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The work of Welsh Government funded Community Support Officers

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Glossary of Terms

A	
Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO)	The body representing police officers of senior rank.
Administrative Data	Data held in the format of reports, databases, files etc. for the purposes of administering an organisations' operations.
Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB)	Behaviour by a person which causes, or is likely to cause, harassment, alarm or distress to one or more other persons not of the same household as the perpetrator.
B	
BCU	Basic Command Unit, the organisational unit for delivering Neighbourhood Policing in South Wales
BTP	British Transport Police. Responsible for policing the railway network in Great Britain. It is a non-Home Office police force, funded by the railway industry.
C	
Call Grade	The way incidents reported to the police are prioritised for response, e.g. grade 1 is most urgent and grade 4 is a low priority in South Wales.
Caveat	The reason(s) why conclusions drawn from data must be interpreted with some caution.
Case Study Area (CSA)	A geographical area selected for in-depth study.
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television – surveillance cameras.
Channel Project	A national Home Office Safeguarding project which aims to prevent children and adults from being drawn into violent radicalisation or becoming involved in terrorist related activity.
CID	Criminal Investigation Department – that section of a police force responsible for investigating crime.
Communities First	Welsh Government's community focused strategy to tackle poverty in Wales.
Community Beat Manager (CBM)	Police Constable with Neighbourhood Policing responsibilities within a defined area, or beat.
Community Cohesion	The term used to describe how everyone in a geographical area lives alongside each other with mutual understanding and respect.
Control Site	A site where no intervention has taken place, used to compare with the intervention site to determine whether any changes have happened as a result of the intervention or by chance.
Counter-factual	Measures what would have happened in the absence of the intervention. Its impact is estimated by comparing counterfactual outcomes to those observed under the intervention.

Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)	A large-scale survey conducted on a continuous basis by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). It collects information about people's experience of crime from individuals living in private households in England and Wales (formerly the British Crime Survey).
CSO	Community Support Officer.
D	
DPP	Dyfed Powys Police.
Discretionary powers	Policing powers in addition to those defined by statute, delegated to CSOs at a Chief Constables discretion.
E	
Establishment	The number of posts of a specific type or rank within a police force.
F	
Fixed Penalty Notice (FPN)	A notice that can be issued in response to a range of anti-social behaviours. Requires payment of a fine for the violation.
Focus Group	A research method whereby a group of individuals talk about a selected topic with the purpose of obtaining qualitative data
G	
GP	Gwent Police.
H	
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. Has statutory responsibility for the inspection of the police forces of England and Wales.
I	
IoA	Isle of Anglesey
Incident	Reports received by police of events requiring their attention; whether or not an incident report becomes a crime report is determined on the balance of probability that a notifiable offence has occurred. If it does not turn out to be a crime, it must still be logged on the force's incident recording system.
Index of Multiple Deprivation.	A relative measure of deprivation at small area level. Areas are ranked from least deprived to most deprived on different dimensions of deprivation and an overall composite measure of multiple deprivation. Separate indices exist for England and Wales.
Indexing crime data	Monthly counts of crime or non-crime incidents (e.g. ASB) for a police force area or case study site are divided by the total for the index month to show relative change.
L	
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender.
LSOA	Lower Super Output Area, the small area geography that is used to calculate and rank deprivation on the Index of Multiple Deprivation and its constituent domains.
LPU	Local Policing Unit, the organisational unit for Neighbourhood Policing teams in Gwent.

N	
National Statistic	A subset of official statistics which have been certified by the UK Statistics Authority as compliant with its Code of Practice for Official Statistics.
Neighbourhood Beat Manager (NBM)	Police Constable with Neighbourhood Policing responsibilities within a defined area or beat.
Neighbourhood Policing	A model for providing local policing activity to neighbourhood carried out by Neighbourhood Policing Teams.
Neighbourhood Policing Team (NPT)	A team of police officers and staff responsible for local policing activity in a defined area.
NWP	North Wales Police
O	
ONS	Office for National Statistics, the UKs largest independent producer of official statistics and the recognised national statistical institute for the UK.
Official Statistic	Statistical outputs produced by the UK Statistics Authority's executive office (the Office for National Statistics), by central Government departments and agencies, by the devolved administrations in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and by other Crown bodies.
P	
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer. Term generally used by forces, by the public and in surveys
Police/Partners and Communities Together (PACT)	Regular meetings held by police in a neighbourhood setting. Open to all members of the public, they provide an opportunity for people to meet and engage with police teams on local issues.
Police Officer	Individual with warranted powers of arrest, search and detention who, under the direction of .the Chief Constable, is deployed to uphold the law.
Police and Crime Commissioners	Elected entity for a police area, established under the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 and charged with securing efficient and effective policing of that area. Commissioners replaced police authorities in 2012.
Police Force Area (PFA)	Geographical area covered by a police force.
PREVENT	An integral part of CONTEST, the Government's Counter Terrorism strategy. It aims to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism.
Purposive Sampling	A non-random research sampling method whereby participants are actively selected because they have knowledge about the topic of research.

Q	
Qualitative research	Explores and tries to understand people's beliefs, experiences, attitudes, behaviour and interactions. It generates non-numerical data. For example in-depth interviews, focus groups, documentary analysis and participant observation.
Quantitative research	Generates numerical data, or data that can be converted into numbers. For example, recorded crime trends and public perception surveys.
R	
Reassurance Policing	Involves the community in solving community-related problems through visible patrol and consultation.
Representative quota sample	Quota sampling is a non-random sampling technique wherein the sample has the same proportions of individuals as the entire population with respect to known characteristics, traits or focused phenomenon.
Response Policing	The act of responding to reports of crime and disorder used by police forces.
Rota Patrol	
S	
Statutory Powers	Policing powers defined by law, or statute, as delegated to CSOs.
Sworn Officers	Police officers with full statutory policing powers, who have sworn an oath and hold a warrant card.
SWP	South Wales Police
T	
Target Hardening	The use of design-out-crime strategies to make it harder for a crime to be committed and to reduce the gains of crime.
TRICK	Victim care system operative by South Wales Police (Arrive within **Timescales**; give a crime **Reference** number and officer contact details; **Inform** everything we've done and plan to do; advise when all enquiries are **Complete**; **Keep** you at the heart of everything we do).
W	
Warranted Officers	Police officers with full statutory policing powers who have sworn an oath and hold a warrant card.
WG-CSO	A Community Support Officer in Wales funded by the Welsh Government as part of the additional 500 programme.

1. Introduction

This report sets out findings from research commissioned to assess the deployment and work of 500 additional Community Support Officers (CSOs) funded by the Welsh Government since 2012. The analysis attends to: (1) the policy that was designed and its intent; (2) how the policy has been implemented strategically and operationally and, (3) the impacts that can be attributed to it in terms of public perceptions and experiences of crime, disorder and safety.

The research analyses quantitative, qualitative and administrative data to document key issues in the recruitment, deployment and day-to-day activities of these CSOs at national and police force level. Detailed insight into how far the additional CSOs have had an impact in Welsh communities is explored in-depth within six case study areas (CSAs). This multi-method / multi-level design enables the analysis to explore aggregate trends in perceptions and experiences of crime, disorder and safety, alongside how key impacts of the CSO role can be highly localised and situationally contingent.

Administrative data from the Welsh Government and the Welsh police forces set the scene to understand the process of policy implementation in each police force area (PFA). Additional qualitative data were obtained from interviews and focus groups with senior officers and the CSOs themselves.

Police data on recorded crime and anti-social behaviour, as well as public perception surveys, are used to assess whether we can infer that the additional CSO resource in Wales has impacted on operational policing and public opinion. Where possible, additional qualitative data on public perceptions have been obtained or analysis of local media reports of CSO activity conducted.

The report details how and why the initiative bears the hallmarks of being a ‘complex intervention’. This complexity stems partly from the multi-faceted nature of the CSO role. It is accepted that the work of a CSO should flex and adapt to the needs and demands of the particular communities and neighbourhoods where they are based. But equally, implementation of the policy has taken place in a period of reduced public funding for police and community support work. Such complexities place some constraints upon what can be reasonably inferred about the policy initiative and its outcomes for the communities of Wales.

Structure of the Report

The key data in this report are presented in Section 2 and are structured around the implementation and impact of additional CSOs across Wales at three levels:

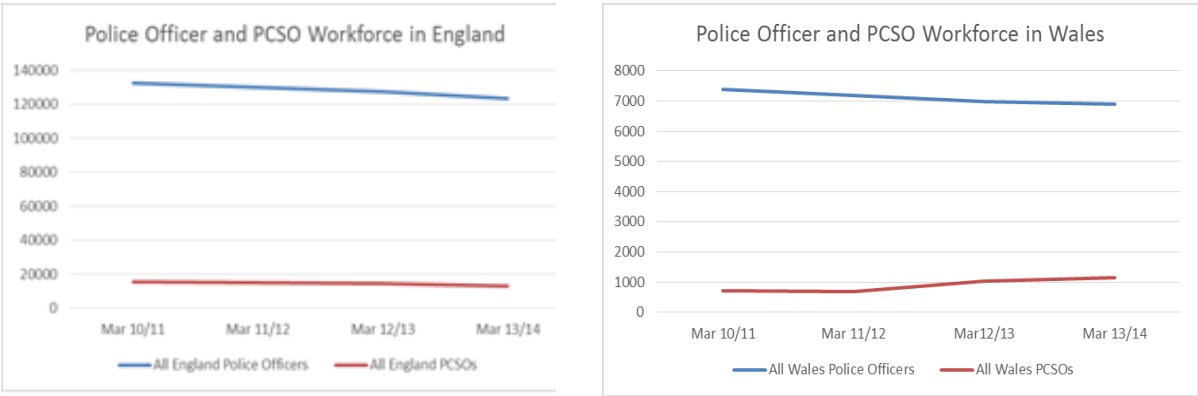
- Nationally (section 2.2);
- By Police Force Area (PFA) (section 2.3);
- Within six purposively sampled Case Study Areas (CSAs) (section 2.4).

1.1 Background to the Project

The Welsh Government policy to fund an additional 500 CSOs was developed against a backdrop of public sector austerity in England and Wales. This has implications for the configuration and delivery of policing. Three longer-term trends are important in understanding the context in which the initiative was developed and delivered:

A Shrinking Workforce

Since 2010, reductions in central government funding for the police have contributed to a reduction in the absolute number of police officers in England and Wales (Figure 1.1). England has seen their number of CSOs decline over the same period, with more reductions forecast as the Home Office has transferred the previously ring-fenced Neighbourhood Policing Fund to the general police funding settlement. By contrast, the Welsh Government investment has resulted in an increase in the number of CSOs from March 2012 onwards.



(Source: http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/data/crime-and-policing-comparator-data/)

Figure 1.1 Workforce numbers in England and Wales 2010-2014

Comparing the two graphs in Figure 1.1 identifies that the overarching trajectory of development in Wales has been different to that seen in England.

A Changing Workforce

Reductions in police staff numbers have not been uniformly distributed within or across police organisations. What the Welsh Government funding has done is alter the public-facing profile of police staff in Wales with a relative shift towards more CSOs. A recent analysis of trends in England and Wales (Grieg-Midlane, 2014) concludes that forces in England making the largest cuts[1] to their Neighbourhood Policing workforce are likely to put less future emphasis on reassurance and engagement activities and more on reactive policing functions, a point also made by the HMIC in their most recent annual assessment of policing in England and Wales (HMIC, 2014). Police forces that have maintained, or in the case of Wales, *re-configured* their local visible policing capacity have the potential to move in a different direction by underlining a commitment to the values of Neighbourhood Policing.

Public Perceptions of Police Visibility

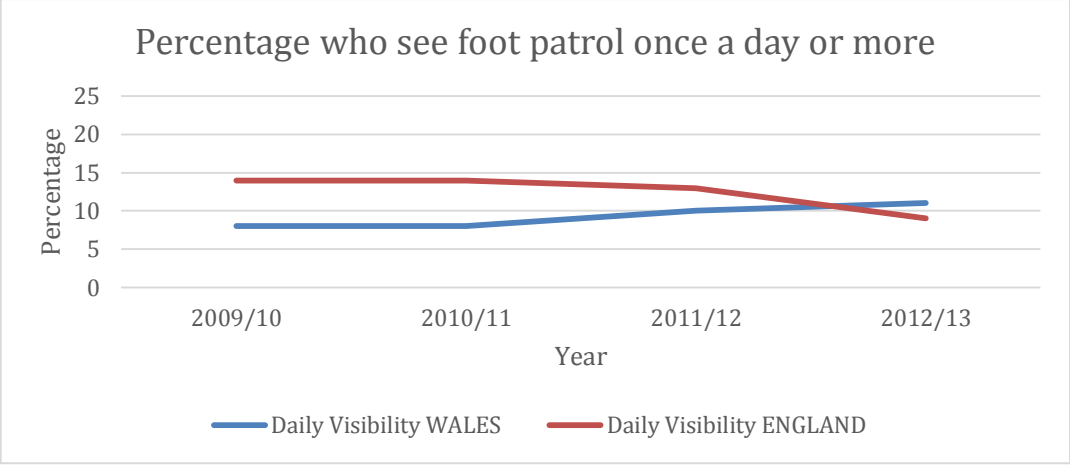
Each year the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) asks a representative sample of the adult public 'how often, if at all, they see a police officer or 'PCSO' on foot patrol in their local area?' The current data available from this survey largely pre-dates the introduction of Welsh Government CSOs but demonstrates divergent trends in public perceptions for Wales compared to England over the last four years (Figure 1.2).

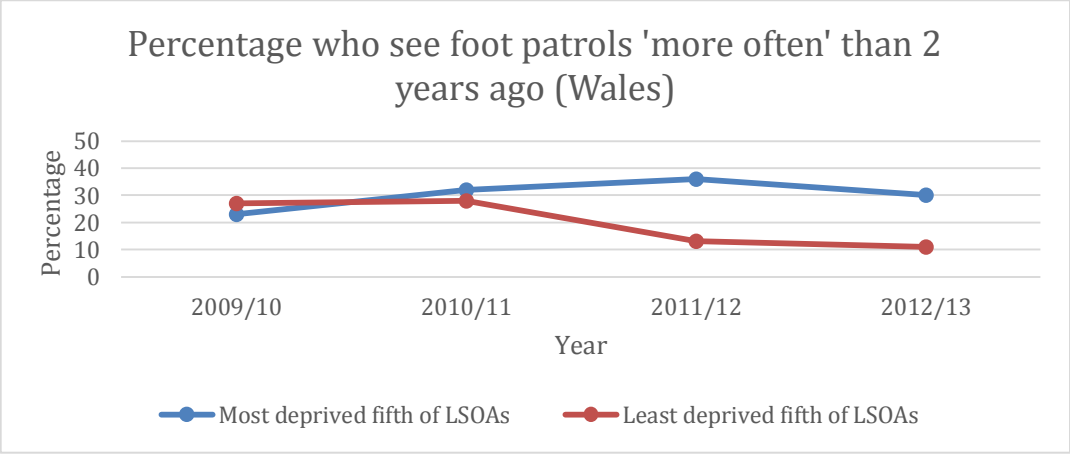
- In 2012-13, daily visibility of local police in Wales exceeded that of England where it had fallen by 4 percentage points over the last year.

- Within Wales, public perceptions of local police visibility have been increasing in highly deprived areas[2] and decreasing in the least deprived areas over the last three years.

These trend data also show that public perceptions in Wales, particularly those in hard-pressed communities, were moving in a positive direction before Welsh Government invested in an additional highly visible policing presence.

[1] Most notably London Met, Merseyside and Manchester police forces.
[2] 'Area' is based on Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) that are ranked in the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) into ten deciles. These deciles are combined into deprivation fifths in Figure 1.2.





(Source: Crime Survey for England and Wales)

Figure 1.2 National Trends in public perceptions of visibility

1.2 Aims of the Project

1.2.1 Programme Policy and Aims

In 2011, the newly elected Welsh Government honoured its manifesto pledge to invest in 'Safer Communities for All' across Wales by publishing its policy to 'fund and facilitate the employment of 500 Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) in Wales'. The stated aim of this additional resource was 'to play a pivotal role not only in making our communities safer, but in making them feel safer' (Welsh Government, 2011 pp 25-26)[3].

Eighteen (18) of the newly created posts were allocated to the British Transport Police in Wales on the basis of a business case supported by the Association of Chief Police Officers Cymru and the Police Authorities of Wales (the latter was still in existence at that time) and approved by Welsh Ministers. Ten percent (10%) were distributed equally between the four Welsh Home

[3] Programme for Government, 2011-2016.

Office forces and the remainder allocated to match the distribution of core funding between the four forces.

In the Welsh Government's Terms and Conditions of the grant made to participating police forces[4], the approved purpose of the Welsh Government funded Community Support Officers was set out. They were to: "contribute to the policing of neighbourhoods, primarily through highly visible patrols and being accessible to, and working with, local communities and partners to improve the quality of life of those affected by crime and anti-social behaviour". The Terms and Conditions specified that that the CSOs would achieve this by:

1. Being visible and accessible to communities;
2. Providing reassurance to communities;
3. Engaging with partners and community organisations to actively address anti-social behaviour and related criminal activity;
4. Contributing to the reduction in crime by solving problems at a local level.

In addition, reference was made to making "communities stronger and safer" introducing an aspiration to influence levels of community cohesion into the programme. These purposes have informed aspects of the research conducted.

From its inception the policy accent was on social deprivation, with the Welsh Government highlighting Communities First areas as those in which they would particularly like to see progress. However, responsibility for recruiting, employing, training and deploying the new officers rested with the forces themselves and the key principle underpinning their day-to-day activities was one of 'overarching operational independence of the police service'[4].

Notwithstanding that independence however, a core condition of the grant was that the new CSOs employed under it be *in addition* to forces' planned policing levels. This was defined as the 'additionality' principle – explicitly covering both police CSOs and police officers[5][6]. Whilst recognising that funding from other sources and thus core staffing levels were forecast to decrease over the spending review period, the Welsh Government

[4] Terms and Conditions Applying to the Award of Community Support Officer Grant Annex A: Approved Purpose, Welsh Government, January 2012.
[5] Terms and Conditions Applying to the Award of Community Support Officer Grant, Schedule 8: Additionality Principles, pp25-26, Welsh Government, April 2014.
[6] Written Statement – Community Support Officers – Additionality, Leighton Andrews, Minister for Public Services, November 2014.
http://gov.wales/about/cabinet/cabinetstatements/2014/csoadditionality/?lang=en

established robust monitoring to manage these complexities and demonstrate adherence to the additionality principle.

1.2.2 Aims of the Research

The Universities' Police Science Institute (UPSI) at Cardiff University was commissioned to independently assess the programme in March 2013, at a time when the deployment and recruitment process for the new CSOs was well underway.

Deployment of the Welsh Government CSOs began in January 2012. Differences in the number of posts allocated to each force, the complexity of recruitment processes and the scheduling of training into cost effective cohorts all impacted upon the process, resulting in a marked variation in the phasing of deployment between forces. There was, however, considerable overlap between them and nationally the full complement of 500 were recruited by October 2013 (Figure 1.3).

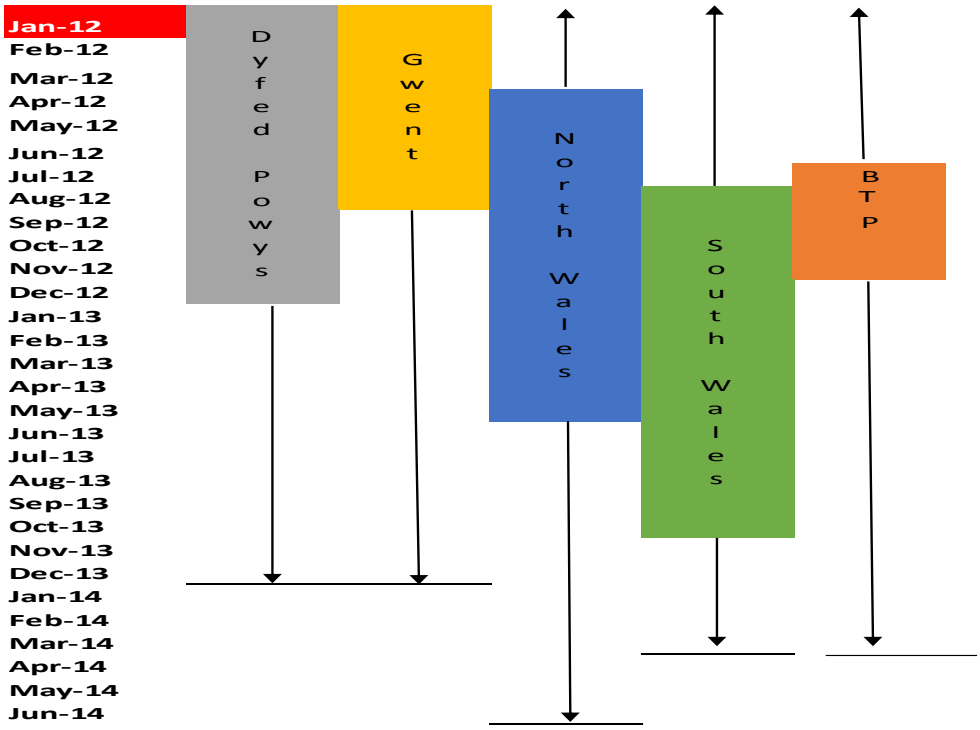


Figure 1.3 The Phased Deployment of Welsh Government CSOs

Using multiple research methods and data sources, the research engages with three key issues:

- **The policy and its intent**: to identify how the choices and decisions taken in formulating the policy shaped and framed how the additional CSOs were

deployed, the services they delivered to communities and any differences in community safety that resulted.

- **The operational implementation**: how the Welsh Government CSO resource was used by each force in terms of strategy and deployment patterns.

- **The impact**: any change as a result of this extra investment across several community safety outcome indicators. The research includes an assessment of change in some of these key indicators owing to influences outside of any services delivered by the 500 CSOs. This recognises the complex relations between cause and effect in wide-ranging social interventions of this kind.

The policy, its implementation and impacts are assessed at three levels: nationally; at police force level; and within selected case study areas. Questions of implementation and impact driving the assessment are summarised in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Aims of the Research

3 Levels	National	Police Force Area	Case Study Area	Areas for Investigation
Implementation	How was additional CSO resource integrated and used?			Deployment strategy Operational structure Contracts and personnel Training and retention Resource and demand Substitution
Impact	What changed as a result of this extra resource?			Crime and ASB Cohesion Visibility Perceived safety Public confidence & trust

1.3 Methodology

The complex nature of the intervention meant that a degree of pragmatism and creativity had to underpin the research design. At the time the research was commissioned the deployment of additional CSOs was well underway. It was therefore not possible to establish control sites or purposefully collect primary baseline data relevant to the study. As a consequence, the methodology utilises a variety of different primary (purposefully collected) and

secondary (existing) data sources to best estimate baseline and post-deployment positions. Different levels of aggregation and disaggregation are drawn upon to afford particular insights into the processes of implementation associated with the initiative and its impacts.

1.3.1 Quantitative Methodology

The research analyses quantitative data from existing sources. These are:

Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), formerly the British Crime Survey. This is a large-scale public victimisation survey with interviews conducted on a continuous basis each year on behalf of the Office for National Statistics (ONS). It provides a robust sample of public perceptions about policing in England and in Wales, and is used to model public perceptions in different community contexts using the relevant national Index of Multiple Deprivation (see Appendix A for further detail).

Police Recorded Crime and Incident Data. Each Welsh police force supplied these data which show the volume of offences and non-crime incidents including anti-social behaviour. Three out of the four Welsh forces were, on request, able to supply additional information about whether or not a CSO attended that incident. One force (SWP) also supplied the call grade given to each occurrence of crime or ASB.

The police data are used to show monthly trends over time. To facilitate comparison between forces, the trend data is indexed to January 2012, the latest date before any police force deployed a Welsh Government-funded CSO in their area. The data is analysed at both force level and case study level.

Where available, the police data are used to show trends over time in the attendance of 'any CSO'[7] at recorded crime or ASB. For a single force, the data is further used to show how CSO attendance varies by call grade over time.

