



**The informal tripart relationship between the state,
neighbourhood police and community groups: community
safety perceptions and practices in a Midlands
Neighbourhood in the UK**

Journal:	<i>Safer Communities</i>
Manuscript ID	SC-03-2023-0009.R2
Manuscript Type:	Research Paper
Keywords:	the state, partnerships, drugs, fly tipping, anti-terrorism, modern slavery, community safety policing, communication

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

MANUSCRIPT DETAILS

TITLE: The informal tripart relationship between the state, neighbourhood police and community groups: community safety perceptions and practices in a Midlands Neighbourhood in the UK

ABSTRACT:

This paper explores the tripart relationship between British police officers, Local Authority representatives, and community members based on a Midlands neighbourhood case-study. It focuses on experiences of the strengths and challenges with working towards a common purpose of community safety and resilience building.

Data was collected in 2019, prior to enforced covid lockdown restrictions following XXXX University ethical approval. An inductive qualitative methods approach of semi-structured individual and group interviews was employed with community members (N=30) and professionals (N=15), using a purposive and snowball sample. A steering group with academic, police and Local Authority representation co-designed the study and identified the first tier of participants.

Community members and professionals valued tripart working and perceived communication, visibility, longevity, and trust as key to addressing localised community safety issues. Challenges were raised around communication modes and frequency, cultural barriers to accessing information, and inadequate resources and responses to issues. Environmental crime was a high priority for community members, along with tackling drug related crime and diverting youth disorder, which concurred with police concern. However, the anti-terrorism agenda was a pre-occupation for the Local Authority and school concerns included modern slavery crime.

CUST_RESEARCH_LIMITATIONS/IMPLICATIONS__(LIMIT_100_WORDS) :No data available.

CUST_PRACTICAL_IMPLICATIONS__(LIMIT_100_WORDS) :No data available.

CUST_SOCIAL_IMPLICATIONS__(LIMIT_100_WORDS) :No data available.

When state involvement and investment in neighbourhoods decline, community member activism enthusiasm for neighbourhood improvement reduces, contrasting with government expectations. Community members are committed partnership workers who require the state to visibly, and demonstrably engage. Faith in state actors can be restored when professionals are consistently present, communicate and follow up on actions.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

Title: The informal tripart relationship between the state, neighbourhood police and community groups: community safety perceptions and practices in a Midlands Neighbourhood in the UK

Authors: xxxx & xxxx

10
11

Abstract:

Purpose: This paper explores the tripart relationship between British police officers, Local Authority representatives, and community members based on a Midlands neighbourhood case-study. It focuses on experiences of the strengths and challenges with working towards a common purpose of community safety and resilience building.

Design/methodology/approach: Data was collected in 2019, prior to enforced covid lockdown restrictions following XXXX University ethical approval. An inductive qualitative methods approach of semi-structured individual and group interviews was employed with community members (N = 30) and professionals (N = 15), using a purposive and snowball sample. A steering group with academic, police and Local Authority representation co-designed the study and identified the first tier of participants.

Findings: Community members and professionals valued tripart working and perceived communication, visibility, longevity, and trust as key to addressing localised community safety issues. Challenges were raised around communication modes and frequency, cultural barriers to accessing information, and inadequate resources and responses to issues. Environmental crime was a high priority for community members, along with tackling drug related crime and diverting youth disorder, which concurred with police concern. However, the anti-terrorism agenda was a pre-occupation for the Local Authority and school concerns included modern slavery crime.

Originality: When state involvement and investment in neighbourhoods decline, community member activism enthusiasm for neighbourhood improvement reduces, contrasting with government expectations. Community members are committed partnership workers who require the state to visibly, and demonstrably engage. Faith in state actors can be restored when professionals are consistently present, communicate and follow up on actions.

Keywords: community safety policing, the state, partnerships, communication, modern slavery, drugs, fly tipping, anti-terrorism, youth

12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Literature Review:

Police and Local Authority leaders partner to tackle multiple issues across England and Wales, including crime and community cohesion. Partnership working is a British government agenda (HMIC, 2015), including for early intervention and safeguarding (Ford *et al*, 2020; Solar and Spring, 2020). Consecutive governments supported community safety partnerships, which stemmed from the Morgan Report of 1991 (Home Office, 1991) and were furthered through the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (Hughes and Gilling, 2004), where collaboration became '*a statutory duty*' (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014; 143). Preventing and tackling localised crime is mostly co-ordinated through a community safety manager, bringing together Local Authority, police, voluntary and private sector partners (*ibid*). Leaders understanding crime causes and prevention alongside "*the policy context of local government and community safety*

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
(e.g., in terms of their social make-up and diversity)" is imperative (Hughes and Gilling, 2004; 141). Collaboration can be cost effective through shared budgets and workloads (O'Neil and McCarthy, 2014; 150), however, some partners withhold information and resources due to organisational survival needs (Martin and Guarneros-Meza, 2013).

9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
Strategic plans are best formed through appreciating grassroots issues, as such, communication between strategists, implementers and community members is crucial. Davies, Croall and Tyrer (2005;164) highlight long-held understanding that "*the relationship between the police and community is vital to enhance not only police-community relations but the effectiveness of the police*" through intelligence gleaned from community members, victims and witnesses. Bullock and Leeny (2013) discuss police informal and formal engagement with community members at neighbourhood level as paramount to generating effective solutions to community issues. Hughes and Rowe (2007;317) state that "*community engagement and co-production are centrally important*", acknowledging this can be jeopardised by statutory sector performance target priorities. Hamilton-Smith *et al* (2014;173) explain that performance targets of community officers can influence reactive policing, impeding upon ability to focus on community concerns. Bullock and Leeny (2013) found neighbourhood police officers persist with addressing a small section of community needs on limited resources, irrespective of Force agendas. Due to competing challenges for community-based officers, the communication loop between them to strategic leaders might be:
a) missing key information for strategic planning and joined up responses, and
b) presenting a biased lens from consulting with a subsection of the community.

