

HAVE COMMUNITY PROTECTION OFFICERS (CPOs) MET EXPECTATIONS?  
Managerial opinions of Nottingham City Council's wardens as policing partners

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Since the beginning of the cuts to police budgets, constabularies in England and Wales have had to make substantial savings to meet public expectations with fewer resources. In the City of Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Police have worked in a unique partnership with Community Protection Officers – police vetted and CSAS certified neighbourhood wardens employed by Nottingham City Council – for over a decade. With Nottinghamshire Police having to rely increasingly on partners to ensure adequate service delivery, it is time to ask whether CPOs as an agency and as a policing partner have met the expectations of managers in Community Protection and Nottinghamshire Police.*

*Having expanded in size, remit and power over the last ten years, CPOs have become an integral part of neighbourhood policing. They have met or exceeded all of the expectations held by participants and are projected to continue receiving political support in Nottingham. Their future seems uncertain, with respondents from Community Protection and Nottinghamshire Police anticipating different directions in the future of this scheme.*

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**ACRONYMS**

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ASB	Anti-Social Behaviour
CDP	Crime and Drugs Partnership
CDRP	Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership
CP	Community Protection
CPO	Community Protection Officer
NCC	Nottingham City Council
NP	Nottinghamshire Police
NPT	Neighbourhood Policing Team
PC	Police Constable
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer

## Chapter 1 | INTRODUCTION

At their introduction as part of New Labour's Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal in 2000, neighbourhood wardens were considered valuable in maintaining local environments throughout England and Wales. Whilst there were different types of neighbourhood wardens with varying functions dependent on local demand and type of employer, they generally 'offer a semi-professional presence in residential areas to improve quality of life and the local environment' (Scanlon, 2006; Crawford *et al.*, 2005:8).

Since PCSOs were introduced in 2002 to fulfil high visibility and community engagement functions on behalf of the police – as constables had left these roles behind – wardens and their 'eyes and ears' function have often been deemed largely obsolete (Terpstra *et al.*, 2013). Following the withdrawal of national funding in 2005 and austerity measures blighting public services over the last half-decade (HMIC, 2013), wardens may be considered expensive luxuries.

### 1.1 | The research problem

Neighbourhood wardens have received little literary attention in England and Wales in recent years, with many of them failing to make much progress since the mid-2000s. For over ten years, however, Nottingham City Council (NCC) has not only maintained their neighbourhood wardens but augmented them into fully accredited, vetted and trained Community Protection Officers (CPOs). These officers have integrated with Nottinghamshire Police (NP), sharing radio and computer systems, police stations and working practices.

Despite few contemporary studies focusing on neighbourhood wardens, the financial struggles experienced by police forces during 'austerity' over the last half-decade may see a renewed interest in wardens to maintain neighbourhood policing. Indeed, since the beginning of the cuts being imposed by the Coalition and Conservative Governments, NP have been forced to economise by joining services with other police forces, consolidating divisional structures and cutting staff numbers, including PCSOs. Now is the time to debate how police forces and local authorities can maintain effective policing.

Whilst the police focus on growing crime problems, such as cyber-criminality, organised crime and the threat of terrorism, the public consistently prioritise neighbourhood visibility. Maintaining a robust neighbourhood policing offer<sup>2</sup> is thus vital. CPOs constitute an effort made by NCC to address the issues being left behind by the police, such as providing a highly visible presence and addressing environmental and ASB problems. Despite their growth and continued relevance in maintaining neighbourhood policing, CPOs have received no substantive attention in academic literature. To rectify this gap in knowledge, the current research gives an introduction to CPOs and evaluates whether they have met the expectations of managers to establish whether they and their policing partnership are a viable example of best practice.

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<sup>2</sup> The term 'offer' was used by several participants in the current research to describe the services offered and provided both by Nottinghamshire Police and Community Protection.

## 1.2 | Objectives

The primary objective of this dissertation is to evaluate whether CPOs have met the expectations of managers within Community Protection (CP) and NP both as a standalone agency and as a policing partner in Nottingham City, including whether participants believe that CPOs have been successful.

The second objective of this study is to describe the appearance, purpose and policing partnership of CPOs. It will illustrate how CPOs have remained relevant and why they continue to receive political support despite contemporary commentary claiming wardens to be obsolete, which may encourage more local authorities to adopt CP's model as a policing solution and robust council regulatory service.

In a similar vein, the research considers the future trajectory of CPOs. This will present recommendations identified by ranked officials within the partnership and how best to develop CPOs further for the benefit of NCC and to other local authorities considering adopting the CP model.

## 1.3 | Structure

This dissertation begins with a literature review focusing on warden schemes in England and Wales. It explains the resourcing problems faced by NP, features and evaluations of wardens and their partnerships, and whether wardens are still relevant.

Chapter three outlines and justifies the methods used in the current research.

Chapter four presents the expectations participants initially had of CPOs as a standalone patrol service and as a police partner.

Chapter five uses interview data and information from published and unpublished sources to outline the roles and functions of CPOs, their appearance and the nature of their partnership with the police.

Chapter six assesses whether CPOs have met the expectations discussed in chapter four.

Chapter seven explores participants' suggestions and predictions for the future of the CPO role and their partnership with NP.

Finally, the dissertation concludes with an evaluation of whether CPOs have met the expectations of NP and CP managers and provides several recommendations for further study and the future of CPOs.

## Chapter 2 | WARDENS AS POLICING PARTNERS

### 2.1 | Policing in trouble

Since the beginning of the Coalition Government in 2011, cuts have been made to police budgets across England and Wales. By 2015, these had been curtailed by 19% followed by a further 5% after the 2015 election and, despite claims that there would be ‘no cuts at all in police budgets’ post-2015, even further cuts projected, particularly following ‘Brexit’<sup>3</sup> (HMIC, 2013; Nottingham Post, 2015a; Travis, 2016; BBC, 2016a). Police forces must therefore find ways to cope with the rising demand using fewer resources, which has necessitated drastic measures (Millie and Bullock, 2011; Steve White in Police Federation, 2016).

The measures that NP have taken internally to address the financial crisis include closing police stations and front counters (Ensor, 2012), reducing back and middle office staff numbers, consolidating the city and county divisions of the force to make the management structure more efficient (a decision publically and harshly criticised by the leader of NCC; BBC, 2016b), and staged discussions about changing the nature of neighbourhood policing. NP have engaged in a ‘Tri-Force Collaboration’ (previously ‘Strategic Alliance’) with Northamptonshire and Leicestershire Police to consolidate resources and regionalise departments (e.g. HR, IT and estates). Importantly to this discussion, NP has also cut 72 PCSO jobs – almost a quarter of their PCSOs – in 2014 (Nottingham Post, 2015b).

With financial pressures causing police forces in England and Wales to struggle, it has become increasingly important for them to find alternative arrangements to maintain the delivery of security and crime prevention. For many years, it has been understood that ‘policing’ does not simply involve the activities of the organised police but the cumulative effort of all organisations involved in ‘order-maintenance, peacekeeping, rule or law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention and other forms of investigation and associated information-brokering’ (Jones and Newburn, 1998:18; see Crawford, 2008:153 for examples of plural policing agencies). Whilst private security has been given a higher stake in policing and social control (Travis and Williams, 2012; White, 2014), some still feel that, in the public sphere, these activities should remain primarily a state-delivered function (e.g. Crawford, 2006; 2014).

Partnerships with public sector agencies was mandated by the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 following the Morgan Report (1991), which requires public services (e.g. education, policing, fire and rescue) to provide joint solutions to local problems and become more than the sum of their parts (DCLG, 2006). With this in mind, one way in which policing could be maintained is through warden schemes, such as NCC’s CPOs. Though not primarily a crime fighting body, wardens have provided distinct advantages to policing since they received national attention.

### 2.2 | Neighbourhood wardens

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<sup>3</sup> Britain’s exit from the EU following a referendum in 2016

Drawing inspiration from the *Stadswachten* (city guards) in the Netherlands (Terpstra *et al.*, 2013), municipal patrol services gained national attention in England and Wales at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the introduction of neighbourhood (2000), street (2001) and street crime (2002) warden schemes (Jones and Newburn, 2006). Though these schemes served different functions, their overall objectives and powers were relatively consistent and will hereafter be referred to under the umbrella term 'wardens'.

As part of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal, these schemes were launched to 'offer a semi-official presence in residential areas to improve quality of life and the local environment' (Crawford *et al.*, 2005:8). Wardens were included in this strategy because, whilst the mid-1990s saw the beginning of a two decade crime drop, ASB and the fear of crime had remained consistently high (Policy Action Team 6, 1999), which was likely influenced by the decline in 'neighbourhood staff' and police presence (Loveday and Smith, 2015; Squires, 1998).

Whilst one of the public's primary safety requests tends to be higher police visibility (Crawford *et al.*, 2005), fear of crime, reassurance and tackling ASB are only secondary concerns for constables behind their crime priorities (Crawford, 2006; Loveday and Smith, 2015). In lieu of visible police officers, patrols by wardens were seen as the 'next best thing' (Squires *et al.*, 2004), as there is a 'common presumption that the display and presentation of uniformed state authority is at the heart of enhancing public security' (Crawford, 2006:958). Wardens also replaced the withdrawing network of informal controls and visible guardianship.

The last 20 years have seen a gradual withdrawal of staff from [deprived urban] neighbourhoods by a range of agencies. Housing departments have withdrawn their caretakers and locally-based staff, with sometimes disastrous consequences. There are fewer patch-based social workers and youth and community workers. Park keepers are much less in evidence. Generally, there are fewer people around to exercise the sort of informal surveillance that can embrace safety and deter crime. Warden schemes are one way of filling this gap – a way of bringing more cohesion to an area and of instilling a renewed determination that, working together, communities can overcome the problems they face. In particular, warden schemes have a role to play in reducing crime, disorder, anti-social behaviour, and the fear of crime. (Policy Action Team 6, 1999:9-10)

It was also considered important, however, that wardens provide an additional benefit rather than simply filling the gaps other services had left behind (respondent interviewed in Crawford, 2006:971):

From a Home Office point of view, wardens can help by being part of the extended police family but wardens also do a great deal more than that, they're part of the regeneration family...There is a great range across the warden family...there's a huge range of what they do. Some of them are very close to the police, being strong on enforcement. Their uniforms look rather police-like. At the other end of the spectrum, they're very much about being advocates of the community...But typically the ones in deprived communities and the ones managed by housing associations operate on the softer side, offering a personalised service to communities and linking them up with local agencies.

Wardens were designed to be committed to patrolling, which would simultaneously allow them to gather intelligence and share it with partner agencies, respond to ASB and intervene in environmental

issues. As visibility and neighbourhood presence would be their primary function, wardens (unlike police constables) were not likely to be abstracted to other tasks (Loveday and Smith, 2015). Warden schemes had several fundamental objectives (Coward *et al.*, 2004; Smithson and Armitage, 2007):

- (1) Reducing crime and the fear of crime,
- (2) Preventing and addressing ASB issues,
- (3) Improving the appearance of the local environment and
- (4) Helping to foster inclusive communities.

Beyond these, however, the role of the wardens was vague and loosely defined, which allowed their working practices and priorities to be moulded and dictated by the concerns of their local community, which was one of their greatest strengths and selling points (ODPM, 2004). As a result, there is no 'typical warden scheme' (ODPM, 2004:2). Their flexibility means that wardens are able to take ownerships of tasks that other agencies had rejected or failed to claim (Smithson and Armitage, 2007).

We were being asked by agencies to visit vulnerable residents which they didn't have the time or funds to do. We saw the need for support...our support role has helped us gain the trust and respect of many residents. (Neighbourhood warden interviewed in Coward *et al.*, 2004:19)

Warden schemes are mostly employed by either the local authority or social housing provider, with each scheme working differently according to their needs and purposes. Scanlon (2006) identified four basic operating models of warden schemes:

1. Patrollers – routinely walk or drive around their patch looking for environmental problems or illicit activity.
2. Concierges – based in one location (e.g. a tower block) to monitor public areas and perform maintenance.
3. Caretakers or super caretakers – maintain and repair buildings and public areas of housing estates.
4. Neighbourhood support workers – visit vulnerable people and organise activities with local youths.

In achieving their objectives, the Association of Chief Police Officer (ACPO, 1998) suggested that wardens should operate almost a 'citizen with a uniform', negotiating with peoples' inner desire to conform as opposed to securing compliance through coercion (Squires and Smith, 2002; ODPM, 2004). Although the police's political support helped with credibility and legitimacy, wardens had to remain a distinct service with its own aims and contributions (Whitehead *et al.*, 2002; Husain, 2006).

Wardens are able to work as a general conduit for council services. Through their foot-patrolling function, they are a more accessible reporting mechanism than calling council or police departments. As such, wardens work as a 'community switchboard' (Squires and Smith, 2002), a task they are ideally suited to with their strong partnership frameworks and flexibility to adapt to their community's needs (Husain, 2006). The quality of the partnerships wardens have with other agencies, such as the police and council cleansing functions, is one of the most important variables in their success (Whitehead *et*

*al.*, 2002). 'Wardens' success lies in their accessibility and ability to link people and agencies together' (OPDM, 2004:1).

### 2.3 | Police resistance to partnerships

As the effectiveness of wardens is strongly affected by their partnerships (ODPM, 2004), cultural resistance to partnerships can impede the effective operation of wardens and, despite their apparent support, wardens often reported a lack of enthusiasm for partnership from the police in practice.

