location of 'Prevention First' resources into a multi-agency hub, but in doing so, there is a danger that, in separating operatives from their parent services, that they will gradually lose the everyday working knowledge which appears essential to the success of 'Prevention First'. However, there is scope for cross disciplinary services.

- In relation to the above it would be worth considering if centralising some of the 'Prevention First' administration duties would provide cost and time savings to prevent all three councils having to replicate this function.

- There is a need to consider how 'Prevention First' can be operationalised and supported by individual Crime Reduction Departments, and how 'Prevention First' practices can best be operationalised alongside other preventative measures. It also raises the question as to whether Crime Reduction Departments are necessary in the new model.

- There is a need to support peripheral Council projects and work streams which improve the Housing stock and the lived environment. The interviews contained wonderful examples of such improvements to Housing stock in 'Prevention First' areas. These feed directly into 'Prevention First' core principles and philosophies. This evidences scope for a review of joint agency practices and projects which feed in to the work stream and processes.

- There is a need to acknowledge the role of key players in the 'Prevention First' success story in Ayrshire. Their enthusiasm, commitment and dedication in making 'Prevention First' a success, goes well beyond the expectations of the employer/employee psychological contract.

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1 – UWS Ethics Form.

University Ethics Committee

APPLICATION FORM FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL (UEC1)

N.B. The UEC Guidelines for Ethical Research with Human Subjects must be read prior to the completion of this form. Notes for each section of the application are provided under Section 2 (pp 11-12) of the Guidelines.

1	Name of principal investigator	Professor Robert Smith
	School/Address	School of business and enterprise
	Position	Professor of Enterprise & Innovation
2	Name of supervisor/director of studies (for undergraduate/ postgraduate applications only)	N/A
	School/Address	N/A
	Position	N/A

3	Title of Study: An Independent assessment of the '''Prevention First''' Crime Prevention Strategy in Ayrshire.

4	What is the primary purpose of this study?	
	Original research	☐
	Audit	☐
	Undergraduate dissertation	☐
	Postgraduate dissertation	☐
	Other (Contract Research)	☐

5	Has the proposed study been submitted to any others ethics committee? Has approval been given? No

6	What is the justification for the research? What is the background? Why is this an area of importance? Justification – This is a research contract with Police Scotland and the three Ayrshire Councils – North Ayrshire, East Ayrshire and South Ayrshire to assess the ''Prevention First'' Crime Reduction Strategy. The research team consists of the PI Professor Robert Smith, Dr Liz Frondigoun, Dr Denise Martin, Dr Ross Campbell and Linda Thomas. Professor Smith and Dr's Frondigoun and Martin are all experienced policing researchers. Dr Campbell is the quantitative specialist and Linda Thomas is the RA. Background – This was a competitive tender through the Scottish Institute for Policing Research [SIPR]. Importance – This a multi school collaboration and the contract will generate £38,500 for UWS as well as generate data for a future publication stream.

7	Give a full summary of the purpose, design and methodology of the planned research, including a brief explanation of the theoretical framework that informs it. The aim of this study is to conduct an assessment of the Police Scotland '''Prevention First''', Crime Prevention Strategy currently being operated in Ayrshire. The approach has been operationalised in many countries in including New Zealand and is operating in North, East and South Ayrshire. Understanding the complex concerns and needs of all who work and live in these communities is key to keeping people safe and therefore their approach focuses on prevention and, if necessary, enforcement: a proactive, flexible, problem-solving approach to local community issues. The stated aims of the programme are to

"…*prevent crime, reduce victimisation and reduce locations where offending takes place, through a partnership early intervention approach which gets to the heart of issues and identifies the best way to solve problems and tackle community concerns*". The programme has been operating in North Ayrshire since February 2014 and was introduced to East Ayrshire in September 2014 and South Ayrshire in June 2015.

The programme encapsulates a partnership approach to tackling violence, anti-social behaviour and community concerns concentrating on violent crime. The main thrust of the programme is that violence is preventable, not inevitable. Crime, violence and anti-social behaviour are driven by underlying social conditions and span the household, community and school environments and obviously entails a multi-agency approach as does any research into it. Key stakeholders include a wide range of 'Community Planning' partners including Police Scotland, Scottish Fire & Rescue, North Ayrshire Council, East Ayrshire Council and South Ayrshire Council, and others organisations from the Third Sector.

We plan to assess the veracity of initial assessments of the pilots in North and East Ayrshire that indicate that they are operating in a positive manner and are reportedly delivering better outcomes for individuals and communities whilst simultaneously significantly reducing demand on partner resources through the early implementation of more effective joined up solutions. In doing so we will take cognisance of austerity measures and financial pressures which dictate that all initiatives are efficient and effective. We aim to establish or determine whether the project is effective, efficient and viable as an operational strategy / methodology.

The methodology used is mixed. We will conduct approximately thirty qualitative face-to-face interviews with named participants from Police Scotland, the Councils and other Third Sector participants. We may also conduct two focus groups to develop important emerging themes identified in the interviews. All the individuals are stakeholders and are adult employees. We also will analyse social media materials and crime statistics provided by Police Scotland. Further quantitative research is also being conducted to assess the veracity of quantitative financial claims made by the Police and the Council.

8	How has the scientific quality of the research been assessed?	
	Independent external review	☐
	Review within a company	☐
	Review within a multi-centre research group	☐
	Review within the Chief Investigator's institution or host organisation	☐
	Review within the research team	☐
	Review by educational supervisor	☐
	Other (please detail)	☐

9	Is the power of the study sufficient to answer the question that is being asked? Please indicate the power calculations used for the required sample size, including any assumptions you may have made. If you consider that power calculations are not appropriate, please explain why. N/A

10	What statistical tests will you apply? N/A.

11	Does the research involve any physically invasive procedures? Are there any known hazards associated with these procedures? N/A

12	Will individual or group interviews/questionnaires discuss any topics or issues that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could take place during the study (e.g. during interviews/group discussions or use of screening for drugs)

		N/A – this is related to Crime Reduction Work

13	(a)	Does the research involve any deception regarding aims and objectives?
		No
	(b)	Will the research participants be debriefed? When? How? By whom?
		The research team will provide a debrief about the objective before the interview through oral medium and information sheet / consent form.

14	What is the expected duration of participation in the study for each participant?
	Approximately 45-120 minutes for each participant dependent upon their role in the programme. Some interviews may take less time for marginal participants.

15	How will potential participants in the study be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?
	The participants' names have been provided by Police Scotland. They will be approached through formal telecommunication and e-mail mediums to arrange interviews. They are already aware that they have been nominated.

16	What measures have been put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data? Give details of whether any encryption or other anonymization procedures will be used and at what stage.
	The participants/respondents responses will be anonymised unless their response is related to their role/job title and is necessary for the evaluation. Every attempt will be made to anonymise data. Where there is difficulty this will be discussed with the respondent. Any potentially objectionable material which cannot be anonymised will not be directly used.

17	Who will have access to the data and what steps will be taken to ensure data remains confidential?
	Only the research team will have access to the data. Data files will be password protected and hard copies will be kept under lock and key.

18	What is the potential for benefit to research participants?
	They will be provided a full report at the conclusion of the project as contracted for.

19	Will informed consent be obtained from the research participants?
	Yes *
	No
	If yes, give details of who will obtain consent and how it will be done. Give details of any particular steps to provide information (in addition to a written information sheet) e.g. videos, interactive materials. Please note that a copy of the subject information sheet must be included with this application.
	The information and consent forms are attached to this application. The persons conducting the interviews will physically to obtain the consent.

20	Will a signed record of consent be obtained?
	Yes.

21	How long will the participant have to decide whether or not to take part in the research?
	Between 15 to 30 days.

22	Will subjects be informed that they can withdraw at any time from the study?
	Yes

23	Will the participants be from any of the following groups? No	
	Children under 16	☐
	Adults with learning disabilities	☐
	Adults who are unconscious or severely ill	☐
	Adults with a terminal illness	☐
	Adults in emergency situations	☐
	Adults with mental illness (particularly if detained under Mental Health Legislation)	☐
	Adults with dementia	☐
	Adults in Scotland who are unable to consent for themselves	☐
	Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator, e.g. those in care homes, medical students	☐
	Other (please detail)	☐

24	Are there any special pressures that might make it difficult for people to refuse to take part in the study (e.g. the potential participants are students of the investigator)?
	No.

