

**Organised voluntary action in crime control
and community safety:**

**A study of citizen patrol initiatives in northern
England**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is their own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Within contemporary policing and community safety discourses, citizen-led initiatives have rarely commanded the degree of attention afforded elsewhere. Typically, research has tended to focus upon state, and more recently market provision. This thesis addresses that deficit by investigating *volunteer citizen patrol initiatives*. It adopts an exploratory approach to conceptualise and determine the composition of patrols, and subsequently offers insights into the reasons why individuals partake in organised patrols, the nature of their activities, and how they are received by other citizens and local stakeholders. In the first half of the study, citizen patrols are defined, charted across extended historical periods, and located within the contemporary policing landscape. The second half presents the empirical findings of a qualitative study that explores three citizen patrol case studies in northern England. Data collected within these sites consisted of a total of 150 hours of participant observation and 40 semi-structured interviews, with participants, coordinators and external stakeholders.

The findings indicate that despite state dominance and more recent market expansion across the policing landscape, the presence of citizen patrols illustrates a space for civil society that demonstrates continuities with the past. Participants exhibited a range of motivations for partaking and completed various activities; as responses to perceived threats, broader vulnerability, and for the purposes of information sharing. Elsewhere, a distinction emerged between those that the patrols *engaged*, and those that more broadly *benefited*. Serving the interests of the latter presented implications not only for the fair and even spread of patrol activities, but also for the delivery of policing provision more generally. Finally, the patrols were well-received by stakeholders, who connected with initiatives both strategically and operationally. There was evidence of positive relationships and collaboration, though frontline police articulated concern about their capacity to effectively support initiatives in light of reductions to personnel and resources.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Association of Chief Police Officers – ACPO

Business Against Crime in Leeds – BACIL

Community Safety Partnership – CSP

Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership - CDRP

Greater Manchester Police – GMP

National Policing Improvement Agency – NPIA

Night-time economy – NTE

West Yorkshire Police – WYP

North Yorkshire Police – NYP

Police Community Support Officer – PCSO

Volunteer Police Community Support Officer - VPCSO

Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network - NHWN

Chapter One

Introduction

‘Criminals in Essex beware – there’s a new patrol on the streets called the Essex Angels... these vigilante crime-fighters are out to stop trouble... volunteers walk the streets in a bid to break-up gangs, deter break-ins, and stop vandalism... the emergence of these gangs is thought to be the first-time locals have started patrolling their own [area].’

(Mills, 2018)

In January 2018, the British newspaper *Metro* reported on the emergence of the ‘Essex Angels’, a community action group whose volunteers had committed to high-visibility street patrols following concerns about diminishing police capacity to tackle crime and disorder. The language that the news report adopts to describe the group is striking. Members are described as ‘crime fighters’ who detect and prevent specific illicit activities. As a collective, they are an organised but untrained ‘vigilante gang’ – a phrase which, as commonly deployed, implies ‘the righting of a wrong by violent and informal means’ (Johnston, 1996: 220). Locals are presented as broadly supportive, with one quoted as exclaiming: ‘vigilantes, I’d bloody join them mate’ (Mills, 2018). The group is a new but seemingly desperate development, prompted into action by ‘the need to do something’ to stem the rising tide of crime and anti-social behaviour in an age of austerity (ibid).

Little of this account is particularly surprising. Competing for attention within saturated news media markets demands a certain newsworthiness that explains much of this dramatic narrative (Jewkes, 2015). The recent inception of the group projects a sense of novelty, unfamiliarity and unpredictability. Yet neither the Essex Angels nor the report’s characterisation of it are particularly original. A rudimentary search for local news items linked to ‘citizen patrols’ reveals numerous examples of similar initiatives. Forms of citizen patrols are also often to be found within texts that chronicle histories of policing in England and Wales, including those that illustrate

arrangements prior to the inception of the modern police. Vigilantism, meanwhile, as the account of the Essex Angels suggests, is typically invoked as a prism through which the potential for violence – another common news value – can be implied. As a result, news consumers are left to envisage worst-case scenarios, such as the mutation of patrols into episodes of ‘do-it-yourself’ or ‘have-a-go’ policing with potentially disastrous consequences.

In reality, however, many citizen patrols do not develop in these ways or result in such consequences. With the exception of a small number that exhibit views considered unseemly or act in ways deemed inappropriate to news consumers, most receive little to no media attention at all. Why might this be so? Certainly, many citizen patrols are characterised by an ephemeral nature, emerging as responses to specific problems that quickly dissipate when some resolution or improvement in circumstances is judged to have taken place (Yin et al., 1977). Not unrelated to this, the public profiles of citizen patrol groups are also modest. Whilst some develop basic forms of online presence, more remain largely untraceable. Other profiles are not maintained, a consequence and reflection of the short life span of many patrols. This is unsurprising given that many are established by friends, families and neighbours, and developed on an informal and low-level basis. A further explanation for the limited attention groups receive are the inescapably *unexceptional* realities of citizen patrols. The typical activities of groups – walking, watching, listening and talking – are already familiar to people as everyday functions, and as such, they are neither distinct nor particularly remarkable. Whilst on occasions these sentiments have been articulated in policing and community safety scholarship elsewhere (e.g. Shapland and Vagg 1987, 1988; Johnston, 1992; Hope, 1995; Crawford, 2001a; Button, 2002; Terpstra, 2009; van Steden et al., 2011; Bullock, 2014), each may also explain limited academic interest in citizen-led initiatives relative to more distinctive policing contributions provided by the state and the market.

1.1. Introducing the thesis

Whilst the realities of citizen-led initiatives suggest that participants are unlikely to be found at the sharp-end of police work, it would be wrong to draw equivalence between such action as uninteresting on the one hand, and *unimportant* on the

other. Indeed, the latter assumption is problematic, and informs a dismissiveness that limits our understanding of local policing and community safety arrangements. Much of the aforementioned scholarship has identified citizen-led initiatives as examples of *policing by the public*, that tangibly contribute to the maintenance of order in local settings. If this is so, then further study of how citizen-led provision manifests and is received in these settings represents as worthwhile an endeavour as those that focus on that offered by the state and the market. Moreover, given that others have argued that local policing and community safety arrangements amount to complex networks (Crawford, 1997; Gilling, 1997; Brodeur, 2010), a lack of due attention towards *all* of the contributions that comprise them – including those provided by citizens – risks ultimately drawing an incomplete impression of the totality of provision. In this sense, further study into citizen-led initiatives such as citizen patrols is neither a niche nor merely desirable undertaking – but rather a valuable exercise that is arguably worthy of more serious and sustained inquiry than has previously been afforded.

Nevertheless, much academic and policy focus upon policing activities, and patrol in particular, has centred upon that provided by the public police (e.g. Banton, 1964; Bittner, 1967; Reiss, 1971; Bayley, 1994; Audit Commission 1996a, 1996b; Waddington, 1999; Reiner, 2010). More recently, there has been an emerging interest in the patrol activities of other state policing actors (e.g. Crawford et al., 2004; Crawford, 2006a; Johnston, 2007; Paskell, 2007), and the private security sector (e.g. Jones and Newburn 1998, 2002; Noaks, 2000; Crawford et al., 2005; Rowland and Coupe, 2014). By contrast, the relative absence of any comparable attention towards patrols provided by private citizens leaves significant and substantial gaps in knowledge. By focusing its attention upon these, this study sets out to address a series of conceptual, analytic and empirical shortcomings in our understanding of citizen patrols. Of the conceptual, it recognises that citizen patrols remain without clear definition and lacks distinction from other citizen-led policing initiatives. It is also unclear where citizen patrols are located within broader conceptions of social control. At specific levels, there is a lack of clarity about how its properties might be framed, and the means by which similarities and differences between examples are accounted for. The study advances a number of definitions and frameworks for exploring these in a more fruitful fashion.

Given that the conceptual foundation for citizen patrols lacks, it is not necessarily surprising that scholarship has only begun to scratch at the surface of analytical and empirical investigation. Of the former, little is known about why private citizens opt to participate in patrols. As such, the study scrutinises the reasons for which individuals do so and explores the behaviours that they adopt when undertaking their activities. This usefully assists in broader theorisation about how people view crime and social problems, the ways in which those are responded to, and the part that citizens should play. Meanwhile, in the empirical sense, the study engages in further investigation of citizen patrols to provide interesting insights into how initiatives are established, arranged and organised, and also to develop an important and more informed appreciation of how these connect with other policing institutions across the public-private continuum.

This study engages with these lines of inquiry in order to generate new insights for researchers, policy-makers and practitioners. In order to achieve its aim and ‘get the story down for [their] possible benefit’ (Odell, 2001: 162), it adopted a broad qualitative research methodology that accounted for the manifestation of citizen patrols and the lived experiences of those delivering and receiving their provision. Importantly, whilst choices taken about the specific methodological approach rendered this task appropriate and achievable, for others it was not suitable and as such some matters of interest linked to citizen patrols were not pursued. Most significantly, it is important to stress at the outset that the study does not offer a scientific examination of the *impacts* and *effectiveness* of citizen patrols – particularly with regards to crime control and community safety, for which an experimental, quantitative approach would have been necessary. The study’s specific exploratory aim, objectives and approach are set out in finer detail in section 1.3.

1.2. Personal rationale for the research

My initial interest in citizen patrols did not emerge through engagement with academic research, nor indeed identifying that very little had been completed. Though I was later to discover this scholarly deficit, it was my encounters with initiatives whilst active in policing practice that shaped my motivation to complete research on them. During my time as a special constable, I routinely came into

contact with Wycombe Street Angels whilst completing my own duties. This citizen patrol, similar to the Leeds Street Angels which acted as a case study within this thesis, was established in High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, to provide care for vulnerable people within the contexts of the night-time economy (NTE). Like many of my colleagues, my initial response to the group was one of bemusement. It was difficult to conceive of why anyone would commit themselves to helping people within an environment as intense – and arguably, as boorish – as the NTE. It was true, to an extent, that the same questions could have been asked of those of us within the Special Constabulary, but many of my colleagues had committed to their roles in order further their chances of police careers following their studies. Clearly, this did not offer a compelling explanation in the case of the Wycombe Street Angels.

Though there was an evident sense of puzzlement amongst police colleagues, I was struck by the manner in which they also appeared to harbour admiration for the patrol and its members, in ways that I had not necessarily seen in other forms of policing volunteering – including the Special Constabulary, towards which officers have historically held negative views (Leon, 1991). I attributed much of this to the fact that the participants in the patrol seemed willing to complete the types of jobs that police colleagues were less enthusiastic about, and that officers too, were becoming increasingly aware of their own reduced capacities as new conditions resulting from austerity began to set in. Equally though, colleagues were not particularly vociferous in articulating positive appraisals – demonstrating caution, perhaps, of being seen to encourage local people to complete policing functions, and aware of some of the criticism that such a position might attract. Their position seemed a fragile balance, aware of the potential benefits, but mindful of the possible consequences.

As my interest continued, I began to familiarise myself with citizen patrols in operation elsewhere, and reflected upon the fact that whilst not without the potential for being problematic in some senses – I had seen some issues around their operation arise first hand – the examples of citizen patrols with which I had become familiar did not appear to fulfil popular narratives about local people acting in an over-zealous fashion, and engaging in vigilante-style acts. Visibly, there was a disparity between popular narratives of citizen-led interventions in policing, and their

realities as demonstrated by those who took part. I later identified some of this sentiment within the academic literature as I began to familiarise myself with it, though save for a very small number of studies (e.g. Sagar, 2005; Williams, 2006), much of it was conceptual work (e.g. Johnston, 1992), that did not necessarily draw conclusions from an in-depth analysis of specific UK examples. It was at this stage that I drew my own conclusions that further empirical work would be of substantial value in developing a better understanding of a hitherto under-researched and seemingly over-generalised phenomenon.

1.3. Research aim, objectives and design

The central aim of the study was to examine the composition, contribution and reception of volunteer citizen patrol initiatives as forms of policing and community safety. To achieve this aim, four specific objectives were set:

1. To develop an understanding of the contexts in which citizen patrols are established, along with the means by which initiatives are arranged and organised.
2. To explore the various characteristics, motivations and behaviours of those who take part in citizen patrols, in order to conceptualise how participation reflects and influences both civic values, and vulnerabilities about safety and security.
3. To identify the various functions of citizen patrols, how provision is delivered, and the nature of its connection with other state and non-state contributions to policing and community safety.
4. To gain insights into how citizen patrols are received, interpreted and rationalised by a range of external policing and community safety stakeholders, including their perceived impacts of the patrol initiatives on, and implications for, stakeholders' working practices.

To achieve these objectives, relevant research literature was interrogated in order to conceptualise, understand the historical traditions of, and locate citizen patrols within contemporary shifts and trends in policing. The subsequent empirical tasks comprised the selection of three citizen patrol case studies – one in an urban location, another in a residential neighbourhood, and a third in a rural environment.

The case study approach offered a number of utilities. First, it avoided inferring too much from what could potentially have been a single and possibly anomalous example (Herriott and Firestone, 1983). Second, it presented opportunities to observe and consider similarities and differences between the initiatives (Yin, 2009), although variations in the respective sample sizes across the case studies did not allow for systematic comparative analysis. Finally, as will be demonstrated across the thesis, carrying out numerous case studies served to illustrate the importance of context, and in particular the influence of *space* and *time* upon the composition and orientation of patrols. On a practical note, given the infrequent operation of some citizen patrols, studying three facilitated a suitably comprehensive investigation.

A total of 150 hours of ethnographic participant observation were carried out across the three case studies over an eleven month period, in order to develop insights into their contributions and the ways in which these were received (Robson, 2011). In addition to this, a total of 40 semi-structured interviews were completed across the case studies, with patrol participants and coordinators, as well as a range of external stakeholders in the patrols – who either worked alongside the groups in operational settings or invested in them in a strategic fashion – such as by providing funding or other forms of resource. Completing these helped to develop an understanding about the motivations and attitudes that underpinned participation, along with views that underpinned collaboration (or lack thereof) (May, 2011). Engaging with two distinct research methods also allowed for triangulation and the formulation of a more robust dataset.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

Beyond its introduction and conclusions, this thesis is divided into eight substantive chapters. As a collective, these can largely be divided into two parts. The first part, which comprises Chapters Two, Three and Four, consists of conceptual, historical and theoretical exercises that lay important foundations for the completion of the study's empirical work. These exercises are subsequently the focus of the second part of the thesis, which comprises Chapters Five through Nine. Specifically, Chapter Two opens the thesis by conceptualising citizen patrols – offering a definition, some frameworks for thinking about their properties and development, distinguishing them from other providers of policing, and considering links to the

concept of vigilantism. Chapter Three then considers the historical antecedents of citizen patrols, by raising and discussing the influences of earlier forms of communal policing contributions, as well as more recent contributions delivered by other public and private providers that demonstrates the contemporary plurality of groups that partake in patrols. Chapter Four, the final literature-based exercise, considers the broader modern policing and security landscape within which citizen patrols operate. It does so by situating initiatives within environments that appear increasingly dominated by state and market-forces, and discusses the implications that arise from these developments where citizen patrols and citizen-led policing more generally is concerned.

The second part of the thesis begins at Chapter Five, which describes and justifies the study's methodological approach. It also emphasises the study's reflexive approach and outlines some limitations. The remaining chapters broadly correspond with the study's objectives. Chapter Six – the first to present findings from the study – provides a detailed overview of the establishment, objectives and organisation of each of the three citizen patrol case studies. This thick description of each patrol provides suitable context in order that the final substantive chapters may be better understood. The first of these, Chapter Seven, explores the motivations and attitudes of the citizen patrol participants, whilst Chapter Eight presents insights into the various contributions of the initiatives. Relationships with and perspectives of the external stakeholders in each of the citizen patrol case studies are considered in Chapter Nine. Finally, the conclusion summarises the study's key findings, reflects upon the research approach, and, after offering some future directions for theory and research, finishes by commenting upon further implications for policy and practice.

Chapter Two

Introducing citizen patrols: Conceptualising a challenging concept

2.1. Introduction

Citizen patrol is a curious concept. In some senses, it seems familiar. Its basic premise has been practised for much of the last millennium, and far pre-dates most other forms of patrol. As Chapter One suggests, examples appear in news reports, official evaluations, and in plural policing and community-safety literature. Yet for all of that, citizen patrol seems somewhat vague. Indeed, closer scrutiny of how examples are presented in different formats suggests that citizen patrol lacks conceptual clarity. The effect of this is that the manner in which citizen patrols are both held and understood is limited. In popular discourses, as the example of the Essex Angels in the previous chapter suggests, citizen patrols are equated with vigilantism, and as such are understood as a contribution to be feared. Academic attention, meanwhile, has been intermittent yet largely fleeting; typically it has been limited to the citation of a small number of examples that inform some basic conclusions about the working practices and relative effectiveness of citizen patrols across various measures (e.g. Johnston, 1992: 166-173; Crawford 1998: 150-151, 2008: 161). Elsewhere, there have been noticeably few efforts at developing a greater conceptual understanding of citizen patrols, or to offer frameworks against which the concept might be tested both analytically and empirically. This is problematic in the sense that a lack of definition hinders academic investigation, and risks citizen patrols becoming a catch-all term, in which positive examples of active citizenship are drawn alongside rather more concerning ones about vigilante style attempts at community justice. This chapter sets out both to account for, and navigate, this obvious conceptual deficit, in a manner that will be of value across the remainder of the study. Principally, it aims to develop a series of tools that will assist in identifying and distinguishing citizen patrols, and serve to inform a framework upon which later case studies in this research can be tested.

To achieve these aims, the chapter is comprised of five distinct sections. The first considers the inherent challenge of defining citizen patrols. It does so by exploring

the ambiguous nature of the concept and also by accounting for evolving understanding of the broader policing contexts in which initiatives are situated. Beyond these, it also considers the impact of various rising and declining periods of interest in the broader concepts of *informal justice* and *social control*, to which citizen patrols might be linked. The second section attempts to overcome some of those challenges by offering some broader principles of citizen patrols. Doing so allows for the effective identification of examples of initiatives and enables clearer distinction of these from other forms of patrol and policing contributions. In the third section, the chapter considers the various properties of citizen patrols, and situates these within a series of continuums. This exercise is undertaken to illustrate the diversity of citizen patrols, and to identify a series of measures against which later case studies within the empirical research can be analysed. The fourth section, meanwhile, links the properties of citizen patrols to their *developmental trajectories*, including the circumstances in which patrols are conceived, established, and, in some cases, cease to exist. Finally, the chapter concludes by drawing upon the properties and broader developmental trajectories of citizen patrols in order to assess their complex relationships with the concept of vigilantism. Whilst the chapter largely posits its discussion within the broader contexts of policing in Britain, specific examples of citizen patrols are drawn from a range of other international systems – including, most notably, the United States.

2.2. The challenge of defining citizen patrols

There is no fixed or official definition of citizen patrols. Few significant attempts have been made at the creation of broader frameworks from which the concept might be explored and analysed. Why might this be so? There are a number of possible explanations. Citizen patrols might simply be difficult to define, such are the degrees of diversity that characterise their properties from one example to the next. In a similar fashion, it might be argued that the contexts in which citizen patrols operate, and the nature of the broad function that they contribute to – *policing* – might itself be difficult to pin down. Alternatively, and as already alluded to, it could simply be that the study of citizen patrols, as measures of informal justice, are of limited interest to scholars – particularly when compared to other forms of policing and community safety. To understand why defining citizen patrols has been, and

remains a perennial problem, it is necessary to explore each of these explanations in further detail.

2.2.1. Citizen patrol as an ambiguous concept

One challenge in defining citizen patrols arises from the inherent difficulty of ascribing fixed values to an otherwise malleable concept. Citizen patrols, as examples of active citizenship, mean different things to different people. Initiatives emerge in myriad ways, and for a multitude of reasons. Some are linked closely to, and are embedded within, the infrastructure of other state and non-state policing institutions, whilst by contrast, others are conceived and operate autonomously; their organisation and activities relatively unknown to public authorities and agencies. Autonomous examples are often found to be subject to specific ideological influences, such as those exercised by faith-based groups and institutions. These initiatives may recruit participants who are members of local congregations, or who share similar values and beliefs. Other autonomous initiatives, meanwhile, may manifest in comparatively secular settings; formed by common interest groups and those who share concern about specific crime and social problems. Initiatives may be comprised of participants who engage for a sense of fulfilment or other personal benefit, whilst others become involved as a means of serving local people and communities-at-large.

Citizen patrols also proclaim varying objectives and achieve these by different means. Whilst some subscribe to crime prevention and law and order agendas, others place community wellbeing and safety at the heart of their offering (see Chapter 2.4.1.). Precise objectives may also influence the ways in which initiatives engage communities. Some adopt intensely visible, outward facing strategies, which emphasise interaction with members of local communities and making them aware of their presence and purpose. Others, meanwhile, prefer to operate 'below the radar', in a more subtle and understated fashion; organising themselves and carrying out their activities in a private manner that is rarely to be found or discussed in public settings. Public interaction may also be influenced by the manner in which citizen patrols are carried out. Whilst traditionally patrols have been undertaken on foot, more recently a number of vehicle-based patrols have emerged. In these circumstances, participants may either use their own vehicles, or as is the case with some patrols, bespoke vehicles that may be purchased and

maintained following the award of funding from partners or sponsors. Whoever they are comprised of, whatever they offer, or however their activities are carried out, citizen patrols carry varied implications for policing and its various actors, institutions and processes. Whilst some may supplement policing contributions provided elsewhere, others provide altogether more adversarial contributions that provoke tension and conflict amongst those who feature within policing networks. Consequently, citizen patrols may be subject to varying degrees of encouragement, ambivalence or even opposition from those who partake in policing practices. It is perhaps unsurprising then, that such diversity in the characteristics and functions of citizen patrols presents definitional challenges.

2.2.2. Policing as an evolving concept

If it is accepted that citizen patrols provide a policing contribution (see below), then it seems pertinent to ask: *what is meant by policing?* The answer to this question is by no means settled. What is clear, is that during the last fifty years, academic understanding of policing has shifted profoundly. Throughout the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, policing was largely understood through the prism of the ‘historical-descriptive’ perspective (Manning, 2010: 23). This perspective took policing to be the province of state-based, public police organisations, and adopted a largely favourable view of their inception and contribution (e.g. Lee, 1901; Reith, 1956; Critchley, 1967)¹. Contemporary conceptualisations of policing demonstrate a departure from this singular perspective, embracing a much broader sociology that considers the emergence of myriad new actors, institutions and processes, the influence of new technologies, and shifting perceptions about the means by which the state should seek to respond to crime and social problems. The earlier tendency to view policing as coterminous with responses to crime, enforcing laws and the idea of punishment was steadily replaced by the idea of policing as being about *order*, and the ways in which such order is established and maintained (Shearing and Stenning, 1987: 10)². Those who contribute to this broader preservation of order are thus increasingly acknowledged as residing within seemingly complex policing networks (Brodeur, 2010).

¹ Reiner (2010: 40) has referred to this perspective as the orthodox view of police history.

² Though the narrative of policing as coterminous with the ideas of enforcing laws or issuing punishments dominated earlier periods, this view was not universal. See Chapter 3.2.2. for discussion on Edwin Chadwick’s *Preventive Police* thesis (1829).

Within this broadened understanding of policing, a particularly useful approach towards defining the concept in the context of citizen patrols is that of the *typological* (Manning, 2010: 24). The typological approach identifies two principal forms of policing; *informal*, and *formal*. Formal policing is identified as publicly or privately funded and undertaken by paid functionaries who hold a role or position in some loose organisation (see also Jones and Newburn, 1998). This includes, most notably, those who work in public police organisations, but it may also include the growing number of contributions of the commercial security sector (see Chapters Three and Four). Informal policing, meanwhile, can be undertaken occasionally – it may, for instance, include the requirement of citizens to organise against threats to local order (see Chapter Three for historical examples of these); those that emerge out of a perceived sense of obligation – including vigilante groups; or those that take place on a voluntary basis; including militias, auxiliaries, and initiatives such as citizen patrols. Manning (ibid) notes that informal contributions to policing demonstrate a much less certain affiliation with the state when compared with formal policing contributions. To an extent, they may lack a clear uniformed presence or visibility. Informal policing practices may or may not be subject to mechanisms of accountability, and often participants – as volunteers – cannot be dismissed. Informal policing is thus difficult to ‘supervise, direct or dismiss’ (ibid). Similar misgivings have been expressed in relation to *informal justice* more broadly – the concept of which the chapter now turns.

2.2.3. The rise and fall (and rise?) of informal justice

Informal measures of policing are not new. Policing has been the shared province of both professionals and citizens for significant historical periods, long before the inception of the modern police in the early nineteenth century (see Chapter Three). Notably however, scholarly interest in informal contributions is not reflective of this. Instead, informal policing, and informal *justice* more broadly, has been subject to much patchier coverage. At least part of this absence might be explained by misgivings, or even ideological objection to both the objectives and functions of citizen-based initiatives. In contemporary settings, up until the late 1960s such efforts were often considered a last resort, and there was little consensus that such actions were preferable to government criminal justice systems (Marx, 1989: 508). In the United States, examples of citizen action, including citizen patrols, also

reinforced a negative impression of citizen action. These frequently emerged as adversarial relative to the police (see Chapter 2.4.3.), and in a haphazard or less routinized fashion. Narratives about citizen involvement were dominated by concerns about the unreliable nature of initiatives and their participants; many learned by doing rather than from codified training programmes and manuals of operation (ibid: 503). In short, the very fact that such arrangements *were informal* was influencing a view that they were inconsistent, unhelpful, and thus were not worthy of further academic scrutiny.

In the 1970s, the dismissive view of informal justice began to shift. It was replaced, as Matthews (1988: 2) has noted, by an 'era of optimism', in which community justice, alternative forms of dispute resolution and neighbourhood justice, involving various forms of mediation, arbitration, conciliation and reparation occurred both in the United States, and to a lesser extent, in Britain. Whilst much of the growing interest in informal justice was concerned with the latter stages of criminal justice processes (e.g. Danzig, 1973; Fisher, 1975; Christie, 1977), informal policing was also subject to new degrees of scrutiny. Citizen patrols formed the subject of inquiry within a notable official report produced by Yin et al. (1977), which analysed over 200 patrols across 16 urban areas in the United States. The report adopted a notably positive tone, identifying the multi-faceted utility of patrols that were diverse in terms of their personnel, activities, purposes and objectives. This growing interest, Matthews (1988: 2) argues, did not follow the realisation of a well-constructed policy agenda, but rather emerged as a series of 'practice[s] in search of a theory'; the result of on the one hand a positive sense about what informal justice could offer, and on the other hand a growing, negative sentiment that the state had been exposed as both overly-watchful, and limited in its capacity to dispense fair and effective measures of justice. Proponents pointed towards the practical utility of measures of informal justice. It was cheaper, faster, and more readily attuned with the values and expectations of the local communities that it served (Abel, 1980; Christie, 1982). It also promoted greater lay participation within processes of justice by removing bureaucratic impediments, and reduced the level of stigmatization and coercion associated with formal criminal justice institutions (Matthews, 1988: 6). As a range of initiatives were trialled and implemented, it seemed as if the arguments of informal justice advocates were becoming increasingly influential.

Then, towards the end of the 1970s, the rise of informal justice was disrupted by a new wave of pessimism. Official reports on informal justice initiatives – including those that offered mediation and reparation – delivered increasingly critical conclusions and noted that many were failing to meet earlier expectations. Claims that informal initiatives represented cheaper and devolved forms of justice were refuted by the findings of a number of official evaluations of US neighbourhood justice schemes, which suggested that these were more costly than preceding arrangements, and that many referrals were simply being received from other state-based social control agencies (Cook et al., 1980). Indeed, it was contended that rather than replacing bureaucratic formal systems (the intention with which many measures were introduced), informal initiatives were simply being adopted *in addition* to preceding arrangements in a bloated system of ‘double-tracking’ (Matthews, 1988: 10).

Beyond official evaluations, the collective mood about informal justice was also shifting within academic discourses. New questions were asked about the benefits upon which informal justice had been sold. Some adopted a critical view towards the assumption that informal justice would result in greater lay participation, and argued that citizens were more likely to resolve disputes by avoidance or by ‘lumping it’ (Felstiner, 1974). Others took the view that informal justice was a contradiction in terms, and that the very presence of laws destroyed the collectivities so essential to the community ties upon which informal justice was built (Cain, 1988: 56). There were also growing misgivings about the potential of informal justice within the confines of the capitalist state; foremost amongst them that initiatives merely reproduced the structural contradictions and exploitation inherent in the formal alternatives the state favoured (Abel, 1981). Similarly, it was contended that once absorbed and rationalised by the state, the social processes inherent within informal justice initiatives were no longer reflective of the traditional values of communities (Abel, 1982; Merry, 1982; Santos, 1982). If what remained was a sanitised version shaped by state influence, then the idea of informalism as a radical departure from that which came before was little more than an illusion.

In these contexts, it is not necessarily surprising that the old concerns about citizen involvement in policing returned. initiatives were variously argued as flawed in spite

of their good intentions, as unhelpful, or even as sinister (Boothroyd 1989a, 1989b). Indeed, these deficiencies were often used as a means of legitimating formal alternatives, including demands for greater investment in state-based policing resources (Dale and Mawby, 1994). Throughout much of the 1980s and early-1990s, academic interest in informal measures of policing once again became largely dormant, but for a few notable examples (e.g. Shapland and Vagg, 1988; Loveday, 1994). During this period, citizen patrols featured as an object of study even less frequently, with only a dedicated special issue of *Crime and Delinquency* published on the matter in 1989, and some conceptual coverage by Johnston (1992: chp 7-8). Towards the end of the 1990s however, a clearer research agenda focused upon broader community crime prevention partnerships began to emerge (e.g. Gilling 1993, 1994; Crawford, 1995; Hughes and Edwards, 2002), some of which included (fleeting) reference to citizens patrols (e.g. Crawford 1998: 150-151, 2008: 161). More recently, evaluative studies of *Street Watch* citizen patrol initiatives have been undertaken by Sagar (2005) and Williams (2005; 2006), and a further conceptual exercise has been completed by Bullock (2014: chp 7). It appears then, as if the now established research fields of crime prevention and community partnerships have at least laid the foundations for further scrutiny of citizen contributions, but it remains to be seen whether this will develop into a full revival of interest in informal policing.

2.2.4. Policing and community safety as social control

Another framework for understanding formality or informality in policing and the wider maintenance of order is that of 'social control'. Previous conceptualisations of social control have accounted for a vast array of processes, actors and institutions. The concept has been applied widely – to education systems, the welfare state, workplaces and crime control, amongst others (Innes, 2003). As a tool for analysing total societies, its usages have varied over time. Classically, the concept was used to describe the means by which social groups regulated themselves (e.g. Vincent, 1896; Mead, 1925; Reiss, 1951;). Later, in the second half of twentieth century the concept became increasingly bifurcated; its application ranging from the study of processes of socialisation (e.g. Foucault 1977) to the organised, repressive tendencies and functions of the state (e.g. Dahrendorf 1959; Gouldner 1968; Taylor et al. 1973).

The varied conceptual application of social control is reflected within the wide variety of definitions ascribed to it. In keeping with the broad nature of classical usages, Reiss (1951: 196) defines social control as the ability of social groups or institutions 'to make norms or rules effective', whilst Roucek defines it as:

“...a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages, and life-values of groups” (1947: 3).

Meanwhile, despite arriving at a refined definition of social control as 'purposive acts that define, respond to, and control deviant behaviour', Horwitz (1990: 5) acknowledges a broader overlap with processes of socialization and the regulation of non-deviant behaviours by stating that the concept 'emerges out of and serves to maintain the ways of social life and social practices of groups'.

In recent years, the utility of broad usages and definitions has been disputed (see Cohen and Scull, 1983; Cohen 1985, 1989; Innes, 2003). Cohen (1985) argues that such conceptualisations render social control amorphous, a 'mickey mouse concept' that “cover[s] all social processes to induce conformity ranging from infant socialisation through to public execution” (ibid: 2). For Cohen, the analytic utility of the concept is lost by its overuse and application to a vast array of social phenomena. Similarly, Reiner (2010) argues that broad conceptualisations are undermined by their failure to adequately specify 'control processes', which are largely reactive and intended to prevent or respond to threats to social order. In order to overcome these perceived shortcomings, Cohen (1985: 3) presents a revised, narrower definition of social control as:

“...those organised responses to crime, delinquency and allied forms of deviant and/or socially problematic behaviour which are actually conceived of as such, whether in the reactive sense... or the proactive sense'.

As an attempt at a refined definition, Innes (2003) has argued that Cohen's definition is effective at separating social control activities from broader processes of socialisation, whilst remaining sufficiently flexible to encompass control strategies undertaken by a variety of institutions and agents. However, he also acknowledges

the complications of attempting to separate the overlap between processes of social control and socialisation, along with those of inequality, power, coercion and persuasion (ibid).

Yet Cohen's definition, along with others that have attempted similar refinements, have not been embraced as sufficiently flexible by all theorists. It has been argued, for instance, that emerging refined definitions may no longer adequately account for the changing nature of social control in late modernity (Innes, 2003). Such is the extent to which control mechanisms are now embedded into the fabric of social life (Roach Anleu, 2010), that any definition that posits itself almost exclusively on 'deviant' behaviour appears to miss those that are not considered as such, but are nonetheless subject to control. It has also been argued that contemporary, refined definitions do not afford sufficient attention to the vast array of processes and institutions that operate outside of the sphere of policing and security, but who nonetheless exert significant degrees of control. Typically, these include those that operate at the indirect end of Ruth Kornhouser's (1978) 'direct-indirect' dimension of social control, and include those measures of which the primary intent is not to curtail deviance, but nonetheless may provide controls as a by-product of their being or actions. The source and form of these contributions ranges significantly – from the 'natural surveillance' contributions of job occupations outside the sphere of policing and community safety, to the community-level influence of civic institutions, to the disruptive properties of the day-to-day activities and routines of families, friends and neighbours. All of these indirect measures share the common characteristic of providing a subtle yet crucial contribution to control functions.

The lack of recent scholarly endeavour at the indirect end of this dimension informs one of the most consistent critiques of contemporary, refined conceptions of social control (Horwitz, 1990). Janowitz (1975), for example, suggests that such conceptions reflect a growing and increasingly explicit focus upon the influence of state and market forces, at the expense of efforts to analyse the capacity for self-regulation in modern societies. Similarly, Baumgartner (1984) notes the under-researched nature of 'social control from below', despite the acclaimed status of this theme in classical usages of the concept. For these theorists, an accurate illustration of the complexity of social control is inhibited by the neglect of the contributions and roles at the indirect level. With this critique in mind, the remainder

of this thesis adopts a pluralistic conceptualisation of social control – one that encompasses characteristics of both classical and contemporary formulations. In keeping with the former, it deliberately broadens the parameters of ‘organised responses’ so as to conceive of social control as that which includes proactive, preventive measures. This enables the inclusion of embedded policing and community safety features that extend beyond visible human activity, as well as the contributions of *indirect* agents of social control, including those found within civil society. Yet it also draws upon contemporary conceptualisations of social control, which conceive of it as focused upon ‘crime, delinquency and allied forms of deviant and/or socially problematic behaviour’ (Cohen 1985: 3). Importantly, this would appear to account for more instrumental modes of policing and community safety, such as that increasingly offered by the private sector within a range of private and public settings (Shearing and Stenning 1981, 1983) (see Chapter 4.4.2.).

2.3. Distinguishing citizen patrol

That the troublesome concept of citizen patrol has so far evaded definition suggests a greater need to distinguish its multiple examples from other, similar policing contributions. *Who* or *what* exactly, constitutes a citizen patrol? Conversely, who, or what, does not? One notable previous attempt at advancing some inclusionary-exclusionary criteria is a useful starting point. In a study of over 200 patrols across 16 urban areas in the United States, Yin et al. (1977) identified four conditions by which case studies were selected. These were that first, citizen patrols should exhibit either a *specific patrol or surveillance routine*. Second, they should be safety-oriented or aimed at *specific crime prevention*. Third, they should be administered by a *citizens’ or residents’ association, or a public housing authority*; and finally, citizen patrols should be directed primarily at *residential rather than commercial areas*. Whilst useful within the specific contexts of the study, beyond this the criteria exhibit some obvious shortcomings when applied to contemporary examples in Britain. Noticeably, the criteria appear to accommodate a wide variety of patrols that extend beyond the basic conception of private citizens engaged in traditional forms of patrol activity. There is little to discount the inclusion of uniformed private police forces, volunteer patrols, armed self-defence leagues, automobile radio patrols, and youth escort services, which could all match these criteria. Yet conversely, the parameters the criteria set also appear to be rather

limiting. They exclude, for instance, examples of patrol that have emerged and operate within commercial spaces, including those within the NTE (Johns et al., 2009). More significant still, by creating the condition that citizen patrols should be administered by a citizens' or residents' association, or public housing authority, the criteria appear to discount those established by other authorities and institutions; including public police organisations, and in England and Wales specifically, by Police and Crime Commissioners.

How else might the range of citizen patrols be accounted for? A cursory glance at the term itself presents now familiar problems of ambiguity. In literal terms, 'citizen' could be taken to include any individual or group; from private security guards, to members of communities, or indeed to vigilantes. The term is also often used interchangeably with the phrase 'civilian', which implies reference to non-warranted members of employed police staff. 'Patrol', meanwhile, would seemingly denote some form of active surveillance routine, but the precise purpose of that routine, and the means by which it is carried out, are both many and multi-faceted. In order to relieve some of these conceptual ambiguities, it is perhaps more useful to attach a series of additional conditions to citizen patrols. The first of these is that citizen patrols are understood as both *organised collective actions*, undertaken by *lay volunteers*. The implication of adopting an *organised* condition suggests that a degree of prior planning of activities has taken place – though the extent of this planning may vary significantly between examples. The *collective* condition, meanwhile, appears to suggest that citizen patrols should be understood as more than an individual endeavour. Again though, the precise number of participants may otherwise vary one from example to the next.

Elsewhere, the *layperson* requirement suggests no recourse to the use of exceptional powers. This condition distinguishes citizen patrols from the work of special constables; a particularly important distinction, given that the Special Constabulary has traditionally dominated both academic and official interest in police volunteering. The *volunteer* requirement distinguishes citizen patrollers from non-warranted public police staff, such as Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), as well as those employed by the commercial security sector, including security guards, grounds people and marshals.

'Patrol' too, is shrouded in ambiguity. The term seems to imply a *specific routine* that offers one of, or both a visible presence and an 'eyes and ears' function; each of which benefits specific groups of people within a given area, and other public police organisations. The idea of citizen patrols engaging in active routines that provide a visible presence is enough to distinguish the concept from Neighbourhood Watch programmes, which by contrast encourage citizens to remain alert and watch out for suspicious activity from the rather more secluded environment of their own homes (albeit there is some overlap between the concepts – see Chapter 3.3.2. for more on this). An implicit assumption thus far is that patrols exhibit a crime control-orientation, and as such, that they are contributing to policing. Some patrols do not. Patrols may, for example, be undertaken in order to protect people from the dangers of hazardous settings, or to maintain landscapes in public spaces. Citizen patrols, meanwhile, typically serve a crime control purpose. For some, preventing or reducing specific forms of crime represents a primary function, or reason for being. For others, crime-control ambitions may not appear quite so explicitly or may be practiced unconsciously. Some may even engage in practices that subscribe more readily to the broader ideals of public welfare and community safety; threats to which do not always arise from legal infraction (see Chapter 2.4.1.). Clearly, even when understandings of citizen patrol are refined, distinctions between their properties remain blurred. It is to these that the discussion now turns.

2.4. Continuums of citizen patrol

Understanding citizen patrols as forms of *organised collective* action, in which *lay volunteers* engage in a specific *patrol routine*, is useful as a means of distinguishing initiatives from related policing and community safety contributions. Yet still, limitations are attached to ascribing broad definitions. They tell us little about the nuances of individual initiatives – about the ways in which they emerge, the means by which they are organised and the purposes for which they exist. They tell us even less about the ways in which these – the properties of citizen patrols – differ from one instance to the next. In order to explore these in greater detail, examples of citizen patrols might best be situated within a series of *continuums* that account for the diverse purposes, organisational frameworks and practices of different initiatives. These, which reflect distinctions outlined by previous studies, are now explored in greater depth.

2.4.1. Order–welfare

The *order–welfare* continuum accounts for the varied purposes of citizen patrols. Whilst some initiatives exhibit a strictly crime, or order-oriented focus, others are intended to provide a community safety or welfare-oriented contribution. Order-orientated patrols might be aimed at the deterrence of crime and disorder in general terms, or indeed be set up to respond to specific problems that have been identified within communities. During the last twenty years alone, contemporary patrols have featured as a response to drugs problems (Russell, 1998b), anti-social behaviour (English, 2007; Rayner, 2010), theft (McMahon, 2012), property crime (Craig, 1989), to combat prostitution (Seton, 1986; O’Kane, 1994; Sagar, 2005), following escalations in racial tensions (Bennett, 1990), and to promote political ideologies (Carter, 2005; Knapp, 2007). Some order-oriented patrols emerge from ‘internal’ concerns around fellow community members (Johnston, 1992), such as those held by the London Jewish Board of deputies, who negotiated an enhanced self-policing strategy with the police in the 1980s. This action followed fears that Jewish youths were increasingly becoming the target of drug pushers, muggers, and right-wing skinheads (Factor and Stenson, 1987). Part of the resultant strategy included the introduction of representatives of the Board of deputies – known as ‘Bozos’ – who were then trained to defuse situations of potential conflict, provide protection for Jewish youth, and maintain order on the streets and in residential and commercial areas (ibid). Other concerns have arisen from problems perceived as emerging from external sources, including fears about the activities of ‘outsiders’ who it is felt disrupt the equilibrium of otherwise ordered communities. A recurring example of an external threat is that of prostitutes or kerb-crawlers, and the perceived problems that their presence poses. To respond to this problem, patrols have been established in North Mosely (1986), Balsall Heath, Birmingham (1994), and in Grangetown, Cardiff (2005). The concept of an external threat also accounts for citizen patrols established as a response to fears about racial attacks, including in Waltham Forest (1986), and Bethnal Green, London (1990).

Meanwhile, welfare-oriented citizen patrols and their participants generally proclaim less overtly crime-focused objectives, and instead focus upon the wellbeing and safety of people and communities that they work within (Jones and Lister, 2015). Most noteworthy amongst these are a growing number of patrols established,

organised, and made up of participants from faith-based groups, such as Street Pastors and Street Angels initiatives. Both of these undertake hi-visibility patrols in order to fulfil a commitment to caring for and assisting vulnerable people within the urban NTE. As such, patrols of this nature typically operate at set, predetermined times; at weekends, during night time hours, and in densely populated, busy spaces. It should not be assumed, however, that these patrols do not contribute a crime control function. Indeed, the activities of some welfare-oriented initiatives may result in highly effective measures of crime control. By engaging vulnerable people within the NTE for instance, Street Pastors and Street Angels participants help to protect members of the public from situations in which they may be at a heightened risk of becoming victims of crime. Moreover, as a constant presence within the environments in which they operate, participants in these patrols are also well-placed to report crimes in progress, or to provide police officers with information as eye-witnesses. In these examples, a welfare-oriented focus serves to reproduce degrees of capable guardianship that reduce opportunities for crime and disorder (see Chapter 4.5.2.).

2.4.2. Passive–aggressive

Citizen patrols also vary widely with respect to the approaches that they adopt in undertaking their activities. Whilst some adopt a heavily proactive stance towards engaging citizens, others demonstrate greater caution, limiting interaction and placing much greater emphasis on watching the subjects of their interest. Of those that do interact with people, the nature of their interaction is often dictated by the initiative's broader purpose. Participants in welfare-oriented initiatives such as Street Pastors, for instance, adopt a largely *passive* approach – invariably presenting a friendly tone that helps them to achieve their objectives of providing care and support for those they consider vulnerable. In the event of an aggressive response from those subject to their intervention, participants in these patrols will typically defuse, or more likely remove themselves from such environments. By contrast, as Johnston (1992: 162) has illustrated, participants in order-oriented citizen patrols may adopt a comparatively more *aggressive* approach, whether in engaging with people who they may come into contact with during the course of their activities, or with those who they consider suspicious. Some may ask members of local communities for information or details about persons or events of interest, whilst other citizen patrols may even seek to pursue or confront those persons of

interest, potentially with the added threat of violence. Claims of this nature have been made against a number of citizen patrols, amongst them the aforementioned Balsall Heath citizens patrol, whose members were accused of physically harassing those with whom they had taken issue (see Chapter Three).

2.4.3. Responsible–autonomous

Citizen patrols also differ in terms of the extent to which they either support or conflict with other state or non-state policing arrangements. Johnston (1992: 137) has explored these distinctions by conceptualising *responsible* and *autonomous* forms of citizen involvement in policing. Responsible contributions are designed specifically to complement the existing apparatus of community crime prevention, by supplementing the work of other formal policing actors. Typically, these are sponsored by the state, and many are both conceived and managed by public police organisations. These include the examples of both *Street Watch* and *Rural Watch*, which are intended to perform an eyes and ears function that allows police officers and staff to prioritise other core activities and functions. By contrast, autonomous examples are undertaken without such police co-operation or involvement, often manifesting and operating spontaneously, and subscribing to self-determined objectives and rules. Examples of these may include the US-based *Guardian Angels*, who patrolled the London Underground network in the late-1980s, and more recently Jewish *Shomrim* patrols, another US-based initiative which has since been introduced in both North London and Manchester. Johnston (ibid: 173) asserts that autonomous examples typically emerge for one of, or a mixture of two reasons. The first is that communities perceive that public tranquillity is under threat from new or escalating crime and disorder problems. The second, is that existing criminal justice provision is inadequate as a response to this perceived threat; either because of lack of resources, or because of inefficiency or misplaced priorities.

A third dimension beyond the responsible–autonomous continuum arises from a study of twenty-eight ‘self-defence’ groups in the United States, carried out by Marx and Archer (1971: 60). In their conceptualisation of the points of connection between citizen-led initiatives and public police organisations, they introduce the concept of *adversarial* contributions. Whilst these, like autonomous examples, operate independently of state influence, they also demonstrate active hostility towards police organisations and their practices. This is borne out of the view that

the police are flawed, but also that they are part of broader structural problems. Police might be viewed as lacking an understanding and rapport with the communities; adopting arrogant and corrupt behaviours; engaging in brutality and racism, or serving the best interests only of the propertied class and the status quo. Adversarial groups may not only oppose, but actively confront or even seek to replace public police practices. In the United States, examples of adversarial groups include the *Black Panthers*, who organised armed patrols against white nationalist movements including the Ku-Klux-Klan; and the *Maccabees*, a group of Hasidic Jews from Brooklyn, who mobilised in response to an increase in muggings and robberies. These examples, and the creation of the adversarial category appear to reflect both greater opposition to police institutions as a result of racial tensions, and a more explicit tradition of vigilantism within histories of social control in the United States. By contrast, in Britain the emergence of adversarial groups has been a more limited affair, and particularly since the inception of the modern police in the early nineteenth century. Nonetheless, whether autonomous groups are broadly supportive of, or actively hostile towards the state and police practices, a lack of involvement or cooperation from the state presents a series of questions about both the legitimacy and the accountability of such contributions. Indeed, it may be, as Johnston (1992) has suggested, that a lack of formal endorsement from the state renders such contributions acts of vigilantism – however supportive their activities may appear. The theme of vigilantism is discussed later in this chapter.

2.4.4. Encouragement–opposition

Whilst it might appear as if responsible citizen patrols would be supported by public police organisations, and autonomous citizen patrols resisted, Marx and Archer (1971: 59) contend that assuming this link is not necessarily accurate. In their research, whilst some responsible groups were *encouraged* by police, others were *opposed*. Whilst many responsible groups, and in particular those that the police exercised all authority over, were encouraged, a small number were opposed on the grounds that participants were considered ‘amateurs’; or that their actions, however supportive they were, amounted to vigilantism. Of these, Marx and Archer (ibid: 60) note that such groups ‘either change to meet police requirements or fail’ (see below). Of course, degrees of encouragement or opposition may vary between police positions and ranks. Officers working in a strategic capacity might take a positive view of the benefit initiatives bring about in meeting police aims and

objectives, whilst frontline officers might find the reality of working alongside lay volunteers challenging or indeed undesirable. Alternatively, officers working in such a capacity may be wary of relying upon, or being seen to rely upon a non-specialist, and potentially less accountable set of volunteers; whereas frontline officers and staff may appreciate the added support and relief that such contributions bring about. Wariness amongst senior officers about the impact and challenges that arise from citizen patrols is illustrated by the example of one Shomrim patrol team in Stamford Hill, London. Here, the local borough commander has been dismissive of citizen patrols, claiming that he is not supportive of any (religious or cultural) community having its own form of patrol service (Hughes, 2010).

Elsewhere, Marx (1989: 517) has noted that the twin categories of encouragement and opposition may not adequately account for all forms of citizen patrols, such as the Guardian Angels. Rather, to describe police attitudes towards these particular forms of citizen patrols, he introduces a category of *ambivalence*, which neither encourages nor opposes initiatives. On an encouragement–opposition continuum, an ambivalent view might be located between the two – one that is both positive about citizen patrols potential benefits, but cautious of its limitations and mindful of the challenges it may present.

2.5. Developmental trajectories of citizen patrol

Given that citizen patrols have featured only intermittently in academic discourses, it is perhaps unsurprising that little is known of how initiatives typically evolve. Yin et al. (1977) provide some data on the lifespan of patrols. Amongst their case studies, they determine that the average duration of patrols was between four and five and a half years, though more than half ceased to operate within four years, and less than 15 per cent survived more than ten years. How might these data be explained? One means is by considering how the properties of citizen patrols – and the spaces that these occupy within each of the continuums – have influenced the *developmental trajectories* of initiatives. It is to the relationships between these that the discussion now turns.

First, the developmental trajectories of citizen patrols appear to be influenced by a capacity to evolve beyond original objectives and purposes. Where they have

moved from exhibiting a specific order focus, to providing a broader social or welfare function, this appears to carry implications for longevity of initiatives (Yin et al. 1977; Pennell et al. 1985). Indeed, a number of citizen patrols that have followed this trend have not only remained operational, but in some cases have actively expanded the scale of their contribution. An example of this transition is provided by the case of the Guardian Angels. Set up in 1979 to deter crime and apprehend offenders on New York City subways during 'peak' crime hours, 'Chapters' proliferated first across the United States (Kenney, 1986), and later, internationally (Webb and Laycock, 1992). During this growth, the objectives of the Guardian Angels expanded to include providing education programmes for schools and businesses, along with internet safety programmes (Bullock, 2014); all of which required the Guardian Angels to engage in a range of activities beyond patrol. In Britain, one example of a citizen patrol initiative that has expanded its remit – and endured for over a decade – is that of the faith-based Street Pastors network. Initially set up by the Ascension Trust in 2003, the network initially set out the objective of focussing upon gang-related gun crime in inner cities. Street Pastors has since grown to more than 11,000 members, who patrol in 270 locations across Britain (Street Pastors, n.d.). At the time of writing, the Street Pastors network has also been established itself in a further seven countries (ibid). During this period, it has re-defined its purpose and objectives so as to provide a series of broader, welfare-oriented interventions – particularly within the contexts of the NTE (Johns et al., 2009). Most recently, and as with the work of the Guardian Angels, the broadened remit of Street Pastors has resulted in undertaking activities beyond patrol; including providing education programmes and workshops for schools, along with offering support measures to those affected by specific disasters or crises (Street Pastors, n.d.). Similarly, UK-based Street Angels programmes – the first of which was set up as a response to crime problems in Halifax (Blakey, 2014: 3), later broadened its remit to provide a care contribution within the NTE across towns and cities in Britain. Most recently, Street Angels has further evolved to provide services in nightclubs, at festivals, in designated 'safe spaces', and for both young and vulnerable people in a range of community settings.

Other citizen patrols that have not moved beyond their initial purpose have dissipated more rapidly. These typically include examples that form in the wake of exceptional events, and wind down their activities once the perceived threat has

subsided. The aforementioned example of the Waltham Forest citizens patrol was quickly demobilized as the perceived threat of racial attacks appeared to decrease. Meanwhile, following rioting across several UK cities in August 2011, citizens mobilised as a response to the threat of repeat attacks. Many, however, began to disappear as this perceived threat began to subside (Jones and Lister, 2015). Of course, this is not to suggest that initiatives that have experienced a longer lifespan do not provide additional heightened and temporary responses to exceptional events; but rather that these are undertaken *in addition* to a core, and expanding group of broader, permanent functions. One example of such a development concerns the activity of UK-based Shomrim patrols, which increased substantially in the aftermath of terrorist activity in Paris during January 2015; but reduced the scale of its activities once the threat was perceived to have relented (Gander, 2015).

The developmental trajectories of citizen patrols also appear linked to the formality of organisational and bureaucratic structures, including links to public police organisations within the responsible-autonomous continuum (see above). Patrols that have increased in scale and endured longest typically subscribe to bureaucratic national structures, such as the aforementioned Guardian Angels and Street Pastors networks, and Street Angels initiatives. Whilst Street Pastors and Street Angels have developed formal structures for the recruitment and induction of its participants, the Guardian Angels in particular has demonstrated notably advanced bureaucratic standards. Following its inception, the network developed records of activity, enacted specific guidelines or 'by-laws', and created standardised methods for recruiting participants (Pennell et al., 1985). As a testament to the formality with which each is administered and operationalised, these networks have generally resisted formalising relations with police and local authorities. This may in part be explained by a reluctance to self-identify as contributors to explicit policing and discipline-oriented functions (Johns et al., 2009).

For other citizen patrols, it may be felt that no such support is necessary. This may be the case where patrols are conceived and managed by particularly influential or charismatic leaders. The enduring presence of the Guardian Angels is, for instance, often attributed to the unusually pervasive level of control exerted by the networks founder and leader Curtis Sliwa (Pennell et al., 1989). Similarly, Pennell et al. (1985) have noted the unique centralised organisational structure of Guardian

Angels, when compared with the localised arrangements by which many other citizen patrol groups operate. Other networks rely upon outside institutional structures for support and leadership; such as the church in the case of the Street Pastors. Meanwhile, where institutional structures are either unclear or do not exist, precisely how citizen patrols evolve appears to be contingent upon the presence and commitment of hardworking citizens (Yin et al., 1977). Bullock (2014) notes that as with Neighbourhood Watch, if a hardworking, committed coordinator leaves their post, there is a risk that activities associated with the patrol will subside. Meanwhile, where formal structures are either limited or do not exist, the support provided to citizen patrols by public police organisations and local authorities is indispensable. Residential citizen patrols in particular are more likely to require enhanced levels of support across a range of bureaucratic and organisational tasks if they are to be sustained. Support measures may range from assistance with advertising, recruitment and vetting procedures; to the provision of resources; to full-scale amalgamation of citizen patrol activities into formal police operations (such as Operation Homeguard, set up by Essex Police (Essex Police, n.d.)). Often sponsorship arrangements (and particularly funding) for such initiatives are comprised of a number of contributions from both public and private sources. In turn, this may present challenges where reconciling any attached conditions of sponsorship from different contributors is concerned – an issue that is discussed in further detail within the latter half of this study.

It would be misleading to suggest however, that the developmental trajectories of all citizen patrols follow similar paths. Whilst many citizen patrols have transitioned from providing an order-oriented contribution, to a broader welfare-based focus, other initiatives appear to have travelled in the opposite direction. This argument might be made of citizen patrol schemes that have increasingly adopted an image similar to that of the public police. One example is that of the aforementioned Shomrim patrol initiatives, many of which emerged with few bespoke resources but have since adopted increasingly militaristic looking uniform, and magnetic vehicle insignia which bears resemblance to that of police vehicle signage. As a well-established network, Shomrim patrols appear a notable exception to the general trend that the likelihood of increased longevity is improved by evolving towards a broader welfare contribution. Other patrols meanwhile, may evolve from adopting a passive, non-violent approach, to an altogether more aggressive one; a shift which

is likely to carry implications for police resistance to citizen patrols (and thus for the initiatives' likely sustainability), as well as their legality and broader legitimacy amongst the public. This transition is perhaps best illustrated by that of the Balsall Heath citizens patrol (see Chapter 3.3.3.), which began as a peaceful citizen-led initiative, but was later accused of engaging in intimidation and violence of those it considered its subjects of interest (Kinnell, 2008). It is to accusations of this nature – and the prospect of citizen patrols engaging in vigilantism – that the discussion now turns.

2.6. Citizen patrols and vigilantism

In the absence of any concerted effort either to define or categorise citizen patrols, in public life they have often been presented as manifestations of vigilantism. Like citizen patrols, the concept of vigilantism has received little scholarly attention in Britain – though a greater tradition exists in other systems (e.g. Burrows 1976; Heald 1986; Abrahams 1987; Adam 1988). However one rare attempt at conceptualising vigilantism has been made by Johnston (1996: 220), who presents six necessary features from which examples might be identified. These consist of the idea that vigilantism: (i) involves planning and premeditation by those engaging in it; (ii) that its participants are private citizens whose engagement is voluntary; (iii) is a form of 'autonomous citizenship and, as such, constitutes a social movement; (iv) uses or threatens the use of force; (v) arises when an established order is under threat from the transgression, the potential transgression, or the imputed transgression of institutionalized norms; and (vi) aims to control crime or other social infractions by offering assurances (or 'guarantees') of security both to participants and to others. As Johnston (*ibid*) has alluded to, importantly these features neither depict vigilantism as establishment violence, nor assume vigilante engagement to be extra-legal.

Despite this widening of the concept's contours, the relationship between vigilantism and citizen patrol remains both complex and inconsistent. Some of the features outlined by Johnston (*ibid*) unquestionably apply to citizen patrols. Most examples will, for instance, involve a degree of planning, and all, as has been outlined, are voluntary. Many will be established as a response to specific crime or social problems, including the preservation of community safety. Elsewhere, Marx (1989:

505) has made a link between aggressive forms of citizen involvement in policing and the concept of vigilantism. Yet the applicability of other features is less certain. Few will manifest and conduct themselves completely autonomously – whilst some enter loose partnerships with local authorities, others are supervised or even conceived by public police organisations. Fewer still will engage with those individuals that are the subject of their interest – let alone threaten, or resort to, the use of force. Indeed, many citizen patrols require participants to agree (and often sign a declaration affirming) that they will not threaten to use such force whilst undertaking patrol activities.

Discussion about the properties, continuums and developmental trajectories of citizen patrols leave an impression of which types of citizen patrols are more likely to either emerge as, or evolve into, vigilantism. The relationship between order-oriented citizen patrols and vigilantism, for instance, is almost certainly stronger than that of the relationship between welfare-oriented patrols and vigilantism. Autonomous patrols are more likely to demonstrate the characteristics of vigilante activity than responsible ones, as are those opposed by public police organisations and formal authorities. Even here though, links between these properties and vigilantism are not straightforward and cannot be assumed. As has been illustrated, some citizen patrol initiatives remain autonomous from the police for perfectly legitimate reasons (such as Street Pastors and Street Angels), whilst other order-oriented patrols undertake their activities both within the confines of what might be seen as reasonable, and is within the law. What becomes clear, is that whilst some citizen patrols might legitimately be characterised as examples of vigilantism, for others the relationship seems much less obvious. It might be concluded then, that the popular tendency to cast citizen patrols as little more than manifestations of vigilantism represents an over-simplification that belies their reality as diverse and unique from one example to the next. Instead, examples must be considered on a case-by-case basis, and each of their properties scrutinised carefully.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to undertake a number of important aims. First, it has outlined the inherent challenge of defining citizen patrols. Most noticeably, the concept remains one characterised by an ambiguous nature. As a result, citizen

patrol has been the subject of varying interpretation and application, which presents additional challenges for the effective investigation of initiatives, and also risks citizen patrol being cast as a catch all concept, in which diverse examples are drawn together and characterised as one in the same. A further challenge in conceptualising citizen patrols is created by its placement within evolving sociologies of policing. During the last fifty years, academic understanding of policing has altered profoundly; from a state-centric view of the concept, to one that reflects the emergence of new actors, institutions and processes; the influence of new technologies; and shifting perceptions about the means by which the state should seek to respond to crime and social problems. In these contexts, citizen patrol is viewed as an *informal* policing contribution, delivered by *indirect* agents of social control. As an informal contribution, academic and official interest in citizen patrols has also been considered as reflective of intermittent periods of interest in the broader concepts of *informal justice* and *indirect social control*, which have variously been viewed with suspicion, promoted, and dismissed across the last fifty years.

