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Starting from Scratch: Planning Practices of Police Recruits in Western Australia

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Abstract

Given the limited body of research concerning planning for investigative interviews, the aim of the present study was to examine what police recruits plan for in investigative interviews with witnesses. The study analysed the plans of 37 police recruits prepared on four occasions following specific points in their training at the Western Australia Police Academy. Each of the items from the plans was assigned to one of twelve categories: Introduction, Witness demographics, Interview demographics, Pre-existing information, Incident details, Elements, Defences, Legal, procedure, Interview procedure, Rapport building, Interviewing technique, and Other.

Statistical analyses were conducted to determine how the proportion of items included in the categories changed across the four occasions. Findings indicate recruits consistently emphasise planning around Incident details, and include comparatively less items relating to Introduction and Rapport building. Encouragingly, items relating to Interview procedure and Interview technique occupy a greater proportion of the items in plans prepared following interviewing training. The findings presented provide encouragement for interview trainers as they show that targeted training may influence recruits' planning. As such, it is important to identify areas that are generally neglected in plans and to develop training that emphasises the inclusion of items related to these areas in order to facilitate the preparation of more balanced plans and interviews.

Introduction

Project Anticus was formally established by Western Australia Police in 2009 to improve policing practices (Western Australia Police, 2009). The Project targeted four main areas: the professional development of detectives; investigative policies and procedures; the relationship between the police and prosecution; and, relevantly for the present study, interviewing. It was at this time the PEACE model of investigative interviewing was introduced in Western Australia in response to the mandate to improve interviewing (Western Australia Police, 2009). Initially developed in the United Kingdom (UK) through a collaboration of professionals including psychologists and those working in the justice professions, modified versions of the PEACE model have been adopted in jurisdictions across Australia for use with witnesses, victims, and persons of interest (Tudor-Owen & Scott, in press). The acronym PEACE represents the five stages of the interview: Preparation and planning; Engage and explain; Account, clarification and challenge (Account); Closure; and Evaluation.

Much of the early research evaluating the PEACE model has focused on identifying and assessing the performance of the different stages of PEACE, often using pre- and post-training measurements. More recently attention has been paid to examining the perceptions of individuals trained in its use. Research examining the perceptions of police officers and investigators has consistently found that planning for interviews is considered to be an important part of the interview process (Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Soukara, Bull, & Vrij, 2002; Walsh & Bull, 2011). For example, Cherryman and Bull (2001) found that police officers trained in specialist investigative interviewing ranked preparation as the second most important skill after listening in terms of its importance in the interview process. However, they ranked preparation as the most absent skill of interviewers. Additionally, Soukara et al. (2002) found that 95% of respondent detectives considered planning to be important and Walsh and Bull (2011) found that 96% of respondent benefit fraud officers considered planning to be important. However, interviewers' self-reported planning practices vary. For example, Walsh and Bull (2011) found that 63% of respondent benefit fraud officers reported they always planned and 10% reported they planned very often. In contrast, 80% of benefit fraud officers considered groundwork (that is, preparation before interviews) to be a "constant" or "regular" aspect of practice. With regard to skill level, Hill and Moston (2011) found that 2% of respondent police officers reported excellent; 26% reported above average; and 65% reported average skill at Preparation and planning. Therefore, it would appear that while interviewers rate planning as important, it is not always attended to or achieved with a high level of proficiency.

Evaluations of the PEACE model based on performance of the different stages rather than interviewers' perceptions have primarily focused on the stages occurring during the actual interview; that is, Engage and explain, Account, and Closure. By comparison, the stages extrinsic to the interview, the Preparation and planning and Evaluation stages, have been largely neglected (Walsh & Bull, 2010a). The limited focus on planning is cause for considerable concern given that police officers believe preparation is associated with higher quality interviews (Soukara et al., 2002), an observation supported by research examining the practice of benefit fraud investigators trained in the PEACE model (Walsh & Bull, 2010b).

The majority of research evaluating the PEACE model to date has used video recordings of actual or mock interviews. As a consequence, assessment of the Preparation and planning stage has been largely limited to hypotheses about the activities of the interviewer prior to the interview, as the activities themselves are not evident in the video recordings (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Clarke, Milne, & Bull, 2011; Walsh & Bull, 2010b). Indicators of preparation assessed by researchers have included: understanding the offence and its elements; having exhibits and evidence readily accessible; understanding possible defences; and conducting a structured interview showing an identifiable strategy for questioning (see e.g., Walsh & Bull, 2010b, 2012b).