32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
Public confidence levels impact what is shared to grassroot practitioners. The police being regarded as moral guardians is vital for effective practice (Jackson and Bradford, 2009). Public disorder can arise from declining public respect for the police and the state, with perceptions influenced by factors including age, race, income, residential area, as well as crime prevention performance and the levels of solved cases (Keane and Bell, 2013). Negative first encounters with the police can have detrimental impacts, especially with perceived unwarranted and racially prejudice driven stop and search (Awan *et al*, 2018), or non-responses to race-hate crime reporting (XXXX, 2020). Relationships between the police and Muslim communities following anti-terrorism security activity can lead to police confidence erosion by those targeted (Li, 2023). Anti-terrorism policing has increased in community policing following 9/11 and subsequent United Kingdom attacks (Hughes and Rowe, 2007; Lai *et al*, 2013). Neighbourhood and community police officers are faced with challenges of integrating '*intelligence led policing*' to address terrorism radicalisation to their community practice (Hughes and Rowe, 2007;321), for which building genuine trustful relationships is key (Li, 2023). This includes facilitating gestures of kindness that support positive community cohesion (Bahadur Lamb, 2013). Public confidence increases in the appearance of '*procedural justice*' in how people are treated (Hamilton-Smith *et al*, 2014;174).

56
57
58
59
60
Foot patrol to engage community members has been demonstrated as key components to '*increasing public confidence*' and to reducing '*worry*', whereas, more '*targeting police patrols*' tend to have more impact on '*reductions in crime and disorder*' (In Hamilton-Smith *et al*, 2014; 164). However, there can be a '*them and us*'

1
2
3 culture between the police and community, despite scholars indicating the police and
4 public are "*one community*" (Keane and Bell, 2013;233) making communities safe
5 (Bullock and Leeny, 2013), with recognition that police workforce recruitment is also
6 from the community (Emsley, 1998). Interestingly, new recruits on foot patrol can be
7 overzealous with '*doing people for anything*', instead of applying discretion, which
8 hinders community building rapport and intelligence gathering (Hamilton-Smith,
9 2014;171).
10
11

12
13 Police duty includes preventing crime at individual and community level, as well as
14 offering protection (HMIC, 2015). The government directed neighbourhood policing
15 as a priority for accessible police presence to communities (Home Office, 2007). The
16 Police mainly (84%) receive community calls considered '*non-crime*' related to
17 vulnerability and safeguarding issues that are ultimately referred to social services
18 (College of Policing, 2015; Ford *et al*, 2020). This has direct impact upon police
19 neighbourhood foot patrolling ability (Hughes and Rowe, 2007;333). O'Neill and
20 McCarthy (2014;148) highlight police recognition that while they might be a first
21 responder to an incident, other agencies are better placed for follow up work to
22 address the issues, including community members with social capital contributing to
23 '*area-based problem-solving teams*' (Bowling and Foster, 2002;1020).
24
25
26

27
28 A further challenge to partnership working is culture clashes and differing working
29 practices. Within the context of partnership working between the police and social
30 services, Ford *et al* (2020;90) highlight issues with '*lack of understanding*' of roles and
31 differing '*priorities*', along with '*poor communication*' and '*time constraints*'. Hughes
32 and Rowe (2007;332) argue that "*persistent sources of conflict in the field of multi-*
33 *agency partnership working is the clash of cultures' phenomenon*" whereby Local
34 Authority partners require layers of permissions before action occurs, whereas police
35 response is more immediate. However, national and local budget cuts to the police
36 have impacted on community policing responses (Hamilton-Smith *et al*, 2014) and
37 partnership working (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014;146). Austerity measures have
38 impacted many partners, which directly impacts upon capacity and service delivery,
39 seemingly putting additional pressure on the police to plug first response gaps (Solar
40 and Spring, 2020). An important feature of effective partnership working is
41 commitment to meeting and action (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014), both of which can
42 be compromised when workload is high (Davies and Biddle, 2018) and budgets are
43 cut (Martin and Guarneros-Meza, 2013; Solar and Spring, 2020). Interestingly, the
44 Home Office (2010;36) envisaged that state pull-back in communities would invigorate
45 community champions to '*play their full role*'.
46
47
48
49

50
51 Despite such challenges and initial scepticism, O'Neill and McCarthy's (2014) found
52 police officers valued effective partnership working leading to pragmatic solutions and
53 perceived that benefits outweigh issues. However, national templates and guidance
54 do not always fit localities, which can complicate community safety practice (Hughes
55 and Rowe, 2007;333). Multi-agency working arrangements can be formal, with
56 wholesale teams from different disciplines working together daily, such as with the
57 youth offending services (Muncie, 2015) through to less formal arrangements for joint
58 working, information sharing and making referrals. Policing liaison practices with
59
60

1
2
3 community members also vary in formality regarding information exchange and
4 solution identification (Bullock and Leeny, 2013).
5

6
7 Our research originated from Local Authority and police aspirations to improve
8 practices within a specific West Midlands community where public servants were
9 beginning to experience hostility. To safeguard those involved, we have anonymised
10 the geographical location and participants. To assist readers with appreciating the
11 community context, we describe the community as like Shaw and McKay's (1942)
12 '*transitional zone*' (close to the city centre), with fewer resources and community
13 guardians, and a more transitional immigrant community. In addition to this
14 description, the neighbourhood accommodated a bail hostel and an asylum seeker
15 hostel, with a homeless hostel closeby. There are a mix of established community
16 members, through to more recent arrivals on a more temporary basis of residence, as
17 per the '*transitional zone*' (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Just over 6,000 people live in the
18 neighbourhood and a wide range of languages are spoken, with higher levels of ethnic
19 diversity to other parts of the city. Several young people from this community were
20 involved in a previous study by XXXX (2020), which highlighted existing race hate
21 tensions and race hate incidents targeted at a local mosque. The neighbourhood
22 contained spaces akin with community degeneration, for which Broken Windows
23 theory argues is more likely to attract crime and disorder (Wilson and Kelling, 1982),
24 although, this is a contested theory where links between degeneration and fear of
25 crime are more likely than actual levels of crime and disorder (Hinkle and Yang, 2014).
26
27
28
29
30
31