Second, whilst recognising the difficulty of defining the concept, the chapter has, alternatively, offered some broader fixed principles of citizen patrol. By conceiving of citizen patrols as *organised collective* action, in which *lay volunteers* engage in a specific *patrol routine*, examples of initiatives can be both more readily identified and distinguished from other forms of patrol and policing contributions. Specifically, adopting these criteria distinguishes citizen patrols from the patrol contributions of public policing actors – including special constables and PCSOs; from commercial security roles, such those of private security guards; and from those other contributions provided by civil society – most notably Neighbourhood Watch. It also identifies the patrol function of citizen patrols as containing a *crime-control* dimension, though the extent to which this represents a primary motivation or function (above and beyond broader functions) varies from one initiative to the next. Third, the chapter has considered these various functions of citizen patrols within a broader exercise that explores the concepts properties. By situating each of these properties within a series of continuums, the chapter illustrates the diversity of citizen patrols, and provides a series of measures against which later case studies within this study can be analysed.

Fourth, the chapter has linked the properties of citizen patrols to their *developmental trajectories*. Each contributes to how patrols are conceived, are established, and operate. Some properties, such as respective order-welfare, responsible-autonomous, and encouragement-opposition orientations may indeed influence the longevity of initiatives. Specifically, the chapter identifies that those patrols more likely to be sustained across significant periods of time typically evolve from a single issue, order-focused purpose, to a broader welfare-oriented contribution. Conversely, where initiatives fail to evolve, they are less likely to be sustained, as are those that adopt aggressive approaches to patrol activities. The matter of whether a citizen patrol operates autonomously from public police organisations appears to carry less of an influence over the long-term sustainability of initiatives (the well-established Street Pastors and Street Angels operate autonomously, for instance); but those that are considered adversarial to the police are likely to experience a shorter lifespan. Finally, the chapter concludes that these developmental trajectories of citizen patrols – and the levels of diversity that characterise each – render the relationship between citizen patrols and vigilantism both more complex and uncertain than is often assumed. This is particularly so where examples which are either managed by, or enter formal partnerships with public police organisations, are concerned. Thus, collectively, citizen patrols cannot be conceptualised, or dismissed as examples of vigilantism. Instead, the relationship between the two must be judged on a case-by-case basis. Having completed these definitional and conceptual exercises, the following chapter now turns to the matter of how citizen patrol has been influenced and shaped across extended historical periods.

Chapter Three

Charting citizen patrols: The historical antecedents of recent forms

3.1. Introduction

At present, patrol functions are undertaken by a diverse range of state and non-state actors. Police officers, police staff, wardens, guards and volunteers are but some of those who contribute a visible, mobile presence as a means of deterrence and reassurance. This crowded field – the implications of which are the subject of greater discussion in Chapter Four – is the culmination of a series of events and trends that have influenced patrol over extended and more recent histories. As such, these developments have also served to influence the fortunes of both state and non-state patrol actors. The state's current, dominant role – not only in undertaking patrol itself, but in regulating others that contribute – is the product of a gradual process of appropriation of responsibility of the function, the roots of which can be identified as early as the thirteenth century. Aided by the long-term shifts in public attitudes towards partaking in crime prevention, growing variation in private interests, and the effects of socio-economic change, by the early nineteenth century the patrol and broader crime prevention roles of citizens had all but been discounted. Yet this narrative, whilst correct in its assertion that citizens' roles were to some extent displaced by the ascendancy of the state and its institutions, can, and has, been overstated. For even as the public police, a clear symbolic representation of the modern nation state, achieved unprecedented levels of support and confidence by the mid-twentieth century, crime prevention remained the shared province of the public *and* the police. Meanwhile, during the last fifty years the limitations of the criminal justice state have been brought into sharper focus as the police have increasingly been withdrawn from patrol functions, and most recently as a climate of austerity has engulfed policing. In these conditions, the opportunity for additional state and non-state providers has once again presented itself.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore these key events, trends and multitude patrol forms by drawing upon and considering selected examples in a largely

chronological fashion. By doing so, it establishes the means and circumstances by which contemporary patrol has been influenced and shaped. It also advances a greater understanding of how sensibilities towards patrol, as held by various social, professional and political groups, have altered – about who should (or should not) partake; about whether undertaking the function requires bespoke, specialist skills; and about how patrol should be practiced. Furthermore, by placing examples in a broader historical context, the chapter offers an assessment of the extent to which emerging patrol initiatives represent a departure from that which came before. The chapter thus establishes a narrative in which citizen patrol is seen less as an irregular development or an anomaly, but rather as the culmination of a series of long-term processes in which citizens have featured to varying degrees. As a result, the discussion assists in building a more nuanced impression of the extended and recent histories of patrol, from which later empirical exercises in the study will benefit.

The discussion that follows is organised into two broad sections. The first provides a brief history of citizen patrol. It then considers a range of factors that contributed to the decline of communal policing arrangements, including those that influenced thinking prior to and during the inception of the public police in the early nineteenth century. The section concludes by evaluating the extent to which, during the extended historical periods covered, the state had successfully appropriated responsibility for patrol and broader crime prevention functions. Meanwhile, the second section of the chapter introduces recent developments in patrol as undertaken by a number of state and non-state actors and institutions, illustrating the implications these have created for citizen patrol. It begins by discussing changes to the practice of police foot patrol in the years that followed the Second World War and illustrates the ‘demand gap’ that subsequently emerged. It moves on to consider attempts made to fill that gap; including initiatives designed to engage and include citizens in crime prevention in the 1980s, and later the introduction of a number of patrol auxiliaries in the late 1990s and early 2000s as ambivalence about citizen-led schemes set in. It then focuses upon a series of more recent developments, including declining numbers of neighbourhood wardens, PCSOs, and most recently special constables during a period of intense fiscal restraint, and where the idea of police volunteering is being recast by both forces and Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs). The chapter concludes by discussing the

implications of each of these developments, along with the prospects it creates for citizen patrols in contemporary systems of policing and community safety.

3.2. A brief history of patrol

3.2.1. Early patrol arrangements

The basic premise of citizens engaging in patrol activities is not a new phenomenon. The roots of this policing function can be located and traced throughout extended historical periods, pre-dating the emergence of the modern police in the last two centuries. Though such contributions may seem marginal in contemporary settings, citizen patrols served as a prominent and important feature of earlier policing systems. As early as the Anglo-Saxon period, it featured heavily within broader systems of communal policing, variously responsible for preventing, identifying and challenging wrongdoing (Rawlings, 2008: 11). By placing an emphasis upon the 'well-understood principle of social obligation, or collective security' (Critchley, 1967: 2), responsibility for policing was deferred to communities and private citizens by the Crown – which neither could exert, nor desired such influence. Aside from reactive, apprehension-based policing activities within arrangements such as the tithing and the 'hue and cry', traces of preventive patrol activities began to emerge as the idea of communal policing evolved and formalised. Their first clear manifestation was to be found in the watch and ward, as set out within The Assizes of the Watch of 1233, 1242, and 1253, and later the Statute of Winchester 1285. The Statute represented the first attempt at a codification of communal policing arrangements, which relied upon working partnerships between community members and a growing number of officials. Its significance should not be understated – indeed Critchley (1978: 7) notes that it was the only general public measure of any consequence enacted to regulate the policing of the country between the Norman Conquest and the Metropolitan Police Act 1829 – laying down basic principles for 600 years.

Watches, set by night, and wards, by day, required men drawn from the citizenry to patrol towns, boroughs and cities. A typical watch was formed of a dozen men, though precise numbers could range between as few as four, or as many as sixteen, depending upon geographical location and population sizes. London, for instance, was divided into twenty-four wards by the separate act of *Statuta Civitatis*,

each of which was required to have a watch of six men, while a 'marching watch' patrolled the whole city. Watchmen were stationed at the gates of every walled town, and were considered particularly important during summer evenings, where, with travel easier, they were utilised to combat the problem of vagrants attempting entry. In addition to their preventive watch functions, watchmen were also empowered to arrest strangers and pursue those who sought to flee. All of the men in a town were placed on a roster and expected to partake. Refusal of a summons invariably resulted in committal to the stocks. The threat of reprimand meant that participation in early incarnations of the watch was generally well adhered to, though it was likely better kept when people felt themselves to be in danger, such as during an outbreak of the plague or at the market-time when strangers were attracted to a town (Rawlings, 2002: 16).

Yet whilst policing historians have long argued that the Statute of Winchester represents the pinnacle of early communal policing arrangements (Critchley, 1978; Emsley, 1991), the passing of the Act itself suggests that a gradual displacement of crime prevention roles and influence – from communal institutions to officials – was underway. For provision within the Statute introduced governance and oversight measures to check unfettered community power and the prospect of tyranny. Most notably, this was achieved by increasing the supervisory roles and influences of a growing number of officials. First, the constable emerged – who both worked with, and supervised watchmen on a local level. Later, the Justices of the Peace Act 1361 introduced agents of the same name, who performed a range of tasks including acting on non-participation, within increasingly centralised administrative systems.

Meanwhile, the effective operation of communal policing activities including patrol was also contingent upon indirect influences, including those created by the ebb and flow of various political, social and economic developments. Amongst these, commitment to overseas conflict and war caused displacement and fluctuation of community population numbers, and created an uncertain economy which was subject to periods of intense contraction and expansion. The latter of these developments carried implications for the movement of people, and thus for the make-up of communities by disrupting the social bonds upon which communal policing structures relied heavily. The ability of citizens to participate effectively in

patrol was also disrupted during periods afflicted by disease and famine, which did much to alter the profile of communities in rapid and dramatic fashion. Under these conditions the principles of kinship and mutual obligation, forged as products of tight-knit communal bonds, were becoming undermined.

3.2.2. The decline of communal policing and rise of the modern police

The gradual decline of communal policing systems continued across much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, during which time many existing functions were subsumed within the roles of parish constables, and later subject to the administrative oversight of the Justices of the Peace. Yet despite its shortcomings, community involvement in the patrol activities of the watch endured. Accounts of communities failing to appoint watchmen persisted, yet complaints remained comparatively low (Rawlings, 2002: 33). And as patchy and inconsistent as watch participation could be, there was a general suspicion about the various alternatives presented. Watch reform was resisted in 1720, when the Middlesex magistrates suggested taking control of the watch in Westminster. The suggestion prompted petitions from both ‘the Inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Westminster’, and from the Dean and Chapter of St Peter, Westminster, expressing concerns that the proposal undermined ‘their ancient Rights and Privileges’, and refuting claims that they required any assistance in order to protect themselves and their property. Similar objections prevented a bolder attempt to reform the watch throughout England in 1729.

Though there was some variation in the rationale for objecting to watch reform, Rawlings (2002: 65) suggests that the majority stemmed from unease at the prospect of magistrates drawing and centralising influence from local parishes. It should not therefore be necessarily viewed as tantamount to a vote of confidence in the watch, or watchmen themselves. In fact, many acknowledged that both watchmen numbers and the skill with which they undertook their duties left a great deal to be desired. Some of this was reflected within emerging eighteenth-century caricatures of the watch. Shakespeare’s watchman who would ‘rather sleep than talk’ undeniably struck a chord with audiences, and a hundred years later *The Daily Journal* mocked the ineffectiveness of the vigilance of the watch in preventing a number of robberies in one particular neighbourhood (ibid). Meanwhile, the author and journalist Daniel Defoe roundly attacked the efficacy of the watch within various

pamphlets on the issue of street crime, calling for reform by implementing a range of improvement measures (Rawlings, 1983). These caricatures both tapped into, and informed, public sentiment towards the watch (as they did into orthodox histories of the emergence of the modern police; e.g. Critchley, 1978; Lee, 1901; Reith, 1956), yet contemporary critics have argued that some of the shortfalls have been overstated (e.g. Paley, 1989; Reynolds, 1998). For these revisionist historians, the limits of the watch were not necessarily attributable to the concept itself, but to a lack of investment in provision, and the lack of seriousness with which it was taken. Moreover, they argue that insufficient attention has been paid to the problems watchmen faced; including the routine of assaults by those whom they encountered and the uncertainties of the law which allowed for the threat of expensive litigation (however unlikely) over an arrest (Rawlings, 2002: 65).

Nonetheless concerns about the efficacy of the watch were significant enough that the appetite for reform did not subside. By the eighteenth century, its advocates were aided by the fact that householders were becoming increasingly reluctant to fulfil their obligation to protect their community. This apathy should not be viewed as surprising, given that the nature of the work which kept them out of their beds at night and was often odious, time-consuming and either dangerous or boring (Rawlings, 2002: 64). To avoid partaking, many sought to excuse themselves on grounds of health, whilst others preferred to pay a fine rather than serve or to hire a substitute. By the mid-eighteenth-century prosecutions for refusals to serve had virtually ceased, which suggests that the once stringently enforced expectation that community members would partake had largely given way. As significant was the decision to replace the obligation to serve in the watch, with a duty to pay a rate out of which permitted substitutes could be hired – enacted within legislation in 1726, and later 1737.

The shift towards the paying of substitutes also reflected the emerging demand for additional policing across the increasingly urbanised landscapes of eighteenth-century Britain. Cities expanded rapidly during this period – in London alone, the population increased from approximately 650,000 in 1750 (Anderson, 1990: 5), to over 1.3 million by 1811 (Mitchell, 1988: 25). By 1861, the population was over 3 million (ibid: 25). A partial explanation for this growth lies in the substantial decline in infant mortality across the same period, as hygiene and childbearing practices

improved (Vann and Eversley, 2002: 242). Fertility rates also increased (ibid). A more comprehensive explanation, however, lies in the specific conditions and demands of industrialisation. As large-scale, labour-intensive factories (particularly manufacturing) expanded and proliferated, the need for additional labour encouraged far greater numbers of people to relocate to large towns and cities in search of employment (Schwartz, 1992). For some, such as those former servicemen in search of new opportunities following demobilisation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, settling in cities brought about the prospect of a fresh start. For others, such as those migrating from rural sections of Britain, relocating offered more diverse employment prospects in a rapidly evolving environment (Brown, 2002: 241). As a result, the demographic make-up of urban populations was transformed; by 1851, the proportion of London's population who had settled in the city after arriving from elsewhere had increased to over 38 per cent (Dennis, 2013: 242).

Whilst an expansion of urban populations was an inevitable outcome of the emerging conditions of industrialisation, the resulting shift in both the size *and* nature of populations also prompted new concerns about an increasing degeneration of public life – where morals, safety and the protection of one's interests were called into question (Emsley, 2005). Fear amongst the general population grew around the specific threat of theft, particularly as the value of property continued to increase (Emsley, 2010). In some cities, this gave rise to an increased demand for security that was met partly by the emergence of 'Thief Takers' – individuals who were paid rewards by both government and victims to capture criminals (Shoemaker, 2007). Yet it was land and business owners who quickly became the most acute source of complaint, as fears about protecting new wealth grew, and which resulted in a much more significant investment in forms of private policing and security measures (Beattie, 2001). Whilst these actions represented a short-term solution to new fears and concerns, they also served to feed into a much more profound crystallisation of growing class divides, permeated by the belief that the state should more frequently intervene in the lives of the rapidly expanding labour class. Significantly, this view was held not only by the traditional ruling classes or gentry, but also by those who had ascended the social ladder as a result of industrialisation – the emerging middle class. In a clear illustration of increased efforts to regulate the behaviours of the labouring classes

and poor in public places, movements were established to stamp out the drinking of gin, against bawdy and gaming houses, and street prostitution. Campaigns were set up by the 'societies for the reformation of manners' – who counted amongst their members justices of the peace and parish officials – all able to promote enforcement of laws on prostitution, swearing, Sabbath-breaking and 'lewd and disorderly conduct' (Rawlings, 2002: 63).

The idea of a widening divide between the moral compasses of both the rich and the poor had also come to the attention of several prominent thinkers and social reformers. Noteworthy amongst these was the magistrate John Fielding, who concluded that problems of lower-class immorality posed a direct threat to liberty (Fielding, 1755). Riots, idleness and tumultuous assemblies were dangerous to the public good and a challenge to government and all civilised life. To stem this tide, Fielding (1758) advocated a renovation of morals, along with better management of the poor. His vision of a 'general preventative machine' extended far beyond the crime control nexus, advocating shared responsibility for stricter forms of social and economic regulation. In Fielding's view, such a system would extend a fixed surveillance over people and things that moved, and which would 'scrutinize, describe and diagnose the details of an individual's life' (McMullan, 1998: 102). The practical manifestation of such an endeavour would require the installation of the state into an ever-widening complex of things and places which hitherto had lacked order or shape. It was a vision subsequently embraced by Patrick Colquhoun, a former merchant and magistrate, and by Edwin Chadwick, a social reformer of public health and sanitation. Like Fielding, Colquhoun and Chadwick lamented the scourge of idleness. Colquhoun commented that London in particular had become 'a magnet for predatory crime, vagrancy and social disorder', and concluded that the urban poor represented the most serious disruption to the social equilibrium (ibid, 1998: 108). Nonetheless, both Colquhoun and Chadwick took the utilitarian view that criminals were not driven by individual depravity, but rather as a result of ill-judged calculation of the costs of their wrong-doing. The response to such wrong-doing, they argued, should be fashioned around preventative measures practiced in a rational, coordinated and distinctly *unoppressive* fashion; most vividly expressed within Chadwick's 1829 thesis, 'Preventive Police'. In order to achieve this vision, both Colquhoun and Chadwick promoted the idea that policing should be characterised by broader and more inclusive strategies of regulation that crossed

the state and civil divide. To be sure, a specialist state agency would be required to identify and pursue criminal offenders, but it should be used sparingly, and only when the prevention of criminal opportunities had proven insufficient.

To a large extent, what transpired in the early decades of nineteenth-century Britain did not reflect such a policing vision. Indeed, Garland (2001: 30) has argued that the usurpation of the general preventative ideal by that which eventually came to pass might be best understood as the point at which one path was taken and another was left behind. Whilst models of regulation which placed an emphasis on collective prevention were practiced in the towns and cities of early modern Europe, in Britain this vision was superseded by a model which placed near singular emphasis on the creation of a 'new', public police – the presence of whom served to narrowly recast the idea of prevention, and which itself later became secondary to apprehension functions (Gilling, 1993). This development was, in many respects, the narrowed conception of policing that reformers such as Fielding (1758), Colquhoun (1799) and Chadwick (1829) had cautioned against³. The prospect of such a force created concerns about the extent to which it might engage in secretive and undercover activity, or adopt aggressive or violent behaviour. Opponents drew upon the example of policing developments in France; in which espionage had been common practice under Napoleon, and the *gendarmerie* – an armed, military police force – routinely patrolled main roads (Emsley, 2008: 74).

Allied to concerns about the likely inadequacy of local oversight and accountability arrangements, along with the fiscal burden such a force might create, police reform of this nature remained fiercely controversial across a wide range of groups. As Reiner (2010: 61) has noted, the nature of this opposition, whilst contested amongst orthodox and revisionist historians of policing, was not settled along the lines of clear-cut politics or class interests. Concerns about the efficacy, efficiency and accountability of the new policing arrangements crossed the political divide, and emerged from rich and poor alike. That these concerns emerged from such an extensive range of interest groups and sections of society dictated both the pace

³ Given their suspicions about the creation of a specialist state force, it is a source of irony that the writings of Fielding, Colquhoun and Chadwick were to prove so influential in developing the cause for reform, along with the demarcation of a clear domain of security that would pave the way for the inception of the Metropolitan Police in 1829. Colquhoun in particular quickly became synonymous with a *Peelian* vision of policing that he had largely resisted.

and pattern of police reform. The negotiated settlement and begrudging acceptance with which the public police were established and gained legitimacy required an understated and consensual approach that expressly disavowed enhanced, overt exercises of raw state power (ibid). It required agreement that the public police should operate as a non-political entity, and that it should be subject to rule of law and a degree of bureaucratic organisation. Collectively, these principles amounted to a commitment to establish the institution along distinctly professional lines, which attuned with at least some of the principles earlier promoted by both Colquhoun (1799) and Chadwick (1829). Therefore, whilst there was no distinct movement towards a powerful professional system of surveillance as advocated by Fielding (1758), Colquhoun (1799) and Chadwick (1829), neither was eventual reform characterised by a lurch towards militarisation that had previously been feared.

As important as establishing the public police upon a negotiated settlement was, the success with which it was introduced and subsequently expanded also owed much to the modest nature of its evolution – and the extent to which its early form *did not* represent a sharp break from that which came earlier. It is easy to overstate the scale and impact of policing developments between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. As Churchill (2019: 476) notes, criminological discourses are littered with tendencies to describe historical developments as a transformative departure from that which came before. By contrast, few offer much emphasis on evidence of continuities across historical periods. The traditional characterisation of policing developments during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are testament to this tendency. Perhaps most significantly, outside of London local research suggests that little changed during the transition from old to reformed provincial policing arrangements (Emsley, 1996). Even within London, the enthusiasm for a reformed, rational and coordinated police did not first manifest in the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, but in the earlier examples of the Bow Street Runners (1749), and Thames River Police (1798) – the latter of which was founded by Colquhoun. There is scant evidence to suggest the public police demonstrated a degree of preventative and investigative competence greater than these earlier incarnations (Styles, 1983; Beattie, 2001; Rawlings, 2008), and neither did its emergence appear to represent a sharp break towards the establishment of a professional body with a significantly higher calibre of personal efficiency and virtue than the old constables (Reiner, 2010: 62). In fact, the social profile of constables continued largely

unchanged as a result of the policy of not recruiting people with the ‘rank, habits, or station of gentlemen’ (Peel, cited in Gash, 1961: 502). Far from an attempt to transform the profile of constables, in some locales former watchmen were simply put into uniform – thus ‘becoming’ policemen (Emsley, 2008). There was little urge to see such a transformation, not least because advocates of police reform – whatever vision they promoted – did not question the fundamental importance of functions undertaken by earlier policing actors. Fielding, Colquhoun and Chadwick were not scathing of parish constables, watchmen and paid-for services because they carried out the *wrong* functions – but rather because they were ill-equipped and lacked the professional rigour with which to carry these out *effectively*.

It seems then, that whilst the new police emerged and established themselves across a range of reactive and apprehension-based functions during this period, the result of their inception was not a transformative monopolisation of preventative functions, and neither did it represent a clean break from that which had existed before⁴. Precisely why this specific form of policing manifested remains a matter of contention. One plausible explanation is that the resilience of social controls in working class communities were such that little appetite for greater state interference existed (Clarke, 1987: 392). As Garland (2001: 33) has noted, the institutions of civil society – ‘the churches and temperance societies, the charities and settlements, friendly societies, trade unions, working men’s associations, and boy clubs – provided a vigorous, organic underpinning to the more reactive, intermittent action of the policeman state’. Within these conditions, the institutions of civil society and emerging forms of law enforcement tended to reinforce one another, mitigating hostility that might have existed between some working-class or immigrant communities, and the constables who policed them (ibid: 33). This ensured, as Churchill (2018) has identified, that during the nineteenth century many crime control tasks became, and then remained, the shared province of both the public *and* the police.

⁴ Elsewhere, Reiner (2010: 65) has drawn attention to the idea of overstating developments during this period within his critique of orthodox and revisionist accounts of police history – and his subsequent advancement of a ‘neo-Reithian-revisionist’ interpretation.

3.3. Recent developments in patrol

If the division of patrol labour in earlier history conformed to a broadly consistent yet overstated trajectory, in more recent years its course has, at least comparatively, lacked such obvious definition. In the years since the Second World War, patrol has variously been the province of an array of actors – including that of public police officers, non-warranted police staff, patrol auxiliaries provided by local authorities, private security guards, and citizens on a voluntary basis (Jones and Lister, 2015). In the same period, the manner and extent to which each of these has contributed to patrol has also evolved. For the police, the means by which officers have carried out patrol during the last half a century has been transformed by changes to institutional objectives and technological innovation (Gilling, 1997). For others, most notably private security guards, patrol roles have grown and diversified on an unprecedented scale (Bayley and Shearing, 1996). Providers elsewhere have faced mixed fortunes. Patrol auxiliaries provided by local councils, for instance, have both emerged and declined during the same period (Jones and Lister, 2015), as have those undertaken by police staff and police volunteers – including most notably, PCSOs and special constables. Meanwhile, citizen patrols have continued to manifest in a piecemeal fashion that belies any sense of coordination or strategic vision (Bullock, 2014). The remainder of this chapter illustrates the evolving network of patrol providers by drawing upon selected recent examples and placing them into broader chronological contexts. By raising these examples of patrol – including the conditions in which they have emerged (and in some cases declined), their objectives, functions, and perceptions of their effectiveness – what follows offers a means of thinking about how modern forms of patrol have been influenced, and an account from which shifting sensibilities about patrol – about *who* should do it, and *how* it should be done – might also be better understood.

3.3.1. The war/post-war years: Changing police practices and an emerging demand gap

Whilst the reasons behind both reform and opposition of the public police remain a contested matter, recognition of its later, gradual ascendancy between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries is altogether less controversial. Conceived and established on rule-based, bureaucratic and professional principles, the legitimacy of the institution steadily grew, reaching its peak in the immediate years that followed the Second World War (Reiner, 2010). That police legitimacy peaked

during this period in particular might be viewed as a somewhat peculiar development, given that crime rates rose during the conflict (Gilling, 1997: 74). Yet misgivings about the effectiveness of the police were largely dismissed and attributed to the specific conditions of a nation subject to wartime pressures. It was widely held that when the war came to an end, crime levels would return to the apparently more stable levels that had characterised the first half of the twentieth century (ibid: 74). Even when this did not happen, little sense of crisis developed. Instead, it was felt that policing arrangements merely needed fine-tuning so as to be equipped to meet the new challenges presented by a changing world.

In 1960, the Home Secretary appointed the Cornish Committee on crime prevention and detection, which was to have a considerable impact upon police policy and practice. Fundamentally, it recognised the potential of expanding the existing number of specialist crime prevention officers and departments, which would enable trained officers to pinpoint particular areas of vulnerability. This was significant for patrol. For as specialist roles and departments developed, the function was increasingly treated as a reserve from which high-flying potential specialists could be drawn, and a 'Siberia to which failed specialists could be banished' (Reiner, 2010: 92). Patrol, as Reiner (ibid: 92) has noted, was viewed as an apprenticeship through which all officers had to pass, but seldom wished to stay in or return to. The government, aware of the possibility that the creation of such departments might encourage an abrogation of responsibility for crime prevention (advice) elsewhere within the police organisation, reaffirmed within a 1968 circular that unit beat constables⁵ might be in a good position to provide crime prevention advice direct to the community.

In practice however, the shifting conditions of beat practice would make delivery of such advice, and broader interaction with the public, a challenge. For starters, the police during this period were widely recognised as chronically under resourced. One response to addressing this issue was to make practice more effective by injecting a number of technological innovations (Gilling, 1997), including the patrol

⁵ Mawby (2013: 280) defines Unit Beat Policing as 'a system of geographical policing that comprised the 24-hour motorised patrolling of a specific area, within which two 'area constables' were responsible for the day-to-day policing of sub-areas, supported by a designated detective constable. It was first introduced by Lancashire Constabulary in 1966 (Rowe, 2013: 9).

car, the telephone and the two-way radio, all of which served to dramatically improve mobility and instigate a transformation of unit beat policing from foot, to vehicle based-patrol. The implications of this development were significant and wide ranging. Vehicle patrol unintentionally glorified the thrills of car chases, combat and capture (Holdaway 1977, 1983), whilst relationships between 'panda car' drivers and the public were more likely to be restricted to conflict situations than when conducting old-style foot patrol (Gregory, 1968). More broadly, the introduction of response teams further oriented the role of the police towards specific reactive functions (Reiss, 1992) and its ultimate zenith in the 1970s, which Reiner (1985: 221) has referred to as 'fire brigade policing'. To be sure, the Peelian vision of the police had always recognised the importance of a reactive element, but the dominance of this aspect of the police role during this period marked the highpoint of a wholesale departure from the preventive thinking of reformers such as Colquhoun and Chadwick, a century and a half earlier.

The increased specialisation of the police role and its emphasis on providing an expanding number of reactive functions during this period coincided with a notable decline in trust in the institution (Jackson et al., 2012). The retreat of the police from streets and communities came as examples of malpractice and corruption first found prominence within mainstream news sources, contributing to a haemorrhaging of public confidence, the like of which had not been witnessed since the institution's inception (Reiner, 2010: 78). Collectively, these developments informed the emerging view that the police alone were an insufficient response to local crime problems (Garland, 2001). In need of new solutions, as the end of the 1970s approached policymakers began to turn their attention towards alternative means of crime prevention. Perhaps most striking amongst these were ideas that suggested a departure from the state-centric characterisation through which policing had come to be popularly understood. Specifically, for the first time in almost a century and a half, the crime prevention roles of citizens once again began to take on added significance.

3.3.2. The 1980s: A decade of experimentation

As the crime prevention limitations of the police and broader state were brought into sharper focus, attempts at filling resulting demand gaps took the form of initiatives closely associated with the emerging philosophy of community policing⁶. Most notable amongst these was the introduction of Neighbourhood Watch. First established as a major policy initiative in the United States in late 1960s, it was later introduced in Britain in 1982. Promoted and facilitated by the police, Neighbourhood Watch drew upon the efforts of active citizens, who would look out for suspicious behaviour; becoming the 'eyes and ears' of the police in their absence (Crawford, 1998: 148). Members of Neighbourhood Watch were also tasked to identify and share information, and report suspicious activity to the police. Following their inception, schemes expanded rapidly. They became increasingly formalised, and by 2007 were represented by a national body. By 2017, the Neighbourhood Home & Watch Network reported that there were over 150,000 schemes in operation, covering approximately 3.8 million households (Neighbourhood Watch, n.d.).

However, despite the rapid ascendancy and popularity of Neighbourhood Watch, evidence of its ability to reduce crime is limited. In Britain, that which does exist variously suggests that Neighbourhood Watch either does not (Bennett 1989, 1990), or has a minimal impact upon reducing crime; though its effectiveness in this regard varies considerably from one locale to the next (Bennett et al., 2008). Research on other variants of Neighbourhood Watch (e.g. Vehicle Watch) have similarly demonstrated little to no impact upon crime (Honest and Maguire, 1993). Meanwhile US-based research has challenged the assumption that Neighbourhood Watch is an effective means of reducing fear. Indeed some research has concluded that Neighbourhood Watch may actually serve to *heighten* fear of crime, by providing members of communities with more information about personal victimisation experiences (Rosenbaum, 1988a; Skogan, 1990). More broadly, it has been argued that Neighbourhood Watch might cause an adverse impact upon

⁶ Tilley (2008: 377) has noted a significant degree of ambiguity around the precise meaning of community policing, however elsewhere Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990: xiii) identify community policing as 'a philosophy and organisational strategy to allow community residents and police to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighbourhood decay. They add that this means including members of police organisations, employing bespoke community policing officers, adopting a proactive approach whilst engaging in problem-solving with other members of communities, and working in a decentralised fashion that is attuned to local needs (ibid).

community cohesion, by creating division between those who partake, and those who are subject to their gaze (McConville and Shepherd 1992).

Neighbourhood Watch is further undermined by inconsistencies; both in its distribution, and in the relationship of this distribution to crime problems and community needs. Most schemes are characterized by 'low take up rates, weak community penetration and [are] limping, dormant or stillborn' (ibid: 115). North American research on Neighbourhood Watch appears to confirm that it is easiest to establish in affluent, suburban areas with low crime rates by people who hold favourable attitudes towards the police, rather than inner-city, crime prone public sector housing estates with heterogeneous populations (Skogan, 1990). Meanwhile support for Neighbourhood Watch is high where risk of crime is thought to be high but there is still satisfaction within the neighbourhood. By contrast, there is little support for Neighbourhood Watch where the risk of crime is high and there is little sense of community, and where the risk of crime is low and there is a strong sense of community (Hope, 2001: 432).

Any analysis of the extent of the contribution of Neighbourhood Watch should also take into consideration the extent to which the operation of such schemes increases the workload of the police. Neighbourhood Watch might be considered taxing upon the time and resources of the police in two ways. First, servicing the establishment and maintenance of schemes requires a degree of bespoke police manpower that is seldom accounted for, despite the fact that the support of the police is considered integral to the sustainability of schemes. Second, more demand is placed upon the police as a result of Neighbourhood Watch participants reporting additional crimes in their capacity as active citizens demonstrating heightened awareness (Dowds and Mayhew, 1994). Applied to the paradox of Neighbourhood Watch – that it tends to exist where it is least needed – the implication is that it may serve to distort the allocation of police resources where they are least needed. Alluding to these effects, Hope (1995) concludes that Neighbourhood Watch is more a 'club good' that benefits its members than a 'social good' which benefits society at large. If the link between Neighbourhood Watch and crime reduction remains at best tenuous, for what reasons do residents continue to partake? They may simply take the view that their intervention is contributing an effective means of crime control based upon anecdotal experience. Another answer might lie in the fact that increasingly,

insurance companies have added financial incentives to setting up and joining Neighbourhood Watch by giving insurance premium 'discounts' to members of Neighbourhood Watch schemes (Crawford, 1998). Similarly, the mantra of 'call us if you need us' is borne out in research by Dowds and Mayhew (1994) who identify that Neighbourhood Watch members are more likely than non-members to report suspicious incidents to the police. Neighbourhood Watch is then, in many respects, a 'formal link' into the local police.

Despite its contested impact upon crime and feelings of safety, the ascendancy and relative popularity of the Neighbourhood Watch 'experiment' was significant enough that by the late-1980s, more active variants of schemes – many of which promoted residents' patrols – were manifesting in local areas. Examples include the residents of Grimethorpe, South Yorkshire, who in October 1988 gathered together 82 participants to provide night patrols to look out for suspicious activity or strangers (Boothroyd, 1989b); and that of the volunteers of Gosforth, Newcastle Upon Tyne, who patrolled nightly with over 100 members in order to deter property crime (Craig, 1989). These examples were the culmination of a decade in which citizen inclusion in crime prevention had achieved notable ascendancy, and where the enthusiasm for trialling alternative means of crime prevention had reached something of a pinnacle. As the decade reached its end, the regard in which such schemes were held began to diminish, as concerns about limited effectiveness and moral efficacy grew. If the 1980s was a period noteworthy for its emphasis upon crime prevention experimentation, then the decade that followed was to mark a period of contrasting ambivalence.

3.3.3. The 1990s: Ambivalence and the limits of experimentation

As residents' patrols proliferated and became increasingly active towards the end of the 1980s, concerns about their potential adverse impacts began to emerge. Whilst Neighbourhood Watch had been facilitated – and to a certain degree embraced – by the police, the growth of autonomous patrol schemes over which the broader state had little control generated unease amongst politicians and police alike. Concerns of this nature were noticeably provoked by the arrival of the Guardian Angels on the London Underground network in 1989 (Schoon, 1989). First set up to patrol New York City subways a decade earlier, 'Chapters' of the US scheme spread at a striking rate. First, they expanded across public transport networks and streets in

over 50 cities in the US and Canada (Pennell et al., 1989). Later, they were also established in cities in Mexico (Chapman, 1985), and in Germany (Tomforde, 1992). Whilst in the US the growth of the Guardian Angels network was looked upon favourably, in Britain it was rather less positively received. Prior to their introduction on the London Underground network, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd remarked that Britain 'was not a society whose people took the law into their own hands' (cited in Rule, 1988: 19), whilst the police opposed the scheme on the grounds that it might encourage citizens to engage in inappropriate and unlawful activities. Instead, they encouraged would be participants to join Neighbourhood Watch schemes (Weale, 1994). The comments of senior officers around this time also appear to suggest that, rather than engaging in a contribution that provided net benefit, the Guardian Angels risked creating enhanced and additional workloads for the police. In some instances they were considered a hindrance to police investigations into serious crimes (e.g. Campbell, 1993), whilst the Metropolitan Police also confirmed that their initial emergence had prompted the deployment of 80 additional police officers on and around the London Underground (Guardian, 1989).

As with Neighbourhood Watch, the effectiveness of the Guardian Angels is also disputed. Research on the scheme's impact upon reducing violent offences – the primary reason for which it was established – suggests its effectiveness in this regard is also doubtful. Pennell et al. (1989: 388) found that in San Diego, experimental areas where Guardian Angels patrolled experienced a 22 per cent reduction in violent offences; yet in control areas where Guardian Angels did not patrol, such offences experienced a 42 per cent reduction. Similarly, Kenney (1986: 486) found that only a control group (not patrolled by Guardian Angels) experienced any form of decline in (already low) levels of violent crime on the New York subway. As a response to fear of crime however, research suggests the Guardian Angels generally carry a more positive impact. In one community survey, 60 per cent of the respondents who were aware that Guardian Angels patrolled in their neighbourhood said they felt safer as a result (cited in Crawford, 1998: 150). Despite this, it has been argued elsewhere that whilst the presence of Guardian Angels may serve temporarily to reduce fear of crime, their long-term presence may *exacerbate* such fears (Kenney, 1986). Meanwhile, whilst the scheme attracted a significant degree of media coverage upon its inception in Britain, its long-term broader appeal is brought into question by declining numbers of participants, and the disbandment of

various Chapters. The London Chapter, whilst not officially disbanded, suffered a fall in membership that by 2005 stood at just 12 participants (Brierley, 2005), whilst a Manchester Chapter established in 1991 had been disbanded by 1996. The limited interest in the Guardian Angels as compared with the enthusiasm with which it was taken up in the US raises questions about the transferability of schemes between international settings, and the extent to which schemes can be replicated in differing social and cultural contexts.

Despite concerns about the autonomy with which Guardian Angels operated, along with questions about its effectiveness, it is worth noting that the Metropolitan Police was sufficiently encouraged by initial popular interest in the scheme that it established its own variant of the initiative – the Blue Angels – whose activities were visibly less antagonistic and of a more consensual nature than their Guardian Angels counterparts (Bunting, 1990). Interest was also seized upon politically. Concerned about rising crime rates yet reluctant to increase police funding, in 1994 Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard announced plans to support a range of new citizen patrol initiatives. Howard's plans drew upon an intention to have citizens 'walk with a purpose' (Crawford, 1997: 51), demonstrating a form of collective action that would draw upon civil society's capacity to reproduce patrol provision in a fashion that directly responded to community needs (Howard, 1994). Unease however, once again set in. The plans were resisted heavily by senior officers and the Police Federation, who feared that such initiatives might result in citizens engaging in inappropriate, vigilante-style acts. Academic commentators variously raised concerns around lack organizational structures, supervision, ethical codes and transparency (e.g. Boothroyd 1989a, 1989b; Dale and Mawby 1994; Kingshott 1994). Perhaps most surprising was resistance from Neighbourhood Watch and community groups themselves, who expressed concern that too much might be expected of initiatives which were to receive enhanced levels of support. In the midst of fervent criticism, the plans became quickly political. The Labour opposition branded them an attempt to 'substitute the public for the police' (Routledge, 1993), and alternatively pledged greater police investment as an illustration of their commitment to a tougher policing and crime strategy. In the face of widespread criticism that the measures amounted to little more than an attempt to 'police on the cheap' that threatened the prospect of vigilantism, the Home Office toned down their plans and later effectively dropped the proposal.

Nonetheless examples of citizen patrols continued to emerge. One of the most noteworthy of the 1990s was that of the Balsall Heath Citizens' Patrol in Birmingham – the activities of which called into question the appropriateness of autonomous initiatives once again. Between 1994 and 1996, citizens mobilised as a response to perceived problems connected to an increase in street prostitution. The movement gained momentum as a reorganisation of the city's police led to the dissolution of its dedicated vice squad. Led and predominantly populated by the local Muslim community, residents mounted a campaign against both street and window sex workers; by establishing twenty street watch groups (drawn from residents-based groups), each made up of four or five people. The groups began by patrolling outside homes and on street corners at affected times of the day, picketing pimps and curb crawlers by noting license plate numbers. Quickly however, their activities became more antagonistic and aggressive. Those women suspected of being street workers became the subject of both verbal and physical harassment. Similarly, those accused of being pimps were abused, and their vehicles were attacked. Intimidation was also directed towards those identified as helping women out of prostitution, and contact between sex workers and the local outreach project declined as women were harassed whilst trying to reach the drop-in centre.

Despite its use of increasingly aggressive tactics however, the group gained a considerable degree of popular and political support, including the endorsement of both Labour and Conservative politicians. The 'Balsall Heath model' was variously commended as an effective mutual endeavour (Leadbeater and Christie, 1999), as instilling a 'renewed sense of pride and community spirit' (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005: 6), and as 'a good example... of where problems can be overcome by local communities reclaiming their streets' (Home Office, 2004: 63). The reality of the group and its impact suggests however, that these commendations were based upon a series of contentious claims: that the group was supported by all sections of the community; that it was non-violent; and that it did not lead to the displacement of perceived problems elsewhere. As Kinnell (2008) notes, there is in fact a good deal of evidence to suggest the contrary in each case. Even the popular media coverage, which had been at least initially highly supportive of the initiative, noted that as the group became more aggressive, support from the

community waned. Indeed, residents became increasingly concerned about the wellbeing of individual women walking residential areas alone, for fear that they might be set upon by patrollers. Insofar as displacement is concerned, it is telling that the increased problem of street prostitution in Balsall Heath was brought about by a displacement of prostitution activity from its more prosperous neighbouring locality, Moseley. Meanwhile the claim that the presence of the group and its actions resulted in no displacement was brought into question by the fact that as prostitution declined in Balsall Heath, a significant increase in sex work in nearby Edgbaston was detected.

The degree of concern that the Balsall Heath Citizens' Patrol eventually attracted was endemic of a period in which it was increasingly felt that the limits of civic involvement in an autonomous fashion had been reached. One emerging alternative to relying upon the inconsistent and unaccountable contributions of such schemes was the creation of municipal security forces which could undertake patrol functions. Whilst a number of local authorities had acquired funding from state employment initiatives in order to set up such forces as early as the late 1980s, it wasn't until 1994 that the first 'community patrol' was established in Sedgefield, County Durham. The council-run 'Sedgefield Community Force', which employed a small number of paid patrol officers, covered an area of approximately 85 square miles, and a population of over 90,000 people. It was charged with conducting a 24-hour uniformed patrol of public streets across the area, comprised a workforce of ten patrol officers, and operated its own control room. Officers patrolled in marked vehicles, maintaining communication both by mobile telephone and two-way radio. The Force was principally intended as a means of collecting and passing on information to police. It was not, at least according to its objectives, intended to directly regulate behaviour. Its officers did not hold exceptional powers of arrest, nor were they expected to utilise those afforded to citizens in the common law. Rather, officers were expected to engage in a non-confrontational fashion, and received training to this effect.

The initiative appears to have exhibited a moderate degree of success across several measures, though there is a limit as to what can be inferred from data gathered. In the first year of its operation the Force received 1284 calls from the public and a reduction in crime was recorded (l'Anson and Wiles, 1995). However,

the extent to which the Community Force actively contributed to this reduction remains unknown. Researchers noted higher levels of awareness of the scheme six months after its inception, with seven out of ten of a random sample of the population saying they had seen vehicles belonging to the force. The same study identified a high degree of 'happiness' with the patrols (83 per cent); however, 91 per cent said that they would rather the patrols were carried out by special constables or a new type of 'police patroller' (ibid). Later, Wiles (1996: 4) compared these and other local surveys with the 1994 British Crime Survey, noting that public satisfaction around direct contact with the Community Force was at least as good as that for police-public contacts nationally – and might even have been better.

Most of the calls received by the Community Force related to vandalism (39.4 per cent), anti-social behaviour (33.7 per cent) and general nuisances (39.4 per cent), with only a fifth (21.2 per cent) of calls concerning straightforward crime (ibid: 9). Whilst satisfaction with the Force's response to problems was generally high, there was less satisfaction with its ability to resolve problems. As Crawford (1998: 152) has noted, this may be attributable to the limited powers of the Force and its officers – an observation backed up by existing research which identified that some members of the community felt that 'a couple of extra regular police officers might be preferable' (Wiles, 1996: 9). Noticeably, the survey provides little in the way of describing what the Force and its officers did to actually resolve conflicts – so the informal resolution role of the Force, if any, is undeclared and unknown. As Crawford (1998: 152) notes, the Sedgefield Community Force appears to fulfil a co-operative junior partner role in relation to the established police service. Whilst the extent to which the Force either duplicates, complements or conflicts with the role of the established police remains uncertain, it was nonetheless providing a service in the areas of incivility, vandalism and low-level crime – areas that the police are often criticised for being inefficient or inactive in.

Yet for its moderate degree of success across these various measures, perhaps the most significant legacy of the Sedgefield Community Force was the manner in which it was adopted as a model initiative, from which other public auxiliary patrol schemes and roles would later manifest. The scheme was one of a number discussed within the influential 1996 joint report of the Police Foundation and the Policy Studies Institute, 'The Role and Responsibilities of the Police', which

considered the ways in which perennial demand for foot patrol across parks and other large public spaces might be effectively satisfied (despite evidence of a limited impact of the function upon crime). Another example drawn upon in the Report was that of the Dutch *Stadswacht* – wardens that were based in, and responsible for the patrol of cities in the Netherlands. Like the Sedgefield Community Force, the *Stadswacht* were intended as a means of providing visible reassurance, as well as responding to low level incivilities. Officers were provided with little more than a radio as a means of communication and were invested with no exceptional powers above and beyond those of ordinary citizens. They were, as the report suggests, not considered a law enforcement auxiliary, but rather the ‘eyes and ears of the police’ on the streets (Cassells, 1996: 30). Similarly, (albeit to a lesser extent), a retraction of the Dutch police from foot patrol activities had also been filled by the *Politie-surveillant*, or ‘police patroller’ – a distinct rank of police officer below that of an ordinary constable, but considerably greater than that of the *Stadswacht*. These officers carried the same powers as regular police officers, but their role was limited strictly to patrol functions only – for which they received three months training. Patrollers were also entitled to pursue additional training, to become full regular officers (see Jones, 1995). These examples – and in particular that of the *Stadswacht* – appeared influential in informing the policing ideas of the incoming Labour Government in Britain, in 1997.

3.3.4. The 2000s: State appropriation of patrol/control?

Whilst in opposition the Labour Party had been largely dismissive of promoting additional patrol actors beyond police constables, in Government it demonstrated a much clearer commitment to expanding and investing in the pool from which bespoke patrol contributions could be drawn. To this effect, in the early 2000s various new public auxiliary schemes were established, intended as a visible presence which would promote order-maintenance and neighbourhood security (Crawford, 2008). In 2000, a total of 80 schemes were established as part of the Neighbourhood Wardens programme; a central government initiative that was further supplemented by other schemes supported by local authority or community ‘regeneration’ funds. By 2003, it was estimated that 500 warden schemes were in operation in England and Wales (NACRO, 2003). In case studies of wardens’

projects in three 'New Deal for Communities' (NDC) programmes⁷, Coward et al. (2004: 3) found wardens' main objectives to include:

- *Crime prevention* – through mobile patrols, identifying design improvements and promoting neighbourhood watches;
- *Environmental improvements* – through work as resident caretakers, providing information to residents on maintenance services and liaising with agencies;
- *Housing management* – through checking empty properties and visiting tenants, and;
- *Community development* – through promoting residents' associations, organising activities and consulting with residents over services.

In an earlier review, Jacobson and Saville (1999) evaluated the impact of 50 neighbourhood warden schemes. Whilst pointing to difficulty in establishing the diverse roles of the warden as single causal factors in influencing change (as opposed to influencing change as part of broader local authority or community interventions), their evidence nevertheless suggests that warden schemes serve as an important means of tackling problems faced by deprived neighbourhoods, including both crime and fear of crime. Warden schemes which encompass environmental and community-based aims were also found to help reverse the 'social and physical decline of poor areas' (ibid: 31). Meanwhile, similar benefits were found in a later study undertaken by Social Development Direct (SDDirect) (2004: 3), which also added that the neighbourhood warden role was noteworthy for its distinct levels of accessibility to members of the public. Currently, there are no up-to-date data for the number of schemes or wardens currently operating in England and Wales. Nonetheless, whilst examples of neighbourhood wardens are still to be found in local areas, Jones and Lister (2015: 249) suggest a decline in the number of warden positions largely since and attributable to the inception and subsequent increase of PCSOs from 2004.

⁷ The New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme was carried out between 2001 and 2010. It was designed to improve crime, community, housing and physical environment problems, along with access to improved education, health and unemployment services. The programme focused on 39 deprived neighbourhoods in England, each accommodating about 9,900 people (Batty et al., 2010: 5).

The expansion of public auxiliary patrol schemes, an idea that had begun to feature in academic scholarship some years earlier (see Morgan and Newburn, 1997), represented but one measure that would bring effect to emerging strategies of reassurance and ‘neighbourhood policing’ – the distinct variant of community policing promoted in Britain. Founded upon the desire for a ‘new localism’ that would put communities at the heart of political discussion and empower them to have a say in the provision of local services (Bullock and Leeney, 2013), details of the model’s precise form were first alluded to within a 2004 Home Office Strategic Plan. Later, whilst aspects of the model were still being piloted under the National Reassurance Policing Programme (2003-2005), the Government published the white paper ‘Building Communities, Beating Crime’, which committed Forces to implementation of the model across Britain. Supported by a fund of £50 million and the recruitment of 25,000 PCSOs, neighbourhood policing was established in all forces by 2008. PCSOs, part of the newly-formed neighbourhood policing teams, were viewed as particularly critical to spreading a visible police presence and fostering improved relations between police and communities (Paskell, 2007). Their main functions consist of providing visible patrol, engaging with the public, and responding to low-level incivilities; all of which is intended to reduce demands on police officers by removing them from tasks that do not require the full extent of their unique powers (see O’Neill, 2014). By contrast, PCSOs are afforded certain limited enforcement powers (which vary by force at the discretion of the Chief Constable), but crucially do not include exceptional powers of arrest, or the use of coercive force. Though PCSOs faced a large degree of scepticism from the public and police alike following their initial inception (e.g. BBC News, 2006), they appear in recent years to have gained much greater support from local communities and police colleagues (Merritt, 2010). In addition, academic assessments of PCSOs have generally found their contribution to be positive (e.g. Crawford and Lister, 2004; Long et al., 2006). Other research however, has noted that given their limited powers and specific mandate, PCSOs should (and could be used more) strategically (Crawford et al., 2005). In this regard, there has appeared a lack of consistent understanding amongst police managers about PCSOs roles along with how these should be utilised effectively (Johnston 2005; 2006; 2007) – a critique reflected within a National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) Review of PCSOs in 2008. Elsewhere, some concern has been expressed that PCSOs have been

used to 'plug gaps' (albeit their limited powers somewhat prevent this) – particularly as police officer numbers have fallen since 2010.

Whilst a growing number of public auxiliaries were introduced during this period to fill the patrol space vacated by police in proceeding decades (and only partially-filled by citizen-based initiatives), the growth of these also subscribed to the broader idea of a formalisation of social control – in which, along with the continued growth of the private security industry and its workforce numbers, improved citizens' recourse to the purchase of commercial security services. The emergence of an ever-more diverse array of both state and market actors created both greater demand for additional security, as well as the twin effects of 'up-skilling' crime control, whilst simultaneously 'de-skilling' people and the contributions of civil society. Within these conditions, citizens increasingly felt that they neither possessed the requisite expertise required to undertake such functions effectively, and nor did they feel that it was their responsibility to do so. The concept of a formalisation of social control, along with its implications, are discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four.

3.3.5. 2010-2019: A climate of austerity

Despite some emerging consensus about the net (potential) benefit of PCSOs, like police officers their numbers have declined dramatically following and since the Comprehensive Spending Review of 2010 (see Figure. 3.1.). The total PCSO workforce in England and Wales was 10,551 as of 30 September 2016 (Hargreaves et al., 2017: 6). This represents a 10.7 per cent decrease, or the loss of 1267 PCSO posts since the previous year (30 September 2015), and a decrease of 37.6 per cent (6367 posts) Since 31 March 2010 (Sigurdsson and Dhani, 2010: 3). As O'Neill (2014: 266) has noted, security of the post is rendered more susceptible by the fact that as non-warranted officers, PCSOs can be made redundant.

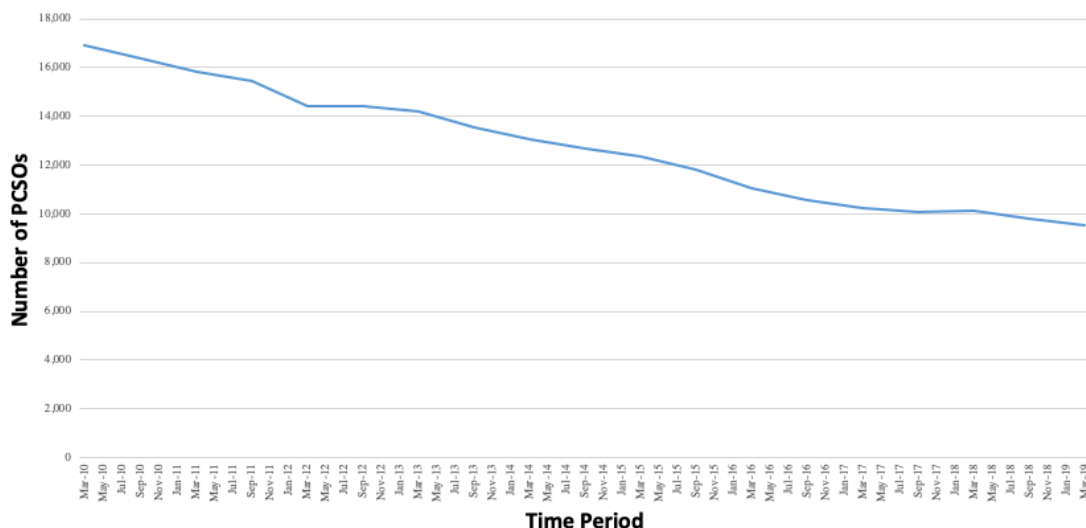


Figure 3.1. PCSO workforce, England and Wales, March 2010-March 2019

As the number of PCSOs has declined during this period, successive Conservative governments have attempted to respond to concerns related to shortfall by promoting the idea of increasing the number of those serving within the volunteer police auxiliary – otherwise known as the Special Constabulary (Whittle, 2014: 29). The Special Constabulary has played a significant role in the maintenance of law and order in Britain over the last four centuries (Gill and Mawby, 1990: 3). Established in their contemporary form by the Police Act 1964, special constables wear similar uniforms to police officers, and have recourse to the full legal powers afforded to their regular counterparts. Volunteers are paid only expenses for costs incurred to, from, and during special constable duties, and are required to complete a minimum of four hours a week of duty (though minor variations in this number can occur from one force to the next). Leon (1991) has illustrated in some depth the historical trajectory and variable purposes that special constables have served since the office was separated from that of regular officers in the eighteenth century; from their emergence as a measure of controlling large scale urban disorder, to an institutional shift towards that of an emergency reserve in the early twentieth century, to its most recent incarnation as that of a permanent policing resource. In keeping with this contemporary vision of the Special Constabulary, the government has been keen to promote the idea of recruiting special constables across a number of specialist areas, whilst creating greater parity between special constables and regular officers by giving regular rank insignia to the former (Weinfass, 2017).

Moreover, the College of Policing (2015: 27) has recommended that both special constables and police staff should be entitled to seek promotion to full-time officer ranks, and in doing so that the condition that senior special constables defer to regular officers of all ranks be removed.

However, despite these attempts at further empowerment and greater parity, since September 2012 the number of special constables in England and Wales has experienced striking and consistent decline (see Figure 3.2.). From a workforce of 20,343 volunteers in March 2012, as of September 2016 the number stood at 14,864 – a decline of 26.9 per cent of the workforce in less than five years (Hargreaves et al., 2017: 6). Given the relatively recent emergence of this trend, full explanations remain undeveloped. However, a number of specific contributory factors have been cited, including; growing pressures on reduced force recruitment and training infrastructure (Gentleman, 2011), lack of institutional support and poor retention practices (Hieke, 2014), disquiet about force restructures (BBC News, 2014), and a shift from altruistic personal motivations towards more short-term, goal-oriented approaches (Whittle, 2014: 34); a trend that has been witnessed more broadly within the voluntary sector at large (Garner and Horton, 2013).

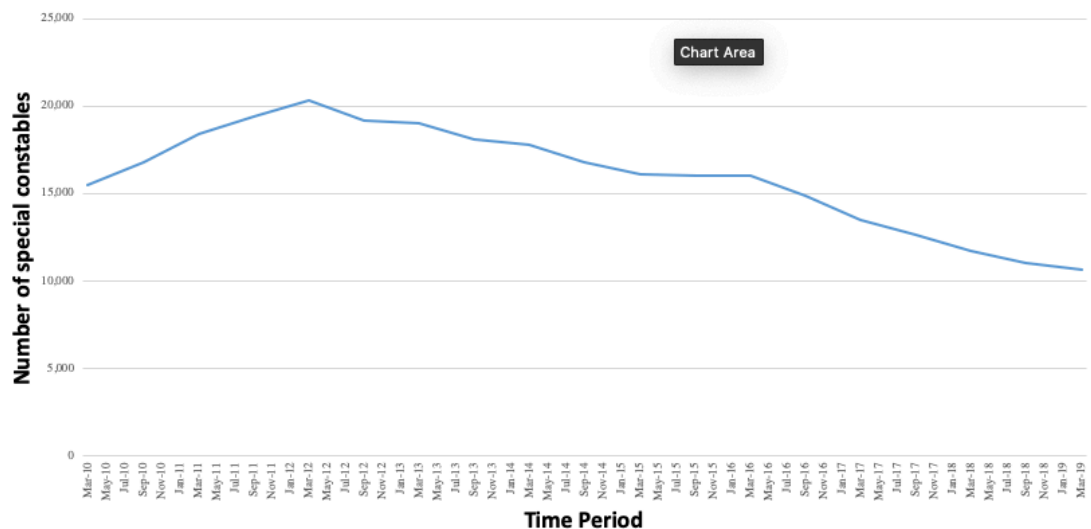


Figure. 3.2. Special constable workforce, England and Wales, March 2010-March 2019

Another explanation for the decline of special constables might appear a consequence of the government's ambition to recruit volunteers to emerging specialist roles – many of which do not require special constable status. In 2015, the Home Secretary Theresa May announced plans to recruit volunteers with strong accountancy and computing skills. The plans, which would award volunteers additional powers to assist in the policing of cyber and financial crime (Home Office, 2016a), were criticised as an ill-considered attempt to fill gaps created by a decline in the number of police officers, and one that would threaten community safety (Isaac, 2016). Despite this opposition, new powers for volunteers were established within Section 38 of the Policing and Crime Act 2017. The Act also provided a designated list of core police powers that can only be exercised by warranted officers – the first such list to be developed. It is intended that this list will further clarify the remaining functions and powers that volunteers are free to undertake and exercise. In addition to IT and business skills, new volunteer roles were sought to carry out traditional police functions, such as issuing fixed penalty notices, and conducting searches (Travis, 2016). In the case of patrol, evidence of this had already begun four years earlier, when in 2013, Lincolnshire Police began to explore the possibility of recruiting volunteer PCSOs (VPCSOs), despite the College of Policing rejecting a plan to formally establish the role. Following a successful pilot, the role was introduced to deliver 'an extra uniformed visible presence in local communities', where volunteers will give advice, provide reassurance, and work with local policing teams to resolve crime enquiries and anti-social behaviour (Lincolnshire Police, 2017a). From a total of 11 in March 2014, the VPCSO workforce increased to 30 by March 2015, and to 60 by March 2016 (Lincolnshire Police, 2017b). Though most recently the workforce has declined to a total of 41 (by March 2017), nonetheless it seems reasonable to conclude that this proliferation and empowerment of new police volunteer roles and opportunities is likely to result in a general downward trend of participation in traditional forms of police volunteering, and in particular participation via the Special Constabulary.