They [police] say the right political things and they nod and support the scheme but often...it does not translate down the organisation...There are certain officers who—ideologically or for whatever reason—are not supportive of this scheme...There are certain other officers who see it as a platform to develop themselves...[by gaining] the benefits that we deliver to them (Johnston, 2003:192).

Johnston (2003) argued that there was reticence within policing ranks and that boundaries had to be established between the police's and wardens' responsibilities to prevent mission creep. Wardens, by contrast, were concerned that the police would attempt to subsume the wardens as a police resource.

There is a tendency for some police officers to think in that way...we need to work hard with the police to educate them [that] this is a Council scheme, not an extra resource for the police. (Johnston, 2003:195)

Whereas the police seemed to confuse the role of the wardens, the wardens themselves had a clear understanding of their remit and limits (Johnston, 2003). It was noted, however, that the division between the role of the wardens and police is more fluid in practice as wardens represented an on-street presence that was approachable by the public, which the police had moved away from. One respondent in Johnston's research (2003:193) even commented that 'mission creep is inevitable since the [over-stretched] police will place demands on wardens', insinuating that wardens would almost inexorably be required to perform policing tasks beyond their station at times.

At this early stage, however, partnerships appeared strained. Wardens in Johnston's study (2003:194) reported that information sharing was unidirectional, explaining that 'we give 100% and get 20% back' as the police remained protective over their information and the lines of communication were very formal.

A study of early CDRPs found that the police generally dominated partnerships through cultural machismo and that they promote immediate action and quick responses to issues, whereas other partners, such as local councils, looked for more 'long-term,' holistic solutions. The police thus often saw these proceedings as 'talking shops' rather than productive problem solving initiatives (Lander, 2008). Having said this, a more recent study (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014) found that the police have become far less domineering in partnership arrangements and more willing to compromise, recognising the value of longer-term contributions. Whilst this seems a relatively recent development, the police have expressed positivity about wardens and their policing contributions since early on.

## 2.4 | Effectiveness of wardens

The early to mid-2000s saw several independent reviews of warden schemes that included interviews with residents, partnership agencies and wardens themselves. These evaluations generally had a positive tone, with stakeholders and residents seeing benefits to having wardens (e.g. ODPM, 2004; Roberts, 2008).

Studies suggest that wardens have had a positive impact on fear of crime. Resident surveys in warden areas show improvements to quality of life and positive correlations between the response that 'wardens make me feel safer' and general improvements to the perception of local neighbourhoods (ODPM, 2004). Residents who regularly see wardens are generally less worried about being mugged or robbed. Other studies have corroborated this, showing lower fear and perception of crime and improvements to neighbourhood safety in communities covered by wardens (Squires and Smith, 2002; DCLG, 2006). This reassurance value came both from visibility and the wardens' positive impact on environmental issues such as fly tipping, graffiti and dog fouling, particularly in locations where they had a strong relationship with the council's cleansing functions (ODPM, 2004).

Whilst it could be argued that the views of stakeholders and residents are the best measure of warden effectiveness (Whitehead *et al.*, 2002), correlations can be drawn between warden presence and declines in crime. The ODPM's (2004) evaluation found measurably greater crime drops in areas with wardens than those without, though the nature of their impact on crime is inconclusive (DCLG, 2006; Roberts, 2008). Indeed, the police are generally positive about the contributions wardens make to crime reduction, such as encouraging the reporting of crime, improving resident perceptions of the police and dealing with minor issues to free up police time. A police inspector described a fast transition from initial scepticism and hesitation towards the warden offer (which they had not before been involved with) to full support of the wardens and acknowledgement of their significant contribution to policing, particularly in intelligence gathering and taking ownership of low level quality of life issues (Squires *et al.*, 2004). Wardens seem also to have had a positive impact on neighbourhood renewal and community spirit, perhaps further contributing to reductions in crime and ASB (Husain, 2006; Squires and Smith, 2002). Wardens thus have an important crime prevention role, whilst still remaining distinct from a police offer (Coward *et al.*, 2004).

This distinction from the police allows wardens to engage with communities that have anti-police attitudes to bridge the rift between these communities and the police. Individuals felt less like they were 'grassing' when reporting things to wardens, making the wardens valuable assets in signposting and intelligence in hard to reach communities (Scanlon, 2006). This was the source of some of the resistance to wardens being subsumed under the 'extended policing family' umbrella introduced in the Police Reform Act 2002, which would undermine the perceived differentiation between wardens and the police (Squires and Smith, 2002).

Interestingly, some evaluations reported that wardens engaged with crime and disorder less than had been expected by respondents (Scanlon, 2006). In some circumstances, there appeared to be some misunderstanding of the role and limits of the wardens (Squires and Smith, 2002). Expectations must therefore be tempered, as 'expectations of wardens often exceed what can be delivered' (Whitehead *et al.*, 2002:iv). Crawford (2006:972) makes a similar observation, explaining that 'schemes that allow

an 'expectations deficit' to develop unchecked are less likely to be viewed as successful.' Where the functions of PCSOs and wardens are not clearly distinguished, for example, wardens may seem like a poor alternative to PCSOs.

The successes and popularity of warden schemes were further evidenced by the support they enjoyed even after the retraction of central funding in 2005, with 80% of schemes continuing and some, such as Nottingham, even expanding (Husain, 2006). When central funding ceased, wardens had already become an entrenched part of local authority service provision, leading to their enduring position (*ibid*). Nevertheless, research into warden schemes has fallen into obscurity. With policing alternatives being a topical concern during austerity, however, this dissertation would argue that wardens – particularly the CPO model – warrants discussion as a potential solution to the declining neighbourhood presence.

## 2.5 | Are wardens relevant?

With warden schemes receiving such universal praise, it is surprising that, beyond the mid-2000s, they have received little attention in scholarship. Whilst there may be many reasons for this, some recent literature suggests that despite early successes, wardens have become obsolete (e.g. Terpstra *et al.*, 2013).

The first neighbourhood warden schemes were launched and centrally funded by the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) and the Home Office in 2000. In 2002, however, the policy lead was transferred to the Office for the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Office funding ceased (Crawford and Lister, 2004). Interestingly, this change coincided with the Police Reform Act 2002, which saw the introduction of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), the police's attempt to bridge the gap between the police and their community. Whilst PCs had been primarily focused on crime reduction and pursuit of offenders, PCSOs represented a community focused, centrally accountable body of officers supported by the legitimacy of the police<sup>4</sup>.

Since the 'PCSOs were funded by a combination of central government and local authority grants and were employed by both police forces and local councils' (Joyce, 2013:177), local councils could secure two patrolling officers for the price of one (Crawford, 2006). When central funding for the wardens ceased, and local authorities were financially responsible for their wardens, PCSOs arguably represented a better value for money service, making wardens a less attractive proposition.

Terpstra *et al.* (2013:51) assert that following the installation of PCSOs, the passive 'eyes and ears' role of wardens 'has become more or less obsolete'. With their direct link with the police, PCSOs represented a very real threat to the legitimacy, necessity and relevance of many (particularly local council) warden schemes. Additionally, PCSOs enjoy twenty standard powers – with an additional fifty-three the Chief Constable can delegate including the power to detain suspected offenders – and the ability to enforce some local authority bylaws (NPIA, in Joyce, 2013). The added legitimacy of their

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<sup>4</sup> From an early stage, PCSOs were a source of confusion and scepticism both for officers and the public. Their role was unclear and many feared that they represented a move towards civilianisation and 'policing on the cheap.'

title and powers arguably allowed PCSOs to more effectively address the four central objectives of warden schemes (see above). Most contemporary research surrounding the patrolling functions of public plural policing focuses primarily on PCSOs, with municipal policing often being included as a redundant afterthought (e.g. Terpstra *et al.*, 2013) or ignored entirely.

Some literature, on the other hand, suggests that in years since the introduction of PCSOs, partnership between police forces and wardens have improved (Coward *et al.*, 2004). A warden interviewed by Crawford *et al.* (2005:59) remarked that 'the police don't make an effort to contact the warden when they're on the warden's area...but if you've got community support officers on there, you've got a better link'. A respondent in Coward *et al.*'s (2004:16) research explained that

PCSOs have a patrolling role and it was important that roles weren't duplicated but instead complemented each other. Neither can work in isolation. Wardens and PCSOs have strong links and work closely on a day-to-day basis. Sharing intelligence is key, communication is key.

Some even argue that warden schemes provide a greater value service than PCSOs in addressing ASB. Loveday (2015) argues that law enforcement relating to ASB is a high-cost, low-value response, whereas the more informal control of wardens constitutes a low-cost, high-value alternative. Though PCSOs have somewhat bridged the detachment between police forces and communities, ASB continues to be 'second order' issues to the police, despite being the issues that affect citizens more frequently and have a greater cumulative impact on quality of life (Loveday and Smith, 2015). Whilst PCSOs were intended to be patrolling mechanisms, wardens arguably have a 'wider remit and greater powers than PCSOs' with their additional council responsibilities (*ibid*:77). For this reason, it is important to reiterate that the distinction between the warden and PCSO offer must be clear (Crawford, 2006).

Wardens could also provide a more effective neighbourhood service due to the changes in recruitment patterns of PCSOs. Whereas the PCSO role was initially intended to attract experienced community engagers, it is now advertised as a stepping stone towards being a police officer. Instead of committing time to patrols and engagement, PCSOs are instead being drafted increasingly into policing work (Loveday and Smith, 2015). This is compounded by the strains on police time, with constables frequently being abstracted to arrests, warrant and operations, leaving PCSOs to fulfil the function of a beat constable (*ibid*). Whereas Crawford *et al.* (2005) found that, due to police managers avoiding delegating the responsibilities of PCs or administrators to PCSOs, they were able to spend 80% of their duty time on patrol. More recently, however, it was reported that 50-60% of PCSOs' time is dedicated to victim reassurance, door knocking and leafleting following local crimes. Wardens, by contrast, remain committed to patrolling, low level engagement and the regulation of behaviour (Loveday and Smith, 2015). With abstraction being one of the greatest challenges in the current policing climate, and reduced officer numbers resulting in PCSOs increasingly at risk of abstraction, the local officer providing consistency in neighbourhoods may be wardens (*ibid*). In theory, then, the visible presence of wardens and their simultaneous reporting of incivilities and environmental issues could potentially be ever more necessary.

This trend of PCSO abstraction is likely to continue in light of the police's current financial struggles with central government (see HMIC, 2015a), and wardens may play a critical part in the successful

delivery of policing services. In order to warrant their existence alongside PCSOs, wardens will still have to provide a distinct service worthy of their funding. One way this can be (and has been) achieved is by enrolment in the Community Safety Accreditation Scheme (CSAS), which allows the local police force's chief constable to bestow upon wardens policing powers relevant to their role, particularly in the enforcement of council bylaws.

### Chapter 3 | METHODOLOGY

This investigation is a unique case study (Bryman, 2008). Whilst other warden schemes work within policing partnerships, and there will be inevitable commonalities between the objectives of these schemes and partnerships, each working model is shaped by local priorities.

The operation of CPOs, particularly their partnership with NP, has been described as 'unique' and 'pioneering' (Probert, 2014). The focus of the dissertation is to use the knowledge and experience of participants to establish whether CPOs have met expectations as a scheme in its own right and as a policing partner.

#### Research method

This research requires a relative ontological analysis with an emic epistemological approach. Relative ontology recognises that what CPOs are and do, and whether they have met expectations, is not an absolute truth. Instead, this understanding is shaped by the experiences and changing perspectives of each participant (Killam, 2013). To discover what the context for these perspectives, it is necessary to adopt an emic epistemological method, wherein the researcher must understand that the opinions and expectations of participants are shaped by their subjective knowledge and experiences (*ibid*).

The primary method used for this dissertation is qualitative, semi-structured interviews. As CPOs have not been explored previously, binary questioning would not provide adequate context for perspectives (Bryman, 2008). Whilst interviews were allowed to develop organically to an extent, they were directed according to nine main topics of interest (see *Appendix D*). These topics were shaped by existing literature and the researcher's knowledge of CPOs and their relationship with Nottinghamshire Police. All of these were targeted towards achieving (and contextualising) the research objectives – to discover whether CPOs have met expectations and to understand what CPOs are and how they compare to other warden schemes in England and Wales. The interviews therefore needed to establish the participants' initial expectations of CPOs and their current opinions. Finally, the interviews turned to the future of CPOs to determine whether CPOs are a viable and sustainable agency to help maintain neighbourhood policing.

Semi-structured interviews aimed to foster a rapport between the researcher and participant in an informal atmosphere to encourage candid, truthful responses. Confusions and misunderstandings were easily cleared up in the interviews, reducing the scope for error in analysis. By terminating the interviews by asking if there was anything further they wanted to discuss or disclose, some valuable additional information was gleaned from some of the interviews (Wengraf, 2001). The flexibility afforded also allowed interviews to take tangents and provide contextual information dynamically. This did make the direction of interviews occasionally unpredictable, which made drawing common themes and comparisons in the data between participants difficult at times. Similarly, qualitative interviews meant that some points were difficult to generalise, with several perceptions being specific to individual participants and their experiences.