The exact data provided by each force and the caveats that apply are set out in Appendix A.

Police force public perception surveys. Each Welsh police force supplied their surveys of the general public, or victims of crime and anti-social behaviour, covering the period before and after Welsh Government investment.

[7] 'any CSO' refers to any crime or incident where a CSO is tasked and deployed which could be singly, with other CSOs and/or any other number of warranted officers.

These data are used where possible to compare public attitudes at force and case study levels in the two time periods. There was, however, no uniformity across forces in how these data were collected and only one force consistently asked the same questions to the public over time to permit a robust assessment of any change in public opinion.

The exact data provided by each force and the caveats that apply are included in Appendix A.

Beaufort Omnibus Survey. The Welsh Government funded questions about CSOs in this survey over a three year period to be administered each November from 2012 to 2014 to a different sample of people. It is based upon a representative quota sample, consisting of a minimum of 1,000 adults aged 16+ who are resident in Wales. It is used in the research to investigate any change in public perceptions of CSO visibility, the CSO role and safety at police force area level between 2012 and 2013.

1.3.2 Qualitative Methodology

To understand each force's implementation of the policy, the research also employs qualitative research methods. These provide rich, in-depth data from which to interpret the enablers and inhibitors of an intervention and its logistical impact. To aid this understanding, a total of six case study areas were selected for detailed examination: one each in Dyfed Powys and North Wales and two each in Gwent and South Wales[8]. Table 1.2 lists these areas and the rationale for their inclusion in the research. The shading indicates those areas containing Communities First clusters.

[8] Because the BTP in Wales operates as a sub-division of a UK-wide force, analysis at the 'force' level was considered to be sufficient to explore the detail of policy implementation and the equivalent of a CSA within the Wales-only forces. The research design did not, therefore, include a CSA at a smaller geography within the force.

Table 1.2 Case Study Areas

Case Study Area	Police Force Area	Rationale
Tenby, Pembrokeshire	Dyfed Powys	Tourist, seasonal, transient population.
Newport Central, Newport	Gwent	Night-time economy, part-time WG-CSOs.
Ebbw Vale, Blaenau Gwent	Gwent	Valleys town, deprivation
Isle of Anglesey	North Wales	Rural, low crime
Grangetown, Cardiff	South Wales	High crime, ethnic diversity, socioeconomic disadvantage. Links in with UPSI i-NSI data.
Aberdare, Rhondda Cynon Taf	South Wales	Valleys town, deprivation Links in with UPSI i-NSI data.

The research utilises the following qualitative methods:

Qualitative Interviews. Fifteen (15) semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 19 senior police officers at force and/or local level to understand strategic approaches to the deployment and utilisation of the new CSO resource. These data are supplemented with some exploration of the tactical impact of the intervention, obtained from interviews with NPT Sergeants or Inspectors in each of the CSAs.

Focus Groups. Further data relating to the tactical impact of the intervention were obtained via nine focus groups with CSOs themselves. At least one focus group was conducted in each of the six case study areas and involved both Welsh Government CSOs and other CSOs within the NPTs.

Documentary Analysis. Interview and focus group data are supplemented with analysis of key documents relating to the policy as provided by the forces. Examples included internal strategy documents and reports, recruitment advertisements, people specifications and other human resources documents, operational documents and forms used by the CSOs. In addition, documents provided by the Welsh Government are also utilised, including those relating to the terms and conditions of the funding grant and regular monitoring reports.

Media Analysis. Local news media and online information by way of force websites are analysed for content where this aids the research. Examples included the Tenby Observer online newspaper.

Observational Research. In the North Wales PFA researchers were able to accompany and observe CSOs on patrol and in the Cynon Valley a PACT meeting was observed. Detailed field notes were taken by researchers and are utilised in the research.

Intelligence-oriented Neighbourhood Security Interviews (i-NSI). In the two CSAs within the South Wales PFA, UPSI were independently involved with projects to understand public perceptions of security using this bespoke methodology. With the agreement of SWP, data obtained via these projects informs this research.

Public Focus Groups. One public focus group was conducted with a Girl Guide group on the Isle of Anglesey. This was an additional, ad-hoc data collection opportunity organised by the local NPT in response to the research team's request to meet with young people to better understand their views on the role of the CSO.

All interview, focus group and i-NSI respondents were allocated a unique respondent number to aid the analyses and ensure their anonymity.

A more detailed description of the qualitative data collected and analysed is provided in Appendix B.

1.3.3 Procedures

Approval to share data was obtained via a formal data sharing agreement with each of the four terrestrial forces.[9] Access to quantitative data, documentary sources and qualitative research participants was then arranged via the representatives of each PFA on the CSO Research Steering Committee. Once initial contact was established with relevant force staff members and officers, contact usually proceeded directly allowing for access to be arranged in a mutually acceptable manner.

[9] Some difficulties were encountered in obtaining access to the BTP in Wales in the early stages of the study. When limited access was eventually obtained, no formal data sharing agreement was sought by the force. For further details see section 2.2.3.

2. Key Findings

2.1 Impact and Change Summary

In framing this research, three key concepts are used: 'implementation'; 'impact' and 'change'.

Analysis of 'implementation' focuses upon the processes by which the additional resources were introduced into the policing of Wales, and the strategic, tactical and operational influences upon their deployment patterns.

The 'impact' analysis seeks to use a variety of indicators, covering both perceptions and experiences, to gauge what difference the new policing assets have had. The term is only used when movements in key indicators can be reasonably attributed to the activities of the CSOs. These indicators are listed in Table 2.1.

The research also includes an assessment of 'change' in these indicators to capture alterations resulting from influences outside of any services delivered by the 500 CSOs. These are alterations that probably would have happened anyway. Acknowledging such changes is important because it:

- Recognises the complex relations that exist between cause and effect in wide-ranging social interventions of this kind;
- Ensures the intervention is not having unintended consequences in terms of interfering in positive developments triggered by other influences;
- Reflects evidence to suggest that patterns and trends in the prevalence and distribution of crime, disorder and security in England and Wales are currently restructuring.

The relationship between impact and change is especially important to this research in terms of understanding what the policy intervention and its implementation did and did not accomplish. The complex nature of trying to capture the impacts of work conducted by CSOs is obvious when we recognise that they are often embedded in Neighbourhood Policing Teams, working on specific problems in particular neighbourhoods. As such, we would expect any influence of their activities to be neighbourhood specific and potentially highly localised in terms of its effects.

Such considerations do appear to be reflected in the tenor and tone of the key impacts and changes detected by the empirical evidence collected as part of this research. These are summarised in Table 2.1, which seeks to provide an 'at a glance' representation of this aspect of the research findings.

	All Wales	Force SWP	Force NWP	Force Gwent	Force DPP	Grange-town	Aberdare	Anglesey	Newport	Ebbw Vale	Tenby
Crime Rate		(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)						
ASB Rate											
Perceptions of Safety	(3)					(5)	(5)				
Confidence & Trust in Police											(2)
CSO attending ASB / non crime											
Community cohesion	(3)					(5)	(5)				
Police Visibility (actual / perceived)						(6)					(4)

Table 2.1 Impact and Change Summary

(1) Slight increase in linear trend since January 2012, not attributable to CSO investment. (2) Weak data. (3) CSOs more impact in more deprived areas.
(4) Increase in visibility of CSOs but not wholly positive, as public sees at the expense of PCs. (5) Positive perceptions but no baseline to measure change.
(6) Polarised perceptions but no baseline to measure change

The table's columns represent the levels at which evidence of change and impact is sought: national; police force area; and in six case study sites. The rows set out the key indicators where it is envisaged the policy's implementation might impact. These indicators are derived from three sources: (1) the purposes set out by Welsh Government (2) review of the available research literature (3) statistical modelling of the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

- Cells coloured green show where evidence of programme impact has been established;

- Red cells are where negative **change** in that indicator has occurred. **This may or may not have anything to do with the CSOs, but it is important to capture to show that the additional capacity has not stopped it.**

- A number of the cells are shaded amber. This colour is used to denote where there is some form of complex effect. This might be, for example, where it is a situational or neighbourhood effect, or a non-linear trend where the underlying pattern has shifted during the implementation period.

- Blue is used for where the indicator was stable or a slight positive change is detected but that there is no evidence to conclude that this is caused by the programme intervention.

- Where a cell is blank that means there is either insufficient data available, or no discernible pattern is detected.

Summarising the key data in this way is helpful in conveying the complex nature of what is described in more detail in the following sections of the report. The table illuminates a number of key findings:

- The most consistent impact of the programme is in CSOs assuming a greater role in responding to ASB and non-crime calls for service from members of the public. This we label a 'delegation' effect.

- In an economic context where the number of police officers has been reduced, the delegation effect is an important and potentially consequential development in the organisation of policing.

- The research struggled to ascertain reliable data of impacts on community cohesion and perceptions of safety. The Welsh Government identified both of these in their purposes for making the grant to the police forces.

- There is some evidence of increased police visibility being enabled by the additional CSOs. However, the impacts are moderated by the fact that at a very local level, whilst people were appreciative of the CSOs, they can be seen as a ‘substitute’ for ‘real’ police officers.

- An important finding in relation to police visibility is the presence of a ‘dosage effect’. Too little visible police presence has negative consequences for neighbourhood security. Equally though, too much police visibility in an area can make people concerned about what must be happening to warrant this presence. It is important that the quantity and quality of police presence is carefully calibrated to local need.

2.2 National Analysis

This section examines the project's findings at an all-Wales level. It first details how the programme was implemented, going on to explore the impact nationally.

As Community Support Officers do not represent a new intervention in policing and there was no control site in Wales, the closest approximation to a natural control for this policy appraisal was to construct a comparison with patterns and trends in England, where no additional investment in CSO numbers has been made over the same time period.

The following section outlines the longer-term trends and divergent forecasts for Wales and England in relation to CSOs and Neighbourhood Policing more generally.

2.2.1 Implementation

The Welsh Government's policy to fund an additional 500 CSO posts in Wales was implemented following the election in 2011. There is a commitment to maintain the investment throughout the current Assembly term.

A Project Board was established in August 2011 to oversee implementation. This Board was chaired by a senior Welsh Government official, with representatives from the Association of Chief Police Officers Cymru (ACPOC). In April 2012, as the CSO project moved away from its initial delivery phase, the Project Board was replaced by the CSO Strategic Steering Group which continues to monitor and oversee the ongoing delivery of the project to date. This group is also chaired by Welsh Government and retains representation from ACPOC.

Initial discussions regarding implementation of the policy across the different forces in Wales were understandably complex. Key among the areas discussed at length was the extent to which the Welsh Government would influence the deployment of the additional resources. Whilst the Welsh Government highlighted Communities First areas as ones where they would particularly wish to see progress under the policy, there was a desire on the part of police forces to integrate the new resource into current strategic deployment models. One of the resulting principles underpinning policy implementation was therefore the need to recognise the operational independence of the police service, both in terms of deployment and day-to-day activities of the new CSOs. In essence, Chief Officers were permitted to use the new resource in whatever way they felt most appropriate in their PFA provided they "had regard for Welsh Government strategic priorities and the aim of Safer Communities for All"[10].

[10] Annex A: Terms and Conditions applying to the Award of Community Support Officer Grant, Welsh Government, January 2012

Terms and Conditions for the grant were ultimately agreed and issued to the relevant Police Authorities in January 2012. Under those terms, monitoring requirements and conditions for an annual review of continued funding were laid out. Foremost amongst them was that the new posts remain additional to each force's existing establishment. The Welsh Government recognised that core staffing levels across all forces were forecast to decrease over the spending review period as a result of austerity cuts in other funding sources and that the monitoring of additionality would pose a challenge. To aid interpretation of what was intended by the term additionality, the Strategic Steering Group devised the 'additionality principle'. This outlined the need for transparency in relation to changes of staffing plans and the regular monitoring of updated workforce forecasts to ensure compliance. Confirmation of acceptance of the grant and revised terms and conditions was obtained from police authorities in August 2012, and newly elected Police and Crime Commissioners in each region in December 2012.

In the meantime, recruitment and deployment of the new CSOs had got underway:

- 206 Full Time Equivalent posts (FTE) were allocated to South Wales Police (SWP);
- 101 FTE to North Wales Police (NWP);
- 101 FTE to Gwent Police (GP);
- 74 FTE to Dyfed Powys Police (DPP);
- and 18 FTE to the British Transport Police (BTP) in Wales.

The first Welsh Government-funded CSOs were recruited by GP and DPP in November 2011 and commenced their training, to be deployed in January of the following year. There followed an extended period where forces continued to recruit and train their new officers alongside those filling vacancies in their existing establishments, with the final intake being recruited and deployed by SWP in October 2013.

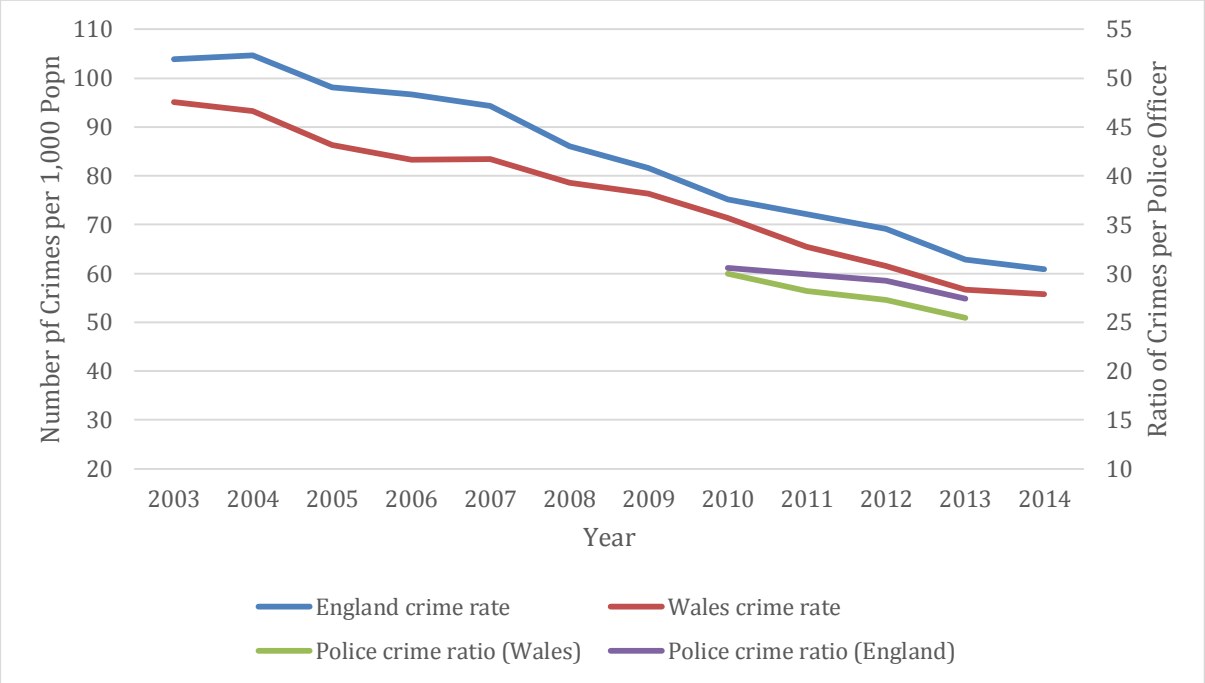
The divergent workforce trends shown in section 1.1 clearly show the effect of this additional recruitment at an all-Wales level compared to England, where resource has remained static or decreased, adding weight to the argument that England approximates to a comparator site for assessing programme impact.

2.2.2 Impact

This section focuses on the extent to which an increase in CSOs has had, or might be expected to have had, any discernible impact across Wales as a whole. The analysis covers a range of different indicators.

Crime

Levels of recorded crime have fallen over the last twelve years for Wales and for England in common with trends for Europe over the last decade.



(Source: ONS, Crime Statistics [authors' own analysis of reference table data])

Figure 2.1 Crime Rate for Wales and England, 2003-14 showing ratio of crimes per police officer

- The long-term downward trend in crime for Wales tracks that of England where no additional CSO investment has been made. For these reasons it is impossible to infer that additional CSOs in the last two years have had an impact on the crime rate in Wales.

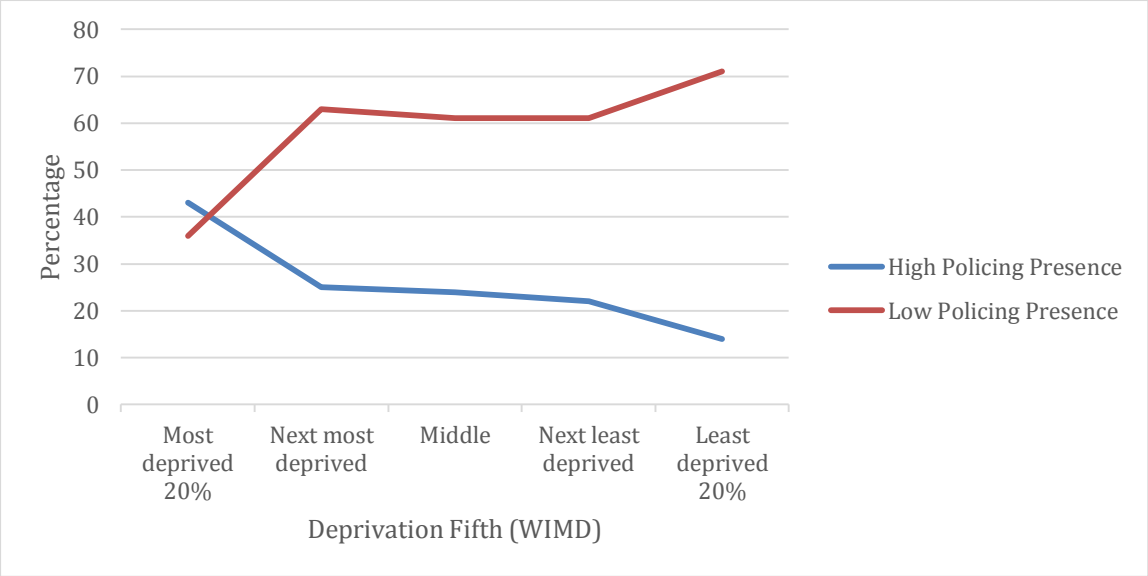
- The rate of falling crime exceeds the rate of police officer workforce reductions (shown by decreases in the crimes per officer ratio for 2010 to 2013). This implies that there is no obvious demand for CSOs to take on police-based crime work, and consequently little reason to expect more CSOs to alter the overall crime rate in Wales.

Modelling Public Perceptions

Public perception data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales is used to model where differences in visibility might be most keenly felt by the public. Figure 2.2 shows the percentage of the public in Wales who perceive a 'high' or 'low' local *Policing Presence* in their local area based on:

- The frequency of reported sightings of foot patrol, and/or;
- Perception of a change in foot patrol over the last two years (positive or negative).

Members of the public living in highly deprived areas of Wales are most likely to report a high police presence[11] whilst 7 out of 10 people in the least deprived areas say that policing presence is low[12]. In the most deprived fifth of areas, the percentage difference between people reporting 'high' and 'low' policing presence is small, suggesting that perceptions about police visibility and change are more polarised here.



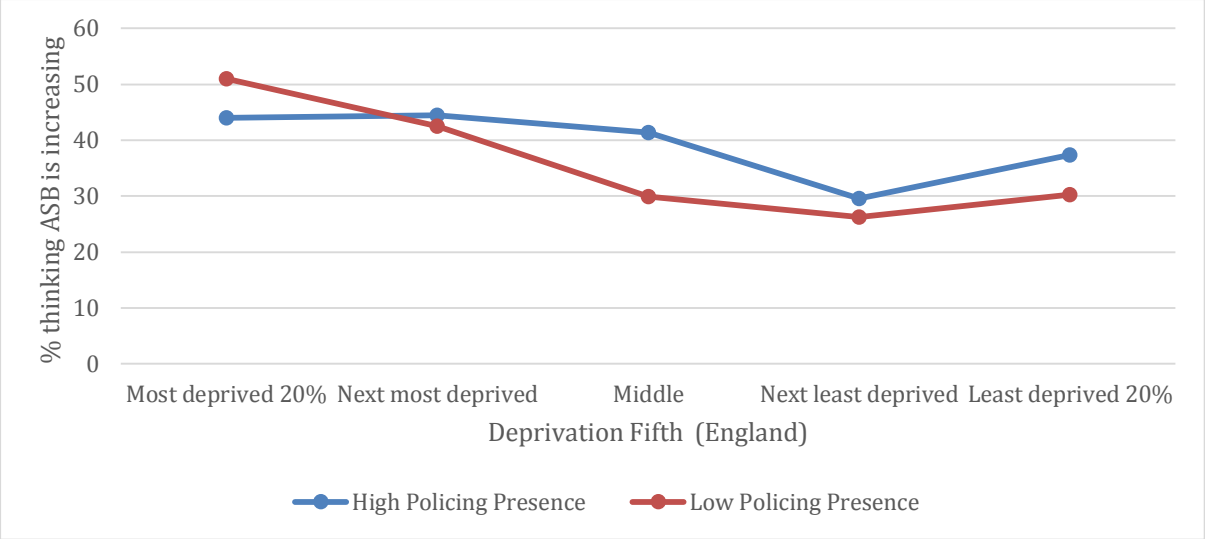
(Source: Crime Survey for England and Wales, 2011-12)

Figure 2.2 Public perceptions of Policing Presence by Deprivation Fifth in Wales

Increased visibility resulting from the additional 500 CSOs in Wales may serve to change this picture or reinforce it (this will not be evident until further surveys of the CSEW become available).

Other data from the CSEW suggests that the *meaning* of visibility to the public is also sensitive to the wider deprivation context and is more contingent than a straightforward sense that "more equals better".

[11] Where daily visibility is reported and/or an increase in foot patrol over the last two years.
[12] Where no visibility is reported and/or a decrease in foot patrol over the last two years.



(Source: Crime Survey for England and Wales, 2011-12: England data for men only).

Figure 2.3 Public perceptions of Policing Presence and increasing ASB: the dosage effect

Figure 2.3 shows that men are most likely to say that anti-social behaviour (ASB) is going up if they live in a highly deprived area and feel policing presence is low. As area deprivation lessens, however, they are more likely to think that ASB is increasing if they perceive a high policing presence. Replicated for women and for perceptions of crime, this suggests that public perceptions of police visibility are highly contingent on where people live:

- Highly visible foot patrol may provide most public reassurance about ASB and crime in deprived areas.

- Increasing the 'dose' of highly visible foot patrol in communities where crime and disorder is less acute or visible may fuel public concerns that ASB and crime are a growing problem, particularly if other forms of engagement with the community are lacking.

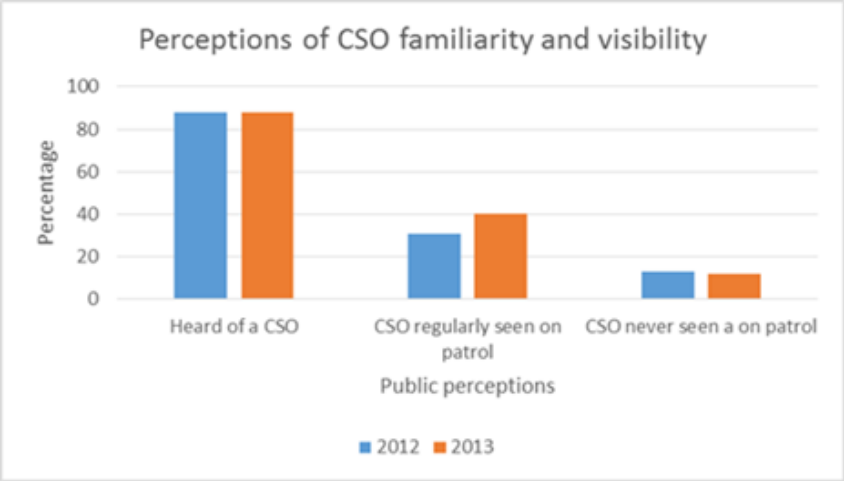
CSOs will have optimal impact on public perceptions of crime and ASB when the 'dosage' of visibility is right for their community context and there exists 'deeper' familiarity between CSOs and the public.