The VPCSO role was conceived of by both Lincolnshire Police and the local Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC). Many PCCs, since the inception of the office in 2012, have looked to instigate innovative means of crime prevention and community safety that simultaneously promote improved efficiency during a period of intense fiscal restraint. As commissioners of services *beyond* the police, this has resulted in

a number of PCCs providing funding for non-traditional, community-level crime prevention projects. In many cases, organisations and prospective projects are encouraged to apply for block grants from a specific fund set aside by the PCC, and to use funding awarded for resources necessary to undertake contributions. In 2012, the PCC for Lincolnshire introduced the '1000 Volunteer Challenge Project', the ambition of which was to significantly increase volunteer numbers to support the delivery of local policing. In addition to the familiar roles of special constables and newly established VPCSOs, a concerted effort was also launched to increase the number of volunteer police cadets and police support volunteers (PSVs). Acknowledging that recruitment for PSVs had been 'historically low and the number of opportunities limited' (Police and Crime Commissioner for Lincolnshire, 2014: 8), during 2013/14 over 30 new roles were identified, including in the Force's Strategic Development Department, in the Hi-Tech Crime Unit, and on major crime enquiries. The sentiment of empowering and diversifying volunteer initiatives has also been adopted by other PCCs. Amongst these initiatives, citizen patrols have featured; including rural patrols in the districts of Selby, Stokesley, and Thirsk in North Yorkshire (North Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2014), and student patrols, such as in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire (Gloucestershire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2015).

As community-led initiatives have taken on added momentum in an age of fiscal restraint and PCCs, intermittent interest in citizen patrols has also been retained at strategic and policy-making levels. In 2010, the NPIA produced a briefing on citizen patrols, in order to provide guidance on whether the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) should support the concept. Before the briefing had been produced, members of the ACPO cabinet had separately articulated concerns about signalling 'ownership and responsibility' for citizen patrols, as it could lead to 'difficulties which would need to be addressed, such as health and safety, insurance and duty of care' (NPIA, 2010: 3). Raising the examples of a number of schemes then in operation, it advocated that these could be of benefit to both local policing teams and their communities. It went further, by suggesting that schemes might be overseen and rolled-out by involving and utilising Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs). However, in a hint of ambivalence that has since largely defined the police response to citizen patrols, the report concluded that there was a risk that if ACPO supported the concept generally, that the public may interpret this

support as 'carte blanche' to undertake patrols irrespective of a lack of official support – thereby fuelling concerns of vigilantism.

Later, traces of a renewed commitment to citizen patrol emerged in 2012, as the Conservative-led Coalition Government commissioned the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network (NHWN) to act as a conduit for citizen patrols. The NHWN facilitated workshops which brought together delegates from a number of citizen patrol initiatives, as well as representatives from the police, victim support and housing organisations. It professed no desire to implement a governance structure for citizen patrols, as ACPO retained the position that ownership of schemes should be held at the local level. Instead the Network hoped to work with existing groups, organisations and the police in order to 'signpost relevant services to existing parties' (NHWN, 2012), and thus support the future emergence and management of schemes. In a statement provided for the purposes of dissemination at the workshops, ACPO maintained its cautious stance that citizen patrols should be welcomed but 'responsibly exercised' (ibid).

3.4. Conclusion

By drawing upon selected examples, this chapter has illustrated two discernible trends in earlier forms of patrol. First, early histories of patrol appear to indicate a long-term process of gradual appropriation of the function by the state, and from citizens. Appropriation during this period was aided by increasing ambivalence on the part of citizens about partaking in patrol, growing variation in private interests, and the emerging challenges of urbanisation – all of which served to render communal self-policing and watch arrangements as ineffective (Rawlings, 2002). There is a tendency however, to assume that the inception of the early nineteenth century public police all but ended the role of citizens in policing functions and broader systems of control. As with the argument that the introduction of the 'new' police marked a transformative moment, this tendency appears overstated. The police were unable to establish their presence as comprehensively as early police reformers such as Patrick Colquhoun and Edwin Chadwick would have liked, and neither did they subscribe wholly to the preventive vision that many of these reformers had argued for (Garland, 2001). Rather, as the police engaged in an

increasing number of reactive functions, crime prevention first became, and then remained, the province of both the public *and* the police (Churchill, 2019: 467).

Second, more recently the division of patrol labour has been characterised by a greater degree of complexity. As public police practices adapted with technological change (Gilling, 1997), and as trust and confidence in the institution declined in the years that followed the Second World War (Reiner, 2010: 78), a demand gap emerged. In response, policy-makers turned to, and experimented with alternatives – including those that promoted an enhanced role for citizens. Neighbourhood Watch, a noteworthy example of a citizen-focused initiative, proved popular despite evidence of limited impact upon crime (Bennett 1989, 1990), and lack of distribution according to need (Hope 1995; 2001). Nonetheless it laid a foundation from which a number of more active variants could be established, including those of the Guardian Angels and the Balsall Heath Citizens' Patrol. Their emergence, however, appeared to demonstrate various shortcomings of citizen patrol initiatives. Whilst the limited and declining membership of the Guardian Angels raised questions about its sustainability and reliability, the Balsall Heath Citizens' Patrol created concerns about the over-zealous contributions of citizens that might ultimately manifest as acts of vigilantism (Kinnell, 2008). As these limits were revealed and ambivalence about citizen involvement grew, local authorities increasingly looked towards the prospect of funding public auxiliary patrols. As an example of a council-run initiative, the Sedgefield Community Force established itself as a model which was to influence the thinking of the incoming Labour government in the late-1990s. Subsequently, by the early 2000s the government had introduced neighbourhood wardens, and later PCSOs, both of which were intended to undertake a dedicated patrol function. However, despite some emerging consensus about the utility of PCSOs (see O'Neill, 2014), like police officers their numbers have declined dramatically following and since the Comprehensive Spending Review of 2010. Similarly, since 2012 the number of special constables has also experienced significant decline. This development may at least in part be explained by a recent proliferation of new, bespoke volunteer roles, which present citizens with new opportunities and are likely to result in a continued decline in traditional forms of police volunteering. The general trend of innovation in police volunteering has also been driven by the inception of PCCs, who, tasked with delivering local policing services in a challenging fiscal climate, have been keen to sponsor and fund citizen-

led initiatives in order to meet public demand. These developments appear to create new opportunities for citizen patrol, and volunteering in policing more generally – certainly, volunteer contributions have featured more prominently in recent policy discussions (NHWN, 2012), and have been set out more clearly in recent legislation (e.g. HM Government, 2017).

These recent developments also tell us something about how patrol is held by various groups in contemporary settings. For their part, the public, subject to the activities of a diverse range of patrol actors, and with greater recourse to private security (see Chapter 4.4.), are now more likely to purchase or consume commercial security services than to undertake such functions themselves. The effect of this development has been to inform a sense that broader control activities do not need to be, nor should they be undertaken by private citizens. This is likely to carry significant implications for contemporary citizen patrols, regardless of any ambitions to see their numbers increase. Meanwhile, the police appear to have supported citizen-based initiatives where they have been able to exert either a measure of control over schemes, or indeed facilitate them – as has been the case with Neighbourhood Watch. By contrast, schemes that have operated with greater degrees of autonomy, including some examples of citizen patrol, have been met with both suspicion and concern. Strikingly, this ambition to direct, or control citizen patrol and other citizen-led initiatives is also reflective of a much broader trend; one in which the state aspires to exercise significant control – or regulatory power – over the activities of both ‘responsibilised’ citizens (Garland 1996; 2001), and the increasingly important commercial security sector. It is to this power-balance, and to the respective contemporary policing and community safety roles of the state, the market, and civil society, that the following chapter now turns.

Chapter Four

Locating citizen patrols: Contributions of civil society in a crowded field

4.1. Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter charted the development of patrol as a specific function, this chapter considers a series of changes that have shaped the broader division of policing and community safety labour within the United Kingdom since the end of the Second World War. It is not likely that the precise parameters of this division – between its array of institutions, arrangements and processes – have ever been firmly settled. Indeed, the complexity that defines contemporary systems of policing and community safety may merely represent a re-articulation of earlier systems, themselves characterised by multiple providers and markets in security (Zedner, 2006b). Yet it has been argued that, driven by the highly advanced socio-political processes of late modernity, present arrangements are characterised by new layers of complexity (Garland, 2001). Lines of demarcation drawn between what the state, market and civil society can, and should provide have become ever more blurred (Cohen, 1985). Profound questions about how policing and community safety should be carried out, who by, and how far the influence of each should extend have become more pertinent, as the limits of the sovereign state has become exposed, and as the range of non-state providers, along with the nature of their contribution diversifies (e.g. Loader 1997, 1999; Zedner 2006a).

The purpose of this chapter then, is to provide a contextual overview of, along with some explanations for, recent developments in policing and community safety. By locating citizen patrols within the broader policing and community safety field, it helps to develop a more nuanced illustration of the various external influences that both determine the emergence of initiatives, and help shape the forms that they take. It does so by examining various influences and roles of the state, the market, and civil society within the policing and community safety sphere, illustrating the ways in which contributions from each interact with the next, and reflecting upon the implications that each of these creates. To this end, it avoids the temptation of providing an exhaustive overview of post-war developments in policing; instead

drawing upon a selected number of criminological explanations in order to identify appropriate trends, patterns and implications for civil society, and specifically for citizen patrols. By drawing selected insights together, it also offers a departure from the tendency within criminological discourses to explore developments from the perspectives of the state, market and civil society in isolation (Kempa et al., 2004).

The chapter begins by briefly reflecting upon the ways in which attitudes towards the division of policing and community safety labour are influenced by broader, historical developments and changes. It then selects and explores three 'theses of change' (see Figure 4.1.); the emergence of 'strategies of responsabilisation' from the perspective of the state's role, of 'mass private property' from the perspective of the markets role, and finally of a 'formalisation of social control', from the perspective of civil society's role. As a result of exploring these accounts, the chapter advances a number of important trends that carry implications for the realisation and effective operation of citizen patrols. First, it identifies that despite encouraging greater market and civil society involvement in policing and community safety measures through the promotion of 'strategies of responsabilisation' (Garland 1996, 2001), the legislative and administrative activities of the state have made such endeavours difficult to achieve. Second, whilst some doubts about the full extent of the transferability of the mass private property thesis to UK contexts remain, recent developments nevertheless suggest an enhanced role for private security across both private and increasing amounts of public space. Third, the recent activities of both the state and the market have eroded the potential manifestation of a range of contributions offered by civil society (Jones and Newburn 2002), despite their effectiveness as 'capable guardians' (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Whilst the focus of what follows is specifically concerned with developments in Britain, occasional reference is made to theories and concepts from other jurisdictions (most notably North America). This is done where the source material adds value to the lines of inquiry, and where it can be considered sufficiently transferable.

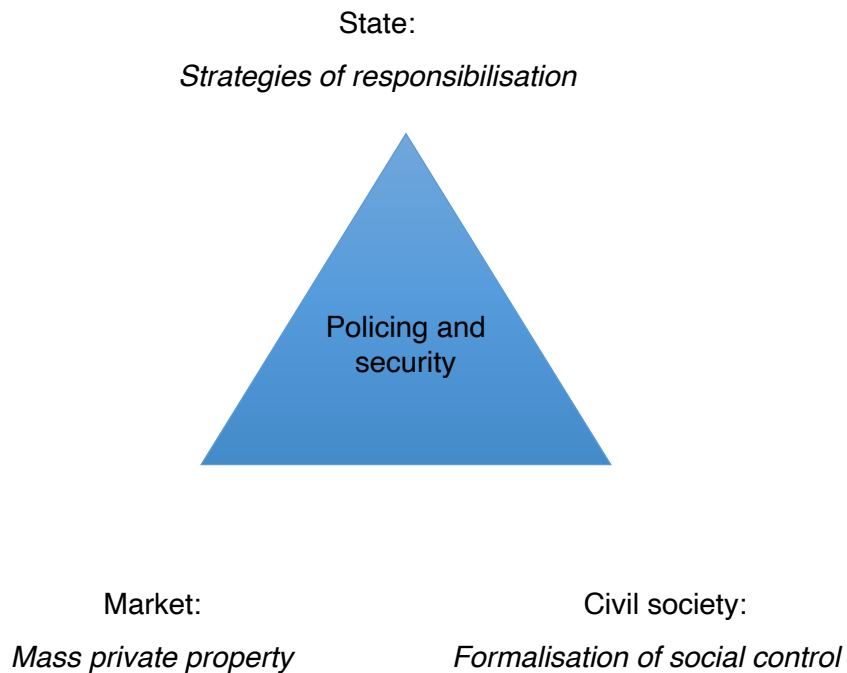


Figure 4.1. Conceptual trilogy of state, market and civil society

4.2. Change within a historical perspective

Before embarking upon the task set within this chapter, it is worth briefly considering how attitudes towards the division of policing and community safety labour have been shaped. Views on the extent to which each of the state, market and civil society should contribute to these functions appear predisposed. In popular discussion, beliefs about the dominance and authority of the sovereign state continue to prevail, whatever its perceived value or shortcomings. Conversely, disruption to the basic idea of the state's obligation to serve the public at large is often received with an inherent degree of suspicion. As such, scepticism prevails about the emergence of non-state actors, institutions and processes. Private security is viewed as a threat to common interests. As has been illustrated in previous chapters, the empowerment of community groups seldom occurs without vivid proclamations of an impending spread of vigilantism. But how have these positions arisen, and how might they be explained? Undoubtedly, this is a complex matter, the full extent of which does not fall within the remit of this chapter.

Nonetheless, the lines of inquiry pursued within this chapter might at least be further enlightened by placing its subject matter into some brief historical perspective.

These seemingly entrenched beliefs about the role of the state in matters of policing and community safety have not always been so, as the narrative of the previous chapter suggests. Indeed, populations of previous periods might think the importance now attached to the role of the state an odd development. So what then, has changed?

In Britain, one significant change in particular appears to have contributed to renewed attitudes towards non-state policing and community safety providers. This change emerges from the late-nineteenth century formation of the modern nation state, and more precisely, its legacy. Central to the construction and maintenance of this form of governance was the projection of the state as a powerful and pervasive force, which carried an influential and direct role across a range of social functions. One of the most striking examples of this development was the inception of the modern police in 1829, which served to project an image of the state's monopoly over a large number of broad policing activities. To be sure, this monopoly was largely symbolic in nature (Reiner, 2010), and has been described as a 'blip' in a longer term pattern of multiple policing providers and markets in security (Zedner, 2006b). Yet if this development represents only a symbolic change, its effect has been no less profound. The image of a symbolic monopoly has cast a shadow which continues to carry subtle yet profound implications for the ways in which alternative social control contributions are viewed, and the legitimacy that they are afforded. The changes that have taken place during the last half a century, some of which are discussed within this chapter, appear to disrupt an earlier vision of the state as the undisputed and dominant stakeholder within the policing and community safety sphere. Indeed, it is arguable that to an extent, the shadow cast by early twentieth century developments hinders any objective assessment of who should undertake policing and community safety, and how it should be carried out. And whilst it is difficult to release the shackles of this constraint, it is at least a constraint that any inquiry such as that which follows should be conscious of.

4.3. State developments

Chapter Two remarked upon some of the limitations attached to viewing social control through a narrow, largely formal perspective. This view is also inherent within emerging discourses about the relationships between social control, regulation, and the broader dispersal of discipline. Braithwaite (2000) argues that within modern, developed states such as Britain, concepts such as these are increasingly interchangeable. Narrowed conceptualisations of social control which focus upon policing and community safety in exclusive terms have decreasing relevance to the 'new harms, risks and mechanisms of control that are emerging today' (ibid: 222). Whilst policing and community safety remain significant social control contributions, they represent but a constituent part of a complex patchwork that governs and carries out the reproduction of order. To fully account for the diverse range of complex agents, institutions and processes that contribute to this end, Braithwaite (ibid) suggests that studies of criminal justice should be less concerned with the traditional dimensions of 'criminology', and more concerned with studies of regulation, child development, restorative and procedural justice, and other yet unforeseeable organising ideas. Braithwaite (ibid) refers to this present incarnation of the governance and maintenance of order as that of a *regulatory state*. Premised upon a neo-liberal combination of market competition, privatized institutions, and decentred, at-a-distance forms of state regulation, the regulatory state is characterised by the influence it exerts 'from above', whilst enabling citizens and civil society to carry out social control functions 'from below'.

This configuration represents a distinct departure from the preceding, *Keynesian state*, which was notably characterised by greater direct intervention by the state itself, and by the earlier *Nightwatchman state*, where both the governance and maintenance of order was carried out locally, and predominantly by civil society. The distinctions between these various models of governance and order maintenance are most clearly illustrated within the 'Steering and Rowing' analogy provided by Osborne and Gaebler (1992). They explain that developed states such as Britain have been transformed; first from a position whereby the oversight (steering) and delivery (rowing) of public services was carried out by civil society (Nightwatchman state); later to a model whereby the state largely rowed but was weak on steering civil society (Keynesian state); and most recently to a model by which the state now assumes the authority to steer, and uses that authority to

encourage civil society to row (regulatory state). Within the regulatory state, citizens are encouraged to provide for their own future security through measures to protect themselves against crime risks, to take care not to make themselves victims of crime, and also to measures that transcend direct means of crime prevention – such as taking out private health insurance and private pensions (Rose, 2000). Moreover, each community is encouraged to take responsibility for preserving the security of its own members, whether they be as residents of a neighbourhood, employees of an organisation, or consumers and staff of a shopping complex (ibid). What appears to have developed as a result of this re-configuration is a form of ‘Governmentality’ in action (Foucault, 2008), of which one characteristic concerns how actors and institutions outside the criminal justice state are taught to govern themselves, whilst the state continues to regulate from afar. At this stage however, it is important to acknowledge the distinctions between the *intentions* and *rhetoric* of entrusting citizens and civil society with the delivery of social control functions, and the *effects* and *realities* of actually doing so – a distinction discussed further within the following section of this chapter.

4.3.1. The emergence of ‘strategies of responsabilisation’

In *The Culture of Control* (2001), David Garland argues that since the late 1960s, a number of broad social and political developments have created a ‘new criminological predicament’ for UK criminal justice authorities. This predicament is characterised by the increasing acceptance of two social facts – first, that high crime rates are ‘normal’, and second, that the criminal justice state is limited in its capacity to deliver crime control provision. The presence of this predicament and the pressure that it has brought to bear on criminal justice authorities has fluctuated over the past half a century. The reported dramatic increase in crime rates throughout the third quarter of the twentieth century fuelled both recognition, and rejection of the state’s ‘impossible mandate’ of responsibility for social order (Manning, 1977). Later, the reported steady reduction of crime in the UK from the mid-1990s alleviated a degree of that pressure, allowing for occasional denials about the state’s limited capacity to dispense crime control functions. Most recently, reductions in criminal justice agency budgets, prompted by the onset of austerity since 2010, have again brought the limits of the state sharply into focus. Nevertheless, whether these developments have served to temporarily displace the nature and implications of this predicament from public consciousness or otherwise,

they have done little to reduce its enduring influence upon contemporary policing and community safety policy and practice.

This 'major shift in paradigm' (Tuck, 1988), characterised by a state no longer protected by the myth of a monopoly of crime control, essentially left state authorities with two options – either to pursue continued denials of its limited capacity and effectiveness in delivering crime control provision – referred to as 'non-adaptive' strategies by Garland (2001); or to pursue 'adaptive strategies', that attempt to configure a more realistic role for the state – one that responds to the demands of the external world (Matravers and Maruna, 2005). Amongst these, a redistribution of responsibility has manifested in the emergence of a wide range of 'strategies of responsabilisation'. As strategies of the 'new prudentialism'⁸ (O'Malley, 1992), these have variously been referred to in respect of crime control, pensions, welfare and health care, and describe the means by which the post-Keynesian state has attempted to shift responsibilities previously considered sovereign, both to the individual and the market (O'Malley, 1996). In the case of crime control, Garland defines strategies of responsabilisation as:

“...central government seeking to act upon crime not in a direct fashion through state agencies (police, courts, prisons, social work, etc.) but instead by acting indirectly, seeking to activate action on the part of non-state agencies and organizations” (1996: 452).

It is important to note that strategies of responsabilisation are not intended to supplant the formal apparatus of the criminal justice state. Rather, they are intended as a means of complementing and extending the reach of its formal capacity, by enabling and regulating informal – albeit directed – action. In this arrangement, the state disperses discipline by 'governing from a distance' (Garland, 1996; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), whilst non-state agencies, including direct and indirect agents of social control, are charged with the delivery of crime control provision in forms that have been categorised as policing 'through', 'above', 'beyond', and 'below' government (see Loader, 2000). The diverse provinces of these non-state agencies

⁸ O'Malley (1992) defines the 'new prudentialism' as the means by which individuals are encouraged to engage in crime prevention and safety measures themselves rather than relying upon the state to act for them.

range from the supranational arrangements that transcend national borders, to the varied and expanding contribution of the private sector (see Chapter 4.4.), to the activities and interactions of citizens within communities (see Crawford, 1997; Gilling, 1997). Enhanced collaborative efforts between these agencies, groups, and the state have been realised through the proliferation of terms such as ‘partnership’, ‘multi-agency approach’ and ‘empowering communities’, which have come to dominate policing and community safety discourses in spite of their apparent vacuity (Crawford, 1997). In practice, collaborative partnerships between ‘expert’ state and non-state agencies have been increasingly encouraged since the issuance of Home Office Circular 8/84, which promoted a coordinated approach among agencies at the local level. The initial assertion that these approaches would not be awarded additional resources was soon reversed (Gilling, 1994), when the New Labour Government’s (1997-2010) flagship Crime and Disorder Act (1998) created both Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs), and CDRPs – both a means of pushing collaboration to the forefront of the crime prevention agenda. More recently, since 2010 the Government’s over-arching ‘Big Society’ initiative has attempted to encourage active citizenship within communities, across various social functions including crime control (Home Office, 2016b). These promote the furtherance of both individual and collective responsibility at the local level, though the initiative itself has been frequently described as both vacuous (see Hunter, 2011), and hindered by the contradictory nature of other government policy (Barker, 2011).

The repeated theme of these strategies is that the state is not, and cannot be solely responsible for crime control (Garland, 2001). Moreover, it challenges the penal modern conception of crime control as the preserve of ‘experts’, by promoting the message that crime control should be considered the responsibility of *all*. Just as it is incumbent upon state authorities and non-state experts to deliver policing and community safety goods, it is also incumbent upon ordinary people, as indirect agents of social control, to adjust their everyday behaviours as a means of disrupting and reducing the opportunity for crime. Inherent in this message, is the construction of crime as a normalised social phenomenon, most effectively responded to by mainstream social processes, and ‘everyday reflexive reactions’ (Garland, 2001). This ‘routinization’ of crime prevention places at its centre a reliance upon informal modes of action, carried out by indirect agents of social

control (see Chapter 4.5.1.). Within criminological discourses, it has enabled the proliferation of ‘opportunity’ theories of crime – including rational choice, crime pattern and routine activity theories, which are discussed later in this chapter.

4.3.2. The reality and implications of strategies of responsabilisation

What then, are the realities of responsabilisation strategies? How effective have these strategies been at utilising non-state agencies, groups and institutions as policing and community safety arrangements? This diverse range of contributors, across a wide range of strategies makes any such analysis difficult, and it is not intended that an exhaustive account of the research evidence that evaluates their impact will be presented here. However, it is worth considering some general themes which provide a clearer indication as to the nature and extent of the contribution of non-state groups, along with the implications that their contributions create.

In the first instance, it is worth considering the extent to which recent developments reflect the transformative view that the state now ‘governs from a distance’. For as many examples appear to confirm this view of a paradigm shift, others suggest that such an interpretation might be overstated. There are a number of examples that can be drawn upon to this end – the state continues to enact new laws, which ultimately criminalise behaviours deemed inappropriate. As agents of the crown, the police enforce those laws whilst retaining their distinct and unique monopoly over the legitimate use of coercive force. The work of the police has also expanded as a consequence of more proactive approaches to crimes such as domestic abuse (Donzelot, 1979). Meanwhile the sovereign state also remains the sole authority responsible for issuing criminal punishments, and projects power visibly through its programmes of mass imprisonment. These examples suggest that whilst responsibility has dispersed in respect of some functions, in other functions (most notably those that specifically *react* to crime), the state retains much of its direct and influential involvement. Moreover, an observation of the historical antecedents of the state’s role in the delivery of policing and community safety might lead us to the view that a plurality of providers, far from a transformative development, can be found in earlier historical periods (see Johnston, 1992; Zedner, 2006b).

Yet even within the field of crime *prevention*, a closer look at specific initiatives and schemes would suggest that a devolvement of responsibilities and functions from the state has been far less forthcoming than the language of responsabilisation strategies would suggest. For example, whilst researching CSPs, Skinns (2003) identifies that whilst the potential benefit of improved collaboration with local community groups and schemes was recognised by criminal justice practitioners, in reality these rarely materialised. Meanwhile Hughes (2007) found that the effectiveness of CDRPs was hindered by a range of factors including the dominance of a policing agenda, conflicting interests, and different priorities and cultural assumptions between participating agencies and groups. This appears to indicate that a disparity exists between the *rhetoric* of responsabilisation strategies and the *reality* of these, in which the state's role is conceived as an attempt to govern at 'arm's length', but ultimately remains rather more 'hands on' (Crawford, 2001a).

The nature of this disparity, and the extent to which the state is either unable or unwilling to devolve responsibility, might be explained by a number of means. In the first instance, it is perhaps not surprising that central government remains keen to 'be seen' to be responding to perceived crime problems within the politically-charged sphere of crime and disorder (Garland, 2001). Another explanation, Crawford and Evans (2012) suggest, is that the practice of drawing other non-state and non-expert groups into the policing and community safety fold has been hindered by the emphasis placed upon 'top-down' managerial approaches, and compliance with national performance indicators. This development is perhaps best illustrated by the specific case of anti-social behaviour, in which the early promises of New Labour to combat the underlying causes of such behaviours increasingly gave way to a more explicit, and formalised focus upon the impacts of its 'anti-social' nature. By pursuing this focus, the potential for contributions of non-state and community-based agencies and groups has been reduced – and particularly amongst those who are not perceived to be able to contribute to 'expert'-based solutions (*ibid*). Much of this has developed despite the fact that the resources of the criminal justice state have become increasingly stretched by the 'net-widening', and 'mesh-thinning' consequences of this development as it has taken hold (see Cohen, 1985). More recently, the state's position has been strengthened further still by anti-social behaviour legislation including the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 and

the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011, which has continued to extend the formal powers of the police and other state agencies, but noticeably offered little further empowerment to other local groups.

These contrary trends in the reality of responsabilisation might also be witnessed within recent successive governments' broad commitment to community involvement in crime prevention, which takes the form of a communitarian philosophy (Etzioni, 1993). Initially conceived by New Labour (and since extended as the 'Big Society' by subsequent Coalition and Conservative Governments) as a progressive approach to crime control, it was hoped that empowering civic institutions would instil a greater sense of kinsmanship amongst communities, and a rediscovery of 'lost moral values' (Crawford and Evans, 2012). However, Hughes (2007) notes that this broad approach has increasingly taken on a 'moralist and rightist' tone that promotes a more explicit punitive outlook. Since 1997, successive governments have also tended to view civil and community contributions through the prism of crime and disorder, encouraging involvement in local Neighbourhood Watch schemes and the Special Constabulary; the result of which has been a general lack of flexibility in promoting new and diverse ways of activating citizens within local areas (ibid). Moreover, the philosophy appears to promote a level of civilian activation that is scarcely achievable within recent statutory and procedural requirements, including those developments that have been described here. And even in the event that such an approach could be facilitated, there remains a challenge in effectively motivating tax-paying citizens and civic institutions to accept devolved responsibility. This is particularly problematic where it is believed the functions in question should remain the preserve of the state (Engstad and Evans, 1980). Indeed, there appears a degree of irony in the fact that the expansion of citizenship – a consistent aim of responsabilisation strategies – has led citizens, better informed of their rights, to demand the exercise of formal due process (Clarke, 1987), much of which occurs at the expense of state resources.

Citizens then, appear increasingly likely to demand more from the state, precisely when the emergence of responsabilisation strategies suggests an acknowledgement and re-articulation of its limits. One example that appears to confirm this degree of apathy is that of Neighbourhood Watch schemes, which despite their apparent ubiquity (Rowe, 2013a), suffer from a legitimacy deficit created by substantial

variation in composition, formality and influence from one area to the next (Shapland and Vagg, 1988). Whilst invariably state attempts at devolving responsibility are delivered in a passive and persuasive fashion (particularly at the local and individual levels), on occasions the reluctance of non-state actors to accept responsibility has resulted in the state's more aggressive pursuit of compliance. These can be witnessed through schemes including the 'polluter pays principle', which requires the costs of pollution to be borne by those who cause it (Garland, 2001), whilst others include the suggestion that manufacturers should be forced into more effective preventive action in relation to crimes that arise from the manipulation of their products and services by threatening them with the costs of prosecution (Clarke, 1999). The enforcement of these measures again, however, suggests that the role of the state remains very much a direct and influential one.

So what then, can be drawn from these developments? First, in addition to the distinction already made between the *rhetoric* and the *reality* of strategies of responsabilisation, there is also a distinction to be made between the *intentions* and *effects* of such strategies. There is no guarantee that the desired outcomes with which non-state actors, institutions and processes are entrusted with greater responsibility will be met; indeed, it is entirely possible that *unintended* outcomes and consequences may emerge. Second, it is noticeable that within responsabilisation discourses, a dominant narrative emerges of conceiving of responsabilisation in explicitly disciplinary, or punitive terms. There is without doubt utility in conceiving of responsabilisation as such, particularly from a crime prevention perspective. Yet this also tends to negate the more altruistic and philanthropic properties of responsabilisation. Specifically, this appears limiting in respect of activities that might be considered examples of active citizenship, where a focus upon social capital is superseded by the dominant narratives of harm reduction, risk aversion and safety. Third, it is important to acknowledge that whilst the influence of the state is maintained or even possibly extended by this particular means of 'governing from a distance', its power can by no means be considered absolute. The inconsistent and patchy involvement of citizens in schemes such as Neighbourhood Watch suggests that responsabilisation as a strategy of state power still can be, and is, frequently resisted.

4.4. Developments in the market place

4.4.1. The growth of private security and 'mass private property'

Another prominent feature of social control in developed Western systems, including Britain, is the presence of private security. Discourses that focus upon this particular provider have been occupied not only by the activities and effects of private security, but by explanations for its significant and continued growth throughout the second half of the twentieth century (e.g. Johnston 1992, 2000; Jones and Newburn, 1998; Kempa et al., 1999; Button, 2002). One orientation of explanation lies in the 'mass private property' thesis, offered by Clifford Shearing and Philip Stenning (1981, 1983, 1987). Building upon Spitzer and Scull's (1977) claim that the legal definitions, organisation and use of space is affected by changes in economic relations and structures, Shearing and Stenning argue that a growing and increasingly pervasive private security workforce can be explained by corporate control over large swathes of both public and private property. Private space, in particular, has been transformed by land and property ownership powers initially conceived for spaces inaccessible to the public, but increasingly now accessed and used *as if they were* public. These developments can be found in places of leisure and recreational activity, such as large shopping centres and theme parks; in places of work, such as large offices, industrial and manufacturing facilities; and in residential spaces – including complexes, apartment blocks and estates. The inference made by Shearing and Stenning (1981) is that the growth of these accessible spaces has simultaneously reduced the capacity of the public police, whilst facilitating a growth of non-state forms of security. More fundamentally, they argue that these developments have afforded private corporations a sphere of independence and authority which in practice far exceeds that enjoyed by individual citizens, and which has both rivalled and challenged that of the state. They conclude by suggesting that the legal authority originally conceded to private property owners has increasingly and perversely become the authority for massive and continuous intrusions upon the privacy of citizens (Shearing and Stenning, 1983).

The mass private property thesis combines various dimensions that characterise the public-private conceptual divide (Jones and Newburn, 1998). In the first instance, it focuses upon the spatial dimension of 'public', and changes in both physical and experiential space. Whilst the physical size of the space in question

carries important implications, the changing nature of the space as that which offers '*routine access by large numbers of people*' is a more significant development still (Jones and Newburn, 1998: 48). Second, it considers the sectoral dimension of private ownership, and its relationship with both the state and the market. Third, it ponders a legal dimension which is underpinned by a rupture between legal definitions of property ownership and the intended use of property (Kempa et al., 2004). That the thesis draws upon a number of dimensions that transcend the traditional definitions of 'public' and 'private' suggests that the suitability of these terms is questionable (Johnston, 1993). However, as Jones and Newburn (1998) note, attempts at alternative conceptualisations are rare, and, adequately defined the public-private dichotomy remains a useful tool (if not an infallible one) for understanding trends and developments with regards to this particular node of policing.

4.4.2. The nature and functions of private security

Having outlined the fundamental characteristics of the mass private property thesis, it is important to briefly reflect upon the nature of the private security provision that it makes reference to, and how this is distinct from other forms of social control. A useful starting point is to consider the ways in which private security compares and contrasts with public police organisations. Johnston et al. (2003) note that each is characterised by different powers, tools, logics and mentalities. Where powers and tools are concerned, it is clear that the role of the state, and in particular the police, is marked as distinct by the retention of the police monopoly of the use of coercive force (Bittner, 1970). By contrast, private forms of security predominantly adopt less overtly coercive processes as a consequence of their relative lack of formal powers. Indeed, in many states, including Britain, the use of coercive measures by private security personnel are invariably restricted by law.

There are also discernible differences in the logics and mentalities of public and private policing and community safety measures. Amongst these is the idea that state authorities, including the police, react to *past* events, whilst private security, free from many of the formal constraints imposed upon their state counterparts, focus upon shaping *future* behaviours and events. Similarly, where prevention is undertaken by the police, there is a distinction to be made between their preventive role – usually defined as *crime* prevention – and the preventive role of private

security, invariably referred to as *loss prevention* (Shearing and Stenning, 1981). Under these mandates, the public police tend to focus upon those whom they believe to be potential lawbreakers, whilst private security focuses upon opportunities for breaches of expectations, rules and codes set by property and land owners. Striking here is the idea that the focus of private security extends into more generalised patterns of behaviour that are deemed unbecoming of the space in which they occur – and thus as a result, the target population of private security is significantly widened.

Whilst from this perspective it appears that the instrumental form of social order maintained by private security is more extensive than that defined by the state, in other ways it is more limited. For unlike the state, it is not always concerned with violations of the law. So called ‘victimless crimes’, and those which do not threaten the interests of the client (in this case the property or land owner) are of little interest to private security. Indeed, in this sense, the client has assumed control in a fashion that runs contrary to the long-established principle of the state’s ownership of conflicts (Christie, 1977). More broadly, the matter of who’s interests are served by the insertion of private security is also contentious. Whilst Kakalik and Wildhorn (1971) conceive of private security as through the prism of a ‘social service provider’, and thus as mutually beneficial service (both for property owners and users), Flavel (1973) conceives of it as an ‘interest group view’ (further validated by the findings of Shearing and Stenning 1981)), which places an emphasis upon private security as protecting the immediate interests of groups in society who own or control valued property. Thus, the implication is that the interests of some sections of the population are represented, but not others. Moreover, it has been argued that paid private security actively *disadvantages* marginalized segments of communities, by utilizing its resources to sweep those considered ‘undesirable’ from areas (Shearing and Stenning, 1983).

4.4.3. Critiques and implications of mass private property

Arguably the most significant critique of Shearing and Stenning’s thesis is offered by Jones and Newburn (1999a, 1999b). Their response begins by acknowledging evidence of the significant growth of mass private property developments in the United States since the mid-twentieth century. They point to a number of US examples – including that of private shopping malls, which experienced a

particularly concentrated phase of proliferation between the 1960s and the 1980s (Crawford, 1992). Similarly, they acknowledge the growth of gated communities, or 'security communities' (Blakely and Snyder, 1995) since the 1980s, most strikingly amongst lower- and middle-income people. In the case of leisure facilities, evidence also confirms the growth of privately-owned theme parks across the same period (Samuels, 1996). These, Jones and Newburn (1999b) acknowledge, have facilitated the proliferation of security measures of an 'instrumental' nature, rather than 'moral' one – the latter of which has been the predominant focus of the public police, and is generally considered less pervasive (Shearing and Stenning, 1987). Yet whilst these developments appear to confirm the growth of mass private property in the United States, Jones and Newburn (1999b) ultimately contest the view of Shearing and Stenning (1981, 1983) by arguing that the relationship between these examples and the growth of private security cannot be either assumed, or considered one of linear causation. They also caution against assumptions about the extent of the growth and effects of mass private property developments across as wide an area as the United States, where significant regional variation exists from one state to the next. They add that even within the most privatised environments there is a danger in exaggerating the impact of these developments, where a great deal of space remains public (Jones and Newburn, 1999b). So whilst the simultaneous occurrence of these developments might seem an attractive pair of trends from which to readily draw a causal inference, more evidence is required if such a relationship is to be empirically substantiated.

Another central argument of Jones and Newburn's critique concerns the transferability of the mass private property thesis beyond the contexts of the United States. Focusing upon Britain, they argue that various developments that underpin the thesis do not accurately reflect those that have taken place in Britain during the same period. For instance, the rise of mass private property as described by Shearing and Stenning (1981, 1983) has been a far more modest occurrence in Britain. Whilst the number of private shopping malls rose between the early 1970s and the mid-1990s, the increase of these developments later slowed from the mid- to late-1990s as a consequence of government intervention to promote the revitalisation of town centres (Haywood, 2016). The rise of private communities has also been far more modest in Britain - indeed, gated communities (as defined within the United States) remain almost non-existent in Britain (Lavery, 1995). The

potential for these types of developments has been limited by restricted land availability, interventionist planning controls, and a significant intervention in housing markets by local government (Bottoms and Wiles, 1996). By contrast, these developments have not been features of the largely unregulated American housing market.

The casual link between mass private property and the rise of private security in Britain is also not supported by the fact that these two developments did not emerge simultaneously. Jones and Newburn's (1998: 96) examination of Census data suggest that employment in security and related occupations grew to an extent that it outstripped that of public police officers during the 1960s – twenty years prior to the expansion of mass private property in Britain. If, as the Census data suggest, the growth of private security in Britain pre-dates the most significant periods of mass private property expansion, then the argument of one development enabling the next appears weakened. The relationship is further undermined by the fact that British policing and community safety arrangements have also become increasingly undertaken by other state agencies and processes, beyond the public police. This is a development very much at odds with US domestic policy-making, much of which has been characterised by a general suspicion of central government, and a reluctance to afford it further roles and responsibilities within matters of policing and community safety (Biggs and Helms, 2006). Recent reform in Britain then, are characterised by the encouragement of the development of 'quasi-markets' in public services, and consequently, Jones and Newburn (1998, 1999a) advance the concept of 'mass hybrid property' as more reflective of the complex spread of the division of policing and community safety labour in Britain.

Whilst Jones and Newburn (1998, 1999b) argue the danger of placing too much emphasis upon a single explanation for the rise of private security in Britain, their specific critique of the mass private property thesis itself appears one concerned with the *extent* of underpinning developments and relationships put forward, rather than a belief that these have not, and do not exist at all. Whilst it remains harder to find data on private security provision in Western Europe than in the United States, that which exists nonetheless suggests that there have still been very large increases in private security occupations in these countries over recent years (Johnston, 1992; de Waard, 1999; van Steden and Sarre, 2007). In the retail sector,

whilst planning permission has limited the development of private shopping malls within city centres, more recently the number of 'retail parks' outside of town and city centres have increased both in numbers and popularity (Springboard, 2016). And whilst residential spaces akin to US-style 'gated communities' only account for a very tiny percentage of the housing market in Britain, there is evidence that such spaces have become 'privatised'; by the sealing off of throughways; altered street patterns and access controls; and the 'designing out' of public transport accessibility (Jones and Newburn, 1999b). Taking these developments into consideration, a broader trend of suburbanisation nonetheless appears to have taken place, in which urban design approaches and surveillance techniques, if not private security patrols, have proliferated. At the very least, these developments carry implications for the dispersal of social control in both public and private space, and in public and private life.

So how then, have these developments taken place? What are the conditions by which these private security measures have become an increasingly consistent feature of public and private life? One explanation might concern itself with the status of private security as a fundamentally *unexceptional* set of activities or processes (Shearing and Stenning, 1983). There is little particularly striking about the idea of property or land owners acquiring services to control access to, use of, and conduct on their property. The installation of these measures rarely suffers from any form of imposition, unlike the activities of public police organisations, which require the conference of exceptional status and powers, provided by legislative action and public debate. Even where this is so, the public police are largely only able to operate in public space (unless specific legal authorisation is granted). In contrast, the remit of private security has been extended so as to pervade both private *and* some public space. In Britain, the extension of private security features has also been assisted by a traditional focus upon regulating state-based actors and agencies in the policing and community safety field, the result of which has meant comparatively little focus upon regulating private security measures. Instead, for much of its history, private security has operated within a self-regulatory governance framework that has been largely maintained by voluntary membership of the British Security Industry Association (BSIA).

Another explanation for the seemingly banal ascent of private security concerns its integration within existing occupational roles and duties. This is a particularly pertinent point within British contexts, where Jones and Newburn (1999b) argue that private security has become a fixture of security arrangements in subtler forms than in other states. Salespersons, for instance, are trained to be security conscious, in addition to their primary roles as sellers of goods and services. Shearing and Stenning (1983) draw comparisons with these forms of responsabilisation, and earlier, feudal systems of 'Frankpledge' in Britain. The clear distinction between the two however, is that the functions of these occupational roles are not necessarily carried out with the best interests of *communities* in mind, but with the interests of *employers and property owners* in mind. The sum of these developments suggest that private security measures have become increasingly difficult to avoid, which does much to challenge the argument that citizens can simply avoid such exercises of power by declining to use services or space.

If one accepts that the uniting characteristic of preventive private security activities is surveillance (Wakefield, 2005), and that the scope of surveillance undertaken by private security has increased within both public and private space, then this creates clear implications for the natural surveillance contribution of civil society. Shearing and Stenning (1983) illustrate that the opportunity for these natural contributions to develop has been eroded, arguing that a version of Foucault's (1977) 'disciplinary society' has manifested through subtle yet pervasive forms of coercion, which draw their power from synthetic surveillance goods offered by the market. And whilst the precise extent of this transformational event remains contested, nonetheless, it seems implausible that the rise of private security has not had some impact upon informal social controls, offered by indirect agents of control. This is particularly so given that the nature and functions of both groups appear so closely aligned. Like informal social control measures, private security activities are more modest than the apprehension-related activities of the public police. They appear largely non-threatening, blend more seamlessly into the environment, and their presence tends to be continuous rather than infrequent. Unlike public police organisations, private security measures are part of the institutional structures they control. As 'normal' citizens, they appear not to be backed by any notable authority, have little to no extended powers, and are popularly viewed as unskilled. These shared properties between the two groups present a key question – namely, does

the presence of these forms of private security serve to *supplement* informal social controls, offered by indirect agents (most notably from within civil society) – or does it *displace* them? It is to this question that the discussion now turns.

4.5. Developments in civil society

4.5.1. A formalisation of social control?

As forms of social control, it has already been noted that the contribution of indirect providers of policing and community safety have been afforded less recent scholarly focus than examples of those who provide a direct contribution. Rarer still are efforts to examine the balance between direct and indirect providers. Yet amongst these, most striking is the thesis that an imbalance between these providers has been extended by a ‘formalisation of social control’ (Jones and Newburn, 2002). The central claim argued within this thesis is that the role and influence of direct providers of policing and community safety has steadily increased, at the expense of indirect providers.

In order to examine the validity of any such thesis, it is important to consider how social control activities have been categorised, and how these align with the direct-indirect dimension (Kornhouser, 1978) reflected upon earlier. Drawing upon a broader conceptualisation of the sources of social control within urban neighbourhoods, Hunter (1995) arranges three forms along a continuum of decreasing effect; from the ‘private’, to the ‘parochial’, to the ‘public’. Private forms of social control are defined as those concerned with the influence of family and friendship networks, whilst parochial forms can be located in the influence of localised, community-based institutions. Examples of these include community and faith groups, clubs and unions. Public forms are concerned with the broader activities and agencies of the state. These categories are also defined by the nature and extent of their social bond. Private forms are shaped by an intimate and unique kinship (Strauss, 1978), whilst by contrast public forms are markedly more reserved, universal and ritualised (Goffman, 1971). Parochial forms can often be located between the two of these categories, the extent and nature of their bond dependent upon social and cultural norms as well as local environments. Each category also confers statuses upon individuals who partake in social bonds; as friends in the

private sphere, as neighbours in the parochial, and as citizens within the public (Hunter, 1995).

Jones and Newburn (2002) present a categorisation that shares some similarities with Hunter's (1995) earlier work, again accounting for both direct and indirect forms of social control. They offer three levels of social control, of which the 'tertiary' level largely corresponds with the parochial. Their remaining levels differ, offering less of a focus upon the ties of kinship, and a more explicit one upon control activities that fall within their definition of 'policing', described as:

“...organized forms of order maintenance, peacekeeping, role or law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention and other forms of investigation and associated information-brokering ... undertaken by individuals or organisations, where such activities are viewed by them and/or others as a central or key defining part of their purpose (Jones and Newburn, 1998:18).

Jones and Newburn's (2002) 'primary' forms are defined as the activities of those organisations and individuals for whom crime prevention, peacekeeping and related policing activities represent the principal function of their role. These direct agents of social control include public police agencies and the commercial security sector. 'Secondary' forms comprise those for whom social control activities are not the defining purpose of their role, but nevertheless contribute to the maintenance of order as an indirect consequence of their being. These include 'roundspersons', bus conductors and ticket inspectors and are further examples of occupations that provide a natural surveillance, indirect social control function. Similarly, it may also include the indirect security functions of employees working within commercial settings. These personnel are not employed as a specific security measure, but in many cases are trained to be increasingly security conscious (see Chapter 4.4.) (Shearing and Stenning 1983, 1985).

It is this latter categorisation of social control functions upon which the formalisation of social control thesis is built. Table 3.1., an update of a version previously provided by Jones and Newburn (2002: 141), presents Census data across the period 1951 to 2011. It illustrates significant personnel decline in a number of

secondary social control occupations. The ‘roundsperson’, or van salesman, a role populated by an approximate workforce of 98,143 in 1951, was reduced to a workforce of approximately 10,702 by 2011. The bus or tram conductor, a role carried out by approximately 96,558 people in 1951, had declined to a workforce of approximately 2,471 by 1991⁹. And across the same period, the number of rail ticket inspectors/guards declined from 35,715, to 15,642. More recently, other secondary social control occupations have ceased to exist. For example in January 2016, the Home Office announced the abolition of the office of traffic warden (Home Office, 2016b); an occupation populated by 3893 persons in 1998 (Prime et al., 1998). By 2007 the traffic warden workforce had been reduced to approximately 1000, and by 2016 to just 18 (Woods, 2015)¹⁰.

	1951	1971	1991	2011
Police officers	84,585	115,170	149,964	165,198
Security guards and related	66,950	129,670	159,704	170,445
Roundspersons and van salespersons	98,143	48,360	49,182	10,702
Bus (and tram) conductors	96,558	57,550	2,471	-
Rail ticket inspectors/guards	35,715	46,800	15,642	-

Table 3.1. Primary and secondary social control occupations in Britain (adapted from Jones and Newburn 2002: 141)

The gap created by the decline of secondary social control occupations has predominantly been filled by two means. First, it has been partly filled by private security, the significant growth of which can also be seen in Table 3.1. (‘security guards and related’), a development discussed elsewhere earlier in this chapter. Second, many secondary social control occupations, which provide a ‘natural surveillance’ function have been replaced by new ‘labour-saving’ technologies. These include the proliferation of devices such as self-purchasing ticket machines

⁹ No specific data are available within the 2011 Census of Population (GB)

¹⁰ It has been announced that functions previously carried out by traffic wardens are to be undertaken by existing civil enforcement officers, and an expansion of volunteer roles (Travis, 2016).

(Winfield, 1993), automatic barriers (Clarke, 1993) and closed-circuit television (CCTV) (Norris and Armstrong, 1999; Goold, 2004). In particular, the growth of CCTV has been argued a banal yet significant event (Goold et al., 2013), which has displaced a substantial number of natural surveillance roles.

Long-term trends in the development of tertiary forms of social control can also be identified by highlighting a number of examples, many of which concern the state of civic institutions that operate at the parochial level. One example is that of trade unions in Britain, which have variously been credited with significant political and social influence during earlier periods (McIlroy, 1995). Yet over the course of the last half a century, the influence and membership of unions has declined dramatically (Daniels and McIlroy, 2009). In 1950, union members made up 40.6 per cent of the UK workforce. By 2000, this number had declined to 26.2 per cent (Metcalf, 2003). This demonstrates the decline of a movement more broadly credited with providing a platform upon which informal community networks could be established, and social bonds could be strengthened (Wrigley, 2004).

Another institution historically credited with a significant influence over informal community networks, 'working men's clubs', have also experienced decline. Originally established in the nineteenth century, membership has declined rapidly in recent years, and members have spent less time in clubs, contributing to the closure of many. In 1974, 4,033 clubs were affiliated to the British Working Men's Club and Institute Union (CIU), with more than six million members (Club Members Diary, 2007, cited in Cherrington, 2009). In 2007, the figure had declined to 2491 clubs, with 3.5 million members (ibid). Traditional religious institutions, long credited with local influence, have also experienced long-term decline in Britain. Census figures indicate that between 2001 and 2011, numbers of those reporting as Christian fell from 71.7 per cent to 59.3 per cent, whilst those reporting no religion increased from 14.8 per cent to 25.1 per cent (Office for National Statistics, 2012). Moreover, between 1979 and 2005, half of all Christians stopped going to church on a Sunday, and four in five Britons stated that religion should be a 'private', and not a 'public' matter (Crabtree, 2007). Elsewhere, similar developments and trends have been noted in international contexts; including other developed Western states and regions such as North America (see Etzioni, 1993; Putnam, 2000).

The decline of these secondary and tertiary forms of social control appears to challenge the popular view within criminology that the growth of private security has most clearly impinged upon police constabularies. On the contrary, much of this growth appears to have come at the expense of secondary and tertiary level activities and occupations – those that provide indirect social control functions. This may in part be explained by the decline of public space, in which primary forms of social control often offered by the commercial security sector have proliferated at the expense of the more organic and indirect contributions offered by secondary and tertiary sources (see Chapter 4.4.). What appears to emerge from these developments, Jones and Newburn (2002) suggest, is a long-term trend of a *formalisation of social control*.

4.5.2. Indirect social control and capable guardianship

If we accept the premise of a formalisation of social control, an important question arises – namely, what impact has the reduced influence and contribution of indirect forms of social control had upon crime and disorder? One means by which we might consider this is through the lens of the routine activity approach for analysing crime trends and cycles – and specifically with regard to the ‘absence of a capable guardian’. Initially developed by Laurence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979), the routine activity approach posits two theories. First, the macro-level theory that broad changes in society have influenced community life in ways that create new opportunities for crime and disorder. Second, and more significant within the context of this discussion, is the micro-level theory that crime occurs where the three elements of a *likely offender*, *suitable target* and *the absence of a capable guardian* converge in time and space (see Figure 4.2.).

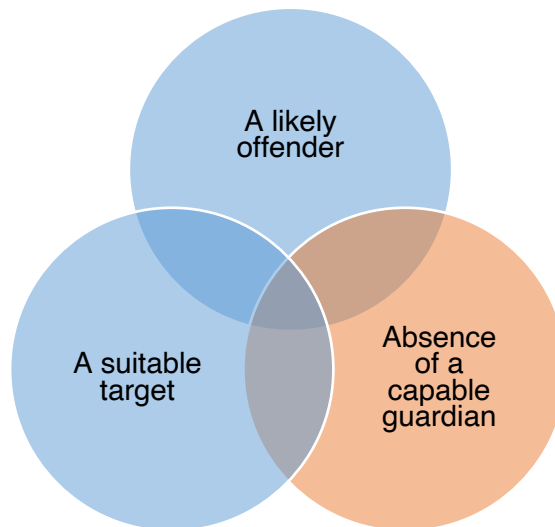


Figure 4.2. Three elements of the routine activity theory

Taking the absence of a capable guardian as the subject of interest, at this juncture it is important to consider the question of precisely *who*, or *what* constitutes a capable guardian? Moreover, how are effective guardians distinguished from ineffective guardians? If we take Eck's (1994) more recent conceptualisation of a capable guardian as the protector of a suitable target¹¹, then direct, or formal agents of social control such as the police are weak examples, given their rare presence at the scene of a crime as it is happening. More effective guardians, in the view of Cohen and Felson (1979), are to be found as a result of the agency of those who provide natural surveillance functions as part of their daily routines, activities and interactions. They include activities such as going to work, shopping, socialising, or engaging in leisure activities, which in turn are shaped by, amongst other influences, civic institutions operating at the parochial level. They might also include the routines and activities inherent within the previously discussed job occupations, that provide indirect levels of social control, and which have been argued as in decline within the formalisation of social control thesis.

¹¹ Eck (1994) formulated this refined definition of the purpose of capable guardians after further iterations of the theory led to conceptualisation of 'intimate handlers' as supervisors of likely offenders (Felson, 1986), and 'place managers' as monitors of the time and space where convergence occurs (Eck, 1994).

At the heart of Cohen and Felson's (1979) thesis is the idea that a shift in the routine activities of 'ordinary citizens' during that period resulted in less guardianship of homes and broader residential areas. They attribute this development as partially responsible for dramatic increases in crime in the United States during 1960-1975, where rates of violent crime¹² increased by between 164 per cent and 263 per cent, and property crime – specifically burglary, increased by 200 per cent (ibid). Similar conclusions have been drawn from further, US-based research. In her earlier seminal study on, amongst other settings, parks and sidewalks, Jacobs (1961) argues the varied benefits, including crime prevention qualities of populating such areas with diverse forms of human activity. The decline of the human presence in such settings, encouraged by modern urban planning (ibid), runs contrary to the layered complexity and chaos that human beings bring to communities. It relaxes organic controls and replaces them with artificial measures, in turn reinforcing the fears and anxieties argued as inherent within the conditions of late modernity (Giddens, 1990). Supported by the later findings of Groff and McCord (2011), Jacobs (1961) argues the positive link between the neglect of public places and their role as crime generators, concluding that the alienation and disempowerment of those inhabiting such spaces has ultimately proved both undesirable and counterproductive.

The decline of informal social control mechanisms, including the growing absence of visible, capable guardians is also cited as both a preceding condition and reinforcer of urban decay within George Kelling and James Q. Wilson's (1982) influential 'Broken Windows' thesis. For Kelling and Wilson (ibid), the indirect crime prevention functions of what might be termed 'ordinary citizens' at the community level are of principal importance, for a neglect of this contribution serves as a literal and symbolic indication that 'no one cares' about a given area. It is suggested that where such a sentiment is held, the general decline of an area will take place, and crime problems will invariably arise. In this argument, the preventive qualities of indirect agents of social control are considered more critical than the contributions of direct, or formal agents of social control (such as the police). Accordingly, Kelling and Wilson (ibid) argue that formal social control measures ought only to be used to

¹² Specific offences referred to in this category include robbery, aggravated assault, forcible rape and homicide.

reinforce existing informal controls, created and maintained indirectly in the first instance by communities and institutions at the private or parochial levels. This approach has also been advocated within the works of Oscar Newman (1972, 1996), who argues that formal, direct agents of social control should only be utilised where the inhabitants (specifically residents) of a local area feel disempowered and unable to act. Newman (1972) goes on to advocate the utility of a residential 'defensible space' model, which inhibits crime by bringing an environment under the control of its residents, thus creating a social fabric that 'defends' itself. The shared characteristic amongst each of these theories is that the effective maintenance of order within communities cannot be achieved by replacing the informal activities of indirect agents of social control with the formal functions of direct agents, such as the police (Swader, 2013). Order is effectively maintained not by specialised, formal processes of social control, but by the actions of unspecialised, informal (and yet complex) social networks.

4.6. Conclusion

The primary aim of this chapter was to draw upon three theses that articulate and attempt to explain a series of changes in the division of policing and community safety labour. Each of these three theses was rooted in one of either a state, market, or civil society-centric perspective. First, a state-centric position was considered, through the rise of 'strategies of responsabilisation' (Garland 1996, 2001). The developments cited within this thesis suggest a rearticulated role for the state, in which, conscious of its limitations, it governs the policing and community safety activities of non-state actors 'from a distance' (Garland 1996, 2001). Inherent in the rhetoric of this approach is the idea that such functions are not just the responsibility of state-based specialist actors, institutions and processes, but of non-state, and non-specialist ones also. Yet whilst examples of some devolvments to some agencies and groups are to be found, other examples suggest that the state has remained either unable, or willing to disperse its functions and responsibilities. The examples of CSPs, CDRPs and the rise of anti-social behaviour provision suggests that conscious of the political sensitivity of crime and disorder and driven by top-down approaches to meeting targets, in many cases rhetoric of responsabilisation has not manifested in reality. This has resulted in 'patchy' private

sector involvement in crime prevention, and a wider marginalisation of the role of the voluntary sector and civil society (Crawford and Evans, 2012).

Second, a market-centric position was considered through the rise of 'mass private property', and the extent to which it can explain the growth of private security in Britain. Whilst the extent of the growth of mass private property in Britain has been more modest than in the United States, and its relationship with the rise of private security requires further validation (Jones and Newburn, 1999b), it seems implausible to suggest that a relationship of some form does not exist between the two. Whether developments in Britain are more accurately conceived of as mass private property (Shearing and Stenning, 1981), or as more state-influenced mass hybrid property (Jones and Newburn 1998, 1999b), the nature of the developments that have taken place appear to carry significant implications for other forms of social control. This appears most clearly the case with the informal, and indirect social control functions provided by civil society, given that they appear to most clearly align with the fundamentally 'unexceptional' nature of private security. The seemingly banal ascent of private security measures across a wide range of private *and* public settings has been argued as a perverse development (Shearing and Stenning, 1983), in which the organic controls provided by informal and indirect agents of social control has been marginalised.

Finally, a perspective from civil society was offered, from the 'formalisation of social control' thesis, in which Jones and Newburn (2002) assert that the dramatic increase of private security occupations in Britain has come not at the expense of the state, but rather at the expense of a range of informal functions offered by indirect agents of social control. These include the natural surveillance functions provided by occupational roles such as roundspersons, conductors and guards, and the parochial-level social control functions provided by local-level civic institutions such as trade unions, working men's clubs, and religious institutions. This is a problematic development if one takes the view that the social control functions provided by these groups represent a more effective means of crime prevention and the general maintenance of order. The erosion of their contribution has taken place despite the fact that they are identified as highly effective examples of 'capable guardians' within routine activity approaches to crime prevention (Cohen and Felson, 1979), and the suggestion that they are effective 'defenders' of the space

that they inhabit (Newman, 1972). This has also been driven by trends in urban development (Jacobs, 1961), and the decline of community space in which it is suggested that the idea that 'nobody cares' contributes to a descent into long-term crime problems (Kelling and Wilson, 1982).

In isolation, each of these theses poses its own set of implications and questions ripe for further scrutiny. As a collective however, they also appear to illustrate a number of converging trends. Amongst the most striking of these is that the developments explained in each of the theses lead to the conclusion that policing and community safety contributions from the marketplace have been significantly empowered. This source emerges as a clear beneficiary of the state's rearticulated role and responds to demand created by the emergence of responsabilisation strategies. Conversely, all three lead to an unambiguous conclusion about policing and community safety contributions at the informal and indirect end of the social control scale. These contributions – particularly those offered by civil society – have been marginalised by state and market-based developments in the division of policing and community safety labour. Whilst all three theses conceive of crime as essentially normalised, routinised behaviour, that requires a similarly normalised, routinised response, the continued dominance of the state, the rise of mass private property and a formalisation of social control have made this difficult in reality. Instead, it appears as if both private and public life is increasingly subject to formal social controls, delivered by direct agents, at the expense of more organic informal controls, offered by indirect agents. This carries significant and varied implications for the manifestation of volunteer initiatives such as citizen patrols.