Difficulties can come from the need for 'double attention' – both (a) listening and responding to the information given by participants and (b) ensuring the key topics of the interview are addressed within

the time of the interview – particularly with inexperienced researchers (Wengraf, 2001). This inexperience was offset by insider knowledge of CPOs and the partnership, which helped the researcher direct interviews in an informed way. Although this may have led to unconscious bias (see *Limitations*), it was overall a useful tool.

### **Participation and sampling**

Sampling for the interviews was purposive and opportunistic, with the researcher's personal affiliation to the organisation and the participants allowing greater access to requesting interviews (Bryman, 2008). Altogether, twelve participants were interviewed: five from CP and seven from NP.

The initial sample was deliberately selected from managers the researcher knew to be relevant to the subject of the dissertation. All managers from NP were Inspector grade and above. Those from CP were of Senior CPO rank and above or equivalent. Being that CP is a wide organisation without a uniform structure, it was sometimes necessary to make equivalencies to ensure that all participants were of a sufficiently senior rank to participate in the capacity of a 'manager'. From the initial sample, participants suggested further potential interviewees who would provide valuable insights. The vast and complex nature of the CP and NP's management structure, and the wide-spread influence of CPOs, makes it difficult to estimate how large the potential sample of interviewees might be.

### **Procedures**

Interviews were conducted one to one at participants' place of work. The researcher's police vetted status minimised the inconvenience to participants as the researcher was able to move freely within police buildings and access offices of managers. It also meant that, in theory, participants felt more comfortable disclosing information without concern for data protection issues that they would have with a researcher who was not vetted or bound by data protection (see *Ethical Considerations*). All but one interview were recorded digitally and transcribed. During the interview that was not transcribed, detailed notes were taken. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour 10 minutes.

Interviews were carried out by a single researcher to maximise consistency. Transcripts were also written by the same researcher, which meant that pauses and body language that were not captured on audio-recordings could be written into the transcripts from memory. During analysis, this also made it easier to interpret transcripts and prompts.

Prior to the analysis, some overarching themes were identified both from the researcher's own focus and from points that some of the participants had concentrated on. In analysing the data, each transcript was read whilst playing the audio recording of the interview. Concepts and quotes from the interviews were put into relevant categories. The information was interrogated and condensed until the most relevant and pertinent findings remained.

### **Use of internal documents**

The use of some internal documentation was requested. None of the documents were protectively marked, however ethical approval was given to use these files in specific ways (see *Appendix C*). These

documents were analysed and used to support sections regarding the functions, powers, appearance and partnership of CPOs.

Unfortunately, due to time constraints and despite the persistence of the interviewer, there was some difficulty in accessing these documents. Gateways were keen to provide and share information (with some provisos, such as omitting financial information from the dissertation), however due to the workload of managers within both organisations, permission was difficult to obtain and the documents were not available until near the deadline of this research. Analysis of the documents was therefore only rudimentary.

### **Ethical considerations**

Informed consent was required in each interview. Participant information and consent forms (see *Appendix C*) were provided to each participant prior to the interview date and all were invited to discuss concerns or questions with the researcher before signing. Participants were invited to request consent from their manager before engaging in the interview, however none of the participants deemed this necessary. All interviewees agreed to the terms set out in the participant information document.

Participants were guaranteed a certain level of anonymity to encourage full and honest accounts without fear of organisational reprisals or compromising their professional relationships with their colleagues. This dissertation numbered participants as 'NPx' (participants from Nottinghamshire Police) or 'CPx' (participants from Community Protection). These numbers were allocated randomly.

The researcher's vetted status meant that in interviews, details of individuals and premises were sometimes disclosed. In these circumstances, the researcher used discretion to ensure no personal information of members of the public were transcribed from the interviews or used in the research.

### **Limitations**

The research methods used have several limitations. Use of recording equipment may – subconsciously or otherwise – have influenced the responses given by participants during interviews. Some commented that even with the level of anonymity given, participants may be recognised from their responses as managers in both organisations work very closely together, though those who raised this did not seem to be concerned or unduly withdrawn as a result of this possibility.

The researcher's status as a CPO may have influenced how participants responded to interview questions. It was made clear at the beginning of each interview that the research was not being conducted on behalf of CP or NP; however insider status may still have had some subconscious impact on responses. Some interviews also included discussion of the researcher's experience as a CPO. Whilst this was generally not disruptive to the conversation, it is potentially indicative of a more pervasive influence that the researcher's internal position may have had on the responses given.

In relation to this, the researcher's personal affiliation to the organisation and partnership may have introduced interviewer bias. Despite attempts to remain impartial, the interview topics were written

in part from the researcher's knowledge. Not only this, but the personal observations, experiences and knowledge of the researcher may have compromised the objectivity of the discussions and how they were directed and steered.

Validity may be compromised by the imperfect recall of managers' expectations. As expectations have been taken at the time of writing, participants' memories of their initial expectations of CPOs may not only be difficult to recollect but also may be affected and polluted by their subsequent experiences with CPOs.

Despite the limitations identified, the methods selected were still the most appropriate to achieve the aims of the current research.

## Chapter 4 | WHAT WERE EXPECTATIONS ON CPOS?

This chapter draws on interviews with participants to consider some of the expectations that managers from CP and NP had about the functions of the CPOs and the levels of partnership and integration they would enjoy.

### 4.1 | Uncertain of what to expect

Some participants, primarily those from NP who had not previously worked with warden schemes, expressed a lack of expectation at the outset. For some this was due to working in other police departments, while others had worked in neighbourhood policing prior to the introduction CPOs and had not previously worked closely with the existing warden offer. Though this lack of understanding was not expressed by all respondents, it indicates a lack of advertising, with managers and staff from some council and police departments failing to realise the function and benefit of CPOs. This also applies outside of the two organisations, with several participants commenting on the surprise of visiting councils and police forces about the partnership and level of integration between CP and NP (NP1, NP4, CP2).

*When particularly police officers come from anywhere else in the country, they were astounded at the professionalism of the CPOs. (CP4)*

Some participants expected a close partnership due to the co-located and co-delivered services of the two agencies; however others anticipated some distance and division in the priorities and roles between CPOs and the police.

*I'd never worked in partnerships before... I expected [the relationship] to be closer but I wasn't surprised that perhaps then there was a little bit of distance certainly between Nottinghamshire Police and Community Protection Officers. (NP1)*

*I didn't expect it to be a complete synthesis. I didn't expect it to be a complete cultural harmony and clarity of collective effort...I always expected that there would be a little bit of a rub between who was in charge and who was the same rank or the same role and in terms and conditions and who was accountable for certain areas. (NP5)*

One participant's limited knowledge of CPOs led to low expectations (NP3). Having only previously experienced partnership with a basic warden offer, NP3 had anticipated that CPOs – having been given access to airwaves radios – would be a drain on police resources by escalating situations and requesting police assistance to diffuse. This again may be a generalisable view of managers coming from external positions, with prior experiences and hearsay tarnishing their preliminary expectations of CPOs, which is reflective of similar scepticism found in other police forces (Squires *et al.*, 2004).

Some participants who had worked with NCC's early wardens expressed surprise at the continued political support the scheme received after central funding dwindled.

*What none of us really expected at the time was quite the political backing that we got [when central funding had stopped for wardens] because not only did they choose to mainstream them, but they chose to mainstream and upscale. (CP2)*

*I don't think [I expected them to grow]...I don't think for a million years anybody thought we'd be successful in the bid...there wasn't any great long term view...the old neighbourhood wardens, they were never expected to be part of [the policing] team, whereas CPOs very definitely are (CP1)*

Rather than being a temporary supplement for the workforce as many had expected, wardens had become an integral part of NCC's service delivery when central funding ceased, much like other warden schemes in England and Wales (Husain, 2006). Having received political support, the expectation of CP managers changed and they anticipated that it would instead continue to grow in influence and remit (CP4).

#### **4.2 | Environmental offending and council focus**

The expectations of most participants were that CPOs would primarily be dealing with environmental issues. Despite the role of CPOs being poorly communicated at their inception, participants still anticipated that CPOs would utilise civil powers to deal with complaints surrounding such issues as litter, trade waste and noise (NP7, NP2). As this was the remit of other warden schemes and in line with council objectives, this expectation was sensible, though some respondents from NP had expected something different.

*I think what people expected from CPOs was very much at odds with what they themselves thought they were going to do. (NP4)*

Whereas some in the police had expected to bolster their efforts with purposive intelligence gathering and crime fighting agents, CPOs prioritised environmental issues that were important to the council and arguably lacked versatility in their early incarnation, which was a similar misconception observed in other police-warden partnerships (Johnston, 2003). Beyond that, and reflective of much of the literature, NP6 commented that CPOs were introduced to fill gaps in policing and expressed an expectation that they would tackle low level ASB and crime while the police were preoccupied with more serious offending, an expectation echoed by CP2.

#### **4.3 | Policing ASB and intelligence gathering**

During their early involvement with CPOs, NP7 was eager to use CPOs as a resource to achieve policing goals. This is indicative of a more generalizable, systemic expectation that the CPOs would provide additional support to policing (NP4). As their understanding and appreciation of the CPOs' core functions and lateral benefit to policing grew, their expectations of CPOs changed, closely reflecting the perspective shift of a police inspector in Squires *et al.*'s research (2004). Some expected CPOs to be NCC employed PCSOs (NP7, CP5), though NP7 recognised that there may be some resistance from CP management to the police tasking their resource.

*I knew the management structure of Community Protection were quite vociferous on how the police could task and use their resource. (NP7)*

Nonetheless, CPOs were still expected to perform an 'eyes and ears' intelligence gathering function (NP5; NP6), particularly in communities that were disengaged with the police, which was part of the advertised benefit of warden schemes (Coward *et al.*, 2004).

*There was a belief that people might tell [CPOs] things that they might not tell the police and we pass that information on. (CP1)*

Importantly, however, most respondents generally did not expect CPOs to be too involved in crimes or situations that would normally require a constable. Whilst some expected that CPOs would be a professional witness and keep the control room apprised of such situations until a police officer arrived, there was little expectation that CPOs would be directly involved in those kinds of incidents (NP2). There was, however, some expectations that sound judgement will be employed in these situations.

*I would hate the day to think that a CPO would simply stand to be a professional witness when actually intervening and just simply stopping somebody from doing some wrongdoing would have been probably the most practicable thing to do and the right thing to do both professionally and morally as well. (NP1)*

Participants generally had low or vague expectations of CPOs. Their role was seen by most to be intelligence gatherers, providers of natural surveillance and a support for the council's cleansing functions. Several anticipated that they would be disbanded after central funding was ceased. When political support for the scheme continued beyond then, the general expectation was that they would expand in remit, though this was most likely to be into further council environmental functions. As a result of this narrow focus on council priorities, some expected a rift between NP and CPOs, with shared resources but separate objectives. The next chapter will describe the role and appearance of CPOs as they are now.

## Chapter 5 | WHAT ARE COMMUNITY PROTECTION OFFICERS?

Literature discussing or even describing the role of CPOs is scarce. As such, this chapter uses interview data and internal documents to discuss what CPOs are, their role and their partnership with Nottinghamshire Police. This is intended to provide a descriptive analysis of CPOs but also to contextualise both the managerial expectations of CPOs and whether CPOs have met these expectations, as well as make parallels and contrasts to neighbourhood wardens, which were discussed in the literature review.

It begins with the justifications for the continued political support CPOs receive before speaking about their contemporary professionalism and physical appearance. The next section discusses some of the primary purposes and activities of CPOs: environmental crime intervention, addressing low level ASB and visible patrolling. Finally, the chapter will discuss the partnership CPOs have with NP's front line, including the working arrangements and co-location, tasking and barriers.

### 5.1 | Early developments and justifications

Around 2006, CPOs began to gain ground in the world of NP. Prior to this, Nottingham had a street crime warden scheme operating in some of Nottingham City's neighbourhoods but

*They were not really enforcement based, they were about making contacts in the community, being a visible presence for people to talk to, report issues in to, for them to gather intel. (CP1)*

The role of these street crime wardens was in fact more akin to that of neighbourhood wardens (CP1). Their function included limited enforcement powers to do with litter and cleanliness with very little proactivity and clarity of purpose (CP3, CP4). As central funding diminished, a more robust community safety offer was needed (CP1). This was particularly so in Nottingham, whose long-term reputation of high crime and disorder earned it the nickname 'Shottingham', meaning that crime, neighbourhood visibility and reassurance were of great import to residents and the local authority (CP2, NP6). A simple expansion of the existing scheme – which had few powers of intervention – would be inadequate as a reassurance and deterrence tool (CP1).

*The CPO offer was refreshed, standard operating procedures, standard operating procedures around dress, behaviour, uniform, a full police vetting check and then started to move into that integration with moving from standalone council airwaves radios...and then the start of that co-location. (CP3)*

In 2006/07, the wardens (now rebranded CPOs) were guided into a more policing direction, gaining full police vetting that allowed access to police computer and intelligence systems, co-location in police stations, access to police airwave radios and communications, and police-esque uniforms.