32 **Methods**

33
34 An established stakeholder Advisory Group was joined by XXXX by invitation from
35 Rutgers University consultants. The Advisory Group included a Local Authority
36 community organiser and community cohesion manager, and a middle management
37 police force representative. The group mapped out the geographical area for focused
38 attention and co-designed the research and semi-structured interview questions to be
39 used with individuals and small groups of community members and professionals. The
40 research was '*inductive*' in nature (Hagan, 2013;19), as such, there was no hypothesis
41 or theoretical framework to be tested, and an open dialogue was encouraged in order
42 to theorise. Our first question was based on ascertaining perceptions of the
43 relationship between the Local Authority, police and community.
44
45
46
47

48 British Society of Criminology (2015) ethical practice was adhered to, whereby
49 participants were informed of study aims before voluntarily agreeing to participate,
50 with written informed consent prior to recorded interviews commencing. Ethical
51 approval was granted through XXXX University for data collection with adults. We
52 employed a snowball sample following the first round of interviews with professionals
53 and community groups recommended by the Advisory Group, asking participants to
54 signpost us to others. Snowball sampling gains current social knowledge (Noy, 2008),
55 and is useful for sensitive research topics (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).
56
57
58
59
60

Interviews ranged from 20-minute conversations to hour long in-depth dialogue allowing for complexity exploration (Yeo *et al*, 2014) and details of service delivery experience (Matthews and Ross, 2010). To overcome language barriers, the principal researcher utilised researcher-interpreters from Rutgers and an XXXX University international student. Several student-researchers¹ supported with recording and transcription. Some community members requested being interviewed in pairs or small groups due to interpersonal and faith-based relationships. An interview at the Mosque took place with a large group of Mosque attenders, including elders. Community members ranged from mums with small children, to people with part-time or flexible working jobs (for example a taxi-driver) and those who volunteered in the community, alongwith people unable to work and people in retirement. Those working in the neighbourhood directly with the Local Authority and/or police were invited to take part in the study, irrespective of whether or not they lived in the neighbourhood.

This study shares insights from 30 community members and 15 professionals with representation from faith groups, community organisations and groups, Local Authority, police, education and fire service providers. Themed analysis was conducted upon the transcribed interview data using the process described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Interview recordings were revisited on several occasions to reflectively process participant contributions.

Findings and Discussion:

For this paper, the authors focus on the key areas of:

- 1) issues and strengths with partnership working.
- 2) issues and strengths in the neighbourhood

Further sub-themes (see Table 1) were identified through Braun and Clarkes (2006) thematic analysis process.

Table 1: key themes identified through thematic analysis

Neighbourhood level		Partnership level	
Issues	Strengths	Issues	Strengths
Environmental crime.	Community events with wide stakeholder engagement.	Differing priorities of partners (particularly the Local Authority to other stakeholders).	Some access to pooled budgets and financial resources.
Drug related organised crime, including associated knife crime.	Community activists and volunteers.	Poor Local Authority communication to the community	Social media crime reporting and police and community

¹ With thanks to XXXXXXXXXXXX student-researchers and interpreter-researchers

		and tokenistic consultation.	information sharing.
Race hate experiences and suspicions of extremism.	Community assets such as the park, allotments, buildings and CCTV cameras.	Reputational and trust damage.	Longevity and consistency of public servants allocated to the geographical area.
Language barriers associated to a multi-cultural community and transient community (including students).	Multi-cultural and multi-generational learning and social activities.	Austerity measures and associated staffing capacity limitations.	Police street visibility and work ethos.
Limited youth facilities and resources. Modern slavery associated with school children.	Community groups meeting regularly and providing peer support.	Response times to issues by public sector (both Local Authority and the police).	Relationship between the police and the community and the engagement efforts the police went to with all members of the community.
Housing stock, landlords, derelict properties and wasteland.	Community willingness to share information with partners.	Local Authority not taking responsibility – passing people from pillar to post.	Community informants and guardians.

Partnership Level Strengths and Issues:

Here we explore issues of communication feedback loops not being utilised in partnership working and repercussions of breaches in community trust. We discuss the strength from longevity of public service in a locality with community guardians.

Meetings and Connections:

Formal community meetings with local councillors and the police only happened quarterly throughout the year, but informal connection occurred more regularly with public sector staff visiting community groups. Newsletters were disseminated informing residents of issues raised and associated outcomes, however, these leaflets had limited distribution and were only in English:

"... I know they [the council] say there is a leaflet going about, but they don't go to everybody, they just do a select area. I don't think they communicate with the whole population."(Community 2)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

"... we feed back to the community members who we think are most focal and the community on the whole want more presense... They want more fliers, which we haven't particularly got the resource to do... and then there are language barriers of course... Possibly we don't get to everyone because we primarily look at English being the main language so everything is done in English"(Local Authority 2)

Information available in different formats is advocated by Bullocks (2010) regarding policing communiites, which was not being practiced. However, the police seemingly made more effort to liaise with multi-cultural members of the community utilising community members who were able to interpret for them through visits and foot patrol, whereas, the Local Authority seemed more focused on Community Centre connections.

Communication:

Communication and information sharing are two-way features to partnership working (Zaghloul and Partridge, 2022), but our findings showed communication was not equal. Community members felt despondent to 'tokensitic' Local Authority led community consultation events:

"We have actually gone to consultations where they [the council] have asked for our opinion, but they have already made their mind up before you even get to the meeting... You've got to actually listen to the local people in the area because they [the council] just seem to override anything..." (Community Member 2)

Co-production with community members requires public sector partners to reduce positional power and respect contributions from all partners (XXX, 2023). Bullock and Leeny (2013) highlight competing agendas between what central government and communities want, resulting in the overriding of community priorities. Soft-steering, guidance and partnership funding generates more success (Martin and Guarneros-Meza, 2013); all of which the Local Authority need to utilise more. Local Authority participants acknowledged their lack of ongoing community connections:

"...what we haven't done is consistent, regular engagement with communities to start to develop community structures..."(Local Authority 1).

General statutory sector updates were wanted, although police feedback on highly confidential matters was not expected by community members. This corresponds with Hamilton-Smith *et al's* (2014;166) community safety intelligence gathering findings of community members wanting reassurances and *"better engagement and communication processes"*. Bullock (2010) discusses the 'policing pledge' regarding neighbourhood policing accountability practices to let communities know what actions have been taken, but this is not always actualised, which is demonstrated in our findings.