Change in Public Perceptions for Wales

Over the period of Welsh Government investment, the Beaufort Omnibus Survey shows some positive change on reported 'regular' sightings of CSO foot patrols by the public between 2012 and 2013 (Figure 2.4).

- Public familiarity with CSOs in Wales is very high (88%) but has not changed, neither has the percentage who report never seeing a CSO on patrol (12-13%).

- Among the vast majority who had seen a CSO, a sizeable percentage said that visible patrol made 'no difference' to their safety. This percentage has fallen over the last year (from 48% to 40%) and there has been a corresponding increase in the percentage who feel 'a lot safer' (13% to 18%), but this survey does not permit further analysis of how the 'dosage' of visibility might moderate its impact on public perceptions of safety.



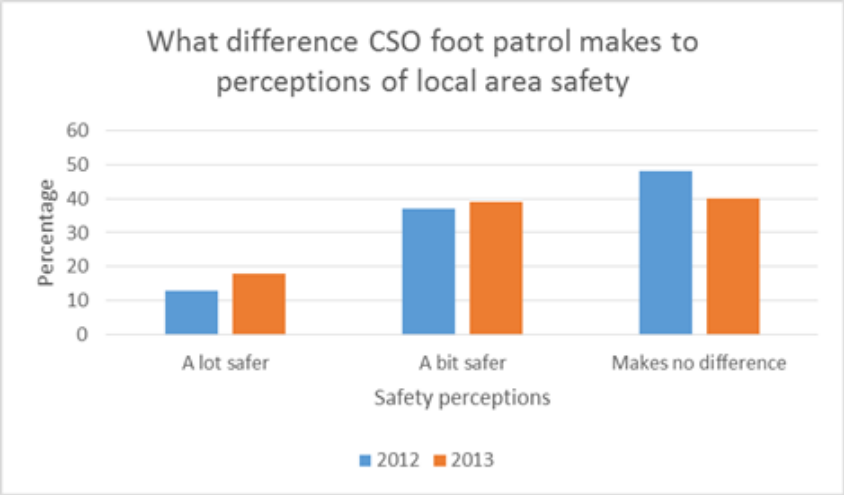


Figure 2.4 Public perceptions in Wales: change in the Beaufort Omnibus Survey 2012 and 2013.

2.3 Force Level Analysis

The following analysis considers how the Welsh Government's policy was implemented at PFA level and its impact in each area. Subsections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 focus upon the four Welsh forces where 482 of the 500 new CSO posts were allocated and deployed.

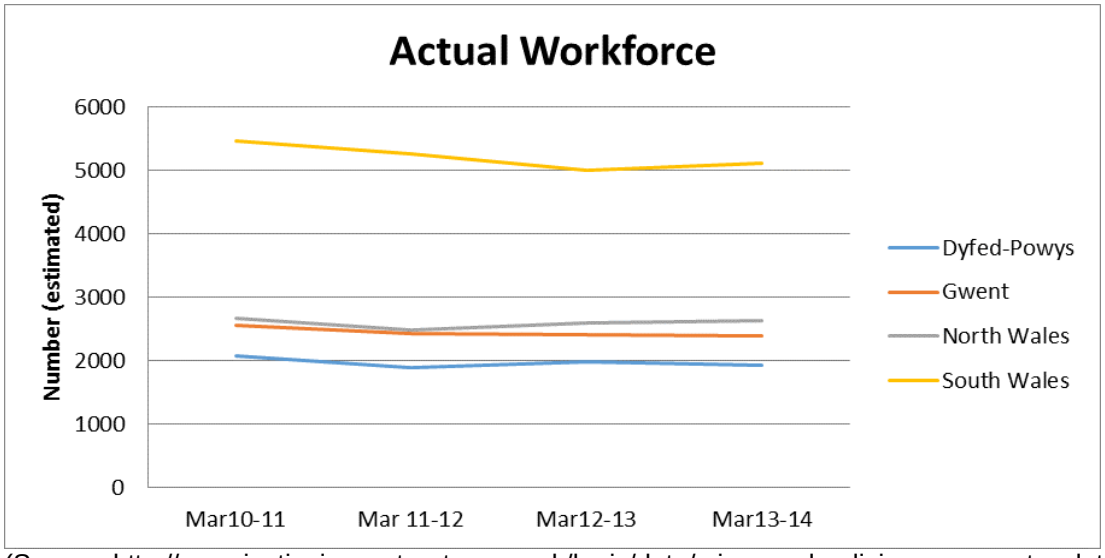
The BTP in Wales were allocated the remaining 18 posts for deployment across its national jurisdiction. As a sub-division of a UK-wide force with a specialist responsibility for the railway network, it operates somewhat differently from the other four forces and so is considered separately in Section 2.2.3. A more detailed analysis of the data available can be found within the Police Force Area report in Appendix G.

2.3.1 Implementation

This section looks in detail at current workforce and crime trends for each of the Welsh police forces and how they chose to implement their share of the new CSOs.

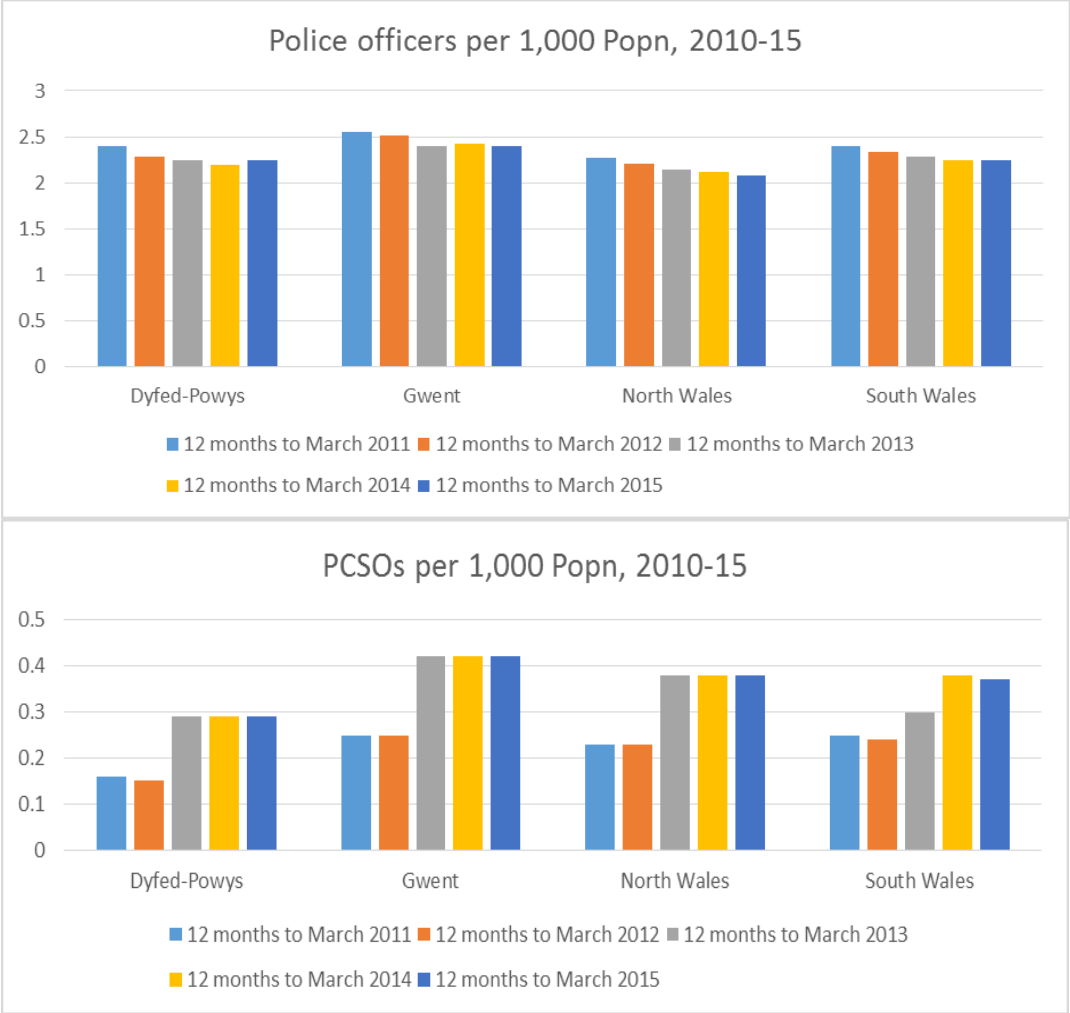
- Total workforce numbers remained largely static for each force over the last four years with a decrease only evident for South Wales (Figure 2.5).

- However, this static trend belies an increase in CSO numbers per 1,000 of the population in each Welsh force compared to a decrease in police officer numbers over the same period (Figure 2.6).



(Source: http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/data/crime-and-policing-comparator-data/)

Figure 2.5 Workforce numbers by police force in Wales



(Source: Police Objective Analysis: 2014/5 estimates.
http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/crime-and-policing-comparator/)

Figure 2.6 Police officer and CSO trends by Welsh police force.

Across the four forces in Wales, recruitment of the new CSOs took similar trajectories, with both internal and external recruitment campaigns being utilised. In many instances, applications were sought from candidates already 'on-file', having applied previously for roles within the force. A 'freeze' or re-configuring of police officer recruitment was in place in all forces as a result of national reductions to the policing budget and as such, many of those who applied had an ultimate ambition to join the police service as warranted officers. Additionally, the general contraction in police staff numbers meant that applications for re-deployment from redundant traffic wardens, civilian custody officers and the like were also considered.

CSO role descriptions and person specifications used were those already available within each force at the time and these were broadly similar for all forces. In some areas different aspects of the person specification were emphasised. In North Wales

for example, the required level of Welsh language proficiency was higher to meet public expectations.

Table 2.1 summarises the basic demographics of the individuals recruited in each force area in comparison to that of the existing CSO establishment (where this data was made available to the research)[13]. In three of the five forces, CSOs who joined under Welsh Government funding were more likely to be under 25 years of age and with the exception of those in DPP, were more likely to be male. A potential implication of these differences is that the Welsh Government-funded CSO cohorts are predominantly formed of younger people (particularly men) looking to establish careers as police officers, rather than more vocational CSOs at a later stage of the life course. This hypothesis was explored during fieldwork in the case study areas and is discussed further in Section 3.1.1 (see interview guide in Appendix B).

	WG-CSOs	Other CSOs
DPP (at 01/2014)	**70**	**75**
Aged 25 and under	53%	17%
Male	53%	59%
NWP (at 04/2014)	**61**	**161**
Aged 25 and under	67%	17%
Male	67%	47%
SWP (at 06/2014)	**206**	**259**
Aged 25 and under	44%	17%
Male	69%	52%
GP (at 07/2014)	**101 FTE/122 HC**	
Aged 25 and under	*Not available*	*Not available*
Male	51%	*Not available*
Part-time	40	
Full-time	82	
BTP (at 04/2014)	**18**	
Aged 25 and under	*Not available*	*Not available*
Male	94%	*Not available*

Table 2.2 Community Support Officer Demographics

[13] Comparative data were obtained from forces at different time points during 2014 and thus the total number of WG-CSOs deployed at each force's given time point does not necessarily reflect the total number allocated. Forces were unable to provide a retrospective comparison with other CSOs at the time their allocation were first fully deployed. These data are thus presented here as a 'snap-shot' comparison of the demographics of WG-CSOs compared with those funded from other sources and do not represent full deployment figures.

Different strategic approaches were used in the placement of Welsh Government CSOs in Welsh communities. Forces varied, for example, on how far their deployment was by demand, by deprivation or by simply 'doubling up' on resource.

This latter approach was taken by DPP, one of the first forces to begin deployment in 2012. Their deployment coincided with an organisational move to a more structured, functional Neighbourhood Management approach within the force. Senior officers were keen to deploy the new resources quickly, with the flexibility to re-deploy if necessary as the new model rolled out:

> *'How we initially approached things was, we will just double up where our Home Office PCSOs were, but be flexible. Now we are looking to put more of a refined structure, which I am really excited about, around neighbourhood policing and really moving towards neighbourhood management.'*
> [SMT2]

In both NWP and SWP, the primary deployment strategy focused on allocating posts between regions based on existing force modelling of local demand, deprivation and - in North Wales particularly - the rural nature of much of the area. NWP obtained input from District Inspectors as to the number, local deployment and anticipated activities of additional CSOs before finalising allocations. In South Wales, BCU commanders took full responsibility for the local deployment of their centrally allocated number. In some cases, the new resources were simply distributed according to demand, whereas in others local management took the opportunity to develop new initiatives. On the Isle of Anglesey for example, a new Rural Farms Officer post was created with island-wide responsibility. In SWP's Eastern Division, the BCU Commander chose to create a number of specialist positions, including dedicated officers for the University Hospital Wales and the Channel Project in Cardiff. As the local management team explained;

> SMT5*: I had a little look at what demand looked like. I had a look at schools, because that's a lot of their work, with schools. I had a little look at the demand. So population, ASB, self-explanatory, as you would expect and then based on that, formed the plan. So you can see that it wasn't just let's pin the tail on the donkey.*
>
> LMT13*: Yeah it wasn't 'we got 69, let's divide that equally and everybody gets the same share', there was a decision making process behind it.*

Gwent were the only force in which there was some demarcation between the new cohort and existing CSOs in terms of their day-to-day work and their deployment strategy was particularly innovative. Initial allocations started with a tried and tested

model based on deprivation, Communities First status, crime and ASB demand. The remainder of the 101 CSOs were allocated on the basis of professional judgement. Recognising that demand was variable across the week, particularly in some town centre areas, a strategy developed to utilise a portion of the force's full-time equivalent allocation to employ part-time officers working at weekend peak demand times and thus to maximise police visibility. By offering limited hours roles, the force also anticipated attracting a diverse range of candidates for whom part-time working was attractive.

At 30th September 2014, the number of Welsh Government funded CSOs deployed in Communities First areas was reported[14] as follow: NWP 53; DPP 29; BTP 11. Data for SWP and GP were not available.

It is notable that in all forces, deployment of extra CSOs coincided with some degree of organisational change as services reconfigured in a climate of austerity. In DPP and Gwent particularly, significant changes to force operating models had been, or were in the process of being applied. This complexity, together with different strategic approaches, makes it difficult to directly compare the Welsh forces and decreases the likelihood that the same impacts would be found – or expected – in each one.

2.3.2 Impact

This section compares the four police forces in Wales and looks for change in the volume of police recorded crime and ASB. This change could be a decrease in volume or an increase if, for example, there is a 'reporting effect' from the greater number and availability of CSOs.

Crime and Anti-social Behaviour

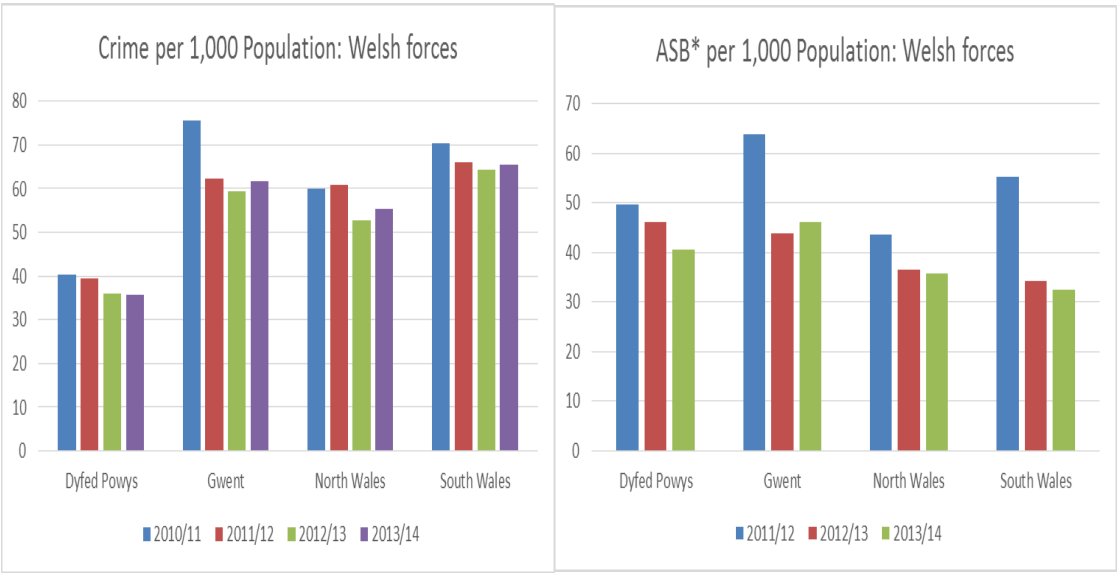
Adjusting for population size, recorded crime has generally decreased in each police force area since 2010-11 (Figure 2.7), although there are suggestions of a very recent uplift.

- Recorded crime was at its lowest in 2012-13 meaning that in 3 out of the 4 Welsh forces there has been a very slight increase over the last year.

The rate of ASB shows greater variation, in part because the way these incidents were recorded changed in 2011[15].

[14] Welsh Government CSO Monitoring Report, Position at 30th September 2014. Administartive data provided by the Welsh Government.
[15] The way ASB incidents are recorded by the police changed in April 2011 and, therefore, ASB incident data recorded from that point is not comparable with previous years.

- All forces have seen a sizeable fall in recorded ASB since 2011-12 and this has been consistent over time for all Welsh forces apart from Gwent.



(Source: Crime and ASB - June 2011/12/13/14.
http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/data/crime-and-policing-comparator-data/)

Figure 2.7 Police recorded crime and ASB by Welsh police force

Reflecting the national picture, figures for each force show a continuation of longer-term declines in crime and ASB that pre-date the Welsh Government investment in CSOs. Whilst largely positive, these trends cannot be directly attributed to additional CSOs in Wales. Similar trends are observed in England where no extra police resource was available.

CSOs 'at the scene'

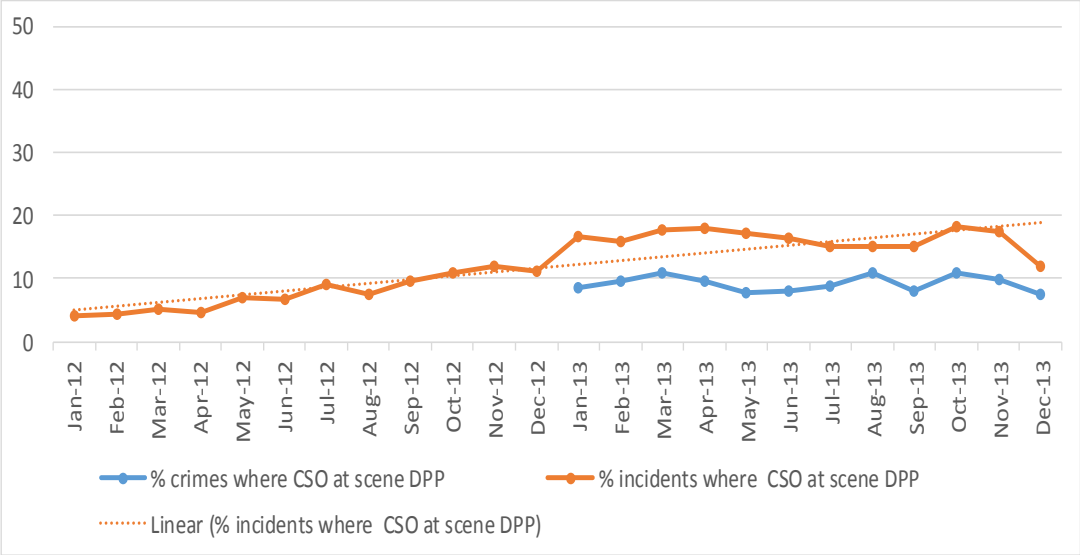
A different approach to the police data is to examine recorded crimes and incidents with a CSO 'at the scene' – where it is recorded that a CSO was tasked and deployed to attend, whether alone or alongside a warranted officer. Using Dyfed Powys' police force data as an example, Figure 2.8 shows:

- The percentage of recorded crimes with a CSO at the scene remained fairly static throughout 2013, a time when this force had its full complement of Welsh Government-funded CSOs.

- By contrast, there has been a steady increase in the percentage of recorded incidents where a CSO is at the scene, from 7 percent in January 2012 to 20 percent by the end of the following year.

Increases in CSO attendance at incidents since January 2012 are also evident in North Wales and South Wales. (Data on CSO attendance at the scene for GP was not available).

It is possible to conclude therefore that, coinciding with the deployment of additional CSOs across Wales, there has been an increase in their attendance at non-crime incidents including anti-social behaviour.[16]



(Source: DPP crime and incident data)

Figure 2.8 Percentage of crimes and incidents with a CSO at the scene – Dyfed Powys Police

Ward – level change in CSOs at the scene

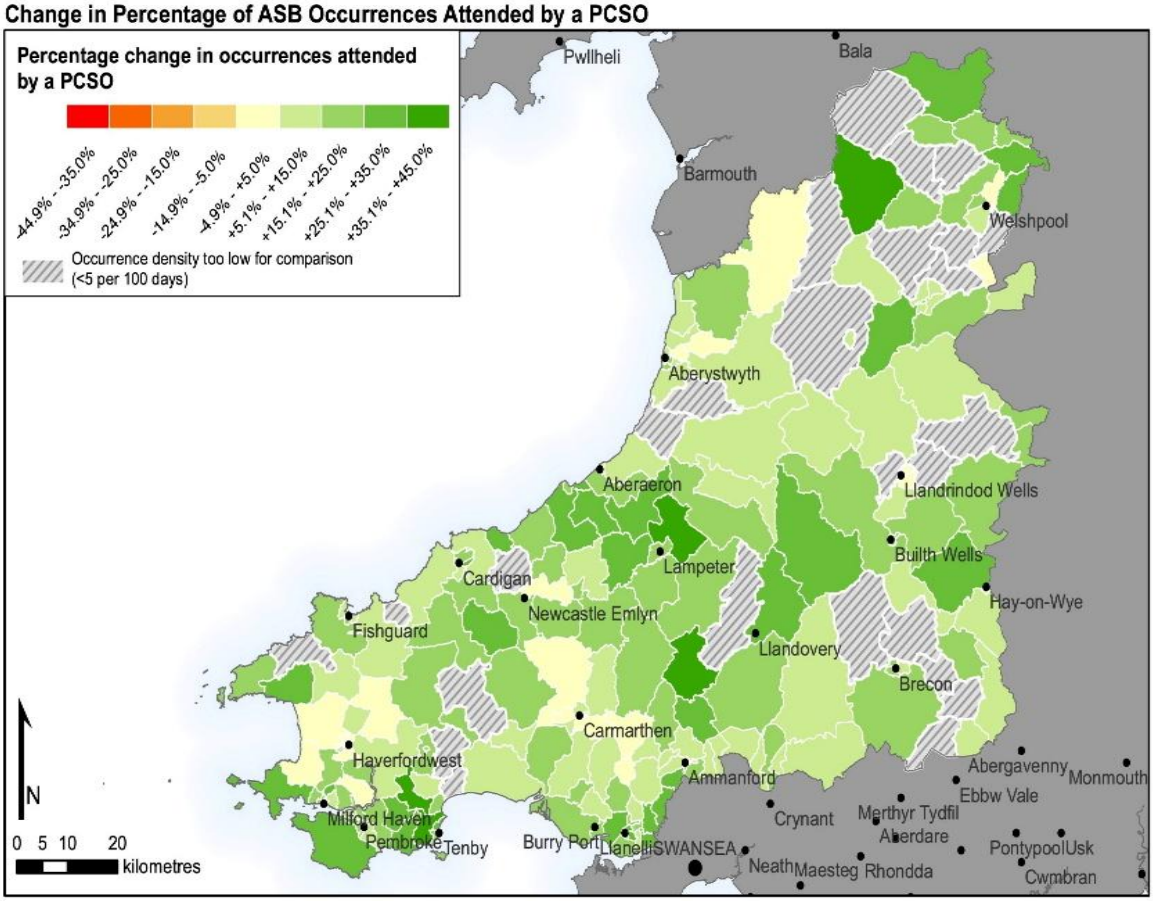
Percentage change in CSOs at the scene is mapped at ward-level within police force areas, before and after the additional CSOs were deployed.