*Rather than being much like you see neighbourhood wardens up and down the country in shirt, a pair of trousers and a fleece, they've gone to the full body armour and very much, to the outside world, they look like police officers. (CP1)*

In addition to the advantages of vetted police access, CPOs are also enrolled in the Community Safety Accreditation Scheme (CSAS; see *Appendix B*). This scheme allows the Chief Constable of NP to delegate policing and enforcement powers to CPOs, which imbues CPOs with the authority to tackle environmental and ASB issues. Despite literature suggesting that wardens and police generally opposed such enforcement functions, accreditation is often supported by local authorities and resident populations (Whitehead *et al.*, 2002) in response to reports from early warden schemes that

You don't have any authority at all. The only way you can make people...listen to you...is by your personality. This works...but there are some people [who need to be arrested]. (Johnston, 2003:193)

## 5.2 | Professionalism and appearance

CPOs receive a six week induction programme wherein new officers are trained in the enforcement of appropriate legislation, communication, conflict management, risk assessment, advanced first aid and police computer systems. Whereas this training was once delivered primarily by a police sergeant, it is now delivered by a mixture of serving CPOs, council staff and private contractors to instil council values and priorities in CPOs from an early stage (CP4). The training programme is followed by a short mentoring period during which experienced officers offer guidance and support for new starters (Butler, 2015).

CPOs wear a uniform that emulates a police-like appearance. They wear high visibility stab-resistant vests, flat peak caps (male officers) or rounded helmets (female officers), black trousers and boots (Butler, 2015). This was a deliberate attempt to increase policing presence in neighbourhoods, blurring the visible lines between CPOs and police to improve deterrence and reassurance during CPO patrols.

*I think the move to police radios and looking like police was done deliberately. Firstly, you get the police kudos and the looks and secondly to align us more closely with the police and to piggyback some of their systems and to piggyback some of their authority.* (CP2)

Some respondents even suggest that CPOs, particularly their uniform standards and the way they conduct themselves, sometimes showed more professionalism and discipline than the police front line (NP1, CP3, CP4). CP4, in fact, argues that the reason for the CPOs' policing appearance was to revive professionalism, with body armour only being worn to give CPOs confidence in their role as an enforcement agency rather than being an operational necessity.

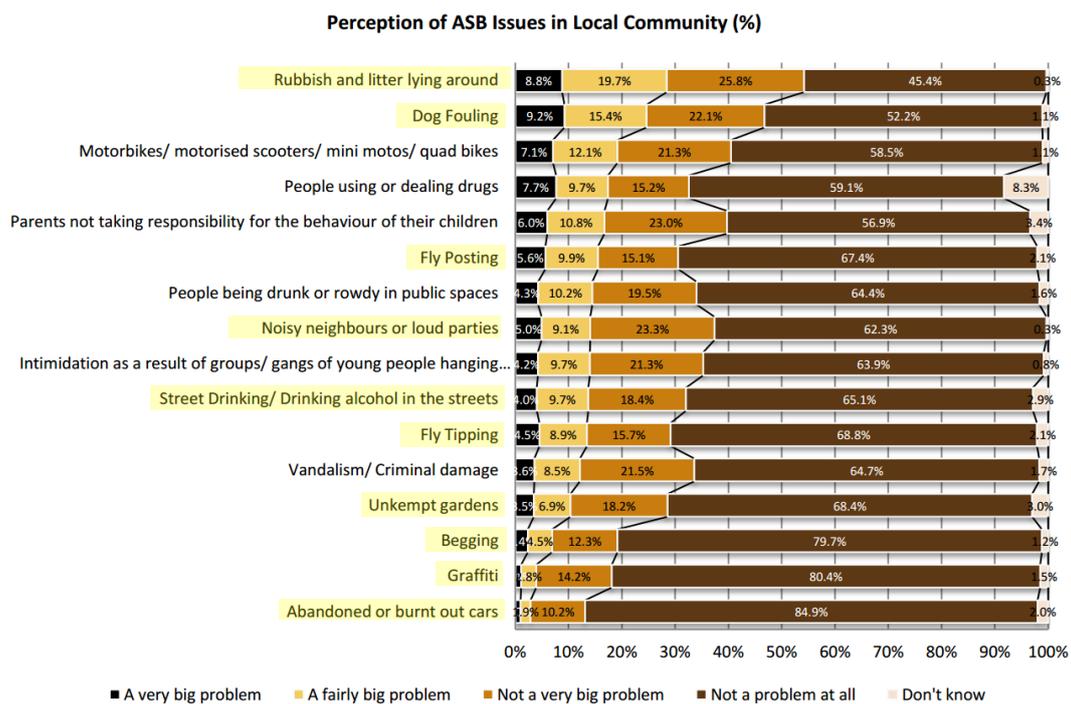
*We were trying to make a hint to the police service that they had lost their way. Spandex shirts and body armour is an army of occupation. A white shirt or a blue shirt and a tie is a professional. It's about giving them psychological signals that we are not an army of occupation but professionals serving the needs of the citizen.* (CP4)

## 5.3 | Purpose

One of the primary advantages of CPOs is their democratic accountability and priority setting, unlike the police’s central priorities set by the Home Office (Lander, 2008). Like other warden schemes, CPOs address the priorities set out by local citizens (in Nottingham), including ASB, environmental crime and fear of crime. As police forces are increasingly pressed for resources, they are less able to devote time to ‘secondary problems’ like ASB and fear of crime.

*[The police] still culturally chase the big numbers: serious acquisitive crime – I’m not saying it’s wrong but – you know they’re more aligned to burglary, theft, etc., and sometimes neighbourhoods...as well want some of the smaller issues dealing with: the noise, the unruly dogs, the unruly parties, you know the stuff that affect people on their doorstep. The CPO role goes a long way to bridging that gap. (CP3)*

Whilst crime is the police’s primary concern, the concerns of Nottingham’s citizens are far more diverse. The graphic below is from Nottingham’s Crime and Drugs Partnership’s annual report on ASB issues affecting the residents of Nottingham (Wisher *et al.*, 2015; 2016). The yellow highlights represent issues CPOs have primary responsibility for. CPOs also work in partnership with NP to combat the other ASB issues, helping to deliver promises made in Nottingham Labour Party’s manifestos to cut ASB (2011; 2015).



Source: Wisner *et al.*, 2015

In recent years, there has been a refocus of CPOs back towards the core council offer and away from a policing focus.

*We’ve pulled the CPOs back from some of that [core policing] stuff because the core reason the CPOs exist is to backfill the space that policing left behind a number of years ago. (CP3)*

This drift into and subsequent retreat from policing was intentional to imbue CPOs with confidence and authority (CP4), though their focus had to remain on council priorities that the police had left behind (Johnston, 2013).

*There's a [deliberate] mission creep...we swerved into the policing stuff so people would get confident with it and then pull them back to the core. (CP4)*

*[CPOs were] about bridging some of the space arguably that the police had left behind...it was very much around the litter, cleansing, gardens, really low level ASB, burnt out cars. (CP3)*

Beyond a few specific core tasks, CPOs are required to 'fulfil the needs of the service' (*Appendix A*). As with most other warden schemes, the roles and responsibilities of CPOs are deliberately vague. They therefore remain malleable enough to adapt to the needs of local communities. Requiring CPOs 'to deliver Nottingham City Council's Community Safety functions 24 hours, 7 days a week, 365 days a year' (*Appendix A*) is again a deliberate strategy to allow CPO duties to adapt to local demand and problems.

### **Environmental issues**

One of NCC's primary priorities is cleanliness. Following their award of Britain's cleanest city (Nottingham Post, 2014), their new objective is to become one of the world's cleanest cities (CP3, CP4). CPOs are integral to this with their focus on Broken Windows Theory (NP3, CP5). Broken Windows Theory (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) explains that ignoring low level incivilities (fly tipping, graffiti) can result in neighbourhoods looking neglected and uncared for, attracting further anti-social behaviour and eventually crime. Broken Windows Theory and an 'everything matters' mentality makes CPOs instrumental in reducing crime and perceived opportunities to offend (CP5).

*There aren't opportunities for people that would normally get involved with ASB...they don't feel as comfortable in that cleaner environment so they go elsewhere. (NP3)*

Rather than simply reporting environmental issues for cleansing, the CSAS accreditation of CPOs allows them to issue Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) for such offences as leaving litter, graffiti and leaving dog foul. FPNs are a performance indicator for CPOs. They evidence their availability on the street to witness offences and justify their position as an enforcement authority (CP4). This also makes CPOs an arguably more attractive prospect to local authorities than PCSOs. Whereas PCSOs have several standard powers (NPIA, in Joyce, 2013), they are often reluctant to use them (CP4). By contrast, CPOs use their powers to address council priorities, such as enforcing environmental issues and council by-laws (Loveday and Smith, 2015).

CPOs have faced controversy regarding FPNs. Their use as a performance indicator has reportedly driven perverse behaviours (e.g. Nottingham Post, 2011; Nicholas, 2015). Some participants also criticised the non-negotiable nature with which these tickets are distributed for offences, which can compromise the legitimacy of not only the CPOs themselves, but also the police (NP5, NP3, NP4), often

resulting in remarks from the public such as *'there's plenty of time for [the police] to do [littering FPNs] but when I phone three 9s for someone to come to a burglar, it takes forever'* (NP5).

### **Low level ASB**

ASB is an important component of the CPO role and also ties into 'Broken Windows Theory'. Resolving low level incivilities can prevent areas from becoming 'no-go' attractors for crime. CPOs are expected to deal with – during patrols and dedicated operations – begging, domestic noise nuisance, rough sleeping and alcohol related issues. This includes participation in the night time economy, which sees them intervening in and preventing alcohol-based ASB and violence during night hours in the city centre's entertainment districts (Lister, 2009).

Despite their responsibilities being restricted to ASB, the line between what is within and without the CPO remit can be blurred in practice (Johnston, 2003). In situations outside their remit, CPOs must make discretionary judgements about whether to intervene or stand as a professional witness until a PC arrives (NP1). CPOs can sometimes misjudge and even escalate such situations, however this is infrequent (NP3).

### **Visible patrol and engagement**

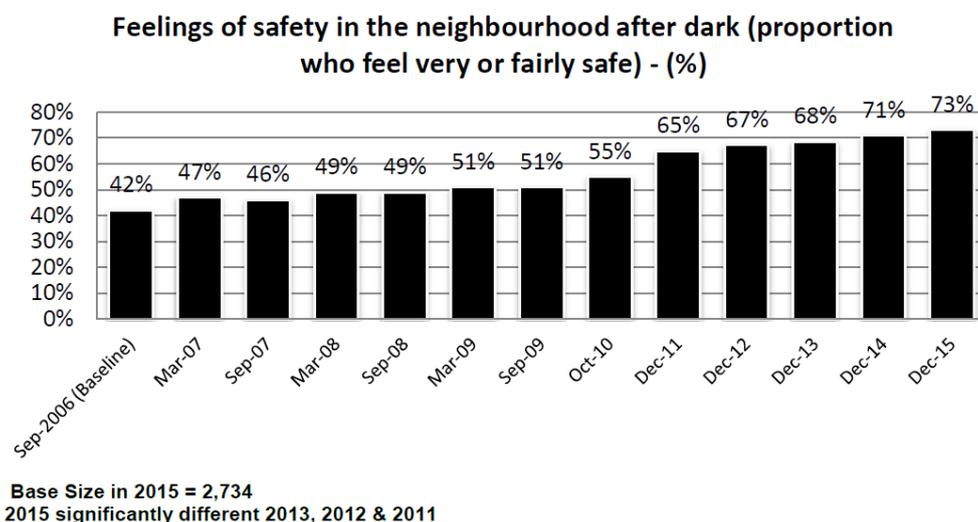
High-visibility patrolling by an authoritative agency is almost always quoted as a safety priority by residents (Crawford *et al.*, 2005). CPO patrols not only facilitate the observation of environmental offences and ASB, but also provide a presence in communities that the police can no longer provide. In fact, although surveys generally find the reassurance value of a constable to be greater than that of a PCSO or CPO/warden (e.g. Crawford *et al.*, 2005) and some citizens will vehemently demand a warranted officer to deal with their issues, the most appropriate response will often be a PCSO or CPO (NP6). In fact, participants argued that citizens simply wanted a policing presence, with the nature of the presence being less important than its visual reassurance (NP3, NP7).

*The public don't care. The public wanted to see somebody who could help them, and what it says on the back of their jacket, they didn't really care on 90% of occasions...they want someone to solve their problems and help them.* (NP6)

Squires *et al.*'s (2004) assertion that wardens are the 'next best thing' to a constable patrolling is particularly important now, as it has recently been reported that police are 'sleepwalking' away from communities, patrols and preventative neighbourhood policing (BBC, 2016c), likely due to their diminished numbers and the continued focus on crime statistics (NP7). PCSOs are also reportedly drifting away from patrols and instead being increasingly used as assistant constables, their responsibilities including evidence gathering, CCTV collection and secondary crime investigation (CP5).

*How many hours do [PCSOs] patrol? What do they do? They have a fair sweep of enforcement powers that none of them have ever used. They're reactive to hotspots, doing micro-beating of burglary hotspots...when people say 'we really like the concept of PCSOs', there are no metrics that go around that. Someone said they're about reassurance. How much reassurance? How do you measure that?* (CP4)

85% of CPOs' duty time is supposed to be spent on high-visibility patrolling (Butler, 2015). With their continued visibility and growth seemingly correlating with improvements to residents' feelings of safety (see figure below), it could be argued that CPOs have had a positive impact on reassurance and neighbourhood improvements in Nottingham.



Source: Wisner *et al.*, 2016

#### 5.4 | Partnership with Nottinghamshire Police

The partnership between CP and NP is an inter-agency, complex collaborative arrangement (Hornby, 1993). The agencies prioritise shared objectives and value for money by using the fewest operatives for the least time to solve problems and achieve the shared outcomes. Collaboration offers the most joined-up method of partnership (Lawson, 2004:225).