1
2
3 The school noted they had intelligence that was not always followed up on by the
4 Local Authority or the police. For example, they cited Prevent Duty concerns and the
5 Local Authority not regularly being available to discuss such matters. They also
6 experienced modern slavery issues regarding children forced to leave the country to
7 marry someone overseas which the police were slow to respond to:
8
9

10 *"the big thing about a lack of communication is that no-one is doing this on*
11 *purpose, it's about resources... we phoned the police [with modern slavery*
12 *concern]. They didn't come that day, they came the day after and the family*
13 *had already left the country...it's the same for the local authority, they don't*
14 *have the resources to come and meet with us..."* (School Leader)
15
16

17 The school was concerned about safeguarding issues and were frustrated by matters
18 not being attended to, but they also understood resource issues. The schools view of
19 the police and Local Authority did not seem to diminish with a lack of action, however,
20 community members were less tolerant.
21
22

23 *Reputation and Resources:*

24 We found repercussion of trust erosion and diminished reputation occurs from under
25 resourced and inconsistent community connections. Local Authority staff
26 acknowledged the impact of their long term neglect:
27
28

29 *"...The council have got a terrible reputation. The community feel they have*
30 *been let down over the years over various issues and lack of support. Despite*
31 *the fact that community work goes on, they feel very let down..."* (Local
32 Authority 2).
33
34
35

36 The Local Authority was engaged in some community development work, but the
37 community perceived it as insufficient. Communication issues exacerbated community
38 negative perceptions:
39

40 *"...The police are doing their job with the community, but the authority don't*
41 *do as much. For example, I've raised an issue with the council and it's taken*
42 *months for them to get back in touch and when they do, its like 'you need to*
43 *see this person, or that person', instead of dealing with the situation."*
44 (Community Member 5)
45
46
47

48 Being passed to different people costs residents in time and resources. For example,
49 one community member mentioned phone bill costs from a 40-minute conversation
50 involving multiple Local Authority staff. Another community member talked about the
51 personal cost of feeling exhausted from reporting the same issues with little resolve:
52

53 *"...not impressed with [council]... I have been told they have got no money.*
54 *This morning I have reported potholes, overgrown bushes... Grids haven't been*
55 *cleaned out because they flood the road and it's just, I give up... The council*
56 *said they will come every fortnight... It's just like I am nothing. I don't know*
57 *what to do anymore. I'm just depressed with it."* (Community Member 1)
58
59
60

1
2
3 Austerity measures have been evidenced to be negatively impacting UK public sector
4 partnership working (Zaghloul and Partridge, 2022) and this is demonstrated in our
5 findings. The Home Office (2010) had anticipated that local community activists would
6 get more involved in communities with the state reducing input, however, our findings
7 show that council inactivity leaves community activists fatigued, despairing, and ready
8 to give up.
9
10

11 *Social Media and Physical Presence:*

12
13 Police efforts were perceived more positively with residents knowing who to report to,
14 and having various reporting methods available. Private social media messaging
15 regarding crime reporting felt safer because neighbours could not overhear through
16 the terraced house walls. The Police commented:
17
18

19 *"We are more readily available than we have ever been. Even with the cuts and*
20 *less staff on the street. You can now report to the police via Facebook, online*
21 *and you can phone us. We have twitter accounts. And that's if you don't see*
22 *me walking down the street"*(Police 2)
23
24

25 Whilst not all reported issues were immediately resolved by the police, the community
26 saw some results, encouraging continued dialogue:
27
28

29 *"[I] have been helping the police for the last 20 years because there was a lot*
30 *of crime on my doorstep, and I was feeding them intelligence... It took four*
31 *years, and they got him... I have got the emails I can write to them direct,*
32 *and they have been very helpful... they don't give me anything back, I just*
33 *feed him and they just say, 'keep bringing it'. But it's exhausting because I'm*
34 *in the right place at the right time. I will see something, and I have got*
35 *cameras front and back..."*(Community Member 1).
36
37

38 Encouragement and ease of reporting, with eventual breakthroughs after years of
39 persistence, helped to keep this resident passing information on when fatigued.
40 However, other residents were frustrated by the lack of prosecution outcomes for
41 known drug dealers:
42
43

44 *"they know the people [dealing drugs], we've talked about it, but it's a slow*
45 *process and I don't like that. These have been dealing for what I know of for*
46 *10 years... it pee's me off because it should have been done by now... this has*
47 *been going on too long and they haven't even been sentenced."*(Community
48 Member 25)
49
50

51 Neighbourhood police visibility was commended, but response times questioned,
52 especially at night when a central response team replaced community policing:
53
54

55 *"...the PCSO are not on at night... some of the responses at night are a bit too*
56 *slow... there was one of the neighbours who has been harassed and I phoned*
57 *up... it was about 11:30pm at night... there was two men banging... But it took*
58 *them [the police] an hour and 40 minutes to get to that house... That was like*
59
60

1
2
3 *actually a long time, especially for a vulnerable woman who was on her own in*
4 *her house...”(Community Member 2)*
5

6 To reduce the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime, community members talked
7 about weighing up when to directly intervene on issues, or when to stay inside and
8 call the police. Asylum seekers also talked about night-time disturbances making them
9 feel anxious in their rooms and the police talked about community members having
10 sleepless nights from crime activity.
11

12 *Informants and Guardians:*

13
14
15 Some community members purposefully shared information with residents known to
16 be police informants, whilst others intentionally avoided communicating on such
17 matters. Information sharing negatively impacted some relationships within the
18 community, but conversely enhanced others. Longstanding community members were
19 what Shaw and McKay (1942) describe as ‘community guardians’ and were arms of
20 the police and wanted this connection with the Local Authority too, but felt their efforts
21 were mostly rejected.
22

23 *Longevity of Public Sector Staff:*

24
25
26 One important feature to partnership working was having consistent public sector
27 workers in the area:
28

29
30
31 *“...Being there as a regular, you can spot me... I am speaking to community*
32 *members, to families, visiting places of worship and other locations where*
33 *people meet... people get used to seeing you around so much that eventually*
34 *you will get ‘I didn’t want to phone and waste police time, but this is happening’*
35 *and then the floodgates open... It takes a while to break down barriers...”*
36 *(Police 2)*
37