This map is shown for Dyfed Powys as an example based on incidents recorded as ASB (Figure 2.9), but the findings are also applicable to forces in North Wales and South Wales. Wards with the largest percentage change are shaded dark green for positive change and red for negative change. Importantly:

- The degree of change in CSO deployment and attendance at ASB incidents is not uniformly spread across all wards in any police force area.
- The majority of change, whilst positive, is modest in intensity.

[16] Data available for South Wales Police and Dyfed Powys Police only.

- Across the three police forces, no ward shows a large negative change in CSO attendance at the scene, but a sizeable number were excluded because the base number of ASB incidents was too small to calculate in a robust way.



(Source: DPP incident data)

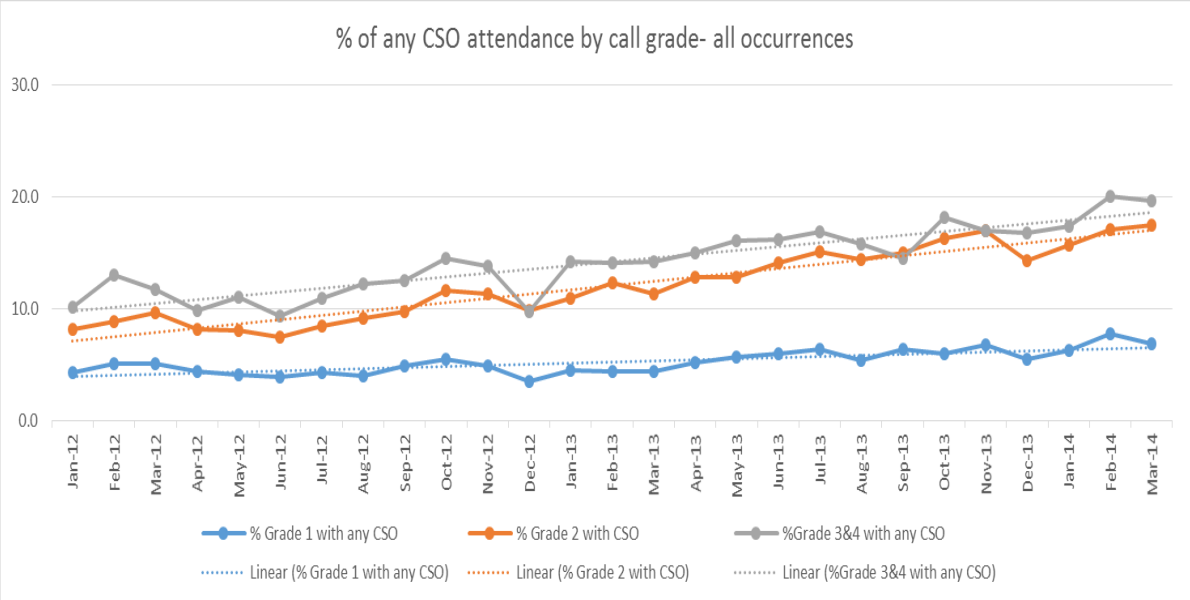
Figure 2.9 Ward level change in CSO attendance at ASB – Dyfed Powys

The point of this analysis is to confirm that at local levels, the presence and impact of the additional CSOs has registered more strongly in some areas of Wales than others.

Call Grade attendance

Call grade data available from South Wales Police provides additional information about the tasking of CSOs. For this single force it shows:

- Over the period of additional investment in CSOs, there has been a notable increase in the proportion of lower call grades (2, 3 and 4) being attended by any CSO, but only a modest increase for the most urgent priority calls (Grade 1).



(Source: SWP crime and incident data)

Figure 2.10 Percentage of any CSO attendance by call grade – all occurrences South Wales

Change in Public Perceptions

CSO familiarity and visibility have changed over the last two years for members of the public, but the direction and magnitude of change is variable across the four Welsh forces according to data from the Beaufort Omnibus Survey (this survey did not include questions about BTP).

- An increase in public familiarity with CSOs is found in Dyfed Powys compared with the previous year, with no change in South Wales and North Wales.

- Members of the public in South Wales, North Wales and Gwent were more likely to witness regular foot patrol in their local area in 2013 than in 2012.

- Residents in North Wales, Dyfed Powys and Gwent, who had seen a CSO were more likely to report that this made them feel 'a lot safer' in 2013 than in the previous year. The exception was for South Wales where sightings of a CSO increasingly made 'no difference' to safety perceptions over the same time period.

There was negative or no change in public awareness of the Welsh Government policy of funding CSOs which remained at around 1 in 10 of the Welsh public in each force area.

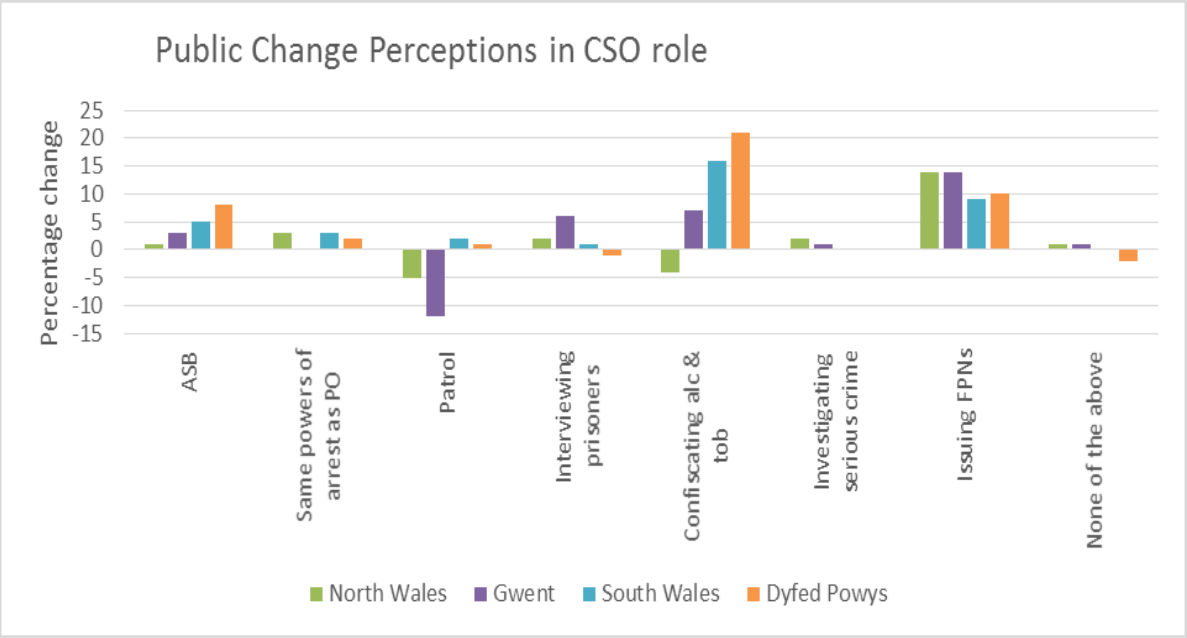
Figure 2.11 presents *changes* in public perceptions of the CSO role between 2012 and 2013 across the 4 Welsh forces. It shows that:

- In all force areas, the public increasingly view anti-social behaviour as being part of the CSO role, along with the issuing of Fixed Penalty Notices (FPN's).

- There has been a sizeable increase in the percentage of the public who see confiscating alcohol and tobacco as part of the CSO role in all areas except North Wales.

- In the NWP and GP force areas there has been a percentage decrease in patrol as a function of CSOs, although a majority of the public recognised this as a key function in both years of the survey.

These findings suggest that public perceptions of the CSO role are changing in a way that is broadly in keeping with what CSOs are supposed to be doing and what some of the evidence above shows they *are* doing; responding to lower-level incidents particularly anti-social behaviour.



(Source: Beaufort Omnibus, 2012 and 2013).

Figure 2.11 Change in public perceptions of the CSO role, 2012 to 2013

2.3.3 British Transport Police in Wales

The British Transport Police (BTP) is Great Britain's national police force for the railways, providing a service to rail operators, their staff and passengers across the country. Wales is managed as a sub-division of the force and its Neighbourhood Policing function currently operates under a tripartite funding arrangement between BTP, the Welsh Government's Public Transport Division and Arriva Trains Wales established in 2006. Three Neighbourhood Policing Teams are based at key stations as well as individual officers at other locations, all of whom report into a single Neighbourhood Policing Inspector.

Implementation

The 18 Welsh Government-funded CSO posts allocated to BTP Wales were initially divided equally between station bases in Aberdare, Rhymney and Conwy[17]. With the subsequent consolidation of Neighbourhood Policing staff into three NPTs, officers are now based at Cardiff Central (6), Pontypridd (6) and Bangor (6) stations. There was a clear strategic plan to keep the new officers deployed together as much as possible in order to better evidence the impact they had. The force in Wales currently has 21 CSOs funded under the tripartite arrangement, seven of whom are funded directly by the Welsh Government's Public Transport Division, bringing the sub-division's full CSO establishment to 39.

The nature of the large geographical areas covered by BTP CSOs is such that their deployment involves train and station patrols occurring throughout the network. Initial deployment strategy centered on the busiest stations and lines with the most passenger numbers. Although from the outset it was also considered important to ensure that the additional resources were utilised to enhance visibility on the more distant, quieter lines and stations. As a senior officer described:

> *'All the valley lines, which are problematic… that's why they were heavily weighted on those lines to make sure we got better coverage from 8am until midnight and that there's a healthy number to cover more than one problem.'* [SMT6]

The Welsh Government-funded CSOs within BTP are heavily male dominated. Force policy is to recruit police officers only from the CSO pool and turnover, whilst slow to start with, has now begun to materialise with 3 Welsh Government-funded CSOs lost to this route in the last 9 months. Unlike the other forces however, BTP CSOs are

[17] Welsh Government CSO Monitoring Report – Welsh Police Force Deployment Plans: Position as at 31st January 2013. Supplied by the Welsh Government.

also inclined to move onto other roles with partnership organisations, most notably the train operators:

> *'Train companies are recruiting, train drivers are better paid jobs than PCSOs, because regrettably we've lost some good ones to become train drivers because there's such a massive hike in pay and no career path in the PCSO world. We've lost two who have doubled their wage overnight.'*
> [SMT6]

The primary day-to-day activity for the BTP Neighbourhood Teams is visible patrol, both on trains and at stations throughout the network. Since the passengers they serve are a predominantly changing population, engagement in order to develop familiarity and longer term relationships is not always viable, but visibility and accessibility are key objectives for the team. Additional resources have allowed for a greater level of patrol activity than had previously been possible throughout the network.

As well as the travelling public, train operators' staff are considered a key 'community' for BTP and that the level of visible deterrent impacts upon their perceptions of safety at work. Because of the sometimes remote and enclosed locations in which they work, and in contrast to many of their counterparts within Home Office forces, BTP CSOs have the discretionary power of detention for up to 30 minutes and carry personal protection equipment and handcuffs. This fact has not escaped the public or train staff;

> *'The PCSOs are not being seen by the train companies as a toothless tiger…that's why they are so complementary about our PCSOs.'*
> [SMT6]

Engagement with the local communities through which the railways run is also seen as crucial to BTP in Wales. Working with young people in local schools, alongside warranted officers in Schools Liaison Officer roles, is now a key activity for CSOs involving diversionary interventions to prevent offending on the railways. In addition, the Neighbourhood Teams work closely with other local partners, including the other Welsh forces and local authorities to solve local problems. Regular PACT meetings involve both train staff and the travelling public and CSOs also attend local Home Office Force PACT meetings where problems affect the railways[18].

[18] BTP Neighbourhood Policing, Welsh Sector: Report to the Welsh Government, March 2014.

One recent example of collaborative working involved taking the lead in a multi-agency intervention to deal with a sensitive, culturally divisive dispute between groups of taxi drivers using ranks at Pontypridd station. Another project, working with Arriva Trains Wales staff, resulted in the development of a 'Buddy-Buddy' system for disabled passengers travelling on remote valleys lines:

> *'That should have come from the train company but [the CSO] took it upon himself… not his job really but he did it for the good of the community. Has that got anything to do with crime? Fear of crime? To a degree it has but that was a community issue that BTP have been seen to resolve when other people couldn't and that's down to the PCSOs.'*
> [SMT6]

Impact

A number of positive changes have coincided with the deployment of Welsh Government CSOs on the rail lines in Wales, principally in Cardiff, Pontypridd and Bangor, including.

- Some reductions in the crime rate or ASB associated with stations or the journey itself over the last two years.
- An indication of greater police visibility to the public using train routes in Wales.
- Public perceptions on emergency action, dealing with crime and knowing how to report are more favourable for Arriva Trains Wales than nationally.

However, 'perceived personal security on board'[19] the train routes in Wales has dipped slightly in the last year and the National Passenger Survey suggests that, where such concerns exist, they are increasingly associated with public drinking and intoxication. In 2011, 30 percent of those surveyed said visible patrol was 'good' whilst in 2014, 47 percent said they often see police or railway security staff when travelling. At the same time though, the proportion of people reporting problems with people 'drinking or under the influence of alcohol' on trains increased in Wales: from 46 percent in 2013 to 63 percent in 2014.

[19] Specific indicator within the National Passenger Survey. See Appendix G for more details.

2.4 Case Study Area Analyses

This section presents key findings from each of the six chosen case study areas. More detailed analysis on each area can be found in the appendices to this report (Appendices C to G).

2.4.1 Isle of Anglesey – North Wales Police

The Isle of Anglesey (Ynys Môn) sits off the north-west coast of Wales. As well as the large port town of Holyhead, the island has a number of other significant towns with a total population of some 69,000. Anglesey is managed as a local policing district of NWP, headed by a District Inspector with responsibility for both response and Neighbourhood Policing.

Implementation

Ten (10) of the 101 Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in the North Wales PFA were allocated to Anglesey where they joined an existing team of approximately 6 CSOs funded by other sources, significantly increasing resources. Whilst individual CSOs have nominal responsibility for individual wards, to ensure shift coverage the team are organised into four 'quadrant' areas of north, south, east and west working out of five police station locations in Holyhead, Llangefni, Amlwch, Benllech and Menai Bridge.

The Welsh Government-funded CSOs in Anglesey, are equally split between men and women and are generally younger. They come from a variety of backgrounds including retail, the hotel industry and youth work. Some had previously held positions as Special Police Constables. The other CSOs on the island are generally more mature, one having previously held a role in the Fire Service for 21 years.

The CSO role has become a recognised route into the police service more widely and younger CSOs in particular are somewhat frustrated by the lack of opportunities to experience other aspects of 'the job'. They see moving to a PC role as the only real option for progression and by 2014 six individuals from among the combined team had already done so. That said, in contrast to many in other force areas, the CSOs in Anglesey seem much more content in their roles, possibly because of the expressed desire to 'stay local'.

Historically, CSOs on the island were managed by two dedicated Neighbourhood Policing Sergeants and warranted Community Beat Managers, but those resources were re-invested into patrol functions as a result of NWP's move from a functional to a geographical model at local level. At the time of fieldwork, 21 CSOs were being

managed on a day-to-day basis by five rota patrol sergeants, with one District Support Sergeant who was also covering a Neighbourhood Policing overview function. Inevitably there has been some loss of neighbourhood specialisation within the local team, with the result that CSOs are often left much to themselves in terms of organising and managing their engagement work, a point not lost on local management:

> *'There's no directed supervision, particularly for community engagement… the patrol sergeants weren't interested and didn't have the first understanding of what Neighbourhood Policing was all about and what the PCSOs could and can't do.'*
> [LMT4]

Nevertheless, the discrete geography of the island has also engendered a strong sense of belonging and teamwork. Increased resources have enabled a sharing of workload to ensure there is island-wide coverage for the community cohesion-building activities that form much of their day-to-day role. As the only police personnel with a specialised neighbourhood focus, the team actively seek opportunities to be visible and engage with all sectors of the community, from working with young people on such initiatives as Community Pride in Anglesey and the Red Cross Youth Bus to holding informal surgeries and Street-Meets in coffee shops and supermarkets. There are also examples of good partnership working, most notably with Trading Standards, in an initiative to set up 'No Calling Zones' to tackle doorstep trading and distraction burglary.

Increased resources have also enabled individuals to take on specialised island-wide responsibilities in relation to police-community watch schemes aimed at residents and tourists alike, with active Caravan-Watch, Marine-Watch and Forecourt-Watch all in place. Most significantly, there has been the opportunity to provide a dedicated Rural/Farm-Watch post, which has proved popular with local farmers.

As well as community work, the Anglesey CSOs have increasing responsibility for a number of crime and crime prevention tasks, most notably house-to-house investigations, CCTV review and target hardening activities such as security surveys and cocooning activities. Longer serving CSOs reported a shift in the balance of their work:

> *'As soon as they got rid of the CBMs definitely. Given us more responsibility. There was a stage before where the Welsh Assembly [sic] CSOs came in, we were getting a lot more tasks…then once they came in that...made things a lot better'*
> [CSO11]

A recent force pilot has trained CSOs to create their own crime/ASB occurrences on force systems, a process known colloquially as 'crime-ing'. Discussion with a CSO during fieldwork suggested that the purpose behind this development was to reduce the capacity of the crime management unit traditionally responsible for this role. Whilst the officer felt the two days training provided had been adequate and felt confident performing this task, it is evident that this is not within the normal scope of a CSO's role and the legislative knowledge required is fairly demanding. If training provided is not sufficiently in depth, this has the potential to be a worrying development.

Impact

In the Isle of Anglesey (IoA), there has been a slight increase in recorded incidents and crimes relative to January 2012. Figure 2.12 shows an increase in the percentage of incidents[20] where CSOs are recorded as being deployed and at the scene. This increase is sizeable for incidents defined as anti-social behaviour from October 2013 onwards.

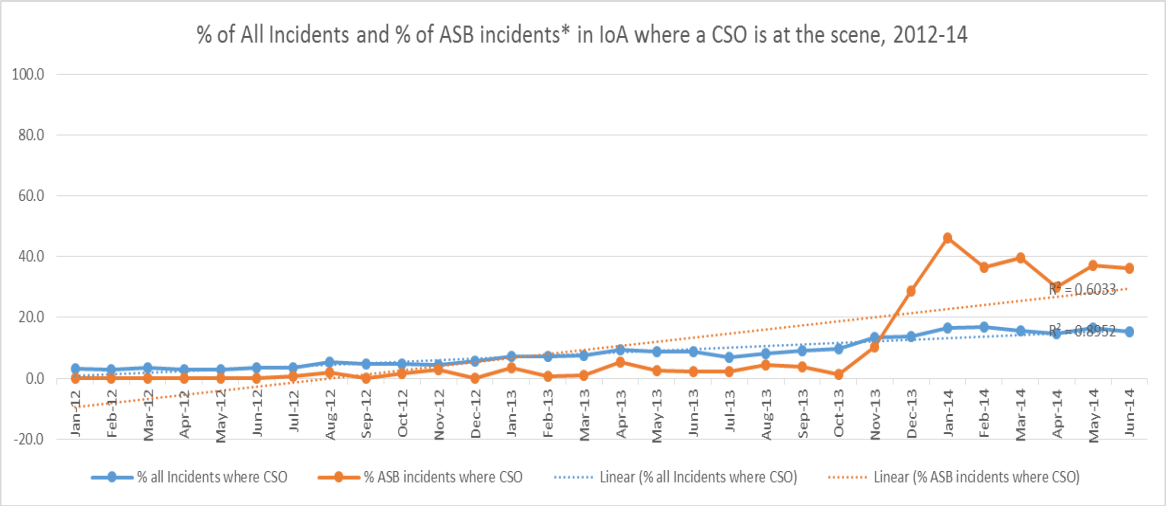


Figure 2.12 Percentage of all incidents and ASB incidents where a CSO is at the scene: IoA 2012-14

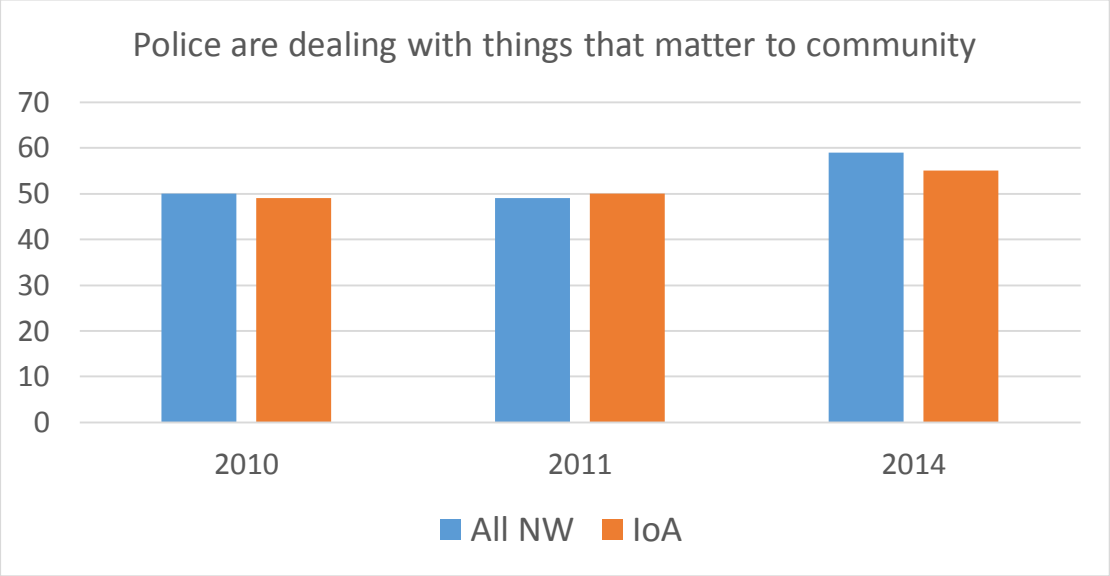
Annual telephone surveys of residents living in IoA show that their perceptions closely mirror North Wales as a whole. In 2014, the majority of the public perceive it as a safe place to live, with night-time safety higher in Anglesey than the force area as a whole. Public expectations of where CSOs should focus their time put 'local neighbourhood' fourth after town centre, responding to crime and dangerous roads.

[20] Corresponding data on recorded crime is not available for this force.

Public concern about ‘dangerous driving’ had been growing in Anglesey in the years preceding Welsh Government investment.
Only one question was consistently asked in the force surveys to enable any change over the research period to be examined.

- The percentage who agreed ‘police are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community’ increased in Anglesey by 5 percentage points from 2010-2011 to 55 percent in 2014.

This positive change in public confidence for Anglesey is of lower magnitude than the ten percent change at force area level: from 49 percent in 2011 to 59 percent in 2014.



(Source: NWP public perception surveys)

Figure 2.13 Trend in local police confidence: Anglesey & North Wales, 2010-14

2.4.2 Tenby – Dyfed Powys Police

Tenby is situated in the Pembrokeshire division of DPP. A built-up, walled, seaside town, its economy is largely based around tourism. The Tenby and Narberth Neighbourhood Policing Team covers the town of Tenby together with the more rural outlying towns and villages including Narberth and Saundersfoot to the north, and St. Florence and Manorbier to the west.

Implementation

Sixteen (16) of the 74 new Welsh Government-funded CSOs in DPP were allocated to the Pembrokeshire division. At the start of 2014, six of these individuals were working within the Tenby and Narberth Neighbourhood Policing Team alongside three other CSOs and two PCs fulfilling a joint neighbourhood/response function. The large complement of Welsh Government-funded CSO posts within the team represented a surge in resource compared with that available prior to 2012.

The Welsh Government-funded CSOs in Tenby are equally split between men and women and are predominantly under 30 years of age. They come from a variety of backgrounds and three had previously held positions as Special Police Constables. The three other CSOs are older and have previously held roles such as Police Constable and Traffic Warden. The new positions attracted those looking for a route to becoming a police officer and four of the six Welsh Government-funded CSOs had recently gone through an internal recruitment process to transfer to police constable roles. Whilst there is recognition that such turnover can impact upon the familiarity of local officers within the community, both CSOs themselves and their senior officers see many positives to this and there is acceptance that 'churn' amongst younger officers is inevitable.