Collaboration has the potential to yield multiple benefits. These benefits may be categorized as *effectiveness gains* (e.g., improved results; enhanced problem-solving competence); *efficiency gains* (e.g., eliminating redundancy); *resource gains* (e.g., more funding); *capacity gains* (e.g., weaknesses are covered; workforce retention improves); *legitimacy gains* (e.g., power and authority are enhanced; jurisdictional claims are supported); and, *social development benefits* (e.g., social movements are catalyzed).

Whilst CPOs work in partnership with different agencies (e.g. Nottingham City Homes), their closest partnership is with NP. CPOs work within Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs) alongside NP's front line of neighbourhood policing in a 'pioneering partnership' (Probert, 2014:26). One participant even argued that, rather than a partnership by choice, the two agencies have become symbiotic.

*They are components of the same thing...if we want healthy, attractive neighbourhoods for citizens...you need to be a whole package...there's potential for a mental trick in the idea of partnership because we're more than that. We're a joint offer for safety...[and] quality of life. And they're not separable. (CP5)*

Since the advent of CPOs, there has been clear progress in the partnership between NP and CPOs. NPTs work with different priorities in different ways using different powers to achieve a common goal – a safer, cleaner Nottingham. Their joined up working facilitates this and has increased the confidence NP's front line has in CPOs.

*By putting them all together; giving them team mates from different functions and...putting them with the same supervisor and letting them do the briefing together, they're starting to get involved; they're putting suggestions forward. They're getting involved with things they wouldn't normally potentially as well so they're getting their knowledge of each of the organisation's objectives up to speed but also what's going off in the city centre, because they're all looking at keeping people safe and keeping the place clean. (NP3)*

### **Cohabitation and communication**

Whilst several warden schemes in the UK cohabit service centres with their local police forces to streamline their partnerships (DCLG, 2006), CPOs undergo full police vetting, granting them a level of access in police stations more comparable to PCSOs. Information and intelligence, responsibilities and office spaces can be freely shared between CPOs, PCSOs and PCs, allowing for a more coordinated team and a more informed workforce. This co-located arrangement facilitates organic communication between officers, addressing concerns of poor intelligence sharing between the police and warden offers raised in literature (Johnston, 2003; Coward *et al.*, 2004).

Cohabiting offices also fosters personal integration and professional relationships, making officers more inclined to request and offer assistance to each other (NP4). Some participants even reported that, due to their proximity, police working practices – such as relinquishing 'beat ownership' in the city centre – has been informally and unintentionally transmitted to CPOs. This is a concern for CP3 as the loss of beat mentality damages accountability and harms the beat management role CPOs should be working towards.

NPTs are able to coordinate their efforts and avoid duplication of tasks in daily execution of duties. They can share knowledge of current issues and patrol requirements to ease the burden of each other's responsibilities, improving operation coordination, (e.g. the CP led ASB car, which responds to incidents of ASB citywide), and joint operations such as begging and unlicensed scrap metal dealers, and community engagements.

Sharing office spaces and communications means that appropriate resources can be allocated to tasks in real time, which is of paramount importance when value for money services are required (NP4, NP3). For example, a CPO would be a more appropriate resource to dispatch to environmental issues than a PCSO or PC (Loveday and Smith, 2015).

Some issues still exist, however. Officers from both organisations have been known to ask permission from their managers to work in tandem on local issues, a problem that should be solved by empowering staff to work freely within the partnership (NP6). There was also an issue of task duplication, wherein officers from both organisations would not communicate effectively and so some

tasks would receive the attention of more than one resource and others would receive the attention of none (NP6). This poor communication was reportedly worse where CPOs worked in separate offices or buildings, which presented an additional hurdle to overcome and required greater tasking coordination to rectify (NP1, NP2, NP5, CP1). NP7, conversely, argued that the partnership was far more effective when it worked organically on the ground level, with each partner recognising the qualities and powers of the other and utilising them effectively, rather than through formalised strategies that can be lost in translation between managers and front line.

### **Tasking processes**

Surprisingly, despite the close relationship shared by the two agencies and their front line, most participants agreed that neither organisation generally tasked the other. Whilst some police sergeants have attempted to use CPOs as a policing resource – a fear identified by Johnston (2003) – this is no longer a prevalent problem (NP1). Instead, most partnership work completed on the ground level now relies on informal requests and both agencies are ordinarily accommodating of reasonable requests that work towards their shared objectives (NP2, NP4, NP5). One exception to this was found to be NP's control room, who sometimes allocate CPOs to inappropriate incidents due to their determination to use any resource to solve a problem (NP4).

It was admitted in some interviews that some police officers, by virtue of their culture, did not respect CP's management structure and were reluctant to take instructions or requests from anyone other than a constable (NP4, NP6).

*In some areas, there's still a reluctance that you can see within the police world. Some police officers, very old school policing, not moving with the times I suppose, who still don't see [CP] as full partners; don't see the benefits that we can bring to them. (CP1)*

Furthermore, it was indicated that CP had consistently been the main drivers for further partnership integration.

*We've always been the ones doing the running saying and pushing the partnership and pushing integration. At the end of the day, they're the police. And the police are the police nationally, aren't they? And the police aren't used to this...we're trying to break down that barrier. (CP1)*

This was almost inevitable, however, as CP has grown in size and responsibility since its relatively recent inception and required the support of the established police force to solidify their legitimacy, which is not a requirement that is reciprocated. Having said this, the cultural resistance the police have towards partnership working – which was identified in some of the literature – from the 1990s and early 2000s has mostly dissipated both towards CP and partnerships more generally (O'Neill and McCarthy, 2014).

### **Police 'domination' of the partnership**

NPTs have an almost implicit hierarchy, where CPOs represent the lowest rung below PCSOs and PCs (NP3, CP3). This may be to meet public expectations, whose ideal response is a PC in any situation (however appropriate or inappropriate), the status of CPOs as partners rather than full police agents, or the police's perception that their priorities (i.e. crime) are more serious than CP's and thus should take precedence.

*I think the police view themselves as senior in this partnership...I think it will slowly change as the police resources get reduced. I think they're going to have to rely on the partnership more. (CP2)*

This theme appears in Lander's (2008) research of some early CDRPs, wherein he found that the police often take leadership in partnerships and thus the police's priorities took precedence; the police using resources from other agencies to accomplish their goals.

*I think that police officers by the nature of the service, not as individuals, but it's just almost a cultural thing that they've always done in partnerships, they use whatever resource they've got to meet their outcome. (CP3)*

O'Neill and McCarthy (2014), conversely, have seen progress in the police's reliance on and ability to compromise in partnership arrangements. Evidence of NP's increasing dependence on the partnership with CPOs and confidence in the CPOs' abilities could be a reason for some of NP's responses to funding cuts. Since CPOs share many of the roles and functions of PCSOs, as well as additional environmental enforcement powers (Loveday and Smith, 2015; CP4), cuts to PCSO numbers may not have compromised the neighbourhood policing offer within Nottingham City.

*Perhaps at the back of the mind of the senior managers and the financial organisers within Nottinghamshire Police...that 'actually we can cut a little bit there because I know that the neighbourhood offer is still going to be delivered by Community Protection. (NP1)*

### **Confusion between roles**

Due to their policing appearance and their extensive powers, there remains some confusion and a lack of understanding both in the police and in the public about the remit and limits of CPOs.

*What wasn't clear was that there was a strong understanding from either agency of what the other party was responsible for and how they operated and how they were tasked and how they were held to account...there will still be a lot of serving police officers who don't know what the roles of the various CPOs are. (NP5)*

Not only do people not understand the different remits of different types of CPO (Operational Support Unit, Dog Control Officer, Civil Enforcement Officer) that must be clarified (NP6), but there is at times a lack of clear differentiation between CPOs and uniformed police officers and PCSOs, which the public may find perplexing (NP2). The public may therefore expect CPOs, as a uniformed presence, to intervene in inappropriate situations that may be beyond their training and power (Johnston, 2003).

## Managerial difficulties

The management of CP and NP remain separate. Despite recent efforts to streamline management structures in both organisations, there are some roles in both organisations that could be amalgamated, particularly in middle management (NP5). Several felt that some of these redundancies could be eliminated with a joint management structure, though it was important that appropriate lines of accountability were maintained in both organisations to their respective institutions (NP5, NP6, CP2).

*You're being paid for by the city council, you should be managed by the city council through CP and should be tasked through CP. (NP1)*

Although the managerial partnerships were generally reported to work in creating collaborative strategies, some respondents commented that there can often be disagreements at the top managerial levels of the partnership. These result from clashes in personalities and disagreements that sometimes culminate in drastic threats being made or actions taken (NP1, NP4). This may be due to police resistance to CP requests (NP1, NP3, NP4), which some respondents attributed to CP attempting to overstep their authority at times and a lack of understanding of each organisation's powers and limits (NP1, NP4).

*The difficulty for me in this Aurora II is that the council now think that they can dictate to the police what we can and what we can't do...at this point where people have worked here for so long some people think they can control the police rather than work in partnership with. And that's egos and personalities to a certain extent. (NP4)*

A Chief Constable who responded to Crawford *et al.*'s research (2005:69-70) observed a similar issue with partnership:

The mixed economy has been a reality in policing for some time, it's just it hasn't quite been joined up and still isn't because of rivalries and turf wars.

CPOs are a warden service that has grown alongside the demands of Nottingham City's residents. Their initial support derived from a need for a robust high visibility presence on the streets of Nottingham and their CSAS enrolment has allowed them to take on an enforcement role both for environmental crime and ASB. With this focus on low level incivilities (that the police have left behind), they provide an integral addition to policing teams. With enforcement powers available to them through CSAS and the legitimacy afforded them by their partnership with NP and police-esque uniforms, CPOs are able to tackle ASB and environmental issues on the ground during patrols. CPOs have a 'unique' and integrated partnership with NP. Despite some residual cultural resistances, the partnership – which has matured over the last decade – has been claimed by participants in both agencies to have greatly improved their service delivery. Indeed, the professionalism and training, focus and remit of CPOs would indicate that they have met and even exceeded the expectations set out in *Chapter 4*.

## Chapter 6 | HAVE CPOS MET EXPECTATIONS?

This chapter evaluates whether CPOs have met the expectations set out in *Chapter 4*. It uses the roles and responsibilities outlined in *Chapter 5* and some more direct responses to questions of expectations expressed in the interviews.

### 6.1 | Better than expected

CPOs were found to meet or exceed most participants' initial expectations.

*They've actually exceeded [my expectations] I'd say because of my past experience with neighbourhood wardens...they can contribute far more than you would expect someone in uniform with civil powers to do. (NP3)*

Some participants were more tentative, explaining that expectations are dynamic and, when initial expectations are met, new expectations are formed (NP1; NP5; CP2).

*Do they now exceed my expectations from 10 years ago? Absolutely definitely...when they met your expectations, you then set them higher ones. So will they ever meet expectations? No because it's a continually growing thing...the work that's undertaken now probably exceeds anything I thought would have done 10 years ago; 5 years ago. (NP6)*

This is likely because of the exponential growth of CP and CPOs, with their remit ever expanding and expectations rising in kind.

*Community Protection has grown and it's grown massively and it's probably unrecognisable from what it was 10 years ago and it's beginning to look different from what it was...5 years ago. Community Protection is much more of a substantial organisation. (NP1)*

### 6.2 | Environmental offending and council focus

As many expected, the primary focus of CPOs is dealing with environmental issues and council priorities. Their ability to issue FPNs for low level environmental infractions (e.g. littering and dog fouling) and perform thorough preliminary investigations for trade waste violations and fly tipping would likely mean that they have exceeded expectations set at their inception. Whilst environmental crime regulation and enforcement is their first focus, the ability and commitment CPOs have to resolving ASB and gathering intelligence would also seem to exceed the expectation that they would have a narrow and inflexible environmental focus (NP4).

*They've exceeded [my expectations] by a mile...without the CPOs, I think there would be a struggle to keep the city safe, cleaner, environmentally better. They're the eyes and ears. They act as intelligence. They do a fantastic job. We would be much much much the poorer without CPOs. (NP1)*

### 6.3 | Policing ASB and intelligence gathering

CPOs were reportedly an adequate alternative to PCSOs in an 'eyes and ears' capacity (NP2; Squires *et al.*, 2004). They also expand beyond low level investigation and engage in joint operations with police forces. Despite expectations that CPOs would not be involved with crime and disorder, and that there would remain a division between the two agencies, the joint nature of shoplifting, begging and drug dog operations indicate that CPOs have exceeded the policing functions initially expected of them (NP3, NP4).

The collaboration within NPTs has also improved and different organisations no longer work in silos, instead working towards common goals with a holistic approach to problem solving (NP5). Despite the divisions anticipated by some respondents (NP1, NP5), NP7 stated that the partnership worked more collaboratively than they had expected.

NP5 explained that the benefits of CPOs and their different relationship with citizens outweighed what was expected.