38
39 Community members were more likely to talk with public sector employees who were
40 consistently demonstrating commitment to the local area.
41

42 ***Issues and Strengths in the Neighbourhood Area:***

43
44 Here we focus on the strengths of community organisers, events and assets and the
45 issues of environmental and drug-related crime, housing challenges, wasteland areas
46 and a lack of youth amenities.
47

48 *Community Events and Assets:*

49
50
51 A reoccurring community strength cited was large community events at the park
52 drawing people across the community together. However, community members
53 observed people mostly remaining in ethnic groups. Amenities, such as the local
54 community centre attracted a small proportion of the community, as did the allotments
55 where people valued connection with others and well-being. Some community
56 members found it frustrating that the Local Authority would not undertake small but
57 significant improvements, such as putting in a pedestrian crossing by one of the
58 Mosques to support elderly residents more safely using this amenity. The Local
59
60

1
2
3 Authority was in essence missing 'cup of tea' opportunities to connect and show
4 kindness to the community (Bahadur Lamb, 2013). The Local Authority and police
5 recognised strengths in community organisers and the various community groups,
6 albeit these groups being somewhat fragmented. Asylum seekers did meet together,
7 but were also not integrated into the wider community. The most common community
8 asset for community members to intergrate, connect and learn from one another, was
9 the local primary school.
10
11
12

13 *Environmental Crime and Housing and Youth Challenges:*

14
15 In some UK communities, police priorities of drugs, violence, burglary, and vehicle
16 crime are rarely prioritised by community members (Bullock and Leeny, 2013; 205).
17 In contrast, we found environmental and drug related crimes were key priorities.
18 Community members regularly reported fly tipping to the council, but issues were not
19 fully addressed. Whereas, council staff were exasperated when fly tipping re-emerged
20 after collaborative removal efforts with community volunteers. Such events were
21 irregular, which may explain community perceptions of council inactivity, alongwith
22 council failure to feedback to the community on fly tipping prosecution numbers:
23
24
25

26 *"the residents hate fly tipping, they are always moaning about. We do*
27 *prosecute, we do fine. It might be in the [name of local newspaper] if you are*
28 *lucky, but we don't feed it back to the community. If we did a newsletter once*
29 *a quarter erm 'fly tipping, these many people were caught and the police said*
30 *we did these raids and arrested these people' - the community would love it..."*
31 *(Local Authority 2).*
32
33

34 *"I would describe it [referring to the tipart relationship] as working, but a little*
35 *bit strained... with the lack of action the Local Authority take over some issues...*
36 *the amount of litter, discarded belongings of furniture and some of the quick*
37 *turnover of people in houses... issues with absent landlords... and the standard*
38 *of accommodation. That's the issues I hear about..."* (Fire Service 1).
39
40
41

42 Described is the lack of council action on both environmental crime and housing issues.
43 Community members explained that a lot of privately owned housing had become
44 rental accommodation, with transient occupiers seemingly less committed to home
45 and neighbourhood upkeep. The fire service also talked about challenges from short-
46 term rentals to students. Whereas, longer standing community members helped each
47 other with property maintenance. Residents were perturbed by empty or demolished
48 houses and wanted regeneration on wasteland. It was such areas that were often
49 targeted with the environmental crime of fly tipping, and as such, the Broken Windows
50 theory of crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) does have some relevance. Bullock and
51 Keeny (2013) found neighbourhood appearance helps residents feel safe. Our
52 participants further clarified that pride of place, and a sense of worth is impacted upon
53 when neighbourhood appearance deminishes. Residents proposed a new youth centre
54 could occupy the wasteland due to there being few community buildings and nothing
55 for young people, which may be aggravating anti-social behaviour. This concurred
56 with views from professionals and the local councillor:
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 *"If you look 5 years, 20 years back, we had youth clubs everywhere. Kids were*
4 *kept occupied with sports activities and physical things. But there's no facilities*
5 *left for kids."*(Local Councillor)
6
7

8 A third sector youth sports project successful in reducing anti-social behaviour
9 explained that precarious Local Authority funding meant uncertainty about resuming
10 work in the area. Local Authority participants talked about targeted youth diversion
11 interventions to just those causing trouble. Financial constraints meant there was
12 priority to youth outreach in build-up to big community events to reduce disorder,
13 rather than providing a consistent service. Antisocial behaviour has been focal in
14 community safety in mostly deprived neighbourhoods, however, it is not a top policing
15 priority as associated crime is usually low level (Squires, 2017;32).
16
17
18

19 *Drug Related Crime and CCTV:*

20
21 Associated severe violence was linked to drug related crime, which concerned
22 residents and the local councillor:
23

24 *"With drugs there is a relation to knife crime... we recently had a very serious*
25 *incident where 5 young men were stabbed... we believe these are all drug*
26 *related issues, this also gets into domestic issues and family breakdown, health*
27 *inequalities and brings pressures on families"*(Local Councillor)
28
29

30 *"Drugs are my concern. My kids are growing up and there are a lot of things*
31 *going round here. The park is the main area. They go into the park and do*
32 *these things and our kids are not safe. All youngsters are exposed to this...on*
33 *the streets, in the park, on the road."*(Mosque Attender)
34
35

36 The park, a notable hot spot for drug related issues, had CCTV installation to gain
37 intelligence of drug dealing, facilitating greater conviction levels:
38

39 *"... Since they [2 CCTV cameras] have gone up, people have been caught in*
40 *the area with drugs. The amount of citizens who haven't had a decent night's*
41 *sleep in years because of all of the chaos that have come to their doorstep and*
42 *said this is the best move we have ever made. For the sake of £3,000 from the*
43 *council's pot of money... people saying 'you and the council have done an*
44 *excellent thing, I'm not afraid of my kids going out to play on the street*
45 *anymore'..."*(Police 2)
46
47
48

49 Officers cared about residents and talked about taking it personally when crime
50 occurred:
51

52 *"... we have massive pride in the area, as you should have if you work in an*
53 *area long enough. So, when things get damaged, shop lifting happens, people*
54 *take drugs and deal drugs, burglaries happen, you take it home with you at the*
55 *end of the day. We all do..."*(Police 2)
56
57