The focus of the Tenby NPT is very much on visibility, accessibility and familiarity with staff engaging in a range of community-based and problem-solving activities with residents, businesses and tourists. The increased size of the team has enabled far greater police visibility within Tenby town and beyond. As a member of the local management team explained:

> *'Before we would have a PC and a potentially one PCSO covering Tenby. Now we have got four PCSOs covering Tenby town, made up of Tenby North and Tenby South, so they're on foot there in town. Their meeting businesses, licensees - interaction is far better than we have ever had before. So they are visible and more involved in the community.'*
> [LMT3]

Closure of many police station front counters, including the main station in Tenby, has led to the need to think creatively about providing an accessible service to the public. The availability of a mobile police station has been particularly valuable both in the town centre and more remote areas.

Local surgeries, PACT and specific user group meetings are also proving successful as engagement tools. In Narberth, surgeries are held in convenient local stores, whilst in Tenby they are held regularly in a number of locations, including local schools. In all instances they are heavily reliant on the expanded CSO team to organise and run them, as noted by a local PC interviewed for this research:

> *'They do all the hard work – going up to schools, they arrange all these surgeries and I tag along with them really, as a PC…. And if they're out there they're being seen by the public and that's what they want. And unfortunately there's not enough PCs to do that either.'*
> [NPT1]

The familiarity of officers within the communities they serve has long been recognised to be at the heart of public trust and confidence in policing, and it is this aspect of the role of the CSO in Tenby that appears to be prioritised. The team spend a considerable amount of their day understanding and getting to know their "patch" and the individuals within it, playing an active part in community events in order to strengthen cohesion.

Much engagement work in Tenby focuses on getting to know young people and reducing ASB:

> *'If we can get a good rapport with them when we meet them in school or in the street, when we do have to tell them to move on or, if its smoking confiscating their cigarettes or drinking, I think we've got a better approach to talk to them from the offset because they know who we are. And then more often than not they'll listen to us'*
> [CSO3]

More generally there is evidence that CSOs recognise the value of local familiarity to community intelligence gathering, a skill some believe is lacking amongst some police officers:

'I think it's important, you know, we see different faces than a police officer would see….maybe the drunks or whatever, those that are sitting on the benches in the summer time, the old boys. I think 9 times out of 10 they wouldn't have a clue if I said somebody's name in Tenby, cos the only people they know is the people they've arrested. Bad people if you like. Now, we know both….We see the same people every day, stop and have a natter with them. They're the people that tell you things'
[CSO4]

By embedding themselves into the community, the team in Tenby have also developed a number of problem-solving mechanisms to tackle neighbourhood issues. In the town centre for example, they have worked closely with local licensees to manage and enforce public house banning orders for persistent trouble makers, which has done much to improve ASB related to the night-time economy.

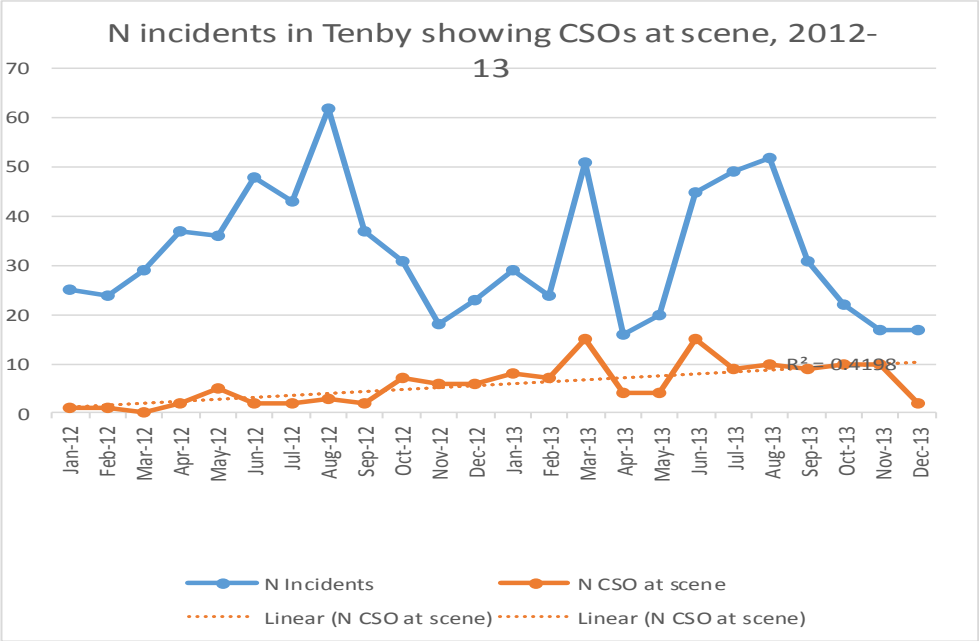
An analysis of CSO-related items in the local media revealed a significant and positive involvement in local events that can be characterised as 'community building' type activities. A much smaller number of stories relate CSOs directly to policing matters, most notably in connection with traffic issues, environmental disorder and dog fouling. Indeed, over the evaluation period, local CSOs were amongst those granted an additional power to issue on-the-spot fines for dog fouling in response to continuing community concerns expressed about this issue.

Impact

In Tenby, there has been no overall change in the volume of anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012 but each year it follows a seasonal trend, peaking in the summer months. Over the same period, the number of recorded crimes in Tenby has slightly decreased.

- There is a modest increase in the number[21] of incidents where any CSO is recorded as being tasked and in attendance at the scene and this coincides with when this area had its full complement of Welsh Government-funded CSOs.

[21] The number of incidents is used rather than percentage owing to the low base number of incidents in each month for this small CSA.



(Source: DPP crime and incident data)

Figure 2.14 Number of incidents attended by a CSO in Tenby

Data from DPP public surveys conducted with a non-random sample of the public suggest local community concerns in Tenby align with where Tenby CSOs are particularly active - traffic and environmental problems - suggesting their activities are responsive to the things that matter most to their local communities. Despite the 'surged' resource and increased engagement between the NPT and community, there have been some negative shifts in public perceptions of policing in Tenby between 2012 and 2013.

- There was a fall in the percentage of Tenby residents who expressed confidence in their local police between 2012 and 13 (-7%), who felt the police are dealing with things that matter to people (-7%) or who felt informed about local policing issues (-16%).

Table 2.3 Public perceptions of local policing: summary of free-text survey responses by Tenby residents

2012	2013
Helpful There when needed 'PCSOs' known and seen 'PCSO' regular clinics Low crime	PCC Low crime rate Quick response
Never seen, especially in remote areas Police station closures Police presence only after crime	Lack of visibility Lack of community engagement Contingent visibility[22] Station closures Failure to tackle public culture

(Source: DPP Public perception surveys, 2012 and 2013)

Table 2.3 compares 'free-text' responses given by Tenby residents in each year of the survey to show what informed their positive or negative opinion of their local police. It shows:

- The low crime rate forms a positive part of public appraisals of their policing in both years, as does a timely police response.

- In 2012, members of the public specifically endorsed 'PCSOs' for their familiarity and visibility, as well as regular clinics in the Tenby area. The following year, some members of the public were more negative about 'PCSOs' and compared them unfavourably with police officers.

> *'We see very little of them, definitely need a stronger presence in the town centre at weekends and holidays. I have only noticed PCSOs lately, no police officers'*
> [Female, 55-64, Tenby 2013]

Whilst this public perception of increasing visibility limited to CSOs and not police officers is important and relevant to understanding the way changes in local policing are received by residents, it should be noted that DPP's community surveys were highly skewed towards older age groups and under-represent the views of younger people.

[22] Perceived by the public only to be visible when there's trouble or they're out getting food. Not visible when the public want or need them to be seen, e.g. at night or when vulnerable.

2.4.3 Newport Central – Gwent Police

The city of Newport is one of the largest commercial and industrial centres in Wales. The Newport area is managed as a Local Policing Unit (LPU) with a population of 145,700 with neighbourhood and response officers working out of five police stations. The Central Station team covers four electoral wards in and around the city centre.

Implementation

Twenty-four (24) of the 101 full-time equivalent Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in the Gwent PFA were allocated to the Newport LPU, of which eight were converted to 19 part-time positions. At the time of the fieldwork, the Newport Central Neighbourhood Policing Team consisted of 14 full-time CSOs, six of whom were in Welsh Government-funded posts and five in part-time Welsh Government-funded posts covering Thursday, Friday and Saturday evening shifts. Individual full-time CSOs are organised into three shift rotas, each managed by a police sergeant and including a total of 11 PCs, two of whom have dedicated neighbourhood roles. The part-time CSOs work every weekend across the shift rotas and are colloquially known as the 'Stowhill Super Team', providing a resource boost for the city centre at peak times for its thriving night-time economy.

The Welsh Government-funded CSOs in Newport Central include slightly more women and are generally aged under thirty. They had a variety of backgrounds including retail, catering and the leisure industry. Some had previously held other civilian posts in the force and one of the other CSOs had also been a CSO in the Metropolitan Police Service before moving to Wales.

One of the aims behind the force's decision to utilise some of the Welsh Government's funding for part-time positions was to encourage applications from a diversity of candidates keen to work flexibly in a time of austerity. Indeed, this was highlighted as an example of forward thinking resource management in a recent HMIC report.[23] But our data show that in Newport Central at least, some frustration has crept in. Limited hours devoted almost exclusively to high visibility patrol in the city centre has meant individuals have a lack of opportunity to develop their role, particularly in relation to the community project-based work with local residents and businesses that they see their full-time colleagues engaging with. Many have sought to increase their hours and, where this has not been possible within the force, they have chosen to apply for PC roles with other forces.

[23] HMIC (2013) Policing in Austerity: Rising to the Challenge

The focus of the Newport Central NPT is very much on high visibility patrol within the city centre and the extra capacity provided by the Welsh Government has significantly increased the team's activity. During the day their work prioritises being a visible, reassuring presence for the public, a problem-solving function for low level nuisance and anti-social behaviour, as well as dealing with parking issues and the like. Liaison with local businesses is a strength and the 'Store Net' radio system has proved a successful method of communication:

> *'We always try to remain in contact with businesses, they know us by name, we know them by name…. [They] love to see us because we can sort out the issues they're having that day…we solve a lot of their problems on a daily basis.'*
> [CSO24]

There is some evidence of proactive engagement and cohesion building activity with local residents, although there is recognition that this is a somewhat neglected aspect of the role in a city centre:

> *'I don't think we've got that connection with our residents. I tend to focus more on the city centre I do.'*
> [CSO23]

At night, with visible presence boosted at the weekend by the part-timers, the CSOs' function becomes focused on the prevention of anti-social behaviour associated with the night-time economy of the city. As police staff, CSOs are not expected to intervene in conflict situations, but the context in which the Newport officers are performing their role is such that there are inevitably situations when they do, as one CSO recounted:

> *'The issue we have got is people see a uniform and they expect you to deal with it. They expect you to help, you know. They do not see you are a PCSO…We do not really have a choice, there is not enough time, for even us to call and wait for someone to come…We have to deal with it, by virtue of the fact we are there.'*
> [CSO16]

Because of how they are being deployed, the Newport CSOs are routinely providing a reactive, policing function without the necessary powers and protection afforded to warranted officers. This 'drift' towards police work rather than community support is a source of frustration for local management:

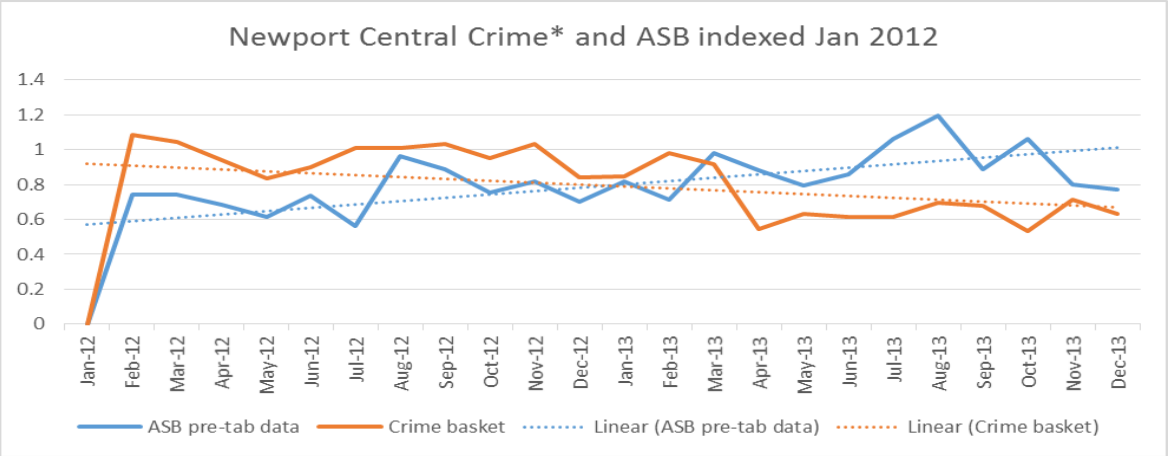
> *'You're supposed to be there and visible, engagement, and the danger I got, I can foresee is going to happen in time, is the PCSO's are going to become like the PC's, just a cheaper resource.'*

[LMT6]

Given the ultimate ambitions of many in the team to progress this is maybe not surprising and highlights the unintended consequences of casting the CSO role as a stepping stone to PC, particularly in urban environments.

Impact

In Newport Central, there has been an increase in recorded incidents of anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012. This contrasts with a decrease in recorded crime over the same period for selected offences.[24]



(Source: Gwent Police)

Figure 2.15 Trend in recorded ASB and selected offences for Newport Central

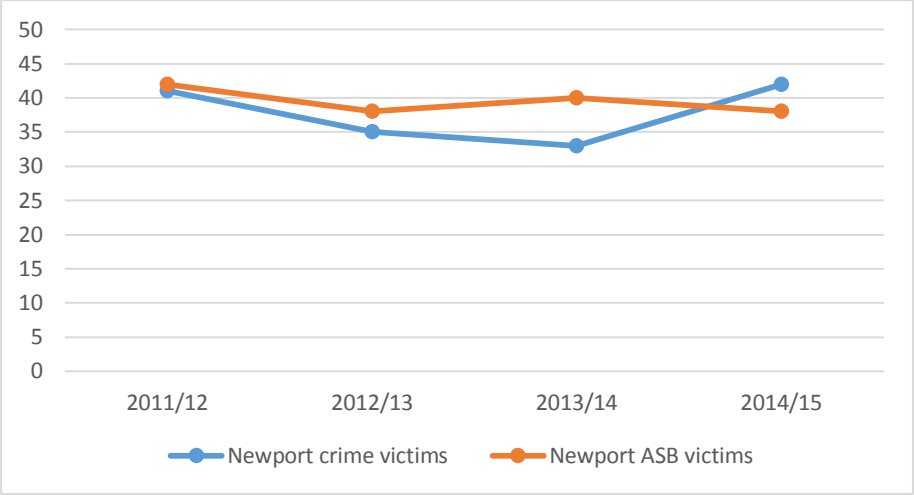
No data about CSO attendance is available for this site and the force does not survey the general public. However, analysis of data from a telephone survey of crime[25] and ASB victims in Newport Local Policing Unit shows some positive changes:

- Between 2011/12 and 2013/14 there has been an 18 percentage point increase in ASB victims who know how to contact local officers, much greater than for Gwent as a whole (+8 percentage points).

- There was a 10% decrease in the percentage of ASB victims in Newport LPU who do not know any Police or 'PCSOs' on local patrol. This change can be attributed to more people knowing patrolling officers by name and sight ('deep familiarity') between 2011-12 and 2012-13.

[24] Missing offence types are: violence, drugs, robbery, weapons, public order, other.
[25] The survey is limited to victims of the following crime types: burglary; violent crime; vehicle crime; racially motivated incidents; hate crime.

The positive data for Newport is reinforced by analysis of the Beaufort Omnibus. This shows that among the general public of Newport Unitary Authority Area in 2012 and 2013 combined, 52 percent regularly saw CSOs on patrol, much higher than for Gwent police force area in either year of the survey (37 percent in 2013 and 24 percent in 2012).



(Source: Gwent Police APACS)

Figure 2.16 Public confidence in local police – Newport LPU victims

Whilst public perceptions of visibility are high in Newport, there have been no overall gains in public confidence in local policing among victims of ASB over the last four years (Figure 2.16). Confidence among victims of crime consistently declined from 2011-12 to 2013/14, but there was an increase in confidence in 2014/15.

2.4.4 Ebbw Vale – Gwent Police

Ebbw Vale lies at the head of the valley formed by a tributary of the Ebbw River and is the largest town and the administrative centre of the county of Blaenau Gwent. Ebbw Vale comprises six electoral wards with a combined population of 23,340. With an economy historically centred on mining and the steel industry, the area now has an unemployment rate of 6.7%, the highest in Wales. The area is managed as part of the Blaenau Gwent LPU of Gwent Police, with Ebbw Vale Neighbourhood Policing team covering the six wards from the central Ebbw Vale police station.

Implementation

Eighteen (18) of the 101 full-time equivalent Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in the Gwent PFA were allocated to the Blaenau Gwent LPU of which six were converted to 14 part-time positions. At the time of fieldwork, the Ebbw Vale NPT consisted of eight full-time CSOs, five of whom were Welsh Government-funded, and one in a part-time Welsh Government-funded post covering Thursday, Friday and Saturday evening shifts. Individuals are aligned with each of the six wards covered by the team, supervised and supported by four dedicated neighbourhood PCs and managed overall by a dedicated neighbourhood police sergeant. The part-time CSO work every weekend alongside others in the Local Policing Unit, providing additional capacity.

The Welsh Government-CSOs in Ebbw Vale are equally split between men and women of varying ages and from diverse backgrounds. As in Newport, many CSOs employed at the time of the Welsh Government intake had ambitions to become a PC. There has been particular turnover of personnel amongst the part-time Welsh Government-funded CSOs in the LPU. The full-time officers feel this was inevitable given the nature of their role and the sense of distance it created from the rest of the team, who did not feel they were fully fledged members:

> *'..they were part of the team, but they were not. They couldn't take work off us, they wouldn't contribute anything, 'cause they weren't accountable [to the NPT] were they?'*
> [CSO26]

Interestingly, the initial use of part-time staff to staff the county-wide "ASB Response Vehicle" appears to have been abandoned as local management also recognised that the part-time role was not working out as planned. Whilst the idea of boosting resource at peak times has many merits from a policing perspective, it did not facilitate the diversity of community engagement activities inhering in the CSO role. In an effort to alleviate the turnover in Blaenau Gwent, efforts are being made to

provide officers increased hours and/or responsibilities at a ward level and fully utilising the flexibility within their contracts in relation to shift timings. One senior officer described his approach:

> *'There is obviously consequences both intended and unintended to all these kind of decisions… So they tend to engage in the evening time with night time economy kind of issues. So there has been a desire from some of that group to increase their working hours to a full time role so they can cover a better spread of experience, to working with day time economy, business and communities in a different kind of way.'*
> [LMT8]

As far as the full-time officers were concerned, a 75% increase in resource initially resulted in a much needed boost to community cohesion activity. Engagement with young people in local schools and colleges include activities for children at a special needs school and the establishment of an office where officers regularly run a confidential surgery for the LGBT community. More mature residents are catered for through events co-hosted with third sector partners such as the Dogs Trust and regular community clubs such as 'Knitting Nanas'.

In the more deprived parts of the area, particularly Newtown, community work is focused more on developing relationships in an area that is historically anti-police. Such 'barrier-busting activity' is slow but crucial work and is beginning to prove successful in relation to community intelligence gathering:

> *'Newtown… has had a problem with drugs for a good few years… When me and [name] started it was like 'what you going to do about all these drugs over here?' Well, we would say 'what drugs? Tell us'. [They'd say] 'Oh, can't tell you' and then they would all go. But slowly you know, that's changed now. We got, it's all private chats, you know? I give out my Blackberry number, someone might ring me - 'can I pop over?' or 'can I come and see you at the station?' And it works. It's breaking down those barriers, saying we are not all bad, we are here as well. But you got to help us to help you'*
> [CSO26]

Whilst the initial impact of increased resources in Ebbw Vale was recognised and valued by the existing CSOs and management, the current team feel the community benefits have been almost completely offset over the last two years by a significant increase in police-focused 'tasks' delegated to them by both neighbourhood and response officers. Although some of this work is investigative in nature, much is community based, including routine victim follow up which is arguably a CSO function. But documenting that follow up for compliance has become a major administrative burden which, until recently, was conducted by an administrative assistant. The apparent volume and need to update force systems in duplicate has

also dictated that follow ups are generally done by telephone rather than face-to-face, with the consequence that CSOs are being kept inside the station rather than out on patrol or otherwise engaging with the community as a whole:

> *'Out and about? You are lucky if you can get out by 10 – 11 o'clock in the morning… woe betide you if you are in the office any longer than you should be, 'I need you out there!' But yet they want their data bases.'*
> [CSO30]

Within these constraints, officers are regularly performing high visibility patrols at peak times in the town centre. In common with their colleagues in Newport, the Ebbw Vale CSOs often find themselves in situations where their powers are insufficient and local management acknowledged there are times when this does occur. The following conversation between two CSOs illustrates the frustration they feel with balancing the two aspects of their role:

[CSO30]: '*Basically we are engagement tool Monday to Thursday and then Friday and Saturday, 'cause we have so less police officers, it is walk the town. We will try and arrange back up if something happens, but just withdraw and observe from a distance if anything is going on!'*

[CSO25] *"We're non- confrontational, we are an engagement tool. From 10 o'clock to 12 o'clock, that two hour period, [we're] just like a cardboard cut-out outside the police station, we're as much use'*

Impact

In Ebbw Vale, there has been an increase in recorded incidents of anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012. To a lesser extent there has also been an increase in recorded crime over the same period for selected offences.[26]

No data about CSO attendance was available for this site and the force does not survey the general public. However, an analysis of crime and ASB victims in Blaenau Gwent Local Policing Unit shows both positive and negative change:

- Between 2011/12 and 2013/14 there has been an increase in the percentage of ASB victims in this area who know how to contact local officers (+9%).

[26] Missing offence types are: violence, drugs, robbery, weapons, public order, other.

- There was an increase in the percentage of ASB victims from Blaenau Gwent who did not know any police or CSOs on local patrol, although the percentage who said they have most familiarity (name and sight) remained largely unchanged between 2011-12 and 2012-13.

The Beaufort Omnibus shows that, among the general public of Blaenau Gwent Unitary Authority Area in 2012 and 2013 combined, only 17 percent regularly saw CSOs on patrol, much lower than for Gwent police force area in either year of the survey. The Gwent Police Victims' Survey for residents of Blaenau Gwent showed no change in local police confidence over the last four years.

2.4.5 Aberdare – South Wales Police

Aberdare lies at the heart of the Cynon Valley, 20 miles north-west of Cardiff. At the time of the 2011 census the combined population of the 12 electoral wards forming the Cynon Valley was 58, 574 with the town itself accounting for 15,000. Historically the area's industry centred on coal and iron. The area is managed as part of the Northern Division of South Wales Police, with two NPTs, Cynon North and Cynon South, covering the entire valley from main police stations in Aberdare and Mountain Ash.

Implementation

Forty-five (45) of the 206 full-time Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in South Wales Police were allocated to the Northern Division, of which 7-8 were allocated to the Cynon Valley. At the time of the fieldwork, the Cynon North and Cynon South NPTs together consisted of 17 full-time CSOs split between those funded by the Welsh Government and other sources. It was difficult to ascertain precisely which individuals were funded by which source. Natural turnover, together with the dismissal of 13 Northern Division CSOs for misconduct in June 2014[27], has led to significant back-filling of posts and for those who had commenced their employment during this period no differentiation was made at the time of training.