*CPOs...give us a benefit that we hadn't anticipated when they first came in...it didn't take long for me to realise the benefit of a non-warranted officer patrolling and engaging...you get the economic benefit...but you also get a different relationship with the public. They form a valuable part of the continuum. (NP5)*

Furthermore, CPOs are able to engage with communities sometimes in a way that the police are not. With budgetary constraints on the police meaning they have had to actively withdraw from community meetings and engagement, the community will have lost their contact with the police and may even feel abandoned without CPOs (CP4). Not only this, but in some of the more challenging, diverse locations, they may have

*Historically had some very bad relationships with the police...stick a CPO out, even though they pretty much look like a police officer, even though they work in a police station, even though they carry an airwave, the public are prepared to talk to them in a different way to a PCSO or a police officer. (NP7)*

The expectation that CPOs would be able to link with communities out of the police's reach has seemingly been met.

### 6.4 | Comparing with other warden schemes

To contextualise how CPOs sit alongside other policing partnerships, participants were asked how CPOs compared to other warden and community safety schemes in England and Wales. Responses to this query were resoundingly positive. All respondents argued that CPOs were more advanced than other warden offers and that CPOs had made a positive impact on Nottingham (NP5, NP7, CP1, CP4, CP5).

*If I compare the CPO role to that of some of our district's neighbourhood wardens offer...it's still not comparable to the CPO role...the fact that CPOs are co-located, are vetted, have got direct access to police systems, police briefings, police airwaves, are problem solving with police colleagues – and they've bridged that gap between what the local authority can offer and what the core police offer is. (CP3)*

Several respondents commented on the fact that councils and police forces from around the country visit Nottingham's partnership while Nottingham's CP offer (and the CPO department particularly) seldom visit other councils. Some stated that this was because the CPO offer is leading the way as an example of best practice for warden schemes and policing partnerships (e.g. NP4, NP6, NP7, CP2).

*We get a lot of visitors and we don't go to many other places. And we do training I think for Mansfield and a few others as well...I suspect that our CPOs are the top of the street...generally within local government, you go and visit best practice...and the Home Office do signpost people here sometimes. (CP2)*

Some were also asked whether the CPO model would be a good blueprint for other local authorities to adopt.

*Oh God yes...imagine an independent patrolling officer who has the powers to do this, this and this. Providing you focus them in the right direction and get the results out of them...I would sell CPOs. (NP2)*

It was found that the CPO model would particularly benefit urban, metropolitan environments (NP1, CP3). It was noted, however, that, while CPOs were a good blueprint, the reputational issues and crime problems Nottingham had experienced was one of the motivating factors behind their political support, which is a problem most other local authorities don't have.

*I think it's very difficult these days in local government, and funding crises that most local authorities have, that if you don't already have the people in post, where are you going to create – if you're a major city – another 70, 80, 90 posts? It's just not going to happen. (CP1)*

CPOs seem to have not only met but exceeded the initial expectations of participants. They have continued to receive political support and grown in role and remit. Whilst the CPOs' focus is primarily on democratically dictated council priorities, their usefulness in policing ASB and gathering intelligence is greater than was expected by participants. When comparing CPOs to warden offers in other local councils, it was unanimously agreed that CPOs were a beacon of best practice in England and Wales, both in working practices and in the level of integration with NP and their NPTs. As CPOs have expanded, however, participants have raised their expectations for the future of CPOs. The direction of this future remains uncertain, with participants expressing differing visions.

## Chapter 7 | THE FUTURE OF CPOS

This chapter speculates the future trajectory of CPOs. It was unanimously agreed that CPOs were going to continue to be a policing presence in Nottingham.

*It's going to go from strength to strength. It's absolutely needed. To get rid of it would be a travesty and I don't think that will ever happen. (NP1)*

*CPOs are here to stay. There's no doubt about it. Different pressures will dictate as to how many we have and what they do. (NP4)*

*We will continue to have 100 uniformed officers I think because that is the promise. (CP1)*

With budgetary concerns both from NP and NCC meaning that several departments are receiving serious cuts, CPOs are necessary to ensure that neighbourhood policing and ground level council investigative work is still performed. Robust, visible policing is particularly important in light of the spike in media attention to several murders and knife incidents in Nottingham, as well as suggestions that bladed weapon possession offences are increasing (Ireland, 2016), which serves to undermine public confidence and perpetuate a resurgence of Nottingham's high-crime reputation (Scott, 2016; NP7).

It is important to note that, whilst they may be seen as integral to Nottingham's safer neighbourhood offer, recent high-profile reports throw into sharp relief that CPOs are only a very small part of the overall service delivery of these organisations. The most recent PEEL report of NP's performance makes some mention CP's contribution to neighbourhood policing and its importance in tackling ASB (HMIC, 2015b), however reports such as NP's partnership briefing (Nottinghamshire Police, 2016) and Derby and Nottingham's Metropolitan Strategy (Bayliss and Davies-Bright, 2016) – both of which will inevitably impact on the future of CP's partnerships and working practices – make no specific mention of CP.

One of the most interesting findings from discussions of the future of CPOs was the discrepancies between the expectations and ideas for the future between those who worked for CP and those who worked for NP. Whereas the police seemed keen to work towards a hybridisation of the roles of PCSOs and CPOs and a greater synthesis between the management structures of CP and the police, CP respondents appeared much more focused on a retreat towards council functions.

### 7.1 | Refocus on council function

Interview participants from CP overwhelmingly foresaw a continued retreat to council priorities. NP6 explained that in a time of crisis, which the recent budget struggles constitute, both organisations revert to type. The police return to a policing focus and the council (and by extension, CP) return to council priorities.

One respondent claimed that this shift is embodied by a shift from 'policing' to 'managing' their area (CP3). This is in effect a shift towards a caretaker warden model (Scanlon, 2006). CPOs would be aware of all of the issues on their areas and, if they are not directly involved, know which agency is working to solve the problem. Whereas the caretaker model normally describes schemes employed by housing agencies to address a single housing estate or building, CPOs would instead be responsible for managing an entire (policing) beat area.

This shift towards a 'caretaker' model would theoretically allow CPOs to contribute a greater effort towards one of the council's objectives of being '*in the top 10 cleanest cities in the world by 2020*' (CP3), ensuring that all environmental problems in an area were known to the CPO and being dealt with appropriately. It was furthermore suggested that CPOs should become a conduit for more council responsibilities; '*the representative of a whole host of [council] functions...the hub from which a number of spokes come off*' (CP4).

There also seemed to be motivation to further entrench CPOs' local accountability, with performance indicators dictated by local priorities (CP3; NP3). Participants gave several examples of powers that lie with constables but are better suited to the responsibilities of CPOs, such as vehicles blocking pavements (CP2) and parking on zig-zags outside of schools (CP3).

*I think the extra powers that we want to get CPOs are those powers that they can use locally to problem solve the issues that trouble neighbourhoods. (CP3)*

CP1 did express concern, however, about bestowing too many powers on CPOs. Whilst they conceded it was likely CPOs would be given more council regulatory and enforcement functions, they warned that CPOs may reach saturation point in terms of knowledge and experience, which would cause problems for officers on the ground.

Council enforcement, however, is not the extent of the CPO remit. With a high degree of policing power and potentially more to be added alongside NP's looming budgetary concerns, there is the potential that CPOs will have to undertake more policing functions as well.

## 7.2 | Police functions

Changes to neighbourhood policing will inevitably impact on how CPOs work within policing and their responsibility for police functions. NP is moving towards thematic, rather than geographical, leaders (NP7). Along with the recent merging of NP's city and county divisions (BBC, 2016b), effective collaboration and communication between managers at two different bases (central police station and NP HQ) with different objectives may become strained (NP7).

*What's interesting is [as] Notts Police we start to shrink, we start to regionalise, we start to do things differently, not saying we're pulling apart from the council but if you look at how it works, it's all looking a bit different. (NP7)*

NP1 similarly explains that neighbourhood policing is going to shrink and focus on problem solving rather than community based activities, which is '*going to have to be picked up somewhere and Community Protection closes that gap*' (NP1).

The need for CPOs to support more neighbourhood policing functions is further exacerbated by the possibility of further cuts to PCSO numbers.

*[Something] that's almost certain to happen is – because I know it's being looked at at the moment – is the giving of more police powers to CPOs...because what we also know is that what else is shrinking? Well that's PCSOs...how is neighbourhood policing going to develop?* (CP1)

CP2 suggested that NP's city offer was fortunate as the police functions left behind by shrinking NPT numbers could be supported by CPOs. CP4 argued that CPOs have already become the most prevalent presence in neighbourhoods as PCSOs have drifted into assistant constable roles (CP5).

Some respondents, alternatively, suggested that the CPO and PCSO roles could merge, providing the benefit of both patrolling functions (e.g. intelligence gathering, dealing with ASB, disorder and environmental crime) with less economic strain. Discussions of similar mergers between local warden offers and PCSO functions in Portsmouth (Portsmouth News, 2014; NP6).

*I think the future we have to look at is the scope – is there a need for both CPOs and PCSOs and is a hybrid model where they can share powers in a different way and can be governed, managed and controlled, hired and fired in a different way that makes it a...financial better offer?...I think a re-thought-out model of non-warranted officers would bring benefits.* (NP5)

Whilst a consolidation was also proposed between CPOs and PCSOs in Nottingham, discussion on the subject has since ceased (NP7). Similarly, in Portsmouth, little further information has emerged, suggesting that their plans have also been halted. This is likely attributed (in both circumstances) to territoriality, funding sources and resource allocations, and the two organisations' diverging objectives and methods (NP3, NP4, NP5).

*Would the Chief Constable ever want to give up his PCSOs? Would the council want to give up their CPOs? The idea's great; I don't see either side wanting to give up that much control over their staff.* (NP4)

The future of CPOs is unclear. With their success and vital contribution to council service delivery and policing in Nottingham City, respondents continue to want different things from CPOs to aid in the differing priorities. For all the progress made in integration and collaboration between the two agencies, the cultural territoriality and desire to use CPOs as a resource to serve each organisation's respective agendas still seemingly persists. Whilst both agencies have apparently become far more receptive to compromise, there still seems to be disagreement about how best to use CPOs to achieve NP and CP's joint objective of a cleaner, safer Nottingham.

## Chapter 8 | CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation has examined Community Protection Officers – an enforcement and regulation based expansion of traditional neighbourhood warden schemes employed by NCC. Whilst initially being installed to act as a support for the cleansing functions of the City of Nottingham, they have subsequently grown in line with the specific policing and regulatory needs of Nottingham City as dictated both by the council and the citizenry.

CPOs – and CP in general – works in a unique partnership with NP to keep Nottingham safe and clean (Probert, 2014). CP constitutes a deep integration of a local authority into a police force in what is likely the closest partnership between wardens and police in the country. Nevertheless, there is no academic research that discusses this advanced and intricate arrangement. This dissertation has therefore discussed whether CPOs have met expectations both in their roles and responsibilities and in the way that their partnership with NP's front line operates.

Furthermore, it has undertaken an assessment, from interviews with managers in CP and NP and from internal literature, of some of the roles, functions and partnership features that set CPOs apart from other warden schemes.

### 8.1 | Have CPOs met expectations?

The primary objective of this dissertation was to reveal whether CPOs have met the expectations of managers both in NP and CP. This discussion inevitably involved some description of CPO roles, the state of the partnership and additional successes, however the data generally found that CPOs have met or exceeded most of the expectations people had of them.

Managers in both organisations exhibited uncertainty in what to expect from CPOs when they first began working with them, with a lack of knowledge clouding their ability to discern what CPOs could do and how they would integrate. Those who did have expectations generally suggested that despite the two organisations working from the same buildings, there would still be a rift between them in tasking and working practices. Interviews also revealed an expectation that CPOs would have a narrow focus on council priorities, particularly environmental issues, and would have limited engagement with policing activities.

Those who expected these things reported that CPOs far exceeded their expectations. With a wide and vaguely defined remit, CPOs are able to and do deal with many issues in the interest of serving democratic values, ranging from environmental crime to ASB and even sometimes to first responding to low level crimes. Whilst some CPOs have been said to over-step their remit, it was generally reported that CPOs have an eclectic range of uses that allow the police to focus on other issues. Most importantly, it was frequently noted that CPOs are able to hold many of the neighbourhood policing and enforcement functions in lieu of dedicated PCs or PCSOs.

The anticipated future of CPOs seems to be divided between NP and CP respondents. Participants from NP seemed to envision closer and more coordinated service delivery between CPOs and front line policing offer, even towards a hybridisation of the CPO and PCSO role. CP respondents, on the

other hand, indicated a retreat from policing towards an environmental maintenance and neighbourhood management focus. These differing expectations and intentions alongside budgetary constraints and internal conflicts between NP and NCC make the future of the partnership unclear.

## **8.2 | Recommendations**

Although opinions of CPOs were mostly positive, participants acknowledged that the partnership remained imperfect. There were several constructive suggestions made by participants about how to improve the organisation. Not all of the recommendations made were compatible with both organisations' priorities and methods of resourcing and working, however some of the most plausible suggestions will be presented below alongside analysis gleaned from the data.

### **Partnership coordination**

Several participants posited that there have been and continue to be overlaps, inefficiencies and conflicts in communication and tasking of NP and CP. Whilst many suggested that a more joined up managerial structure would be beneficial to coordination, the need to maintain a division between the organisations makes this unlikely and potentially even unwise. A more plausible suggestion is greater coordination in the tasking of officers that takes advantage of the strengths and powers of both organisations to solve local problems.

This will also require some greater understanding both internally and externally of the remit and responsibilities of CPOs and their role within the partnership. Great strides have been made in integrating CP with NP to fill gaps in neighbourhood policing service delivery, however many in NP and the public still remain unsure of the limits of the CPO role and their distinction from, for example, PCSOs.