58 CCTV instalment helped one part of the community feel safer, but police colleagues
59 noted displacement of drug dealing to other parts of the neighbourhood previously
60

1
2
3 unaffected. Displacement is a common outcome from CCTV instalment (Cerezo, 2013).
4 Residents from other streets were now calling the police about drug dealing crimes,
5 leading to swifter law enforcement outcomes. In the previous hot spot, drug crime
6 was somewhat normalised, with fear of reprisal; which created reductions in reporting.
7 Fear is understandable with Black (2021) reporting links between drugs and violence.
8 CCTV installation broke the fear of reporting cycle. However, CCTV installation does
9 not achieve reducing the demand of drugs and there was no mention of increased
10 therapeutic drug support in the community. Tackling drugs effectively requires both
11 demand and supply to be addressed (ibid).
12
13
14

15 Community members were mostly pleased by the CCTV installations, but some young
16 adults perceived additional surveillance as intrusive:
17

18
19 *"... where the playground was, there was a camera that positioned towards the*
20 *community on the pretext of keeping people safe from drug dealers and so*
21 *forth... the perception was that there was something more sinister going on...*
22 *Even though it represents that it is making people feel more secure, that's not*
23 *how it was perceived... that was mentioned to us more than once."*(Community
24 Organisation 1)
25
26

27 This could be indicative of generational attitude differences towards the police.
28 Community members talked about those engaged in anti-social behaviour being
29 disrespectful towards the police. The police acknowledge they had limited powers and
30 needed to refer to the youth offending team for diversion activity, which was not an
31 instant intervention. Disrespect for the police is exacerbated by the police being
32 perceived as having no power to address issues:
33
34

35
36 *"The police walking around, they aren't the real police, they are PCSO's and*
37 *they don't have enough powers. People don't fear the police anymore. The*
38 *youngsters who are doing crime, they are involved in crime and think they will*
39 *get away with it. That's why knife crime is on the increase."*(Mosque Attender)
40
41

42 Community members said young people seemingly changed perspective on the police
43 following positive interactions with an officer, and when they became adults with
44 family responsibilities they learnt the value of the police for community safety. In
45 school settings, respect is apparent for the police at primary age, but this often
46 diminishes in secondary education settings, particularly where drugs education is
47 concerned (O'Connor, 2010). Residents in our study also experienced disrespect and
48 felt unsafe when youths behaving disruptively congregated outside their properties.
49
50

51 *Extremism and Race Hate Concerns:*

52

53 The Local Authority was seemingly more concerned about radicalisation vulnerability
54 than pressing community and police priority issues. The police were less concerned
55 with terrorism crime rates, noting that when local suspected terrorists had been
56 arrested and prosecuted, Muslim community members showed them appreciation and
57 enquired about repercussions. Despite this care expressed to local officers, Muslim
58 community members were less likely to report suspicions of extremism to the police
59
60

1
2
3 due to interpersonal ties. Residents also commented that female Muslims were less
4 likely to share intelligence about husbands involved in drug crime. The police also
5 talked about occasionally having to safeguard ethnically diverse groups due to far
6 right extremism activity.
7
8

9 A local primary school felt able to identify parents possibly holding ideology akin with
10 violent extremism. School leaders were involved in Local Authority led Prevent Duty
11 meetings, but wanted more in-situ responsive support when issues emerged. The
12 school leaders had solid experience of multi-cultural community practice that facilitates
13 cohesion, and such knowledge was not being capitalised upon by other public and
14 community sector partners.
15
16

17 *Multi-cultural Challenges:*

18
19 The Police said it was sometimes difficult helping multi-cultural communities to
20 understand what constituted as crime in the UK:
21
22

23 *"... There are 76 languages spoken in the area, each comes with a cultural clash*
24 *and different expectations on what they can and can't do and that obviously*
25 *impacts work across the Local Authority, police and the community. It is*
26 *improving, but there is a way to go"* (Police 2)
27
28

29 *"it's sometimes difficult when you are a service that isn't fully representative*
30 *of the ethnic diversity in the community. In that sense it can be challenging at*
31 *times to understand the different issues around culture issues and tradition".*
32 *(Police 1)*
33
34

35 Multi-cultural policing training was limited, so learning came from liaison with people,
36 for example Iman's. This built connections and provided opportunity for intelligence
37 gaining and information dissemination. One police officer commented that law abiding
38 Iman's made efforts to share crime prevention information within the community, but
39 some Iman's (known for previous crime involvement) were less effective. Quinlan,
40 Spalek and O'Rawe (2013;36) discuss the importance of community member
41 credibility on addressing community security issues. In our study, credibility and non-
42 reporting issues were apparent across all ethnic groups. Community members also
43 questioned the credibility and corruptibility of the Local Authority because they felt
44 that other neighbourhoods had swifter responses.
45
46
47

48 **Study Limitations:**

49
50 McGee *et al* (2022;2) highlight that '*local authorities are complex systems*' that create
51 political challenges for research collaborations. Political challenges were navigated
52 sensitively, but not eliminated. COVID enforced lockdowns delayed analysis work and
53 broke down Advisory Group connections due to organisational priority shifts focusing
54 on the pandemic. A findings presentation to wider community members through world
55 café methodology (Brown and Issacs, 2005) to enable additional knowledge and
56 solution gathering was cancelled due to COVID restrictions.
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Sample size was dictated by the research budget. Whilst participant numbers are good
4 for qualitative interviewing, generalisations are compromised because sections of the
5 community were not included due to 1) language barriers, 2) ethical consent not
6 covering young people and 3) time of day for interviewing limiting engagement for
7 those working typical office hours. Snowball sampling can lead to bias within sample
8 representation (Marcus *et al*, 2017;635), so it was important to interview beyond the
9 initial contact list from the Advisory Group. Despite reaching saturation (Dworkin,
10 2012) with findings, there were missing voices and wide-ranging bilingual research
11 team members may have assisted with us learning more about what was occurring in
12 the community.
13
14
15