Chapter Five

Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach of the empirical aspects of the study. It explains the research design, the specific forms of data sought, and the means by which each were collected, analysed and interpreted. It adopts a reflective approach, in which the research process is understood as fluid – a journey on which choices are made, plans evolve, and implications arise. The chapter's purpose is not merely to describe decisions taken at various stages of this journey, but to justify *why* these have been taken; illustrating their utility, yet conscious of their limitations. To achieve these various explanatory and reflective objectives, the chapter is organised into five distinct sections. In the first section, the research aim and objectives are presented. The second section explains the ontological and epistemological foundations upon which the study was conceived. Section Three outlines and accounts for the research design, explaining its suitability for the study aim and objectives. The fourth section describes and reflects upon how the study was conducted; explaining how case studies were selected, the means by which research instruments were designed, the recording and analysis practices that were adopted, and the processes by which access was gained to sites and participants. In keeping with the chapter's commitment to a reflective approach, this section also discusses the challenges faced during each of these stages of the research, and how each of these was met. The section also illustrates how consistent adherence to specific research ethics requirements was achieved. Finally, the fifth section engages in further critical reflection on the merits and limits of the study as a whole, focusing upon the validity, reliability and generalisability of its various findings.

5.2. Research aim and objectives

The central aim of the study was to examine the composition, contribution and reception of volunteer citizen patrol initiatives within networks of policing and community safety. To achieve this aim, four specific objectives were set:

1. To develop an understanding of the contexts in which citizen patrols are established, along with the means by which initiatives are arranged and organised.
2. To explore the various characteristics, motivations and behaviours of those who take part in citizen patrols, in order to conceptualise how participation reflects and influences both civic values, and vulnerabilities about safety and security.
3. To identify the various functions of citizen patrols, how provision is delivered, and the nature of its connection with other state and non-state contributions to policing and community safety.
4. To gain insights into how citizen patrols are received, interpreted and rationalised by a range of external policing and community safety stakeholders, including their perceived impacts of the patrol initiatives on, and implications for, stakeholders' working practices.

To fulfil the aim and objectives, it was necessary to adopt a flexible approach that could draw upon various aspects of distinct philosophical and social science research traditions. The approach needed to be grounded in both ontological realist *and* epistemological interpretivist perspectives, as well as engage in exercises of a descriptive, normative and evaluative nature. Such an endeavour raises legitimate questions about the extent to which each of these positions and approaches can be reconciled alongside one another. It is to those issues that the discussion now turns.

5.3. Ontological and epistemological framework

The study simultaneously drew on a range of ontological and epistemological traditions. Meta-level ontological positions, which are concerned with the 'issues of existence or being as such' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 83), broadly subscribe to either a positivist orientation – that posits a belief in an objective, quantifiable reality – or an interpretive orientation, where reality is considered fluid and socially constructed. Epistemology, meanwhile, theorises about 'the science of knowledge, studied from the philosophical point of view' (Horrigan, 2007: vii). These theories tend to derive from either a broad realist position, established upon the belief that reality exists independent of observers; or a social constructionist position, which

argues that reality is shaped by human beings as they engage in processes of interaction and interpretation. These positions may seem ill at ease with one another. Indeed, in their purest forms, they have been argued as incompatible (Patomäki and Wight, 2000). Some theorists, for example, may take the view that social constructionism is ultimately contingent upon the adoption of an anti-realist ontology of the social world. They may refute not only causal explanations, but even the idea that we inhabit a real world that extends beyond us. As Elder-Vass (2012: 234) notes, in its most extreme form *everything* becomes a social construction, and there is nothing more we can know of the world. Recognising the limits of this *naïve realism*, more recently scholars have advanced moderate forms of constructionism, that refute some of the tensions that ideologically pure variants of realism and constructionism create (Elder-Vass, 2012: 7). The most popular of these is the position of *critical realism*. First developed by Roy Bhaskar (1975; 1979; 1989), critical realism presents both the view that things may exist *beyond* our experience of those things, and the view that human agency and social structures influence and shape our interpretation of those things. By drawing upon these positions, the critical realist approach appears to combine aspects of realist ontological thinking with constructionist epistemological thinking. This made the critical realist approach an effective framework through which to conduct the study, given that the varied nature of the research objectives dictated the need for ontological and epistemological foundations that recognised objective realities, yet also embraced diverse and constructed interpretations of these. Specifically, whilst realist perspectives were useful to gain understanding of the composition and contribution of citizen patrol, as well as the contexts within which they operated (Objectives 1 and 3), the ways in which these realities were interpreted and rationalised by both participants and external stakeholders (Objectives 2 and 4) would benefit from a clear social constructionist framing – that emphasised the world of experience as it is lived, felt and undergone by people acting in social situations (Schwandt, 1994: 125).

5.4. Research design

5.4.1. Case study approach

Case study was selected as an effective means by which the research study's various objectives could be achieved. Identified as an approach, as opposed to a

method (Hamel et al., 1993: 1), case study is defined as: ‘an instance, incident or unit of something and can be anything – a person, an organization, an event, a decision, an action, a location like a neighbourhood, or a nation-state’ (Schwandt and Gates, 2018: 341). Cases may be categorised at various levels, including the micro level – such as persons and interpersonal relations; the meso level – which includes organizations and institutions; and the macro level, which includes communities, democracies and societies (Swanborn, 2010). In social science, cases studied are not typically individuals (as they often are in medical or psychological research), but rather organizations and communities (Becker, 1968: 232). By studying these, the broad aim of the approach is to ‘highlight the features or attributes of social life’ (Hamel et al., 1993: 2). In accounting for these features, the forms that case study might take are suitably diverse. For instance, Yin (1981: 58) has argued that case study in itself does not denote the use of particular types of evidence. Case studies can be completed using either, or both, qualitative or quantitative evidence, which may be drawn from a range of empirical and library-based activities. Case study may be adopted to investigate individual interactions, common patterns of behaviour, or social structures. It has been utilised by both anthropologists and sociologists across a wide range of phenomena (see Becker, 1968: 232 for example). Completing effective case studies relies upon more than collecting data, however. For Becker (ibid), collecting data and arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study represents only the first of two tasks essential to the approach. The second is that data should be utilised to develop more general theoretical statements about regularities in social structures and processes. Thus, case study is part of an inductive approach, where empirical details that constitute the object under study are considered in the light of the remarks made in context.

There are multiple uses of case study – many of which were integral to the research’s specific objectives, and thus achieving the overall research aim. Schwandt and Gates (2018: 346) identify these ‘case study designs’ as including ‘description’, the ‘development of normative theory’, ‘hypothesis generation or theory development’, and ‘hypothesis and theory testing’. Descriptive case study, the most common form of case study design, is carried out to ‘develop a complete detailed portrayal of some phenomenon’ (ibid), and ‘to get the story down for the possible benefit of policy makers, scholars, and other citizens’ (Odell, 2001: 162). It

offered the opportunity to build a rich account of the contexts in which citizen patrols had been established, as well as their structural arrangement and organisational practices (Objective 1). Moreover, it also proved useful in providing accounts of the activities of citizen patrols, and the ways in which these interacted with policing and community safety contributions provided by others (Objective 3). Yet whilst a descriptive approach proved an ideal means of achieving these objectives, it should be noted that it has also been the subject of some critique – notably about the validity, reliability and generalisability of data (see Chapter 5.6.2.). Questions have also been asked about the extent to which data are effectively used to inform theoretical ideas and concepts, or more broadly, the processes by which data are given *meaning*. Descriptive case study need not be completely devoid of theoretical ideas and concepts, but these are often more obviously engaged with where attempts to generate and test hypotheses or working assumptions are made (see below).

This research also engaged with the normative potential of case study (see Thacher, 2006). Whereas descriptive and hypothesis-focused case studies invariably account for *what is*, those that consider normative perspectives are concerned with *what should be*. Normative positions seek to establish right from wrong, desirable from undesirable, and just from unjust within the confines of groups and societies (Scott, 2014: 139). Such lines of inquiry have been the subject of sustained critique from social scientists, who have tended to separate these from empirical matters of fact. The distinction between the positive and the normative has a long history (see, for e.g., Hume, 1739; and Weber, 1949). This distinction tends to posit that it is not the responsibility of social scientists to investigate the latter, and that they should remain the province of philosophers and the public (Schwandt and Gates, 2018: 351). More recently however, others have suggested that the distinction is less certain and the two are entangled (e.g. R.A. Putnam, 1998; H. Putnam, 2002). In a step further, Flyvberg (2001: 145) argues for a phronetic form of political-science that *combines* the two, and by doing so actively engages with ‘thick ethical concepts’ such as values and power. These, Thacher (2006: 1633) argues, carry particular resonance at a time when calls for value-based discussion and moral reasoning have reached the sociological mainstream. As normative concepts, ideas such as values and power are typically explored through questions such as: where are we going? Who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of

power? Is the development in question desirable? And what, if anything, should be done about it? (Flyberg, 2001: 130). These lines of inquiry resonated heavily when pursuing discussion about the characteristics and motivations of citizen patrol participants (Objective 2), and to a lesser extent, they also emerged within insights about how external stakeholders held citizen patrols and their activities (Objective 4). In meeting both objectives, a common normative ideal – about what citizen patrols *ought to be* – emerged.

In both descriptive and normative case study, significant engagement with existing scholarship is generally not expected prior to the collection of data. Exceptions though, are often to be found in examples of case study that generate and test hypotheses or theories. Whilst the study did not set out to either generate or test fixed hypotheses as often understood in the positivist sense, it did nonetheless engage in processes of formulating and evaluating a series of conceptual and theoretical *working assumptions* – application of which would later assist in the analysis and evaluation of data gained during fieldwork exercises. These working assumptions were developed and utilised at various stages of the study. First, they were drawn from early conceptual exercises in Chapter Two, that took place prior to empirical aspects of the study. These were undertaken in order to: a) establish the conceptual parameters of citizen patrol, and b) to later test the suitability of those parameters in the light of empirical data subsequently collected. Second, earlier forms of citizen patrol were considered in Chapter Three in order to a) develop an understanding of these, and b) bring this extended trajectory up to date by applying empirical data gained. Third, a brief exploration of the involvement of the state, market and civil society in policing and community safety in Chapter Four helped to develop a more nuanced theoretical appreciation of various macro-level social, economic and political developments that either have, or are likely to, influence contemporary citizen patrols. Again, this exercise informed my thinking during both data collection and analysis stages. Then, during the process of conducting fieldwork and collecting empirical data, I began to devise additional working assumptions – or theories about why themes were emerging – which I could subsequently dismiss or verify across the remaining fieldwork exercises. Typically, these were posited in relation to motivations for participation, practices which appeared either ‘unique’ or ‘overlapping’ with those functions carried out by other policing and community safety actors, or about costs and benefits emerging from

stakeholder investment in initiatives. These assumptions – and the processes of evaluating them – inform a number of themes discussed in later findings chapters.

5.4.2. Drawing upon the ethnographic tradition

Within the sphere of a case study approach, the research design drew upon several methods commonly adopted within the ethnographic tradition. Ethnographic methods represent more than a mere means of data collection. They also carry both ontological and epistemological properties. Researchers of an ethnographic orientation adopt distinct methods in their research, and offer different perspectives of the *nature of what is being studied*, and *how this might be best understood* (Whitehead, 2004). They move beyond the reporting of social phenomena, by *interpreting* socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems; concerning themselves with how these might represent the culturally constructed ‘webs of significance’ in which we live (Geertz, 1973). As a holistic approach to the exploration of cultural systems, adopting these methods facilitated an effective means by which to collect data and attach meaning pertinent to each of the study’s objectives. It aided in the formulation of theories about *how* and *why* these practices and interactions occurred, and, depending upon the requirements of the specific objective, facilitated discussion that moved from the descriptive, to the evaluative, and later into the theoretical. To make connections between these in an effective and accurate fashion, it was important to acknowledge that effective conclusions drawn from ethnographic data are ultimately contingent upon allowing meaning to emerge from phenomena encountered, as opposed to artificially imposing conditions from which meaning may be inferred. A balance then, must be achieved – between engaging with relevant theories and concepts in order to set terms of reference and conceptual frameworks before embarking upon data collection, and resisting becoming constrained by these, else they might prevent the identification of unexpected emerging themes. It is worth noting that in the case of this research, the prospect of becoming constrained in such a fashion was limited by the relative lack of existing scholarship on citizen patrols.

It is worth noting at this juncture that the precise matter of ‘what’ constitutes an ethnographic approach – and *ethnography* in its purest form – is far from settled. Whilst at the narrowly interpreted end of the scale ethnography is taken to rely upon a deeply immersive approach by the researcher into that being studied – typically

involving many hours of fieldwork, and often within a single case study; looser interpretations have resulted in research which has pursued multiple case studies, but committed fewer hours and a smaller number of fieldwork tasks in each. This has provoked at times heated discussion about the validity of the latter approach, and whether such examples can be considered ethnography (see Wacquant, 2002). In light of these arguments, it is important to stress that the study adopted a looser ethnographic approach across three case studies. It did so for reasons of both principle and pragmatism. Engaging a single case study in an intensive fashion would have left the findings of the research limited by the specificities of that single case, which, in turn, would have limited the utility of the research in understanding citizen patrols more generally. The selection of multiple case studies also afforded additional opportunities; most notably to consider different types of citizen patrols, and in different settings, along with the potential to compare and contrast these aspects where appropriate. On a practical level, it was unlikely that any one case study could have been accessed for a number of hours typically favoured within 'full-blooded' ethnographies (e.g. Wacquant, 2004), due to the inconsistency with which citizen patrols typically operate. Thus, whilst not subscribing to the principles of ethnography in its fullest or purest form, two associated methods of data collection were employed in the research – participant observation, and semi-structured interviews. Some discussion and reflection on the utilisation of these now follows.

(i) Participant observation

Observation is a common feature of both case study and ethnographic research. Bryman (1988: 45) describes the method as 'the sustained immersion of the researcher among those whom he or she seeks to study with a view to generating a rounded, in-depth account of the group, organization, or whatever'. In sociological studies, the method was first adopted by French researcher Frédéric Le Play. Le Play's studies were principally concerned with the decline and prosperity of societies, and in particular, the experiences of working-class populations across Europe (Le Play 1855; 1866; 1870). Later, the first recorded anthropological study to utilise observation was completed by Bronislaw Malinowski, on local Melanesian populations whom he had discovered whilst taking refuge during World War I (e.g. Malinowski 1922; 1929; 1935). In each instance, both Le Play and Malinowski catalogued every detail of local communities. Observations helped in this

endeavour, and were a useful means of understanding cultures. Yet Malinowski in particular also recognised that a more comprehensive appreciation of these required an understanding of the meanings actors assigned to their own patterns of behaviour, beliefs and rituals (see also Becker, 1970; Poupart et al., 1983). Thus observation required ‘participants’, who could ascribe meaning to their behaviour and relay this to the observer (Hamel et al., 1993: 3). Malinowski’s principles of participant observation were simple. He believed that the observer should gradually become integrated into the group under study, whilst taking care not to alter their composition or activities with his or her presence. Observation of these, coupled with the explanations of participants (or ‘informers’) would provide a rich dataset, which should be recorded meticulously by the observer, and retained in field logs.

There are multiple utilities of participant observation. Robson (2011: 316) suggests that a major advantage of observation is its directness. Observers need not solely rely upon people’s explanations, because he or she can see them for themselves. Broadly the method seems the pre-eminent technique for getting at ‘real life in the real world’ (ibid). The ability of observation to facilitate emerging themes has also been noted. In this sense, Becker (1968: 232) highlights that ‘observation gives access to a wide range of data, including kinds of data whose existence the investigator may not have anticipated at the time he began his study’. Mindful of these qualities, participant observation was considered as likely to provide a sound foundation from which to meet the study’s objectives, and ultimately achieve its aim. Specifically, it provided the opportunity to collect data that would, when analysed, lead to an understanding of the nature of citizen patrol activities, the means by which these were delivered, and how they ‘fitted in’ alongside other forms of policing and community safety (Objective 3). Furthermore, the method allowed for insights into how participants viewed one another, their role, and the challenges they perceived; both around crime and social problems, and those that concerned, or involved those organisations that govern and manage them (Objective 2). The observations extended beyond merely accounting for participants whilst patrolling. By further observing pre- and post-patrol routines, breaks, various meetings, and training events, the observer was also able to account for practices and behaviours that predominated in private settings – and in turn, how these influenced those that are adopted publicly.

The extent to which the observer should integrate his or her self into the group under study varies from one study to the next. Whilst in some cases the observer may play a fully participatory role in the group and its functions, in others observers may play less of, or a completely non-participatory role. In some research, observers may even conduct themselves in a covert fashion – their presence and motives unknown to their research subject. In this research, the observer completed participant observation in a ‘semi-participatory’ role. All of those active on the citizen patrols subject to my observations were aware of my presence, and of my motives in being there. My own participation in citizen patrol activities was limited. I walked and travelled in vehicles with participants. In two of the three case studies, I wore hi-visibility vests at the request of the patrol coordinators. I did so conscious of the fact that other participants would more likely view me as ‘one of the team’, and that as a result, they would be more likely to invest their time in interacting with me. Beyond this, however, I was careful not to undertake functions that would risk breaching ethical guidelines (see Chapter 5.5.6.). I did not attempt to undertake functions carried out by participants in public spaces, and when approached by members of the public informed them immediately of my role as a researcher. Similarly, when in dialogue with stakeholders, I frequently clarified my role and my intentions in observing.

(ii) Semi-structured interviews

Participant observation contrasts from, and typically complements other forms of data. One such form is that of data gained from interviews. May (2011: 131) suggests that interviews are conducted to gain insights into people’s ‘biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings’. Meanwhile, Yeo et al. (2014: 178) argue that interviews are ‘a powerful method for generating description and interpretation of people’s social worlds, and as such are a core qualitative research method’. With these characteristics in mind, the rationale for employing interviews as a research method was two-fold. First, it allowed for the collection of data useful for achieving specific research objectives in their own right – most notably those about the motivations and attitudes of those who partake (Objective 2), and the stakeholders with whom they interact (Objective 4). Second, it provided opportunity to further explore, clarify and confirm emerging themes that had been detected during the course of earlier fieldwork observations. In so doing, engaging in both participant observation and interview methods served to

triangulate datasets¹³. As Robson (2011: 279) has noted, interviews are also an eminently achievable means of collecting data – where researchers inhibited by limited resources and time, and often working alone, are able to gain nonetheless effective and powerful insights.

Interviews are carried out by social researchers in different ways. These are typically categorised as ‘structured’, ‘semi-structured’, ‘unstructured’, and ‘focus group’ (for a comprehensive description of each, see May (2011: Chp 6)). This research adopted a semi-structured method. This is widely considered the most popular of interview methods and is often favoured because it is both *structured* and *flexible*. Semi-structured interviews require the specification of questions, but are constructed in such a way that the interviewer can probe beyond, and in light of specific responses provided by the participant. The interviewer may do so as a means of exploring a response in further depth, or as a means of clarification. This flexibility also affords the interviewer the potential to generate an understanding of the content of the response and the rationale that underpins it – a quality argued to be lacking in more structured forms of interviewing (Mason, 2002: 231). As May (2011: 135, see also Lofland et al., 2006: 17) has noted, semi-structured interviews are particularly useful for researchers who are employing interview techniques as one of several methods within a study. This is because he or she is able to adapt lines of questioning in light of data gained by other means. Given that the research had already employed participant observation (a number had been conducted in each case study prior to interviews), such flexibility was a particularly useful characteristic.

5.4.3. Justifying the design

The form that the research design took was the result of both matters of principle and pragmatism. Whilst it was most obviously dictated by the nature of the research aim and objectives, the design was also developed as a response to the relative lack of research on contemporary citizen patrols (as outlined in previous chapters), and in light of various time and resource considerations. Some further detail on each of these factors is provided below.

¹³ Data triangulation is defined as the strategy of using multiple sources to enhance the rigour of research (Robson, 2011: 158), though there is some debate amongst qualitative researchers about the relative utility of the approach (see Lewis et al., 2014: 358).

(i) A framework for achieving the research aim and objectives

The nature of the research aim and objectives dictated the need for a naturalistic and interpretive approach, which accounted for, attached meaning to, and drew implications from the phenomena it explored. To achieve this, it was necessary for examples of citizen patrols to be explored in a significant degree of qualitative depth. The most effective foundation from which to achieve this was that of a case study approach, which afforded space in which the nuances of citizen patrols could be considered within all of their contextual complexity. Moreover, the varied usages of case study – to describe, to create and evaluate theoretical statements, and to engage in the normative (see Schwandt and Gates, 2018: 341) – also accommodated the diverse requirements of the specific research objectives. While description assisted most obviously in the completion of Objectives 1 and 3, discussion of a normative nature emerged during the completion of Objective 2, and to a lesser extent, Objective 4. A series of conceptual and theoretical working assumptions were generated both prior to fieldwork being undertaken (see preceding chapters), and during the course of fieldwork activities. They were subsequently evaluated and are reported upon within later chapters. Meanwhile all objectives benefited from the adoption of open and flexible methods within the broad ethnographic tradition. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews were complementary methods of data collection that established, enhanced and confirmed understanding of relevant themes that subsequently emerged. Conversely, the form the research design took was also a reflection of what the aim and objectives *were not*. In particular, as a study not concerned with evaluating *effectiveness*, various limitations of the research methods and broader approach took were not considered overly problematic (for an overview of study limitations, see Chapter 5.6.2.).

(ii) Scarce existing research

The research design also reflected the fact that citizen patrols, in their contemporary forms, remain chronically under-researched (Bullock, 2014). As a result, there were very few existing hypotheses about the genesis or contribution of citizen patrols to test. This reinforced the need for an exploratory approach that provided an in-depth and interpretative understanding of the research participants and the environments that they inhabit, and one that facilitated the emergence of themes and theories that

could be evaluated as the research progressed. Beyond these, the design also afforded the generation of specific and more general theoretical statements that may serve to underpin hypotheses ripe for testing within future studies. These are reflected upon in further detail within the study's conclusion.

(iii) Time and resource considerations

Against these matters of principle, a series of practical matters had to be taken into consideration. In particular, the specific time and resource constraints attached to doctoral study influenced the number of case studies, observations and interviews that could be carried out, and the degree of commitment that could be afforded to creating appropriate research instruments beforehand, and analysing and drawing meaning from data after collection (see the following section). The scale of the empirical undertaking thus had to reflect a pragmatic series of trade-offs – that would ensure sufficient *depth* so as to accurately and effectively achieve the research objectives, yet balanced alongside sufficient *breadth* so as to allow for comparison of case studies, which would inform more general statements and theories about citizen patrols. An alternative evaluative study meanwhile, would not have been achievable without the ability to control environments and complete scientific experiments – neither of which were possible.

5.5. Data collection and analysis processes

The empirical aspect of the research was carried out within three case study sites. The citizen patrols selected were: a 'Rural Watch Patrol' that operated in the Selby District of North Yorkshire; a 'Street Angels' team that operated in Leeds City Centre, West Yorkshire; and a 'Shomrim Community Safety' team (herein referred to as 'Shomrim'), that operated in Prestwich, Greater Manchester. Between February and December 2017, 50 hours observation of each of these citizen patrols were completed (150 in total). The data gained from detailed records of these were complemented by those drawn from transcripts of semi-structured interviews – 15 in the Rural Watch Patrol case study, 16 in the Street Angels case study, and 9 in the Shomrim case study (40 in total). In each, interviews were conducted with patrol participants, patrol coordinators, and stakeholders from a range of external organisations with whom the patrols were in some way connected (see Table 5.1.). This section of the chapter recounts how the case studies were selected and

accessed, as well as the means by which data gained from these were collected and analysed.

5.5.1. Case study selection

Decisions taken as to how many, and which case studies should be selected were reached after careful consideration about the most effective means of achieving both breadth and depth in data collection. In turn, this was offset against a series of practical factors, including what could be realistically (and effectively) completed within the time frame of the research. The number of case studies to undertake was settled relatively quickly. Whilst selecting less than three case studies would have likely been more manageable, it would also have created demand for further hours of observation and interviews within those selected – the gatekeepers of which had already demonstrated great generosity in allowing a significant and consistent degree of access. This may also have been of questionable utility to the study itself, in that it was unlikely many new additional insights would have been gained by increasing the number of observation hours from 50 to 75 (per case study). This assessment now seems accurate with hindsight, given that it was felt data saturation had been achieved as 50 hours in each case was reached. A smaller number of case studies may also have left the findings of the research limited by the specificities of those chosen, which would likely have been less useful in understanding, and offering theories about citizen patrols more generally. Selecting three also allowed for these theories to take into account the similarities and differences of each. Conversely, selecting more than three case studies would have been a considerably more challenging undertaking – and particularly for a lone researcher. In the first instance, the inconsistent and piecemeal placement of citizen patrols made their identification challenging, before an approach had even been made. Beyond this, committing to a larger number of case studies would likely have resulted in less hours committed to observation and less interviews in each. This may have led to questions about the comprehensiveness of the overall approach, and the validity of the data gained.

To identify citizen patrols appropriate for selection, a comprehensive online search of examples was undertaken in October 2015. Available details of these were logged, and later three were selected to contact and request access (see the following section). The preferential selection of prospective case studies was based

upon various criteria. Whilst some of these arose from requirements established in earlier conceptual tasks, others were conceived on practical grounds. First, appropriate citizen patrols for selection had to fit the definitional criteria outlined in Chapter Two, including the requirement that the example constitute a form of *organised collective* action, in which *lay volunteers* engage in a specific *patrol routine*. Should the citizen patrol exhibit these characteristics, selection was also contingent upon a preference to complete case studies in three distinct geographical locations. In the event, those selected included one citizen patrol situated in a rural location (Rural Watch Patrol), another in an inner-city urban location (Street Angels), and a third in a residential area (Shomrim). The decision to cover these distinct areas was taken in order to gain insights on citizen patrol as practiced by communities in diverse areas, and to afford some thought to the extent to which these compared from one instance to the next.

Meanwhile, of the practical matters that influenced selection, proximity to Leeds was significant. Given that a significant amount of time was to be invested in data collection, each case study site needed to be easily accessible from where I both lived and worked, and on a regular basis. Aside from this, selection was also determined by the ease with which contact could be made, both initially and throughout the duration of data collection. In this regard, whilst some citizen patrols had a well-established and maintained online presence, others had less so, or in the absence of such a presence, were mentioned in what seemed outdated public documents (typically produced by police forces). In these cases, it was not clear that the citizen patrol was active. Yet it is worth noting that of those citizen patrols that had an online presence, even these published little about their precise make-up, contribution, or the geographical areas covered by participants. Where this was noted in regard to the citizen patrols selected, these aspects were later captured within data gained during fieldwork exercises; both from interaction with participants during observations and interviews, and from a few documents made available by these that had otherwise not been posted online.

5.5.2. Gaining access

Gaining access to the case study sites was very much contingent upon identifying and working with gatekeepers both prior to, and during fieldwork exercises. As with much empirical research, gatekeepers played an important role in both

accommodating the initial request for access, and in securing consent to participate (Webster et al., 2014: 90). Undeniably, the work of gatekeepers' also secured access to people it would otherwise have been difficult to reach. The process of seeking gatekeepers was carefully considered. In January 2017, each of the selected citizen patrols was contacted via email, to determine a point of contact with whom the research and fieldwork plan could be discussed in the first instance. The points of contact eventually established – one in each of the three case studies – were responsible for coordination of the citizen patrol in question, and as such carried a degree of authority that allowed them to consider the plans and take forward the request. Each became, and remained, a gatekeeper throughout the complete fieldwork period.

Once contact within each was established, a brief introductory email was sent to gauge interest in principle. Following positive responses, a further email was sent that provided a short summary of the research, and a copy of the participant information sheet. The benefits of taking part were stressed – in particular that partaking might result in positive reflection or bring about a sense of personal fulfilment – so that gatekeepers might interpret the request positively, and canvass interest from patrol participants in a similar spirit. Care was also taken to stress that the study was independent (I was not working on behalf of an organisation linked to the patrol), that it was not seeking to evaluate whether the patrol 'worked' in the sense of achieving its objectives, and that anonymity was guaranteed at the individual level, in order to allay fears around negative exposure, or the publication of non-conformist personal views. This careful consideration of how I conducted myself seemed effective in that it took gatekeepers relatively little time to consider and agree the request. Whilst each was keen to stress that their patrols and participants did not seek exposure, nonetheless they were happy to engage with what they viewed as an opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to volunteering, and in a fashion that they had seldom experienced previously. Each of the three gatekeepers approved my requests – and dates for first observations within two of the three case studies were set (for discussion around the third, see below).

Throughout the fieldwork period, observation dates and times were agreed by various means specific to the wishes of the gatekeeper. In one case study, a text

message was sent to the gatekeeper on the morning of a planned patrol (these took place on a Friday), and the gatekeeper replied confirming whether it could be accommodated. In the remaining two case studies, gatekeepers were prompted by email, who then either replied by email or called to set a next observation date. Gatekeepers were also one of two means by which access was sought to interview participants. Whilst in the first instance interviews with participants were agreed during observations (and subsequently took place on a date, and at a time and place convenient for the participant), gatekeepers were able to elicit further interest where the target number of interviews had not been reached. Where they did so, prospective participants were provided with my details, and were asked to make contact so that an interview could be arranged. Similarly, gatekeepers were also able to suggest names of stakeholders from relevant external organisations, who could be contacted with a view to interviewing – though they neither had any role in securing those interviews, nor were they made aware of if they had ever taken place. No further organisational authorisation was required in order to interview stakeholders from external organisations. Though it was anticipated that some participants (particularly those from police organisations) might need to seek approval from line managers before agreeing (this sentiment was expressed during initial contact), none indicated that they needed to or had done so prior to interview.

On reflection, the empirical tasks undertaken were almost certainly made easier by both the characteristics of the participants, and how contributions were held by those external stakeholders who I subsequently interviewed. As far as patrol participants were concerned, inasmuch as they appreciated the opportunity to demonstrate their contribution (without, as they made clear, wanting to ‘seek fame’), invariably their motivation for agreeing to take part was their want to *help* me complete the study (an ambition to help others defined their characters more generally). Participants routinely asked me about my PhD progress, and offered me words of encouragement. Meanwhile for their part, interviewees from external organisations invariably appeared driven by the need to ‘speak up’ for groups who rarely ‘got the attention they deserved’, or who were of unrecognised importance to policing and community safety.

5.5.3. Observations

After securing agreement with gatekeepers to begin participant observations, data collection began as soon as could be set up. In the Rural Watch Patrol case study, observations began as early as February 2017. In the Street Angels case study, they began in May 2017. Observations within the Shomrim case study began in November 2017. This disparity in first observation dates was the result of several factors. Whilst in the Street Angels case study the start of observations was modestly delayed by the gatekeeper needing to secure the approval of others within their organisation, in the Shomrim case study observations were delayed rather more significantly by a series of undisclosed 'changes' to the patrol, coupled with 'inactivity' over the summer months. It is worth noting that the staggered commencement of observations of each case study arguably made the task of accommodating observations easier (I was rarely in a position to decline the opportunity of an observation because of clashes with other fieldwork commitments), but the precise manifestation of this pattern may also present some adverse implications for comparing data gained (see Chapter 5.6.).

A range of recording practices were adopted in respect of the observation activities. Before the first observation of each, a specific 'first observation' preparation sheet was devised. The sheet contained a series of broad thematic prompts, which allowed me to effectively focus my attention yet without becoming overly constrained so as to miss the unexpected. Whilst conducting observations, I made very brief notes on occasions, and doing so was often done during breaks or periods of 'down-time'. I generally refrained from making notes whilst observing patrollers going about their work. Whilst in some cases intensive note-taking was impractical, I was also conscious that doing so might make participants feel uncomfortable, which in turn could have made it more difficult to form a bond with them, and undermine the naturalistic setting of the environment that I was studying. As a result, my recording practices during observations were a combination of both 'mental notes' and 'cryptic jotting' (Lofland et al., 2006: 109; Berg and Lune, 2012: 231).

Following this, I then committed to completing a separate comprehensive account of phenomena observed after each observation had finished, at the earliest possible opportunity. Whilst on occasions these accounts were completed immediately after

the observation activity, on others the anti-social hours during which the patrols were conducted meant that other accounts were completed the following day. Each was written up on an earlier created template, that listed various sub-headings: 'case study visit number', 'date/times of visit', 'environments visited', 'weather conditions', 'description of activities', 'reflections', 'emerging questions/analyses', and 'future questions'. The recording of observations in this manner encouraged an approach that was both reflective of what had been documented, considered meaning in the broader contexts of the research, and identified unanswered or further questions to follow up as the fieldwork continued.

The observation process was both a fascinating and challenging experience. Despite having little previous experience of observational methods, I was acutely aware of the fact that how I presented myself throughout carried implications for the way that participants behaved and engaged with me. This image – which we constantly alter to fit the social stage upon which we find ourselves, and the actors we inhabit that stage with (Goffman, 1956), was carefully considered both prior to, and during observation tasks. I considered a series of questions about how I should best present myself, and how my expressive control might be practised (ibid). Should I adopt an affable and intrigued persona – or a more distant and measured one? Should I indicate agreement with everything that was communicated to me (in an effort to encourage the confidence of participants), or, alternatively, a more neutral tone that gave away less of my own thoughts, feelings and beliefs? I opted for an approach that attempted to find a middle ground between these – that was sufficiently removed so as to disturb events and environments as little as possible, but that demonstrated continued interest in what participants were saying and doing. Invariably, this consisted of engaging in pleasantries and asking short questions (to either clarify or confirm that which had been observed) during 'down time' and breaks, but also inhabiting the spaces that participants occupied closely – to create the sense that I was 'with them', rather than merely 'watching them', which could have been unnerving.

The ability to recognise appropriate moments at which to interact with and ask questions of participants was a gradual process of learning that took place as I got to know each, and the manners in which they dealt with various situations. This was also influenced by how I was received by specific participants. Whilst some

engaged in almost permanent dialogue with me, others adopted a more reserved stance – a reflection, perhaps, of different layers of ease and suspicion about my presence and motives. Whilst generally I found examples of the latter to be rare, where these did emerge I attempted to improve relations by interacting in a marked unassuming fashion, by subtly reaffirming that my reasons for observing were not concerned with whether participants were ‘doing their jobs properly’, and adopting a tone appreciative of their assistance in helping me achieve the aims of the study. Aside from these, it is worth noting that the nature of my interaction with *all* participants evolved more generally, as the observations progressed. As many participants became more comfortable with my presence, I was able to adopt and refine an increasingly neutral tone – one that didn’t demand my agreement with everything that was being said and done yet was sufficiently balanced so as not to give off an impression of being judgemental. This was useful, in that it further reduced my influence on the environments I was observing and afforded me the opportunity to collect data of an increasingly naturalistic nature.

5.5.4. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with patrol participants, patrol coordinators and external stakeholders after a predetermined number of observations had taken place in each case study. The total number of hours committed to observation prior to the commencement of interviews varied (modestly), but none were carried out before at least 25 hours of observation had been completed in each case study. The rationale behind this decision was two-fold. First, it allowed appropriate interviewees to be identified during the course of observations, and to determine whether they would be willing to contribute (thus a gatekeeper was not required). During observations, participants also came into contact with external stakeholders, who I could also then interact with, with a view to setting up interviews. Beyond those they interacted with during the course of their patrol activities, participants also raised names of stakeholders and their organisations, who I was then able to contact separately with a view to conducting interviews. This approach, often referred to as ‘snowball sampling’, is argued to be a particularly useful approach where there is difficulty identifying members of a population or group (Robson, 2011: 276), and indeed it is unlikely that such persons or organisations could have been identified without the aid of participants. Second, completing some observations prior to carrying out interviews positively influenced

the composition of specific interview questions, and the interview schedule. These initial observations had left me more informed, and more assured in my lines of questioning, having become more accustomed to the intricacies of the citizen patrols, and with greater awareness of the environments in which they operated.

An initial target of 30 interviews was set, comprising 18 patrol participants, and 12 stakeholders from external organisations across the three case studies. Whilst no requirement to divide these evenly between the case studies was fixed, a balance was nonetheless attempted between each insofar as it was possible. Later, however, this classification was revised in light of an emerging ‘coordinator’ group in two of the three case studies. These were individuals that were paid employees either of the patrol itself, or of parent organisations to whom the patrol was responsible. Whilst they carried significant administrative responsibilities, they engaged in little patrol work themselves. Therefore they could not be placed within either of the two existing categories. Whilst the intended number of participant interviews was achieved (I later felt that data saturation had been achieved at 18¹⁴), the intended total number of interviews with stakeholders from external organisations was increased as the extensive range of these became evident in two of the three case studies. Their nature also differed significantly. Whilst some engaged with the patrols in an operational capacity, others connected with them by broader strategic means, such as by providing funding or resources integral to the maintenance of the patrol. Thus, the number of stakeholders from external organisations to be interviewed in two of the three case studies was approximately doubled, whilst in the third case study the number remained the same as no such persons or organisations were evident. At the completion of data collection, the total number of interviews collected was 40 (see Table 5.1.). As this enhanced number suggests, attempts at securing interviews were highly successful. Not only was the target number of patrol participant interviews achieved, but there were no instances of participants declining to take part, or later withdrawing. Of those external stakeholders approached, only one declined to take part – and none subsequently withdrew.

¹⁴ Whilst it is difficult to know in advance how many interviews need to be conducted in order for saturation to be achieved, Bryman (2012: 426) suggests that the researcher is able to identify such when codes do not require significant revision in order to be representative of interviews carried out.

Table 5.1. Total number of interviews (intended and actual), by participant group and case study							
	<i>Rural Watch Patrol</i>		<i>Street Angels</i>		<i>Shomrim</i>		Total
	<i>Inten- ded</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>Inten- ded</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>Inten- ded</i>	<i>Actual</i>	
Participants	6	6	6	6	6	6	18
Managers/co ordinators	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
External stakeholders	4	7	4	8	4	3	18
Total	10	15	10	16	10	9	40

Table 5.2. Total number of interviews (intended and actual), by participant group and case study

Prior to conducting the interviews, separate interview schedules were created for both patrol participant and external organisation participants. The questions listed on the schedules were directly influenced by the research objectives, and further informed by earlier conceptual and theoretical tasks. The schedules also contained a few probes and prompts, which could be drawn upon to instigate further discussion around a given area, or to seek clarity. The schedules were (modestly) amended following review by my supervisory team. They were then submitted, reviewed and approved by the University Ethics Committee (see Chapter 5.5.6.). Following the completion of early observations, schedules were suitably amended in order to reflect my improved knowledge of the patrols and the broader contexts in which they operated. The initial participant interview schedule was subject to very little change, but an additional schedule was adapted from it that was more appropriate for the coordinator category. The external stakeholder interview schedule was also adapted into two schedules – one for those that came into contact with the patrols ‘operationally’, and the other for those who had a relationship of a broader ‘strategic’ nature. During interviews, a Dictaphone was used to record responses. These were later transcribed before responses were

analysed (see the following section). Interviewees' recommendations of specific people, organisations or events to follow up were also recorded, as were any examples of distinct body language that the audio-recording could not capture.

It soon became apparent that in order to gain useful and insightful data, the various interview schedules needed to be specifically tailored to the participants in question. This was true of both participant interviews – where relative length of 'service' had an impact – and, to an even greater extent, of interviews with the stakeholders from external organisations. Here, whilst those who were connected to citizen patrols in an operational capacity generally had a greater understanding of questions related to their contribution and their 'fit' within wider networks of security, they had less knowledge of their internal organisation or the means by which they were more broadly supported. Conversely, those connected to the citizen patrols in a strategic sense had less of a knowledge of what their contribution was, or how it manifested – but were able to provide greater insights about the provision of resources, funding, or other assistance during the patrol's conception. Questions asked needed to reflect this diversity, and as such a deal of prior planning was required before each took place. These various levels of differentiation were also reflected in the length of the interviews. Of the participants interviewed, the majority of these lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. A few interviewees were however new to the role, and as such were unable to recount extensive experiences. Thus, these interviews were noticeably shorter, as questions were largely limited to those that concerned motivations for joining the patrol, and expectations about what volunteering consisted of. Meanwhile, with generally less 'stories to tell', the majority of interviews with stakeholders from external organisations tended to last in the region of 30 to 40 minutes. As for my own conduct, some interview participants asked me about my own views on what I had seen or heard during other fieldwork activities. Conscious of not revealing too much about my specific research objectives or the early conclusions I was beginning to draw, my response to such questions was invariably that it was too early for me to say (which was certainly accurate at the time) – albeit whilst acknowledging the near-unanimous warmth and goodwill towards the citizen patrols and participants, that characterised interview responses at large. I discuss my possible influence over interview responses in further detail later in the chapter.

5.5.5. Data analysis

As Becker (1968: 234) noted, observational materials can be analysed sequentially. This was particularly important as it allowed for the identification of various early themes emerging from initial data. These low-inference and largely descriptive themes (Spencer et al., 2014: 272) formed the basis of tentative propositions and working assumptions that could then be evaluated during subsequent observations. Similarly, interim sequential data analysis also helped to amend interview schedules, by informing specific questions and my general knowledge of the case study contexts. Once all observations had been completed, a full process of ethnographic and thematic analysis was instigated¹⁵. Each of the records were grouped together, from which data were extracted and assigned to one or more of the following substantive themes: 'organisation', 'motivations and beliefs', 'activities', and 'external relationships'. These themes were integral to achieving the research aim and objectives, and as such broadly represent the substantive discussion of the findings chapters later in the study. Data that did not correspond with these themes were grouped together, from which any emerging themes unaccounted for were identified. Similarly, these broad themes were assigned to specific responses when transcribing audio-recordings of semi-structured interviews. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the frequency of specific codes varied between the two different forms of data: whilst 'activities' themed data appeared more frequently in observation datasets, 'motivations and beliefs' themed data generally appeared more frequently in data gained from interviews. In the later findings chapters, observational fieldnotes are presented in italicised format in order that they can be distinguished from interview responses.

After applying broad themes in the first instance, data within each were then interpreted so that subthemes could be identified and applied to the set. During this process, both cross-sectional and non-cross-sectional data organisation strategies were adopted (for description of each of these, see Mason, 2002b: 147). The need for this dual-strategy approach reflected the diversity of the case studies and the specific narratives that were emerging from each. These subthemes assisted in

¹⁵ Whilst Spencer et al. (2014: 270) list ethnographic and thematic approaches to data analysis separately, Ryan and Bernard (2000) demonstrate that the latter is used in such a wide array of different analytic contexts that it should be viewed as a generic method appropriate for various types of dataset.

developing *explanations* (rather than causal mechanisms) for patterns both observed in the data, and for more general theories offered within the later findings chapters. In doing so, the analysis moved beyond mere presentation of descriptive data – though the utility of these in itself varied from one instance to the next. Where the interpretation and presentation of data is concerned, it is worth noting that in the context of normative data (such as those identified within the ‘motivations and beliefs’ theme), these can be analysed in two ways. The first is a detached, third-person approach (as is common in anthropological studies), whilst another is that of the committed first-person (as ethicists often adopt) (see Thacher, 2006: 1637). The favoured position in this instance was that of the third-person, which was selected to encourage an open-minded and objective approach to analysis. It would be remiss, however, not to concede that this approach – both towards the analysis of data, and various stages of the research more generally – was also influenced by semi-participation in each of the citizen patrol groups, and the relationships established with participants. The implications of this influence are discussed further below.

5.5.6. Research ethics

Ethical considerations played an important role in the study from an early stage. Doing so conformed to the now widely accepted view that ethics should be at the heart of research, from design to interpretation of data, and to the reporting of findings (Webster et al., 2014: 78). In this spirit, prior to beginning the empirical element of the study, those aspects that engaged ethical principles were identified, and where appropriate, provision was put in place to help safeguard against falling short of expected standards. In the first instance, the matter of who should be considered a ‘participant’ within the observational exercises required clarification. It was decided that this should strictly comprise those volunteers who *took part* in the citizen patrols. By contrast, it was determined that the individuals that they encountered during their activities need not be considered participants in the study. This decision was taken on the grounds that I would not be seeking to actively engage with anyone other than those taking part in the patrols. In the event that a member of the public engaged with me, I would verbally identify myself and declare my reasons for being present. The decision was also taken on pragmatic grounds – gaining consent from such a large number of people, and in intense environments such as the NTE, would have proven a challenge difficult to meet.

Before contact was made with any prospective participants (or indeed even gatekeepers), ethical approval for the study was sought by submitting an application to the University Research Ethics Committee in November 2016. The application presented a series of obligations and measures that demonstrated compliance with both the Economic and Social Research Council's *Framework for Research Ethics* (2015), and the British Sociological Association's *Statement of Ethical Practice* (2017). The application was approved without further amendment, and a copy is available upon request. Within the application, a commitment to informing all participants of the scope of the research was reiterated. This commitment permeated all forms of correspondence – from initial email contact, to meetings with gatekeepers, to information sheets and subsequent discussion with both patrol participants and external organisation interviewees. The right to withdraw from the study was similarly emphasised to both gatekeepers and participants. Initially a deadline by which to withdraw from participation (and any data gained from it) was set and communicated for 29th September 2017. This was later extended to 28 February 2018, in light of an extension to the data collection period. At no stage did any participant elect to withdraw any aspect(s) of their contribution. Both participant information sheets and consent forms were provided in advance of first observations and interviews. These differed slightly between patrol participants and stakeholders from external organisations (most obviously the participant documentation specified consent for participation both in observations *and* in interviews, whereas external organisation documentation only provided consent for the latter), but a strict position was adopted of ensuring that these were completed before any data were subsequently drawn upon.

Amongst the most important ethical principles adhered to was that of providing anonymity to *all* those who took part. This was because given the nature of the subject matter and those being engaged, I could not be certain that participants and stakeholders would not disclose information that might put them at risk. Without the guarantee of anonymity, it was also acknowledged that participants who adopted practices deemed controversial might alter their behaviours in my presence or opt not to engage at all. To prevent such problems from arising, again the commitment to anonymity was reiterated at various stages of the study – from my first contact with gatekeepers, to first meetings with participants observed, to briefings with

those interviewed. It was explained that actual names and specific job titles (of participants and stakeholders or disclosed by them) might be included within cryptic jottings, and that these would of course be captured within audio-recordings; but that they would be replaced by pseudonyms and broader descriptions of job roles when observation notes were written up as full records, and when interview audio-recordings were transcribed.

Meanwhile, both notes and audio-recordings were stored securely, and a commitment to destroy these once the study (in its final thesis form) had been publicly released was set out in the application for ethical review. It should be noted, however, that there was a limit to the degree of anonymity that could be afforded, and again this was a caveat that was stressed at least before (and sometimes concluding) interaction with those taking part. Given that the citizen patrols were made up of close-knit groups of people who generally knew one another well (both professionally and personally), it could not be guaranteed that participants and stakeholders who later decided to read the research findings would not be able to identify others from what they had said or did. In the event, both either responded with ambivalence to this possibility, or even indicated that they would happily reveal which aspects of the findings they had contributed to with others. Similarly, the decision to adopt snowball sampling as an approach placed those taking part in a position whereby they were able to recommend potential participants for interview. In accordance with ethical principles however, none had any influence over whether a prospective participant *was* selected for interview, and on no occasion was it ever subsequently confirmed whether an interview had in fact taken place.

5.6. Reflections and limitations

5.6.1. Reflections

As has been discussed elsewhere in the chapter, throughout the study I remained aware of my own presence and the impact that it might have on empirical tasks – including on the design of research instruments, the collection of data, and in drawing conclusions from them. As Malterud (2001: 483) has acknowledged, ‘a researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of

conclusions'. It would be unfair to suggest that the study is 'undermined' by such a reality – indeed, all research contains degrees of subjective personal influence at certain stages. It is important though, to acknowledge this influence as part of a broader reflective approach – in which the impact and experiences of the researcher are reconciled with emergent data, in order that they might be understood both more accurately, and more effectively. Whilst the thought processes that influenced how I conducted myself during specific fieldwork tasks have been accounted for elsewhere in this chapter, in what follows I offer some more general points about the 'presentation of self' (Goffman, 1956), and the potential implications that each of these create.

Within observational studies, the role that the observer adopts carries implications for both the specific methods adopted and the wider methodological approach. Whilst covert observers could not, for instance, seek to interview participants, those who present themselves overtly risk influencing performances, events and environments – which may in turn shape data gained. Such an influence may take place regardless of the character of the observer. Simply being present may be enough to disrupt social interaction – otherwise known as 'Hawthorne' (see Wolcott, 1999) or 'streetlight' (see Freedman, 2010) effects. Other observers may even exhibit disruptive tendencies that they find difficult to repress. In this regard, in spite of my own best intentions, I am quite certain that my own rather dominant character presented itself on occasions – particularly by engaging in conversation to fill periods of relative silence, in order not to appear distanced or rude, and in early observations, where I placed much emphasis on 'reaching out' to create relationships with observed participants that would likely be of benefit in future interactions and securing interviews. While setting out no intention to do so, it is possible that these manifestations of my own character could have influenced the actions and behaviours of participants – and may, in some cases, have even distracted them from their role. That said, it is worth adding that the nature of much conversation I engaged in to this effect was similar to that shared between other patrol participants, so the extent to which this 'disrupted' the natural environment is questionable.

Alternatively, data may be shaped by the influence of researchers in other ways – for instance, by looking for, or adopting lines of questioning that only accord with

explicit or implicit propositions and theoretical positions that have been developed (Zelditch, 1962). This is possible in both observational activities and whilst interviewing. Effective prior-planning of these activities – that outlines themes to continue to pursue whilst *also* allowing for degrees of flexibility – are certainly useful as means of reducing the likelihood of overly constrained or forced lines of inquiry emerging. Yet even these cannot completely prevent the possibility of bias towards themes that support or reject specific propositions – and in particular where these are pursued unconsciously. Though no single strategy can achieve the eradication of bias, one effective means of further reducing this was the attempted retention of an open mind about new themes emerging, including those that countered working assumptions and early conclusions drawn during the data collection process. Far from dismissing these as unhelpful or anomalies, these were recorded (even if such data were only single instances), so that in the event similar examples emerged again, these could be linked and analysed as potential themes for discussion. In a similar fashion, in interview settings a researcher's collection and interpretation of data may also be influenced where participants, recalling events that took place during earlier observations, require dialogue of an increasingly interactive nature with the researcher. These responses typically began with phrases such as 'as you'll remember...' and 'as you've seen for yourself...'. There is an inherent difficulty in removing oneself from the data in this sense, but my own interview practice attempted to deflect some of this by seeking clarification from the perspective of the participant (so that I was not relying upon my own inferences), and providing as little sense of confirmation, agreement or disagreement with the participant as was possible – in the hope that later responses were not further influenced.

5.6.2. Limitations

All research carries limitations of some kind. The approach and specific design of this study was no different. On a broad level, there is something of a utopian ideal about case study. As Becker (1968: 233) notes, the aims of the approach can scarcely be realised – how could one see, describe and find the theoretical relevance of everything that unfolds before him? With this shortcoming of the approach in mind, the number and scale of the emerging themes drawn and presented within the study had to fit both the requirements of specific research objectives and the pragmatic realities of the study (such as time and resource

constraints). This realisation informed the earliest stages of the research – whilst developing research objectives, designing the study, and identifying and refining lines of inquiry both during and post empirical data collection. More broadly, it dictated a need to define clearly what the study *was* trying to achieve, and as importantly, what it *was not*.

Similarly, there are also limits to the extent that ‘truths’ can be identified while adopting case study and qualitative approaches. This is arguably a challenge for any research underpinned by social constructionist perspectives. Can any data collected be interpreted as examples of truths? Or are they all merely perspectives? It was, for example, frequently remarked by participants during case study observations that the patrol in question had been ‘quiet’. It was uttered so frequently that one could begin to accept this view as fact. But was it *really* that quiet, by comparative standards? Or were participants simply trying to create conversation? Were they just making such comments to justify their being, or hint at their effectiveness? Or were they hoping for an event to develop? In another example, more generally the sense that participants *did* have a positive impact upon reducing crime and contributing to community safety was shared by all those encountered, and unanimously. Some commented that there had been a visible improvement in these since the citizen patrols were introduced. Yet even if a reduction in crime could be established, a causal effect of patrols and patrol participants would have been very difficult to prove. With this difficulty in mind, the crime control ‘effect’ of citizen patrols was a line of inquiry that the study did not attempt to undertake.

The validity of the findings may also have been impacted by the influence of gatekeepers and those observed in the identification and selection of interview participants. This limitation, a feature of snowball sampling more generally, arises from the fact that the approach places both gatekeepers and participants in positions where they are able to influence the selection of interview candidates. In this study, both gatekeepers and patrol participants were able to influence the selection of interview candidates from external organisations with whom they were on favourable terms). Conversely, it also placed them in a position *not* to suggest those that they might not have wanted me to engage with – lest such a participant might present a comparatively less favourable set of responses. Consequently, it follows that data gained as a result of snowball sampling could be skewed. It is

worth noting that within the specific contexts of this study, some of this risk was offset by being able to engage with a large number and variety of individuals during observational activities – the unpredictability of which gatekeepers had less control over.

Case study approaches – and particularly those that utilise qualitative approaches – are also often subject to the claim that the findings they produce are rarely *generalizable*. Whilst there are certainly degrees of truth in this statement, it is important to stress that the arguments around this claim are by no means settled. In a detailed critique, Lincoln and Guba (1985: 112) for instance, argue that all research findings are context specific, and thus the entire concept of generalisability is problematic. Certainly, the cases within this study appear to demonstrate this. Inasmuch as there are overlapping trends apparent between each of the three selected, their nuances are often both diverse and distinct. This, it could be argued, is part of a broader challenge to the traditional premise of anthropological case studies more generally – that it is difficult to conceive of them as offering a ‘strategic vantage point for perceiving the culture or social life of modern society as a whole’ (Hamel et al, 1993: 4), when not only have geographical locations and communities become more diverse from one instance to the next, but such areas themselves have become more diverse, moving away from earlier periods of greater homogeneity.

A final practical issue linked to generalizability of the findings concerns that of being unable to complete the empirical tasks within all three case studies concurrently. Specifically, the Shomrim case study began and finished considerably later than the remaining two case studies, following delays in attempting to set up observations. This is significant given that it was frequently acknowledged by patrol participants in all case studies that different times of year presented different challenges for the patrols – both in terms of specific crime and community safety challenges, and their ability to respond to these (for instance both the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim were considerably less operational during summer months). This potentially reduces the reliability of cross-comparison between the case studies as it appears in later analysis – and carries implications for generalisability beyond the study at large. It is worth noting however, that the inability to complete all three case studies

concurrently did at least make it easier to both organise and commit to fieldwork exercises in each.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to present, discuss and justify the methodological approach of the study. By outlining a broad critical realist ontological and epistemological position, the study embraced both the realist view that realities exist *independent of* our experience and knowledge, along with the social constructionist view that social properties are afforded meaning by human beings as they engage in processes of interaction and interpretation. This position underpinned the study design, in which descriptive, theory generating and testing, and normative case study approaches were realised by the adoption of two methods loosely attached to the ethnographic tradition – participant observation and semi-structured interviews. In addition to providing the most effective means of achieving the research objectives, the design also reflected the need to achieve a balance; between the principles of the study and what it was trying to achieve, and a series of pragmatic trade-offs given the various (time and resource) constraints placed upon it. The chapter has reflected upon these trade-offs, and the practical aspects of completing the study more generally, by raising key processes and presenting the means by which challenges were met at various stages. Throughout, the chapter has attempted to create a reflective discourse, in which my own impact upon the research process has been considered. In particular, it has both provided and considered the implications of my own presence within case study fieldwork settings, and the ways in which this may have shaped data later obtained. The chapter has reflected upon that sentiment more broadly in its final sections, where various limitations in relation to validity, reliability, and generalisability have been considered.

Chapter Six

The establishment, objectives and organisation of citizen patrols

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents descriptive accounts of the establishment, objectives and organisation of each of the three citizen patrol case studies. By doing so, it serves a series of important purposes. On a practical level, it provides a useful foundation from which discussion in subsequent chapters can be sufficiently informed and placed into context. It also achieves several objectives in its own right. Most notably, it provides insights into the circumstances in which each of the citizen patrols was able to emerge and develop, the means by which each is sustained, and how each navigates the various operational and strategic challenges it faces. The discussion also illustrates varying degrees of links to, or autonomy from public organisations such as police and local government, along with some of the implications that arise from these differences in affiliated status. By engaging with these, the chapter subscribes to the broad requirements of the study's first objective, and assists in providing understanding of the connections each of the citizen patrols has with other providers of policing and community safety – a key aspect of the study's third objective.

In what follows, each case study is presented consecutively. This approach allows for consideration of the specificities of each, and provides a foundation from which similarities and differences between each case study can be identified. By adopting this format, the chapter bridges the methodological approach outlined in Chapter Five, with subsequent discussion presented thematically from Chapter Seven onwards. The chapter begins by presenting the Rural Watch Patrol case study, followed by that of the Street Angels. Finally, the Shomrim citizen patrol is explored. Description of each case study is subsequently organised under six subheadings. These begin with the conditions in which each citizen patrol was established, followed by the aims and objectives that they posit. Details of the geographic coverage of each patrol, and routes that they adopt are then presented. The discussion then turns to funding arrangements and resource allocation, before an outline of workforce composition along with how patrols are organised. Some

consideration is then extended to broader coordination and oversight regimes, and each of the three cases concludes by exploring recruitment and training arrangements. In completing these subsections, the chapter draws upon data sourced from specific terms of reference and policy documentation (both published and unpublished), online materials made publicly available by both citizen patrols and partners, as well as those gained during both observation and interview-based fieldwork exercises.

6.2. Rural Watch Patrol, Selby District

6.2.1. Establishment and objectives

Rural Watch Patrol Selby (herein referred to as 'Rural Watch Patrol') is a North Yorkshire Police (NYP) citizen patrol initiative first established in December 2014. The patrol is a specific form of 'Rural Watch', a broader concept that encompasses various forms of community crime prevention contribution that range from active mobile variants, to static passive forms of contribution akin to Neighbourhood Watch (Almond, 2017). Rural Watch Patrol was set up to 'patrol identified routes incorporating hot-spot locations for all types of rural incidents and crime' (North Yorkshire Police, 2015). In order to achieve its broad objective of deterring crime and anti-social behaviour, participants drive a designated Rural Watch Patrol vehicle on pre-determined patrol routes. They report suspicious activity to the Force Control Room and create physical records on bespoke forms that are later passed on to local police officers and staff, who may then utilise records for intelligence gathering purposes. More broadly, the Rural Watch Patrol seeks to provide public reassurance by offering a visible, proactive presence, by engaging with members of the community – for instance on bespoke visits and at local meetings. In addition to providing support for local police officers and staff, more recently the Rural Watch Patrol has also provided specific support for the NYP Rural Taskforce – a unit of police officers and staff established to increase engagement with rural communities, target criminals who offend in rural areas, and provide crime prevention advice to those at risk of criminality (North Yorkshire Police, 2016). As of April 2017, the Rural Taskforce workforce comprised of an inspector, sergeant, seven police constables and seven PCSOs across the districts of North Yorkshire (North Yorkshire Police, 2017).

The Rural Watch Patrol was set up as a response to a number of persistent crime problems. In particular, rural crimes such as theft from farmland, as well as animal-related offences such as poaching and hare-coursing were perceived as long-blighting the community, and, in the absence of effective action, were seen as an increasing problem. The decision to form the patrol culminated from members of the pre-existing Rural Watch (comprised of mostly farmers and local land owners) informally engaging with one member of the community, who later became a Rural Watch Patrol participant and the initiative lead. This individual had a pre-existing relationship with a local police officer, and the two subsequently discussed plans for consideration by the local police inspector. During the course of engagement with the local inspector, it was agreed that the purchase of a Rural Watch Patrol vehicle should be sought, and so following the inspector's endorsement, representations for funding were made towards various external organisations (see Chapter 6.2.3.). Once the application process had been navigated and funding had been awarded, a final proposal was put to the Police and Crime Commissioner for North Yorkshire, who duly approved the initiative in August 2014. During this period, inaugural members of the Rural Watch Patrol were vetted and provided with Police Support Volunteer induction training (see Chapter 6.2.6.).

6.2.2. Geographic coverage

The Rural Watch Patrol operates across bespoke locations within the Selby Local Government District of North Yorkshire. The landmass of the District is predominantly rural, comprising large expanses of farmland, and a series of villages and civil parishes. The area also features two large coal-fired power stations, close to the villages of Eggborough and Drax. 2011 Census data for the broader Selby District reveal that the vast majority of houses within the area were either detached (40.1 per cent) or semi-detached (35.0 per cent) (N=36,287), and that 75.0 per cent of homes were owned outright (N=34,559) (HM Government, 2012a). These measures may be considered strong indicators of affluence. Census data also confirm that the area comprised a significant majority 95.5 per cent White British population, of which 70.9 per cent were of Christian faith (N= 83,449) (ibid).