25	Will the study result in financial payment or payment in-kind to the applicants/to the department? Please specify amounts etc. involved.
	N?A.

26	Where will this research take place?
	In various locations in Ayrshire in secure office locations.

27	How are the costs of this study to be met?
	By the budget allocated.

28	Please describe any other ethical considerations that need to be taken into account by the Ethics Committee?
	N/A but should any ethical considerations arise during the research this will be highlighted via another ethics application.

Please indicate which documents are enclosed with this application:	
Subject/patient/participant information sheet/leaflet	*
Consent form	*
Copy of protocol	☐
Letters to participant	*
Letter to parents/guardians/gatekeepers etc	☐
Letter of ethical committee approval or other approvals	☐
Other relevant materials (please indicate)	*

The information supplied above is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate. I have read the notes to investigators and clearly understand my obligations and the rights of subjects/study participants, particularly in relation to obtaining valid consent.

Signature of Principal Investigator:

Date: 10/01/2017   Robert Smith (SGD)

Signature of Supervisor   N/A

Date: 10/01/2017.

Appendix 2 – UWS Interview Question Sheet.

An assessment of the '''Prevention First''' Crime Prevention Strategy in Ayrshire

Question Sheet?

General Questions

Q1. What is your role in the '''Prevention First''' Strategy?

Q2. How did you become involved, and how long have you been involved?

Q3. Who are the key stakeholders you engage with (Community Planning partners including Police Scotland, Scottish Fire & Rescue etc)?

Process related Questions

Q4. Describe what you do in relation to the project.

Q5. How is the '''Prevention First''' programme being implemented in your area? Is it being implemented correctly, and efficiently? Are the most identifiable participants being reached?

Q6. What difference has '''Prevention First''' made to you, and your department/agency?

Q7. Can you provide examples of your involvement in the work of the '''Prevention First''' programme?

Q8. Who benefited most from the '''Prevention First''' interventions? Please provide evidence of partnership working.

Q9. What is better, or different, about the '''Prevention First''' programme/philosophy than what was in place before its inception?

Q10. Can you physically provide evidence of this change? For example, in terms of financial, or time related savings?

Q11. How satisfied are participants with the programme? Can you provide examples of any success stories, best practice, Innovative practice, or media releases to illustrate the benefits? If so, are you in a position to provide their names and contact numbers?

Q12. Can you provide evidence of the effectiveness of early (or earlier) intervention?

Q13. What is your overall opinion in relation to the '''Prevention First''' programme?

Q14. What can be done to improve it for the future?

Outcome Based Questions

Q15. How does it meet the complex concerns and needs of all who work and live in these communities? In other words, how well does it work? Did it produce or contribute to planned short, medium and long-term outcomes/targets?

Q16. Does it address complex community issues?

Q17. Has it prevented crime? In particular, violent crime.

Q18. Has it reduced victimisation?

Q19. Has it reduced anti-social behaviour?

Q20. Has it made a difference to the amount of crime reported, or occurring at particular locations?

Q21. What has been done to ensure that the underlying social conditions which spawn the crime has been effectively addressed? Can you provide examples of this?
Q22. For whom does the programme work, in what ways and what circumstances?

Q23. Do you work with other organisations from the Third Sector? Who else should be involved?

Q24. Were there any unintended outcomes (either positive or negative) of the programme?

Q25. Can the changes benefits identified be attributable to any other set of circumstances?

Q26. In your opinion is '''Prevention First''' effective, efficient and viable as an operational community policing strategy?

Economic Based Questions

Q27. What is the perceived ratio of costs to benefits?

Q28. What has been the most cost effective option? How cost effective is it in relation to alternatives

Q. 29. Is the programme the best use of resources?

Q30. Have you any questions yourself, or anything else you would like to add?

All Queries – please contact Linda Thomas on linda.thomas@uws.ac.uk

Appendix 3 – UWS Respondent Information Sheet.

An Assessment of the 'Prevention First' Crime Prevention Strategy in Ayrshire.

Information Sheet.

The Research Team: Prof Robert Smith, Dr Liz Frondigoun, Dr Denise Martin, Dr Ross Campbell and Linda Thomas. The Purpose of this Study: The aim of this study is to conduct an assessment of the Police Scotland 'Prevention First', Crime Prevention Strategy currently being operated in Ayrshire. The approach has been operationalised in many countries in including New Zealand and is operating in North, East and South Ayrshire. Understanding the complex concerns and needs of all who work and live in these communities is key to keeping people safe and therefore their approach focuses on prevention and, if necessary, enforcement: a proactive, flexible, problem-solving approach to local community issues. The stated aims of the programme are to "…*prevent crime, reduce victimisation and reduce locations where offending takes place, through a partnership early intervention approach which gets to the heart of issues and identifies the best way to solve problems and tackle community concerns*". The programme has been operating in North Ayrshire since February 2014 and was introduced to East Ayrshire in September 2014 and South Ayrshire in June 2015.

The programme encapsulates a partnership approach to tackling violence, anti-social behaviour and community concerns concentrating on violent crime. The main thrust of the programme is that violence is preventable, not inevitable. Crime, violence and anti-social behaviour are driven by underlying social conditions and span the household, community and school environments and obviously entails a multi-agency approach as does any research into it. Key stakeholders include a wide range of 'Community Planning' partners including Police Scotland, Scottish Fire & Rescue, North Ayrshire Council, East Ayrshire Council and South Ayrshire Council, and others organisations from the Third Sector. We plan to assess the veracity of initial assessments of the pilots in North and East Ayrshire that indicate that they are operating in a positive manner and are reportedly delivering better outcomes for individuals and communities whilst simultaneously significantly reducing demand on partner resources through the early implementation of more effective joined up solutions. In doing so we will take cognisance of austerity measures and financial pressures which dictate that all initiatives are efficient and effective. We aim to establish or determine whether the project is effective, efficient and viable as an operational strategy / methodology.

Do I have to take part?
No there is no obligation on you to do so, and it is your decision whether to take part, or not. Your name has been provided to us by Police Scotland whom believe that you have information or opinions that will help in the evaluation process. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form which is standard research procedure. Even if you agree, you can still withdraw at any time, and if interviewed, can stop the interview at any time.

What would I have to do?
You will be asked to be a participant in an interview with a member of staff from the research team. This interview will take approx. 40 minutes, but could last up to an hour and will be recorded on an MP3 recorder. This will then be typed into a word document to aid understanding. This recording and the word document will only be accessed by the research team.

Will my answers be kept confidential?
Responses will be treated as confidential, and anonymised as is standard research practice unless you specifically want your identity disclosed because of operational reasons i.e. the comment is related to your job title, or position in which case it would be difficult to anonymise. All interview material will be kept under lock and key by the Principal Investigator. All Queries – please contact Linda Thomas on linda.thomas@uws.ac.uk

Appendix 4 – UWS Interview Consent Form

Name of Researcher:

Please tick the boxes:
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and am willing to take part in the study.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to with draw at any time, without giving any reason, without my medical care or legal rights being affected.

3. I understand that the interview will be recorded so that it can be properly transcribed and analysed. ☐

4. I understand that the data obtained will be kept in confidence and that when any data is presented all personal details will be removed. ☐

Mark/ Signature of participant ………………
Date ………………

Initials of Researcher and Serial No of Interview …...   Date: ___/___/_____

Thank you for your help with this research project

Appendix 5 - UWS Focus Group Consent Form

Focus Group Consent Form

Name of Researcher:

Please tick the boxes:
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and am willing to take part in the study. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to with draw at any time, without giving any reason, without my medical care or legal rights being affected. ☐

3. I understand that the interview will be recorded so that it can be properly transcribed and analysed. ☐

4. I understand that the data obtained will be kept in confidence and that when any data is presented all personal details will be removed. ☐

Mark/ Signature of participant ………………
Date __/___/2017

Initials of Researcher and Serial No of Focus Group .... … Date: __/___/2017

Thank you for your help with this research project.