16 **Conclusion:**

17
18
19 This research presents the provisional theory that regular public sector presence in
20 the community, frequent communication and undertaking actions perceived important
21 by community members are key trust building ingredients for effective partnership
22 working to address community safety issues. Irregular communication, and
23 inconsistent or delayed follow-up on community concerns, results in tensions between
24 community members and the state. More research is needed to test this theory out
25 (Tilley and Sidebottom, 2017) in other neighbourhoods. A contribution to knowledge
26 is that community members are more likely to wane in enthusiasm towards positive
27 community activism when the state withdraws services from an area, rather than the
28 governments anticipated outcome of community members taking greater ownership.
29 Community members appreciated that austerity measures affected area outcomes,
30 but at the same time noticed disparities regarding affluent areas seemingly receiving
31 more public sector resources. Community members are committed partnership
32 workers who require the state to visibly and to demonstrably engage.
33
34
35
36

37
38 There is mostly alignment between police and community member priorities,
39 providing a sense of a common purpose. Community members mostly supported
40 police intelligence gathering, although safety risks plus family and freindship ties
41 create barriers for crime reporting. Engagement in intelligence gathering increased
42 when fears of safety reduced via social media private text message reporting and
43 when CCTV relocated a crime 'hot spot'. Community members felt exhausted by
44 consistent efforts to report drug dealing to the police and by reporting fly tipping to
45 the Local Authority, with seemingly inadequate response. Where neighbourhoods have
46 fly tipping and dilapidated buildings, broken windows theory was apparent (Wilson
47 and Kelling, 1982) and presented a crime attraction, as well as increasing fear of crime
48 (Hinkle and Yang, 2014). As a result, it is recommended that the Local Authority
49 undertake more regular action to resolve environmental crime issues and listen more
50 to community needs. Putting wasteland to productive usage, such as building a youth
51 resource, could reduce youth anti-social behaviour. Consistent resourcing of youth
52 services could help with positive attitudinal shifts, which would reduce hostility towards
53 public services.
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Local Authority pre-occupation with the anti-terrorism agenda was in contrast to police
4 and community perceptions. Whilst the local primary school were aware of possible
5 families holding extremist ideology, partners were not capitalising on this intelligence
6 and were also delayed in responding to school concerns regarding modern slavery. The
7 Police had made progress in building trusted ethnically diverse relationships, but the
8 Local Authority was less engaged; missing opportunity to build relationship by
9 supporting Mosque elders to access their place of worship safely. We recommend that
10 the 'cup of tea' model (Bahadur Lamb, 2013) be utilised by the Local Authority because
11 small steps of humanity to the community will help to build bridges. Faith in state
12 actors can be restored when professionals are consistently present, communicate and
13 follow up on actions as seen by the community police efforts discussed in this paper.
14
15
16
17

18 When there are community activists and guardians engaged in positive reform work,
19 this needs to be celebrated and supported. Community activism has propensity for
20 burnout and people becoming de-motivated. Capacity and capability building with
21 '*community guardians*' (Shaw and McKay, 1942), would help to keep activism strong.
22 Developing a network of community guardians across age ranges could benefit the
23 community, and lead to enhanced intelligence gathering. It could also provide a
24 vehicle for community safety messages to reach the community. Creating
25 communication feedback loops and utilising social media is important to maintain links
26 with community partners. More work is needed in ensuring messages to the
27 community are translated to various mother tongues to ensure inclusion. Greater
28 efforts and resourcing could pay off in longer-term community safety and satisfaction.
29
30
31
32

33 **References**

34
35 XXXX (2020) author to add this reference after peer review process

36
37 XXXX (2023) author to add this reference after peer review process

38
39 Awan, I., Brookes, M., Powell, M., and Stanwell, S. (2018) Understanding the public
40 perception and satisfaction of a UK police constabulary. *Police Practice and*
41 *Research*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.1428098>

42
43 Bahadur Lamb, J (2013) Preventing Violent Extremism; A Policing Case Study of the
44 West Midlands. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. Vol7(1), PP88–95,
45 <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pas063>

46
47 Black, C. (2021) 'Treatment for drug dependence in England needs investment and
48 reform', *The Lancet* (British edition), Vol 398(10299), pp. 474–476. Available at:
49 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)01588-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01588-9).

50
51 Bowling, B. and J. Foster (2002) 'Policing and the Police', in M. Maguire, R.
52 Morgan and R. Reiner (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford
53 University Press, Oxford. pp980–1033.

54
55 Biernacki, P. and Waldorf, D. (1981) Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques
56 of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*. Vol10(2), pp141-
57 163.
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology, *Qualitative*
4 *Research in Psychology*, Vol 3(2), pp77-101. DOI: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- 5
6 British Society of Criminology (2015) Statement of Ethics
7 <http://www.britsoccrim.org/documents/BSCEthics2015.pdf> (accessed 08/01/2019)
- 8
9
10 Bullock, K. (2010) Improving accessibility and accountability – neighbourhood
11 policing and the policing pledge. *Safer Communities*. Vol 9(1), pp10-19
- 12
13 Bullock, K. and Leeny, D. (2013) Participation, 'responsivity' and accountability in
14 neighbourhood policing. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*. Vol 13(2), pp199–214
- 15
16 Cerezo, A. (2013). CCTV and crime displacement: A quasi-experimental evaluation.
17 *European Journal of Criminology*, Vol 10(2), pp222–236.
18 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370812468379>
- 19
20
21 College of Policing (2015) College of Policing Analysis: Estimating Demand on the
22 Police Service. Available at: [www.college.police.uk/News/College-](http://www.college.police.uk/News/College-news/Documents/Demand%20Report%2023_1_15_noBleed.pdf)
23 [news/Documents/Demand%20Report%2023_1_15_noBleed.pdf](http://www.college.police.uk/News/College-news/Documents/Demand%20Report%2023_1_15_noBleed.pdf) (accessed 30 July
24 2017)
- 25
26
27 Davies, P.A. and Biddle, P. (2018) 'Implementing a perpetrator-focused partnership
28 approach to tackling domestic abuse: The opportunities and challenges of criminal
29 justice localism', *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, Vol 18(4), pp468–487. Available at:
30 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895817734590>.
- 31
32
33 Davies, M., Croall, H. and Tyrer, J. (2005) *Criminal Justice: An Introduction to the*
34 *Criminal Justice System in England and Wales*. 3rd Ed. Pearson Education, Harlow.
- 35
36 Dworkin, S.L. (2012) Sample Size Policy for Qualitative Studies Using In-Depth
37 Interviews. *Arch Sex Behav* 41, 1319–1320. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-0016-6)
38 [0016-6](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-012-0016-6)
- 39
40
41 Emsley, C. (1998) *The Origins and Development of the Police*. IN McLaughlin, E. &
42 Muncie, J. (eds) *Controlling Crime*. Sage Publications, London.
- 43
44 Ford, K., Newbury, A., Meredith, Z., Evans, J., Hughes, K., Roderick, J., Davies, A.
45 R., and Bellis, M. A. (2020). Understanding the outcome of police safeguarding
46 notifications to social services in South Wales. *Police Journal (Chichester)*, Vol 93(2),
47 pp87–108. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032258X19836144>
- 48
49
50 Hagan, F. (2013) *Research Methods in Criminal Justice and Criminology: Pearson*
51 *New International Edition*. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow.
- 52
53
54 Hamilton-Smith, N., Mackenzie, S., Henry, A., and Davidones, C. (2014). Community
55 policing and reassurance: Three studies, one narrative. *Criminology & Criminal*
56 *Justice*, Vol 14(2), pp160–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895813483762>
- 57
58
59 Hughes, G. and Gilling, D. (2004). "Mission Impossible"?: The Habitus of the
60 Community Safety Manager and the New Expertise in the Local Partnership