The initiative, including its participants and the patrol vehicle, are based at a local police station in Eggborough. Locations that the patrol operates within are determined by the areas of the District that have contributed funding to the initiative

(see Chapter 6.2.3.). The routes that the Rural Watch Patrol follows are fixed, and divided into four colour-coded areas, each of which features specific villages and civil parishes (see Figure 6.1.). A green route covers the village and civil parish of Sherburn in Elmet and its surrounding areas. A blue route includes the villages and civil parishes of Brotherton, Gateforth and Kellington, A red route patrols a boundary around and within the villages and civil parishes of Chapel Haddlesey, Great Heck and Camblesforth. Finally, a purple route covers areas in and around the villages of Womersley, Walden Stubbs and Kirk Smeaton. Eggborough, as the Rural Watch Patrol's base, is located at the centre of and connects the blue, red and purple routes.

Each of the patrol routes are programmed into an iPad, which itself is then used as an in-vehicle satellite navigation system. The decision of which route(s) to patrol is largely determined by the order of patrols previously undertaken – participants select each colour-coded route in turn to ensure that patrols are, where possible, fairly divided between those areas that have contributed to funding the initiative. Participants are however able to deviate from specific routes where necessary, though doing so largely consists of travelling on alternative roads within the colour-coded areas in question, as opposed to travelling beyond colour-coded areas more broadly. Decisions to alter routes, or to deviate from specific sequences may be influenced or dictated by a range of factors; including acting upon intelligence about current crime problems in specific locations (intelligence gathered by either police staff, officers, or the participants themselves), by committing to specific operations or events, or by fulfilling other specific requests from police officers and staff. The routes participants take may also be influenced by the requests of members of local communities. Such requests are often made during visits that participants make during day-time patrols, and in particular are made by local farmers and businesses, where these have either recently been a victim of crime, or where they feel they are at a higher risk of being a victim crime (e.g. heightened risk during specific seasons). The result of this is that whilst much Rural Watch Patrol activity is undertaken in public space, occasionally their patrols also cover privately-owned land.

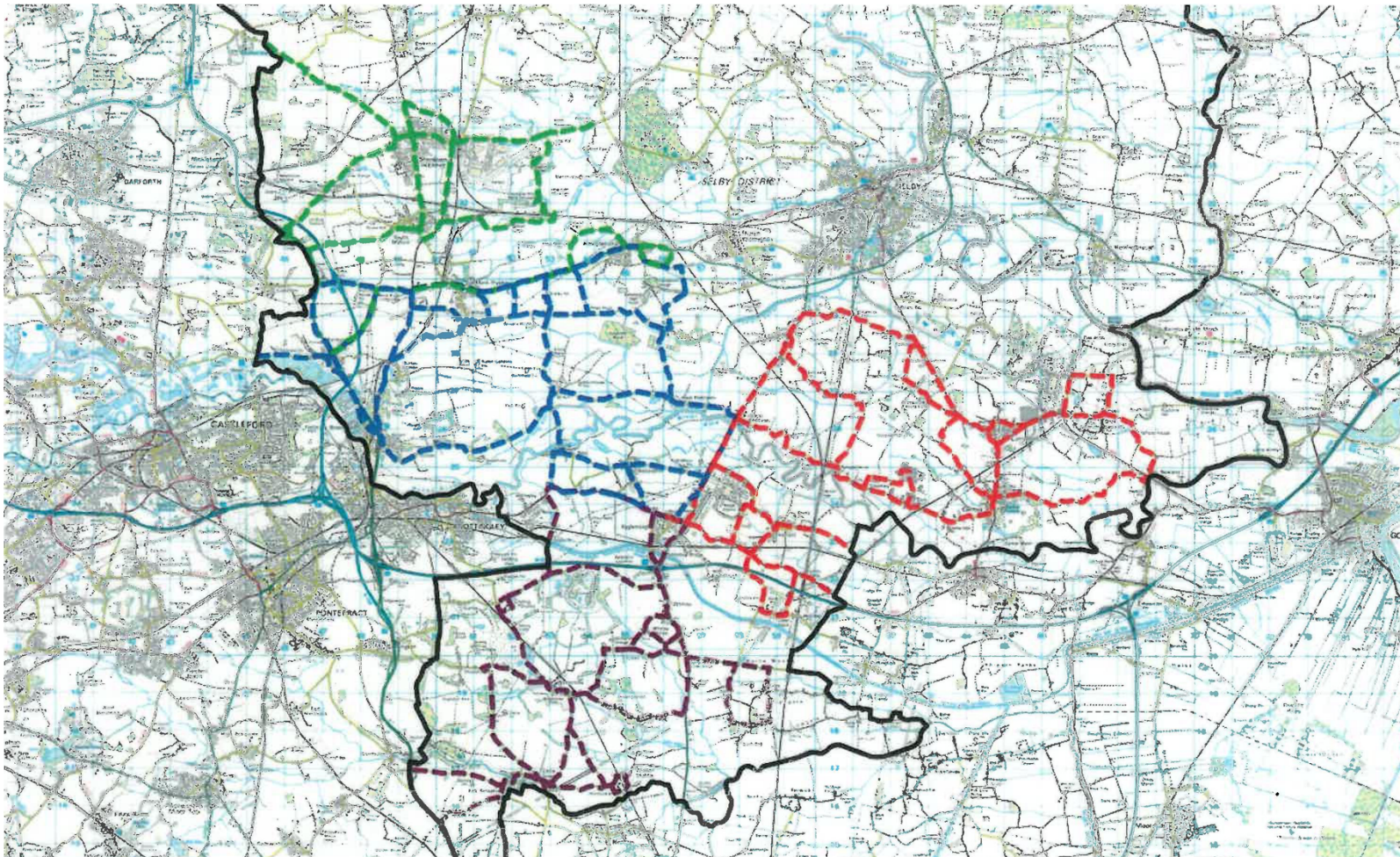


Figure 6.1. Map of Rural Watch Patrol area and routes, North Yorkshire (produced by NYP, unpublished)

6.2.3. Funding arrangements and resources

Rural Watch Patrol is funded by various public and private sources. Funding for the most significant outlay – the purchase of the patrol vehicle – was awarded jointly by Selby South and Selby West Community Engagement Forums (informally referred to as CEFs). CEFs have been established within a few district council areas across England, and principally take the form of public meetings, at which members of local communities can raise comments or concerns in relation to their local area and local services. They are also often attended by representatives of local services, which provides attendees with the opportunity to speak directly to those responsible for service delivery. More recently, Selby District Council has empowered CEFs with the responsibility of awarding funding to local projects. The Rural Watch Patrol received £5,000 from each of the Selby South and Selby West CEFs in March 2014. Southern and Western CEF funding was provided on the basis that the initiative would run for a minimum of five years, or until the time at which it was felt a new vehicle would need to be purchased – at which point a new application for funding would have to be made, should the participants so choose.

More modest contributions were also provided by the National Farmers Union, who first provided and continue to pay monthly data-allowance costs for the Rural Watch Patrol's iPad, the National Power Grid, who provided various items of furniture for the initiative's office, and Selby CSP, who awarded an undisclosed financial sum. Following the award of these financial and resource contributions, the Police and Crime Commissioner for North Yorkshire approved receipt of funding for the initiative, along with capital expenditure for the purchase and preparation of the vehicle in August 2014. Capital expenditure for the purchase of the vehicle totalled £8,500 (sourced by the Transport Department), and additional equipment – including livery, Bluetooth, a mobile phone and sundries was costed at £1,000 (Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for North Yorkshire, 2014: 3). Revenue expenditure – which consisted of fuel and maintenance costs, and committed by the PCC's office, was projected at £1,200 and £400 per annum, respectively (ibid). Beyond these items, other resources since committed by NYP include bespoke items of uniform, such as Rural Watch Patrol high-visibility vests and black combat trousers. These are distinct from those items of uniform worn by Police Support Volunteers working in other capacities. As volunteers, patrollers are unpaid but are able to claim travel expenses from NYP.

The Rural Watch Patrol vehicle, a 2014 edition Vauxhall Corsa, was acquired following the PCC's approval. Purchased and modified so as to be distinct from a police vehicle, it is dark grey in colour, and liveried with specific 'Rural Watch' and 'Community Engagement Forum' emblems on both driver and passenger-side doors. The CEF emblem also provides a URL, which links to a website that provides more information about the Forums at large. Below these emblems, high visibility chequered strips run along the skirting of each side of the vehicle. The inside of the vehicle is largely unmodified, save for a custom-fitted immobiliser, a mounting unit for the Rural Watch Patrol's iPad, and the installation of a police radio. The radio is tuned to a specific Rural Watch Patrol channel, which allows its participants to contact the Force Control Room, along with officers and staff on an individual basis ('point-to-point'). The Rural Watch Patrol may similarly be contacted by police officers and staff, who may either tune into the patrol's channel, or contact them directly via point-to-point. The radio also features an emergency button, which can be pressed in the event that immediate assistance is required (this button alerts both the Force Control Room and other police radios). The Rural Watch Patrol's channel is however separate from those most frequently utilised by police officers and staff, and thus participants' access to the majority of police communication via radio is restricted.

6.2.4. Workforce and organisational structure

During the fieldwork period, the Rural Watch Patrol reached a membership of eight participants. One of these, the initiative lead, was responsible for a series of organisational and administrative duties in addition to patrol work. Of the remaining participants, three had been with the patrol since its inception, another had been with the initiative for approximately 18 months, and the remaining three joined as new recruits during the course of the fieldwork period. Of the total number of participants, seven were male and one was female. A wide age range was evident within the group – the youngest participant was below 40, whilst the eldest was over 70 – though the significant majority were either near, or post retirement age. The backgrounds of the participants ranged from labour-intensive occupations such as farming, mining and mechanical maintenance, to local government and administration posts, including local councillor roles. Another participant that joined the initiative during the fieldwork period had a faith-based background and had also

served in the armed forces. The diversity of occupational backgrounds suggests mixed wealth-status across the wider group. Each of the participants lived locally, and so were able to commute to Eggborough Police Station by a short vehicle journey or on foot.

The times at which each participant contributed varied. Whilst one patrolled on a Wednesday morning each week, two others provided a more flexible commitment that typically spanned one to two patrols a week. In addition, these two participants patrolled together on Tuesday evenings once every two weeks, between the hours of approximately 20:00 and 02:00. Another patrolled less frequently, as they also undertook additional Police Support Volunteer roles. The initiative lead's patrol hours were varied in order to fit around work commitments. Though a basic, consistent patrol schedule existed, the post-retirement status of the majority of patrollers meant that each were able to adapt the time and frequency of their contributions, particularly where NYP officers and staff requested their assistance on specific operations. The timing of patrols was organised between participants, who invariably communicated by telephone with one another. Having agreed when each would be contributing, a patrol schedule would then be written on a whiteboard in the Rural Watch Patrol's designated room at Eggborough Police Station. This informed both the Rural Watch Patrol participants of who had committed to which times, as well as other police officers and staff – so that they were aware of when Rural Watch Patrol was operating, and when the vehicle would be in use. This was particularly important for PCSOs based at the station, who also utilised the vehicle to undertake duties where required.

6.2.5. Coordination and oversight

The Rural Watch Patrol is a formal NYP initiative. All of its participants are registered Police Support Volunteers, and as such each is subject to police policies including its Code of Ethics. This distinguishes Rural Watch Patrol Selby from other Rural Watch Patrols practised elsewhere, the nature of whose links to NYP range widely from one example to the next. The police place each of these examples within four distinct models. Rural Watch Patrol Selby is an example that subscribes to the Police Support Volunteer model, in which all participants as NYP Volunteers, are covered by the organisations insurance policies. Other examples may subscribe to the model of 'constituted groups', which include patrols funded locally by the

PCC, but that are not undertaken by NYP volunteers. These examples carry their own public liability insurance. More autonomous still are examples that subscribe to a model of 'self-policing'. These examples are neither funded by, nor affiliated with NYP, and largely consist of farmers policing their own and neighbouring land under the terms of their own personal business insurance. The remaining, and most problematic model from the perspective of the police is that of a 'hybrid' model. Examples of this model sit between the Police Support Volunteer and Constituted Group models, and consists of examples that comprise both Police Support Volunteers *and* non-Police Support Volunteers. As a result, whilst some participants in these patrols are insured by NYP, others are not. This arrangement also raises questions about the appropriateness of police officers directing the activities of non-Police Support Volunteer participants in the same way that they do for vetted and trained NYP volunteers. Given these concerns, the police have more recently encouraged those with whom they are not formally affiliated, and whose patrols subscribe to the Hybrid model, to undertake to become a Police Support Volunteer.

Whilst the organisation of patrols is carried out by the participants (and in particular the initiative lead), broader strategic coordination is carried out by a 'Volunteer Coordinator'. The introduction of the NYP Volunteer Coordinator has been a relatively recent development, with the post created and filled less than a year prior to commencement of the fieldwork. This police staff role was introduced to take strategic responsibility for the coordination and monitoring of NYP's volunteering infrastructure, including the Special Constabulary, Police Support Volunteers and Police Cadets. Prior to the introduction of the role, coordination and monitoring of police volunteering existed through a series of separate arrangements. Responsibility for Police Support Volunteers was assumed by volunteers themselves, and specifically by both a 'Head of Volunteering' and 'Deputy Head of Volunteering'. Similarly, the Special Constabulary and Police Cadets were considered altogether separate entities, with separate organisational structures that carried out different coordination and monitoring activities. By bringing these responsibilities within the remit of a single post, it was hoped that a more coherent single strategy for managing volunteering could be adopted, informed by and promoting best practice. In practice, the Volunteer Coordinator is further responsible for liaising with initiative leads about matters arising from their contributions. Other sources of discussion may relate to recruitment, training, and the provision of

additional resources, along with communication on any updates to existing policies and procedures that either the Rural Watch Patrol or Police Support Volunteers more generally are expected to comply with.

Elsewhere, further levels of Rural Watch Patrol oversight are provided by police staff and officers. Operationally, oversight is provided by the local policing team, including PCSOs, PCs and a sergeant, all of whom operate from Eggborough Police Station. The oversight function of the local policing team is typically limited to their designation as a first point of contact for the volunteers, a role assumed in part due to the close proximity within which staff, officers and volunteers operate, and the ongoing dialogue that takes place in relation to reporting back on patrols. Elsewhere, degrees of strategic responsibility are assumed by senior police officers, who take decisions in relation to the continued maintenance of the initiative (following the decision taken to support it), and generate policies with which the Rural Watch Patrol is expected to comply. The degree of engagement between Rural Watch Patrol participants and senior officers above and beyond the rank of sergeant is however, very limited.

6.2.6. Recruitment and training arrangements

Though Rural Watch Patrol is a specific NYP initiative, at the time of the fieldwork there were no descriptors for the specific role. Thus, the specific requirements and expectations for the role had largely developed in a piecemeal fashion – built upon verbal discussions, ‘trial and error’, and refined through experience. Little on specific Rural Watch Patrol practices was committed to written form. It is unsurprising then, that promotion of the Rural Watch Patrol, with a view to recruiting new participants, was carried out on an informal basis. Promotional and first instance recruitment activities most often manifested in the form of informal conversations between existing participants and members of the community, such as whilst undertaking patrols, engaging in community forums and meetings, or when interacting in social settings outside of their volunteering roles. A small amount of promotional activity has also previously been undertaken on social media platforms, such as on local police Twitter accounts and Facebook pages. In the event that a prospective candidate emerges, applicants register their interest with NYP, and are subsequently interviewed by both the Volunteer Coordinator and the initiative lead, who judge their suitability for the role. Applicants are then required to undergo

vetting, which is undertaken by NYP. In the event that an applicant is successful, they will then undertake several induction activities, including specific training on ethics and compliance with the NYP Code of Ethics – which Rural Watch Patrol participants are expected to conform to. Specific training is also provided in the use of police radio.

Beyond induction inputs, much Rural Watch Patrol training is completed ‘on the job’. These include the basic administrative and operational practices of logging hours completed, observation skills, processes for recording events whilst completing patrols, and for filing records at the conclusion of patrols. New participants are also required to complete several patrols with their more experienced counterparts, so that they are able to develop skills and raise queries where required. Meanwhile, driving the Rural Watch Patrol vehicle requires completion of the NYP Basic Driving Test, which comprises both practical and theory-based elements. At the time of the fieldwork, four participants were trained to drive the Rural Watch Patrol vehicle, though typically the same two participants would undertake driving duties whilst others participated as passengers. Beyond these inputs, further specific training has been less forthcoming, although participants did engage with aspects of training offered during NYP volunteering events such as its annual Citizens in Policing Conference.

6.3. Street Angels, Leeds

6.3.1. Establishment and objectives

Street Angels Leeds (herein referred to as “Street Angels”) is a Christian faith-based citizen patrol initiative, that operates in Leeds, West Yorkshire. It is one of a large number of Street Angels initiatives across Britain, the first of which launched in Halifax, West Yorkshire, in November 2005. The Leeds initiative was launched in January 2012. Street Angels are intended as a mechanism through which to ‘promote the physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing of the inhabitants of localities across the UK and the world’ (Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, 2010: 3), by offering pastoral care within local communities. More specifically, Street Angels commit to support, care and treat persons in need; particularly those vulnerable as a result of excessive alcohol consumption within the contexts of the NTE. To a lesser extent, they also provide pastoral care for the homeless, by

offering guidance, basic provisions (such as water), and a 'listening ear'. Participants operationalise their broad aim by committing to approximately three to five miles of foot patrol activities each Friday evening, between the hours of 22:00 and 03:00. In addition, a similarly-timed patrol is carried out on the last Saturday evening of each month, in anticipation of a busier NTE following end-of-month pay. Street Angels approach and engage individuals they perceive as being vulnerable in a lay capacity, with basic levels of training (see Chapter 6.3.6.), and some basic items considered useful in helping participants to assist people and more broadly promote public safety. These items include basic provisions, such as water and confectionary (selected for its sugar content), and others intended to improve safety – such as flip-flops, foil blankets, and battery-powered mobile phone chargers. Whilst undertaking their patrols, Street Angels participants patrol in high-visibility jackets, carry their resources in backpacks, and are equipped with basic first aid kits. Some are also equipped with a digital radio (see Chapter 6.3.3.).

In addition to engaging with vulnerable people, Street Angels participants invest significant amounts of time interacting with other providers of policing and community safety that operate within the NTE. They do so partly in order to spread awareness of the services that they offer, but also as a means of attempting to improve links between these various public and private roles. The majority of this interaction is with door staff who are employed by night-time entertainment venues, and security personnel who patrol private spaces such as the city centres various shopping arcades. Street Angels places much emphasis on the importance of cultivating relationships with this group in particular, developing contacts on first-name terms and conducting 'visits' to many of these during the course of their patrols. To a lesser extent, participants also engage with both police and ambulance staff, though much of this takes place at a strategic level – pursued to enhance awareness of the initiative and seek potential sources of future funding (see Chapter 6.3.3.). Participant interaction with these during the course of patrols is comparatively limited. Beyond these, participants also routinely engage with municipal patrol actors, such as 'Leeds Ambassadors', as well as staff who operate in public transport venues, such as at Leeds train and coach stations.

6.3.2. Geographic coverage

Street Angels undertakes patrols within a specific radius of Leeds city centre, much of which caters to the NTE (see Figure 6.2.). Whilst engagement with either vulnerable individuals or policing and community safety staff may occur in any location within this radius, the majority of interaction takes place in the specific locations of Call Lane, Boar Lane and Albion Street – three of the most frequented areas of the city centre. Street Angels participants thus judge that vulnerable people are more likely to be identified in these areas. The initiative itself is based at Holy Trinity Church on Boar Lane, and as such occupies a central location within the patrol area. Participants gather at this location approximately 30 minutes prior to the start of a patrol, which provides an opportunity to informally catch-up with one another and prepare for the patrol. Preparation consists of filling Street Angels backpacks with necessary resources, dressing in Street Angels high-visibility coats, equipping participants with first aid kits and digital radios, and finally engaging in brief group prayer. The participants return to Holy Trinity Church for a 30-minute break approximately half-way through each patrol. At the conclusion of the patrol the participants return to the venue to drop off Street Angels uniform, excess resources, and in the case of the initiative coordinator, write-up a brief report of significant events experienced during the course of the patrol.

Whilst Street Angels participants largely patrol within the radius outlined in Figure 6.2., on occasions they may opt to extend their activities beyond this boundary. Invariably, a decision to do so is taken where participants commit to assisting a person in travelling home, or to the location at which they are staying. This commitment does not extend beyond the city centre, however, and is always completed on foot. Within the parameters of the area that they patrol, participants adopt no ‘fixed’ patrol routes, instead largely taking spontaneous decisions as to which streets and areas they should visit, and responding to requests made by other policing and community safety staff. In the event that more than one patrol team is active, participants will discuss prior to the commencement of a patrol which areas they will cover. Typically, these areas are conceived of as ‘the top’ and ‘the bottom’ of the city centre (these areas are indicated by the dotted line in Figure 6.2.). At the half-way stage of a patrol, teams often switch their patrol areas. Meanwhile, in addition to patrolling streets within the radius, participants also routinely conduct visits to other public amenities during the course of their patrols.

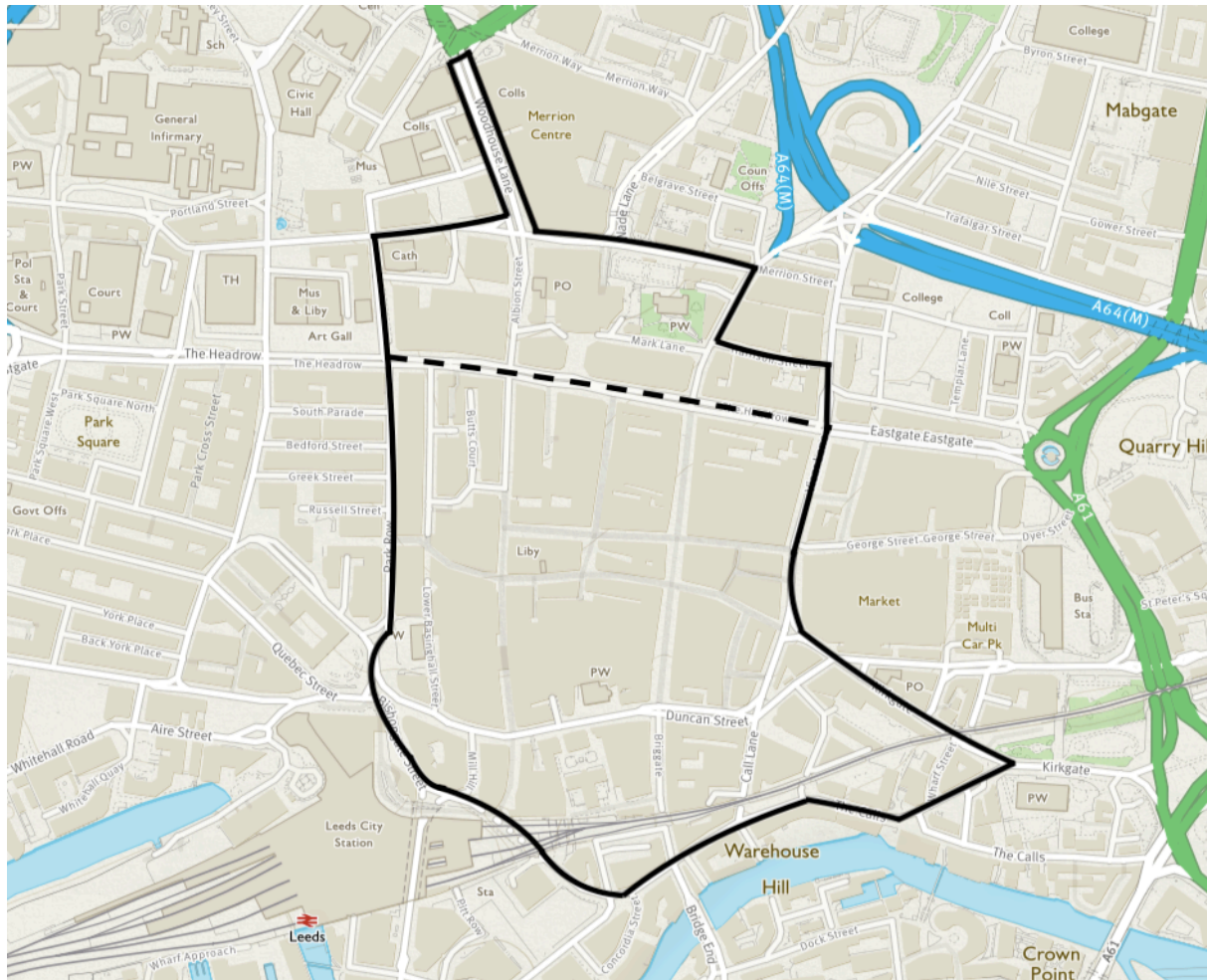


Figure 6.2. Map of Street Angels Patrol area, Leeds City Centre (scale: 10mm: 60.96m)

Most notably, these include both Leeds train and bus stations – the former of which in particular is within close proximity of the heart of the city centre. Participants visit these spaces as part of their patrols in order to assist individuals who have missed final scheduled trains, to offer care to those who are unable to proceed further with their journey due to intoxication, and to liaise with staff at these spaces in order to reduce the burden placed upon them by these challenges.

6.3.3. Funding arrangements and resources

Street Angels is funded by a number of public and private organisations. Funding is routinely sought in cycles and is contingent upon the availability and timescales of prospective sources, as well as conditions attached to any funding subsequently received. Whilst in some cases conditions might dictate that funding should be utilised within a year, others may allow spending to be carried out across longer periods, or indeed no such conditions may exist at all. The circumstances around these, as well as levels of funding received, in turn influence decisions about where and when time should be spent in both identifying sources of funding, and completing relevant applications in the event that they should be required. Amongst the most significant financial contributions provided to the Street Angels during in the cycle in which the fieldwork was carried out, was a sum awarded by the Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire in March 2016 (Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire, 2016). The sum of this contribution was £5,000. Previously, the PCC had awarded Street Angels £4,800, in July 2014 (Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire, 2014). Each of these awards was made following an application to the PCC's 'Safer Communities' fund, which is financed by proceeds of crime, and set up to help fund volunteers, community groups and charities who assist in meeting the objectives of the PCC's Police and Crime Plan. Similarly, a further sum of £5,000 was awarded during this period by Business against Crime in Leeds (informally known as 'BACIL') – a city wide retail crime reduction partnership that seeks to 'unite local businesses with a shared goal to prevent and reduce criminality and anti-social behaviour' (BACIL, 2015). Beyond these, a sum of £2,500 was awarded by M.R.S. Communications Ltd, a private company that specialises in two-way radio communication, and a further £1,102.98 was accumulated as a result of undisclosed private donations (Christian Nightlife Initiatives, 2017: 18).

A significant majority of the funding received by Street Angels is spent on paying the salary of the initiative coordinator. Remaining funds are variously spent on acquiring and maintaining equipment, patrol resources, participant refreshments, and training.

These items may also be supplemented by others acquired free of charge, gained through donations or other acts of goodwill. Examples include donations of water by local supermarkets, and delivery of free training by West Yorkshire Police (WYP) (see Chapter 6.3.6.). Perhaps the most significant resource provided to the Street Angels however, is that of digital radios, also provided by BACIL. Member organisations and venues of the wider network are each provided with 'BACIL radios', which in turn are held by venue staff. Each is tuned to same channel so that staff may communicate with one another. This allows for staff to contact Street Angels participants where they feel vulnerable people may benefit from their assistance, and further enables them to communicate a need for assistance to other venue staff beyond their own, where they deem in necessary. This includes the ability to identify and raise awareness about individuals who they feel should not be permitted access into their venues. Participants take responsibility for informing the radio network that they are active, and have concluded their contribution on each patrol. During the course of patrol, a BACIL radio is carried by one member of each Street Angels team (see the following section for more on team composition).

6.3.4. Workforce and organisational structure

At the time of the fieldwork, Street Angels consisted of a total of 30 participants. Approximately 15 of this number contributed patrol activities on a consistent basis, aiming to partake in a patrol at least once every eight weeks. The most regular contributors partook in patrols as often as approximately one in every three weekends. Outside of this 'core group', others patrolled less frequently, or had been inactive for some time. The demographic profile of the participants varied significantly. Whilst the youngest participant encountered during the fieldwork period was below the age of 25, the eldest was over 65. The average age of participants encountered was in the region of 35-45. The gender split between male and female participants was roughly even. Participants came from a range of occupational backgrounds; from former healthcare and public administration roles, to manufacturing roles and backgrounds in business. A few were students, and some carried out paid roles within local churches. Resultantly, there was a clear mix in the

wealth-status across the broad group. Whilst the core group of participants had grown very familiar with one another through attending patrols frequently, some of those that attended less often were not as well known. Their experiences of other participants were in some cases limited to interaction during ad-hoc social events that the initiative coordinator organised to celebrate specific occasions, such as Christmas.

Street Angels employs an initiative coordinator in a part-time, paid capacity. The coordinator is employed to undertake up to 20 hours paid work per week, in addition to voluntarily participating in patrols. The majority of the coordinator's time is spent organising patrols from one week to the next. They do so by issuing a fortnightly online poll (Doodle Poll), where participants are able to indicate their availability. Once this has been indicated, the coordinator will confirm with the participant that they have been scheduled to patrol on a given evening. On the evening of each patrol, the coordinator ensures that refreshments have been purchased for participants, and joins a patrol team. They also often assume responsibility for operating a BACIL radio. At the conclusion of each patrol, the coordinator engages in monitoring activities by compiling data on the number and nature of 'significant interactions' that participants have engaged with, as well as delivering on functions of a more minor nature such as disposing of glass bottles found during the course of patrols (these are counted and added to a running total). The data gained from these exercises are used to support subsequent applications for future funding and support. The coordinator is ultimately responsible for securing funding; by both identifying potential sources and completing applications where required. The need for such funding at least in part motivates the presence of the coordinator at various public meetings, such as those held by the city centre CSP – 'Safer Leeds' – and Pubwatch¹⁶. Attending these also allows the coordinator to further increase awareness of Street Angels amongst partners, but also allows for feedback on how Street Angels and its participants are received.

During each patrol, Street Angels 'teams' comprise a minimum of two participants, and a maximum of four. If a minimum of two participants is not reached on any

¹⁶ Pubwatch schemes are partnerships comprised of licensees, who agree upon policies to counter individuals and groups who threaten damage, disorder and violence in their premises (see Smith, 2007).

given occasion, then the patrol is cancelled. This minimum is established in order to increase the safety of participants, whilst the maximum is established to reduce the potentially intimidating image of a large team of individuals patrolling in high-visibility jackets. Where possible, teams are arranged so as to be mixed gender, which it is felt makes interacting with different genders during the course of patrols easier. During the course of patrols, where teams feel it necessary to contact one another, this is typically done via personal mobile phone. As they carry out their activities, Street Angels participants are covered by insurance held by Christian Nightlife Initiatives (see the following section). In order to remain covered by this policy, participants are expected to comply with policies and procedures outlined by the Leeds initiative, which are discussed later in this chapter.

6.3.5. Coordination and oversight

Much of the coordination and monitoring of Street Angels is carried out by the initiative coordinator at the local level. Additional strategic oversight is provided in two further forms. The first of these is the initiative's Steering Group, which comprises several Street Angels participants, as well as external individuals that typically represent faith-based organisations. The Group meets approximately four times a year, is led by a chairperson, and attended by the initiative coordinator. Beyond assuming responsibility for the appointment of the coordinator, the Steering Group holds few executive functions or powers. Rather, it is intended as a supportive and advisory measure, in which the coordinator is encouraged to report back on recent patrols, and seek guidance where necessary. Meanwhile, a broader level of strategic oversight still is provided by the initiative's parent organisation – the Christian Nightlife Initiatives network (informally referred to as 'CNI'). The CNI, a registered charity, supports approximately 130 initiatives across communities within and beyond the UK. These comprise not only Street Angels, but Club, Festival and Youth Angels initiatives, amongst others. As a Company Limited by Guarantee, CNI is required to compile details of the income that its initiatives generate. In order to gain access to such information, CNI retains close contact with coordinators. These share information about funding generated, as well as details of expenditure. Beyond finance-related requirements, CNI occasionally hosts events (including training) for Street Angels participants, and shares highlights of best practice across its various public engagement measures and activities. The founder and CEO of CNI, who resides in close proximity to the Leeds area, occasionally engages in

patrol activities with the Leeds Street Angels, though is not considered a participant in the specific initiative.

6.3.6. Recruitment and training arrangements

The specific requirements and expectations Street Angels has of its participants, along with the processes by which each is recruited and trained are also devolved to the local, initiative level. Thus, individualised approaches to conditions of membership vary from one initiative to the next. The Leeds example is a Christian faith-based initiative, but does not place a condition on participants that they must subscribe to that faith as a condition of membership. Participants are thus not required to participate in pre-patrol prayer activities. That said, the vast majority of participants do share a Christian faith, and it is through this that many come to be first aware of the initiative. In order to promote the initiative with a view to further recruitment, Street Angels posts materials in various public settings. It operates a bespoke website, at which prospective participants register their interest, and also routinely advertises for participants via its bespoke accounts on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Opportunities are also advertised within the churches at which participants attend, and raised informally within their personal and professional networks. Some partners, such as the West Yorkshire PCC's office, also promote the initiative through statements and links to online materials. After registering their interest, candidates are asked to provide details of two referees. In the event that the coordinator deems the references satisfactory, the candidate is required to complete a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check, and subsequently invited to attend a 'Start Off' training session – where the role is discussed and the candidate is able to raise any questions or queries. Following this, the candidate is invited to join a first patrol. This first experience is one of three initial patrols where the candidate's status as a participant is considered provisional. Upon satisfactory completion of the third, the candidate passes the provisional trial period and is officially inducted into the Street Angels initiative.

New participants are issued with a Street Angels 'Volunteer Handbook', which outlines various initiative-specific policies and procedures. These include guidance on health and safety (including on incidents where there is a risk of conflict or violence), insurance, the taking of photographs, child safeguarding, dealing with specific allegations of sexual assault, and Street Angels complaints procedures.

The Handbook also provides information on the use of BACIL radios, and conditions of the use of Holy Trinity Church as the initiative's base. Beyond direction provided within the Handbook, participants also undertake a range of training programmes as provided by a few external (predominantly public sector) organisations. These have included, but are not limited to, conflict management and resolution training provided by WYP, first-aid training provided by the British Red Cross, drugs and alcohol training provided by the awareness organisation Forward Leeds, and throwline training by West Yorkshire Fire and Rescue Service. The organisation of this training is undertaken by the initiative coordinator, who seeks to cultivate relationships with specific individuals at each organisation with a view to arranging potential future training opportunities. Whilst some training is provided free of charge, other training is paid for by funding that the initiative receives. Given that many participants carry a variety of outside commitments, only a small amount of training is classed as mandatory.

6.4. Shomrim Prestwich Community Safety, Prestwich

6.4.1. Establishment and objectives

Shomrim Prestwich Community Safety (herein referred to as "Shomrim") is a Jewish faith-based citizen patrol. The initiative operates near the town of Prestwich, located in the Borough of Bury, Greater Manchester. It is one of several Shomrim initiatives currently active in England, others of which can be found in neighbouring areas of Greater Manchester, as well as various northern Boroughs of Greater London. The Prestwich initiative was first established by several local residents in December 1997, following a perceived rise in anti-social behaviour within the local area, along with a belief amongst members of the community that the local police response was proving ineffective. Throughout much of its lifespan, the initiative has relied heavily upon an operational and organisational contribution from one founder member in particular, who despite not being formally designated as such, has become widely regarded amongst Shomrim participants as the initiative's lead. During the leadership of this participant, Shomrim has existed in various forms, carried a number of titles (though all have been subtle variations of the present version), experienced periods of rise and fall in participant numbers, and has contributed a range of policing and security functions to greater or lesser extents. In its most recent incarnation, Shomrim aims to 'promote community and public safety for the

residents of Prestwich' (Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, 2017: 2), and sets out a series of connected objectives. These include encouraging members of the community to become both aware, and responsive to crime problems and community safety; to actively support local authorities and policing organisations in the delivery of crime prevention initiatives; and to assist in the broader delivery of social, cultural and religious events that take place in the local area (ibid).

To meet its objectives, Shomrim undertakes a range of specific activities, amongst which patrol is the most common function. Others include further preventive measures, such as sending crime prevention text messages to community members, and assisting in the organisation and delivery of road safety awareness programmes to young people; as well as reactive measures, including responses to specific requests where crimes have been alleged, or threats to community safety are perceived. The initiative's participants undertake these activities both in vehicles and on foot, depending upon the requirements of specific tasks at hand. Whilst Shomrim aims to provide as much coverage throughout the year as its capacity will allow, patrols in particular are most active during periods of religious significance, such as the Jewish high holidays. During these periods, Shomrim patrols are often undertaken on a daily basis. Outside of these periods, patrol activities are undertaken less frequently, often only being carried out following reports of specific one-off or potentially-linked crime problems. As such, several weeks may pass without a patrol being completed. Demand may similarly influence the length of patrols where they are undertaken, though typically each participant contributes between 30 minutes and one hour to each patrol, before 'handing over' to the next participant (see Chapter 6.4.4. for more detail on the organisation of patrols).

Though Shomrim engages with various public, third sector and community-based organisations in order to achieve its objectives, many of its functions are focused on supporting the public police specifically. Connections between the two organisations have developed as a result of the initiative's long-standing relations with its local neighbourhood police constable, who regularly liaises with Shomrim on behalf of the local policing team. During the later stages of the fieldwork period, the initiative (principally through its lead) began to establish greater contact with the local sergeant and inspector, in an effort to strengthen the relationship between the two entities. In doing so, it was hoped that local officers would be able to increase

awareness of Shomrim amongst police colleagues beyond the immediate local area; that Shomrim would be invited to partake in more public policing and community safety activities (including formal operations); and that local police would be able to provide a range of training programmes for Shomrim participants. Towards the end of the fieldwork period, the initiative also received funding from the police (see Chapter 6.4.6.). Despite evidence of increasing collaboration however, it should be noted that the initiative has no formal agreement with Greater Manchester Police (GMP), and ultimately remains independent of it.

6.4.2. Geographic coverage

Shomrim largely operates within the suburban area of Sedgley Park, which is located south-east of the town of Prestwich, Greater Manchester (see Figure 6.3.). The area mostly comprises residential estates, a few local convenience stores, and the surrounding area shares a border with Heaton Park – a municipal park that covers an area of over 600 acres. The area is located approximately three and a half miles from Manchester city centre. 2011 Census data reveals the broader Sedgley area was comprised of 57.8 per cent semi-detached properties (N=4,751), and a total home ownership of 69.1 per cent (N =4,542) (HM Government, 2012b), both of which may be considered indicators of affluence. The same data set confirms the area featured a 72.5 per cent White British ethnic population, and that the majority of residents were either of Jewish faith (33.8 per cent), or Christian faith (33.8 per cent) (N=12,970) (ibid). This local representation of the Jewish population is far greater than that of representation at a national level (0.5 per cent within the 2011 Census), and consequently the area features a noticeably large number of Jewish places of worship and faith-based community spaces.

Whilst undertaking patrols in the area, participants do not cover set, or pre-identified routes. Instead, they largely patrol in a spontaneous fashion, though on occasions these may be carried out in specific locations where there is a perceived heightened crime risk (either reported by police or residents), or where events are taking place in the local area. These events may be intended for the residential community, or alternatively may be held for far greater numbers of visitors attending large scale events – most of which take place at Heaton Park. In many of these cases, Shomrim often support an additional police presence, or formal police operations. Beyond these factors, the length and nature of areas covered on any one patrol are

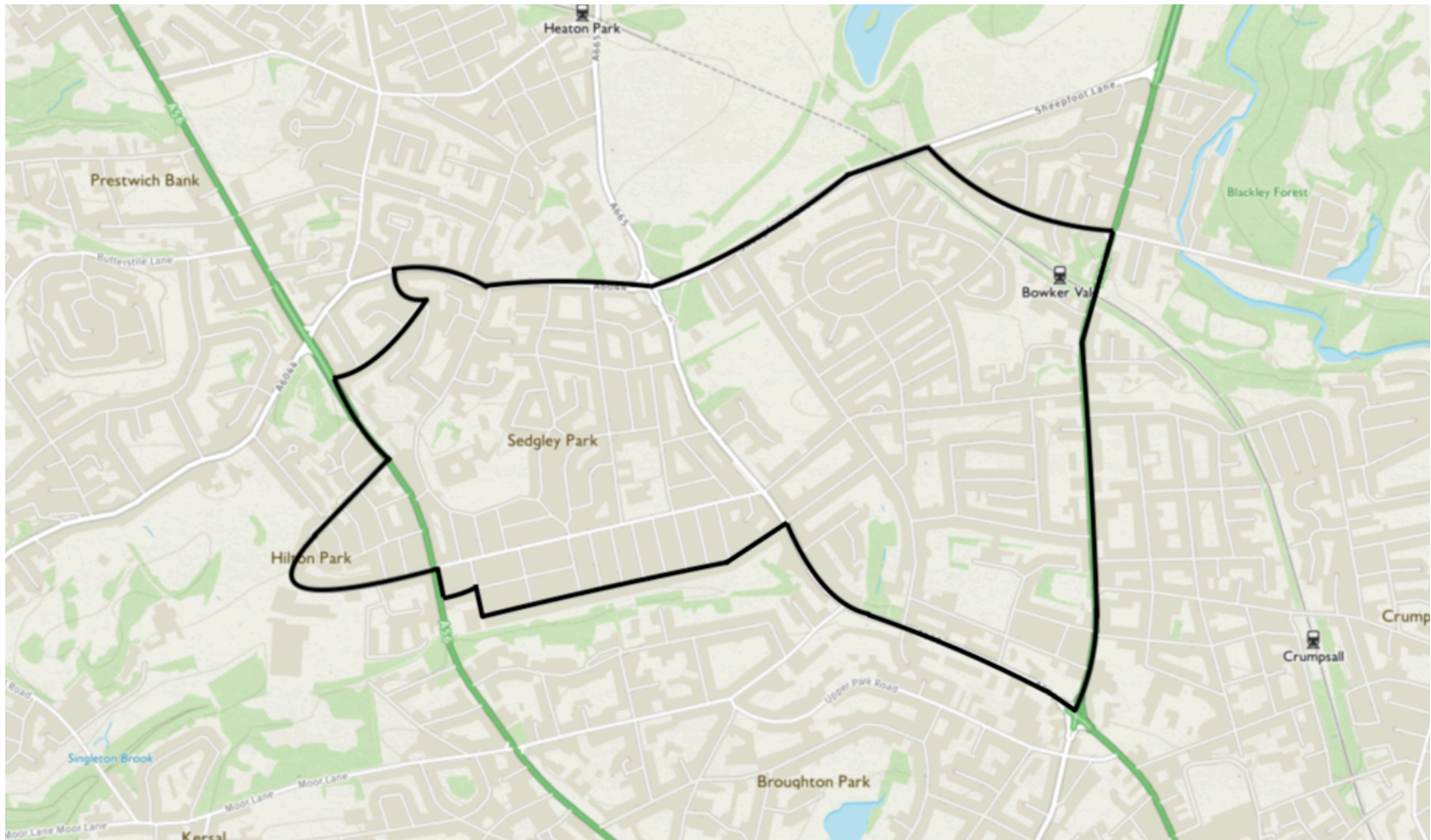


Figure 6.3. Map of Shomrim patrol area, Prestwich (scale: 10mm: 100m)

also dependent upon whether the patrol is being carried out in a vehicle or on foot, and on the amount of time committed by each participant to a patrol (see Chapter 6.4.4.). Noticeably, Shomrim does not have access to, or operate from a central location or space. Instead, participants begin and end their patrol activities at their own residences (all of which are within the patrol area), or at places of work. When partaking in other activities beyond patrol, participants travel to and congregate at spaces where local events are due to take place. Training, meanwhile, is carried out at the premises of training providers, in local community centres, or indeed in some cases at the homes of participants themselves (see Chapter 6.4.6.).

6.4.3. Funding arrangements and resources

Shomrim is both publicly and privately funded. During the fieldwork period, the most significant external financial contribution made to the initiative was that received from The Big Lottery Fund UK, which awarded £9,505 in December 2017 (The Big Lottery Fund UK, 2017). The Fund previously awarded £8,500 to the initiative in September 2011 (The Big Lottery Fund UK, 2011). Other financial awards have been made by the now-abolished Police and Crime Commissioner's Office for Greater Manchester, and GMP, which most recently awarded a total of £2,500 in February 2018. These funds are generated through the Asset Recovery Incentivisation Scheme (ARIS), as set out under the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002. The total received from these is complemented by a few undisclosed donations, occasionally received from local community and faith-based groups. The funding Shomrim receives is subsequently invested into the initiative in various ways, the most significant of which is payment of a salary for a part-time administrator (see following section). Beyond this expense, funds are used to purchase items of equipment. Most notably, this includes Shomrim jackets, of which there are several variants. Amongst these are a navy-blue heavy-duty jacket, a navy-blue light vest, and a yellow high-visibility vest, each of which features grey reflective stripes. These are branded with the phrase 'SHOMRIM COMMUNITY SAFETY', in order to clearly distinguish each from police uniform. The decision on which to wear is variously influenced by the environment in which activities are taking place, specific weather conditions if operating outdoors (heavy duty jackets are favoured during winter months), and whether patrols are to be undertaken in vehicles or on foot. Beyond these items of clothing, other items purchased include vehicle paraphernalia, such as livery and dashboard cameras, and initiative radios, though

participants tend to favour using mobile phones as a more effective alternative. Funding also pays for training activities, where these are not delivered free of charge.

Shomrim is also part self-funded through the contributions of its own participants. Each uses their own vehicle to patrol, and participants pay for fuel needed in the course of doing so. Livery applied to each vehicle during the course of patrols consists of magnetic strips which display 'SHOMRIM COMMUNITY SAFETY' in bold typeface, and some participants apply further high-visibility magnetic strips to their vehicles. A few even attach orange flashing lights to their vehicle rooftops. These are removed when patrols are not being carried out. Beyond vehicle-related expenses, participants also utilise personal effects in the course of their activities. These include other specific items of clothing, most notably outdoor wear including bespoke footwear. Some also purchase and wear ballistic vests for certain activities. Participants also operate using their personal mobile phones and provide basic equipment such as torches and traffic cones.

6.4.4. Workforce and organisational structure

At the time of the fieldwork, Shomrim consisted of 21 participants. Of these, approximately 15 contributed to initiative activities regularly, and six in particular were considered 'very active' specifically in relation to patrols. All participants were male, and though the initiative does not attach a requirement of needing to be a member of the Jewish faith in order to partake, each was Jewish. The approximate average age of participants was between 40 to 45, with the youngest below the age of 30, and the eldest above the age of 50. Participants had a range of occupational backgrounds, predominantly in logistics, information technology and insurance, and within these industries and services there was a particular concentration of specific roles as a 'business owner' or 'director', indicating a predominantly middle-class wealth status. The participants had become very familiar with one another, not just through completing Shomrim-related activities, but as a result of living within close proximity of one another, sharing the Jewish faith, and attending related community events with one another. A small number, however, had enlisted in the initiative without previously knowing existing participants. This was often the case with those who had more recently moved to the Sedgley Park area.

Beyond its participants, Shomrim has attempted to further professionalise its organisational activity by employing a part-time administrator. This individual is responsible for organising patrol 'rotas' during heightened periods of activity, as well as identifying potential future sources of funding. If an application is required to obtain funding, the administrator works with the initiative lead to complete required tasks. The administrator post is a recent development within the extended history of Shomrim, first introduced shortly before the commencement of the fieldwork. Prior to the creation of the post, the organisation of patrols and associated administrative duties were undertaken by the initiative lead, along with several dedicated participants. During periods where rotas are in operation, participants are asked to inform the administrator of their unavailability, who then completes a version on a weekly basis. The rota provides details of which participants should be active at various stages of the patrol, with each contributing in the region of 30 minutes to one hour, before the next participant then becomes active. Where adopted, these patrol rotas predominantly take place during weekday evenings between the hours of 18:00 and 22:00 (in order to fit around occupational commitments), with the exception of Friday evening, in which the participants adhere to the Jewish tradition of Shabbat. Additional patrols may be scheduled for weekends, particularly where community or large-scale events are taking place. Patrols are invariably conducted in pairs, which it is felt increases the safety of participants. That said, the initiative also permits single-person patrols where pairing is not possible. Whilst undertaking patrols, participants update one another by using mobile phones to post within a specific Shomrim WhatsApp Messenger group¹⁷, indicating where they have become active, where they have concluded their patrol, as well as any matters arising during the course of the patrol that they feel others should know about. They may also speak to one another by phone where they feel that there is a specific need. The result of this arrangement is that participants are in near-constant communication – even when individuals are not actively undertaking a patrol.

¹⁷ 'WhatsApp Messenger' is a free-to-use cross-platform messaging service. The service operates through mobile phones and utilises mobile numbers of users, but it may also be accessed via desktop computer. Whilst it is principally used for sending text messages to both individuals and groups (these are created by users), more recently the service has begun to facilitate voice calls, video calls, and has enabled the sending of various media formats and documents. WhatsApp Messenger features 'end-to-end encryption', which protects the privacy of users and content by preventing any uninvited persons (including WhatsApp Messenger employees) from gaining access.

Shomrim also provides a form of emergency response to requests made by members of the local community. In order to receive these, residents are provided with a Shomrim contact telephone number, which is advertised within and shared amongst the local community. Shomrim encourages those who utilise this number to contact the police first (particularly in the case of serious crimes), and to make contact with the initiative soon after in order to secure an additional (and perhaps faster) response. After receiving an emergency request, the participant responsible for handling these will disseminate details within the initiative's WhatsApp Messenger group. Those who are in a position to respond then indicate their ability to do so, and subsequently attend and act upon the request (see Chapter Eight for further detail upon courses of action taken). Participants either unable to attend the request or not required are updated via the WhatsApp Messenger group. This commitment to a response function necessarily requires a flexible approach, in which activities are undertaken without prior notice or planning. It also requires near constant monitoring of the emergency contact number and WhatsApp Messenger group by participants. Meanwhile, beyond both patrol and response functions, details of other activities – such as development and training activities – are posted either within the WhatsApp Messenger group, or sent to participants via email. These are provided by the administrator or the initiative lead.

6.4.5. Coordination and oversight

The Shomrim initiative in Prestwich is completely autonomous from public policing organisations, public authorities, and acts independently of other Shomrim initiatives. Whilst some participants within neighbouring Shomrim initiatives are known to those who partake in Prestwich, there is little interaction between the initiatives on an organisational level. Rather, coordination and oversight of the initiative is solely undertaken at the local level. For much of the initiative's history, these tasks have been the responsibility of its lead member, and more recently the initiative's administrator. Specifically, coordination tasks consist of organising Shomrim activities (where these are pre-planned), engaging with external stakeholders who support the initiative, and leading efforts to identify and secure future sources of funding. Elsewhere, the initiative is guided by the view that unnecessarily burdensome structures, tasks and processes should be avoided. The result of this is that the initiative engages in very few monitoring exercises, and there is no evidence of collection of either performance feedback or data to support

applications for external assistance, either financial or otherwise. Beyond these tasks, the most significant development concerning the initiative's broader governance came about in May 2017, when Shomrim became listed as a Private Company Limited by Guarantee. The decision to follow this course of action, and subsequently appoint four 'Company Directors' from the existing pool of participants, was motivated by the desire to ensure the sustainability of Shomrim beyond the involvement of the initiative's founder and lead. At present, whilst these Company Directors are generally informed of developments pertaining to strategic decision-making, they do not adopt additional specific roles in the day-to-day organisation and running of Shomrim activities.

Though Shomrim operates independently of local police, the two groups keep close contact with one another on various levels. Amongst the most important of these is that which the initiative lead maintains with the local neighbourhood police constable, with whom specific opportunities for future collaboration are discussed. Meanwhile, both participants and several local police officers share information about specific crime problems with one another within a specific WhatsApp Messenger group that each is a member of. Elsewhere, contact of a strategic nature typically takes place at bespoke face-to-face meetings between participants and police officers, including the local inspector. Items discussed at these meetings may include provision of funding and training programmes. One result of these arrangements is that, despite a lack of formal authority over its coordination and oversight, police are nonetheless able to exert degrees of influence over Shomrim's priorities and working practices. The implications that this poses are discussed further in Chapter Nine.

6.4.6. Recruitment and training arrangements

Promotion of Shomrim within the local area, including opportunities to participate, is carried out by various means. Most commonly, it is achieved as a result of social interaction between participants and other local people, who may be familiar with one another either as a result of Shomrim activities or beyond these in other capacities. In this sense, Shomrim utilises the homogenous and close-knit nature of the local community, many of whom share the Jewish faith, to spread awareness of the initiative with a view towards recruiting participants. Beyond publicity achieved by word of mouth, Shomrim occasionally distributes flyers and places

advertisements in local newsletters, which feature details for contacting the initiative in the event of interest in joining, as well as of the initiative's response contact telephone number, and brief examples of crime prevention advice. The initiative also operates a bespoke Twitter account that similarly features contact details, as well as postings of reports of crime, crime prevention advice and initiative 'success stories'. Beyond Twitter however, Shomrim's online presence is limited. Prospective participants register their interest by sending a text message to the promoted contact number. They are then invited to submit a formal expression of interest via email, including a brief personal statement that outlines their reasons for wanting to join, along with their suitability for the role. Two references are then requested, and, in the event these are considered acceptable the candidate is formally created a Shomrim participant. Shomrim sets out few specific requirements of its applicants. Though all of its participants are currently male, it has not actively prohibited women from partaking. That said, the initiative does require all of its participants to be married, which likely reflects the importance ascribed to the institution specifically within the Jewish faith.

A modest amount of training is provided to Shomrim by both public and private organisations. Foremost amongst these providers are local police, who have previously delivered training programmes to participants in areas such as conflict resolution, missing persons, and road and traffic safety, amongst others. The organisation of training carried out by the police has been heavily reliant upon relationships formed between the initiative (in particular, its lead) and specific officers, including most notably, the local neighbourhood police constable with whom the initiative has close-knit and long-standing relations. Typically, this training is agreed and delivered on an informal basis, and thus is as reliant upon the goodwill of those officers who offer to deliver it as it is out of any sense of formal obligation on the part of the police organisation. Beyond these programmes, safety awareness and self-protection training was provided to participants during the fieldwork period by Community Security Trust (informally known as 'CST') – a registered charity that aims to protect British Jews from antisemitism and related threats. This training included both theory-based and practical elements. Similarly, participants received first aid training during this period, provided on a private basis by a local resident who owned and ran a first aid training company. Each of these programmes were delivered free of charge, and again relied upon personal contacts

and the contributions of professionals above and beyond the typical requirements of their roles. Elsewhere, other skills utilised during the course of Shomrim activities, including patrols, are gained and developed whilst undertaking the role.

6.5. Conclusion

The description outlined in this chapter illustrates various similarities and points of divergence across the three case studies, each of which warrant further conceptual and analytical examination. As such, they feature prominently within the remaining chapters of the study. So far as the objectives of the citizen patrols are concerned, these appear to range from an explicit crime-control orientation, such as in the case of the Rural Watch Patrol, to broader community safety (Shomrim) and welfare ambitions (Street Angels). This range is at least partly influenced by the specific conditions within which the patrols operate. Their locations differ both in terms of scale and nature; ranging between urban city centre, suburban residential, and rural settings. The specificities of each location further dictate the ways in which patrols complete their various activities and seek to operationalise their objectives. These matters form the basis of discussion about the policing activities of the citizen patrols in Chapter Eight.

Meanwhile, the chapter has identified that whilst each of the citizen patrols demonstrate links with local public police organisations, the precise nature of these links varies substantially. Whereas patrols such as the Rural Watch Patrol exist as a formal initiative within a police organisation, both Street Angels and Shomrim exist independently. Thus, unlike the Rural Watch Patrol, these autonomous patrols are not subject to police policies and practices. Instead, the relationship between the two might be considered a loose form of partnership, in which each provides one another with degrees of operational support in order to achieve similar or shared objectives. Delivering on this support satisfactorily appears to further lead to police support of a strategic nature – for instance by providing funding for the patrols and training for participants. The three patrols have all received such contributions from local police and Police and Crime Commissioners, which exist as but some examples within a broader range of contributions each has received from various public and private sources. Hybrid arrangements of this nature, and in particular those relating to funding, raise interesting questions about attached conditions, the

responsiveness of each citizen patrol to its various sponsors, and implications for the delivery of an equitable service. These are discussed using data from both citizen patrol and external stakeholder groups in Chapter Nine.

Finally, the preceding discussion has identified that each citizen patrol is subject to degrees of bureaucratic organisation, which carries implications for development and long-term sustainability (see Chapter 2.5.). Beyond these, each is comprised of distinct workforces, featuring participants from a multitude of social, cultural and religious backgrounds. These partake in different contexts and do so in order to fulfil both personal and group-level ambitions. It is to these matters – and specifically the characteristics and motivations that participants' exhibit – that Chapter Seven now turns.

Chapter Seven

Motivations and beliefs of citizen patrol participants

7.1. Introduction

The early chapters of this study established that citizen involvement in patrol activities is by no means a recent development. Rather, participation of this nature has featured as but one example of continued public involvement in crime control and community safety across extended historical periods. Nonetheless, the conditions in which both state and market forces have shaped the patrol landscape since the final third of the Twentieth Century – a period which has also witnessed the rise of ‘expert systems’ across much public and private life (Giddens, 1990: 27) – have increasingly rendered the idea of citizens acting in such a capacity a rare, and perhaps idiosyncratic event. Why then, do some citizens opt to contribute in this fashion? How might we understand the motivations and beliefs that drive participation? Normative questions of this nature have existed only at the fringes of crime control and community safety scholarship, yet they represent a useful means of understanding how practices are delivered. Skolnick (1975: 61), for example, concluded in his study of a California police department that its practices were driven by antipathy towards criminal procedure, and a ‘Goldwater type’ of conservatism that existed as ‘the dominant political and emotional persuasion of the police’¹⁸. More recently, van Steden et al. (2015: 239), drawing upon a study of both police and private security values and beliefs, concluded that police attached more significance to ‘professional pride’ and ‘professional honour’ than private security guards, who were more straightforward and pragmatic in how they balanced rules, ethics, and effectiveness. This underlying complex of beliefs and values and their links to practice has also informed various conceptual frameworks, most noteworthy among them Herbert Packer’s models of crime control and due process. The collective sentiment of these studies and frameworks is that beliefs and values *matter* – and that without exploring them, we can neither fully account for, nor understand, manifestations of practice (Rutherford, 1993: 2).

¹⁸ Skolnick (1975: 81) characterised the conservative orientation of the California police department as typically manifesting in negative attitudes towards black and minority groups, and demonstrating a persistent, ingrained sense of suspicion (ibid: 48) – both of which impacted upon how roles were carried out.

With the utility of this approach in mind, this chapter engages with normative lines of inquiry to explore the various motivations and beliefs that underpin decisions to contribute to citizen patrols. To do so, the chapter is presented in four broad sections. The first frames the chapter by illustrating the place and importance of affective dimensions of sociology, and in particular emotion, in relation to the study of crime, security and punishment. It identifies that though historically not afforded a great deal of scholarly attention, more recent interest has demonstrated that emotions have come to play an important role in shaping attitudes towards crime control and community safety, as well as the early development of various criminal justice institutions. The second section then considers the impact of *emotions* – and the values and beliefs that they inform – upon those institutions, identifying a series of implications and analytic questions of use in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Following these exercises, the third and fourth sections of the chapter offer insights into the motivations and beliefs of citizen patrol participants, by drawing upon data gathered from the semi-structured interviews conducted in the three case studies. Section Three – on motivations – begins by identifying the importance that participants attach to the idea of community; exploring their various interpretations of the concept and the ways in which it is invoked. The section then explores the altruistic and personal motivations of participants', accounting for a range of both normative and instrumental explanations. The discussion also considers the manner in which the views that underpinned motivations shifted as they moved from expectation-based, to experience-informed. Finally, the fourth section explores a series of broader participant beliefs; including those around the perceived impacts of their contributions, and those related to the ways in which they believe they were perceived by others within their respective communities.