There are slightly more male than female Welsh Government-funded CSOs in the Cynon teams, with a range of backgrounds including banking and manufacturing. Because of the force's strategy to recruit internally, the new CSO posts attracted many younger candidates with ambitions to become warranted officers and the team have seen a number of their colleagues move on. Whilst this policy has proved successful in recruiting good, experienced PCs, divisional level management are aware of the disadvantages it poses in relation to sustaining experienced CSO teams familiar and dedicated to their communities:

> *'It's got sullied recently because of this element of…turning PCSOs into cops…previously we had vocational individuals who wanted to be PCSOs…Now we got people who want to be PCSOs but are kind of looking over the fence for something else and for me, that is not really where I want to be.'*
> [LMT10]

[27] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-27664571 Accessed 9th January 2015.
The 13 officers dismissed were from the same intake. It has not been possible to ascertain how many, if any of these officers held Welsh Government funded positions.

The introduction of the new Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in Northern Division from mid- 2012 onwards coincided with a re-modelling of response policing in the region. This involves local investigative and victim support work being delegated to local NPTs for follow up and, with decreasing NPT police officers, much of this work has fallen to the enlarged CSO teams.

Consequently, the CSO role in the Cynon Valley has become police-task driven with much of the community-cohesion work conducted previously being marginalised. Whilst still the bedrock of visible policing, reassurance and safeguarding activities within their nominated wards, CSOs describe their days being increasingly filled with investigatory tasks. These include: house-to-house enquiries; CCTV investigations; and response calls, not only to grade 3 and 2 but on occasions grade 1 incidents. CSOs are regularly being named the Officer in the Case (OIC) for low level cases such as vehicle damage with no suspect and in some instances, are assuming responsibility for aspects of investigation of potentially more serious offences, as described below:

> *'I've got one on my workload…the attempted burglary and it keeps coming back to me. I don't know what questions to ask… I'm investigating to decide whether there's been an attempted burglary or not'*
> [CSO36]

Many tasks delegated to CSOs are community focused, particularly those encompassed by the TRICK[28] process of victim care operating throughout South Wales Police. Designed to provide a focus on the victims of crime and disorder, the process provides opportunities for CSOs to engage with their local community in a way that is appropriate and meaningful. In the large geographical area covered by the two Cynon Valley teams however, the process has become burdensome with officers travelling out of their allocated communities to ensure compliance. With an increasing number of offences nominated as 'TRICK offences' the volume has also increased and together these issues are working to defeat the objective of meaningful engagement with a familiar officer:

> *'I think the point of it was, if a crime happens in Penywaun for example, at the earliest opportunity the victim of that crime will see their local officer…they'll have a face-to-face contact with them to speak about it, give them their letter with the reference number, things like that. Talk more personal, give them our contact details. What's happening is, to make sure you comply with everything, it's a flying visit…posting letters through the door, not having the time to spend on that. I'm going into other people's areas, I'm not their PCSO and yet I'm the one [tasked]'*

[28] Arrive within **Timescales**; give a crime **Reference** number and officer contact details; **Inform** everything we've done and plan to do; advise when all enquiries are **Complete**; **Keep** you at the heart of everything we do

[CSO31]

In sum, the picture emerging from Aberdare is one of frustration, as voiced by one respondent:

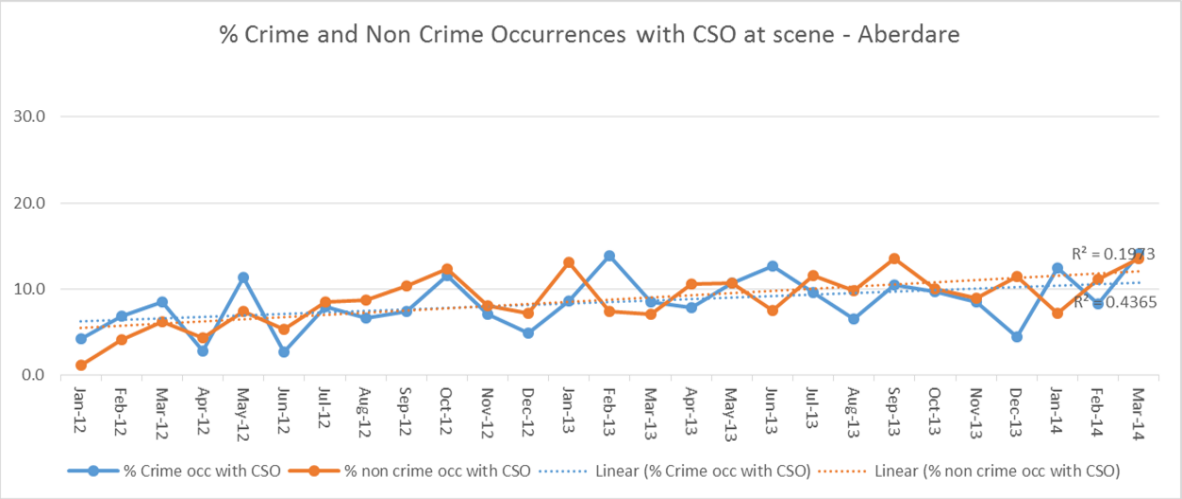
> *'It's gone, it has. They've killed community. What it boils down to like what I said, we are now second tier response'*
> [CSO33]

Some level of proactive engagement work is still evident in the area. One significant intervention, Project 446, was co-ordinated out of SWP's headquarters and involved the use of UPSI's community intelligence methodology i-NSI (Innes *et al*, 2009; Lowe and Innes, 2012) to understand perceptions of safety and security among communities in Aberaman and later Aberdare East. Operation Perception that followed on from this has enabled CSOs to engage with residents, local authority and other partner agencies to develop solutions aimed at increasing public confidence, including the establishment of a police house on one of the more deprived estates.

Impact

In Aberdare, there has been a decrease in recorded anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012, but no change in recorded crime.

Figure 2.17 shows a slight lift in CSO attendance at the scene for crime and non-crime occurrences in Aberdare since January 2012. However, this change is very modest and may reflect the fact that South Wales did not deploy their full complement of Welsh Government-funded CSOs until October 2013.



(Source: SWP crime and incident data)

Figure 2.17 CSO attendance at crime and non-crime occurrences – Aberdare

Detailed public perception data is available from Project 446, conducted with young people and adults in Aberaman North and South wards during November 2013, and an adult only sample in Aberdare East ward in March 2014. Asked how safe they felt their neighbourhood is, over 58% respondents in the combined Aberamen samples and 72% in Aberdare East said ‘safe’ or ‘very safe’. Nevertheless, over 42% and 52% respectively reported that crime and disorder had caused them fear, worry or to avoid an area in the last 12 months.

The majority of respondents said they were ‘very’ or ‘fairly satisfied’ with their local police as a whole (Aberaman 69%; Aberdare 77%). Respondents were further asked to assess the performance of the NPTs in the area for each crime or disorder problem they identified within their neighbourhood (Table 2.4). In Aberaman, visibility, effectiveness and communication were all generally assessed as ‘good’ or ‘very good’. Similarly in Aberdare, assessments tended to be good, although more than 1 in 5 respondents rated visibility and communication ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’, a proportion that rose to a quarter when asked about police effectiveness.

	Aberdare (n=88)**	**Aberaman (n=205)****
Neighbourhood Police Visibility		
Very Poor	12.5%	7.3%
Poor	9.1%	4.4%
Average	12.5%	8.3%
Good	31.8%	10.2%
Very Good	30.7%	12.7%
Don't know	3.4%	57.1%
Neighbourhood Police Effectiveness		
Very Poor	16.3%	6.8%
Poor	9.3%	4.9%
Average	24.4%	10.7%
Good	30.2%	9.3%
Very Good	15.1%	9.3%
Don't know	4.7%	59.1%
Neighbourhood Police Communication		
Very Poor	16.3%	6.3%
Poor	6.3%	3.9%
Average	6.3%	8.3%
Good	22.5%	10.7%
Very Good	36.3%	10.2%
Don't know	12.5%	60.4%

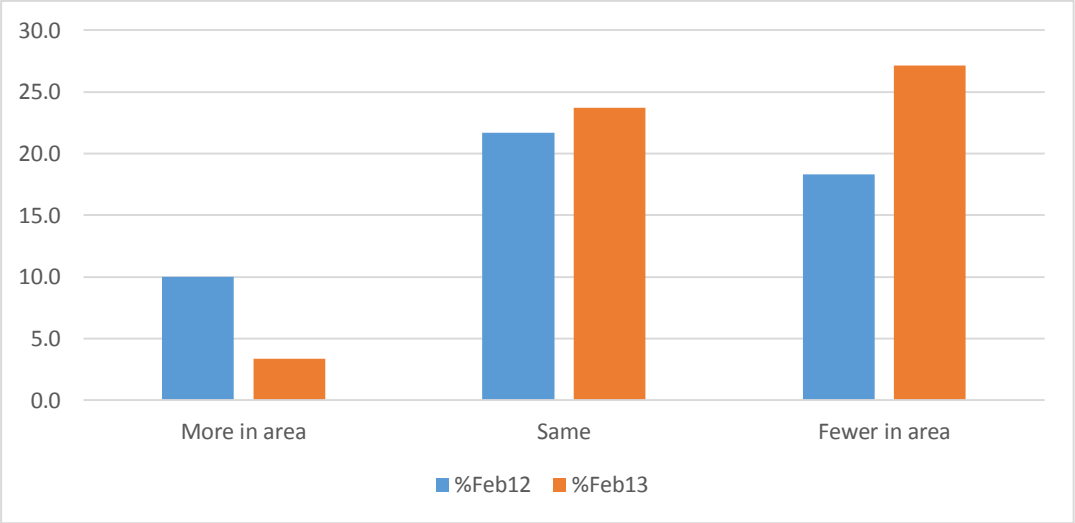
** number of signal crime/disorder problems recorded
(Source: Project 446, SWP)

Table 2.4 Project 446, performance ratings for the local Neighbourhood Police

Further exploration of data collected for this project together with detailed data can be found in the Force Area Report for SWP at Appendix F.

The same four wards are used as a unit to analyse change in public perceptions from surveys of the general public conducted by South Wales Police. Residents living in Northern Basic Command Unit are interviewed in February each year and in 2012 and 2013 were asked their opinion of police presence (on foot and in cars) in the area where they lived.

- Over this period, the percentage of residents who felt that there are more police in their area has more than halved. The percentage who feel less police presence increased from 17 percent in 2012 to 27 percent in 2013.



(Source: SWP public perception surveys)

Figure 2.18 Public perceptions of police presence – Aberdare.

A negative change is also evident for local confidence in the police, with the percentage who agreed 'local police are dealing with what matters to people in the community' falling by 4 percentage points in this timescale.

2.4.6 Cardiff Grangetown – South Wales Police

Grangetown is a diverse and multiracial district of Cardiff, towards the south of the city. With its proximity to the old Tiger Bay docklands, historically the area has become the home of successive immigrant populations and now has sizable Somali and Asian communities of several generations. At the time of the 2011 census, its population was 19,385. Grangetown is managed as part of the Eastern Division of South Wales Police, with the Cardiff Bay Neighbourhood Policing Team covering both Grangetown and Butetown.

Implementation

Sixty-eight (68) of the 206 full-time Welsh Government-funded CSO posts in South Wales Police were allocated to the Eastern Division, with 5 allocated to the Cardiff Bay team. At the time of fieldwork, the team consisted of a total of 13 full-time CSOs suggesting the additional resource increased capacity by 60 percent.

The Welsh Government-funded CSOs in Cardiff Bay reflect the make-up of the team as a whole. As in the other CSAs, many of the new recruits have ambitions to move into warranted officer roles and some within the team are already lined up to do so once they complete two years' service. For others, the role is very much a vocation as one Welsh Government-funded officer explained:

> *'This is a role that I've always wanted to have..the amount of things you deal with is so different and the people you deal with every day is different as well.. it's not just a 'hi and bye' as a response officer.. it's that relationship you build up.. that's why I'd rather stay in this role instead of thinking of going onto a PC.*
> [CSO42]

The Cardiff Bay team's focus is very much on community engagement and relationship building across a relatively small geographical area. The team is well resourced in this regard and despite a similar increase in reactive police-focused tasks as their colleagues in the Cynon Valley, they still have the time to be proactive in their community focused activities. Working across the ethnic diversity of the area the CSOs are responsible for organising regular PACT meetings and drop-in "Cuppa with a Copper' surgeries in a variety of locations. They also lead on developing the use of digital technologies as communication tools, being responsible for managing the NPT's Twitter activity.

Interviews with the team members evidence a strong commitment to being a visible and familiar presence within the community and developing relationships. Their role in the TRICK process is, whilst time consuming, a community-focussed one, allowing

an expansion of their network of contacts within their allocated wards. For local management, the delegation of these and other investigative tasks is openly acknowledged as freeing up the time of a dwindling pool of police officers at a time of austerity.

In a multi-cultural area, engaging with traditionally hard-to-reach groups is seen as a priority. Female CSOs on the team have successfully worked to develop more meaningful relationships with Somali women by attending local English Language (EOSL) classes and one CSO has a specialist responsibility for engagement at the Huggard Centre, a local shelter and charity for the homeless.

The PREVENT agenda presents a key community intelligence task in this area of the City and all members of the team have received basic level training on counter-terrorism. One CSO has a specialist responsibility as the point of contact within the local team for the Channel Project. Engagement with leaders and congregations at the area's Mosques is seen as vital. Whilst many remain generally closed to local police, the team's one Muslim CSO has made great in-roads by praying alongside this section of the community, appearing to create a greater sense of public legitimacy for himself and his colleagues also:

> *'I'm Muslim myself, so for me to go in there, it's natural anyway, to go to mosque and pray with them. So for me just to stand next to them in prayer, it's realising just that we are normal, even though people just see us as a uniform they realise it's a normal person. And then for them to see me with another officer who might not be a Muslim, they say 'oh he's a normal guy as well'. He must be if he's with me.'*
> [CSO41]

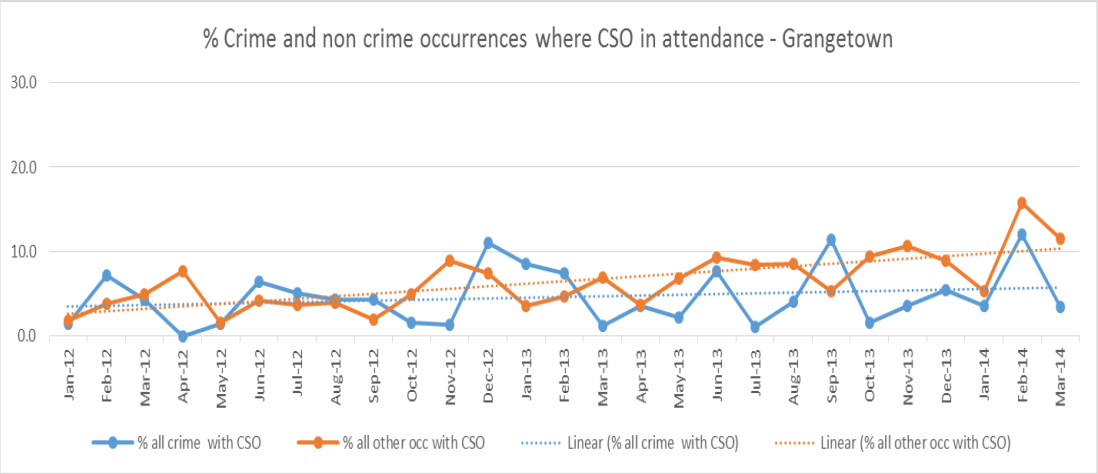
With limited powers, the team do at times feel vulnerable and are frequently frustrated by their inability to act, coupled with inconsistent back up. Whilst they generally do not want increased powers, believing them to hamper the development of community relationships, they are proud of their role in engendering public trust and confidence which they consider is often compromised by not having them. One respondent described how:

> *'Because this area is so small we see a lot, you don't walk down the street and miss things. You do see things and you see a lot of crime…sometimes you'll see a drug deal take place in front of you, you can see the drugs and you can see the two people and they're not stopping for you. If you say 'excuse me, will you stop?' [they say] 'oh, you're only PCSO mate, go away!' But there's no-one to call. Response are all tied up. There's no NBM... it's just like, okay, we'll let that go. [There's] a lot of that and you have to, you can't chase them. Because if you chase them and you catch them, what are you going to do then?'*

[CSO40]

Impact

In Grangetown, there has been no change in recorded occurrences of crime and anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012. There has been a very slight increase in the attendance of CSOs at non-crime occurrences in Grangetown, but no change for crimes.



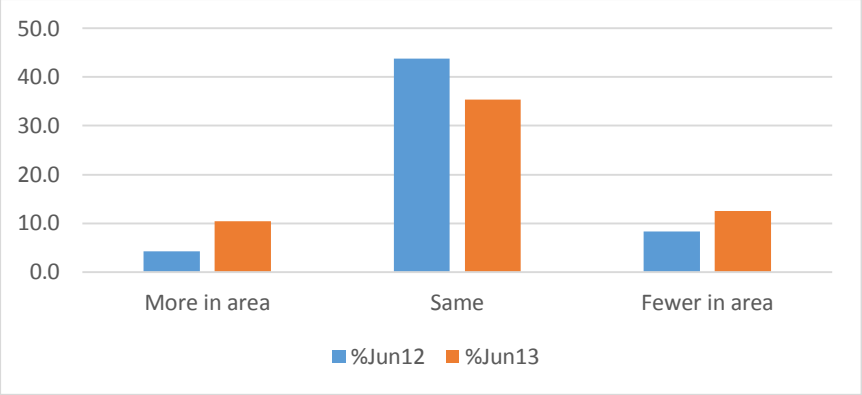
(Source: SWP crime and incident data).

Figure 2.19 CSO attendance at crime and non crime occurrences – Grangetown.

A sample of residents living in Eastern Basic Command Unit are interviewed in June each year by South Wales Police and in 2012 and 2013 were asked their opinion of police presence (on foot and in cars) in the area where they lived. Grangetown and Butetown wards were grouped together[29] to analyse change in public perceptions using South Wales Police survey data.

In sum, public perceptions in this site reveal a picture of change over the last two or three years, both positive and negative. In other words, public perceptions have become more polarised.

[29] This provides a large enough unit to look at trends in public opinion but also fits with the operational policing of these wards.



(Source: SWP public perception surveys)

Figure 2.20 Public perceptions of policing presence – Grangetown and Butetown

The percentage of Grangetown and Butetown residents who feel that there are more police in their area has slightly increased, but so has the percentage who perceive less police presence.

- The percentage who agreed that 'local police are dealing with what matters to people in the community' fell by 6 percentage points between 2011 and 2012, but has increased to 43 percent in the last year. Whilst this is a positive change, there has also been a smaller but consistent increase over the last three years in those who reject this statement.

Whilst examples of building links with the Muslim community suggest headway is being made on some level, there is evidence from recent community intelligence research that relationships between police and young Muslim residents remain somewhat strained. Eighteen interviews were conducted with young Muslims in Grangetown and Butetown in August 2014 just after media stories about 3 young men from the area traveling to Syria to join Islamic State forces. This external event appeared to have had a big impact on young people's perceptions and attitudes towards police with a quarter of the total respondents interviewed saying something has happened in the last 3 months to decrease their confidence (Table 2.4). Qualitative data suggest that engagement with the local police is not always perceived as constructively by young Muslims as the local CSO team might think, as the following quotation illuminates:

> *'Nothing good comes from the police for us around here. They treat us, I'm telling you, they treat us completely different from how they should treat us… especially community officers'*
> [R035]

In summary, the situation in Grangetown appears complex with recent high profile events acting upon general perceptions of neighbourhood safety.

2.5 Limitations

A number of factors have combined to constrain this research and what can be confidently asserted on the basis of the evidence compiled. Some of these stem from the nature of the intervention itself, and the highly localised and subtle nature of much CSO work. Shaping public perceptions of safety and community cohesion can, after all, occur in a number of ways. Other constraining factors relate to the socio-economic context in which the intervention was conducted. Although nothing to do with the intervention *per se*, such influences nevertheless frame the opportunities to leverage change. A third set of factors pivot around decisions taken in terms of implementing a complex intervention rapidly, with insufficient attention and preparation paid to how to gauge its effects. Some of these key limitations are:

- Because of the timing of the commissioning of this research, no control site in Wales was established as a comparator against which to measure any change associated with adding to CSO numbers. This runs contrary to established conventions for evaluation design (Morris, 2006, Cooper, 2006). The result is that any observed change in the impact measures, such as those detailed in Table 1, cannot be confidently attributed to the Welsh Government additional investment. As such, where we propose impact to have taken place, this is done so on a 'balance of probabilities' interpretation of the available evidence.

- Not all data is currently available. Robust public perception data from the Crime Survey for England and Wales that might detect any impacts in Wales will not be available until at least the next data release for 2013-14. These data will also be vital for assessing any longer-term effects in years to come. The most recent data available at the time of the research has been used to effectively 'model' what public perceptions would look like in different community contexts.

- By the time fieldwork commenced in 2013, many key stakeholders in forces who had been involved in strategy development had moved onto different roles. This rendered respondent selection challenging.

- By the time the evaluation had been commissioned, in all but SWP, full deployment of the Welsh Government-funded CSO cohort was already achieved and thus the planned base-lining of qualitative data was not possible. This made pre- and post-intervention comparison difficult.

- Possibly the most important constraining factor relates to the interplay of contextual issues, that made it extremely difficult to disaggregate and isolate any programme effects. For example, a number of the positive movements in

key indicators appear to have started prior to the Welsh Government investment.

3. Interpreting the Data

This section interprets the empirical findings set out above and starts to consider their implications. The analysis identifies a range of factors that have combined to make this a complex intervention in terms of being able to determine patterns of cause and effect between the additional CSO input and measurable public outcomes. These include:

- This was not a 'new' policing capacity, but rather an uplift in existing capacity.
- Implementation took place in a period of profound public sector austerity, where reductions in central government funding for the police has seen the number of police officers fall across all Welsh forces.
- The wider economic climate has also seen all forces undertake significant organisational restructuring during the period when the new CSOs were being introduced.
- The five forces introduced their new CSOs at different points in time and at different rates. This makes it difficult to infer any patterns in impact that may be present.
- Examining key trends in levels of crime, disorder and confidence, it can be seen that many of these pre-date the arrival of the Welsh Government CSOs.
- The principle of police operational independence has meant that there have been differences in how the policy has been implemented.

3.1 Implementation

3.1.1 'The Four Ps'

Our findings suggest that the implementation of the Welsh Government's programme at different levels has been shaped by four principal influences:

Policy: From the outset the policy specified that the Welsh Government-funded CSOs should be both additional to, but also integrated into, the Welsh forces' existing establishments, allowing for the operational control of their deployment and day-to-day activities to be handled by those forces. Whilst there was a steer towards deployment within the most deprived communities in Wales, ultimate decisions rested with Chief Constables, enabling forces to choose how they tailored the use of their additional CSOs according to local circumstances and demand. A range of

different strategic and operating models for the CSO role therefore emerged with the result that, particularly at a time of austerity and declining resources generally, they were unlikely to achieve all desired outcomes in all places.

People: The profile of individuals recruited into the new positions varied across forces, but they were generally younger and more male-dominated than existing post holders. Given it has become the norm for all forces to recruit rank-and-file police officers from within their existing CSO pool, this is perhaps unsurprising. There is undoubtedly value to forces in developing experienced, community-focused CSOs into fully warranted officers. At the same time however, this was a lost opportunity for forces to diversify the police workforce. Additionally, the 'churn' in personnel associated with CSOs progressing to PCs can have negative implications for communities. Focus group data elicited some evidence, albeit weak, to suggest that it is the more mature, longer serving vocational CSOs who are more likely to embed themselves into the more proactive engagement elements of their role, developing innovative approaches to community engagement interventions.

Places: The make-up of the localities into which the new CSOs have been deployed is also significant in relation to the success or otherwise of their interventions. Precisely what the public want from their local police is complex and difficult to fully understand, although it is clear that it involves some balance of visibility, accessibility and familiarity. The precise balance between these appears associated with local levels of crime and community cohesion. In the more rural case study areas, particularly those relatively cohesive areas with low crime levels like Anglesey, the development of familiarity within communities had public value. In urban areas (i.e. Newport), the role performed accented visibility and accessibility rather than familiarity. In complex social settings with low community cohesion and high crime such as Grangetown and parts of the Ebbw Fawr Valley, the CSO function needs to build trust and confidence in policing, to generate community intelligence on local problems.