Appendix 6 – 'Prevention First' Referral Form

RESTRICTED

''PREVENTION FIRST'' REFERRAL FORM

East Ayrshire	**Date Received:**		**Referral No.:**	000
	Date of Discussion:			

Name	Date of Birth	Address

Previous Referral to Group:		YES/NO		
Date	**Referral No.**	**Referred By**	**Previous Lead Agency**	**Reason for Previous Referral**

Current Referral by:		Lead Agency:
Reason for Referral:		

Agencies – information and identified actions	
Agency	
POLICE	Action:
HOUSING	Action:.
SOCIAL WORK	Action:

Appendix 7 – List of Respondents

No.	Designation	Type of interview	Duration
1.	Chief Superintendent Gillian MacDonald	Face to Face	90 minutes
2.	Sergeant Mo Boyle, Prevention First Coordinator	Face to Face	58 minutes
3.	Mark Evans, Supervisor in the New Zealand Police	Face to Face	61 minutes
4.	Tim Ross, Area Commander 1	Focus Group	55 minutes
5.	John Cairns, Area Commander 2	Focus Group	55 minutes

6.	Gary l'Anson, Area Commander 3	Focus Group	55 minutes
7.	Jason Durie, ASBO Liaison Officer, East Ayrshire	Face to Face	57 minutes
8.	Jackie White, Third Sector Strategic Lead, East Ayrshire	Face to Face	72 minutes
9.	Andy Colvin, Council Community Worker, East Ayrshire	Face to Face	92 minutes
10.	Kirsty Hewitt, East Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	42 minutes
11.	Catriona Ross, Analyst, East Ayrshire	Face to Face	65 minutes
12.	Lorna Costley, East Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	22 minutes
13.	Eugene Fitzpatrick, Senior Social Work Manager, East Ayrshire	Face to Face	30 minutes
14.	Doug Whitton, East Ayrshire Community Safety Group	Face to Face	53 minutes
15.	Martin Lawrie, ASB Officer, South Ayrshire	Face to Face	69 minutes
16.	Jacki Smyllie, Housing Team Leader, South Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	48 minutes
17.	Stephen Kerr, ASB Officer, South Ayrshire	Face to Face	53 minutes
18.	Aileen Goodwin, Housing Representative, South Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	37 minutes
19.	Anna Steele, Community Safety Information Analyst, South Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	93 minutes
20.	Sheena Campbell, Council Employee, South Ayrshire	Face to Face	20 minutes
21.	Fiona Skedd, Council Employee, South Ayrshire	Face to Face	43 minutes
22.	Margaret Woods and colleague, both Council Employees, South Ayrshire	Face to Face	58 minutes
23.	Derek Anderson, Police Sergeant – Localities Team, North Ayrshire	Face to Face	170 minutes
24.	Brian Shaw, Police Inspector, North Ayrshire	Face to Face	112 minutes
25.	Jason Peter, Localities Police Sergeant	Face to Face	115 minutes
26.	Pat Kelly, Team Manager, ASBIT Team, North Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	105 minutes
27.	David Murray, Housing Officer, North Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	97 minutes
28.	Christine Boyd, Police Sergeant, North Ayrshire Council	Face to Face	63 minutes
29.	Christine Renwick, Council Housing Employee, North Ayrshire	Face to Face	66 minutes
30.	Lawson Elliot, Station Manager, Fire and Rescue Service	Face to Face	95 minutes
31.	Gordon Harkins, Fire Input and LALO	Face to Face	60 minutes
32.	Joanne Brennan, Team Manager, Social Work Department, North Ayrshire	Face to Face	51 minutes
33.	Linda Brandon, Service Delivery Officer, North Ayrshire Council Victim Unit	Face to Face	33 minutes
34.	Debbie Barclay, Investigation Officer, North Ayrshire Council ASBIT Team	Face to Face	61 minutes
35.	Mary Reid (secretary of Bourtreehill & Broomlands Tenants' & Residents' Association)	Focus Group	61 minutes
36.	Jeanine Barrett (Senior Manager, Anti-social Behaviour Team (ASBT))	Focus Group	61 minutes
37.	Kate (Chair, Saltcoats High Flats Tenants' & Residents' Association)	Focus Group	61 minutes
38.	Lauren (Interested Tennant)	Focus Group	61 minutes
39.	Kelly (Castlepark & Eglinton Tenants' & Residents' Group)	Focus Group	61 minutes
40.	No name (Secretary - Castlepark & Eglinton Tenants' & Residents' Group)	Focus Group	61 minutes
41.	Helen (Chairperson - Castlepark & Eglinton Tenants' & Residents' Group)	Focus Group	61 minutes
42.	Ann (Secretary - John Galt's Tenant Group)	Focus Group	61 minutes
43.	John (Chairman - John Galt's Tenant Group)	Focus Group	61 minutes
44.	Tom Edgar (Secretary - Broomlands Tenants' & Residents' Association	Focus Group	61 minutes

45.	Gordon (Interested Tenant)	Focus Group	61 minutes
46.	Alec (Fullarton Tenants' Association)	Focus Group	61 minutes
47.	Steven (Temporary Tenants Discretionary Officer)	Focus Group	61 minutes
48.	Tracey Wilson (Tenant Participation Manager)	Focus Group	61 minutes

Appendix 8: A repository of case studies.

Crime Cases:-

Littering: This referral related to houses at the Lochside Estate which were subject to rubbish dumping and this problem was resolved by installing CCTV in the surrounding area. As a result of a joint police and council investigation, some tenants moved out.

Littering: Complaints were received repeatedly of schoolchildren littering outside of school property during the lunchtime. The large number of complaints were causing local Commanders angst. A referral resulted in a joint initiative involving an ex-Campus cop in one of the teams, working with education partners and a community town centre officer to educate children not to litter. This approach is designed to try and resolve the issue long term. Not all referrals are quick hits.

Theft: In this referral council workers found an electricity meter which had been tampered with, and through 'Prevention First', the police and housing addressed the matter. This demonstrates the power of the referral system because it had been raised as a concern and not as a crime.

Theft: This referral (PPT case) was made on the first day that the PPT Team were working. It related to a series of properties being targeted by thieves, stealing lead from roofs. There were a high number of incidents over a short period of time. Invariably, these are high value crimes, due to the level of damage cause to the buildings when removing the lead. The cost ran to thousands of pounds in damage. The PPT carried out extensive local enquiries and established that the lead had been sold to a local scrap merchant. The PPT were able to apprehend 4 of the gang committing the thefts, and solved 16 separate cases. The gang consisted of 3 adults and one juvenile. The gang were prosecuted and action was taken via the council to highlight the tenancy issues, as the offenders all lived in council houses. This stopped the problem locally and there have been no more lead thefts. It would be easy to dismiss this as basic policing, but without PPT and the 'programme' the thieves may have had a longer run without being caught.

Theft: This referral / PPT case related to a series of 12 housebreakings in a rural village in the space of a few weeks. As a result of initial police enquiry, the accused was not identified. The PPT took the enquiry over, resulting in the gathering of evidence, including DNA. This case was solved by the PPT who, acting on the intelligence from the crime files, conducted additional door to door enquiries and located private CCTV images of the thieves. This had been missed by other enquiry officers. Within hours, the culprit was in custody. This is an excellent example of what can be achieved via the 'Prevention First' model, with its inbuilt quality control checks. It was a good result which could easily have been missed and then led to a higher number of crimes in the local area. It is simple 'old fashioned policing' but resulted from a programme referral.

Theft / persistent shoplifter: This referral related to a persistent town centre shoplifter who refused to engage. An ASBO was obtained to exclude him from the town centre. Simultaneously, he was advised that his mother's council tenancy was at risk. The ASBO has been a success and

no further shopliftings have been committed by him. The ASBO is in force for 2 years but the offender has since moved to another area.

Domestic abuse: This referral related to a vulnerable lady who was being subjected to domestic abuse. Early intervention enabled her to be quickly relocated to a place of safety. She also had addiction issues and a multi-agency approach / package was put in place to work with her to resolve her issues. Her violent partner had been released from prison and a prevention plan and package was put in place. The Council and Health agencies are working with him too.

Domestic abuse: This referral relates to a lady who moved to Ayrshire from Dumfries and Galloway. She had domestic issues and had left her former home and moved in with her parents in Ayrshire. Her husband continued his threatening behaviour. Due to his propensity for violence, the police and fire service conducted a joint safety check of her parents' house. CCTV and protective letterbox guards etc. were fitted. A warning flag was put on the house. Emotional support was provided. There have been no further incidents to date.