1
2
3 Governance of Crime and Safety. *Criminal Justice (London, England : 2001)*, Vol
4 4(2), pp129–149. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466802504044912>

6 Hughes, G. and Rowe, M. (2007). Neighbourhood policing and community safety:
7 Researching the instabilities of the local governance of crime, disorder and security
8 in contemporary UK. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, Vol 7(4), pp317–346.
9 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895807082059>

12 Hinkle, J.C. and Yang, S.-M. (2014) 'A New Look into Broken Windows: What Shapes
13 Individuals' Perceptions of Social Disorder?', *Journal of criminal justice*, Vol 42(1),
14 pp26–35. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.icrimjus.2013.11.002>.

16 Home Office (2007) Neighbourhood Policing, 30 April. Available at
17 <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/>

20 Home Office (2010) Home Office (2010) Policing in the 21st Century: Reconnecting
21 Police and the People. CM 7925. London: The Stationery Office Limited: Available at:
22 www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/consultations/policing-21st-century/ (accessed
23 25/01/2023).

26 HMIC (2015) PEEL: Police Effectiveness 2015 (Vulnerability). A National Overview.
27 Available at: [www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/police-](http://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/police-effectiveness-vulnerability-2015.pdf)
28 [effectiveness-vulnerability-2015.pdf](http://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/police-effectiveness-vulnerability-2015.pdf) (accessed 1 February 2017).

30 Keane, J. and Bell, P. (2013) Confidence in the police: Balancing public image with
31 community safety e A comparative review of the literature. *International Journal of*
32 *Law, Crime and Justice*. Vol 41(3), pp233-246

35 Jackson, J. and Bradford, B. (2009). Crime, policing and social order: on the
36 expressive nature of public confidence in policing. *The British Journal of Sociology*,
37 Vol 60(3), pp493–521. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01253.x>

40 Lai Quinlan, T., Spalek, B. and O'Rawe, M. (2013) The Sociopolitical Contexts
41 Affecting Police-Community Engagement in Northern Ireland, Britain, and the United
42 States. Chapter 2. IN Silk, D. P., Spalek, B., & O'Rawe, M. (eds) *Preventing*
43 *Ideological Violence: Communities, Police and Case Studies of Success*. Palgrave,
44 New York, pp33-51.

46 Li, E. (2023) Can "Nudge" Salvage Community Policing against Terrorism?, *Terrorism*
47 *and Political Violence*, Vol 35(1), pp135-155, DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2021.1876035

50 Marcus, B., Weigelt, O., Hergert, J., Gurt, J. and Gelleri, P. (2017) THE USE OF
51 SNOWBALL SAMPLING FOR MULTI SOURCE ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH: SOME
52 CAUSE FOR CONCERN. *PERSONNEL PSYCHOLOGY*. Vol 70(3), pp635–673.

54 Martin, S. and Guarneros-Meza, V. (2013) Governing local partnerships: does
55 external steering help local agencies address wicked problems? *Policy & Politics*, Vol
56 41(4), pp585-603.

59 Matthews, B. and Ross, L. (2010) *Research Methods*. Pearson Education.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

McGee, C.E., Barlow-Pay, M., Vassilev, I., Baird, J., Fenge, L-A., Chase, D and Parkes, J.. (2022) 'Supporting and enabling health research in a Local Authority (SERLA): an exploratory study', BMC public health, Vol 22(1), pp1–1316. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-13396-2>.

Muncie, J. (2015) Youth and crime. 4th ed. London: SAGE.

Noy, C. (2008) Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. International Journal of Social Research Methodology. Vol 11(4), pp327–344.

O'Connor, L. (2010) 'Effective Collaborations between Police and Schools: Have lessons been learnt?', Policing :a journal of policy and practice, Vol 4(2), pp135–138. doi:10.1093/police/pap051.

O'Neill, M. and McCarthy, D. J. (2014). (Re)negotiating police culture through partnership working: Trust, compromise and the "new" pragmatism. Criminology & Criminal Justice, Vol 14(2), pp143–159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895812469381>

Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H.D. (1942) Juvenile delinquency and urban areas: a study of delinquents in relation to differential characteristics of local communities in American cities. University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Solar, C. and Spring, M. (2020) Decentralisation and central-local relations: the case of policing and mental health in England. British Politics. Vol 16, pp254–271 <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41293-019-00132-5>

Tilley, N., and Sidebottom, A. (2017) Theory of Crime Prevention. IN Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety. 2nd Ed. Routledge, London. pp3-21.

Squires, P. (2017) Community Safety and Crime Prevention: a critical reassessment. IN Tilley, N., and Sidebottom, A. (eds) Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety. 2nd Ed. Routledge, London. pp32-55.

Zaghloul, F. and Partridge, J.,(2022) Enabling Policing to Be Better: Lessons from Two Case Studies in Police Collaboration, Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, Vol 16(4), pp777–793, <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paac018>