Problems: Whilst the official CSO role description and associated powers varies little between forces, the situated problems they deal with mean the reality of their day-to-day activities can be very different. Tackling ASB remains the mainstay of their role. Across all forces however, low level crime and associated investigative tasks are becoming an increasingly significant part of CSO work. In some instances these tasks take CSOs off the streets to deal with administrative functions, whilst in others they are left on the streets with insufficient powers to deal with problems they are likely to face and inconsistent back-up.

3.1.2 The CSO Balancing Act

The interactions between these ‘four P’s’’ leave CSOs managing a delicate balance of community-focused proactive interventions and reactive ‘police’ tasks. Figure 3.1 depicts this balancing act: on one side are the clearly community-focused cohesion building activities designed to build stronger, safer and more resilient communities; on the other reactive tasks traditionally provided by response and investigative police officers, now delegated to CSOs. In the middle are examples of activities and tasks falling into what we will term the ‘grey area’- community focused activities associated with the policing of crime and disorder.

Our analysis shows that different weighting has been applied to this scale both between and within the four Welsh forces, allowing two different CSO operating models to develop:

- A ‘Community Support’ model – focusing upon engagement activities and performing the kinds of tasks that help to nurture and support community cohesion.

- A ‘Police Support’ model - undertaking tasks that were previously performed by police constables.

The broad range of evidence collated as part of this research suggests that the effects of public sector austerity have weighted the balance within forces towards, more police support tasks. This means that the impact of the additional 500 CSOs has been felt more in these domains than in terms of community support activities. None of the six CSAs used these models in a ‘pure’ form but, based upon the qualitative data collected and our observations, we are able to indicatively plot each along a continuum between Community Support and Police Support as illustrated in Figure 3.2.

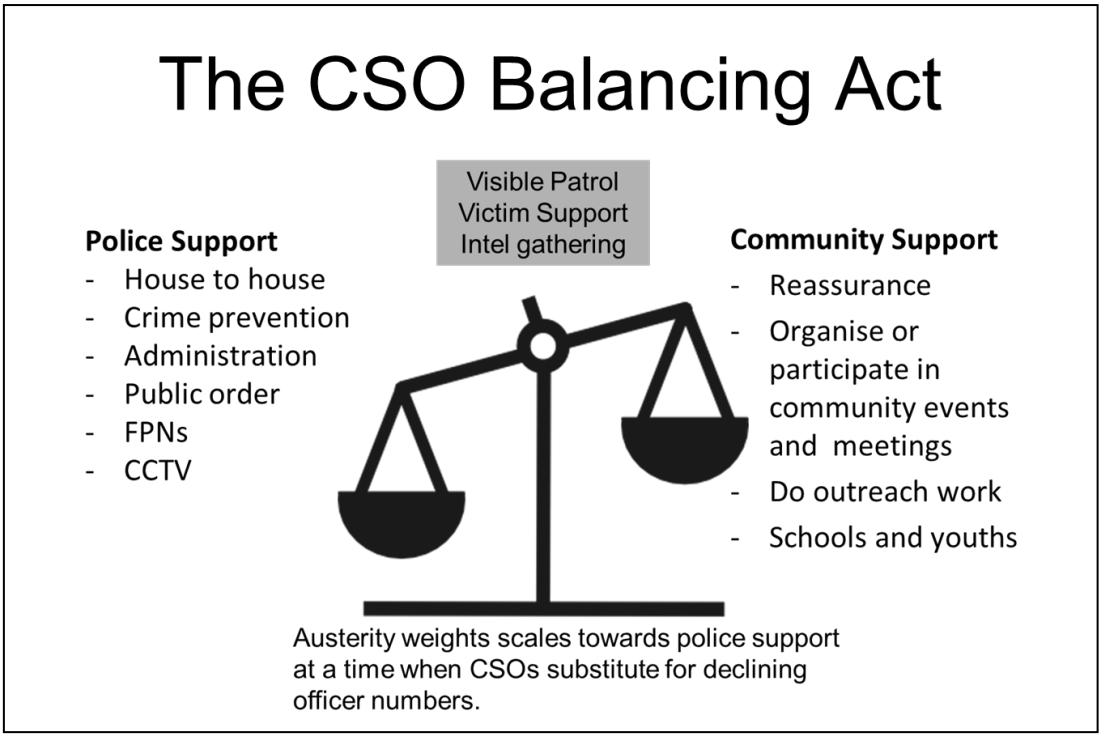


Figure 3.1 The CSO Balancing Act

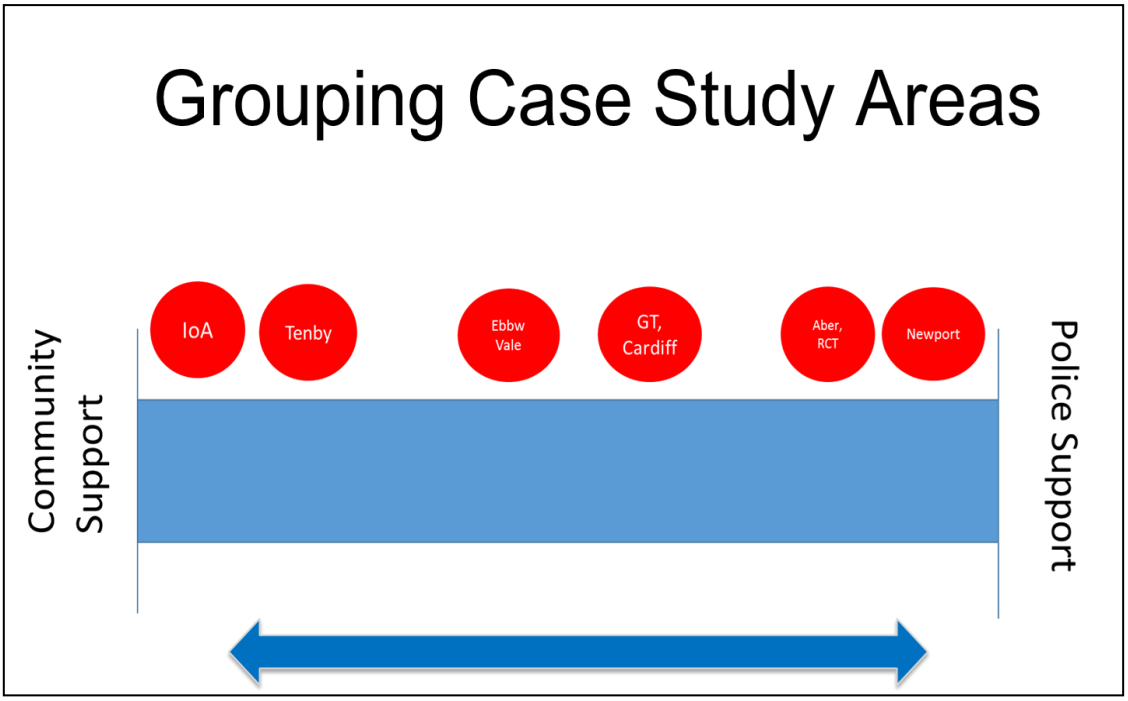


Figure 3.2 Grouping Case Study Areas

In proposing these two ideal-type models, we are not suggesting that either is more valid than the other. Indeed, both CSOs and local managers in each site had differing views as to the appropriateness of the tasks they regularly carry out in relation to their core function. What is clear, however, is that the Welsh

Government's policy has been implemented differently by the forces in Wales as an increased CSO resource substitutes for declining police officer numbers. Decisions about local policy formulation and implementation have served to structure what specific outcomes were being sought and were achieved.

3.2 Impact

The preceding discussion has highlighted some of the challenges involved in determining and isolating specific programme impacts. The case study analyses evidenced some positive instances of intensive local working. At the same time, these accounts also catalogued the presence of what Sampson (2012) labels 'neighbourhood effects', whereby local conditions serve to structure what problems present, and how they are perceived and experienced. Coupled with elements of the programme design and the lack of formal control sites, impact analysis has been challenging. Reflecting this, it is proposed that where there is evidence from the appraisal of impact having occurred, this is attributed on a 'balance of probabilities'. It is also noteworthy that in respect of a number of domains, complex impacts and effects have been detected. These include non-linear changes in key indicators such as recorded crime, and polarisation in public opinion.

3.2.1 Crime and ASB

Assessing the impact of the Welsh Government's policy on levels of recorded crime and ASB has proven difficult. A long term trend of falling crime in Wales continued throughout the implementation period in line with that in England, our counter-factual comparator. By indexing recorded crime at January 2012 however, there is a very modest increase in the linear trend in all four Welsh forces that could be indicative of future change for the worse across Wales. Such apparently conflicting underlying trends are difficult to interpret. It means this outcome measure is, as anticipated at the outset of the study, a very blunt tool with which to assess the impact of additional CSO resource.

An interesting point to note here is that a fall in crime in both Wales and England has continued at a faster rate than austerity-driven contractions in police workforce, shown by the ratio of recorded crimes per police officer. This finding suggests that despite declining police officer numbers increasingly impacting upon the role being fulfilled by CSOs, there is 'on the surface' no demand for CSOs to substitute for police work in relation to crime.

For ASB, the long term trend in recorded incidents shows a similar fall to crime, although changes to the way in which ASB is recorded just prior to the start of this policy's implementation make comparisons over a longer time frame difficult. What our attendance at the scene data show however, is that CSOs are increasingly responding to reported incidents of ASB. Victims of ASB in Wales are now much

more likely to be dealt with by a CSO than by a warranted police officer and evidence from the Omnibus survey would suggest this is in line with public expectations.

3.2.2 Public perceptions

The available data on the views of the Welsh public are similarly difficult to interpret in relation to perceptions of safety. Public perception data from forces are highly variable and, where suitable questions have been asked in recent years, there is a lack of time series data with which to measure change. Whilst the Beaufort Omnibus survey does provide limited evidence that people feel safer as a result of regularly seeing CSOs on foot patrol, this one measure alone cannot capture the complexities of how communities construct their sense of security. For example, whilst the evidence from combined data sources shows regular CSO visibility has generally increased over the implementation period (except in DPP), for a significant proportion of the public, high visibility alone makes no difference to perceptions of safety. The implication is that other aspects of community engagement and problem solving are also important.

How far the policy has impacted upon public trust and confidence in policing has been somewhat easier to explore, given the statutory inclusion of questions pertaining to this issue in force satisfaction surveys. Only in North Wales has there been a positive impact over the implementation period, with negative changes across the rest of the country. Whether these changes can be attributed to extra CSOs is difficult to grasp. In some instances the data suggest that the public differentiate between visibility of CSOs and warranted police officers, preferring the latter, and that there is some doubt about CSOs' ability to perform 'policing' functions. Indeed, the CSOs themselves report some confusion amongst the public as to the purpose of their role and available powers, which may impact upon confidence. The negative trajectory in aggregate trust and confidence trends is likely associated with similar, broader trends across England and Wales that, by implication, the additional CSOs have not been sufficient to reverse.

3.2.3 A re-configuration of policing in Wales

Has the Welsh Government's investment provided Wales with an additional 500 CSOs as set out in the policy aims? In workforce terms, yes. From the outset the principle of additionality was made clear and it was recognised that this would be in the context of declining resources elsewhere in the service. Individuals have moved on and posts have been re-filled (or if vacant are advised as such and grant not claimed), but the rigorous monitoring outlined in section 2.1.1 provides evidence to suggest that the principle has been observed.

The extent to which this additionality of inputs has translated into outputs and public-facing outcomes is less clear cut. There has been an increased capacity directed to particular aspects of the police mission, but some of this, in terms of the delivery of neighbourhood services to improve community safety, has been offset by wider changes to the organisation of policing. In some areas there are examples of community engagement activities that may not have been resourced prior to the Welsh Government's investment, from LGBT support surgeries at a college in Ebbw Vale to a BTP innovative buddy system with Arriva Trains staff at remote Valleys stations. In towns there is an increased presence on the street which is valued by the public, although there is evidence to suggest many to do not feel completely confident in the ability and powers of CSOs to deal with many of the issues they are likely to face. But there is also a drift towards the delegation of tasks traditionally carried out by police officers to the increased pool of CSOs, suggesting some compensation for a declining workforce and organisational change by way of substitution of responsibilities. It is difficult (and not within the remit of this research) to fully quantify how much of the 500FTE CSO resource funded by the Welsh Government is actually taken up with inappropriate police tasks and how much is visible and accessible to the public, contributing to community safety as envisaged by the policy. But we conclude that the Welsh Government have not received 'like-for-like' input and output because of wider changes to the organisation of policing.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

The analysis set out in this report focuses upon the development of the Welsh Government policy and its intent, how it was delivered and some of the impacts that can be attributed to it.

The policy was purposefully designed by Welsh Government to afford flexibility and adaptability in its implementation by the participating police forces. Defining a clear space for the implementation processes to be tailored to local circumstances and need was important in preserving the principle of police operational independence that was agreed by all stakeholders. It also facilitated the additional CSO resource being used in ways responsive to local conditions 'on the ground' in communities. At the same time though, framing the policy in this way did induce a number of important 'downstream' consequences:

- The forces devised different strategies for their deployment and direction of the new CSOs. Because the new officers were integrated into the police staff, it was very difficult to isolate and disaggregate what effects these different approaches might have had, and how appropriate and successful they were.

- Allowing forces to choose how to use the additional officers meant that rather different aims and expectations were established for the programme across Wales.

- The actual services delivered and tasks undertaken within communities by the Welsh Government funded CSOs differ significantly across the forces and within individual case study sites, reflecting the strategic decisions and choices made.

- The ability to robustly assess the impacts of the policy overall are rendered more challenging because of the policy design, and the fact that officers were deployed in very different ways in different communities and were engaged in delivering a diverse array of services.

4.1 Conclusions

Overall, this research concludes that the Welsh Government's key policy aim was achieved in that its investment provided an additional capacity of 500 CSOs across Wales. However, the impacts generated as a result of this additional capacity were constrained by external factors, most notably, central government disinvestment in policing and consequent reductions in the number of police officers.

A key finding therefore is that the Welsh Government policy has offset some of the effects of this disinvestment. Overall levels of police staffing in Wales have not declined in the same way as in England. There are fewer police officers available, but increased numbers of CSOs. As such, the Welsh Government's policy has reshaped certain public facing aspects of policing in Wales.

One area where this is especially evident relates to the management of ASB. CSOs are increasingly taking responsibility for responding to disorder, ASB and non-crime calls for service from the public. There are mixed views on the merits of such an approach and of delegating tasks formerly the responsibility of police officers to CSOs. On the one hand it serves to free up police officers' time. On the other, it constrains the ability of CSOs to conduct engagement work to some degree.

There is some evidence to suggest the public has noticed an increased police presence and visibility in many areas. At the same time though, the research has identified a 'dosage effect' in relation to police visibility. High levels of police visibility, when this is not aligned with local public expectations, can be just as harmful as too little presence. Rather than being reassuring, high visibility patrols can act as signals for alarm to communities where they are not usual.

Something approaching a consensus exists amongst criminologists that crime and disorder are frequently symptoms of deeper and wider social problems. In the context of this research, this is important in terms of the 'neighbourhood effects' that help to shape how the policy innovation was actually implemented by forces 'on the ground'. The demands and needs of particular communities in specific areas meant that the focus for CSO activities differed substantially. A combination of people, places, problems and policies are identified as the key determinants influencing what was actually delivered into neighbourhoods across Wales.

To further interpret and explain patterns in CSO service delivery, a high-level conceptual distinction was drawn between 'Police Support Officer' and a 'Community Support Officer' roles. Informed by the empirical data collected, the differences between these two constructs were used to help differentiate the approaches adopted in six case study areas. Implicit in this discussion was an understanding that it is where key elements of the 'police support' and 'community support' functions are blended that the better outcomes for communities arise.

This evidence could be used by Welsh Government in partnership with the police to inform forward policy development in this area. In the early stages of implementation there has been a certain 'looseness' associated with what CSOs have been doing. A degree of flexibility is obviously required to accommodate the previously mentioned 'neighbourhood effects'. At the same time though, a greater sense of definition about what it is reasonable and possible to expect CSOs to deliver is necessary for ensuring optimum levels of public value are achieved.

Because the CSO role was conceived in very different ways in different parts of Wales, it was always improbable that all areas would acquire benefits across all key indicators. There were also domains, such as perceptions of safety and community cohesion, which may plausibly have been influenced by enhanced CSO capacity but robust data was simply not available. Addressing such limitations would be beneficial for ongoing Welsh Government involvement in community safety work.

One area where there was a missed opportunity with the Welsh Government investment was in helping to diversity the police workforce. Because of how the CSO role has increasingly been cast by forces as a 'stepping stone' into joining the police service, rather than a distinctive role in its own right, this impacted upon the types of individuals who applied for the Welsh Government posts. The data collated by this research suggests most of those taken on were male and from a limited range of occupational backgrounds.

Looking forward, there is a question of sustainability. It is notable that Welsh Government funding is now supporting just under half of all CSO posts in Wales. However, depending upon the results of the General Election in 2015, it is currently being suggested that further cuts to public services, including the police and CSOs, are planned (HMIC, 2014). Potentially, this could mean that the police forces in Wales will be coming under pressure to reduce their centrally funded CSO posts, at the same time as Welsh Government investment is also squeezed. One scenario then is of a 'double hit' at some point in the future, where both Home Office and Welsh Government financial support for CSOs flows away at the same time.

4.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the research evidence, several recommendations for Welsh Government and the police can be identified.

1. The Welsh Government should extend the period for impact analysis of the policy. This would enable data from the third wave of the Beaufort Omnibus and subsequent iterations of the Crime Survey for England and Wales to be analysed. Considerable value would be added to understanding the wider perceptual impacts of the intervention. As originally conceived, the period allowed for this aspect of the assessment was rather compressed.

2. Improved community safety can encompass many things, and the Welsh Government might want to give some thought to which aspects of community safety they are especially interested in leveraging. This enhanced sense of definition will help to ensure that they are achieving value for money from future investments.

3. Linked to this, far greater input is required in the planning stages about how complex policy developments such as this are to be assessed and evaluated. The lack of formal control sites and proper baseline measures has limited the insights that can be drawn about whether the investment made has worked and what benefits it has delivered for communities in Wales.

4. A considerable evidence base about the activities of CSOs has been compiled to support this research. Indeed, we suspect that this is the most comprehensive investigation of the work and impacts of CSOs ever undertaken. As such, we would commend forces to use this evidence to better understand 'what works' from the point of view of the public, in terms of how CSOs are deployed and used.

5. Related to the previous point, some discussion of striking the right balance between the 'police support' and 'community support' elements of the CSO role is warranted. The critical components identified herein have been: visible presence; proactive engagement and dealing with disorder.

6. As part of this research we have had occasion to review a number of survey instruments designed and utilised by forces to capture the views of the public and victims. A number of these were not 'fit for purpose' in terms of their design and implementation. We would recommend that ACPO Cymru explore the potential for agreeing a harmonised set of instrumentation that could be used by all Welsh forces in a consistent manner. This would likely reduce costs and increase insights into what is and is not working for different communities in Wales.

Appendix A – Detailed Methodology (Quantitative)

1. Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)

The Crime Survey for England (formerly the British Crime Survey) is primarily a survey of victimisation with interviews conducted on a continuous basis each year on behalf of the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2013a).

The core sample of the CSEW is designed to be representative of households in England and Wales, and people living in those households based on the small user's Postcode Address File (PAF) sampling frame. Once an eligible household is selected, all individuals aged 16 or over are listed before one is randomly chosen for interview.

The analysis of this data represents an individual-based analysis where the intention is to make statements about the characteristics, attitudes or experiences of adults or children in the sample. Following the CSEW user guide (ONS, 2011-12) these are weighted by *indivwgt i*n order to compensate for unequal probabilities of selection and to adjust for differential non-response.

Data from the CSEW was analysed at the start of the research. The three key objectives were:

1. To model public perceptions of policing visibility, safety, crime and antisocial behaviour in different community contexts defined by the Index of Multiple Deprivation.
2. To compare public perceptions for Wales with England.
3. To report trends over time in public perceptions of policing visibility, from 2009/10 to 2012/13.

2011-12 CSEW data

The most recently available data at the start of the research was CSEW 2011-12. In 2011-12 approximately 46,000 surveys were conducted with adults across the year. The complex structure of the CSEW questionnaire means that only a core set of modules are asked to the whole sample. The module containing questions about local policing was asked to a randomly selected 25 per cent of the overall sample. This gives a sample size of 10,538 for adults aged 16+ living in private households in England and 953 for Wales (ONS, 2013b).

Although this data pre-dates the introduction of Welsh Government-funded CSOs and so cannot not be to assess any impact or change in public perceptions, the analysis was used to:

- Report on a large or 'macro' scale what public perceptions look like in different communities in Wales. Doing so allows inferences to be made about how public attitudes might be expected to change as a visible policing presence increases in accordance with the Welsh Government investment in CSOs.

- Model the effects of deprivation, rural-urban characteristics and public perceptions to inform the selection of case study areas for the fieldwork in this research.

Data from this survey is presented where possible for Wales only. Where a larger sample size is required, data is used from England. The exact source of data used for each figure or table is stated clearly in the report.

In this report, data from the CSEW reports on the following variables:

PUBLIC PERCEPTION OUTCOMES
Antisocial Behaviour: 'what do you think has happened to the level of ASB in your local area over the past few years?' Going up (same, going down).

PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL POLICING VARIABLES
Visibility on foot patrol: *'how often do you see police officers or 'PCSOs' on foot patrol in your local area?'*: High ('once a day' or 'more than once a day'); medium ('about once a week' to 'about once a month'); low ('less than once a month'); no visibility ('never').
Presence: derived from questions on the reported frequency of visibility *('how often do you see the police officers or 'PCSOs' on foot patrol in your local area?')* and change perceptions *('in the last two years, have you noticed any change in how often you see police officers or 'PCSOs' on foot patrol in your local area?)*.
'High CSO Presence': respondents with any or both of: daily or more visibility; change= 'more often'.
'Low CSO Presence': respondents with any or both of: visibility 'less than monthly' or 'never'; change= 'less often'.

INDEX OF MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION

Separate indices of multiple deprivation are included on the survey for England and for Wales at Lower Super Output Area level (LSOA) geography. These are ranked as deciles, ranging from the most deprived 10% of LSOAs to the least deprived 10% of LSOAs. The deciles have been combined into 'deprivation fifths' for the analyses presented in this report, for example comparing the most deprived fifth (20%) of LSOAs in Wales with the least deprived fifth.

The full index of multiple deprivation was used for England and for Wales, incorporating individual indices based on separate domains constructed using data and methodologies specific to these countries.

In England, these domains are[30]: Income; Employment; Health deprivation and disability; education skills and training; barriers to housing and services; crime; living environment.

In the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD)[31], these domains are: Income; Employment; Health; Education; Geographical access to services; Community Safety; Physical Environment; Housing. Ranks are not comparable with the Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) from the other UK countries. Further information on the issue of comparing IMDs across the UK can be found on the Neighbourhood Statistics website.

2. Beaufort Omnibus Survey of Public Perceptions in Wales

The Omnibus is conducted by Beaufort Research and is based upon a representative quota sample, consisting of a minimum of 1,000 adults aged 16+ resident in Wales. The Welsh Government funded questions about public perceptions of CSOs and awareness of Welsh Government-funded CSOs. These were administered over three years, from November 2012 to November 2014 to a fresh sample of the public each time. All interviews are conducted face-to-face in respondents' homes using CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing).

The report compares public attitude change for the two waves of data that are currently available: 2012 and 2013. Change is compared for All Wales as well as for Police Force Areas derived from Unitary Authority areas in the survey. Data from both years of the survey have been combined at Case Study Area level to report on public perceptions in Gwent where no other survey of the general public was available.

3. National Rail Passenger Survey, 2010-2014

The National Rail Passenger Survey (NRPS) is conducted by Passenger Focus, an independent rail watchdog. The analysis is based on a representative sample of journeys by passengers on Arriva Train Wales services. These services cover routes in North Wales, South Wales and the valleys.