Domestic Violence: This referral relates to a domestic issue whereby a female drug addict was in a relationship with a violent individual. She had called the police several times to have him ejected. Patient enquiry resulted in a complaint which constituted domestic stalking. The perpetrator had a real propensity for violence. As a result of further enquiry, he was arrested one morning making his way to her house. He was also identified via CCTV. The victim was convinced that he would kill her one day. The perpetrator was remanded and through liaison with Women's Aid and Housing, the victim has now been re-housed in a different town. This enabled her to have the confidence to report historic domestic abuse leading to further charges.

Domestic violence: This South Ayrshire referral related to a vulnerable person who lived out with the 'Prevention First' area but was nonetheless referred. The referral related to violent behaviour initiated through drink and drugs. Domestic abuse was also involved. Liaison with MATAC and Division led to proactive work and as a result of joint work, the perpetrator was moved to another area. The partner was left in situ and the move benefitted effected neighbours too.

Domestic violence: This referral related to another domestic incident which was uncovered as a result of a noise complaint. The police who attended reported that a male had made off through a window. It was apparent that something was not right and the possibility of bail conditions being beached arose. A joint visit with Housing and interviews with neighbours resulted in information being obtained regarding the identity of the male. He was later arrested.

Domestic Violence / Stalking: This North Ayrshire PPT case refers to a serious domestic matter escalating out of control. There were different groups of people working on it. Although the case was out-with the 'Prevention First' area the PPT took ownership of all the cases and applied programme methodology. It transpired that it was one big stalking case and not 5 separate cases. The PPT quickly got to grips with it and arrested the perpetrator resolving the complex issue quickly. Without their intervention it cannot be guaranteed that this potentially serious crime pattern would have been identified and what dealt with so efficiently.

Domestic violence / stalking: This referral related to repeat calls relating to a male refusing to quit licensed premises. Further enquiry established that the man was targeting a particular female. It turned out to be a stalking incident. Enquiry resulted in him being identified and arrested. Without the 'Prevention First' process, this incident would not have been detected as the victim had not reported him for his stalking behaviour.

Drugs related: This referral resulted in another successful initiative which involved tackling the misuse of so-called legal highs. This issue was spotted by wardens and they helped in liaising with police intelligence in gathering the information and resolving the issue.

Drug Dealing: This referral related to a property where drug dealing was taking place. It was arranged that as part of the joint agency working the council housing team would take action against the CCTV cameras fitted by the dealers to the house. In criminal law, police cannot do much about tenants fitting such cameras, but under civil law, the housing team told the tenants to take them down, as fitting them without permission breached the housing contract. The tenants took the cameras down and this played a part in disrupting their activities.

Drug dealing: This referral related to drug dealing activity and resulted in joint visits and information sharing. Information was received complaints about drug dealing in a close. The dealing activity had led to a common close being left in a shocking condition. A multi-agency approach led to the close being cleaned up and an enhanced quality of life for neighbouring tenants.

Drug dealing and anti-social behaviour: This referral related to low level anti-social behaviour. The initial referral was for a noise complaint, but it became apparent that it was a drug-dealing case. A large volume of callers to the door caused anxiety to neighbours. It transpired that the tenant was being manipulated by friends, and had no gatekeeping skills. The tenant was arrested after one incident and was bailed back to his address. Social work involvement was arranged and the tenant was placed on a methadone and rehabilitation course. He has followed advice and now has his home to himself. There is no anti-social behaviour in the street now.

Drugs and offensive weapons: This referral related to a young man, with no prior convictions, being arrested for threatening people with a knife. It transpired that it was in retaliation for being threatened over a small drugs debt. He had left school with no job. After release from court, he was put in touch with a third sector diversion project 'The Hope Project' and given job experience. He was able to secure a position with a landscape gardener. This opportunity changed his outlook. He received a heavy fine for the weapons charge but has not come to police attention since then.

Assault and anti-social behaviour: This referral related to two unidentified offenders randomly assaulting passers-by in the town centre. The referral was passed to the ASB team and the offenders were identified as being 2 brothers. The nature and number of the offences left no other viable option but to charge them and report them for the offences, and apply for an ASBO to prevent future offending. However, implementing the softer side of the programme established that they were out with the control of their mother. The father was working 14 hour shifts and was never at home. As a result, there were boundary and control issues in the house. The brothers were referred to Barnardo's and received third sector support in order to work with the family. Prior to the ASBO, an ABC contract was agreed with the brothers, and this dramatically reduced their offending. Barnardo's helped the moths to implement more effective parenting skills. The ABC the brothers signed, prevented them from going to the town centre at the weekend, and they quickly got out of the habit of going there. Without this mechanism, and information sharing with all agencies, it is unlikely that the Response Officers dealing with the incident, would have had conversations with the ASB Team and a third sector charity. In all likelihood, if the 'Prevention First' conversation had not taken place, the brothers would likely have been jailed and then returned to the community to repeat their habituated behaviour.

Assault: This referral relates to a group of youths randomly assaulting victims on trains, either physically or verbally. The gang would often terrorise and victimise people by not letting them leaving the train at their chosen exit point. The referral led to the identities of the gang being

discovered and joint visits and warnings, quickly broke up the gangs activities. There has been no recurrence of the crime series. The ringleader has moved from his address and his current whereabouts are not known.

Assault and mental health issues: This referral related to an elderly gentleman assaulting the owners of other dogs who approached him while walking his dog. This was a repeat case which was escalating. However, from witness descriptions in the crime series, it became apparent that the police were dealing with the same individual. The suspect was described as 50-60 years old, overweight and walked a springer spaniel. Initially, attempts to identify the individual failed, but enquiries at local vets, soon established that he was a council tenant. The referral confirmed the address and a resolution was reached. It transpired that the accused had anger management and mental health issues. A care package was put in place to ensure that there was not a repeat of the crime pattern. The case had the potential to turn into a serious crime of violence.

Domestic stalking incidents: This case relates to a male being violent to different partners across Ayrshire and Glasgow. There was no link-up work. When charged, the cases went to different courts. The PPT collated the incidents. The case is now at petition level and the victims are delighted.

Assault / parking nuisance: This referral stemmed from a simple parking complaint, which led to an assault. As a result of speaking to a neighbour, who was washing their car at the time, the complainer was assaulted. Telling the neighbour to turn down the music they were playing, resulted in an assault. This led to enquiry, followed by a joint police and housing assessment which resulted in a successful resolution. However, without the intervention it is unlikely that the police would have contacted the council, and if they did, it would likely have been passed to someone, who had their own priorities. This is a classic example of 'Prevention First' as 'joined up policing'.

Assault and victimisation: This case relates to a vulnerable youth with mental health issues, who had witnessed a serious assault. As the case was being dealt with in the court system, he received a visitor who knocked on his door. As he did not know him and was apprehensive, he did not open the door. He looked out and did not recognise the caller. He felt intimidated and phoned it in to the police. He was initially given generic advice. It obviously could have been a random caller, but he was later approached in the street by the same individual. He was threatened of the dangers of giving evidence in court. He was later badly assaulted, but was reluctant to tell the police because he was concerned about repercussions. The initial call had been flagged up to the 'programme', and without this, the problem may never have been spotted. Patiently, with joint working we were able to gain his trust, and gather intelligence and make links to the case. Through appeals relating to the description, the police were able to get a name and make links to this individual through housing. There was grave concern for this individual. It was obvious that he could not return to his home. On being advised that he was to be discharged from hospital, it became apparent that there was an urgent need for him to be re-homed. A 5 minute telephone call to ASBIT was made and within 2 hours, an alternative property, within a different part of town was identified. He was able to be discharged from hospital and this solved the problem. As a precaution, a marker has been placed on his new address. He is receiving assistance from Housing and Mental Health Services. He now has a good quality of life.