7.2. The influence of emotion

If we are to explore and understand the motivations and beliefs of citizen patrol participants, then it is important to begin by grounding our approach in an appreciation of the ways in which these are formed. A useful starting point is consideration of the influence of emotion. As Frijda et al. (2000: 1) have acknowledged: 'beliefs fuelled by emotions stimulate people to action, or allow them

to approve of the actions of others' in a range of contexts. Generations of scholars have considered the implications of this connection. Aristotle viewed emotion arousal as critical to persuasion in the formation of judgement (cited in Frijda et al., 2000: 1). Lucretius regarded it as that to be confronted in order to discredit irrational beliefs (cited in Rosenbaum, 1989: 353). Later, eighteenth-century Romantic thinkers such as Rousseau argued that emerging philosophies of Enlightenment stripped away emotion, leaving human beings soulless machines in a meaningless universe (see Pribram, 2016: 43), whilst by contrast, Kant held that emotion was an illness of the mind, a mental state that could provoke unreason and illogical decision-making (cited in Oakley, 1990: 441). Whilst none of this should be taken as a suggestion that emotion in itself forms a basis for action (Brand, 1984), nonetheless it is widely regarded that it does at least guide our exploits and the ways in which we go about engaging in these (Armstrong, 1973). If this is the case, it may then seem surprising that as an affective dimension of sociology, emotion has generally been side-lined in studies of crime and security. A preference towards inquiry of a clearer objective and tangible disposition, coupled with scepticism about the value of such study has seen attention towards emotion largely confined to the periphery. More recently, it has been argued that this view belies its significance. As Åhäll and Gregory (2013: 117) have suggested, emotions 'actively shape the world around us and the bodies of those that populate it'. In the contexts of security, they play an important role in shaping how we experience security provision, how we respond to insecurity, and the practices we engage in to manage our own safety (Crawford and Hutchinson, 2016: 1196). It is arguable then, that emotions appear significant in motivations and beliefs that underpin enhanced levels of citizen participation in crime control and community safety.

Extending this more recent interest in emotions and security further, whilst some have sought to establish important connections between emotions and the values, sensibilities and actions that they inform, others have considered the impacts of such connections. Most of these have subscribed to a largely negative narrative, arising from a dominant focus upon the emotions of fear and insecurity, which has come to play an important role in contemporary culture (Furedi, 2002). These emotions, it has been noted, can provoke "intemperate sentiments, arouse vengeful passions and give voice to heated sensibilities of outrage, anger and 'othering'" (Crawford and Hutchinson, 2016: 1197). In this vein, it has been argued that

emotions may underpin a manifest, normative prejudice that determines not only who has a right to share in similar emotions and the actions that they influence, but more broadly who or what can even appear as a recognisable human subject (Ahmed, 2004: 96). As a result, emotions may inform exclusionary tendencies or practices that run to the detriment of certain individuals or groups. They may create distinction between those favoured and unfavoured, or those considered members of communities and those viewed as 'outsiders'. Emotions have thus become largely viewed as problematic, and as sentiments that must be controlled or contained (see Loader, 2011).

Yet whilst connections between emotions and actions in studies of crime, security and punishment have largely been conveyed in negative terms (Karstedt et al., 2011; Brown and Penttinen, 2013), there exists a longstanding, albeit subtle, tradition of alternative thinking that posits these in more positive terms. Sentiment to this effect can be traced back to the work of Durkheim ([1893] 1997), who acknowledged the normative utility of punishment as a mechanism to reinforce social solidarity, and to increase a sense of belonging within communities shaped by similar norms and values. More recently, a few studies have articulated potential benefits of an instrumental nature, by arguing the utility of fear and insecurity to promote vigilance and routine precaution (e.g. Warr, 2000; Ditton and Innes, 2005; Jackson and Gray, 2010). The noticeable trend here is that these examples remain fixed upon exploring the utility of emotions traditionally considered problematic.

One exception to this trend has been recognition of the value of positive emotions – and in particular those of respect, compassion and empathy – in the contexts of restorative justice practices. In setting out his argument for viewing crime and justice through a 'new lens', Zehr (1990) has advocated the utility of restorative practices founded upon the power of stories with emotional connections. For Zehr (1990), practices informed by such sentiment are more likely to yield long term positive outcomes than traditional means of inflicting suffering for harms done, which 'rarely results in healing for anybody and often makes matters worse'. In the years since this argument was made, restorative theories and practices have grown in popularity, yet by contrast little has been said about the connections between positive emotions and policing and security. This appears a stark omission. In the contexts of citizen contributions to crime control and community safety alone, it is

quite possible that individuals might seek to contribute driven by a sense of fear, insecurity, frustration or anger. Yet for others, participation might be motivated by the emotions of compassion, care and empathy. It is also possible that any of these emotions may give rise to altruistic ideals and humanitarian impulse, as much as they may inform the principles of upholding matters of self-interest or traditional 'conservative' values – the latter of which again have tended to dominate discussion about the role of citizens and communities in previous studies (Nelken, 1985; Clarke, 1987; Rosenbaum, 1988b). Here too, this emphasis might seem unbalanced, given that in many advanced states, early incarnations of various facets of criminal justice systems – particularly probation and corrective institutions – have been regarded as founded upon the ideas of compassion, care, and empathy, as well as the rehabilitative ideal that these emotions have helped to shape. The origins of these – and the values upon which they were founded – warrant further discussion.

7.3. 'Benevolence' and the development of early institutions of criminal justice

Despite the relative dearth of research on the influence of positive emotions on crime, security and punishment, it is possible to find traces of linked altruistic or humanitarian values in the development of various previous criminal justice institutions. In UK contexts, these values have been most convincingly illustrated through the example of the Nineteenth Century English Police Courts, which relied upon the work of participating missionaries. Initially, missionaries sought to provide an intervention within the specific contexts of drunkenness and drunk and disorderly behaviour; arrests for which amounted to over 50 per cent of all crimes in London, and for which the use of imprisonment doubled between 1860 and 1876 (Harrison, 1971: 398). As a response, the missionaries set out to 'rescue individual drunkards, render them susceptible to the influence of the spirit of God and their souls would be saved' (McWilliams, 1983: 134). They brought effect to this ambition by encouraging temperance; most often via the distribution of uplifting tracts and taking pledges of abstinence (ibid: 135). Quickly, the range of missionaries' activities expanded, to encompass both mediation roles in low-level disputes, and informal supervision of offenders released on recognizances under the provisions on the 1879 Summary Jurisdiction Act. Their role also expanded to cover pre-sentence

inquiry and investigation, all of which assisted in more informed decision-making around which offenders should be shown leniency and afforded the services of the missionaries. Given this expansion of their role, magistrates, faced with increasing pressures of their own¹⁹, came to view the contribution of the missionaries as increasingly indispensable (ibid: 135). Indeed, even following the absorption of the Police Courts into later formal systems of probation – where religious philosophies appeared to give way to the ‘science’ of social work – the contribution of the missionaries was heralded as a ‘splendid chapter in English social history’, which had left a ‘marked impression on the whole of the probation service’ (Departmental Committee on the Social Services in the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction cited in McWilliams, 1983: 129).

Whilst in the UK the work of the Police Courts missionaries has been viewed in largely favourable terms, in the United States similar interventions have been reflected upon more critically. Specifically, scholars have drawn upon examples from Nineteenth century faith-based movements to argue that the ‘benevolent’ activities of participating clergymen amounted less to social improvement, and more to evangelical forms of social control (see Bodo, 1954; Cole Jr, 1954; Foster, 1960; Griffin, 1960). The familiar narrative of this history is that clergymen, fearful of rising secularism and egalitarianism following independence, sought to instigate an intervention that would ‘preserve their own declining status’ and ‘regain their earlier colonial position as the moral arbiters of American society’ (Banner, 1973: 23). As with the early functions of the English Police Courts missionaries, clergymen from a range of Christian denominations responded to this perceived sense of decline by encouraging engagement with Bible and tract societies, as well as promotion of the observance of specific traditions such as temperance and Sabbath. Yet they also set about a series of more profound commitments – amongst them the creation of influential denominational societies to account for the faith-related demands of an expanding country. Their aim, Griffin (1957: 425) argues, was to encourage citizens to forsake sin and believe in Christ, in the hope that it would later merit mercy and forgiveness. Participants conceived of this contribution as a particular form of

¹⁹ As McWilliams (1983: 135) notes, during this period magistrates were subject to powerful opposing pressures. On the one hand advocates of consistency and rigorous application in sentencing sought to tie magistrates to their precepts, which risked harsh punishments. On the other hand, humanitarian groups continued to campaign vociferously for more humane approaches. In these contexts, the work of the missionaries was considered particularly useful.

benevolence, in which, endowed with God's sanctifying grace, they felt compelled to extend the possibility of that grace to others.

Whilst benevolence in these contexts appears informed by religious beliefs, elsewhere it has arisen in rather more secular terms. Foremost amongst these examples was the emergence of the Nineteenth-Century US 'child-savers' movement, which emphasised the importance of prevention through early intervention, and redemption where young people had wronged. The movement was predominantly populated by middle-class women, who espoused the virtues of traditional institutions – namely parental authority, education at home, and the benefits of rural life. Broadly, child-savers took the view that social improvement relied upon strict supervision of children's leisure and recreation, to which they took a noticeably prohibitionist approach. Underpinned by these views, the movement quickly evolved from a venture intended to humanise the lives of adolescents, to a much more invasive program of control and 'moral absolutism' (Platt, 1969: 27). The result, Platt (*ibid*: 33) argues, was the creation of a plethora of new categories of deviance and criminality, aimed at lower-class behaviour and intended for the purposes of intimidating and controlling the poor. Elsewhere however, the movement left aspects of a rather more positive legacy. Most notably, the efforts of the child-savers were acknowledged as influential within the early US juvenile court, an institution which has generally been considered by scholars as 'one of the most innovative and idealistic products of the age of reform' (Platt, 1974: 356). The court sought to remove adolescents from the criminal law process and create bespoke programmes for delinquent, dependent and neglected children in a progressive liberal fashion that did not fit neatly with the traditional views of the child-savers (Mead, 1918: 594). Yet despite this clear point of departure on the point of values, the role of the child-savers, as with the missionaries in the United Kingdom, was to have a considerable and lasting impact on the formal provision that followed it.

The examples of benevolence explored above raise a series of pertinent points that it is important to take account of before considering the data that are discussed throughout the remainder of the chapter. First, we might consider these examples – and the different values that have underpinned participation – as existing upon a *continuum of religiosity*. This continuum comprises values emerging from relative secularism at one end, to values linked to various forms of faith at the other.

Variations of this nature also reflect the diversity of the citizen patrols in each of the case studies, as outlined in Chapter Six. Second, each of the examples illustrates a fine line between benevolent interventions intended to humanise those that are of interest to the groups and movements, compared to more profound – and indeed questionable – endeavours which amount to either moral crusades or exertions of social control. Discernible differences in interpretation along these lines are to be found between those who contributed – who it seems were resolutely steadfast in their view that they were contributing positively; and scholars who have considered their contributions in a rather more critical fashion since. This raises questions about the extent to which the motivations and beliefs of participants can be taken at face value. Finally, third, whilst it would be easy to cast the relatively informal contributions discussed here – driven by personal beliefs and values – as irreconcilable with the due process of criminal justice institutions and ‘science’ of social work, their histories suggest degrees of compatibility, in which the various groups, movements and institutions were able to work alongside, and even influence one another.

7.4. Motivations of citizen patrol volunteers

Examples of the various emotions, values and beliefs thus far discussed were reflected upon by interviewees across each of the case studies as they considered their motivations for taking part. This section begins by exploring interviewees’ interpretations of the meaning of community, and perceptions of the challenges each faced. Motivations are then subsequently categorised and explored along firstly altruistic, and later personal lines.

7.4.1. Interpretations of community and community problems

Whilst discussing motivations for participation, the altruistic ideal of contributing to ‘the community’ appeared frequently amongst the comments of interviewees across the case studies. The recurrent emergence of this explanation appears to reflect the conceptual ascendancy of community across both policy and practice. As Crawford (1995: 97) has noted, since the late twentieth century ‘community’ has increasingly become a popular ‘buzz’ word, covering diverse fields of public and social policy. In criminal justice, it has manifested in initiatives such as ‘community policing’, ‘community-based crime prevention’ and ‘community mediation’ (ibid), and

provoked scholarly discussion around the manifestations and implications of 'communities of fate', and 'communities of choice' (see Baehr, 2008: 140). As the concept has been utilised in these terms, its contours have increasingly become the subject of scholarly discussion (e.g. Nelken 1985; Crawford 1998; Young 2001). Much of this discussion presents a mixed picture about the utility of the concept: whilst the term possesses rich symbolic power (Cohen, 2001), it has also been suggested that the use of 'community' has been extended so far as to become nebulous (Worrall, 2014: 46). The data gained from each of the case studies reflect this lack of conceptual clarity. Indeed, interviewees in each of the case studies deployed the concept in markedly different terms – a noticeable reflection of their distinct characteristics (see Chapter Six). Whilst those in the Rural Watch Patrol case study very clearly envisaged community as the geographical entity in which they *lived*; determined by the borders of local parishes, villages and towns, interviewees within the Shomrim case study interpreted it as comprising those with whom they shared the Jewish faith. Though the initiative set out geographical borders, these were considered flexible and invoked less frequently during interview responses. Street Angels interviewees, meanwhile, appeared to demonstrate a looser interpretation of community, by neither conceiving of it as the area in which they lived, nor that populated by others with whom they were likely to share a similar demographic profile. Instead, the community was understood as that comprised of the large and diverse range of individuals who frequented the commercial zone – almost all of whom were unknown to the Street Angels participants.

The nature of these communities and the manner in which they were interpreted subsequently appeared to influence interviewees' early views of the challenges that each faced. For Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim interviewees, the relatively homogenous make-up of the respective communities (see Chapter Six) meant that their views about crime and social problems were largely shaped by interactions with friends, family, and other local people. Demonstrating interaction of this nature, one Rural Watch Patrol interviewee, whilst outlining particular concerns about rural crime, commented:

"I was approached by some farmers who weren't happy... and I'd known about it when I were in agriculture, it used to be terrible... you'd see dead

animals, and wheeling's across corn, trampled down, and it used to be really frustrating... I just couldn't believe it... absolutely couldn't believe it... it was just horrendous..." (Rural Watch Patroller [RWP] 1)

Meanwhile, the idea of disruption to an otherwise settled community itself – and hints at problems that might subsequently arise – featured within the comments of Shomrim interviewees, with one suggesting:

"[Shomrim were] desperate for new recruits, because of the way Prestwich was going... the community was exploding [in size] for various reasons, and we needed to react to that..." (Shomrim Patroller [SP] 5)

Street Angels interviewees, unfamiliar with many of the individuals who frequented their community, largely drew upon both local and national media coverage in order to form their early views about the environment in which they operated. Much of this narrative pitched the NTE as an unruly and overly-permissive "lawless" environment, characterised by a range of violent behaviours influenced by excessive alcohol and illicit substance consumption. This reflection took the form of a number of notable descriptions, with one interviewee referring to the atmosphere as "Wild West like". Another offered a similar view in further detail:

"When I first heard about it I thought it was like world war three... so far as I knew, everybody used to go to pubs at 7[PM] and do a pub run until 11[PM] and then to a nightclub... everyone used to pile out of the nightclub and the atmosphere was violent... if you went out sober at 2 in the morning you'd be petrified..." (Street Angels Patroller [SAP] 2)

These comments appeared to inform the broad early impression across the case studies that the communities were facing significant challenges, and that as a result, each was experiencing a form of general deterioration. Coupled with continued reference to the "olden days" in positive terms, interviewees appeared to convey the belief that neither community nor public police institutions were adequately placed to respond to them. This 'search for the lost community' (Brake and Hale, 1992) subscribes to the much-contested (see Clarke, 1987: 285) macrotheoretical sociological argument of long-term decline arising from the conditions of modern

and post-modern society (see Durkheim, 1997 [1893]). It typically draws the view that liberalism has promoted individualism, permissiveness, caused atomism, and frayed the fabric of communities (Dahrendorf, 1985). The result, it is argued, takes the form of a nostalgic yearning for ‘things to be as they once were’, and reversion to traditional values and institutions in which the community is conceived as settled, offering stability against modern risks and insecurities (Crawford, 1995: 103). In these contexts, interviewees appeared to promote and legitimise their contribution as a measure that would fill the space vacated by these various entities – and in the process of doing so stem the decline caused by the onset of the various perceived problems.

Though these views about the nature of community informed initial motivations to partake, and in the cases of some participants sustained involvement thereafter, it is worth noting that these subsequently evolved following participation. For many interviewees, the realities of the experiences encountered whilst participating in patrols served to re-shape sensibilities about perceived problems and the nature of crime within their local areas. The impact of this reality manifested in strikingly different ways within each case study. For Street Angels interviewees, the reality of the NTE appeared not to match concerns held about the extent of crime and social problems prior to joining. Illustrating this point, one suggested:

“[The] violence or the casual violence, I don’t think it is anywhere near what a lot of [us] expected... I’ve spoken to people here who say... ‘no, I wouldn’t dream of going to the city centre’... but y’know, families who go to it are truly amazed that it doesn’t feel like what the perceptions are...” (SAP3)

It is important to note that this optimistic tone may have at least in part been influenced by the fact that Street Angels participants did not live within the areas that they patrolled, and that this may have in turn affected perceptions of the kind of conduct that was acceptable. Yet with this condition aside, such a view very clearly contrasted with those held by Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim interviewees. Rather, as has been found in the case of Neighbourhood Watch (Rosenbaum, 1988a; Skogan, 1990), for these groups participation appeared to *escalate* existing concerns, and in some instances *create additional ones*. Details of cases and crime trends emerged as participants increasingly concerned themselves with problems

manifesting in their local area, and as they became closer to the formal apparatus of public policing – which provided a drip-feed of information from local officers (either in person or remotely). All of this, in spite of the perceived effectiveness of the initiatives, seemed to inform the view that the threats faced by the community were at times worse than they had first imagined.

Regardless of beliefs about the realities of the environments in which they patrolled, interviewees appeared to continue to motivate themselves, and justify their role, by utilising these accordingly. For Street Angels interviewees, the sense that the environment was neither as intimidating nor blighted by crime problems as they first believed, coupled with the view that the intervention was effective in improving the area further still, provided ample reason to sustain their commitment. Conversely, for both the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim volunteers, this sense of ‘permanent threat’ – in which old crime problems were never permanently overcome, and new ones routinely emerged – dictated the need for their continued contribution. Interviewees in both of these case studies typically viewed this threat as emanating from beyond the confines of the community. In particular, frequent reference was made to individuals who were to be found within the local area, but who were otherwise unknown to the patrollers (often equated by interviewees as ‘not being known to the community’). For Rural Watch Patrol interviewees, these were viewed as individuals entering the area from urban locations, in order to commit specific theft and animal welfare-related offences that the area facilitated increased opportunity for. Shomrim interviewees demonstrated similar views about responsibility for criminality lying with those unknown to the community, in particular those responsible for committing burglary and victimising members of the community in public spaces. Linking this point about would-be offenders from outside of the community, and the victimisation of local people, one Shomrim interviewee asserted:

“The main thing is that scum who don’t live here should keep away... at the end of the day, we will track you down... it’s not worth it, keep far away... people should be safe, [they] should be able to walk where they want, there shouldn’t be such a thing now where ‘after dark we can’t go down that road, or that road, or this road’... there should be no such thing as ‘no-go’ areas...” (SP3)

The responses of this nature appear to be invoke a particular vision of community, one in which the concept is utilised as a defence against ‘outsiders’. In these contexts, offenders are conceived as only existing beyond the community, which in turn is in permanent need of protection against external threat (Crawford, 1995: 106). The seeming result of this view is the emergence of an ‘us versus them’ attitude, one that encourages suspicion of any persons or groups unfamiliar to certain sections of the community, and in some cases actively promotes the idea of driving them out (Currie, 1988: 281). Thinking of this nature arguably lends itself to at least some of the argued dangers of local communitarian social control – including the ‘naming, shaming and expulsion of the deviant and disorderly of various kinds’ (Hughes and McLaughlin, 2003: 7). In turn, they appear to reinforce the perceived need for community initiatives such as citizen patrol, and how ‘outsiders’ should be viewed, as well as in the case of the Shomrim, beliefs about how they should be engaged with in the event that they should come into contact with participants.

7.4.2. Altruism and ‘contributions to community’

Despite differing interpretations of community, interviewees commented on their understanding of it, and their obligations as members, with a striking sense of certainty. A common feature in this regard was the broad view that the community required specific and meaningful commitments from its members. This altruistic, communitarian view rested upon the principle that the community should not exist as a passive recipient of state-delivered services (Etzioni, 1993), but play an crime control and community safety role. Commenting upon idea of responsibility as devolved to members of the community, a Shomrim participant asserted:

“Everything’s about communities nowadays... so we’re [Shomrim] saying ‘well here’s the community’... round here the nature of the community is static... so somebody knows that something is out of place on their street, because they know who the neighbours are... we’re in a good position to act, and we should...” (SP1)

Similarly, a Rural Watch Patrol participant commented:

“Any little bit of help, that you can give... you should give back to your community... that’s my belief... I think it’s important” (RWP2)

The language adopted by interviewees whilst describing their contributions and intended impacts upon the community simultaneously reflected a number of distinct discourses and agendas. Most notably, the comments suggested a conformity with aspects of both broader welfarist *and* conservatist political ideologies. As Lacey and Zedner (1995: 303) have noted, the distinction between these two divergent ideologies has featured across much of the last fifty years of British political history. Whilst the welfarist approach has typically viewed community as a means by which to promote improved wellbeing and security of its people, the conservatist approach has typically engaged in promotion of, and participation in, explicit strategies of crime prevention and control. Though these interpretations are often presented as dominating the broader political landscape in a consecutive fashion (in which conservatist approaches follow the decline of welfare approaches) (see Garland, 2001), the extent to which both have been fixed remains doubtful, and indeed both are useful in characterising a distinction in responses across the case studies; between the professed ‘aims’ of the initiatives, and the activities and tasks described that sought to bring effect to those aims on the other. Where aims were discussed, these were invariably described using terms such as “supporting”, “helping”, or “improving the safety” of the community, in a fashion that has featured amongst explanations offered for partaking in other forms of policing volunteering, such as the Special Constabulary (see Gill and Mawby, 1990; Leon, 1991). As terms in keeping with humanitarian and ‘benevolence’-based aspirations outlined earlier in this chapter, a number of comments even alluded to rehabilitative qualities and ideals. Illustrating this point while simultaneously articulating the influence of faith, one Street Angels interviewee commented:

“The main aim [of Street Angels] is to look after vulnerable people in whatever vulnerability that is... we have a wonderful strapline, for want of a better expression, [it] is ‘love the person in front of you’... and I think it’s not judging, it’s looking after them and showing God’s love to them...” (SAP6)

Yet the means by which interviewees envisaged achieving these ideals noticeably relied upon both the language of crime control and specific description of patrol

activities that chimed more readily with conservatist ideologies. Whilst there was evidence of this across the three case studies, the distinction was particularly striking in the cases of the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim groups. Here, interviewees articulated their contributions in strikingly punitive terms; as “increasing vigilance”, “detering” or “detecting” wrongdoing, and even, in the case of the Shomrim group, “going after” and “catching” persons considered suspicious. Moreover, in keeping with this vision of an explicit crime control contribution, interviewees in these case studies invariably referred to taking part in initiatives in order to support the police (regardless of any formal affiliation or partnership between the two), by acting as their “eyes and ears” in relation to suspicious activity, or by engaging in other high-visibility activities that would assist them in either preventing or reducing crime. Even Street Angels interviewees, whose contribution most readily aligned with welfarist ideals at the levels of both aims and practice, demonstrated the fluidity of the two ideologies by setting out and describing their unequivocal commitment to supporting the police (see Chapter 7.5. for more discussion around views on police and security). The invocation of this language also raises questions about the extent to which the contributions – cast in compassionate or caring terms – represented more punitive attempts at social control, as described earlier in this chapter.

The comments and discussion presented above suggest that the idea of community, and the need to provide a contribution that meets its perceived requirements formed a significant motivational factor where participation in citizen patrols was concerned. Though interviewees within each case study conceived of their communities in distinct ways, each placed significant degrees of emphasis on the importance of the concept – both as an entity that required constant and careful maintenance, and one that could and should also actively participate in that endeavour alongside various partners including the police (Nelken, 1985: 242). Situated in these contexts, patrol was viewed as a legitimate and worthwhile function of local people, carried out within and for the benefit of the community. By adopting these views about the nature of community and expectations about contributing to it, interviewees’ broader beliefs appeared to run contrary to the argument that local people increasingly carry a weak sense of obligation towards their communities (Etzioni, 1993; Putnam, 2000). In contrast, not only was a sense of contribution or duty evident, but interviewees appeared to link these

commitments to the ideas of respectable identity and standing within their communities. Obligation thus appeared as much of a feature of community membership as enjoying the extended rights or benefits such membership might bring. These distinctions between the interviewees and other citizens within their communities appear to offer at least partial explanations for the relative atypicality of their beliefs and specific citizen patrol contributions.

7.4.3. Personal benefit and ‘reward’

In addition to a steadfast belief about the importance of community and the need to contribute to its maintenance, another common theme that emerged from the comments of interviewees in relation to motivations was the need to undertake a commitment that brought about a sense of specific personal benefit or reward. Many of these explanations appeared along normative lines, and in particular, concerned the ideas of personal fulfilment and satisfaction that arose from helping others whilst participating in the patrol initiatives. Illustrating this motivation, one Street Angels interviewee elaborated:

“I enjoy it and find it rewarding.... sometimes in the telling of what happened afterwards to people, not necessarily in the moment of wiping sick off someone’s legs... there’s definitely a sense of satisfaction that comes with it that motivates me to come along” (SAP1)

Similar sentiment featured across the comments of Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim interviewees, who variously drew upon positive feelings about oneself following a sense of “a job well done” or assisting the community in both broad terms and on an individual, person by person basis. Not only did the prospect of such fulfilment encourage motivation to join the patrols in the first instance, but the “buzz”, as one interviewee described it, continued to influence participation thereafter. Elsewhere, other themes emerged at an individual case study level – and appeared influenced by their position on the aforementioned continuum of religiosity (see Chapter 7.3.). For Street Angels interviewees, participating in patrol allowed for a demonstration of personal commitment to Christianity, “following Jesus”, and thus served to reinforce their faith. Specifically, interviewees reflected that engaging in patrol activities represented an ideal means through which to fulfil and promote values in accordance with the Christian faith, such as “respect”,

“dignity”, “compassion” and “generosity”. Moreover, participation brought with it the opportunity to demonstrate these values whilst enhancing awareness of the Christian faith in diverse public settings. Illustrating this point in greater detail, one interviewee commented:

“I do it [Street Angels] because I’m a Christian and it’s a Christian organization... it’s a good way of talking about your faith when you are out there...” (SAP2)

Remarking further upon personal commitment to delivering a faith-influenced contribution, another interviewee reflected:

“I think you are trying to... what’s that verse, it says that God pours his love into us and that love goes to others... and I think that’s a strong part of why [I] do [Street Angels]” (SAP5)

Whilst the idea of participation as a personal commitment to faith featured within the comments of all Street Angels interviewees, it is important to note the extent to which each viewed patrol functions as an opportunity to share that faith with others varied. Whereas some interviewees spoke very openly about such an ambition, for others, simply providing practical assistance and support during the course of patrol activities was enough to demonstrate their commitment in this regard. Comments across the case study suggest however, that regardless of the extent to which overt promotion of Christian beliefs and teachings was intended, interviewees came to view participation in Street Angels patrols as but one means of fulfilling the responsibilities placed upon them by their faith.

Conversely, the idea of faith explicitly informing motivations and practice rarely appeared within the comments of Shomrim interviewees. None, for instance, raised specific principles and values of the Jewish faith as determining a sense of duty or obligation, and neither did any articulate Shomrim participation as an opportunity to promote these. Rather, in addition to a sense of fulfilment gained from participation, a number of Shomrim interviewees articulated the impression that taking part contributed to an improvement in their standing within the community. Given then, the particularly homogenous nature of the community along faith-based lines, it

nonetheless might be concluded that faith served to influence motivation in a rather more indirect fashion than that seen within the Street Angels case study. In articulating this motivation, several Shomrim interviewees spoke of being, or aspiring to become “community leaders”, who would contribute effectively to improving the security and wellbeing of local people, and would eventually become synonymous with those activities and the initiative’s broader contribution. Commenting upon the idea of legacy and the long-term sustainability of the Shomrim (see Chapter 2.5.) one interviewee suggested:

“I’d like to think that it [Shomrim] would continue for many years to come... [that] it will evolve and hold to the standards we’ve set... and I hope people appreciate what we do and the effort we put in... I’ve certainly invested a lot... and I would like to think people know that...” (SP1)

Further comments from Shomrim interviewees suggested that an improved sense of self-pride emerged from the specific tasks of investing time and money in the initiative. Given that it was the only case study of the three that actively required its participants to invest their own resources and money (in the form of using their own vehicles and paying for fuel required to undertake patrols), this marked the Shomrim citizen patrol and its participants as distinct. Linking the idea of providing these in a charitable fashion, whilst drawing positive feelings about oneself from doing so, and receiving recognition from the community, one interviewee reflected:

“I sort of look at [participating in Shomrim] as... you give charity from your money, and you give charity from your time as well... if I have to put aside ten per cent of my time every week to spend doing community work, then I’m happy to do it... it’s important to me that I’m giving some back, and I think what we do is recognised by the community as well, which is important” (SP4)

Elsewhere, Rural Watch Patrol participants explained their commitment as an opportunity to act upon specific local issues that they felt passionately about. These issues typically centred on the preservation of wildlife, and the prevention of rural crime, which were described as “areas of interest” and “pet hates”. Whilst the idea of developing personal standing within the community appeared less explicitly within

this case study as it did in that of the Shomrim, interviewees nonetheless spoke about the importance of being recognised for their efforts in regard to those causes, both by local people and by local police. One commented:

“It doesn’t cost anything for somebody to say ‘thank you... what you’ve done has helped the crime rates go down’... and we do get that from the people that live here, and the police, but not as much as we’d like... y’know, we don’t need to know who’s been caught and what they’ve done and why they’ve done it, but just [to] say ‘yeah, we’ve got so many this time’, or ‘we feel a lot safer now’, or what have you... that’d be nice” (RWP5)

Other explanations provided were of a noticeably more instrumental nature. Rural Watch Patrol interviewees, for instance, very clearly also conceived of participation as an opportunity to establish and enhance their social networks, by engaging with the initiative’s other participants. This was a particularly frequent comment from the large number of interviewees who had retired or reduced their working hours for various reasons. For these interviewees, participation constituted an important means of establishing and maintaining meaningful relationships with those known to them in both previous professional or personal capacities, and those otherwise unknown to them who had more recently joined the patrol. The Rural Watch Patrol thus served as a fulfilling and meaningful outlet through which its members could, as one of the interviewees described, “escape boredom”, finding added purpose in life after work. Here too, the idea of participation as a ‘hobby’ resonated closely with explanations for participating in other forms of policing volunteering (Leon, 1991: 548), though personal, instrumental motivations noticeably featured less regularly than the ideas of altruism, or contributions to the community – a reverse of trends in motivations previously identified in the case of special constables (Gill and Mawby, 1990: 122). Nonetheless, two interviewees who had recently joined the initiative took this idea further by articulating the view that they had chosen to do so in the belief that contributing would ‘fill time’ and comprise an exciting undertaking. One suggested:

“I joined because it [Rural Watch Patrol] sounds like fun... and it does... the action reminds me of my old job... I mean there are other reasons, but most importantly it sounds like fun...” (RWP4)

It is important to note, however, that this view was very noticeably contested by more experienced participants, who repeatedly referred to the idea that it was not a particularly exciting endeavour, and that those who opted to join for such a reason would be left disappointed. In making this point, interviewees noted that they were unlikely to witness crimes in progress, and that many patrol activities could be uneventful. Indeed, one interviewee commented that some patrols could be “very dull”, whilst another surmised that uneventful contributions were like “watching paint dry”. Noticeably, interviewees’ comments of this nature appeared to bear some similarity to public sentiment about partaking in citizen-led policing during earlier periods (Rawlings, 2002) (see Chapter 3.2.2.). In contemporary settings, they also chime with expectations and experiences conveyed by police officers with regarding their role (e.g. Loftus, 2010). However, during these periods of relative inactivity, interviewees again recognized that their commitment was sustained through the potential of the patrols to maintain and enhance social relations between participants – many of whom they came to view as colleagues and friends.

7.5. Beliefs of citizen patrol volunteers

In addition to explaining their motivations for participating in citizen patrols, interviewees were also asked to reflect on a series of broader beliefs linked to their contributions and the environments in which they operated. Specifically, these covered beliefs about the perceived various impacts of their patrol activities, as well as how participants felt the patrols were received by other citizens. These belief sets are explored below.

7.5.1. Beliefs about patrol impact

Interviewees across the three case studies held noticeably strong beliefs that the result of their patrol activities both would, and did, yield a series of positive impacts. Amongst these, the most prominent examples drawn upon were those concerned with the idea that the patrols were contributing positively to reductions in specific forms of crime. The offence types and categories that it was believed had been positively influenced varied from one case study to the next. For the Street Angels, a positive impact was judged in respect of reducing victimisation, arising from harassment, assault, or robbery. Beliefs about the effectiveness of their intervention

were also expressed through illustrating examples of improvements to individual and public safety that were unrelated to crime. Within the Rural Watch Patrol meanwhile, interviewees were confident that they had contributed to a reduction in offences linked to animal welfare, as well as theft from farming premises. Finally, for Shomrim interviewees, all were highly confident that their contribution had positively influenced both burglary and robbery rates. Beyond these specific examples, more broadly it was felt by interviewees that each initiative effectively served to “reassure” the community, and “make people feel safer”. By raising these ideas, interviewees appeared to promote the value of capable guardianship, as featured within routine activity theories of crime prevention (Cohen and Felson, 1979 (see Chapter 4.5.2.)). In keeping with the argued characteristics of effective capable guardians (see Chamard, 2010: 214), they appeared to attribute significance to the ideas that they were more readily available than their otherwise constricted police counterparts, that the community benefited from their greater knowledge of the local area, and that their informal approach relative to the police (invested with no additional powers) placed them in an ideal position to maintain order within the community in a proactive and natural fashion. These ideas also resonate with arguments advanced by proponents of informal justice (e.g. Abel, 1980; Christie, 1982), as earlier discussed in Chapter 2.2.3.

Beyond specific contributions to reducing various forms of crime, both Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim interviewees alluded to a series of broader policing and security impacts. Most notable amongst these was a belief in their role as the “eyes and ears of the police”, which interviewees considered particularly valuable as police were perceived as unable to fulfil such functions themselves). Specifically, interviewees articulated this “eyes and ears” role as consisting of either observing and reporting suspicious activity, or gathering and depositing intelligence either in person at local police stations (Rural Watch Patrol) or via remote mobile technologies such as WhatsApp groups (Shomrim) (for further discussion about the contribution of initiatives and participants, see Chapter Eight). Not only were these activities considered likely to inform, and thus benefit the practices of police officers and staff, but it was also held that such collaboration had served to improve interaction and police-community relations. Part of these improved relations comprised greater understanding of each other’s intentions, as one Shomrim interviewee illustrated:

“Relations are better now than they’ve ever been... they understand us, and we understand them... they realise we’re not a mob, that we can be a really useful source of support” (SP4)

Interviewees across the case studies reaffirmed an impression of self-importance and appeared to further legitimise their activities by illustrating the belief that a reduction in their role, or the demise of initiatives entirely, would result in crime increases and broader social deterioration. Indeed, some had appeared to develop the view that such was the effectiveness of their contribution, that they had become a near-indispensable asset in delivering crime control and community safety within their local areas. Shomrim interviewees in particular articulated the view that police “could not do without” them, and made reference to conversations with officers outside of the local area who had lamented the lack of similar schemes within the areas that they policed. Indeed, one interviewee even suggested that a number of non-local police officers had intimated a desire to be transferred into the area, following the success of Shomrim and the improvements in police-community relations that it had facilitated. Elsewhere, one Street Angels interviewee, commenting on the likely impact of the absence of the initiative, stated:

“I’ve often said ‘my goodness, what would they do if we weren’t out there, what would they have been like? Would there have been more fatalities?’... and when I hear things on the radio or telly you think, ‘oh my goodness, you know we could do with a few more teams out there...’” (SAP5)

Advancing this idea further, some Rural Watch Patrol interviewees raised a belief that prospective offenders had communicated, and were likely to continue to communicate the absence of the initiative amongst their networks, viewing such a development as an enhanced opportunity to commit crime. Reflecting upon a period lasting several weeks in which the Rural Watch Patrol had not been active, one interviewee commented:

“It’s possible that what’s happened in the last couple of weeks is a little snippet of what happens when we’re not about... they’re [offenders] not stupid... they do communicate between one another [about Rural Watch

Patrol]... if we weren't about... it would go from positive to negative..."
(RWP3)

Whilst all interviewees very clearly held their intervention in high regard, and a belief in its effectiveness sustained their commitment, it is worth noting that they did so with very little, if any recourse to evidence that could back up their claims. This is particularly significant in relation to claims of reductions in crime. Whilst none of the interviewees in any of the case studies were able to produce objective evidence to demonstrate a positive impact in relation to crimes and crime categories they had raised, a significant majority felt certain that they were delivering one. Meanwhile, in attempting to illustrate achieving broader reassurance aims, interviewees would invariably draw upon and link to their argument single cases that demonstrated the satisfaction and gratitude of local people. These sentiments, the interviewees suggested, had been conveyed to them either in the course of their contribution, or outside of patrol activities. In addition to this, the majority of Street Angels interviewees made reference to the example of measuring impact in relation to community safety more generally, by carrying out rudimentary counts of the number of glass bottles disposed of during the course of patrols (figures were utilised to assist funding applications). Aside from these, with the limited robustness of this evidence in mind, a small number of interviewees adopted a more cautious stance and acknowledged the lack of objective data to prove such a claim. Four Street Angels interviewees even noted that reductions in crime and social problems would be difficult to conclusively attribute to their activities alone. Yet rather than view this reality as disheartening, the significant majority of interviewees simply concluded that many of their functions – and in particular those aimed at prevention and reassurance – provided an unmeasurable benefit, one that could “only be positive”. Illustrating this point, one Rural Watch Patrol interviewee suggested:

“We don't know [the true impact of Rural Watch Patrol on crime]... I mean, you could go past something and you wouldn't even know... but they've seen you... then we'll move on somewhere else... and we know that prevents a certain... y'know... [they] disappear... move on...” (RWP1)

By contrast, there were very few examples of comments that alluded to beliefs about the limitations, limited impacts, or adverse consequences of the patrol

contributions. Interviewees routinely mentioned specific offence and offence categories that they felt the patrols effectively responded to, but none were mentioned that they felt the patrols were either ill-placed or ill-equipped to deal with. Moreover, nearly all shared the belief that other local people within their communities were in near-unanimous agreement with their views (see the following section). This reflected little awareness about the possibility that the operation of the groups may have been having an adverse impact upon the community, either in terms of how it influenced sensibilities about crime, or how it affected the community and its members. Instead, on the few occasions whereby the limits or limitations of the patrols were acknowledged, in each case these were explained as the result of patrols not operating as frequently as participants would have liked, or restrictions in coverage. This, in turn, was attributed to funding and resource constraints. Whilst securing improved levels of funding and resources featured as a perennial challenge within the comments of manager/coordinator interviewees, a significant majority of patrol interviewees made repeated reference to the view that each initiative would benefit from further volunteers. This, it was held, would improve both patrol frequency (Street Angels and Rural Watch Patrol), and extend geographic coverage (Shomrim). Tellingly, this desire for additional volunteers appeared only to further illustrate significant degrees of confidence in the appropriateness and effectiveness of the patrol contributions that each initiative was providing.

7.5.2. Beliefs about public awareness and perception

Across the case studies, interviewees commented on awareness and perception of their patrol activities, the broader initiatives of which they were a part, and how they believed these were held by local people. The comments revealed a distinction, between simply being *aware* that the initiatives existed, and having a more detailed knowledge about their aims and functions. Where the former was concerned, interviewees typically felt that the high-visibility nature of the patrols and their efforts to engage with the public had resulted in a “large number of people” or “most of the community” knowing that they operated. Beyond this basic level of awareness however, a majority of interviewees across the case studies felt that public knowledge about the specific aims of initiatives and roles of the participants was mixed. Articulating these views, one Street Angels interviewee suggested:

“A lot of them [the public] seem to know who we are now... they say ‘oh, you’re a Street Angel aren’t you?’... and then they come over and discuss it with us... and usually they ask ‘what do you actually do?’... often they’ve heard about us through their friends, so their knowledge is a bit hit and miss (SAP5)

In overcoming some of this uncertainty, interviewees conceived of increased community engagement as a useful means of improving public knowledge of the initiatives. Drawing upon this idea, one Shomrim interviewee commented:

“I think awareness of us [Shomrim] is fairly good now, but I think there are still pockets that don’t [know who we are]... people that are a bit further from the centre of the community don’t necessarily know who we are, but they get to meet us and we say ‘this is who we are’, and in the times when it’s happened they’ve said ‘really great idea, thank you very much’... and that’s really useful, particularly where they’ve maybe heard incorrect things about us from others, or if they think we’re just a bunch of busy-bodies” (SP1)

Similar sentiment featured within the comments of Rural Watch Patrol interviewees, who were eager to overcome the view that they were simply “nosey neighbours”, or that they amounted to another form of Neighbourhood Watch – of which interviewees held noticeably negative and dismissive attitudes (interviewees lamented their static nature and questioned their effectiveness). Elsewhere, Street Angels interviewees felt that engagement represented an opportunity to dispel the myth that they were, as one interviewee described it, “in your face, religious types”. Beyond ‘dispelling myths’, interviewees routinely alluded to the idea that engagement represented an opportunity to craft and project an image that members of the community would find favourable, and an agenda that they could support. The idea of positive community engagement as a means of improving public support – and consequently, institutional legitimacy – has previously been argued in respect of the public police (see Tyler, 2004). Here, interviewees too appeared to demonstrate a rudimentary understanding of the capacity of such action to enhance relations, make their work easier (Skogan, 1998), and render members of the local community more likely to comply with the participants in the event that formal engagement should take place (Tyler and Huo, 2002). Street Angels interviewees in

particular noted that once individuals had engaged with them, or witnessed their contribution first hand, even those that had previously been uncertain often subsequently developed much more favourable views that recognised their worth and good intentions.

Despite these views about the presence of some misconceptions, interviewees generally felt that those members of the community aware of their contribution were supportive of the initiatives and backed their efforts. Invariably, interviewees would draw upon individual encounters with members of the local community to emphasise this point, raising examples whereby they had assisted people positively and in turn received thanks and further encouragement. There did, however, appear degrees of assumption about the universality of these views, which fed into a broader sense that interviewees ultimately viewed their communities as homogenous entities – in which members shared similar sensibilities about crime and how these challenges should be responded to. Thus, despite the fact that community was interpreted in different ways by each of the case study groups, within each it was very much largely conceived as a single entity, comprised of specific types and groups of people. This vision of a clearly defined community comprising similar attitudes and sensibilities – a ‘community in people’s heads’ (Currie, 1988: 280) – appears to both inform, and be informed by the previously discussed sense of distinction about those who either are, or are not considered ‘members’ of the community. Once again, it is possible that beliefs about such a distinction may serve to further enhance broader ‘us and them’ attitudes – in this case between those members who are supportive, and those who are not.

By contrast, interviewees felt that those individuals either not supportive, or actively resistant to their contributions, were a very small number. For Street Angels interviewees, these comprised those who participants had attempted to engage, but had declined their offer of assistance during the course of patrol activities. Whilst a familiar approach of respecting the individual’s wishes not to be engaged was raised by interviewees, some admitted that the idea of leaving a vulnerable individual alone who had resisted their advances was difficult to come to terms with. Indeed, for some, it appeared as if completely disengaging was an idea that they were not prepared to countenance. Illustrating this tension, one interviewee acknowledged:

“If they tell us we don’t need help, we’ll stand at a distance... go around the block and come back... then we’ll stand away, but we’ll keep our eye on them without them realizing it... things like that... if someone say’s ‘I don’t want any help’, you’ve got to respect that... but then we are there to help, and they don’t always know what’s best for them...” (SAP2)

Meanwhile another Street Angels interviewee raised the approach of a colleague in this regard, who they particularly admired:

“[They’ll] just say ‘right, I really need to help you now... and you’re going to need to help me’... he takes control... I think I’m a bit too nice to do that... I do need to improve just to say ‘I’m the one in charge... I’ve got the uniform on... let me do my work’... if they are all a bit drunk then you’ve got to be a bit more assertive... (SAP4)

Similar sentiment featured in the comments of Rural Watch Patrol interviewees, although these appeared to go a step further in suggesting that those who resisted the patrols were driven by a mixture of self-interest, ulterior motives and potential anti-police sentiment. Reflecting upon some of these ideas in greater detail, one interviewee recounted:

“Well land owners can be [unsupportive]... because they’re in a different situation... they may want to handle their own problems without the help of the police... or without Rural Watch... they’ve got their own reasons, and that’s fair enough... but one or two of ‘em... something’s just not right, y’know what I mean?” (RWP3)

Comments such as these indicate two trends. First, though it was the policy of initiatives to respect the rights of individuals not to have to engage with participants, in practice participants often struggled to uphold this principle and disengage with such individuals – particularly where the person in question was considered vulnerable. It follows then, that citizen patrols did not appear as additional crime control or community safety contributions that members of the public could fully remove themselves from, or ‘opt out of’. This very clearly presents implications for

citizens' rights (see Chapter 8.4.3.). Second, the comments very clearly illustrated interviewees' difficulty in conceiving of legitimate reasons for citizens not wanting to receive the services of, or engage with, the initiatives. Instead, explanations offered were either characterized by the idea that such people were ill-informed, in which case further engagement was seen as useful in altering their understanding or views, or, more perversely, that they had ulterior motives which subsequently made participants suspicious of them. What this appeared to indicate is that ironically, individuals who refused services or resisted initiatives – regardless of the perceived explanation for that resistance – became *greater* objects of interest to the patrol groups as a result of adopting such a stance. The view of such individuals acting with either self-interest or ulterior motives in mind in particular, often demonstrated within the contexts of both the Rural Watch Patrol and the Shomrim groups, presents implications for individual relationships within communities, and raises questions about the broader effects of initiatives on community cohesion at large.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter set out to account for the motivations that underpinned participation within the citizen patrol case studies, along with a series of broader beliefs that shaped continued involvement. By drawing upon data gained from interviews with participants across each, it has illustrated that participation in the patrols was motivated by both altruism and the prospect of personal benefit. Interviewees across the case studies conceived of the concept of community in different ways, as well as the challenges that each faced. These views about the nature of community informed expectations about what each would encounter prior to partaking. Experience however, served to alter some of these views in markedly different ways. Whilst the reality of partaking served to undermine previously held concerns about crime and social problems where the Street Angels was concerned, for both the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim, participation appeared to exacerbate existing concerns and generate additional ones. Despite these differences, nonetheless all interviewees considered it the responsibility of members to engage with and reproduce strategies of crime control and community safety. Personal rewards, meanwhile, extended beyond the potential of improved personal safety. For those interviewees contributing to the faith-based patrols on the continuum of religiosity (see Chapter 7.3.), participation brought about the opportunity to demonstrate

commitment to God, or the benevolent characteristics of their faith. For others, participation served to enhance standing within the community, and secure long-term legacies. Elsewhere, a number of largely instrumental explanations were provided, namely that participation provided social benefits as a hobby, both filling time and improving social networks between participants.

The chapter also explored a series of further beliefs linked to participation and the contexts in which initiatives operated. Specifically, these covered beliefs about the impacts of patrol contributions, as well as about how participants felt they were received by other members of the community. Interviewees across the case studies illustrated firm beliefs in a series of positive impacts resulting from their contributions, notably including reductions in specific forms of crime. That little objective evidence existed to confirm their beliefs in this regard was rarely raised, yet those interviewees who did so relied upon clear assumptions that evidence of such a nature would almost certainly demonstrate a positive impact – assumptions that merely served to reaffirm confidence in the contribution that the participants were providing, along with the belief that they needed to be sustained. Elsewhere, whilst interviewees exhibited confidence that the expressed objectives and practices of the citizen patrols were largely supported by local people, those who did not were dismissed as either misguided or holding ulterior motives. The presence of these views raises questions around the effects of citizen patrols upon relations between local people, as well as their broader impacts upon community cohesion. It is to how these played out, and the activities of the patrols, that Chapter Eight now turns.

Chapter Eight

Policing and community safety activities of citizen patrols

8.1. Introduction

Having considered the attitudes of the citizen patrol volunteers and the motivations that underpinned their activities, this chapter turns to the forms that these activities took. By drawing upon data gathered from both participant observation and interviews, the chapter sets out both *what* the citizen patrols activities were and *how* these were undertaken. It situates these within a broader understanding of networks of policing (Brodeur, 2010), and as such illustrates whether activities undertaken by participants were familiar within the policing and security roles of others, or amounted to contributions altogether more novel. As the chapter identifies each it also considers various implications that resulted – both where other policing and security actors were concerned, and for the more general ordering of the spaces that were subject to the patrols and people that inhabited them. The chapter places particular emphasis upon both space and broader environment, which featured as important influences in each of the case studies. These both shaped the means of patrol – including whether patrols were undertaken in vehicles or on foot – and more broadly influenced participants actions, along with the extent and nature of interaction with and within communities.

Elsewhere, the data also provide insights into how the citizen patrols were experienced by local communities and those local people who came into contact with them. These are particularly useful in illustrating who the initiatives interacted with, how interactions were initiated, and how each progressed. As such, they shed light on public awareness of the patrols – about knowledge of their existence, purpose and range of activities, as well as their distinction from the public police and citizens' rights during the process of interaction with participants. As the data reveal these insights, they illustrate a distinction between those citizens who came into contact with the patrols, and those who rarely did so yet nevertheless influenced their function. The realities of these various 'audiences' of the citizen patrols raise important questions about fairness, the even spread of services provided, and the interests that the patrols represented. Taken together, they draw us towards

conclusions about not just the type of order pursued by the patrols, but also *whose* order participants were seeking to establish as they went about their business.

This chapter is split in two broad sections. The first discusses the activities of the citizen patrols. It begins by exploring those activities characterised as responses to perceived ‘threats’, that typically attempted to deter, disrupt and in some cases even bring about resolution to examples of low-level crime and anti-social behaviour. The section then goes on to explore activities that amounted to responses to broader ‘vulnerability’, in particular those that contributed to the reassurance and welfare of local people. Finally, the section discusses activities related to information-gathering and sharing with other policing and security organisations. The second section of the chapter then considers the aforementioned distinction in the ‘audiences’ of the patrols; firstly, those who *directly* engaged with the patrols during their operation – previously aware of their existence or otherwise – and secondly, those whose contact was of an altogether more *indirect* and less consistent nature, yet still received the benefits of the patrols. Before any further consideration of the activities and audiences of the citizen patrols though, it is worth briefly reflecting upon the influence of the public police in shaping approaches to analysing the contributions of plural policing providers more generally – an influence which is both useful and limiting.

8.2. A (cautionary) note on comparison

As the early sections of this study highlighted, policing scholarship has, at least historically, been dominated by a focus upon the public police. Little wonder then, that where studies of plural contributions to policing and security have been conducted, many of these have been characterised by the implicit tendency to draw comparisons between the two (e.g. Spitzer and Scull, 1977; Shearing and Stenning, 1983; van Steden et al., 2015). To be sure, in many cases comparison serves a useful purpose. For instance, one may seek – as this study does across its remaining chapters – to compare the two in order to identify points of convergence and divergence in activities, discuss the implications of duplication, prospects for collaboration, and so on. Yet whilst appreciative of these utilities, it is important to remain mindful of the limits of comparing different public and private providers,

given practical differences between each, and more fundamental legal and symbolic distinctions – without which any analysis of data would be flawed.

Where the distinctions between the public police and the citizen patrols are concerned, the description presented in Chapter Six suggests that there were substantial differences in capacity – both in terms of personnel and resources. Whilst Chapter Three identified reductions to both of these within public police organisations, these remain both more substantial and consistent when compared with the comparatively modest and inconsistent membership and resources of the citizen patrols. Of the legal distinctions, perhaps the most significant is the delegation (or lack thereof) of exceptional powers that each held. Chapter Four made reference to the seminal work of Egon Bittner (1970), who identified that the public police capacity for authoritative action was legitimised by their distinct and unique potential to dispense coercive force. This amounts not only to a clear legal difference, but also reflects a monopoly that carries symbolic resonance within communities and wider society (*ibid*). Whilst there was evidence of a sense of authority and legitimacy around the citizen patrols, at least part of this appeared to arise out of public uncertainty or even confusion about the distinction between the patrols and the public police – particularly where participants wore similar uniforms in high-visibility settings (see Chapter 8.4.2.).

Otherwise, the patrols were required to source acceptance by other means, including the participants' ability to fulfil public demand for policing goods, promote their status as 'citizens in uniform', and even utilise the idea of *not* possessing exceptional powers otherwise afforded to the police. In doing so, participants demonstrated noticeable parallels with the approaches of both Neighbourhood Wardens (Crawford, 2006a), and more recently PCSOs (see Chapter 3.3.4.). Whilst previous studies suggest such approaches have proven both useful and problematic in respect of these later roles (O'Neill, 2014; Pamment, 2009), the data collected as part of this study suggest that the idea of *not* being the police may have been significant in achieving acceptance and improving legitimacy. Whilst some citizen patrols and their participants viewed benefit in aligning themselves with police organisations, others found engaging specific members of the public easier following clear *disassociation* from the police. It can be concluded then, that these realities reveal complex points of convergence and divergence between different

forms of public and plural policing – the broad sentiment of which is worth bearing in mind throughout the discussion ahead.

8.3. Activities of citizen patrols

8.3.1. Activity categorisation and environment

The data suggest that the core activities of the citizen patrols subscribed to three broad categories. The first emerged as responses to perceived *threats*, which aimed to deter, disrupt and even bring about resolution in respect of crime and anti-social behaviour. The second meanwhile, manifested as responses to broader *vulnerability*, in which the initiatives provided broader social service functions that aimed to reassure and improve the welfare of local communities. The third set of activities participants completed were those linked to *gathering and sharing information* with other relevant policing organisations. Typically carried out in order to support other policing and security personnel in fulfilling their own roles, elsewhere, this contribution towards ‘knowledge work’ (see Sheptycki, 1998: 71) has been viewed as increasingly important in developing effective strategies of policing (Tilley, 2008). Each of the three categories then, drawn from existing relevant policy or scholarship, present a useful foundation from which to conduct and present the analysis that follows.

The influence of environment across each of the case studies was significant. Indeed, urban, residential and rural settings (see Chapter Six for greater description of these) shaped both the natures and extents of threats and vulnerability, as well as the responses that the citizen patrols delivered. For instance, the densely-populated and active urban NTE presented specific vulnerabilities linked to heightened levels of intoxication – the scale and forms of which dictated that the initiative would be most effective when responding within close vicinity on foot (see Figure 8.1.). A consequence of this was that interaction with people was very frequent, whether initiated by those people or the participants themselves. By contrast, the rural environments in which the Rural Watch Patrol operated presented opportunities for specific rural crimes, such as theft from farm premises and animal welfare-related offences. The smaller number of crimes and incivilities carried out within a much larger area rendered vehicle patrol a more effective means of completing patrols, but also resulted in far fewer interactions between the

participants and others. Indeed, this would appear to reflect negative sentiment about the mundane realities of patrol work as commented upon by participants in Chapter Seven. The residential settings in which the Shomrim operated, meanwhile, presented a more mixed range of perceived problems, given that the local area comprised housing estates, a high street, and stretches of undeveloped space. As a result, the initiative carried out a mixture of both foot and vehicle patrols, depending on the specific locations participants hoped to cover. Environment then, presents significant implications when illustrating and thinking about the patrol activities, and as such underpins much of the discussion that follows throughout the remainder of the chapter.

		Patrol environment		
		Urban	Suburban	Rural
Means of patrol	Foot patrol	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Shomrim</i>	
	Vehicle patrol			<i>Rural Watch Patrol</i>

Figure 8.1. Patrol environments and means

8.3.2. Responses to threats: deterrence, disruption and resolution of crime and anti-social behaviour

The perceived ‘threats’ that patrols responded to manifested as various forms of crime and anti-social behaviour problems. In order to challenge these, participants delivered a visible presence and in some cases willingness to engage with individuals suspected of being the source of such problems. In doing so, at least some of the initiatives’ activities demonstrated alignment with those identified as ‘order’ based within the ‘order-welfare’ continuum (see Chapter 2.4.1.). Participants often undertook these order-based activities within spaces that they had identified

as affected by particular threats – referred to elsewhere as crime hotspots²⁰. They developed knowledge about these hotspots through various means – including through the receipt of intelligence from police and security organisations with whom they were either affiliated or in loose partnership with (see Chapter 8.3.4.); as a result of information received from local people, either during the course of their patrols or outside of their roles, including friends and family; and even in some cases following their own repeated sightings of suspicious activity. Participants would often plan to visit these hotspots intermittently during their patrols, remaining static within them and observing for lengthier periods than would otherwise be dedicated to spaces elsewhere. Whilst these spaces varied according to the environment in question, across all sites they were generally noteworthy for the distinct lack of social activity that took place within them. They consisted of dark alleyways in urban spaces and residential areas, or single-lane countryside roads that were either remote, less visible, or featured very few forms of surveillance. Participants held that the isolated nature of these spaces served to encourage those seeking to commit crime or engage in acts of anti-social behaviour, in the belief that their actions would go unnoticed – as neither police nor security staff could commit to routine patrols within them. Accordingly, much emphasis was placed on providing an ‘eyes and ears’ role (Crawford, 1998: 148) (first identified in Chapter Two), by delivering forms of presence and surveillance that would otherwise have been absent. A particular example observed during observation of the Rural Watch Patrol illustrates this point:

Following recent examples of trespassing and theft from an industrial compound site, the participants spent a good deal of tonight’s patrol keeping watch from their vehicles within the vicinity of the area. They did so in the expectation that any individual contemplating similar acts would be either deterred or disrupted by their presence. The participants took explicit choices about making this presence – in an otherwise isolated and quiet space – as visible as possible, by leaving headlights on whilst static, and continuously circling the sites various perimeters (RWP, 6th March 2017).

²⁰ Ratcliffe (2004: 5) describes hotspots as ‘areas of high crime intensity’ that allow policing organisations to determine areas in need of specific resource and need. Studies of the crime prevention and reduction impacts of hotspots policing have become increasingly prominent, specifically in relation to the work of the public police (see Braga et al., 2014).

Whilst the means by which these activities were delivered varied from one initiative to the next, the field note above reflects a consistent pattern throughout each of the case studies – that the mere *presence* of participants, visible and in uniform, was considered a useful means of deterring or disrupting behaviours considered inappropriate. In the case of the Street Angels, this impact is evident through the following field note:

As we continued our foot patrols through alleyways that connected the various busy streets made up of night-time entertainment venues, we passed a group of people who appeared to be engaging in the exchange or sale of substances. Their reaction to our arrival appeared to suggest that these were likely illicit. The presence of the Street Angels appeared to disrupt them, as they quickly noted the presence of the participants, ceased and dispersed – without any attempt on the part of the Street Angels to engage them (SA , 18th August 2017).

The high-visibility presence of Rural Watch Patrol participants, within their liveried patrol vehicle, also appeared to carry a disruptive effect:

We passed a vehicle parked in a layby between two fields – and noticed two individuals with several dogs within one. We continued past the vehicle, and one participant took various vehicle description details. The participants did this in full sight of the driver, and then continued around a corner where we pulled into another layby so that the participants could ‘take stock’. Shortly after, we proceeded back and passed the scene for a second time. The vehicle and the individuals in the field had both gone. The participants suggested that their presence had ‘spooked’ the driver – and that he had likely called the individuals in the field to alert them of RWP presence (RWP, 10th February 2017).