[30] https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/english-indices-of-deprivation
[31] http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation/?lang=en

The data is weighted to help ensure the sample accurately represents passengers using each operator's service, in terms of the proportion of commuting, business and leisure journeys. The data are classed as Official Statistics by ONS.
Pre-tabulated open-access data[32] from this survey is reported on, from Spring 2014 to Spring 2010. The survey does not contain any questions about Community Support Officers so the reporting is limited to:

- Differences over time in public attitudes concerning safety ('personal security') and awareness of British Transport Police.

- A comparison between public attitudes for Arriva Trains Wales and all rail transport Services for the most recent data available (Spring 2014) and data that pre-dates the Welsh Government investment in CSOs on the railways.

4. Police Force Crime and Incident Data

Each police force in Wales supplied data on recorded crimes and incidents over the research period. The exact data provided varied across forces and is summarised in Table A1.

Police C&I Data	NWP	SWP	GP	DPP
Raw monthly crime data – all force	Y	Y	N Pre-tabulated	Y
Raw monthly crime data - CSAs	Y	Y	Y for selected offences*	Y
Raw incident data – all force	Y	Y	N Pre-tabulated	Y
Raw incident data - CSAs	Y	Y	Y for Ebbw Vale only**	Y
CSO at the scene - crime	N	Y	N	Y
CSO at the scene - incidents	Y	Y	N	Y
Call/ response grading	N	Y	Y for incidents only and Ebbw Vale only***	N

Table A1 Crime and Incident data from Welsh Police forces

[32] http://www.passengerfocus.org.uk/our-open-data

Note that the UK Statistics Authority removed the designated status of 'National Statistic' from police recorded data in January 2014 subject to investigations on data quality and recording practices. The following caveats apply to data used in this report:

Caveats Gwent Police

*Selected offences include: all other theft; criminal damage and arson; shoplifting; theft from person. Missing offence types: violence, drugs, robbery, weapons, public order, other.

** Missing data for 3 beats in Newport Central.

***Cannot be linked to responder info.

Caveats South Wales Police

Data structured by finalised code for Occurrences categorised as: Crime, ASB, Public Safety, Transport, non-NICL and Admin. Occurrences do not equate with the actual number of crimes/ASB as there will be some in other categories of occurrence that cannot be delineated in this data. For this reason, UK crimestats figures are plotted for ASB trends in CSAs for South Wales as a point of comparison. Call grade analysis is carried out on all occurrence types.

Caveats North Wales Police

Trend data presented for total incidents and for those with the 3 category ASB descriptor for nuisance, personal or environmental ASB.

Geographical analysis of Police Force data

Geo-coded occurrence records of crime and ASB were collated for Dyfed Powys Police, North Wales Police, and South Wales Police, for a period before deployment until a period after the completion of deployment. In addition to the spatial coordinates of the event, the date it took place, and whether CSOs were in attendance in response to the event were obtained.

The average count of all ASB occurrences, and all crime occurrences, which took place per 100 days in the pre-deployment, and post-deployment periods were then determined for each ward. This process was repeated for only occurrences where a CSO was in attendance. From this the percentage of ASB occurrences, and crime occurrences attended by a CSO could be determined at a ward level. The change in this percentage was then identified between the pre-deployment and post-deployment.

For percentage CSO attendance figures, a minimum number of 5 occurrences per 100 days on average must have taken place within the time period for the single time

period representations, and in both time periods in comparative representations, in order to be included.

5. Police Force Public Survey Data

Each police force in Wales supplied data collected from members of the public. The exact data provided varied across forces and is summarised in Table A2.

Police Public Perception Survey	NWP	SWP	GP	DPP
General Public – Force area - Local area - Time period	Y Y IoA 2010-14	Y Y Y 2011-14	N	Y Y Y 2012-13
Victims of Crime – Force area - Local area - Time period	Y Y IoA 2011-14*	N	Y** Y Y (LPU) 2011-15	N
Victims of ASB – Force area - Local area - Time period	N	N	Y Y (LPU) 2011-14	N

Table A2 Public Survey data by Welsh police force

* Does not include any questions on CSOs or ASB so omitted;

** Includes violent crime, racially motivated crime, hate crime, burglary and vehicle crime.

It is important to note that:

- Not every force surveys the general public.
- Not every force takes a representative sample of public opinion and where samples are 'self-selected' based, for example, on internet surveys or panels, this will skew the sample and limit the generalizability of findings.
- Only a single force in Wales has data that can reliably be used to track public perceptions over time as a result of asking the same questions year-on-year. Where question wording or response categories are changed between survey this limits or prevents comparison of change.

Other Sources

Quantitative data from reference tables have been used in this report.

Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2013 - Supplementary Tables
https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/tables-for-police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2013

Crime and Policing Comparator
http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/crime-and-policing-comparator/

Trends in police recorded crime:
http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/crime-stats/crime-statistics/
http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-353718

Local area crime and ASB
https://www.ukcrimestats.com/

Appendix B – Detailed Methodology (Qualitative)

1. Primary Data Collection and Analysis

Fourteen (14) in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with a total of 18 police officers within the four terrestrial forces between July 2013 and September 2014 as detailed in the table below. For BTP, one senior officer was interviewed by telephone in November 2014.

Police Force Area	In-depth Interview conducted with
Dyfed Powys	2 x DPP Senior Management Team Officers 3 x CSA Local Management Team Officers
Gwent	4 x CSA Local Management Team Officers
North Wales	2 x NWP Senior Management Team Officers 2 x CSA Local Management Team Officers
South Wales	1 x SWP Senior Management Team Officer 4 x CSA Local Management Team Officers
BTP in Wales	1 x BTP Senior Management Team Officer

Table B1. Qualitative Interview Respondents

In addition, eight focus groups with CSO were conducted across the six case study areas, involving both Welsh Government-funded CSOs and other CSOs within the NPT between January and September 2014, as detailed in the table below. One public focus group was conducted with a group of Girl Guides on Anglesey.

Case Study Area	Focus Group Participants
Tenby, DPP	FG#1: 4 x Community Support Officers FG#1: 1 x Neighbourhood Police Officer FG#1: 1 x Local Management Team Officer
Newport, GP	FG#2: 4 x Community Support Officers FG#3: 5 x Community Support Officers
Ebbw Vale, GP	FG#4: 6 x Community Support Officers
Anglesey, NWP	FG#5: 10 x Community Support Officers
Aberdare, SWP	FG#6: 6 x Community Support Officers FG#7: 3 x Community Support Officers
Grangetown, SWP	FG#8: 5 x Community Support Officers
Girl Guide Focus Group, Anglesey	FG#9: 1 x Community Support Officer FG#9: 1 x Girl Guide Leader FG#9: 8 x Girl Guides

Table B2. Focus Group Participants

Interviews and focus groups were semi-structured, utilising interview guides developed for the purpose via the method described by Loftland and Loftland (1995) and included in this appendix. In all cases, discussions were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed. Each respondent was allocated a unique respondent number such that their anonymity is retained.

Interview and focus group data were analysed using a process of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) whereby insights and concepts that emerged from the data were developed and re-tested for fit, allowing overarching analytical themes to emerge.

Interview data were supplemented by observational data obtained whilst accompanying three CSOs on patrol on Anglesey and attending a PACT meeting in Aberdare. Detailed field notes were taken by researchers on each occasion and incorporated into the analysis.

2. Secondary Data Analysis

Interview and focus group data were supplemented by performing a content analysis of key documents relating to the policy as provided by the forces and the Welsh Government.

In addition, open source data, news media stories, meeting minutes and other documentation published online were analysed for content where this aided the research.

3. Intelligence-oriented Neighbourhood Security Interviews (i-NSI).

With the agreement of SWP, data obtained by them using the i-NSI methodology have been utilised within this research. i-NSI is a data capture methodology developed by UPSI for use by police officers (Innes *et al,* 2009; Lowe and Innes, 2012). Interviews conducted with members of the public elicit information about what problems locally are generative of personal and collective insecurity. Problems identified are plotted onto an electronic map triggering a series of questions designed to generate more descriptive detail about the problem, details of when it occurs and the impact or effect it is having on the respondent. The interviewer then 'attaches' this information to the geo-coded data via a combination of pre-defined tick-box codes and free text data entry. The software guides interviewers to ask other questions providing useful information, including assessments of neighbourhood levels of community cohesion, shifts in crime and disorder

prevalence, and confidence in police and council services. The interview process is something of a hybrid methodology combining aspects of semi-structured interviews with more structured question based approaches. The interview interaction is guided according to the procedures and understandings that underpin the conduct of qualitative interviews, but data are coded in a fashion more akin to structured surveys.

Strategy/Policy Interviews

Interview Guide

Section 1: Role and Responsibilities

- What is your role and responsibility for your force in relation to Neighbourhood Policing?
- Brief overview of how NP is structured within your force

Section 2: Initial Reactions

- When were you first made aware of the WG's policy to fund additional CSOs for the force?
- What was your immediate reaction?
- How was strategy/policy developed?
- How was force strategy/policy on how to use the extra resource developed?
- Who was involved? Who was consulted?
- What was your role?

Section 3: Strategy/Policy

- What is the strategic position regarding use of this additional resource in your force?
- What were the key issues that strategy was designed to address?
- What was the policy with regard to recruitment, selection and training of additional CSOs?
- How was the decision on deployment of the additional CSOs made?
- Was there any conflict between operational strategy and WG project requirements?

Section 4: Implementation

- How was the policy communicated to the force generally and NPTs specifically?
- What have been the enablers and inhibitors in implementing the policy?
- Has policy/strategic direction changed as a result of implementation issues?

Section 5: Current Position

- What do you see as the benefits and risks of being provided with this additional resource?
- How is the project being managed in the context of declining resources generally?
- Do you see any differences between force-funded and WG-funded CSO? If so what?
- How will the force measure the outcome of the project? What will success look like?

Local Heads Interviews

Interview Guide

Section 1: Role and Responsibilities

- What is your role and responsibility for your force/area in relation to Neighbourhood Policing?
- Brief overview of how NP is structured within your area

Section 2: Initial Reactions

- When were you first made aware of the WG's policy to fund additional CSOs for the force?
- Where you involved in the decision to deploy some of that extra resource to your area?
- What was your immediate reaction?
- How was your local strategy strategy/policy on how to use the extra resource developed?
- Who was involved? Who was consulted?
- What was your role?

Section 3: Local Strategy

- What is the strategic position regarding use of this additional resource in your area?
- What were the key issues that strategy was designed to address?
- How was the local decision on deployment of the additional CSOs made?
- Was there any conflict between force strategy and local needs?

Section 4: Implementation

- How was the strategy communicated to local NPTs?
- What have been the enablers and inhibitors in implementing the strategy?
- Has local strategic direction changed as a result of implementation issues?
- What has the additional resource meant locally? Have you been able to do more/different things and if so what?

Section 5: Current Position

- What do you see as the benefits and risks of being provided with this additional resource?
- How is the project being managed in the context of declining resources locally?
- Do you see any differences between force-funded and WG-funded CSO? If so what?
- How will you measure the outcome of the project locally? What will success look like?

NPT Focus Group Guide

Section 1: Introduction and team structure

- Brief overview of how NP is structured within your area, make-up of the NPT

Section 2: Personal Backgrounds

- When did you start the job?
- Previous experience in the CJS?
- If not, what previous experience?
- What attracted you to the position?
- How did you find the recruitment and deployment process?
- Do you see yourself staying in this position? What else would you like to do?

Section 3: Role of the PCSO

- What is role and responsibility of PCSOs in relation to Neighbourhood Policing?
- What were the key issues that PCSOs address?
- Are those functions being fulfilled in Tenby? How?
- What would make your job easier?
- What would make your job more effective?
- What have been the enablers and inhibitors in carrying out your role?

Section 4: WG Funded Positions

- Do you know if you are funded by the force or the WG?
- Do you see any difference between force and WG funded PCSOs?
- Do you think the public see any difference between force and WG funded PCSOs?
- Anyone around before the increase in resource funded by the WG?
- What difference has the additional resource made?
- What can you do now that you didn't do before?
- What do you see as the benefits and risks of the force being provided with this additional resource?
- How would you measure the outcome of the project? What would success look like to you?

Section 5: Summary

- Anything else you'd like to add?

Appendix C – North Wales Police Force Area Report

Published as a standalone document
ISBN

Appendix D – Dyfed Powys Police Force Area Report

Published as a standalone document
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Appendix E – Gwent Police Force Area Report

Published as a standalone document
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Appendix F – South Wales Police Force Area Report

Published as a standalone document
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Appendix G – British Transport Police in Wales Force Area Report

Published as a standalone document
ISBN

Appendix H – Community Support Officer Powers

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
	Entry						
S	**Power to enter and search any premises for the purposes of saving life and limb or preventing serious damage to property.**	Paragraph 8 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
D	**Limited power to enter licensed premises:** Enables CSOs to be designated with a power to enter licensed premises under section 180 of the Licensing Act 2003 for the purposes of investigating relevant licensing offences. They may not enter clubs and must enter all premises with a constable unless the premises are licensed for the sale of alcohol off the premises.	Paragraph 8A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 9 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	**Yes**	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
	Require Name and Address						
S	**Power to require name and address for anti-social behaviour:** Power of a constable in uniform under section 50 of the Police Reform Act 2002 to require a person whom he has reason to believe to have been acting, or to be acting, in an anti-social manner to give his name and address. Sub-paragraph 3(2) of Schedule 4 provides the CSO with the power to detain (under subparagraphs 2(3) to (5) of Schedule 4). However, by virtue of paragraph 2(8) of Schedule 4 the power to detain has no effect unless a CSO has been designated with the power of detention under paragraph 2 of Sch 4.	Paragraph 3 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (as amended by paragraph 3(10) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
S	**Power to require name and address:** Power to require the name and address of a person whom a CSO has reason to believe has committed a relevant offence or a relevant licensing offence. (Relevant offences are defined under subparagraph 2(6) of Schedule 4 of the Police Reform Act 2002 and include relevant fixed penalty offences under paragraph 1 of Schedule 4, an offence under section 32(2) of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 (failure to follow an instruction to disperse) and an offence which appears to have caused injury, alarm or distress to another person or loss of or damage to another person's property. Relevant licensing offence is defined as a specified offence under the Licensing Act 2003). -Paragraph 1A enables chief constables to designate the power to require name and address without also designating the power of detention.	Paragraph 1A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 2 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to require name and address for road traffic offences:** Enables CSOs to be designated with the power to require the name and address of a driver or pedestrian who fails to follow the directions of a CSO or police officer under sections 35 or 37 of the Road Traffic Act 1988.	Paragraph 3A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 6 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
	Dispersal						
D	**Power to disperse groups and remove persons under 16 to their place of residence:** Powers which, by virtue of an authorisation under section 20 of the Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003, are conferred on a constable in uniform by section 30(3) to (6) of that Act (power to disperse groups and remove persons under 16 to their place of residence).	Paragraph 4A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by section 33 of the Anti-Social Behaviour 2003)	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**
D	**Power to remove children in contravention of bans imposed by curfew notices to their place of residence:** Power to remove a child to their place of residence if the CSO has reason to believe that the child is in contravention of a ban imposed by a curfew notice under section 15(3) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.	Paragraph 4B of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by section 33 of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003)	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**
	Search/Stop & Search						
D	**Power to search detained persons for dangerous items or items that could be used to assist escape:** Enables CSOs to be designated with the same powers as a constable under section 32 of PACE to search detained persons for anything that could be used to cause physical injury or to assist escape. A CSO must comply with a police officer's instructions on what to do with the item.	Paragraph 2A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 4 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
D	**Power to search for alcohol and tobacco:** Where a person has failed to comply with a requirement under paragraph 5 or 6 or has failed to allow a CSO to seize tobacco under paragraph 7 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 and a CSO reasonably believes that the person is in possession of alcohol or tobacco then a CSO may search them for it and dispose of anything found. It is an offence to fail to consent to be searched and CSOs can require name and address for this offence. As specified in paragraph 3(10) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 a CSO may only detain a person for failure to give an adequate name and address if he or she has been designated with powers under paragraph 2 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002.	Paragraph 7A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 8 of Schedule 8 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**
S	**Power to stop and search in authorised areas:** Powers under the Terrorism Act 2000 in authorised areas to stop and search vehicles and pedestrians when in the company and under the supervision of a constable.	Paragraph 15 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**	Yes
S	**Power to enforce cordoned areas:** Under section 36 of the Terrorism Act 2000	Paragraph 14 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**	Yes

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
	Seizure/Confiscation						
S	**Power to seize vehicles used to cause alarm:** Power to stop and seize a vehicle which a CSO has reason to believe is being used in a manner which contravenes sections 3 or 34 of the Road Traffic Act 1988 (careless and inconsiderate driving and prohibition of off-road driving) and is causing alarm, distress or annoyance under section 59 of the Police Reform Act 2002.	Paragraph 9 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to remove abandoned vehicles** Under regulations made under section 99 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984. A CSO designated under this paragraph has the power to order the removal of a vehicle under regulation 3 of the Removal and Disposal of Vehicles Regulations 1986. This relates to vehicles that have broken down or been permitted to remain at rest on a road: (a) in a position, condition or situation causing obstruction or danger to persons using the road, or (b) in contravention of a prohibition contained in Schedule 1 of the regulations.	Paragraph 10 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to seize drugs and require name and address for possession of drugs:** Enables CSOs to be designated with a power to seize unconcealed drugs, or drugs found when searching for alcohol, tobacco or other items, if the CSO reasonably believes the person is in unlawful possession of them. The CSO must retain the drugs until a constable instructs them what to do with it. If a CSO finds drugs in a person's possession or has reason to believe that a person is in possession of drugs and reasonably believe such possession is unlawful then the CSO may require that person's name and address.	Paragraphs 7B of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 8 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
S	**Power to seize tobacco from a person aged under 16 and to dispose of that tobacco.**	Paragraph 7 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to require persons drinking in designated places to surrender alcohol:** Power to require a person whom a CSO reasonably believes is, or has been, consuming alcohol in a designated public place or intends to do so, to not consume that alcohol and to surrender any alcohol or container for alcohol. Power to dispose of alcohol surrendered.	Paragraph 5 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to require persons aged under 18 to surrender alcohol:** Power to require a person who he reasonably suspects is aged under 18 or is or has been supplying alcohol to a person aged under 18 to surrender any alcohol in his possession and to give their name and address. Power to require such a person to surrender sealed containers of alcohol if the CSO has reason to believe that the person is or has been consuming or intends to consume alcohol. Power to dispose of alcohol surrendered.	Paragraph 6 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Stopping Vehicles/Traffic Control						
D	**Power to stop vehicles for testing:** Powers of a constable in uniform to stop vehicles for the purposes of testing under section 67 of the Road Traffic Act 1988.	Paragraph 11 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002.	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
S	**Power to stop cycles:** Powers of a constable in uniform to stop a cycle under section 163(2) of the Road Traffic Act 1988 when a CSO has reason to believe that a person has committed the offence of riding on a footpath.	Paragraph 11A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by section 89(3) of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
S	**Power to carry out road checks:** Power to carry out a road check which has been authorised by a superintendent (or a police officer of higher rank) and power to stop vehicles for the purposes of carrying out a road check.	Paragraph 13 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**	Yes
D	**Power to direct traffic for the purposes of escorting abnormal loads**	Paragraph 12 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**
S	**Power to control traffic for purposes other than escorting a load of exceptional dimensions:** Powers to direct traffic (for purposes other than escorting loads of exceptional dimensions) based on the powers constables have under sections 35 and 37 of the Road Traffic Act 1988. It also gives CSOs the power to direct traffic for the purposes of conducting a traffic survey. CSOs designated under this paragraph must also be designated with powers under paragraph 3A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act.	Paragraph 11B of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 10 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	Yes	No	Yes	**No**	No
S	**Power to place signs:** Enables CSOs to be designated with the power of a constable under section 67 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984 to place and maintain traffic signs.	Paragraph 13A of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 11 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005.)	Yes	No	Yes	**No**	Yes

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
	Enforcement/ Issue Fixed Penalty Notices						
D	**Power to enforce certain licensing offences:** The Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 establishes a set of relevant licensing offences. These offences are: sale of alcohol to a person who is drunk; obtaining alcohol for a person who is drunk; sale of alcohol to children; purchase of alcohol by or on behalf of children; consumption of alcohol by children and sending a child to obtain alcohol. Where these offences apply specifically to clubs they are not relevant licensing offences. CSOs may require name and address but may not detain for those relevant licensing offences that are most likely to be committed by license holders.	Paragraph 2(6A) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (see paragraphs 3(3) and 3(8) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	Yes	**Yes**
D	**Power to enforce byelaws:** The Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 provides that offences committed under relevant byelaws are relevant offences under paragraph 2(6) of Schedule 4 of the Police Reform Act 2002. A relevant byelaw is a byelaw from a list of byelaws that has been agreed between a chief constable and a relevant byelaw-making body. As well as being able to require name and address for breach of a byelaw, CSOs can also enforce a byelaw by removing a person from a place if a constable would also have the power to enforce a byelaw in that way.	Paragraphs 1A(3), 2(3A), 2(6)(ad), 2(6B), 2(6C), 2(6D), 2(6E), 2(6F) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (see paragraphs 2, 3(4), 3(7) and 3(8) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005). Powers specific to BTP officers as 'Authorised persons' under s.26 (1) Railway Byelaws 2001	No	No	No	No	**Yes**

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
D	**Power to deal with begging:** The Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 makes offences under sections 3 and 4 of the Vagrancy Act 1824 into relevant offences. It also gives CSOs a power to detain a person who they have required to stop committing an offence under sections 3 and 4 of the Vagrancy Act and who has failed to comply with the requirement.	Paragraphs 2(6)(ac) and 2(3B) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (see paragraphs 3(4), 3(5), 3(6) and 3(7) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	No	No	No	No	**Yes**
S	**Power to issue fixed penalty notices for cycling on a footpath:** Power of a constable in uniform to give a person a fixed penalty notice under section 54 of the Road Traffic Offenders Act 1988 (fixed penalty notices) in respect of an offence under of the Highway Act 1835 (riding on a footway) committed by cycling.	Paragraph 1(2)(b) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**
D	**Power to issue fixed penalty notices for dog fouling:** Power of an authorised officer of a local authority to give a notice under section 4 of the Dogs (Fouling of Land) Act 1996 (fixed penalty notices in respect of dog fouling).	Paragraph 1(2)(c) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002.	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
S	**Power to issue fixed penalty notices in respect of offences under dog control orders:** Power of an authorised officer of a primary or secondary authority, within the meaning of section 59 of the Clean Neighbourhoods and Environment Act 2005, to give a notice under that section (fixed penalty notices in respect of offences under dog control orders).	Paragraph 1(2)(e) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (see section 62(2) of the Clean Neighbourhoods and Environment Act 2005).	Yes	No	No	No	**No**
S	**Power to issue fixed penalty notices for littering:** Power of an authorised officer of a litter authority to give a notice under section 88 of the Environmental Protection Act 1990 (fixed penalty notices in respect of litter).	Paragraph 1(2)(d) of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	**No**

Std./ Disc	Power	Relevant Legislation	DPP	GP	SWP	NWP	BTP
	Detention						
D	**Power to detain:** Power to detain a person whom a CSO has reason to believe has committed a relevant offence, who fails to comply with a requirement under paragraph 1A (3) to give name and address or who gives an answer which the CSO reasonably suspects to be false or inaccurate, for up to 30 minutes for the arrival of a police officer (or to accompany that person to a police station if he or she elects to do so on request). Under paragraph 2(2) (as amended by Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005) a CSO may only be designated with the power to detain if they have also been designated with the power to require name and address under paragraph 1A of the Police Reform Act 2002.	Paragraph 2 of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002. (Paragraph 3(2) of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005.)	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**
	Photography						
S	**Power to photograph persons away from a police station:** Enables CSOs to be designated with the power to photograph a person who has been arrested, detained or given a fixed penalty notice away from the police station.	Paragraph 15ZA of Schedule 4 to the Police Reform Act 2002 (inserted by paragraph 12 of Schedule 8 to the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005).	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Key: S = Standard Statutory Powers D = Discretionary Powers, able to be designated by Chief Constable

Table H1: Community Support Officer Powers as at February 2013

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