Assault, fire-raising and anti-social behaviour: This unusual referral related to a young couple in a council tenancy with a new-born baby. An associate of theirs with a criminal record, who lived across the road, befriended them. Several weeks later, £60 went missing from a jam jar in the house. The couple suspected their friend and challenged him and the relationship broke down. For some unknown reason, the couple stored a plastic 'Gerry can', full of petrol, for their

lawnmower, behind their front door. Later that evening, after the breakdown of the friendship, someone tried to set fire to the 'can' by dropping burning accelerant through the letterbox. Suspicion fell on the associate. Enquiries were made, but there was no evidence to prove the guilt of the associate. This was a failure for formal policing. However, it became apparent that the associate still held ill will against the couple. This was a very serious crime, with 3 potential fatalities. There was a strong chance that a repeat crime was possible. A referral was made for Fire and Rescue to fit letterbox guards, smoke alarms and to conduct a Fire Prevention Survey. A package of support and advice was put in place. The Council provided their deployable CCTV van. However, it was too obvious to have a deterrent effect. Most CCTVs are fixed, but we were able to fit the camera from the van to a lamppost. This effectively covered the area surrounding the victims' house. Simultaneously, the number of high visibility police patrols in the area was increased. However, because there was still a palpable risk to the couple, it was decided that it would be advisable to remove the suspect from his house, as there were threats made towards him from other members of the community. The council managed to rehome him within 24 hours. This was an ideal resolution. Without the ability to quickly place protective measures to provide reassurance to the victims, and without the relationships of trust, this case could very well have been a murder as happened recently in a similar case in Helensburgh.

Serious Assault: This relates to a young man who committed a serious assault and through the Hope Project was able gain employment as a gamekeeper. He has managed to maintain that job. This intervention has prevented the offender from returning to the criminal justice conveyer belt. This level of reach out and showing genuine interest in the lives of young people to help them identify better options and solutions is a more cost effective way of working. It is well received by the family of the offender who are delighted that we engaged with them to disrupt and change the pathway.

Child neglect issues: This referral related to a repeat call of dogs barking in the late evening, early morning. Various neighbours complained. Their attempts to speak to the new neighbour were fruitless. Via the quality control process enquiry was made with police who had attended the incidents. One mentioned speaking to a female, with two young children, getting out of a car in the vicinity of the property. It transpired that she was the owner of the dog. She apologised for the noise, saying that she often had to leave the house to get Calpol for her baby. She presented to police as a rational individual and the incident was initially written off accordingly. Checks with Housing, established that she was on a Section 12 CYP Order. She moved between lets regularly and more importantly her partner was a registered sex offender, not engaging with the system. This is another example of the programme picking up on issues which are easy to overlook. This has resulted in the lady and her partner having to engage with the police and council. This is a good result.

ASB Cases:-

Tattooing minors: This referral related to an incident where information was received that residents in a house were tattooing minors. This resulted in a joint visit and action was taken against the tenants before it escalated. Initially a 'Prevention First' warning was issued but ignored. This was followed up by an ABC contract. Collectively, these resolved the problem and there have been no further complaints. The tattooists were not running it as a business but practicing on vulnerable youth. The issue was resolved when the tenants abandoned the property before the ASB process could be completed.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral to the council, related to a potential neighbour dispute. An 85 year old man used to phone the council anti-social behaviour coordinator every day at 9.05am to complain about an elderly female neighbour causing problems. Enquiry revealed that it was a clash of lifestyle. The other couple enjoyed socialising and drinking. Early intervention allowed advice to be given and the offending neighbours accepted and a joint 'Prevention First' warning dealt with it effectively before it escalated to an ASBO.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a group of youths hanging about a laundry in the town centre, causing low level annoyance. The youths repeatedly entered the laundry and disrupted proceedings, causing minor disturbances and inconvenience. Advice was given in fitting a more secure entrance to the door. A joint approach was adopted to identify the youths and to work with them. Diversion was one of the tactics used and the youths were directed towards street sport and the netball group run by third sector partners.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral relates to a large number of low level ASB incidents occurring in an area. Police attended frequently but, as the youths had ran off, there was nothing the police could do at the time. Statements were taken from neighbours and an ABC notice was issued to a tenant whose house the youths regularly frequented. It was a party flat where regular fights and disturbances took place. Within a week of being issued the ABC, the tenants breached it. This has led to an ASBO being granted and the matter resolved.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral relates to a 14-year-old boy in the community who was committing so much anti-social behaviour in the community that he had become a menace. Both he and the community were developing a bad reputation. Despite this, he was a pleasant boy and engagement with Social Work and Vibrant Communities led to a change in his behaviour. Diversionary activity helped change his behaviour. The intervention helped the boy down the right path.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a problem area in a housing estate where communal space between the houses led to an increase in anti-social behaviour. The open spaces led to a lack of ownership of them by the tenants. Through joint agency working, the communal areas were fenced off, additional lighting was put in place and CCTV cameras were installed. This led to a reduction in anti-social behaviour in the area.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a female, her partner and their son having noisy parties every day of the week. This had an effect of the quality of life of all the other tenants in the block. None of the offenders worked and initial verbal warnings were ignored. They were issued with a 'Prevention First' warning which they ignored. It was decided that enforcement was the only reasonable course of action. The council housing applied for a court eviction. Nobody wants to evict tenants because it is a costly process. As a result neighbours got a bit of peace. It was regrettable but there needs to be a point where the authorities say enough is enough. There has to be a line which cannot be crossed.

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Anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a troublesome group of youths, in a housing estate, who were committing low level anti-social behaviour. It was decided that, instead of going down the ASBO route, that a longer term multi-agency approach was the best way to deal with

the matter. It was agreed that the answer was not to criminalise the youths. This is an on-going, open case. Often there are no quick fixes.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a vulnerable woman who caused concern by burning clothing and other items from her wardrobes, in a bin within her flat. She had limited mobility and a joint inquiry established that the flat was not suitable for her needs. She was re-housed as a matter of priority to more suitable housing. Prior to the programme this may have happened eventually, but the process was accelerated by the referral. This resolved her personal issues and removed the risk from other tenants.

Anti-social behaviour: This referral relates to a young girl who held frequent parties in her council flat. This caused problems for neighbours. The police were called frequently, which was a drain on resources. She was administered a 'Prevention First' warning but ignored it. This resulted in a joint visit and she was advised that if she did not desist, it would lead to formal action. Again, she ignored advice and one party culminated in a stabbing in the close outside, which was the subject of an attempted murder. Her neighbours all asked for moves but it is very difficult to move 8 separate families at short notice. An ASBO was granted on the 24th of December 2014. Sherriff's officers served it on her on the afternoon of Christmas Eve. The parties stopped after that day. It sounds harsh but, if it had not been served then, it would have had to wait until early January 2015. There were no calls over the Festive period and she completely changed her behaviour for a whole year. The 'Prevention First' group reviewed the ASBO and, because she had behaved, thought that it was no longer necessary. She was advised that, the court order would be rescinded. Within 2 days, she resorted to holding parties every night. The planned rescindment of the ASBO was reviewed and she was told would stay in place. Again, she changed her behaviour and there have been no further calls. There is still an ASBO in place.

Anti-social behaviour/fire-raising: This referral related to a lady who was frequently on police and council lists. She was targeted by arson attacks on her property. Fortunately none were severe. Through the support of various agencies, the incidents of fire-raising have been reduced. CCTV and protective letterbox guards were fitted.

Anti-social behaviour and domestic violence: This referral related to repeat complaints of ASB/violence towards neighbours. All neighbours were interviewed and their details forwarded to the council. A trawl of police and council reports resulted in sufficient evidence for an interim ASBO. The tenant breached the interim ASBO 3 times in the first month, leading to an application for a full ASBO. This is an active, on-going inquiry.

Anti-social behaviour / Graffiti removal: This referral related to a rundown block of flats which was graffiti strewn and a gathering place for youths and anti-social behaviour. Through the programme the demolition of the flats was prioritised and the removal of the eyesore was expedited. This removed a previously identified hotspot.

Neighbour dispute / Noisy party: This referral relates to a neighbour dispute whereby a new family moved in to a block of flats. Their noisy parties became subject to repeat complaints from neighbours. The Locality Policing Team became involved and interviewed all persons involved. A 'Prevention First' warning letter was issued and this calmed the situation down, preventing further escalation.

Youth disorder: This referral related to low level youth disorder in a housing estate. A gang of youths were being rowdy, shouting and kicking doors etc. Locality Officers and Campus Cops made inquiry and provided a list of names. 'Prevention First', warning letters were sent to the

parents of the youths and joint interviews by police and council were arranged with the families. The police spoke to the children, all of whom were aged between 13 and 15, and explained to them how their behaviour was effecting vulnerable people in the community. The council spoke to the parents, about how, failing to control their children could affect their tenancy. Most effort was expended on the families of ringleaders. This intervention led to the problem being resolved.