In a few cases, resolution required more than a disruptive presence. Where this appeared so, participants’ occasionally instigated intervention of a more active nature, by engaging with those individuals who appeared linked to the problems in

question. This idea of a more interventionist approach is highlighted by the following example from the Shomrim case study:

As we continued the patrol, one of the participants in the vehicle spotted a small number of young people kicking a ball to each another in a space where doing so was prohibited. We approached the young people, and the participants engaged them in a calm yet assertive fashion, asking them if they were aware of that the activity was prohibited. The young people replied that they were not, but did not feel as if they were causing much harm by 'just kicking a ball'. The participants suggested the prohibition was in place for a reason, and that it was problematic for local residents. They suggested a number of alternative sites that were 'far better' for playing ball games in, and politely asked the young people to consider it. The participants then left, to continue the patrol (Shomrim, 6th December 2017).

This demonstrates that the Shomrim attempted to disrupt the activities in question, and provide a resolution that would be mutually beneficial for both the communities they represented *and* those they were engaging. Instigating an intervention of this nature required participants to work effectively within the limitations of their roles and powers, as citizens without exceptional status. Shomrim participants were fully aware that they could do little more than request young people desist from playing ball games in prohibited areas – with the only alternative to report the matter to the police if the activity continued. In the other examples raised above, both the Street Angels and Rural Watch Patrol participants seemed even more acutely aware of their limitations, placing considerable emphasis on a preference for deterrence and disruption, and avoiding engaging any person or groups they suspected of being involved in criminal activity or potentially harmful behaviour. Even within the examples of more active engagement with individuals suspected of low-level wrongdoing, across the case studies not a single example arose of a participant intentionally seeking confrontation or approaching others in an overtly aggressive fashion. This trend in the delivery of activities linked to threats suggests that the 'passive-aggressive' continuum outlined in Chapter Two does not reflect the manner in which each was reproduced. Instead, a 'passive-interventionist' conceptualisation, which is less suggestive of confrontation and aggression, may be more fitting.

These examples also suggest that the deterrent or disruptive presence of the participants was often sufficient to reduce opportunities for crime and anti-social behaviour, as has previously been identified in respect of the public police (see Sherman and Weisburd, 1995; Sherman and Eck, 2002; Weisburd and Eck, 2004). The examples also seemingly support arguments that attest to the utility of informal contributions to policing and security earlier outlined in Chapter Four – most notably that the presence of capable guardians acts as an effective means of preventing and reducing such activity, as suggested by ‘routine activity’ (Cohen and Felson, 1979) and ‘defensible space’ (Newman, 1972) theories. Beyond these potential contributions however, the efficacy of interventions of this nature cannot be assumed. It has been argued of police interventions, for instance, that patrols may either lead to displacement of crime problems (Reppetto, 1976), or diffusion of crime control benefits (Clarke and Weisburd, 1994; Braga et al., 2014) – though the true extent of either of these arguments is contingent upon context and remains difficult to assess (Braga, 2001). It is also unclear, both in these examples and beyond, whether the patrols were disrupting potential crime and disorder in *all* cases, or whether in fact they were unsettling individuals and groups of people engaged in lawful activities. This raises questions about whether initiatives are establishing a distinct order above and beyond that premised on legal and illegal acts – a point of discussion revisited in later in this chapter.

Irrespective of the order that the participants were helping to shape, the orientation of the initiatives’ functions and how those involved presented themselves whilst undertaking them appears to lend itself to the idea of a formalisation of social control (Jones and Newburn, 2002). The participants’ proactive presence and disruptive functions did not simply amount to acts of indirect natural surveillance produced by citizens in a given area for other reasons. They were directly present for the purposes of achieving the outcomes discussed above, wore high-visibility clothing akin to emergency service uniform, and consistently invoked their status as participants when engaging members of the public (discussed further later in this chapter). In effect, they became part of the fabric of the formal policing and security arrangements within their areas of operation. When utilising Jones and Newburn’s (2002: 139) categorisation of primary, secondary and tertiary social control, the initiatives occupy an uncertain space. As community-based initiatives, they would

appear to subscribe to the definition of tertiary level social control. And yet, as entities carrying out crime prevention, peace-keeping and other related policing activities – viewed as the defining part of their role – the orientation and practice of their functions demonstrated increasingly clear alignment with the characteristics of primary measures of social control. This blend of tertiary-level status and primary-level functions is discussed further through the concept of parochialism later in this chapter.

8.3.3. Responses to vulnerability: reassurance and welfare activities

Beyond activities undertaken as a response to specific examples of crime and anti-social behaviour, each of the patrols also engaged in broader social service activities with the aims of reassuring members of local communities and seeking improvements to their welfare and safety. These activities were less motivated by concerns about specific crime problems, and instead were instigated as a means of addressing vulnerability. As such, they resonated with the ‘welfare’ end of the ‘order-welfare’ continuum outlined in Chapter Two and were delivered by patrolling spaces marked by what the participants perceived as areas presenting greater potential for harm to members of local communities, or those that featured larger numbers of people who required mundane, day-to-day forms of assistance. These reassurance and welfare hotspots contrasted with the crime hotspots described earlier, but knowledge about them was shaped by familiar sources; by intelligence received from police and security actors, information received from local people and organisations, and knowledge gained from previous patrol experience. Reassurance and welfare hotspots were not simply limited to those spaces where individuals and groups were at greater risk of being victims of crime. Rather, as will be demonstrated below, they were typically characterised by spaces where people were at increased risk of harms to themselves, others, or indeed where the nature of the environment itself created additional challenges for local people that the initiatives and their participants could assist with. Like with the activities linked to threats, for the most part delivering responses to vulnerability relied upon the adoption of a high-visibility approach. For each of the initiatives, ‘being seen’ allowed participants to reach out to those who they believed were in need of assistance, field basic enquiries from individuals and groups, and more broadly increase awareness of their being and objectives. These reassurance and welfare

benefits of a visible presence are illustrated by an early field note recorded whilst observing the Street Angels:

It is clear that patrolling is undertaken with the express aim of being seen. Through this high-visibility presence, participants seem to encourage interaction with members of the public, most notably when the latter are either in need, or perceived to be in need of assistance. But even those seemingly sober or otherwise not in need of assistance regularly receive the services of the Street Angels in the form of messages of goodwill, or advice about staying safe throughout the duration of their evening (SA, 12th May 2017).

Visible presence, and communicating its consistent provision to members of the local community, was similarly provided by members of the Rural Watch Patrol – as recounted in this field note:

As we continued our patrol, we made a visit to a local café situated next to a popular private fishing location also on the owner's land. The participants had spoken previously about visiting the owner of the café, to let her know that they were operational, and would continue to patrol the premises when the café and fishing area were closed following examples of recent trespassing. The owner was visibly very grateful for the service that the participants provided, and had placed a sign on the premises that stated that it was subject to the observation of the initiative (RWP, 14th August 2017)

During interview, one RWP participant made reference to the importance of 'sticking to' the 'promises' outlined above, referring to these as 'community visits':

"The community visits... are important for the locals that live in quite isolated places, on farm land and what not... so we just pop in and see them, let them know that we're about... sometimes they'll ask if we can pop by when we're out, just to reassure them... and they're very grateful... if you stick to that promise, and we do try, then everyone seems a lot more reassured... especially if they've had a few problems previously" (RWP1)

Yet whilst visible presence provided a useful means of delivering reassurance, elsewhere it was noteworthy that positively influencing feelings of safety was not always contingent upon being seen. On some occasions, community reassurance appeared to arise simply out of the belief that initiatives were in operation. As one Rural Watch Patrol external stakeholder, themselves a member of the local community, articulated during interview:

“We don't see [the RWP] an awful lot... the villagers here don't drive around at the same sort of time, they're going out late at night... we're all tucked up in bed by then... we almost don't expect to see them... the fact that I haven't seen them doesn't worry me... I wouldn't expect it and I don't think people do either...” (Rural Watch Stakeholder [RWS] 5)

Elsewhere, the initiatives also played more active roles in improving the welfare and safety of others. For the Street Angels, the majority of these active interventions took place outside of pubs and clubs, where lone individuals could often be found heavily intoxicated and in need of support – whether it be gentle encouragement to return home, or basic medical assistance. The common practice for engaging individuals in these circumstances is outlined in the following field note:

[SA Participants] typically engage a person, assess and remove them from any immediate danger, identify if any basic medical assistance is required, and if any friends are present to take the person home. Participants go to some lengths to ensure that this person is a genuine 'friend' and not a stranger unknown to the person concerned. If this isn't possible or clear, they encourage the person to call a friend or family to come and collect them... (SA, 12th May 2017).

During observations of the Street Angels, the extent to which this routine was adopted became clear. For instance, in one example:

The team approached what appeared to be a highly intoxicated young male who was semi-conscious and slumped in a building doorway. One participant knelt down beside him and asked if he could stand. The male did not immediately answer, but eventually struggled to his feet, and, assisted

by the participant, made his way into the train station where he was helped to a seat. Still without speaking, he reached to his phone and intimated that he would attempt to call for help home – but was unable to hold his phone, such was the extent of his shaking. As the male was wearing just a t-shirt, the participant decided to remove her coat, and place this over the male in the hope that it would help him warm up. His condition subsequently improved. The participant then pulled a portable charger from her bag (the male's phone was running on low battery), so that he could make a call to arrange going home. Contact was subsequently made, and the team remained until a friend arrived to assist him (SA, 8th September 2017).

For the Shomrim, spaces where vulnerability-linked activities were most commonly directed included residential street corners on otherwise busy roads, where children would play and as such were at increased risk of being struck by vehicles. This was illustrated by the following field note, recorded during a public firework display in the local area:

The firework display had changed the dynamic of the environment for one night only, with a large number of non-local people and vehicles in the area. The Shomrim was, according to its participants, out 'at the request of GMP', with the express aims of providing a visible presence, a message of reassurance, and a reminder to stay safe. I saw the latter in action almost immediately. There were a very large number of unaccompanied small children playing on street corners (it was dark by this point), and one participant noted that many were dressed in dark clothes (as is common with Jewish dress). The participant informed me that many were given either hi-visibility vests to wear, or at least reflectors by local schools and parents. Clearly however, some either did not own them, or were not wearing them. The participant approached several of these groups, winding the car window down. He used a friendly and compassionate tone, asking the children if they had reflectors. The participant told them to stay clear of the road, else they might become hurt. The reaction of the children seemed variable – whilst some responded positively and spoke to the two participants (some clearly knew who the Shomrim participants were), others stood quietly and listened, offering little response (Shomrim, 5th November 2017).

The Rural Watch Patrol also engaged in welfare-focused activities in relation to animals and wildlife. Through the initiative's close contact with the local wildlife officer, participants were able to relay information about animals that were found in vulnerable or hazardous situations. One interviewee spoke of examples whereby nests of rare breeds of birds and bird eggs had been reported to the wildlife officer, to ensure careful preservation. On a further specific occasion, participants assisted with the movement of a cow that had wandered from a local field, and was blocking a road:

The participants were contacted by a local officer, who asked if they were able to assist following reports of a cow blocking a narrow road after straying from a nearby field. The participants duly obliged, and after taking details of the location we made our way to the scene. Upon arrival, we found that the cow was positioned on a grass verge to the side of the road. Whilst one participant remained in the patrol vehicle – parked across the road to deny other vehicles access while the issue was resolved – another approached the cow and shepherded it back across the road, into an open-gated field (RWP, 6th March 2017).

This example suggests that in some cases, activities linked to vulnerability served to assist the police by relieving officers and staff from certain tasks that they would likely otherwise have had to complete. Beyond these though, the extent of the initiatives' impact in this regard remained difficult to assess. Some patrols, and particularly those of the Street Angels, were delivered in densely populated and active spaces, where considerable pre-existing natural surveillance was already on offer (for discussion on the utility of natural surveillance, see Jacobs, 1961). On occasions, these spaces also featured other policing and security staff – each providing their own high visibility presence similarly designed (amongst other objectives) to both reassure and provide welfare-based interventions (see Dalglish and Myhill, 2004; Tuffin et al., 2006; Innes, 2014). Even where little other natural or police surveillance was to be found, whilst the examples suggest some utility, it would be wrong to assume that the participants' endeavours were always effective in providing reassurance or reducing fear. On the contrary, notwithstanding the differences previously identified, it has been argued that continued and consistent

deployment of police patrols in a given area can serve to adversely *increase* fear of crime or social problems, by fuelling a belief that the presence is a response to escalating issues that have yet to be resolved (Roach et al., 2012: 162). There also remains the possibility that as non-police, and with little comparative training, interventions of this nature carried out by participants may either fail to improve or even aggravate situations, particularly where their overtures are resisted – either passively or aggressively – by those they are seeking to help. These issues are considered in further detail later in the chapter.

8.3.4. Information gathering and sharing

Another consistent feature of the patrols was their activities linked to gathering and sharing information with various policing and community safety organisations, as well as local authorities. Indeed, much like the police, participants acted as ‘information brokers’ (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997), providing material to external organisations in order to identify risks and inform appropriate responses. Both the types of information gathered and the manner in which it was recorded and shared varied from one initiative to the next (see Chapter Six for description for further description). Yet expectations around these practices were also shaped by the nature of the patrols’ respective affiliations with the police, and their varying levels of autonomy. It was expected, for instance, that as a NYP initiative, the Rural Watch Patrol would provide comprehensive accounts of any activity that participants found suspicious via the bespoke observation forms, or via the force radio. By contrast, the loose agreement developed between the Shomrim and GMP in relation to agreed specific practices and subsequent funding of the initiative resulted in some expectation that information participants considered useful would be relayed via the WhatsApp group established by participants and local officers. Given the informal nature of the platform, the standard of the information obtained and the means by which it was relayed was significantly more varied, depending upon the identity of the participants and the nature of the situation before them. In the case of the Street Angels, the absence of any formal partnership between the initiative and WYP was reflected by the lack of any apparent bespoke means by which participants could report information to the police. In the event that information of interest to the police was obtained, participants would simply approach a nearby officer on foot, or report it via generic police contact numbers such as 101 or 999 (in case of emergency).

The differing expectations and means of providing information resulted in a varied quality of information provided to the police, as well as considerable differences in terms of quantity depending upon the communication formats used. For instance, information gathered as a result of the practices of the Rural Watch Patrol was limited to that gathered during patrol activities. By contrast, Shomrim participants were able to send information as messages via the WhatsApp group at any time they wished. Consequently, this placed greater pressure on local police attached to the initiative to respond more frequently – and to articulate how the information would lead to further actions – or risk disenchanting participants. It was not always clear that officers were able to manage the degree of information that was brought before them (for views of police in relation to communication, see Chapter 9.6.), and on a few occasions this ‘collaborative inertia’ (Huxham and Vangen, 2004: 191) appeared to result in disillusionment from participants that they had not received sufficient feedback after sharing information (see Chapter 7.5. for more on participant views). This sentiment was illustrated during one observation of the Rural Watch Patrol:

Following observation of a pair of empty vehicles parked at a gated field entrance, the participants recorded registration details via the bespoke RWP observation form. They decided that they would provide the registration details over the police radio, so that they could be ‘run through’ the Police National Computer. At the first attempt of trying to secure the Force Control Room’s attention, there was no response. Several minutes later, the participants tried again, and still received no response. Finally, after making a third attempt, an operator responded and the details were provided. Following this, one participant commented with some frustration that they doubted ‘we’ll hear anything back... we’re obviously not the priority’. The operator responded around ten minutes later, but only to confirm the information had been processed (RWP, 16th October 2017).

Despite this evidence of some disillusionment, these infrequent examples did not appear significant enough to affect participants’ continued efforts to share information. Indeed, despite variation in the quality of information provided and the extra demand it placed upon police resources, it became clear during observations that information provided by participants had helped to bringing about improvement

to, or resolution of specific crime and disorder problems. Rural Watch Patrol participants, for instance, were informed following one observation that their efforts in relation to a specific incident had led to the arrest of an individual suspected of driving whilst under the influence of alcohol. Here the police had acted upon information provided, intercepting the individual in question before they had concluded their journey (see the following section for more on this particular incident). Similarly, during one observation of the Shomrim:

I was informed by a participant that the initiative had received word from local police that their recent contributions had amounted to improvements in burglary rates, at a 'particularly difficult' time of year. The participant attributed this success to their frequent visible presence, and to their ability to quickly forward information to the police (via the WhatsApp group) after receiving it from local people (Shomrim, 6th December 2017).

Information gathered and shared by the Street Angels was also utilised to prevent potential crime, disorder, and anti-social behaviour – albeit the police were noticeably not the principal beneficiaries of this activity. Instead, information was largely provided to, and received from, door staff working within the contexts of the NTE via the BACIL radio network previously described in Chapter Six. By utilising this network, participants were able to liaise with pub and club staff about specific individuals and groups who it was felt required Street Angels attention, or who appeared intoxicated to the extent that their entry into venues should not be permitted. In order to provide this information, Street Angels participants described the appearances of individuals, those in groups, and provided information regarding the direction each was proceeding towards. Noticeably, during busy periods the self-imposed duty to communicate about such matters became challenging for the Street Angels participants to fulfil – indeed on various occasions participants would have to request that door staff repeat information after delays during which they were committed to other matters. Yet these delays aside, the radio network represented a largely effective format for sharing information which both door staff and participants could subsequently act upon, as demonstrated by the following example:

A radio request came through, from a member of door staff at a local venue. Participants were asked to attend to a young female, who had been sat alone, vomiting. As they interacted with her, she appeared both clear and coherent. She thanked the patrollers for attending but said that she did not require any assistance. The participants again repeated their offer but following a further decline for assistance returned to the door staff who had requested their assistance. They informed the door staff that the female had insisted she did not require help but asked if they could ‘keep an eye on her’ to see if her condition deteriorated. They informed the door staff that they would return at a time later in the evening, to check that the female had left. As the patrollers left, one communicated over the BACIL radio that the matter had been dealt with as ‘the Street Angels were happy that the young female was in a fit enough to state to be left alone’ (SA, 6th October 2017).

Across the case studies, the initiatives were credited with providing information that led to the identification of problematic spaces, or hotspots, that police subsequently put further resource into, or that participants themselves patrolled more frequently. These examples, whilst recognising some of the limitations outlined above, and despite difficulties in verifying the extent and impact of such activities, appear to lend weight to the argument that the provision of information about suspicious activity or disorderly behaviour may serve to reduce crime indirectly (Clarke and Hough, 1984: 10). Clearly though, a positive contribution of this nature relies upon the police ability to interpret and act upon information received. The extent to which this is and should be done from the perspective of police organisations is discussed further in Chapter Nine.

8.4. Audiences of citizen patrols

8.4.1. Defining and distinguishing audiences

All three patrol initiatives engaged with, and on behalf of, a range of local people, communities and institutions whilst fulfilling their functions. These patrol ‘audiences’ inhabited the spaces the patrols operated in for different reasons – some lived or worked within them, whilst others frequented them less consistently, such as for the purposes of leisure or entertainment. As with the patrol activities, this suggests that environment very much shaped the profile of audiences – whilst the rural and

residential settings of the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim featured much larger numbers of people who lived within those spaces, the environment that the Street Angels operated within featured greater numbers of people who were within the areas for the purposes of spending time in the NTE. Evidently, this carries implications for senses of familiarity between participants and those they interacted with, as discussed from the perspective of the former in Chapter Seven. To suggest though, that audiences merely comprised those who the participants came into contact with during their patrols, would be misleading. Indeed, audiences also comprised those members of communities that participants rarely or never came into contact with during the course of their activities. Instead, these individuals and groups engaged, and – as will become clear – influenced the patrols in profound ways, raising questions about specific interests the patrols served, as well as the extent to which provision was delivered fairly and equitably. The remainder of the chapter thus focuses upon those who participants interacted with directly during their patrols first, and those who engaged and experienced them in an indirect fashion thereafter.

8.4.2. Direct audiences: care, control, confusion?

The frequency of participant interactions with individuals and groups varied depending upon how patrols were conducted (see Figure 8.1.), and the specific environments earlier outlined in Chapter Six. The majority of interaction across the case studies was of an informal and friendly nature, often initiated by modest requests for assistance with the time, directions, or the instigating of general conversations about everyday life. A noticeable number of those previously familiar with the initiatives also stopped to thank the participants for their contributions. Interaction could however, also take less convivial forms. Whilst less frequent than interactions of a positive nature, Street Angels participants occasionally found themselves approached by members of the public, who – often under the influence of alcohol – would challenge their motivations for participating. These lines of questioning could take particularly intense, even aggressive forms. For example, during one observation:

A (clearly intoxicated) young man became increasingly animated when he declared himself an atheist and commented that 'if god existed, how could he have watched my mum suffer with multiple sclerosis?'. Despite his aggressive

tone, the patrollers prevented the situation escalating by remaining calm in their response, offering an alternative view... when the young man said 'you'll never change my mind', one patroller responded with 'we aren't trying to' (SA, 11th August 2017).

It was clear that some participants felt better equipped to deal with these circumstances than others. Yet all retained a distinct form of informal professionalism, which attempted steps that would deescalate tension – such as switching conversation to more banal themes or suggesting that their presence was required elsewhere in order to break away in a genial fashion.

Engagement between participants and members of the public was not always initiated by the latter. Participants routinely approached individuals and groups of people, most often opting to do so where they believed those in question looked as if they required assistance. Again, activities of this nature were carried out in a largely friendly and informal fashion, and most often received a similarly friendly reply – even in the event that assistance was not required. While the contexts and environments in which both the Rural Watch and Shomrim operated made accepting a decline for assistance relatively straightforward, this was not always the case for Street Angels participants. Operating in environments where individuals were potentially heavily intoxicated, it was not always clear that individuals subject to Street Angels attention were able to make informed choices for themselves. As a result of these circumstances, participants occasionally found themselves struck by a dilemma – they recognised their obligation to respect the rights of individuals to decline their assistance, yet they also felt bound by their duty to assist in the preservation of public welfare and safety. The consequence of this tension was that different participants acted in different ways, in a fashion that reflected varying points on the passive-aggressive continuum outlined in Chapter Two, and further modified as the passive-interventionist continuum earlier in this chapter. At the passive end, some desisted from further direct interaction, opting instead temporarily to leave the area, and return shortly thereafter to check (from a distance) that the individual's condition had not deteriorated further. For others however, these circumstances dictated a need to gain compliance in a more assertive fashion, insisting that their offer of support be accepted in a manner that took the form of a “concerned parent” (as one participant described it). If the

individual continued to resist their intervention, or became aggressive, participants would immediately desist and refer the matter to police in the event it was considered necessary.

In other contexts also, some Street Angels participants demonstrated evidence of a more interventionist, assertive approach where it was considered necessary. During one observation:

Participants approached three young women who, whilst intoxicated, had climbed static large construction equipment. Located in an area that was quiet during night-time hours, the participants considered it unlikely that any police or security staff would be nearby. The Street Angels told them that they felt their actions were dangerous and could result in serious injury. The young women shouted in an aggressive fashion that as 'community officers' participants 'couldn't do anything' to stop them. Realising that they had been mistaken for police staff, the participants identified themselves as Street Angels. Upon hearing this response, the young women immediately climbed back down the equipment, and swiftly apologised for mistaking them for police. They thanked them, and one even proceeded to embrace the participants before they set off (SA, 11th August 2017).

Noteworthy here was how little the Street Angels had said – by invoking their reputation and *disassociating* themselves from the police, they appeared to gain compliance in a seamless and markedly informal fashion. Elsewhere, disassociation from the police was not pursued by the other initiatives. Indeed, whilst it appeared as if distinction from the police worked to the advantage of Street Angels when engaging people, the Shomrim and Rural Watch Patrol seemed to invoke their respective associations with police organisations during public interaction as if these were of benefit. For the Rural Watch Patrol, who operated as a formal NYP initiative, the utility of association was illustrated by the following specific example:

As we drove down the lane, we noticed an empty, locked-up Vauxhall Vectra. It was dark and there was no sign of anyone around/in it, so the participants got out of the car and went to inspect. As they did so, a man appeared from a wooded area, identifying himself as the owner of the

vehicle. The participants identified themselves as 'North Yorkshire Police', and he subsequently provided an account of where he had been and what he had been doing. He was visibly intoxicated, both slurring his words and slouching as he spoke. The man only asked if the participants were police officers following this account and appeared visibly confused when they confirmed that they were not. Nonetheless the participants took this information, said goodbye to him, and left the area. Once out of sight, they notified the Force Control Room that the man was almost certainly over the legal limit of alcohol consumption whilst driving, provided registration details, and it was later confirmed that he had been arrested whilst travelling home (RWP, 6th March 2017).

Meanwhile Shomrim participants, who had developed a loose partnership with GMP (see Chapter 6.4.), were keen to stress that they were supported by the police when engaging with local people and organisations. For instance, during observation on one occasion:

As there was a large [fireworks] event in the area, several roads surrounding Heaton Park had been closed. Private security staff and event stewards were visible at various points, and as we drove past them, the two patrollers pulled up alongside and introduced themselves to a pair. They asked which roads were to be closed, the formal nature of which appeared to catch the stewards by surprise. Nonetheless the stewards provided the requested information, at which point the participants asked [the stewards] if they knew who they were. They replied that they did not. A participant introduced the Shomrim as the local 'community security team' and added that they were patrolling the area 'at the request' of the police (Shomrim, 5th November 2017).

It seems then, that participants utilised contrasting ideas of association or disassociation as a means of attempting to secure compliance and more broadly enhance their legitimacy. The examples discussed appear to suggest that specific approaches taken to this end ultimately reflected how participants believed the police were viewed by such audiences. In the case of the Street Angels, a general wariness amongst predominantly younger people at leisure within the area seemed

to inform the view that disassociation would more likely secure compliance in the event that Street Angels participants issued requests. Conversely, it was believed by participants in both the Shomrim and Rural Watch Patrol that those they were engaged with – in spaces which featured generally older demographics, often with families – were either more likely to view the police favourably or yield to their authority, and as such, invoking connections between themselves and police organisations was seen as useful in improving their standing.

As the examples above appear to suggest however, the nature of these associations and the appearance of participants – wearing high-visibility clothing, and in some cases patrolling in marked vehicles – appeared to create uncertainty about the roles and powers of the participants, and by extension the rights of individuals when engaged by them. This confusion seemed to arise most frequently in the case of the Rural Watch Patrol, reflecting its status as a NYP initiative. Yet it also arose in the case of the Shomrim, whose participants, as the example above suggests, often made reference to the idea that the initiative was ‘supported’ by and operating ‘at the request of’ GMP. Without precise explanation about their role and distinction from officers in particular, participants invoking the police in such a fashion appeared to lead to a blurring between roles, which on more than one occasion resulted in evident public confusion about the participants’ powers and individuals’ rights when engaged by them. Under these conditions, participants were able to ask questions and elicit information that members of the public appeared not to be aware that they had the right to refuse to answer. More broadly, opportunities to ‘opt out’ of such encounters seemed limited, and again informed knowledge of being able to do so was not apparent. It was unclear whether the individuals in question would have disengaged had they been more aware of the limited powers of the participants, or of their rights not to cooperate. Nonetheless the confusion evident during these encounters raises questions about public awareness and knowledge of the initiatives and their participants, regardless of whether the creation of confusion is intentional.

8.4.3. Indirect audiences: a parochial order?

Beyond those who benefited from the citizen patrols as a result of direct contact, various local people and groups appeared to benefit in indirect yet nevertheless significant ways. These ‘indirect’ beneficiaries included those who participants were

familiar with as a result of membership of local faith and interest groups, positions at charitable organisations, or on councils – many of which manifested as tertiary, community-level institutions previously outlined in Chapter Three (also see Hunter, 1995). In the case of both the Street Angels and Shomrim case studies, members of Christian and Jewish organisations (respectively), interacted with participants within different faith-based and broader community settings in order to project their shared vision for ‘doing good’ and enhance the profile of their faith. For the Rural Watch Patrol, contact between participants and specific members of the local community was frequently made at local community forums and meetings, both including and beyond those hosted by the local police. By attending these various institutions and settings and engaging with those who made up the citizen patrols, specific local people and groups were able to express views and receive updates about the patrols’ activities. More significantly, they also provided opportunity for to shape the patrols’ objectives and activities. The data provide evidence that they were able to influence where the participants patrolled – for instance around local businesses or within certain parish borders, along with the types of ‘problems’ that they should be seeking to engage with – for instance around behaviour within the NTE, crimes against business and farmland, and anti-social behaviour, but to name a few. One local person (who also, as a local councillor, served as an external stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol) reflected upon the importance of community meetings and the benefits those who attended would receive in respect of shaping patrol priorities:

“If you’ve got a [crime or social] problem, and you want help... you’ve gotta turn up to the meetings that [the RWP participants] are at... y’know, there are a good number of people, not just the farmers, but locals who come along... and they’ll say to the [participants] ‘this is going on, can you keep an eye’, and they’ll swing by, they’ll do ask you ask... but y’know if you don’t ask, you don’t get, as far as I’m concerned...” (RWS5)

Similarly, influence appeared to be projected through the comments of a local bar manager (who also featured as a Street Angels external stakeholder). This interviewee had met with the Street Angels Coordinator at various local Pubwatch meetings (see Chapter Nine). Though at pains not to convey their expectations as demands, the interviewee nevertheless illustrated a sense of wanting to shape the patrols priorities:

“I try not to set my expectations too high... I don't demand anything... they know what they're doing and they do a great job, especially considering getting the numbers [of participants] is always tricky... but y'know, when I see [the Street Angels coordinator], I do ask if they can keep an eye on my place, and one or two other [pubs and clubs] in particular... if I thought they were going off to other quieter areas, away from our venues... and it was difficult to reach them... then obviously that'd be a bit disappointing” (SAS5)

Meanwhile, a sense of acting upon such influence was offered by a Street Angels participant during interview:

“I guess the bits of town that I kind of enjoy most are the bits where I've known the bouncers [door staff] the longest and there is some relationship there... we know each other to a certain extent... it's rewarding when they call us on the radio... I know that they value our contribution and of course in a way, it's fulfilling what they've kind of come to expect from us, y'know given that we've got close links with a lot of the venues and we know a lot of the people” (RWP1)

Elsewhere, the citizen patrols also relied upon community-level institutions for support around promotion of the initiatives, future membership and further resources – as this comment from a Shomrim participant suggests:

“Seeing some of the neighbours, whether it's at the synagogue or at some of the events the community puts on... I think they're really important... it's really good for spreading the word, looking for new volunteers... there are good people around here who we hope we can encourage to come on board when we see them” (SP4)

With these utilities in mind, the deference that the patrols and their participants showed such institutions and the individuals that comprised them should not be viewed as surprising. Indeed, as has been identified in respect of citizen-led initiatives including Neighbourhood Watch (Skogan, 1988; Hope, 2000), it may be

argued that to certain extents, the citizen patrols existed as *adjuncts* to these institutions, with the latter helping to sustain their continued existence.

None of this is to suggest that such individuals or institutions sought to use the patrols to deleterious ends. Yet by forming a sense of shared identity, and through it projecting visions of *what* citizen patrols should be prioritising, *where* they should be operating, and *how* they should be acting, their influence raises intriguing questions about whose interests the patrols were representing. As Crawford (2006b: 117) has noted, contemporary policing debates have largely neglected questions of whose interests' provision is delivered in, in favour of those that focus upon 'who does what and where'. This development belies the significance of these lines of inquiry, given that such influences present clear implications for fair and even distribution of services. It could not be said of any of the initiatives, as their participants often proclaimed, that each was acting in the interests of 'everyone'. Rather, influenced by the community-level institutions outlined above, the operation of the patrols lends weight to the argument that public spaces are realms served by particular publics for the benefit of other particular publics (Webster, 2002: 398), or 'club realms' in receipt of 'club goods' (Hope, 2000: 98). Previously, these club goods have been illustrated in respect of other community-led initiatives, such as Neighbourhood Watch (Skogan, 1990). Drawing upon these studies, scholars have tended to argue that specific individuals and local groups are likely to benefit disproportionately based upon close proximity to those initiatives (Hope, 2000). Whilst this explanation is useful in theorising the influence of community-level groups in the cases of the Rural Watch Patrol, and at least partially the residential spaces that the Shomrim patrolled, proximity alone does not offer an adequate explanation for sources of club membership across the totality of the case studies. Perhaps a more fitting characterisation, given deeper senses of identity and belonging and the influences that these helped to facilitate, is that club membership was also formed along *social* and *cultural* lines, which in turn helped to shape specific values and beliefs about what patrol objectives should be and how those should be delivered.

By carrying out their activities according to these specific values and beliefs, the participants acted in accordance with a generally settled view about how people should behave and go about their business within the settings in question. Just as in the case of expected standards of behaviour within mass private property subject to

private security provision (see Chapter 4.4), these expectations were demonstrably different to the standards projected through any legal provision, the basis upon which the public police would ordinarily operate. Instead, the patrols and the participants appeared to be shaping a *moral*, or *parochial* order, as alluded to by a Street Angels participant during interview:

“[Prior to volunteering as a participant] I’d never really been round a big city late on a Saturday night, early Sunday... I was told that there was an African student that was taken down into central Leeds to see the sights, and she looked at all the girls and she said to her host, “are they all prostitutes?”... now things have improved... but it was a bit of a shock to start with... to see all the crowds around chanting and the hen parties... I think I’ve seen more yardage of female thigh than ever before in my life... as a Christian I see them as sheep without a shepherd... they are people that need someone to get alongside them and get a bit of help, and, sometimes be a bit sterner, encourage them to take responsibility” (SAPAT4)

The comment above suggests that mere compliance with the law was not sufficient to satisfy or gain the approval of the participant in question. Instead, the need to take greater responsibility appeared to arise from simply partaking within the NTE, in a fashion that was considered to fall below the standards of participants – as influenced by the social and cultural ties outlined above. Elsewhere, the idea of a parochial order was also visible through the example of the Shomrim case study, as the field note below sets out:

Participants discussed potential extensions to the overall area covered by the initiative. Several possible extensions were cited, but participants had noticeably different views about whether specific extensions should take place. One held that recruitment of new members across the extended areas would be unsuccessful, and if this was so, then the areas should not be entitled to the services of the Shomrim. Another noted that some of the extended areas featured increasingly large numbers of individuals who were not of the Jewish faith. This was problematic as for many, participation reflected a need to uphold standards according to faith-based values and beliefs, and the need to protect the local Jewish community from

victimisation that participants felt it was at particular risk of (Shomrim, 5th November 2017).

The sentiment inherent within these misgivings reflects arguments that people are prepared to protect only their immediate areas and vicinity (see Shapland and Vagg, 1988; Lowman, 1992). It represents not only a clubbing of goods including both inclusion and exclusion from those clubs, but also again illustrates the intentions of the participants to deliver a service that amounted to an increasingly parochial order, based upon specific social and cultural sensibilities.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a series of insights into the activities of citizen patrols. It began by outlining examples of activities delivered as a response to perceived threats – carried out with the intention of deterring, disrupting or even bringing about forms of resolution to low-level crimes and anti-social behaviour. The data suggest that these activities were undertaken by a variety of means, reflecting participants' interpretation of situations before them, and their willingness to move from passive to active forms of intervention. Whilst there was evidence that each of the patrols could move from one end of a 'passive-interventionist' continuum to the other, both the Street Angels and the Rural Watch Patrol demonstrated greater reluctance about actively engaging others – instead relying upon a high visibility presence and observation. By comparison, the Shomrim appeared much more comfortable about instigating active intervention in order to bring about resolution to problems.

Meanwhile, each of the initiatives also engaged in activities that amounted to responses to broader examples of vulnerability. These efforts at offering reassurance and improving welfare often manifested as a result of a high-visibility presence exhibited in public spaces during patrols, but also sometimes took the form of agreed and pre-planned community visits in the cases of both the Rural Watch Patrol and the Shomrim. A high-visibility presence did not appear a pre-condition for reassurance in all cases however – indeed, for some local citizens simply knowing that the patrols were in operation satisfied their needs. Specific welfare activities were particularly evident in the work of the Street Angels as participants went about assisting those considered vulnerable in the NTE, but it was

also evident in the residential patrols of the Shomrim, and in the animal and wildlife efforts of the Rural Watch Patrol. At face value, these appeared useful in the sense of reducing various forms of vulnerability and relieving pressure on other policing actors and institutions. Degrees of benefit also appeared evident as a result of the participants' information gathering and sharing activities, and the roles they performed as information brokers. Yet as the discussion has indicated, caution should be exercised about over-emphasising such benefits – for not only might they create *new* pressures on policing organisations, as a result of either having to attend to additional matters brought about by the work of participants or handling and acting upon more information (for more on police views about these issues, see the following chapter), but they may be undermined by longstanding and credible arguments that question whether simply adding further uniformed presence into spaces results in greater reassurance – or indeed results in a reverse effect.

After outlining and discussing the implications of these activities, the chapter considered the various 'audiences' of the citizen patrols. These were characterised as audiences that either directly engaged or indirectly benefited from the patrols. Those directly engaged comprised individuals and groups that the participants encountered during the course of their patrols. The data illustrated that these represented a diverse range of people – from those predominantly young people frequenting the NTE in the case of the Street Angels, to residents and non-residents operating within the rural and suburban spaces patrolled by both the Rural Watch and Shomrim respectively. The participants appeared to engage each of these in efforts to either provide care or exert various levels of control, but noticeably did so in a composed fashion, adapting tone where necessary yet refraining from approaches that threatened escalation. There appeared, however, some confusion on the part of those engaged as to the identity, objectives and activities of the participants. Indeed, on occasion individuals visibly struggled to distinguish Rural Watch Patrol participants from police officers. Where this occurred, those engaged seemed largely unaware of their rights, forfeiting information at will, as if being questioned by an officer. Meanwhile, of the indirect audiences that benefited, the data highlighted that these included local people that made up various tertiary-level institutions, such as community and faith groups, local councils and business networks – many of whom interacted with participants through sharing common membership of these organisations. The data also suggest that through interaction

in these settings, and as a result of the specific forms of additional support they were able to offer the citizen patrols, these local and people and institutions were able to project significant influence over both their objectives and activities, even creating a sense of obligation where some participants were concerned. This raises questions about the fair and even spread of provision, as well as the appropriateness of an increasingly moral, or parochial order that exceeded legal expectations in public settings.

Chapter Nine

Stakeholder relationships and perceptions of citizen patrols

9.1. Introduction

Having outlined and discussed the activities and audiences of citizen patrols, this chapter considers perceptions about the initiatives from of a range of external stakeholders, as well as insights into the relationships that enabled and shaped the patrols. As Chapter Six described, the support each of the initiatives received from a range of public and private interests was significant. Most notably, each benefited from funding, resources and other commitments from stakeholders, whether the result of successful applications for funds made publicly available or achieved on a bespoke basis following closed discussions between the two parties. Beyond these forms of support, other stakeholder organisations and practitioners – specifically public police and private security – engaged with participants in an operational capacity, maintaining channels of communication with the participants and either working with or alongside them in order to achieve specific goals. As the discussion below demonstrates, providing support was considered important by this diverse mix of stakeholders, not least because the objectives of the patrols were often mutually agreed and – as discussed in the previous chapter – served the interests of the stakeholders themselves. As such, their views are significant – in the sense of enhancing understanding of the specific orientation of patrols and the relationships that underpin them, but also by offering insights into the future development of patrols and matters linked to their long-term sustainability (see Chapter 2.5).

By engaging in discussion about the relationships between the citizen patrols and various other providers of policing and community safety, this chapter situates itself within inter-institutional contexts, adopting a more holistic approach towards ‘security governance’ (Johnston and Shearing, 2003) through networks and coalitions (Fleming, 2006). These arguments – and indeed the comments offered by stakeholders within the discussion that follows – are characterised by the notion that the underlying causes that result in crime problems and vulnerability are far beyond the reach of the public police, and that there is, as Crawford and L’Hoiry (2017: 638)

have noted, 'no single agency solution to the multi-faceted nature of causes and effects'. Instead, a complex array of institutions, actors and processes, each characterised by unique agendas, competencies and capabilities provide functions and services that may serve to either complement or conflict with one another. These realities present challenges for drawing together and harnessing the resources, capacities and knowledge of each party, such that they can contribute positively to reductions in problems and improvements in wellbeing and safety. Unsurprisingly then, it is precisely these challenges that have become the subject of increasing scholarly focus in recent years (e.g. Sampson et al., 1988; Crawford, 1994; Crawford, 1997; Crawford and Cunningham, 2015). The findings of these studies have produced a series of familiar narratives about the characteristics of parties who work with one another within policing and community safety networks, most notably those of the public police (e.g. Loftus, 2010; Reiner, 2010), but also to a lesser extent of private security (Nalla and Hummer, 1999; Hobbs et al., 2003). This chapter draws upon these insights and examines their usefulness as it presents findings on perceptions of stakeholders along with the manners in which they engaged with the citizen patrols.

What follows is organised into six sections. The first, a foundation for the remainder of the chapter, outlines the diverse range of public and private organisations that connected with the citizen patrols (more in-depth coverage of this is offered in Chapter Six). The second, third and fourth sections then discuss stakeholder perceptions about the citizen patrols, drawing upon interview data that reflects upon purposes and objectives, activities and attributes, public engagement and impacts. Towards the end of this latter section, some discussion is offered for the evidence base (or lack thereof) that shaped beliefs about impacts in particular. The fifth section of the chapter, which draws upon both interview and observation data, offers insights into the different relationships the citizen patrols developed with stakeholders, and presents a series of implications that emerge as a result. Finally, the sixth section focuses upon stakeholder reflections about future prospects for the patrols and collaboration.

9.2. The profiles of stakeholders

Citizen patrol stakeholders consisted of different individuals, groups and organisations from both public and private settings. Many of these were introduced earlier in Chapter Six, which set out the various ways that patrols connected with them. Stakeholders engaged with the patrols in different ways and to fulfil different purposes. For some, citizen patrols objectives reflected or amounted to protection of their own interests, and as such, various forms of financial or resource-based support were pledged. Examples of stakeholders that fitted this profile included local parish council members in the case of the Rural Watch Patrol, and local business owners in the case of the Street Angels. Local PCCs also provided forms of financial support to both of these case studies. The frequency of engagement between these and the patrols was for the most part modest. Indeed, interaction typically occurred only on rare occasions when formal progress updates were required (as stipulated within funding conditions), or where further funding was being sought. There was no evidence of any interaction between the Shomrim and its most significant financial supporter – the National Lottery (see Chapter Six).

Whilst limited contact took place between the patrols and stakeholders described above, all had formed relationships with local police that resulted in greater levels of contact. These were though developed within different levels of formal partnership. The Rural Watch Patrol's relationship with the police was couched within its status as a NYP initiative. This made establishing connections with police officers and staff within their local areas – including PCSOs, police constables, sergeants and inspectors – generally easier, both remotely (via email) and in person whilst occupying the same local police station. In these conditions, participants came to know local staff and officers increasingly well – indeed many were on first name terms with one another. Meanwhile the Shomrim had developed similarly close connections with police that were part of the local Neighbourhood Policing Team and broader division, though they had done so without the presence of any formal agreement between the two. Local police had however, pledged funding on the condition of fulfilling shared goals in an appropriate fashion (see the following section). Crucially, the residential nature of the spaces that both the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim operated within featured fewer officers and smaller neighbourhood policing teams, and so building connections was altogether easier.

By contrast, the Street Angels exhibited the most distant relationship with police of the three initiatives. In this case study, contact at a strategic level was largely confined to infrequent interaction at CSP meetings. Unsurprisingly, interaction between participants and police more often took place during patrols, when police were on operational duty. That said, it was rare that the same individual officers engaged with the participants during each patrol. This was because most police officers were drafted in from outlying districts to cover the NTE on a week-by-week basis, meaning that personnel invariably changed on each occasion the Street Angels operated. As a result, officers were less familiar with the individuals who made up patrol teams. Indeed, more familiar with Street Angels at both an organisational and personal level were pub and club door staff, who were less likely to be rotated and thus encountered participants on a more consistent basis.

9.3. Perceptions of patrol purposes and objectives

Stakeholders' interpretations of the purposes and objectives of the citizen patrols generally reflected those set out by the initiatives and participants (see Chapters Six and Seven respectively). Foremost amongst objectives cited were those linked to reducing crime and improving community safety, which one local councillor identified in respect of the Rural Watch Patrol:

“Helping out with some of the problems we’ve had around here, y’know, reducing theft, stopping poaching... that’s a big part of it... but in a way just the fact that we know they’re about... it just makes everyone feel a lot safer... a lot happier... I mean most of us aren’t even up when they’re out there... and y’know, they do that very intentionally” (RWS5)

Similar sentiment was echoed by a local police inspector in the case of the Shomrim:

“I see them as having that twin role really... they’ve got that aim to work with [the police], to deal with specific problems... crime, anti-social behaviour, and the like... but they’re also really good at providing that reassurance, in the more general sense... and we know the two aren’t always linked, crime

and fear of crime... so providing both of those things is important” (Shomrim Stakeholder [SS] 3)

By contrast, Street Angels stakeholders generally made far less reference to purposes and objectives linked to crime and anti-social behaviour. Instead, they focused much more specifically on objectives linked to notions of vulnerability, as this comment from a local business owner suggests:

“They [Street Angels] support the vulnerable... they’re able to assist with something like helping them get a taxi home, giving them water, just having a chat with them and just making them feel comfortable... I think they probably do also have an impact on crime but they probably wouldn’t set themselves up as out to deal with that sort of thing... but ultimately it’s about preventing other bad things that can happen” (Street Angels Stakeholder [SAS] 2)

The respective emphasis placed upon crime control and responding to broader notions of vulnerability reflected the different balances articulated within the objectives of each patrol. For instance, the comments about the Shomrim’s dual aims above bear a noticeable similarity to those of ‘making streets and homes safer places to live and work’, and the ‘prevention, protection, and tackling of crime and anti-social behaviour against persons or property’ (Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, 2017: 2). Similarly, the dual aims of the Rural Watch Patrol alluded to above are also reflected in those provided by the initiative and its participants as part of its sponsorship case presented to the NYP Police and Crime Commissioner (Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for North Yorkshire, 2014). The clear emphasis upon vulnerability in the comment regarding the Street Angels is reflected within the initiative’s certificate of incorporation as a private limited company, which sets out to ‘support, care [for] and treat persons in need’, with no explicit reference to responding to crime or deviant behaviours (see Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, 2010).

Beyond the headline objectives of reducing crime, improving safety and safeguarding against vulnerability, some interviewees also articulated objectives

related to improving links between communities and police. One Rural Watch Patrol stakeholder, from the North Yorkshire PCC's office, reflected:

“[The Rural Watch Patrol is] partly about empowerment and community engagement... we're very keen on their aims to work with the police and others, to bring people together... some cops have an understanding of what happens in rural communities, but when you ask local people 'do the police understand what you need?', the results are pretty disappointing... fear of crime is very high... but the more involved people are the less they have those feelings and the more police learn about that area... so that's a key aim of the Rural Watch Patrol and we really support that” (RWS7)

For others, these stated objectives to improve relations between participants, communities and policing organisations also fed into attempts to support the latter in their efforts to bring effective resolution to problems. One police stakeholder in the Street Angels commented:

“There's that relationship [between participants, police and door staff]... they set out very clearly to assist the police and the door staff... they [police and door staff] can call them when they've got something low key that needs dealing with... and if something [participants] encounter needs additional presence they can call for that help... that role they set out, to look after people that emergency services would be tied up with looking after... it's invaluable” (SAS8)

The fact that stakeholders of all types appeared to convey an understanding of objectives reflected by those set out by the patrols should not be considered surprising. Whilst some stakeholders, such as police and door staff, came into more frequent contact with the patrols and thus were able to form more informed judgements about what their purposes were, others who came into contact with them less frequently, but provided strategic forms of support (as outlined in Chapter Six), were able to influence these as a result of providing that support. Indeed, factors such as the mutually agreed setting of objectives, and requirements that the initiatives fulfilled these in a fashion considered appropriate by those stakeholders,

were sometimes considered pre-conditions of funding – as one police stakeholder in the Shomrim made clear:

“You can never say these things with certainty... especially with money the way it is... but I’d have thought [the Shomrim will] probably continue to receive [financial] contributions from us in the future, and training... but of course that would be subject to clear agreement between us on what it is that they should be doing... and that everything is being done to the highest standards, which in my time here has always been the case” (SS3)

Comment of a similar nature was offered by another local councillor stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol:

“When [the Rural Watch Patrol] came to us and asked for [funding], obviously they set out what they wanted to do... and we chatted about that with them, made sure that we were on the same wavelength about some of the problems around [the area], what the priorities should be... then once that was agreed, [providing funding] was an easy decision really...” (RWS6)

The inference made here is that stakeholders would provide broader support to the patrols on the basis of coming to an agreement about what their objectives should be. Where these represented public organisations, this influence appeared a useful means of attempting to align the objectives and activities of initiatives with organisational and broader public good needs. It allowed the police, for instance, the opportunity to harness what officers and staff considered the best of the patrols (see Chapter 9.5.), whilst also safeguarding against some of the initiatives’ potentially more deleterious characteristics and impacts. Beyond public organisations though, where stakeholders represented *private* organisations and networks, the implications of this influence seem potentially more problematic. As was raised towards the end of the previous chapter in respect of local people who benefited from the patrols, the presence of such influence presents implications about whether connections of this nature amounted to the furtherance of specific private interests (Hope, 2000; Webster, 2002). It raises questions about appropriateness, and as importantly, whether these might actively *disadvantage* other people outside of those interest groups. Regardless of whether they did so,

the question of whether the influence of these and the interests they represent can be reconciled with providing fair provision that local populations at large could benefit from, remains.

9.4. Perceptions of patrol activities and attributes

Beyond evident familiarity with the patrols' objectives, stakeholders also articulated views about what the participants spent the majority of their time doing. Some 'strategic' stakeholders were keen to emphasise that their lack of consistent contact made being sure of what participants did difficult. Nonetheless interviewees across the case studies were happy to commit to accounts, many of which alluded to the idea (as referenced throughout this study) that activities ultimately comprised a series of straightforward, everyday undertakings. As one police interviewee suggested of the Rural Watch Patrol:

“They go out and do the basic stuff... eyes and ears, letting [the police] know if they spot anything that seems a bit unusual... but it's really low-key... y'know, they're not going up to people and getting stuck in, they're keeping their distance, just as Joe Bloggs would... they're not doing it with the powers... they don't really get that much training... I suppose a lot of people would say it's boring [laughs]...” (RWS2)

The idea of 'low-key' activities was also illustrated by a bar manager who acted as a stakeholder in the Street Angels via the BACIL network:

“Being seen is probably the biggest thing for [the Street Angels]... I mean no doubt they deal with a few problems, there'll always be a few people who go too far and need help... but is it as chaotic as some people think it is? It's got a lot better in the last few years, so I think a lot of it is just maintaining that, putting on a friendly face, answering questions... basic stuff” (SAS6)

These views were also shared by a local inspector in the Shomrim case study, who alluded to the 'mobile scarecrow' properties of the patrols (Crawford et al., 2005: 57):

“I don’t think it’s rocket science really, and it shouldn’t be... they’re patrolling in their cars, on foot... they’ve got the hi-visibility jackets on, so people can see them... people can approach them if they’ve got questions or what have you... and of course if [the participants have got] any problems they can call on [the police]... how much they actually come into contact with people I’m not so sure... they might do if they’re supporting [the police] with events, but on evenings it’s probably not a great deal” (SS3)

In keeping with the comments offered by Rural Watch Patrol participants in Chapter Six, one Parish Councillor familiar with the initiative even alluded to the mundane realities of the patrols. They commented:

“I really credit them, they’re a great bunch of guys... I know I wouldn’t be out there doing that, and not just because of the odd hours... no doubt it’s quite boring too... I mean I’ve heard that they’ve spotted the odd thing here and there, but the chances of seeing something... lots of quiet nights, I should imagine” (RWS6)

Yet despite this characterisation of activities as low-key and mundane, the vast majority of interviewees appeared to hold the view that the patrols provided an altogether unique service that was different from those provided by other policing actors and institutions. The precise basis upon which this distinction was drawn varied in responses depending upon the case study. In the case of the Street Angels, interviewees again tended to draw on the specific focus of vulnerability, as this comment from a Street Angels stakeholder representing the local PCC’s office suggests:

“They’re very obviously not out there to be the police, do police jobs... and that’s actually important... you wouldn’t want them to be... it’s unique... yes they’re an additional presence in the city centre, and the police also contribute to a safer environment for everybody... but with them [the Street Angels] they don’t have the powers, they don’t have that police training... they’ve not got that reputation that door staff sometimes have... and I think some of the regular night-time revellers really buy into that, because they’re not the police... they’re just local people, trying to help” (SAS7)

Meanwhile a local councillor stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol distinguished the activities of the initiative from those of the public police and cast it as an asset by reflecting upon the consistency of the personnel involved, along with enhanced knowledge of the local area. As within the comments of participant interviewees, the sentiment bore some similarities to that broadly argued by proponents of informal justice (e.g. Abel, 1980; Christie, 1982) (see Chapter 2.2.3.).

“I think they’re [the RWP] unlike anything else we’ve had really... they know the area... the police don't necessarily know the area... they don't know the people... but then it also gives us consistency... PCSOs and PCs come and go... none of them [are] from this area, they wouldn't have a clue... if you said ‘where is somebody likely you to go poaching?’, they wouldn't have a clue, they probably wouldn't know what a field was [laughs]... y’know, biggest landowner, second biggest... they wouldn't have a clue where he lives or where his land was... whereas the guys that are local to here, will know exactly where it is... if somebody rings up, they'll be straight there, whereas [the police would] be sat there pissing about and wouldn't have a clue...” (RWS5)

‘Uniqueness’ then, was conceived in different ways. Whilst some interviewees focused upon differences between initiatives and the public police, others focused upon specific attributes that allowed the participants to undertake similar activities that both delivered differently, or possibly even, activities that they delivered more effectively – as the above quotation suggests in relation to enhanced levels of local knowledge. Taken as a collective, the premise that appears to underpin these views reflects arguments that attest to the qualities of informal mechanisms of social control (see Jacobs, 1961; Newman, 1972; Kelling and Wilson, 1982), most often delivered by civil society and as defined and discussed in the earlier chapters of the study. Their views reflected ideas advanced in Chapter Four – that there is specific and unique benefit in low-level crime control and community safety functions being delivered by communities, within communities (Nelken, 1985), and that as significantly, there is a limit to what both the state and the market can provide in terms of fulfilling people’s needs (for a discussion around the limits of the state, see Chapter 4.3.1., and Garland, 1996). Neither the police nor door staff carried the

volunteer status that endeared the Street Angels to those frequenting the NTE; and neither could they compete with the participants in terms of becoming immersed within local settings across significant periods of time, or developing intimate knowledge of local areas and people in the more residential settings of the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim.

Whilst interviewees conceived of the citizen patrols as unique, many also acknowledged that cuts to frontline policing (see Chapter 3.3.5.) were drawing participants towards ‘filling gaps’ that the police could no longer fill. Some – most noticeably those stakeholders within police organisations – presented a sense of relief that such support was on offer:

“[The police] can’t look past the fact that [the Shomrim] are particularly useful when more is having to be done with less [personnel and resources]... there are certain jobs that they can do... like missing persons, or providing extra presence where there are problems with anti-social behaviour for instance... sure, more officers would be nice, but needs must...” (SS3)

Despite acknowledging this utility, the idea that patrols should be used to such ends was almost universally viewed as unfortunate. Alluding to the Rural Watch Patrol’s principal role as mobile scarecrows (Crawford et. al., 2005: 57), one local councillor stakeholder suggested:

“They’re not the police... they’re purely a deterrent, y’know... sure, if they could ride a big van with flashing lights on then they would probably be an even bigger deterrent still, but that isn’t the right thing to have... if they wanted to volunteer as police officers, they’d be specials... it’s supposed to be about people in the community getting together... it’d be a shame to lose that if it all got too strict [formal]” (RWS5)

Another interviewee, representing the local PCC’s office in the Rural Watch Patrol case study, developed this idea by arguing that to conceive of the participants as gap-fillers or as ‘more important’ during austerity was to do them a disservice, overlooking the initiative’s potential as an asset in relation to local knowledge, and underestimating their utility during relative periods of prosperity:

“I actually think it’s unfair to cast them as this group of people who just fill in when the police aren’t about... they’re not a reserve... there will always be a need, I think there’s maybe more emphasis on that aspect now because the police could cope better without them before... but from a community engagement perspective, and in terms of having people involved who live and work in those areas... who know those areas... that really hasn’t got anything to do with numbers of officers” (RWS7)

These comments suggest a hesitancy about using participants as cover for police activities considered more specialist or advanced than the ‘low-key’ examples outlined above. The risk, as the stakeholders saw it, was that a shift from walking, watching, listening, and engaging with people in a non-specialist fashion, to deployment in situations that the initiatives were neither established to respond to nor had the necessary skill sets to negotiate. Indeed, this appeared to inform a fear that the very *raison d’être* of the patrols would be undermined, by forcing a change of priorities and potentially the largely cordial nature of engagement with other members of the community. There was, as a number of interviewees suggested, a need to maintain distinction between the citizen patrols and other forms of police volunteering such as the Special Constabulary. Noticeably, these views also reflected the sentiment of participants as discussed in Chapter Seven, who demonstrated little enthusiasm for involvement in other police activities beyond that which they already provided – and neither indeed for increased powers or responsibilities, as has been found in other studies of police volunteering (e.g. Millie, 2019).

Whilst there was much agreement between stakeholders about what the activities of the citizen patrols should consist of, a noteworthy distinction in views between police and non-police stakeholders emerged about who could – and *should* – partake in patrols. Non-police stakeholders generally held the view that the patrols should be inclusive and open to all members of the community who wanted to participate, as this response suggests:

“I know [the Rural Watch Patrol] are always looking for new people to join... in fact I think they’ve just taken on some new people recently... I’d

encourage anyone to sign up... at the end of the day it's for the entire community... they get the funding on that basis... it's not tricky work, so there shouldn't be lots of restrictions on who can and can't help out" (RWS6)

By contrast, those police stakeholders who came into contact with the patrols during their activities exercised a greater sense of caution about membership. Reflecting upon the work of the Street Angels, one police interviewee suggested that the specific conditions of the NTE made delivering activities particularly challenging, and that it required both an enhanced sense of duty and a greater capacity for restraint:

"In an ideal world everyone would do it... but the reality is different... Leeds is a difficult place on a Friday and Saturday night... that's not to say it's a no go area, far from it... but the [Street Angels], y'know, they have to get involved with some pretty horrible stuff at times... and they just smile through it... it's not just the youngsters being sick or what have you... it's the ones that give 'em a bit of stick or get a bit too close, even if it's just for a hug or whatever... there's a certain level of restraint there... you've got to be able to keep your cool... it takes a particular type of person... y'know, you've got to have a real commitment to it, have good reasons for doing it... they're brilliant, but nah, I wouldn't be encouraging just anyone to do it" (SAS8)

Similar views about the need for participants who could exercise restraint was offered by a Shomrim police stakeholder:

"We're blessed to have them, they're absolutely the right people for the job... it would be nice to have a few more, but if you asked me would I rather have a smaller number that we can trust, it's a no brainer... we can't be left constantly worrying about what they're up to just because the wrong person has been taken on..." (SS2)

Meanwhile, reflecting upon a particularly challenging experience working with one participant who evidently did not exhibit the character traits expected by the stakeholder or their organisation, another police interviewee linked to the Rural Watch Patrol commented:

“[The participant] were a nightmare... he thought he were a police officer... the [other participants] would tell me that he’d go out and follow cars around, pull people over... and so we had to give [the participant] a talking to... [they] didn’t last much longer, and we’ve never had any other problems, but it does show that you’ve really got to make sure you’ve got the right people for the job” (RWS1)

It seems then, that whilst non-police stakeholders carried a vision for greater involvement and inclusivity across communities at large, police stakeholder views about the realities of patrols, the environments in which they were delivered, and their need to be able to ‘trust’ participants rendered such an ambition unlikely. Indeed, given the revelation in the previous quotation that the participant who was considered to have acted inappropriately “didn’t last much longer”, it is possible that these views influenced the demographic profile of membership in each of the case studies (as outlined in Chapter Six); characterised by generally older people, many of whom had developed long-standing prominent profiles within their various communities or had existing connections with other local institutions. Arguably, it also reflects the ideas of exclusivity and ‘club membership’ (Hope, 2000), as discussed in Chapter Eight.