### **Research**

CP is a vast organisation that offers examples of best practice, joined up working and partnerships that can be studied to offer a rich bank of knowledge and experience to other local councils. This dissertation strongly advocates further study of

- CP in its entirety, along with its partnerships with various organisations, including the police, housing agencies, and other departments within NCC.
- The benefits CP has had and the improvements it may have made to the cohesive service delivery of council services and regulation as well as policing and enforcement.
- CP's new Intelligence and Tasking team, how their work should benefit joined up service delivery and cohesive tasking between the departments of CP, and a longitudinal evaluation of whether this department does improve efficiency and effectiveness.
- A case study comparison between CPOs and other (high quality) local council warden schemes elsewhere in England and Wales. Although warden schemes differ depending on their organisational and local priorities, there should be parallels between the working practices of warden schemes in different local authorities.

This list provides some preliminary investigation topics that could potentially improve local authority and police neighbourhood service delivery.

### **Field experiment**

In line with the assertion that CP may be a useful blueprint to use in other metropolitan localities, it would be interesting to observe and oversee a new scheme based on CP principles over a period of several years in another city with their priorities at the heart and the construction and partnership integration of CP as a template. This is already beginning in some localities, with CPO schemes cropping up in nearby borough councils such as Sutton in Ashfield and Gedling Borough. In fact, whilst NCC were the first to implement a scheme like this, the CP model is becoming increasingly common in England and Wales as local authorities and police forces visit CP in Nottingham to take note of the methods of best practice they exhibit. Solihull District Council and their police force, for example, have shown interest in the model and even some other localities are trialling joint police-council efforts.

Establishing a new CP scheme – for which Nottingham stands as proof of concept – in a metropolitan area could also benefit from the lessons learned along the way by Nottingham's model, with NCC's CP able to provide guidance to other schemes in the face of obstacles. Being a local government, public organisation, CP would likely be more willing than, for example, private alternatives to share methods of best practice and provide guidance and supervision of future schemes in the aim of helping other cities experience the improvements that Nottingham has enjoyed.

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## APPENDIX A: CPO JOB DESCRIPTION

### **Job Purpose**

To deliver Nottingham City Council's Community Safety functions 24 hours, 7 days a week, 365 days a year.

Including but not exclusively Environmental Health, Trading Standards, Noise, Housing, Anti-Social Behaviour Enforcement, Criminal Activity, Community problems and Public Realm issues.

### **Principal duties and responsibilities**

1. To be a uniformed Capable Guardian of the City
2. To enforce using delegated and accredited powers on a range of civil and criminal matters as directed. Including the new legislation from the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014.
3. To work within the Standard Operating Procedures to fulfil the service's objectives tackling anti social behaviour.
4. To conduct regular street patrols across days, evenings, nights and weekends within designated areas of the City, aimed at tackling criminal activity, taking enforcement action in respect of and preventing environmental crime, dealing with anti-social behaviour.
5. To work closely with operational services on environmental issues that contribute to criminal activities e.g. abandoned cars, abandoned houses, graffiti and any other neighbourhood problem.
6. To support local crime prevention initiatives, reduce demand and causes of crime.
7. To provide evidence against persons suspected of breaches of criminal and civil law and by-laws, maintaining accurate records, assisting with the preparation of the prosecution/court files and giving evidence in court as necessary.
8. To work in liaison with the Police and any other agency, to offer basic crime prevention advice and support to residents. To provide advice and information to residents on community safety and environmental issues.
9. To work closely with the community; community groups, voluntary sector, stakeholders, KINs, other Council departments to address local issues and problem solve for the short, medium and long term.
10. To investigate reports related to crime and anti-social behaviour from residents, visitors, businesses and other sources, recording findings and initiating action as necessary.
11. To develop effective working relationships with residents, retailers and businesses, Operations Managers, Councillors, other Council departments, Police Officers and visitors as directed by Community Protection Supervisors within the service.
12. Although working alone and on their own initiative for much of the time, Community Protection Officers must also ensure that they work part of a team, communicating issues to Community Protection Supervisors and other team members, using designated equipment and systems.
13. To work in partnership with Nottinghamshire Police via the Control Room using the Police Airwave Radio system.
14. To be committed and sensitive to ensuring equality of opportunity in terms of service provision and employment practices and to perform his/her duties in accordance with the Council's Equal Opportunity Policy.
15. To provide an enhanced level of first aid to members of the public when required.
16. The post holder is required to be vetted by Nottinghamshire Police and to maintain vetted status.

## APPENDIX B: POWERS ACCREDITED TO CPOS BY CHIEF CONSTABLE OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE POLICE

### 3. Agreed Powers for Accreditation:

- 3.1 Nottingham Community Protection will be accredited by the Chief Constable, Nottinghamshire Police with the following powers in the relevant police area as described in Schedule 5 of the Police Reform Act 2002.
- 3.2 The Director of Community Protection may grant some or all of the following powers to Accredited Officers as appropriate to their role and responsibilities in accordance with Delegation 1, Nottingham City Council constitution.

**Power to require giving of name and address:** Power to require the name and address of a person whom an Accredited person has reason to believe has committed a relevant offence (Relevant offences are defined under paragraph 2(3)(a) of Schedule 5 of the Police Reform Act 2002 or an offence the commission of which appears to the accredited person to have caused –

- i) injury, alarm or distress to another person; or
- ii) loss of or damage to another person's property.

**Power to require name and address for anti-social Behaviour:** An Accredited person has the power of a constable in uniform under section 5 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 (within the meaning of section 1 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 to give his or her name and address.

**Photographing of persons given fixed penalty notices:** Under Schedule 5 Para 9ZA of the Police Reform Act 2002 as amended by Schedule 8 Part 2 Paras 17, 21 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005, to take a photograph, elsewhere than at a police station, of a person to whom an Accredited person has given a fixed penalty notice or a penalty notice for disorder in exercise of any power to issue such notices under Sec 64A(1A) of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. Schedule 5 Para 9ZA of the Police Reform Act 2002 as amended by Schedule 8 Part 2 Paras 17, 21 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005

**Power to require persons aged under 18 to surrender alcohol:** Under section 1 of the Confiscation of Alcohol (Young Persons) Act 1997, an accredited person has the power of a constable who reasonably suspects that a person in a relevant place is in possession of alcohol and that either –

- a) he is under the age of 18; or
- b) he intends that any of the alcohol should be consumed by a person under the age of 18 in that or any other relevant place; or
- c) a person under the age of 18 who is, or has recently been, with him has recently consumed alcohol in that or any other relevant place

to surrender anything in his possession which is, or which the constable reasonably believes to be, alcohol or a container of alcohol (other than a sealed container) and to state his name and address. Paragraph 4 of Schedule 5 to the Police Reform Act 2002

**Power to require such a person to surrender sealed containers of alcohol:** if the accredited person has reason to believe that the person mentioned in section 1 of the Confiscation of Alcohol (Young Persons) Act 1997 (above) is, has been or intends to consume alcohol in a relevant place.

**Power to dispose of alcohol surrendered:** Under section 1(2) of the Confiscation of Alcohol (Young Persons) Act 1997 may dispose of anything surrendered to him under this section in such manner as he considers appropriate

**Power to require persons drinking in designated places to surrender alcohol:** Power under section 12 (1) & (2) of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 to require a person whom an Accredited person 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:** An Accredited person has the power of a constable under section 12(3) of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 to dispose of anything surrendered to him under subsection (2) in such manner as he considers appropriate.

**Power to seize tobacco or cigarette papers from a person apparently under the age of 16:** An Accredited person has the power of a constable to seize anything that a constable in uniform has a duty to seize under section 7(3) of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933, that being if a person apparently under the age of 16 is smoking in any street or public place to seize and to dispose of that tobacco or cigarette papers in a manner directed by the employer of an Accredited person. An accredited person shall have the power of a constable;

- a) Whilst engaged in the regulation of traffic in a road to direct a person driving or propelling a vehicle to stop the vehicle or to make it proceed in, or keep to, a particular line of traffic;
- b) Whilst engaged in the regulation of vehicular traffic in a road to direct a person on foot to stop proceeding along or across the carriageway.
- c) For the purposes of a traffic survey, to direct a person driving or propelling a vehicle to stop the vehicle, to make it proceed in, or keep to, a particular line of traffic, or to proceed to a particular point on or near the road.

As prescribed by section 35(1) &(2) and section 37 of the Road Traffic Act 1988, section 8B of schedule 5 of the Police Reform Act 2002, as amended by section 122(7), schedule 8, Part 2, paras 17 & 20 of the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005.

**Power to stop cycles:** An Accredited person shall have the powers of a constable in uniform to stop a cycle under section 163(2) of the Road Traffic Act 1988 when an Accredited person has reason to believe that a person has committed the offence of riding on a footpath under section 72 of the Highways Act 1835 (inserted by section 89 of the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003)

#### **Power to Issue Penalty Notice for Disorder (PNDs)**

#### **Offences for which Accredited Persons may issue penalty notices for disorder under Chapter 1 Part 1 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001**

**Lower Tier – offences that attract a £50 fixed penalty**

- Consumption of alcohol in designated public places contrary to section 12 Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001.
- Trespassing on a railway section 55 of the British Transport Commission Act 1949.
- Throwing stones at a train section 56 of the British Transport Commission Act 1949.

**Upper Tier - Offences attracting a penalty of £80**

- Breach of fireworks curfew Fireworks Regulations 2004 under s11 of the Fireworks Act 2003.
- Possession of a category 4 firework Fireworks Regulations 2004 under s11 of the Fireworks Act 2003.
- Possession by a person under 18 of an adult firework Fireworks Regulations 2004 under s11 of the Fireworks Act 2003.
- Throwing fireworks, s80 of the Explosives Act 1875.
- Drinking in a designated public area Section 12(4) of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001.

**Note:** Nottinghamshire Police will process these notices through its Central Ticket Office.

**APPENDIX C: ETHICS FORMS**

**College of Business Law and Social Sciences**  
**School of Social Sciences.**

**School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (SREC)**

**Notification of Decision**

Student's Name	Jordan Cashmore
Supervisor's Name	C Crowther-Dowey
NTU ID	N0264448
Course	MA Criminology
Date of SREC meeting	13/05/2015
Date Notification sent to student	14/05/2015

At the Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee meeting the following decision was made in respect of your application for Ethical Approval of a Research Project:

**Approved** - you may commence your research as outlined in your application

If you have to **re-submit your form** you must ensure that you clearly indicate on the form that it is a resubmission, for Chair's action, and **on a separate document detail what changes have been made, together with including any relevant attachments** (e.g. research instruments or participant information).

If at any stage of the application process it has been decided that your project requires a **Disclosure and Barring Service Check** (DBS Check) or an Overseas Police Check you may **not** commence research until this check has been completed and considered as satisfactory. Please note a DBS check might not be listed as an additional condition/recommendation identified by SREC as we might be satisfied that your Project Supervisor has already identified this as a requirement on your application form.

If you need to enter an ethical approval code for the research participation scheme, then use the date of this notification as that code.

If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact your project supervisor or alternatively e-mail [SOC.ethics@ntu.ac.uk](mailto:SOC.ethics@ntu.ac.uk).

Further information and guidance can be found on the ethics module (XXSOC10002) on NOW.

**School Research Ethics Committee**

**Permission to conduct NTU Criminology master’s dissertation research project.**

I, Jordan Cashmore, wish to conduct a primary research project that takes advantage of my position as a Community Protection Officer to gain access to high ranking officials in both Nottinghamshire Police and Community Protection. As such, I hereby request permission to conduct this research.

**What is the purpose of this research?**

This project aims to examine the role of Nottingham City Council’s Community Protection Officers (CPOs) and their partnership with Nottinghamshire Police’s front line officers. This will involve the use of semi-structured interviews with high ranking officials both in Community Protection and Nottinghamshire Police’s city division to discuss their experiences within the partnership, what the participant’s expectation of CPOs was leading up to the participant’s involvement in the partnership, and whether these expectations have been met.

**What will the research consist of?**

I would like to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews with high ranking officials in Community Protection (Senior Community Protection Officer and above) and Nottinghamshire Police (Inspector and above) to help explore the topic outlined above. These interviews will be carried on a one to one basis by me and will last approximately 1 hour. All interviews will be conducted during my own time, and will not be conducted during work time without expressed permission from my Community Protection line manager.

**How would you be using your position to facilitate the research?**

I intend to use my position as a CPO to enable access to research participants. I intend to use Nottinghamshire Police email system to invite officials from Nottinghamshire Police and Community Protection to participate in interviews. These emails will be sent directly to individuals to request participation and correspondence will remain on an individual basis.

The email system may also be used to request documentation from various members of staff (e.g. Communications Directors etc.) to support the dissertation’s discussions. In the unlikely event that documents with a protected marking are sent to me and their use would benefit the project, they will not be used until a signed permission document has been received from a manager in the document’s source organisation (chief inspector or above in Nottinghamshire Police or a departmental head or above in Community Protection).

I have been a Community Protection Officer since 2012. This research is being conducted independently of this organisation, however, and interview participants will not be identified to anyone other than my dissertation tutor, Christopher Crowther-Dowey, and I.