Youth disorder: This referral related to a group of approximately 20 youths, aged 15 to 16, storming the police office in Kilmarnock and causing a disturbance. The parents of these youths had no control over them and the youths had no respect for authority. The incident followed a serious assault at the bus station, where 2 youths had been arrested for a disturbance. The youths were incensed that the police had taken action. CCTV footage was available and highlighted the seriousness of the disturbance. All the youths were identified and received joint visits. One girl refused to get out of bed and her parents had no control. All the youths were charged with various offences. The Social Work were pivotal in checking out the names and histories of young people suspected of having caused the trouble. The Social Work offered support and information, subject to Children's Panels Orders. Prior to the programme the police were limited to what they could do, but charge them. The children's parents would not engage with the authorities. Through the intervention this changed and joint work with the Social Work Department led to change with one youth being subject to an ASBO. It was identified as a system problem and a joined up approach solved the issue.

Anti-social behaviour / Mental Health: This referral relates to an elderly gentleman with alcohol issues. His behaviour was erratic and numerous calls were received to his house. He was a danger to himself and others. For example, setting fire to his bin. He also had problems with his gas heating system. As a result of the referral, and in conjunction with Fire and Rescue, fire and smoke alarms were fitted and his gas system replaced with electricity. There was a serious danger that he would burn his house down and joint action prevented this. The number of calls to his house were drastically reduced.

Anti-social behaviour / wellbeing: This referral related to a 59 year old, single male with learning difficulties and alcohol and drug misuse issues. The problem arose when youths saw him as different and victimised him. They banged on his doors and stuffed rubbish through his letter box. A low level anti-social behaviour pattern became visible. On being visited, he was not too bothered and treated it as a case of 'kids being kids'. He would never have reported it, but neighbours did. It was an obvious case of an escalation in police resources. A joint agency action plan was put into place and local youths were talked to. The issue has only been partially addressed, but has impacted upon the quality of life he now enjoys.

Street drinking and anti-social behaviour: This referral relates to drinkers gathering outside shop premises. This culprits were a group of men aged between twenty and forty with alcohol dependency issues. This resulted in people being scared to go to the shops, and in some cases being scared to even come out of their houses. Shop owners, customers and nearby house owners were all effected. Increased police patrols helped but did not resolve the issue. The problem was that the offenders were not always street drinking or misbehaving when the police attended. Through a process a multi-agency approach of offering support through the GRAFT Project was tried, but none of the men engaged. After considering other interventions, it was decided that enforcement was the only realistic option. As a result the men were arrested and, whilst in custody, a dialogue with them was opened. This proved more fruitful. It was decided that prosecutions was the best deterrence and we applied for an ASBO for the main offender. He quickly breached this and was arrested as a custody for court. The other street drinkers saw this and modified their behaviour. The ASBO and arrest ensured that locals were able to use the shops without harassment and shopkeepers were satisfied. It was a pernicious problem which occurred throughout the day – 10am to 9pm day-after-day. Simultaneously, preventative crime reduction

measures were also initiated and new gates and other physical structures such as fencing were put in place to prevent access to the area as a drinking den. This also resolved complaints from neighbours and shopkeepers. The arrests led to charges for various offences and after their release, the men did not return to the area. This did not result in displacement activity and the offenders have obviously found other settings to drink in which do not result in complaints. As the problem was processed through the programme it was resolved much more quickly than would have normally been the case.

Wellbeing and mental Health cases:-

Wellbeing: This referral related to vulnerable family whereby it was established that the parents were unable to feed the family and they could not afford furniture. The family were introduced to a food bank and furniture was provided via third Sector charities. This intervention helped stabilise the family.

Wellbeing: This referral related to a vulnerable girl being taken advantage of by youths who paid her for sex and bought her drink. Through joint agency working this led to a successful resolution.

Wellbeing: This referral related to Community Safety working with and supporting a family, after a murder to enable them to get property from a house and that the Community Safety Team, working as intermediaries was very effective and made a big difference to the victim's family.

Mental Health: This referral related to an adult of concern whose mental health was deteriorating. The referral led to housing and health input. Without the programme, this situation would have fallen through the gaps.

Mental Health: This referral relates to a problematic family intimidating other residents including threats of fire-raising. A block of flats had been badly damaged by fire-raising, and via the programme it was arranged for redecorating to be done as a priority via the Payback Scheme.

Wellbeing and anti-social behaviour: This referral related to a teenage girl, routinely approaching other young girls she did not know and making overtures of friendship towards them. This caused the victims concern. One of the concerns was that the offender lived in one town but was offending in Irvine. A multi-agency case conference was called. It transpired that the offender was lonely, but there was no rational explanation as to why the offending behaviour was occurring in Irvine. Discussions with the offender failed to reach a rational conclusion and the file was passed to the council legal team to decide if there was enough evidence for an ASBO to stop her offending. Without the referral it is unlikely that the police and other agencies would have been party to the information.

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Wellbeing and mental health: This referral relates to an elderly lady who reported hearing voices talking to her and complained of people climbing in through her windows. She was reported for running about the street in her nightwear. A joint agency meeting was held with the Mental Health Team and her GP. At one stage, she had been taken in to custody and conveyed to hospital, but was discharged. She returned home but later reported the incidents again. A CPN visited her property and established that the complaint was the result of delusions. She was readmitted to hospital where she received appropriate medication and remained in hospital for a lengthy period, during which her tenancy was kept open. She was provided with a support worker and was able to return home. She is stable for lengthy periods but occasionally reports incidents, but not to the same extent. It is an open case which is monitored regularly.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to a vulnerable person with dementia who frequently went missing. It was a very high risk case and was very resource intensive. The case was resolved by a joint agency package including sharing information, conducting joint visits with family and by fitting tracking devices on her clothing. This resolved the issue.

Wellbeing and mental health: This case refers to an elderly lady who had called the emergency services hundreds of times. This case was resolved by instructing her to contact the ASBIT team instead of the police. Initially, the lady contacted us on a daily basis. The ASBIT team spoke to her for as long as she needed. It transpired that she was lonely, and that the daily contact, and having someone to speak to, was all that she required. Over several months, the calls dwindled to weekly calls before they suddenly ended. The lady is still a council tenant. It is estimated that this approach has saved approximately £840,000. The ASBIT team are open to reaching innovative solutions.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to a frequent attender at Accident and Emergency. The person of concern was vulnerable and had moved to Kilmarnock where he had no friends nor support mechanism. As a result of feeling isolated, he drank and self-harmed, and generally got in to trouble. His visits to A & E were a cry for help. Through the intervention of various agencies, he got the help and support he needed in order to stabilise. He is now back on track and no longer telephones the police or ambulance for help.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to a woman making unsubstantiated complaints about a male neighbour. This resulted in joint work between the Housing Department and Social Work to resolve the issues by offering advice and support.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to a male who reported petrol being poured through his letterbox. Police who attended found no evidence or smell of petrol. The tenant made 2 or 3 similar calls complaining of neighbours trying to kill him. A joint visit with the council established that the man had barricaded himself into the house in apparent fear for his life. He only removed the barricades once he was convinced that it was the police. It was apparent that most of his rooms were empty and that he was sleeping on the floor. He was armed with a knife and visibly paranoid. It became obvious that mental health issues were in play. Interventions with NHS, Mental Health and his GP were arranged. It was learned that he had presented at his doctors several weeks earlier with a mass on his neck which caused pressure on his brain. It is believed that this resulted in his delusional behaviour. He was admitted to hospital and sectioned and received appropriate medical treatment. He is now back living at home and no further issues have occurred. This partnership approach led to a letter of commendation from the Social Work Department.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral relates to a male who had phoned police a total of 26 times. Police or ambulance units had taken him to hospital on most occasions after he had threatened suicide. Invariably, on attending at A & E, he would state he was lying. This was an obvious waste of police and ambulance time, and budgets. A multi-agency meeting with representatives from the hospital, the mental health team, the ambulance service and his GP was called. It was decided that his behaviour was most likely attention seeking. There was no medical diagnosis to support medical intervention. Subsequent interviews with him resulted in an admission that he was lonely and had spent time in the care system. There was no obvious solution. A care plan was initiated and simultaneously a police case was written for wasting police time and abusing the 999 system. This proactive decision was intended to enable an intervention if he ever abused the system again. Having the police report written saved hours of wasted police time, trying to prepare a fully evidenced custody case. Within several days, the male had called 999 again. Police attended and arrested him. He alleged that he had taken paracetamol but hospital tests revealed that he had not. Surprisingly, he pled guilty and we have continued the partnership approach with the Social Work Department. There have been no further calls since then and this has made a huge difference in savings of police time.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to a repeat caller, an elderly lady who drank every night. She then called the police or the ambulance, threatening either violence or suicide. Due to her propensity for violence, the paramedics refused to enter her house without a police escort. This effectively tied up 2 emergency service providers for up to 2 hours at a time. Similarly, doctors would not treat her without a police presence. At its peak, the emergency services were receiving 2 to 3 calls a day from her per day, costing thousands of pounds in wasted time. A multi-agency approach was implemented. Advice and help was offered but refused. She was told, in no uncertain terms, the effect she was having on public resources. A written 'Prevention First' warning had the desired effect, for about 2 weeks but she soon began her regular pattern of drinking and making telephone calls again. She was called in to the police station for a multi-agency warning and was warned that, if she abused the 999 system again, she would be arrested and put to court. Ironically, the calls were not made maliciously, and patient enquiry with family and medical staff, identified various underlying issues. It was concluded that it was attention seeking behaviour. A second warning appeared to work for several weeks. In the interim period, all agencies were briefed and the police took the proactive approach of having a custody report written so that the arresting officers did not have the pressure of writing a custody report, with little prior knowledge of the case history. When she, again, breached the warning, she was arrested and kept in custody overnight. She appeared in court and, whilst in the cells, had access to a CPN which helped. Since being arrested, there have been no further calls. The history of the case had a 6 year timeline and cost approximately £100,000 in public money. To go from £17,000 to zero is a tremendous financial ad efficiency saving. It transpired that, it was the threat of losing her council house and going to prison, that altered her behaviour. She faced the added threat of an ASBO too, if she did not desist. Without the threat of eviction, it is unlikely that her behaviour would have changed.