9.5. Perceptions of patrol public engagement, reception and impact

Given these police views about citizen patrol membership and the profiles they reflected – particularly within the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim case studies – it was perhaps unsurprising that interviewees struggled to provide examples of participants acting inappropriately beyond the single instance previously described. Asked if they were concerned about the chances of participants delivering their activities in a fashion considered inappropriate, interviewees were generally very dismissive. As one police officer in the Shomrim case stated:

“It really doesn’t enter my thinking all that much to be honest... they know what they [the Shomrim] can and can’t do... we’ve set out where that line has to be drawn... y’know, it’s not worth it, putting themselves in danger... and they know that we would obviously take a certain view of that as well...

there's some wise heads in the group, they've been doing it a long time... they'd know better than that" (SS1)

Another police stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol even drew upon examples of popular narratives of citizen patrols – many of them alluded to in the earlier chapters of this study – as enigmatic and as amounting to little more than examples of vigilantism (Johnston, 1992), and contrasted these with what they perceived as the realities of the initiatives' activities:

"I know people on the outside might say 'oh it's nothing more than a bunch of old do-gooder locals taking the law into their own hands', but that really couldn't be any further from the truth... I don't know how many times [Rural Watch Patroller 1] has said to me 'we wouldn't dream of getting involved in anything', and I know they wouldn't... they just keep their eyes peeled, take a record, and let us know if need be... nothing more than that..." (RWS4)

Despite rare acknowledgement of these popular narratives however, stakeholders presented a generally clear view that the participants were for the most part well-received by local communities. interviewees offered explanations for this that struck a notable similarity with those observations set out regarding the 'audiences' of patrols in Chapter Eight, with Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim stakeholders articulating the view that the public were receptive to participants because they subscribed to the perennial demand for more policing and security (Loader, 1997a) (see Chapter Three). It was hinted by one Rural Watch Patrol stakeholder that in these conditions, people would be receptive, whatever form the provision took:

"Folk round here think [the Rural Watch Patrol is] brilliant... I haven't come across anyone who's negative about it... at the end of the day, people round here aren't stupid... they're seeing less and less [police] about... and y'know, you could say people will never be happy... but anything that anyone else is doing, whether it's [the Rural Watch Patrol] or something else... the locals are really upbeat about it, and that's a good thing y'know, it's helpful..." (RWS3)

Meanwhile, in a fashion that again bore some similarity to observations presented in the previous chapter, stakeholders in the Street Angels reflected – with striking degrees of honesty – that the participants were well received because they were *not* the police or private security:

“I mean, people like [the Street Angels] more than us [[laughs]... us lot working the doors, we’ve got a bit of a reputation, which I don’t think is very fair... I mean weeks and weeks will go by without anything happening, and then, y’know... it can be really hard at times... sometimes you’ll just be telling someone to go home and you get comments like ‘leave her alone’, or ‘what are you doing, they’re not doing anything wrong’... and then the Street Angels come along... and because of who they are, and the way they are... all of a sudden people are like ‘oh yeah, maybe I should go home’, or ‘okay yeah, they might need help’... we should be so lucky for that kind of response” (SAS3)

Interviewees were similarly united in their belief that participants, despite at times operating in challenging environments, were not at any greater risk of becoming victims themselves. Whilst some attributed this to the aforementioned positivity that most people held towards the initiatives – their reception was such that being victimised was considered highly unlikely – other stakeholders that worked with participants during their patrols reflected that this risk was reduced by the fact that they would support, or indeed even act to defend those who felt or were threatened:

“I’ve never known [the Shomrim] to have any problems, to get any stick... I mean they might have done, but it’s not very likely... they’re really highly regarded within the community, they’ve worked really hard to build what they’ve got... and so I suppose if anything did ever happen, we’d be there like a shot... y’know, it’s like backing up one of your own... we wouldn’t stand for it” (SS2).

The latter part of this comment, offered by a police stakeholder within the Shomrim case study, suggests a sense of comradeship between themselves and the patrol participants – in which the latter are viewed as ‘one of the team’. Arguably, for at least some stakeholders, it represents a closeness that transcends the continuum of

encouragement-opposition presented in Chapter One, and instead reflects a belief in the idea that both should actively support and look out for the interests of one another (Kakalik and Wildhorn, 1971). In doing so, these views also hint at the nature of the relationships that underpinned notions of togetherness, which are discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

The positivity that characterised the activities and delivery of the citizen patrols appeared to rest on a series of assumptions about the various impacts each was producing in relation to crime problems and community safety. Many stakeholders were forthcoming about their limited knowledge in this regard, whilst some reflected upon this by discussing inherent problems around measuring effectiveness:

“Does it [the Rural Watch Patrol] have a positive impact? I think it probably does... though the truth is it’s hard to disaggregate the difference that makes, and the difference all the other things you’re doing makes... it’s that old thing about cause and effect... but then again that’s the same problem we face with lots of different things that we introduce, and it doesn’t stop us from doing those...” (RWS7)

Recognising this challenge, some stakeholders simply focused upon that which could be measured, couched within an understanding that such information would provide useful insights, without amounting to incontrovertible evidence about the initiatives’ distinct contribution or its cause and effect. For instance, one Street Angels stakeholder asked for rudimentary calculations of numbers of people ‘helped’ and glass bottles disposed of (the Street Angels removed these as hazards), as well as testimonials from those people who had written to the initiative to thank participants for their support in specific cases:

“We do ask for some form of return so that we can evaluate... clearly we’re looking for some tangible outcomes around what their contributions have been, the activity, working with the police, and in that regard we do get feedback from the police as well... but equally it’s important to stress that it’s very difficult for groups like Street Angels to provide clear evidence... so that sort of stuff is useful, but we have to be mindful of the limits of that and operate with that in mind...” (SAS7)

Meanwhile for other strategic stakeholders, impact was simply judged on anecdotes, and even, as previously suggested, on assumptions:

“It’s a very difficult one to quantify... I don’t think we could... but on the other hand I think we know... I can see it, we all can... we don’t have all those issues now, we don’t get the issues we used to... would we get a lot more [crime problems] if they weren’t there?... absolutely, yes” (RWS5)

This tendency to *assume* that activities were resulting in some kind of positive impact was familiar across the three case studies. One interviewee even hinted that this would remain their default view, unless specific negative information came to light that would fundamentally alter their position:

“I think you’ve got to take the view that it [the Street Angels] probably does result in some kind of positive impact, after all if it wasn’t, we wouldn’t bother [supporting it]... but it is difficult to know for certain... so I suppose in a way, if we’re hearing good things from those they’re helping, if the guys doing it are happy, then our position has to be that it’s working and we’ll continue to support it, unless we hear to the contrary” (SAS6).

Ultimately, stakeholders displayed a tendency to discuss impact in notably general or even vague terms, with the disposal of glass bottles in the case of the Street Angels one of very few references made to specific outcomes. This casual approach towards determining effectiveness subsequently appeared to facilitate some of the assumptions that underpinned much of stakeholder positivity previously described. Whilst the presence of positive perceptions about the citizen patrols may be useful in the sense of developing strong relationships for effective collaboration (see the following section), various implications also arise from stakeholders’ tendency to engage in very little, if any monitoring of impacts. Certainly, it carries implications for future appropriate setting of objectives and deployment of patrols. How might stakeholders ascertain whether the ‘best’ of patrols is being harnessed when no foundation upon which to evaluate their impacts exists? How can stakeholders themselves be sure that they are investing time and resource into initiatives that are producing tangible benefits? These represent particularly

important lines of consideration where public funding is been awarded, which all three patrols were in receipt of.

9.6. Citizen patrol-stakeholder relationships and collaboration

The data provided in previous sections of this chapter suggest a number of divergences in the perceptions of police and non-police stakeholders. Some of these appear to result from broader distinctions in the level and nature of contact with the citizen patrols. As previously set out, non-police stakeholder contact was generally far less frequent, and often limited to either that which took place at local meetings (such as those of CSPs), or on occasions where patrols sought additional funding or resources. As such, whilst these stakeholders were able to influence the composition of patrol objectives and activities, their knowledge of whether and how these manifested, and of broader impact, remained largely speculative. The following comment from a local councillor stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol illustrates this point:

“The truth [about what participants spend their time doing] is that I... we really wouldn't know precisely, because we just let them get on with it... to a certain extent there are some assumptions involved on our part, but they're good guys and I've no reason to believe that they aren't doing what has been set out and agreed” (RWS5)

This sense of unfamiliarity about the realities of the patrols amongst non-police stakeholders was also reflected in the comments of a representative from the BACIL network, in the Street Angels case study:

“My last contact with [the Street Angels] was quite a while back now... [a BACIL colleague] probably sees them more often than I do, at the Pubwatch meetings... but even that's rare... I don't think there's really the need to be honest, they know where we are if they need us... I think they're happy with the way it works” (SAS2)

These comments suggest that non-police stakeholders adopted what amounted to an ‘arm’s length’ approach to their relationships with the citizen patrols, at times exhibiting views that amounted to a benign form of inattention. The positive comments previously presented from these stakeholders suggest that these views were not necessarily underpinned by senses of indifference or dismissiveness about the patrols, or even an acute desire *not* to intervene more proactively. Instead, they appeared to manifest from a confidence in both what the citizen patrols were doing and the impacts they were achieving – even if little monitoring actually took place. Further involvement was simply seen as unnecessary. Another partial explanation for this view also appeared to emerge from the belief that further contact was not necessary because the police would form closer relationships with the citizen patrols, and so police would be able to respond to participants’ needs. A stakeholder representing the local PCC’s office in the Rural Watch Patrol case study commented:

“Obviously [the Rural Watch Patrol] works very closely with the [local policing team] over at Eggborough... whilst [the PCC’s office] sanctioned the initiative... and we’re happy for them to get in touch with us and when they need to... our expectation is that the day-to-day handling of it is really down to the [policing] team over at Eggborough... [they] are in a much better position to keep an eye on what’s happening, y’know, give [the Rural Watch Patrols] support when they feel like they need it...” (RWS7)

Whilst little evidence was sought by non-police stakeholders to validate this assumption, to an extent it did reflect the realities of both the Rural Watch Patrol and Shomrim. Each of these did develop their closest stakeholder relationships with the police. In both cases, contact was for the most part kept remotely, either through radio, WhatsApp message groups, or email (see Chapter Six for a more comprehensive overview). By doing so, both police stakeholders and participants were able to update one another with information that would inform and assist each other’s practices (see Chapter Eight), and call upon one another when further forms of assistance were required. Occasionally, this resulted in face-to-face contact and collaboration. The following note from a Rural Watch Patrol observation details one example whereby local officers were able to utilise participants as an additional resource:

At approximately 22:15, [RWP1] received a phone call from a local person, who claimed that they had seen flash lights in a closed compound site. The participants immediately contacted the force control room by radio and relayed the details. Shortly after, the control room confirmed to the participants that two units had been dispatched, at which point the participants also made their way to the area. Upon arrival, one unit approached the participants, all still in their vehicles. The officer thanked the participants for their help and asked them if they would be able to position their vehicle at the far end of the access lane, keeping watch so that they could spot any attempts at a getaway. The officer provided their call sign so that the participants could keep in touch on a private radio channel, and through this they were consistently updated over a period of approximately 75 minutes, after which time the units concluded the intruders (if any had been in the compound) had likely managed to exit the area. Both groups briefly chatted, before continuing on with their respective duties (RWP, 3rd October 2017).

Elsewhere, the Shomrim was similarly utilised by local police on several occasions during observations. The manner in which police requested the assistance of participants during these collaborative efforts was striking. They did so not only with noticeable degrees of politeness on each occasion, borne out of the idea that participants were volunteering their free time for a good cause, but also with clear deference to the previously mentioned distinct skill sets that they believed participants had. The example above suggests a clear division of labour between the citizen patrols and the police, as arranged by the latter. Coupled with the deference that the participants showed to the police, in cases where they engaged in joint efforts their relationships might be characterised by citizen patrols completing a *junior partner* role (Kakalik and Wildhorn, 1971) in the pursuit of both short- and long-term policing and community safety objectives.

By contrast Street Angels participants' contact with police was generally less frequent and consistent. Instead, Street Angels participants engaged much more consistently – both in person and via BACIL radio – with club and pub door staff. Many of these interactions manifested as informal conversations as participants

patrolled busy streets, typically beginning by exchanging pleasantries about experiences whilst working throughout the evening. Conversations would often then develop into discussion about events in each other's day-to-day lives – indeed, in many cases each was familiar with one another, to the extent that they were able to return to the subject of previous conversations held several weeks previously. As they engaged in with one another in this fashion, participants would remain responsive to requests from elsewhere, as this field note suggests:

Whilst we stood chatting with door staff, the participants received a request over the BACIL radio from door staff at [club name redacted], who were asking for Street Angels assistance in supporting a lone, intoxicated female. As we arrived at the scene, we discovered that the female was sitting on the floor in the street, with her head in her hands, visibly very upset. It appeared as if she had also vomited nearby. No fewer than five male door staff from different venues were circled above her, one attempting to speak to her – though she did not respond – whilst the others chatted to each other. As one participant knelt down to speak to the female, a member of door staff exclaimed: “right, let’s give the [Street Angels] a chance to work their magic”, whilst another told the participants that if they needed anything, they only needed to ask. The door staff thanked the participants and made their way back to their venues (SA, 18th August 2017).

Unlike police relationships with citizen patrols, the relationships between participants and door staff seemed less deferential from one group to another. The Street Angels' ability to gain compliance from heavily intoxicated people in challenging settings – considered unique by pub and club door staff – together with their status as responsible community who displayed empathy towards the working conditions of door staff (see below), appeared to inform an attitude towards participants as equal partners in achieving policing and community safety objectives (Kakalik and Wildhorn, 1971). Regardless of junior-equal partner distinctions however, both police and private security appeared to engage in fruitful examples of collaboration (see Jones and Newburn, 1998). Far from merely co-existing, replicating activities, or even acting in competition with one another, both parties demonstrated evidence of concerted efforts to engage in joint efforts that complemented the objectives and practices of each other (South, 1988).

The presence of positive views and openness to working collaboratively – either as junior or equal partners – may seem rather surprising. Previous research on police attitudes towards the policing activities of others has tended to identify and focus upon negative views, in particular that police are traditionally sceptical about ‘outsiders’ providing forms of policing (Button, 2002; Loftus, 2010). The literature on citizen patrols generally reflects this narrative, identifying concerns about effectiveness, the costs of supporting such initiatives, and their potential to engage in over-zealous practices (Ostrowe and DiBiase, 1983; Pennell et al., 1985; Sagar, 2005; Williams, 2005). Indeed, even more favourable accounts have presented police views that suggest, at best, a sense of ambivalence (Johns et al., 2009). How then, might a reversal of this narrative be explained? The data suggest a range of possible influencing factors.

The reference to the participants as ‘one of us’ within an earlier interview response suggests the citizen patrols were neither viewed as problematic, nor ‘outsiders’ in a fashion that other examples of citizen-led action have been previously (see Chapters Two and Three). Neither were they seen as representing a challenge to the unique roles and responsibilities of the police, as has sometimes been viewed in respect of the work of private security (Prenzler and Sarre, 2007; Gill, 2015). Whilst interviewees acknowledged differences during interview, comments noticeably focused upon that which stakeholders and participants had in common, with particular reference to a shared sense of duty and public service as well as the realisation of common goals. Where goals were concerned, stakeholders clearly held that the initiatives placed supporting policing and security organisations in delivering those amongst their principal objectives. In particular, door staff saw Street Angels participants’ as empathetic and rare allies in the ‘lonely’ settings of the NTE:

“Things have got a lot better in the last few years, there are a lot of decent people out just having a good time... but it’s still really hard at times... y’know, [door staff] take a lot of crap, people think we just throw our weight around, but they forget how bad people can be after a few drinks... so when you see the [Street Angels]... they know what we’re about, that we’re up

against it... and y'know, it's someone you can have a chat with, a friendly face in amongst it [all]" (SAS4)

For police interviewees meanwhile, the support of patrols was viewed as particularly critical since the onset of fiscal restraint had reduced their capacity whilst demand still remained high (see Chapter 3.3.5.):

"Others might not invest time and effort in [the Shomrim] like we have... I don't think others that have worked here before have... but it would be absolute madness for us not to... they're a resource... at times like these, when budgets are being cut, y'know, but people expect more and more from us... why would you not tap into that?... we're being stretched to the bone, and they're ready to step in and help us... at the end of the day, we all want the same things... it's an absolute no brainer" (SS3)

Within this understanding, stakeholders also consistently articulated a belief that the citizen patrols were of greater benefit than cost to themselves and their organisations. Reflecting on this balance by drawing upon the information-sharing utilities of the Rural Watch Patrol (see Chapter 8.3.4.), another police stakeholder commented:

"[The Rural Watch Patrol] make it so easy for us, they're brilliant... I can't really say I have to do much, except maybe answer the odd question if I ever see 'em... or I might get an email, which I usually have to pass on anyway... but what we get out of it is massive... y'know, they've filled out their reports, or they've given you other bits of intelligence... alright, nothing will come of a fair whack of it, but some of it's really useful... and y'know, you just think... 'how else would we get that?'... our job would be so much harder" (RWS4)

Crucially, for police stakeholders, the citizen patrols typically delivered these benefits within the aforementioned junior partner relationship, achieving a largely flexible yet distinct division of labour that avoided duplicating or mimicking specialist policing and security activities. Reflecting upon the importance of maintaining these clear distinctions – and retaining understanding of this within both groups – one door staff Street Angels stakeholder commented:

“I think we’ve got a good thing going, y’know... we’ve got a situation where [Street Angels participants] know exactly what our aims are and what we do, and we have with them... y’know, they’re there to keep an eye out... and the result of that is we don’t tread on each other’s toes... but equally if we work together, then both of our jobs are easier... at the end of the day, no other [member of door staff] I know would say no to that” (SAS5)

Comments such as these suggest that stakeholders felt unthreatened by the presence of the patrols, and that they also saw the value of informal social control and capable guardian roles being exercised by communities (Cohen and Felson, 1979), that could complement existing neighbourhood policing work and strategies (Kelling and Wilson, 1982). The interviewees acknowledged that unlike other police volunteering roles, the citizen patrols were characterised by greater autonomy, and participants, whilst unsuitable for certain police activities, were much more malleable with regards to the types of tasks they could engage and assist with. A Rural Watch Patrol police stakeholder reflected:

“One aspect of it that works really well is that we can work with [the Rural Watch Patrol] as and when we all need to... they can go off and do their own thing, there’s no real maintenance in that respect... and then if we need them and they’re [patrolling] we can get in touch and they’re there... y’know, it’s not like with the specials, where y’know, they get dragged into certain types of jobs and they need a lot more from [the police]... not to say that we ignore [the Rural Watch Patrol]... but the flexibility is really good...” (RWS3)

In addition to these perceived constructive contributions and collaborative efforts, a final repeated theme that offers an explanation for stakeholder positivity was reference to positive reports received from members of the public about supporting the participants and their activities. One Shomrim police stakeholder illustrated how they had been in receipt of such feedback:

“One of the most rewarding aspects [of working with the Shomrim] is when you hear local people [who aren’t involved with the Shomrim] say: ‘that watch group you help out, they’re doing a great job’, or ‘it’s really nice that

you're letting local people get involved'... credit's hard to come by in this job [laughs], so it's nice to get a bit every now and then" (SS1)

It seems then, that a range of factors underpinned stakeholder positivity towards working with the initiatives. Crucially, these factors extended beyond merely seeing their activities as useful to enhancing and assisting their own practices – though they do reflect recognition of the fact that neither policing nor security can be satisfactorily delivered by a single agency alone (Crawford, 2008). As significant, the responses suggest that stakeholders saw activities as both legitimate and useful *in their own right*. They saw the value in specific informal orientation of the patrols, the natural forms of social control that they exerted, and ultimately conceived of the security that the initiatives provided as virtuous (for more on this argument, see van Steden, 2018). The patrols were not envisaged as short-term solutions to exceptional problems, but rather as measures to be sustained in the pursuit of crime control and community safety in local areas.

9.7. Future collaboration: prospects and challenges

Given that stakeholders both viewed and were keen to support the long-term sustainability of patrols (see Chapter 2.5.), many offered comments on future prospects and collaboration. Broadly, views on these were characterised by a sense of enthusiasm, but also noticeable concern amongst police stakeholders who came into contact with the participants in operational settings. Enthusiasm was underpinned by the aforementioned sense that positive impacts on crime control and community safety were likely. In line with these views, many stakeholders hoped that the patrols would be able to recruit larger numbers of participants – albeit those considered appropriate – and extend the frequency of their patrols. A local councillor stakeholder in the Rural Watch Patrol reflected:

"I really hope [the Rural Watch Patrol] are able to get a few more [participants] in... I know they're working really hard to get more locals involved, and obviously that would mean that they'd be able to go out a bit more... [RWP2] and [RWP3] do a lot of late nights at the moment, and they enjoy it, but I'm sure they'd appreciate the help..." (RWS5)

One police Shomrim stakeholder drew upon their own experience to suggest that in the future, other stakeholders within policing and security organisations would become more positive and supportive of the initiative as they came into greater contact with participants. They also noted, however, that awareness of the initiative was generally limited to the local neighbourhood policing team, and that greater awareness – as encouraged by those in supervisory and management roles – was something that could be improved:

“I think [the Shomrim] is one of those things where you don’t fully appreciate what they do and how it helps [the police] until you get to know ‘em a bit better... y’know, I was a bit unsure beforehand... I wasn’t quite sure how it’d go... but once you see what they’re actually doing, the effort they put in... [that] they’re really acting for the good of the community... we’ve got a good understanding of that within the team now... having said that a lot of [police] in [the broader area] wouldn’t have a clue... so y’know, I think more could be done to spread the word, inform them about what the guys are about... it’s something that I’ve taken up higher up the food chain, so let’s see what happens” (SS1)

Elsewhere, more significant and consistent concerns were raised around finding time, space and resources to support the initiatives going forward. As one Rural Watch Patrol police stakeholder commented:

“I’d like to give [the Rural Watch Patrol] more of my time... but it’s just my workload... the way it’s going... it just doesn’t allow it... y’know, they’re going out their way... they’re really good people... they do this in their own time for us... but as much as I love having them involved and think it’s great... it was kinda dumped on me... y’know, I’m balancing 17 villages worth of other issues... that’s the only downside that I would say... I don’t feel they get as much support as they probably should have... but that’s simply down to just our resources...and y’know, sometimes I think that should be acknowledged from above and I don’t think that it is...” (RWS1)

These concerns appeared to be underpinned by the sense amongst frontline police that their respective supervisors and managers were inclined to see engagement

with the patrols as low-priority and luxury work, requiring little time or resource on the part of officers and staff. And whilst – as has been articulated previously – many of the interviewees viewed the patrols as bearing little cost, caution was expressed about viewing them as a ‘cheap’ option that did not require investment:

“If [the police] are viewing [the Shomrim] as a freebie then we’ve got a problem... sure, it’s a much cheaper resource having them out and about watching what’s going on than it is to have PCs or PCSOs out and about... but the [Shomrim] needs investment too, y’know, a bit of money, training, support, what have you... at the end of the day if we don’t support them in the right ways, they’ll just think ‘what’s the point?’ and pack it in... and that’d be a shame... a real shame” (SS3).

That stakeholders from public police organisations felt that they were expected to engage with and support the initiatives, whilst fearing inadequate recognition and resourcing, presents several significant implications. Most obviously, and as alluded to above, it risks disenfranchising participants who may ultimately feel under-valued, that their activities are not being taken seriously, and as a result may elect to end providing them altogether. Yet it may also serve to undermine the morale of frontline police stakeholders themselves, and in particular those on neighbourhood policing teams; who may feel, again as the latter comments suggest, that as first points of contact they are letting the participants down – and, as such are not fulfilling their broader community engagement mandate. It suggests that whilst operational relationships were fundamental to the effective operation of the citizen patrols and the collaborative efforts they were a part of, broader strategic recognition of the needs of both participants *and* those who worked alongside them was seen as critical to long-term sustainability of the patrols.

9.8. Conclusion

This chapter has set out to provide a series of insights into the relationships between citizen patrols and their external stakeholders. Stakeholders across the case studies demonstrated similar understandings of patrol purposes and objectives, many of which aligned with those offered by the initiatives (see Chapter

7.4.). That they identified objectives linked to responding to threats and vulnerability was not necessarily surprising, given that many stakeholders helped to shape the priorities of the citizen patrols – a development which raises questions about whose interests’ provision is delivered in, particularly where those interests are private. Stakeholders also outlined a range of patrol activities – from walking and watching, to asking and answering questions in public settings, to supporting vulnerable people, as well as gathering and sharing information that public police stakeholders in particular viewed as helpful in the effective completion of their own roles. They spoke positively of these activities and ultimately characterised the citizen patrols as assets in the pursuit of local crime control and community safety.

Whilst stakeholders conceived of activities as essentially low-key and even mundane, it was felt the citizen patrols’ offering was unique within the contexts of existing policing and community provision. Interviewees were particularly resistant to the idea that the patrols amounted to ‘gap filling’, or that they were only of value during periods of austerity in public policing. Much of this sentiment did not appear to reflect familiar narratives in relevant scholarship elsewhere – namely that public police have historically been sceptical about the policing activities of others (Button, 2002; Loftus, 2010). Neither were there misgivings about efforts to collaborate. The acceptance that the participants gained from the public police in particular appeared to arise because of a genuine held belief in their value, their deference to officers, and their status as community volunteers, which – unlike the commercial security sector – did not pose a challenge to the police or notions of their core roles (Prenzler and Sarre, 2007; Gill, 2015). However, this positive sentiment did not always emerge from a great deal of evidence. Indeed, stakeholders were particularly candid about the difficulty of gaining tangible, objective evidence that the citizen patrols had a positive impact on crime control and community safety. It was held that on the balance, activities were likely to be useful in at least some of these regards, and stakeholders were happy to invest in them on that understanding. Yet the fact that specific indices of effectiveness remained largely undefined, and that stakeholders were prepared to rely upon assumptions, raises questions about the robustness about some of the positive views offered.

Whilst there was much agreement amongst stakeholders, the data also revealed interesting points of divergence in views. Particularly noticeable was the distinction

between police and non-police stakeholders about precisely *who* should participate in the citizen patrols. Whilst non-police stakeholders felt that initiative membership should be inclusive and open to all, police stakeholders felt that the realities of the patrols required certain characteristics and traits that not all individuals possessed – a surprising view perhaps, given the low-level realities previously articulated. This divergence of views appeared to be attributable to variation in the extent and nature of contact between citizen patrols and stakeholders. Interaction between non-police stakeholders and the patrols was rare. This appeared to be borne out of assumptions that the patrols were effective without their intervention, and that any support required by the patrols would ultimately be delivered by the police. The latter of these assumptions appeared at least partially accurate, as police relationships with the Shomrim and Rural Watch Patrol were indeed closer. The data suggest that collaboration between these ultimately placed the citizen patrols in a ‘junior partner’ role (Kakalik and Wildhorn, 1971). By contrast, pub and club door staff, who engaged with the Street Angels most frequently, appeared to conceive of the initiatives as ‘equal partners’ (ibid).

Frontline officer interviewees struck rather different tones to both non-police stakeholders and to their own line managers whilst discussing prospects and challenges for the future. Whilst they shared aspects of the enthusiasm demonstrated by the wider stakeholder group, the former in particular expressed concerns that, in the contexts of austerity, they would struggle to effectively support and work alongside the initiatives going forward. A number argued that there was a danger of viewing the patrols as a ‘free resource’, and suggested that without further investment, patrols would lack the support they needed to operate effectively, or, disillusioned with such a lack of support, participants would likely end their activities. These perceptions suggest that whilst relationships on the frontline were central to the effective integration of the citizen patrols and the delivery of their activities, open and honest dialogue between those who engaged with the participants in those settings, their respective line managers and non-police stakeholders were needed if the initiatives were to be sustained and developed further in the future.

Chapter Ten

Conclusions

10.1. Introduction

This study set out to examine citizen patrol initiatives, as specific examples of organised voluntary action. It committed to a series of literature-based and empirical undertakings in order to complete four objectives. First, it endeavoured to provide insights into the circumstances in which patrols are established and organised, consider how these have changed over time, and assess the extent to which contemporary examples are shaped by shifting macro relations between the state, market and civil society. Second, it explored the reasons for which people opt to partake, accounting for views on their communities, the challenges that they face, and the ways in which these inform perspectives about the policing responsibilities of local people. Third, the study sought to illustrate citizen patrol roles within a variety of distinct environments, characterising the forms these took and the ways in which they are experienced by others. Finally, it sought to sketch out some implications of relationships between the patrols and organisations who engaged with them in order to bring effect to both individual and shared goals. Having delivered on each of these objectives across the preceding chapters, this concluding chapter reflects upon several key themes and considers their wider implications for the further study and policy-development of citizen-led crime control and community safety initiatives.

The first section focuses on the empirical findings, reflecting upon what the case studies – both individually and collectively – tell us about the composition, contribution and reception of citizen patrols. The next revisits the study’s conceptual framing, design and execution. Some attention is then afforded to the development of theory and future research, before the chapter concludes by outlining implications for policy and practice.

10.2. Reflections on findings

In the first instance, the presence and operation of the citizen patrols illustrate a continued space for civil society within policing and community safety provision. Whilst popular discourses about citizen-led initiatives typically portray them as novel and enigmatic, their manifestation in contemporary settings suggests certain continuities with the past, where citizen contributions to policing far pre-date those of either public police or commercially-funded organisations (see Chapter Three). Indeed, the continued presence of the patrols reflects Churchill's (2018) scepticism about the early-twentieth century as heralding a fundamental break from the past, in which citizens became increasingly divorced from policing processes. Nonetheless, within a contemporary landscape dominated by the state and expanding influence of the private security sector (see Chapter Four), citizen patrols are not only heavily influenced by, but undeniably rely upon public and private organisations within the mixed economy of policing to remain sustainable in the long term. The sustainability of patrols is further reflected upon below.

The data collected served to demonstrate the rich diversity of the three citizen patrols that were the focus of the study. Each operated in different environments, at different times, in distinctive ways and for different reasons. Membership profiles and organisational structures varied, and whilst funding and resources in each were limited, the sources of these spanned a host of public and private organisations. Degrees of affiliation and engagement with other policing organisations, and in particular the public police, were mixed. This carried profound implications for both collaborative efforts between the two and for the delivery and accountability of citizen patrols in their own right. Whilst all three of the case studies subscribed to the definition of citizen patrols presented at the outset of the thesis, they ultimately occupied different spaces upon several of the continuums outlined in Chapter Two. Both the Shomrim and Rural Watch Patrol focused principally upon order-based objectives and targeting specific threats, whilst the Street Angels concerned itself with the broader welfare of citizens and responding to vulnerability. The Street Angels and the Rural Watch Patrol were largely passive in observing events from afar, only engaging those who it was believed needed help and refraining from making contact with those of whom participants were suspicious. By contrast, the Shomrim was visibly more interventionist in engaging the latter, albeit in a non-aggressive fashion.

In contrast with the conclusions of existing studies on citizen-led policing and community safety contributions, the patrols did not only emerge in affluent areas where communities are considered better organised and police are generally needed least (see Rosenbaum, 1987; Brunton-Smith and Bullock, 2019 in respect of Neighbourhood Watch schemes). Instead, the environments – as Chapters Six and Eight illustrated – comprised a series of urban, residential and rural settings, the specific circumstances within which influenced patrol objectives and the means by which they were met. The idea of close-knit geographic proximity in which neighbours would look out for one another was a useful characterisation in the case of the Shomrim, and to a certain extent the Rural Watch Patrol – although noticeably few farmers participated in patrols around farmland in the latter case. More obviously still, shielding ‘better off’ suburbia from threats did not provide adequate explanation or justification for the work of the Street Angels as they went about attempting to improve welfare and reduce vulnerability in the commercial settings of the NTE. In fact, many participants in this final example articulated that they were unlikely to frequent the areas they patrolled in any other capacity at all, suggesting that operating in one’s own residential space for personal benefit was an ill-fitting explanation. By operating beyond the spaces in which they lived, the citizen patrols captured in this study appear to inform something of a departure from the view that citizen-led policing initiatives emerge in limited types of spaces, and for limited reasons (Rosenbaum, 1987).

The bonds upon which initiative membership was built and sustained were developed through a complex array of social and cultural ties that existed beyond traditional geographic notions of community. These also informed distinctions between the various motivations to carry out patrols. The Rural Watch Patrol operated along strictly instrumental lines – in the absence of an over-arching religious identity and set of motivations, there was no desire to develop a higher moral standard to which people should subscribe and there was no evidence that suggested a personal imperative to engage in patrol itself. Put simply, the patrol existed to protect people and their property. The Street Angels and the Shomrim exhibited a clearer sense of moral motivation about patrolling in order to achieve a more ambitious set of goals – much of which amounted to efforts to improve behavioural standards that exceeded basic legal expectations (Johns et al., 2009).

In both cases, these moral motivations were strongly influenced by faith, though it was less overtly visible in the Shomrim than it was through the actions of some Street Angels participants.

Whilst all initiatives sought various means by which to improve their standing amongst people and communities, each managed public-facing associations with the police in different ways. The Shomrim and the Rural Watch Patrol cited close, positive relationships with local police in order to create a sense of authority, gain respect, and in some cases achieve compliance from those subject to their patrols. This approach was born out of the belief that local people, generally supportive of the police, would defer to any group that identified or worked with them. Conversely, the Street Angels rarely sought to invoke association with the police, and indeed on some occasions even sought to *disassociate* themselves when engaging with people in the NTE. Both interview and observational data suggest that this was a deliberate strategy of participants designed to distinguish themselves from other public and private policing and security actors in the NTE – many of whom were considered unapproachable or aggressive by those at leisure in such spaces. For the Street Angels, this was seen as an anathema to the accessible, caring and compassionate impression they wanted to project.

In other respects, however, the patrols demonstrated noticeable similarities with one another. Though participants conceived of ‘community’ in different ways, all committed themselves to its betterment through what they perceived as demonstrations of altruism. Besides these motivating factors, another common theme of the case studies was the sense that through completing the patrols, participants would gain forms of personal benefit or reward, the precise nature of which varied across the case studies. For many, it appeared as if combinations of these various factors sustained continued membership. Elsewhere, sustainability of patrols also seemed linked to the support of stakeholders (see below), as well as the view that none could be cast as responses to ‘single-issue’ problems that would disband once these were resolved. Instead, participants justified the continued existence of patrols by conceiving of them as measures to combat long-term crime and social problems – problems that would simply re-emerge in the event that the initiatives ceased to operate. This sentiment appeared to reflect a departure from common characterisations provided earlier in the thesis (e.g. Johnston, 1992;

Bullock, 2014) (see Chapter 2.5.), that citizen patrols are typically undertaken as time-limited responses to specific events, and are promptly disbanded when events have improved.

Another important point of similarity across the patrols was the collective view of participants shared about which approaches amounted to inappropriate acts. The Shomrim was demonstrably more comfortable engaging with those it was suspicious of, but even participants in this case study refrained from doing so where it was felt such engagement would present risks to themselves or colleagues. Each initiative set stringent internal rules on not interacting with aggressive people, participants not becoming aggressive themselves, and not engaging in the pursuit of other people. Participants felt that to do so would risk escalating events, placing themselves and those in the vicinity in jeopardy, as well as potentially placing them in the position of falling foul of the law, undermining trust and relations with other policing and community safety providers.

Data gained from interviews with public police stakeholders in particular suggest that knowledge about these internal rules and the tendency to avoid conflict informed near universally positive views about the patrols. Indeed, the 'encouragement' of the public police (see Chapter 2.4.4.) appeared not to reflect previous research that suggests police are sceptical of working with 'outsiders' who contribute to policing (Loftus, 2010; Reiner, 2010). The data also suggest that these positive views were further informed by the sense that the benefit the patrols brought in terms of reducing problems and assisting police in their own roles outweighed the costs. Participants pledged themselves to assisting public police organisations by providing functions that were intended to supplement and thus make easier the work of officers and staff. They carried out the mundane realities of patrol work, which most research evidence suggests officers find unappealing (ibid). In doing so, officers considered their otherwise burdensome workload reduced, and their capacity to focus on other matters increased. There was also some acknowledgement from police interviewees that they benefited from the intelligence that patrol participants provided as information brokers (Clarke and Hough, 1984; Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). Crucially, police interviewees commented that the patrols seemed far less interested in replicating other police roles or even acting as

competitors, in the ways that either commercial security (see Howell and Gill, 2017) or other formal police volunteer roles were cited as doing.

The data suggest the citizen patrols delivered a number of benefits. Whilst the study did not set out to measure the effectiveness of the patrols (see Chapter 10.4.), it was clearly felt by both participants and stakeholders alike that the initiatives had come to play a valued and prominent role in local crime control and community safety arrangements, and in a fashion that in many respects chimed with the earlier preventive ideals of Patrick Colquhoun (1799) and Edwin Chadwick (1829). Indeed, many public and private stakeholders provided funding and other forms of support on such a belief, often with limited to no available evidence to assert such a view. On the contrary, many of these – from Police and Crime Commissioners, to local parish councils, to business networks, indicated that their default position was that the citizen patrols were contributing positively, and only in the event that they were exacerbating or creating problems would support be withdrawn. These positive views did not reside within police organisations alone. In the case of the Street Angels, private security – largely in the form of pub and club door staff – often developed positive working relationships with them, which lead to beneficial collaborative efforts in respect of attending to vulnerable people, as well as the formation of friendships with friendly faces in settings that door staff interviewees often experienced as intense yet lonely – and where they felt they received little support from the state. In this regard, previous research that has suggested private security carry negative views about police (Nalla and Hummer, 1999; Hobbs et al., 2003), did not appear to be replicated in the case of citizen patrols.

Away from outcome-based benefits, it seemed as if (at least in some ways) the act of engaging in patrols also brought utility. Most noteworthy here was the sense of ‘purpose’ that it provided participants. During interview, many spoke fondly of the opportunity to ‘catch up’ and work with friends in order to achieve their various objectives. For many, participation was thus also conceived (either consciously or otherwise) as a social activity that allowed them to escape the mundanity of everyday life. This was a particularly prevalent theme amongst semi-retired or retired participants, who committed to patrols as a means of keeping both active and involved within their local community settings. The manner in which participants reflected upon these motivations noticeably chimed with communitarian ideas

(Etzioni, 1993; Sennett, 1999) and the wish to enhance their social capital (Putnam, 2000).

Whilst the patrols appeared to generate a series of benefits, they also presented challenges and problems. Whereas concerns about crime and social problems appeared to decrease amongst Street Angels participants as they became more accustomed to the areas they patrolled, there was evidence that, conversely, these *increased* amongst Shomrim and Rural Watch Patrol participants. Within patrol settings, there was little sense that people could 'opt out' of the aforementioned moral order that participants were attempting to establish (Johns et al., 2009), and indeed many seemed unsure of their rights. While overt examples of vigilantism were not evident, at least the *potential* remained. One means through which this potential was negated was through processes of incentivisation offered by public police organisations, in the form commitments to providing funding and resources. The provision of these state resources relied upon a shared understanding that patrols would act according to a series of basic standards, in accordance with existing laws, and in the case of the Rural Watch Patrol, subscribe to force policies as a formal NYP initiative. Evidently, this created a monitoring requirement – one that seemed seldom exercised, and that operational police had concerns about fulfilling in light of stretched roles during a period of fiscal restraint. Whilst not considered particularly demanding upon police resources, it was felt that not providing the patrols with adequate support would likely impact negatively upon their long-term sustainability.

Questions may also be asked about precisely whose interests the patrols were designed to serve or actually serving. Whilst participants across the case studies proclaimed to be operating for the benefit of all, undoubtedly their objectives and practices came to be shaped by individuals and organisations with whom they interacted outside of scheduled patrols, including whilst attending other events and forums hosted by neighbourhood action groups, councils, and faith-based organisations. In light of these enhanced levels of access and influence, it may be suggested that at least the *potential* for a parochial order existed, in which the interests of some are prioritised over others (Webster, 2002; Hope, 2000). Moreover, if citizen patrols do in fact serve to concentrate police attention on specific issues and in certain areas, then it presents at least the chance of skewed

police resourcing – in which those not prioritised may find themselves the recipients of less public police services.

A similar problem arises from questions of whether patrol membership itself was inclusive of diverse social groups within relevant communities. Notwithstanding the fact that the concept of community remains difficult to define, while participants spoke with enthusiasm about recruiting individuals from different backgrounds, their own systems of recruitment, and even vetting and referencing, did not attest to this. These increasingly formal requirements did not necessarily reflect the intended informality or inclusivity promoted by the initiatives. This was confirmed by many police stakeholders, who were wary about initiatives recruiting those who did not meet their own standards – indeed there was an expectation that they would not. Thus, something of a tension appeared between the proclaimed duty to remain inclusive, and to recruit and appoint with set characteristics in mind. In pursuing the former, patrols risked undermining important relations between themselves and their stakeholders, both including and beyond the police. Conversely, by placing strict requirements on recruitment, legitimate questions could be asked as to whether patrol membership really could be representative of communities at large.

10.3. Reflections on study design

The manner in which the study was designed and implemented presented considerable advantages but also certain limitations that warrant brief reflection. The sample chosen and methods adopted resulted in the collection of a substantial data set that offered insights into both the contexts and natures of the citizen patrols, as well as how each was rationalised by participants and stakeholders. Selecting three case studies brought about several benefits. First, doing so avoided the dangers of inferring too much about citizen patrols more generally from what ultimately could have been an anomalous example (Herriott and Firestone, 1983). Second, it presented opportunity for degrees of comparison. These were particularly useful exercises in conceptualising the similarities and differences between case studies (Yin, 2009), and as a result illustrating the diversity of initiatives that makes any attempt at generalisability fraught. It also illustrated challenges linked to understanding and framing complex points of convergence and divergence across each. Finally, third, comparison also served to re-enforce the importance of context,

and in particular the influence of *space* upon the composition and orientation of patrols as discussed in Chapter Eight.

The approach also created further challenges to confront. For all safeguards adopted, the data were ultimately influenced by important decisions taken about sample selection. Participant interviewees were largely identified by engaging with and relying upon patrol coordinators, and as a result these exercised degrees of control over selection. It may have been that candidates were chosen for specific reasons beyond the likelihood of securing agreement to take part, for instance on the basis of shared views or attitudes towards the patrols and their worth (Miller and Bell, 2002). Similarly, it could be argued that the noteworthy positivity that characterised stakeholder perceptions of the patrols was determined by those personally known to the participants or those who invested in the patrols in some other shape or form. An alternative sample that contained other participants that were not ‘the first pick’ of patrol coordinators, or policing personnel unknown to the patrols might have resulted in the collection of contrasting views or a more varied dataset. Whilst it was not possible to negate the issues that arose from these influences completely, methodological triangulation achieved through the use of observational data assisted in developing an understanding of patrols that did not solely rely upon the views of prominent participants or those who supported them.

Nonetheless, data collected from observational fieldnotes might also have been adversely influenced; including, as the methodology chapter makes reference to, by issues such as ‘Hawthorne’ (see Wolcott, 1999) or ‘streetlight’ effects (Freedman, 2010). Again, it was not possible to overcome the effects of these influences entirely, but a commitment to undertaking observation with patrol teams comprised of different participants (where this was possible) was pursued in an attempt to avert becoming familiar with individuals to the extent that such familiarity might compromise recording and interpretation of events. This is not to suggest that developing close relationships with participants was not pursued. Indeed, gaining acceptance within patrols was considered vital and required degrees of immersion into practices – for instance by wearing similar uniforms, walking alongside participants, and even in some cases, assisting them with basic tasks as they went about their business. Notwithstanding that this will have shaped researcher views about how patrols were delivered and rationalised or encouraged a focus upon

certain matters above and beyond others, it was felt that such an approach should be taken in order to make participants feel comfortable in their surroundings, and reduce the likelihood of any of these acting out of character. By instilling a sense that they could act in a natural and familiar fashion, it was concluded that a more representative data set would ultimately be achieved (Bernard, 2017).

As far as data analysis is concerned, other researchers might have drawn upon different themes or even formed different conclusions than those eventually offered. Considerable volumes of data were unused, though these may be further explored and mined at a later date as the basis for future analysis and publications. While those drawn upon provide revealing insights that assist in achieving the study's overall objectives, these ultimately remain impressions and perceptions – of participants, stakeholders, and indeed the researcher. As such, the conclusions drawn cannot seek to make claims about absolute truths, nor offer objective comment on the outputs or impacts of initiatives (Edwards and Holland, 2013). They may however assist in the development of future studies that seek to investigate citizen patrols in alternative ways, and to achieve new objectives (see the following sections). Despite these limitations however, in helping to achieve the various research objectives, the study's findings add to our understanding of why citizen patrols are delivered, the forms they take, and some of the ways in which they are received by others.

10.4. Future directions for theory and research

As noted at the outset, citizen patrols have not commanded a great deal of scholarly attention in the UK. Yet that which has been offered can generally be characterised as presenting critical accounts, with the majority of conclusions adopting noticeably concerned tones (e.g. Kingshott, 1994; Loveday, 1994; Sagar, 2005; Williams, 2005; 2006). Some of the conclusions drawn by this study share that sentiment. The citizen patrols investigated, as Sagar (2005: 101) has argued in respect of *Street Watch* programmes, could not be said to represent entire communities. Evidence of parochial orders promoted by the initiatives and the heightened levels of suspicion and reporting that underpinned them resulted in a disproportionate focus upon 'people who did not fit into [the] watchers' view of how life should be lived in the area' (Shapland and Vagg, 1988: 70). The findings suggest that

participants over-emphasised some of the problems they encountered as 'serious social disturbances' (Sagar, 2005: 101), and even that some activities were delivered with the intention of creating environments in which expectations around behavioural standards exceeded those of any basic legal order (Johns et al., 2009).

In other ways though, the findings informed a series of more positive conclusions that do not reflect those presented elsewhere. As has been illustrated, the patrols could not be described as responses to single-issues, with 'extremely limited crime-prevention activities' (Sagar, 2005: 102). There was no sense that any of the case studies evolved from supplementary to alternative forms of policing (Crawford, 1998: 150) as has been suggested in the case of Street Watch (Sagar, 2005). On the contrary, as the patrols continued to strengthen relationships with police organisations at both strategic and operational levels, police attitudes towards them became noticeably more positive and it became demonstrably easier to develop collaborative approaches in which each party was able to complement the work of one another. A final point to be made about police perceptions is that there was very limited evidence that the costs of supporting such initiatives were considered excessive to the point of being problematic, as findings from past US studies of citizen patrols have suggested (Ostrowe and DiBiase, 1983; Pennell et al., 1985). In addition to illustrating police views about the patrols, the study also accounted for the attitudes of private security, and specifically pub and club door staff. Their views about the appropriateness and utilities of citizen patrols were similarly positive – albeit, as Chapter Nine discusses, for different reasons.

For all of this, it cannot be disputed that the citizen patrols occupied specific spaces within policing networks and the broader maintenance of order. This alone should serve as compelling reason for further academic investigation into citizen-led activities, as well as other informal policing and social control measures more generally. Indeed, given that we are embarked upon a period dominated by fiscal restraint and the continued retraction of public policing services, the need to better understand such provision is only likely to become greater. Whilst scholars have typically focused upon and advocated an expansion of public auxiliaries to meet the insatiable demand for patrol and other visible policing tasks (e.g. Morgan and Newburn, 1997), these conditions and in particular the decline of PCSOs (see Chapter 3.3.5.) suggest that forms provided by further alternative sources –

including those provided by civil society – will need to command greater academic attention in the years ahead. That said, if scholarship is to more readily account for and investigate the activities of citizens within the mixed economy of policing (Crawford et al., 2005), it will require a more fundamental cultural shift beyond state-centric views of policing, one that further includes recognition that other sources of policing and community safety do not start and end with growing market provision. If this shift is achieved, researching citizen-led initiatives is less likely to be viewed indifferently, or in less significant terms.

10.5. Implications for policy and practice

A key theme within the responses of public police interviewees was the desire to see the further development and potential expansion of citizen patrol initiatives. If this is to take place, then the need to carry out further evaluative research will surely become more pressing. In the first instance, the broad canvas of citizen patrol activity within the UK remains unaccounted for. Notwithstanding difficulties previously outlined in respect of identifying citizen-led policing initiatives, an attempt at counting these would no doubt be useful in developing understanding about the sheer extent of patrols. Similarly, given that the three case studies within this research alone demonstrated significant differences between one another and those studied elsewhere, further exploratory research into some of these may serve to improve knowledge about diversity and range of initiatives on offer. Longitudinal studies may also prove useful in generating insights into the lifespan of patrols, and the factors that sustain them beyond those this study has identified. Finally, and perhaps most obviously, further testing of citizen patrol activities is required in order to determine ‘what works’ in relation to crime control and community safety. Studies that investigate the effects of citizen patrols on crime and fear within the areas that they cover are almost non-existent in UK settings, and yet these would do much to improve knowledge of their value and limitations.

This study has sought to move beyond the narrow and often inaccurate view that citizen patrols simply manifest as idiosyncrasies on the peripheries of policing. In doing so, it has addressed a series of interesting and pertinent questions, some of which have raised further implications that may be of interest to policy-makers and practitioners. Most significantly, they might consider how patrol membership can be

made more inclusive and representative of communities – particularly with regards to female and minority ethnic participation. They may also reflect upon whether and how patrols can be shaped so as to achieve greater alignment with public goods needs, assist in policing endeavours, along with the additional support initiatives require to achieve such ends. Finally, the significant question of precisely how citizen patrols should be held to account must be addressed. Ultimately, much of this sentiment is and will continue to be influenced by relationships between citizen patrols and their stakeholders. As such, an important action for the latter – and public police organisations in particular – is to establish precisely what type of relationship with patrols is in the best interests of both parties. Asking, and ultimately settling answers to these questions may not only foster improved interaction and collaboration, but more broadly enhance the credibility and legitimacy of initiatives amongst both policing organisations and communities alike.

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Appendices

Appendix i: Participant information sheet (patrol volunteer)



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Citizen Patrol Research Study

Participant Information Sheet (Patrol Volunteer)

Researcher: Sean Butcher

What is the purpose of this research?

This research is being undertaken to explore the work of volunteer citizen patrol schemes. Despite their high visibility presence, and commitment to caring for, and keeping people safe, the work of schemes remains relatively low profile. This research aims remedy that by developing a more informed understanding of what patrol schemes offer, how activities are delivered, and how schemes 'fit in' with other agencies who provide watch and patrol activities in public spaces. As such, it is particularly interested in your experiences and thoughts as an active volunteer. The information below provides further detail on participating in the research, and what will happen after, should you consent to participate.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen as a prospective participant given your role as an active volunteer on a citizen patrol scheme. Your activities, experiences and thoughts are both very much welcome and central to the research. Both the researcher's observations of your activities and the questions you will be asked during interview are specifically designed to gain a better understanding of each of these areas.

Do I have to take part?

No. You have a right not to take part in the research, and you don't need to provide a reason. Should you opt to participate but later wish to withdraw (including requesting the exclusion of any comments or responses given), you have a right to do so at any time before **Wednesday 28th February 2018**. After this date the analysis of responses will begin and exclusion will not be possible.

What is involved in participating?

The researcher will be carrying out two separate activities during his time with your patrol scheme. In the first activity, he will be observing the work of your patrol scheme over a fixed period of time. During these, you won't be required to undertake any specific actions, other than to continue the role(s) and responsibilities you would otherwise carry out. Whilst observing, the researcher may ask

questions where he believes it is appropriate to do so. You may choose to answer or not answer as you wish.

In the second activity, you may be asked to participate in an interview. This is a separate activity, in which you will be asked a series of questions about your citizen patrol role and experiences. You will be able to provide as much detail within your answers as you wish, but the interview will last no longer than 60 minutes.

Before participating in each of these activities, you will be provided with a participant information sheet, briefed on your rights, and be given the opportunity to ask any questions you might have. You will also be asked to sign a participant consent form – a copy of which you are entitled to.

What do I have to do?

The research aims to develop an accurate impression of what citizen patrol schemes offer, and how you go about your role. As such, it is important that you feel comfortable enough that you are able to act and respond in a fashion that is reflective of your usual contribution. If you feel that the researcher's presence, or actions hinder your ability to carry out your patrol roles and responsibilities, you should inform them at the soonest possible opportunity. If you are unclear on any questions you are asked during observation(s) or interview, you should seek clarification from the researcher. If you do not wish to answer specific questions, you are not obliged to do so.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part?

It is hoped that the results of this research will allow for a better understanding of what citizen patrol schemes offer, and how volunteers engage with these and similar initiatives. In addition to informing an academic dialogue about such initiatives, the research may also inform future policy discussions about what volunteers can contribute to activities including, and related to, patrol. Taking part in this research will allow you to directly contribute to that process, and may also result in a personal sense of fulfilment through the process of critically reflecting on your experiences whilst answering questions.

Whilst every effort is taken to ensure that your responses remain anonymous, it is not possible to guarantee that patrol colleagues won't be able to identify your participation by the comments you make. You should consider this before providing answers to the questions, and speak to the researcher if you are at all concerned. If you would like to seek further reassurances of the ethical safeguards applied to the research, please contact the researcher (contact details below).

Will my taking part in this research be kept confidential?

Yes. You have a right to anonymity throughout your participation in this research. You are asked to provide your name only for the purposes of consent, and so that the researcher can identify specific responses for the purposes of withdrawal (in the event that you request it). When the researcher's fieldnotes and audio-recordings of interviews are transcribed, a pseudonym will be assigned to your responses. The pseudonym will be utilised throughout all subsequent stages of the research. After the release of the researcher's PhD thesis, reports and/or academic articles, identifying materials such as participant consent forms will be destroyed.

What happens to the results of the research?

Notes on your activities and interview responses will be analysed and compared with other participants' activities and responses. It is intended that the analysis will form part of the researcher's PhD thesis, and subsequent outputs. These may take the form of a report(s), or academic peer-reviewed article(s). You will be able to request a copy of any such publication upon completion.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is solely organised and undertaken by Mr Sean Butcher. Sean is undertaking the research as part of his PhD qualification at the University of Leeds. The research is funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). You can find out more information about the ESRC at this link: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk>.

Sean has previously undertaken a range of research projects, most notably on the work of the police and other agencies who contribute to the security of public spaces. He also has considerable experience of teaching university students in these subject areas, and of using research techniques.

Who has reviewed the research?

Each stage of the research has been carefully considered and reviewed by the researcher and his supervisory team. The researcher's supervisory team consists of two experienced academic researchers – Mr Stuart Lister (Senior Lecturer in Criminal Justice, University of Leeds), and Adam Crawford (Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Leeds). The research has been scrutinised and approved by the University of Leeds Ethics Committee, prior to the undertaking of any observations and/or interviews.

Who should I contact for more information?

Should you require any further information about this research please contact **Sean Butcher**.

Email: lwsbb@leeds.ac.uk Mob: 07790308970.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Appendix ii: Participant information sheet (external stakeholder)



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Citizen Patrol Research Study

Participant Information Sheet (External Stakeholder)

Researcher: Sean Butcher

What is the purpose of this research?

This research is being undertaken to explore the work of citizen patrol schemes. Despite their high visibility presence, and commitment to caring for, and keeping people safe, the work of schemes remains relatively low profile. This research aims to remedy that by developing a more informed understanding of what patrol schemes offer, how activities are delivered, and how schemes 'fit in' with other agencies who provide watch and patrol activities in public spaces. As such, it is particularly interested in your role as a practitioner who works both with, and alongside such schemes. The information below provides further detail on participating in the research, and what will happen after, should you consent to participate.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen as a prospective participant given your role both working with, and alongside a specific citizen patrol scheme. As such, your thoughts on, and experiences of, working with such schemes are both very much welcome and central to the research. The questions you will be asked during the interview are specifically designed to gain a better understanding of the extent and nature of connections and relationships.

Do I have to take part?

No. You have a right not to take part in the research, and you don't need to provide a reason. Should you opt to participate but later wish to withdraw (including requesting the exclusion of any comments or responses given), you have a right to do so at any time before **Wednesday 28th February 2018**. After this date the analysis of responses will begin and exclusion will not be possible.

What is involved in participating?

The researcher will have asked you to participate in an interview. During the interview, you will be asked a series of questions about the nature of your relationship with specific citizen patrol scheme(s) and their volunteers. You will be able to provide as much detail within your answers as you wish, but the interview will last no longer than 60 minutes.

Before participating in the interview, you will be provided with a hard copy of this participant information sheet, briefed on your rights, and be given the opportunity to ask any questions you might have. You will also be asked to sign a participant consent form – a copy of which you are entitled to.

What do I have to do?

The research aims to develop an accurate impression of what citizen patrol schemes offer, and how they connect with other watch, patrol and security providers. If you are unclear on any questions you are asked during the interview, you should seek clarification from the researcher. If you do not wish to answer specific questions, you are not obliged to do so.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part?

It is hoped that the results of this research will allow for a better understanding of what citizen patrol schemes offer, and how they 'fit in' within networks of policing and security. In addition to informing an academic dialogue about such networks, the research may also inform future policy discussions about how such initiatives can be harnessed both effectively and fairly. Taking part in this research will allow you to directly contribute to that process, and may also result in a personal sense of fulfilment through the process of critically reflecting upon your experiences whilst answering questions.

Whilst every effort is taken to ensure that your responses remain anonymous, it is not possible to guarantee that colleagues won't be able to identify your participation by the comments you make. You should consider this before providing answers to the questions, and speak to the researcher if you are at all concerned. If you would like to seek further reassurances of the ethical safeguards applied to the research, please contact the researcher (contact details below).

Will my taking part in this research be kept confidential?

Yes. You have a right to anonymity throughout your participation in this research. You are asked to provide your name only for the purposes of consent, and so that the researcher can identify specific responses for the purposes of withdrawal (in the event that you request it). When the researcher's audio-recordings of interviews are transcribed, a pseudonym will be assigned to your responses. The pseudonym will be utilised throughout all subsequent stages of the research. After the release of the researcher's PhD thesis, reports and/or academic articles, identifying materials such as participant consent forms will be destroyed.

What happens to the results of the research?

Transcriptions of the interview responses will be analysed and compared with other participants' responses. It is intended that the analysis will form part of the researcher's PhD thesis, and subsequent outputs. These may take the form of a report(s), or academic peer-reviewed article(s). You will be able to request a copy of any such publication upon completion.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is solely organised and undertaken by Mr Sean Butcher. Sean is undertaking the research as part of his PhD qualification at the University of Leeds. The research is funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). You can find out more information about the ESRC at this link: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk>.

Sean has previously undertaken a range of research projects, most notably on the work of the police and other agencies who contribute to the security of public spaces. He also has considerable experience of teaching university students in these subject areas, and of using research techniques.

Who has reviewed the research?

Each stage of the research has been carefully considered and reviewed by the researcher and his supervisory team. The researcher's supervisory team consists of two experienced academic researchers – Mr Stuart Lister (Senior Lecturer in Criminal Justice, University of Leeds), and Adam

Crawford (Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Leeds). The research has been scrutinised and approved by the University of Leeds Ethics Committee, prior to the undertaking of any interviews.

Who should I contact for more information?

Should you require any further information about this research please contact **Sean Butcher**.

Email: lwsbb@leeds.ac.uk Mob: 07790308970.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Appendix iii: Participant consent form



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Consent Form for: Citizen Patrol Research

Please tick the appropriate boxes

I have read and understood the participant information sheet, associated documents and briefing given prior to participating in the research.....

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.....

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project may include having my actions observed and/or participating in an interview.....

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study up until **28/02/2018** and I will not be asked questions about why I no longer want to take part.....

I understand my personal details such as name, phone number or address will not be revealed to people outside of this project.....

I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs but my name will not be used.....

I understand that other researchers may be granted access to these data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data.....

I understand that other researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs.....

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to Sean Butcher.
.....

On this basis I am happy to participate in the *Citizen Patrol Research Study*.

Name of Participant **Signature**..... **Date**.....

Name of Researcher: Sean Butcher **Signature:**  **Date**.....

If you have any queries or concerns, please contact: Sean Butcher (email: lwsbb@leeds.ac.uk, mob: 07790308970).

One copy to be kept by the participant, one to be kept by the researcher.