- 
- I have read and understood the details of the research project and why it is being conducted.
  - I understand and consent to the methods of access and interview proposed by the researcher.
  - I understand that all information may be shared between the researcher and research supervisor.
  - I hereby consent to the researcher to conduct this research using the methods discussed.

Manager name and position \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Contact details**

Please feel free to contact the researcher at any time for more information about the project or the use of the material requested. You may also contact the research supervisor for any further queries.

Researcher	Supervisor
Jordan Cashmore N0264448@ntu.ac.uk	Christopher Crowther-Dowey christopher.crowtherdowey@ntu.ac.uk

## **Participant Information Form for NTU Criminology master's dissertation research project.**

I would like to express my appreciation for considering to participate in this research project. Before you decide whether you wish to proceed with your participation, it is important that I fully inform you about the aims of this research and how your participation would contribute to it. Please read the document carefully and feel free to discuss the information with colleagues or other people. If you have any queries or require any clarification, do not hesitate to contact me and I will be more than happy to assist.

### **What is the purpose of this project?**

This project aims to examine the role of Nottingham City Council's Community Protection Officers (CPOs) and their partnership with Nottinghamshire Police's front line officers. This will involve the use of semi-structured interviews with high ranking officials both in Community Protection and Nottinghamshire Police's city division to discuss their experiences within the partnership, what the participant's expectation of CPOs was leading up to the participant's involvement in the partnership, and whether these expectations have been met.

### **Who will carry out the research?**

The research will be carried out by Jordan Cashmore, a student on the MA Criminology course at Nottingham Trent University.

It should be noted that Jordan Cashmore is also a CPO – a post held since November 2012 – however this research is completely independent to the organisation of Community Protection. All interviews will be used as part of the dissertation only, and will not be discussed with anybody other than the researcher and his supervisor.

### **Do I have to take part?**

No; your participation in this research is voluntary. If you do decide to take part, I would request that you fully understand the contents of this document and sign the informed consent form included separately.

You can also withdraw your participation at any time after consenting by contacting me via email (see end of this document). Please ensure that any request for withdrawal is made before Monday 6<sup>th</sup> June 2016 as it may not be possible to comply with a request submitted past this date.

### **What will my participation involve?**

I would like you to participate in a semi-structured interview that will last approximately 1 hour. This can be conducted either at your place of work or another location convenient for you as specified. The interview will be carried out by Jordan Cashmore.

### **What kind of questions will I be asked?**

If you would like to proceed with an interview, a full copy of the questions will be sent to you following confirmation. If you do not wish to answer a particular question or would like to clarify any question, please contact the researcher so that appropriate arrangements can be made to accommodate.

In answering these questions, you are not expected to be a representative of the overall views of your organisation. These questions are intended to gather your personal experience and opinions, including any comments made to you by others that have helped shape your views. You will not be expected to disclose the details and sources of information you have received from anywhere else.

If you do not wish to answer a question during the interview, you may refuse to answer or provide no comment, at which time the researcher will continue to the next question.

**How will the data be collected and stored?**

The interviews will be voice recorded using my mobile telephone to ensure the data is transcribed correctly. The file will that day be transferred to my personal computer and password protected, at which time the recording will be removed from the telephone. If you do not wish a voice recording to be made of the interview, please contact the researcher so that alternative arrangements can be made.

The recordings will be transcribed on a word processed document, which will be password protected on my personal computer. Any printed copies and interview notes will be kept on the researcher's person or in a locked drawer at the researcher's house, for which the researcher has the only key.

Once my degree has been completed, any physical copies of transcripts and notes taken from the interview data will be destroyed. The transcripts and voice files will be kept on my personal computer for 5 years and then destroyed securely.

**Who will have access to the data?**

The data will be accessed by the researcher, Jordan Cashmore, and his dissertation supervisor, Christopher Crowther-Dowey. Contact details are available at the bottom of the document for both.

**Will my anonymity be preserved?**

In the methodology section of the research project, it will be explained that high ranking officials will refer to the rank of Inspector or above in Nottinghamshire Police and Senior Community Protection Officer or above in Community Protection. This will inform readers of the management status of the participants. In order to give context, this explanation will be accompanied by a diagram of each organisation's rank hierarchy (this will **not** include any names of individuals in these ranks).

In order to protect the identities of all participants and provide a uniform level of anonymity across all interviewees, participants will be referred to as a high ranking official in their respective organisation (e.g. a ranked officer in Nottinghamshire Police/a high ranking official in Community Protection). Participants may also be referred to numerically for ease of reading (e.g. NP1; NP2 etc. for respondents from Nottinghamshire Police, and CP1; CP2 etc. for respondents from Community Protection).

If you have any concerns with this method, or wish to discuss this further, please contact the researcher.

**What is the benefit of my involvement?**

Whilst extensive scholarship has discussed the purpose and effectiveness of neighbourhood warden schemes as a generally strategy in the UK, Nottingham City Council's Community Protection has remained a hidden topic in academia. It is hoped that your involvement will help to expose the positives and negatives of the Community Protection schemes and to platform a discussion about best practice in the UK's neighbourhood warden schemes and their relationship with the police front line.

**Will I receive a copy of the research?**

Following Nottingham Trent University's assessment and return of the project, the dissertation will be made available to any participants who request a copy.

**How do I volunteer for this project?**

To volunteer for the project, simply email a confirmation to the researcher. You should also complete the informed consent form separate to this document.

---

**Contact details**

Please feel free to contact the researcher at any time for more information about the project. You may also contact the research supervisor for any further queries.

Researcher	Supervisor
Jordan Cashmore N0264448@ntu.ac.uk	Christopher Crowther-Dowey christopher.crowtherdowey@ntu.ac.uk

**Informed Consent Form for NTU Criminology Master’s Dissertation Research Project**

I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in my research project. Before proceeding further, please read, fill out and sign the below list to confirm that you consent to participating in this research and have been fully informed about its content and purpose.

- I have received, read and understood all information contained within Participant Information Form.
- I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions about the research and am satisfied that I am fully informed.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary.
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation at any time up to Monday 6<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and will not be obligated to provide explanation.
- I understand and consent to the methods proposed by the researcher to collect, record and store data.
- I understand my right to refuse voice recording during interviews.
- I understand that all information given in interviews will be shared between the researcher and research supervisor.
- I have supplied a signed permission document from my line manager.

Participant name \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher name \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Contact details**

Please feel free to contact the researcher at any time for more information about the project. You may also contact the research supervisor for any further queries.

Researcher	Supervisor
Jordan Cashmore N0264448@ntu.ac.uk	Christopher Crowther-Dowey christopher.crowtherdowey@ntu.ac.uk

## Document use Consent Form for NTU Criminology Master's Dissertation Research Project

I, Jordan Cashmore, hereby request permission to use the document described below in a dissertation project for my criminology master's dissertation at Nottingham Trent University.

1. CP Enabling Document: New Operating Model 2015. Use – reference and/or quote to discuss role, objectives and practices of CPOs, how they operate/are expected to operate and how they integrate into wider policing and council objectives/functions.
2. Standard Operating Procedure Community Protection Officers May 2015. Use – reference and/or quote details of expectations/standards of CPOs, uniforms, patrolling procedures and any other procedures. May be used to discuss role, objectives and practices of CPOs, how they operate/are expected to operate and how they integrate into wider policing and council objectives/functions.
3. Job description for CPOs (2014). Use – integrate in full into the dissertation under the purpose of CPOs to discuss the roles and responsibilities of CPOs
4. CSAS Accreditation Agreement. Use – inclusion in appendices and referenced in dissertation to discuss powers and responsibilities of CPOs
5. Review of the CSAS Accreditation Agreement 18.09.2013. Use – reference to establish changes and/or developments to CPO powers and reason
6. CSAS Accreditation Agreement 2015. Use – inclusion in appendices and referenced in dissertation to discuss powers and responsibilities of CPOs
7. Community Protection (Uniformed services) Business plan V6 16-17. Use – eference and/or quote to discuss role, objectives and practices of CPOs, how they operate/are expected to operate and how they integrate into wider policing and council objectives/functions.
8. Report – Evaluating Neighbourhood Policing. Use – reference and/or quote to discuss CPO contribution to neighbourhood policing
9. Report – Exec board – Establishing neighbourhood policing. Use – reference and/or quote to discuss CPO contribution to neighbourhood policing
10. Report – Performance monitoring of Community Protection 25/05/2007. Use – reference and/or quote to establish how CP/CPO performance is measured and how this relates to their objectives.
11. Report – Performance monitoring of CP. Use – reference and/or quote to establish how CP/CPO performance is measured and how this relates to their objectives.
12. Service Plan version 3. Use – reference and/or quote to discuss role, objectives and practices of CPOs, how they operate/are expected to operate and how they integrate into wider policing and council objectives/functions.
13. CPO/CP uniformed services demographic breakdown (to be provided by HR). Use – directly integrated into dissertation to discuss how representative the demographics of uniformed services in CP are of the City of Nottingham's general population.

### What is the purpose of this project?

This project aims to examine the role of Nottingham City Council's Community Protection Officers (CPOs) and their partnership with Nottinghamshire Police's front line officers. This will involve the use of semi-structured interviews with high ranking officials both in Community Protection and Nottinghamshire Police's city division to discuss their experiences within the partnership, what the participant's expectation of CPOs was leading up to the participant's involvement in the partnership, and whether these expectations have been met.

### How will the data be used?

The information requested is intended to support the research to this end and fully explore the relationship between CPOs and police personnel. My intention is to summarise general points and topics for the purpose of the research, and the dissertation will not identify details of the source of the information. Any identifying factors (e.g. names of people or places; organisations not relevant to the dissertation) contained in the document will not be revealed in the dissertation.

The data in documents will be used as references and may be quoted in order to serve the purpose of the dissertation. The documents (unless otherwise stated) will not be attached to the dissertation,

however any information (excluding financial or budgetary information), images, diagrams or tables may be used.

**How will the data be collected and stored?**

Any protectively marked materials or internal documents will be stored electronically on the researcher's personal computer with password protection. Any physical copies of this documentation will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's home. Once the degree has been completed, any copies held of protectively marked materials will be destroyed.

**Who will have access to the data?**

The data will be accessed by the researcher, Jordan Cashmore, and his dissertation supervisor, Christopher Crowther-Dowey. Contact details are available at the bottom of the document for both.

I have received, read and understood why this document has been requested.

I understand and consent to the methods proposed by the researcher to store data.

I understand that all information given may be shared between the researcher and research supervisor.

I hereby consent to the use of this documentation in the ways described above for the purpose of the researcher's master's dissertation.

Manager name \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher name \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Contact details**

Please feel free to contact the researcher at any time for more information about the project or the use of the material requested. You may also contact the research supervisor for any further queries.

Researcher	Supervisor
Jordan Cashmore N0264448@ntu.ac.uk	Christopher Crowther-Dowey christopher.crowtherdowey@ntu.ac.uk

## APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### Topics for NTU Criminology Master's Dissertation research project.

#### Participant background and early expectations

1. When did the participant first begin working with CPOs?
  - a. What was their position?
  - b. What was the situation of CPOs at the time (uniform, job role, numbers, police station cohabitation etc.)?
2. What did participants expect the role of CPOs to be?
3. What kind of relationship did participants expect CPOs to have with police front line police?
  - a. Close/loose?
  - b. Cooperative/collaborative?
  - c. Supporting police (like PCSOs)/doing other things (like wardens)/mixture?
4. At the time, how useful did the participants think police front line and CPOs would be to one another? Did participants think that the partnership would be valuable to both parties?

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#### Meeting expectations

5. Have the CPOs met participant's expectations?
  - a. Are the CPOs what participants thought they would be? Do they perform the role participants expected?
    - i. If not, how are they different? What do they do that differed from their expectations?
    - ii. Is this a good thing or a bad thing?
  - b. Do they have the relationship with the police they thought they would?
6. How well do participants think the partnership between CPOs and police front line works? Areas to consider include:
  - a. CPOs supporting police front line with incidents
  - b. CPOs taking low-level roles off front line police hands
  - c. CPOs presence facilitating referrals to the police for further action
  - d. Personal cooperation between officers and supervisors – how well does the chain of command work between police managers and CPOs and between CP managers and police front line?
  - e. How does the partnership mostly work? Is it a hierarchy with CPOs at the bottom? Are CPOs completely separate but with more efficient communication methods through cohabitation and police radios? Do they work more with PCs or PCSOs or both?
  - f. Comparison to other partners, such as housing (police and CP have partnerships with housing)
7. As an agency, how are CPOs compared to other neighbourhood, street and street crime warden schemes?
  - a. Have participants had any experience with other council warden-police front line partnerships elsewhere in the UK/outside of the UK?
  - b. How does the CPO-police partnership differ? Is it better, worse, similar, mixed in relation to other initiatives? In what ways? Are there things to be learned from other initiatives?

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#### The future of CPOs

8. From the position the participants currently hold in their organisation, would participants change the role of the CPOs, both as its own organisation and as a policing partner? In what ways would participants change it, and in what direction would participants want to see it go (e.g. closer to policing; more council led tasks)?
9. With another bout of cuts to Notts Police, including the potential removal of 72 PCSOs from the service, what do participants think is going to happen to the partnership with CPOs?
  - a. CPOs given more powers? Are they going to become even more vital to maintain the workload
  - b. CPOs next for the cutbacks in council – will CPOs survive?
  - c. Will the partnership suffer? Is the loss of PCSOs going to impact on how the partnership dynamic works?