Wellbeing and mental health: This referral related to an elderly lady in her 90s who had phoned the police 93 times in the space of a 24-week period. The Command and Control System did not pick up on this earlier but eventually a referral was made. At the heart of her problem was dementia. This caused her to imagine things were wrong when they were not. The lady had an obvious medical problem which was also missed by the Health Service. It is a classic example of a waste of police resources and time. She was able to access CPN assistance and help from the Social Work, as well as help and support from council services, such as Housing. Her demented state caused her to become argumentative and hostile. The care package has reduced the number of incidents reported dramatically. She is back living at home, with medical and family support, and only phones the emergency service about 9 times in any given 3 month period. It is a significant reduction. She is a fiercely independent woman, and despite GP support, often forgets to take her medication. The programme is as much about reducing vulnerability in the community

as well as crime and anti-social behaviour. Her health and well-being have improved considerably, but it should have got to those levels in the first place. It is easy to understand, from this case, how vulnerable people can slip through the net.

Mental health and drugs issues: This referral related to a young man with addiction and mental health issues, behaving in ways that posed potential risk to neighbours. The police became involved and this resulted in the man being arrested. The police liaised with the council and the mental health team and the man is now receiving appropriate treatment.

Missing persons: This referral relates to longer term work to improve levels of missing persons and juvenile offending in restricted children's units in North Ayrshire. Invariably, when 'at risk' children run away from secure units, they generate a trail of crime reports behind them. It is easy to miss patterns, but through the 'programme' a system exists to identify prolific runaways. Vulnerable children may have been missing for hours before discovered because they exit from fire doors which cannot be secured by law. This joint work involves the Criminal Justice Team and Rosemount (a Third Sector organisation). One of the problems is that the youths are often tired and hostile when returned to the units. There is no point speaking to them at this time, which was what often happened in the past. As a result, the enquiry officer for the missing person cases rarely obtained useful intelligence and had not time for follow-up enquiries. With the new system, the police interview the children the next day, when they have slept and calmed down. The next step will be to arrange a single point of contact system, because there is a noticeable variation in the level of support and cooperation from staff at the centre. Simultaneously, a green, amber and red traffic lighting system has been developed, to grade the required level of response, which is reviewed every two hours, and either escalated or lowered, depending on the intelligence available.

Environmental wellbeing issues: This referral resulted in a successful initiative in which an environmental audit was conducted of various hotspots using school children who toured the area pointing out faults in street lighting and other physical problems. This was an excellent example of community engagement and won an award.

Fire cases:-

Fire-raising Case: This referral relates to a series of secondary grass fires in the Kilmarnock and East Ayrshire areas. Such fire-raisings are not high value but waste valuable police and fire time and resources. Such incidents are seasonal and usually result from prolonged periods of hot weather. The incidents are difficult to deal with because they involve large numbers of youths who conceal their identity and set fires in front of police and fire officers. The large number of youths involved make it difficult for the police to deal with and intervene effectively. The youths started fires deliberately and retreat 20 or 30 yards away, while the fire service deal with the fire. Whilst the fire is being extinguished, the youths start other fires and taunt the police and fire service. This can go on for hours. It uses up valuable resources which could be used elsewhere, and there is always the risk that, such low level secondary fires may escalate into a higher level fire, risking damage to property and life. Via referral it was decided that the best way to deal with it was through information sharing and education. Through police and campus officers, a list of suspected youths was gathered and, it was decided to target schools in selected areas. Joint police and fire presentations were delivered to highlight the dangers and reinforce the cost of wasted emergency service time. The intelligence led, targeted approach does appear to have led to a reduction in such fires, but the reduction may be attributed to unrelated issues. Other preventative measures implemented were, ensuring that last year's dead grass was removed. A list of hot spots was identified and a plan drawn up for which sites would be manageable with an action plan and which would not. Labour was used from the Community Payback Scheme to remove the grass

and litter. In other hot spots, larger items of rubbish were removed and this had a knock on effect of improving the aesthetics of the area. Binoculars were also introduced into fire engines to try and identify perpetrators. The problem is to be reviewed annually to provide safety advice and engage the community in helping tackle the problem. The grass fires also effected the road infrastructure on the A78, as well as effecting visibility on the railway lines. There was a potential for the fires to cause serious road traffic accidents. One of the grass fires caused damage to overhead railways lines.

Fire Case: This referral related to an identified individual being released from prison into a household with other vulnerable persons at risk. Collectively, the vulnerable people were subject to drug, alcohol and mental health issues. The main person of concern had fire-setting behaviours. In addition, some of the occupants were elderly. The referral enabled very effective multi-agency working to take place with fire safety visits being conducted. This allowed risk assessment and planning to be undertaken and other preventative measures to be put in place. The Community Action Team were also involved. Before 'Prevention First', this high danger situation would have been overlooked.

Fire Case: This referral related to a derelict building in Ayr which was being used by youths. There were over 90 incidents reported in a month and evidence of fires being regularly set within the building. This resulted in a co-ordinated multi-agency solving approach. Contact was made with South Ayrshire Evaluation Board and it was established that it was a zero value building. There was a risk to neighbouring properties. The building was being used by youths and there was evidence of needles and obviously drug misuse. There were other health issues such as pigeon dirt. It was established who the owner was and the building was secured. A Fire Safety Plan was put in place, checking for available water sources, access points and ensured the gas and electricity supplies were isolated. The building was subsequently demolished.

Fire Case: This case arose from a discussion at a 'Prevention First' meeting in Ayr. Concern was raised regarding a high level of fire-raising in South Ayrshire. The fire-raising involved a number of different settings such as setting fire to rubbish bins, wheelie bins, grass fires and other abandoned rubbish. Some of these centred around the Heathfield Industrial Estate. An analysis of the incidents established that, many were committed after school hours. A multi-agency problem solving group was initiated to discuss the issues. This was a short-term working group which initially met for 6 weeks but was extended to 3 months. The problem profile identified that the most likely offenders were youngsters living in the nearby housing estates. The profile also identified the critical intervention period from 4 to 10 pm. The 10pm cut-off was thought to coincide with the onset of darkness. Many of the fires occurred in the vicinity of business premises, and there was a danger of the fire spreading to become a primary fire. All businesses in the Heathfield Estate were visited and our concerns explained to them. The business owners took action and removed materials which could potentially be set fire to. This was helpful because we have limited powers in relation to private property. Work was done via the media, with articles in local papers relating to the dangers of setting fires in the industrial estate. Simultaneously engagement was made with local schools and fire prevention and safety talks conducted o highlight the dangers of low level fires. As a result, over a 6 to 9 month period, there was a noticeable difference in terms of demand reduction in the area. It was pleasing to the Fire & Rescue Service to have made such a difference via multi-agency work. It also fed into the Fire & rescue strategy for reducing primary fires and provided an opportunity to educate young children about the dangers of fire.

Fire Case: This joint police and Fire service case related to public toilets in Ayr town centre which had been set on fire. The toilet building itself caught on fire. The fire was started by paper towels being set alight. It was obvious that the fire was malicious. The problem was raised at the

'Prevention First' meeting in Ayr. Mobile CCTV was used to try and capture images of anyone hanging about the area. Whilst this multi-agency approach was in place, the police and fire service were notified of a potential fire-raising incident in a community hall in Maybole, where a 21 year old male was arrested in suspicious circumstances. It was apparent that he was intent on setting fire to the building. There were people inside the hall at the time. Thankfully, he was spotted and challenged. On being interviewed, he admitted to the attempted fire-raising. He also admitted setting the fires in the public toilet, and also to trying to set fire to the public toilets in the Morrison's store in Ayr. The links between these crimes had not been spotted prior to this point. The fire-raising at Morrison's resulted in 2 casualties. One member of the public with slight smoke inhalation and a policeman with similar injuries. During the interview with the accused, it became apparent that he had a fixation with fires in toilets. If he had not been caught in Maybole, it would have been quite a protracted inquiry, because he lived in East Ayrshire and travelled to South Ayrshire to set fires. Also the fact that the fires occurred in different locations may have prevented them from being linked. It transpired that the accused had been in foster care and had had a traumatic childhood. The fire-raising in toilets related to an incident where there had been a fire in the family bathroom. It further transpired that he was known to all the emergency services, but it was thought that he had his fire-raising problems under control. Since his arrest, there have been no more similar fire-raisings in South Ayrshire.

Fire Case: Through the North Ayrshire 'Prevention First' Group, Fire and Rescue shared their knowledge of the South Ayrshire fires. The fire-raisings in Irvine and Kilwinning were discussed. A strategy and action plan were put in place, and 3 youths aged 12 to 14 years old were later apprehended as the group responsible for the fire-raisings to wheelie bins and wooden pallets. The incidents of fire-raisings stopped after the arrests of the youths. As part of the education input, to prevent fire-raising, the Fire & Rescue service regularly encourage troubled teenagers to visit a fire station, where we talk to them about the dangers of fire and try to give them an insight into what fire fighters do. The youths are encouraged to engage in fire training drills, ladders drills, rolling out fire hoses and using breathing apparatus. Basic first aid is also taught which improves their confidence and skills levels. Fire education is a constant issue because every few years a different generation of troubled youths emerge who become involved in fire-raising.

Fire Case: This referral related to a spate of wheelie bin thefts and fire-raising across North Ayrshire. This was a pernicious problem because there were more wheelie bin thefts in Ayrshire alone, than in the rest of Scotland put together. It transpired that the spike in wheelie bin thefts was caused by North Ayrshire Council changing their reporting policy in order to require a crime number. This policy change, more than anything else, made North Ayrshire a Scotland wide hot spot. Nevertheless, without having been made aware of the problem, the excellent work on the fire-raising aspect of the crime would have gone unnoticed. Each wheelie bin cost £40 to replace. It was established that the stolen bins were then being set on fire. This led to all bin stores being locked up and being patrolled more regularly by caretakers. This has prevented a recurrence of the fires which has enhanced community safety. Through 'Prevention First', Fire and Rescue carried out work in relation to the issue and delivered leaflets' regarding fire safety. This evidences real improvement.

Fire case – Fire-raising prevention: This referral related to a derelict property, which had been vacant for 2 years. It was a property development project, and the new owners had moved to Northern Ireland. Local youths started breaking in to the premises and using it as a den. This came to our attention via the 'programme' as a repeat pattern case. Contact was made with North Ayrshire Council Estates, and a joint police and council communication was sent to PSNI to trace and make enquiries with the owners. The property was a three storey terraced building, in which there had been fatal fires in the past. The 'Prevention First' system accelerated the rate of enquiries as simultaneously we worked in conjunction with the council legal services, Irvine

Housing Association and Fire and Rescue. All partners did an excellent job in gathering information quickly. Within a short period of time, we had the building properly secured to prevent access ensuring that the repeat aspect of the complaint was solved.

Fire and Rescue used their powers to have the property demolished. This had an immediate impact on the reduction of fire-raisings in that area. This resulted because of the 'Prevention First' approach and contacts made through it. From a policing perspective it is unlikely that a request to the Fire Service for this to be done before 'Prevention First' was in place, would have had the same effect. It would have taken months and detailed reports to get that result. That is the power of the programme because all agencies want to help make a difference to communities. This is an on-going case, and work is underway to identify the youths' involved and put packages in place with Youth Justice Juvenile Offending Team.

Fire issues, theft and joint working: This referral / PPT case began after the report of a potential laptop fire, in a remote rural area in North Ayrshire. The householder, on investigating, established that the overhead electric cable had been stolen. It was established that a power surge may have caused the laptop to heat and malfunction. It would have been easy not to make the connections, and to write it off as not being a police matter. Normally, a telephone call would have been made to the electricity company, and they would have dealt with it internally. Asking the 'why' questions, led to a multi-agency approach. Fire and Rescue were informed, due to the obvious risk to life. It was believed to be a one off incident in North Ayrshire. However, contact was made with the British Transport Police, through their national contact. BTP have the lead and are SPOC for cable theft in the UK. It was quickly established that it was a national problem, and a trawl of police IT systems, established that there had been several such incidents in North Ayrshire, as well as others in East and South. These had not been linked because they had been reported in such a diverse manner. This led to meetings with BTP and meetings with other agencies. These meetings became regular occurrences and BTP provided funding from one of their schemes, to pay for a proactive operation, in an attempt to catch the thieves. The common denominator in the crimes, were their remote rural locations. Funding was obtained to put the PPT in unmarked cars, to trawl the back roads. The money also helped to pay for cover for the PPT in their localities. During the third week of the operation, the PPT apprehended 3 individuals in the act of committing theft. It transpired that this team were operating across the whole of Scotland, targeting remote areas. This team of thieves were very good at what they did, and the crime stats across Scotland, caused by them, were phenomenal. This led to a high value case as a large number of crimes were attributed to the gang. The actions of the PPT were pivotal in stopping this crime pattern, across the whole of Scotland, for a 4 month period. The thieves were dealt with and jailed, and intelligence suggested that the thieves organised a second team to commit crimes in their absence.

About 6 months after the initial arrests, there was a recurrence of the crime spree in South Ayrshire, indicating that the second team were most likely responsible. The police received further funding from BTP and a second operation was put in place. Again, the PPT were successful, and on the second night of the operation, they arrested the second team. Investigation and prosecution followed. That was 14-15 months ago, and the arrests have stopped the crime pattern across the whole of Scotland. It is a specialised crime, because of the danger of stealing live wiring. Intelligence from the BTP, indicates that the crime spree is still occurring in the rest of the UK. Obviously, the 'programme' and PPT played a pivotal part in interdicting an organised crime group at a national level. The success was down to sharing information locally and nationally, with all stakeholders, in an effective and efficient manner. This highlights the success of the 'programme' because police in other Divisions, were not dealing with it effectively, for the same reasons we had not been. That is, either ignoring it, making limited enquiry or not linking up the crime series. As a spin off from this successful referral, Fire and Safety, produced a Fire and Safety briefing sheet which was shared with all partners and the victims of such thefts. This was funded by the Scottish Energy Council. To increase shared knowledge of dealing with such incidents, joint training was arranged, with all partners. The police briefed the Fire Service on what signs to look for in such thefts, and what forensic evidence should be preserved including

the cut ends of wires for comparison with tool marks should new offenders be arrested. The Fire Service, in turn, briefed other partners on the risks of fire and electrocution, in order to safeguard the police at the scene if they were the first attender. This was very helpful and the briefing notes were circulated UK wide. Through further funding from BTP/ The Scottish Energy Council, a training video was made involving partners. This was also distributed nationally. This case is an example of best policing practice. Police still attend quarterly meetings with BTP, in order to update intelligence on cable theft and updates are passed to all Divisions, in case there is a recurrence of the crime series. New intelligence would result in a new patrol action plan being put in place.