While the literature states that planning is perceived as important, and is in practice associated with higher quality interviews, the content of actual plans as prepared by interviewers is not widely examined. To this end, the present study aimed to examine what police recruits plan for in investigative interviews with witnesses by examining what aspects of the interview were emphasised by recruits in their plans and how these change following training.

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Present Study

Police recruits attending the Detective Training School at the Western Australia Police Academy were invited to participate in the present study. Recruits interviewed witnesses on four occasions throughout the duration of their training. The first interview was conducted by the recruits in week two at the Academy, at the beginning of the recruits' training (Time 1); the second in week nine following legal and procedural training (Time 2); the third in either week 12 or week 15 following interview training (each squad received this aspect of training at a different time; Time 3); and the final interview was conducted in week 22 or week 23 just prior to the conclusion of the recruits' training (Time 4).

Thirty-seven recruits conducted interviews on each of the four occasions. Of the 37 recruits, 70% were male and 30% were female, with a mean age of 27 years *(SD = 5.83)*. On each of the four occasions 37 witnesses participated in the study: in Time 1, 30% were male and 70% were female, with a mean age of 24 years (SD = 7.58); in Time 2, 19% were male and 81% were female, with a mean age of 26 years *(SD = 11.15)*; in Time 3, 19% were male and 81% were female, with a mean age of 31 years *(SD = 12.93)*; and in Time 4, 22% were male and 78% were female, with a mean age of 31 years *(SD = 11.81)*.

Prior to conducting the interview, recruits were given 10 minutes to use for planning. To facilitate the process, recruits were provided with a police generated proforma, blank paper and writing implements. The proformas included typed content relating to the interview process (e.g., ADVOKATE; TEDS; PEACE; 5W1H) and prompts for structuring the interview (e.g., Elements; Defences). Recruits were allowed to take the proformas (blank or annotated) and any written plans into the interview. However, it is only the resulting written plans and any annotations on the proformas that have been examined for the present study. The decision to exclude the typed content of the proformas from analysis was based on difficulties concerning how to assess recruits' engagement with that content without evidence of annotation.

Witnesses viewed a recorded mock crime of approximately one minute in length prior to being interviewed by the recruits. The crime depicted was filmed from the perspective of the witness. That is, the viewer was witnessing the crime as if through his or her own eyes. The recorded mock crimes were (in chronological order from Time 1 to Time 4): an assault; theft of a wallet; theft from a car; and damage to property. These crimes were selected for inclusion in the research as it is a realistic expectation that new constables may be required to interview witnesses of comparable crimes.

Using four different crimes also ensured recruits did not become familiar with interviewing with regard to a particular crime. Randomising the type of crime for each occasion was unfortunately not possible as recruits may have disclosed details of the various scenarios to their colleagues, affecting subsequent interviews.

The facilities of the Western Australia Police Academy were used to conduct the study. Two rooms were provided for the witnesses and recruits to be briefed separately with the witnesses watching the recorded mock crime in one room and the recruits completing their planning in another room. Individual interview rooms equipped with a table, chairs, and audiovisual equipment were provided for recruits to conduct their interviews with the witnesses and no time limit was imposed.

Following the interviews on each occasion, recruits and witnesses completed written evaluations with an additional evaluation completed by recruits after the interview at Time 4. All ethical requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* were met in the conducting of the present study.

To facilitate statistical analyses, content analysis was used to code each item in all plans across the four occasions. In accordance with this technique, each of the plans across the four occasions was read closely with the aim of developing tentative categories. Following the preparation of a draft coding schedule, pilot coding of a selection of plans was used to test its efficacy. As a result of this piloting, categories were further refined and multiple categories were collapsed where appropriate. The final coding schedule contained 11 categories that were included in the analyses: Introduction (interviewer's explanation of their identity and/or their role); Witness demographics (witness' demographic details); Interview demographics (details of the interview itself; e.g., "Village Police Station"); Pre-existing information (details disclosed to the recruit prior to the planning stage); Incident details (details related to the incident, but not pre-existing knowledge or an element of, or defence to, the charge being investigated); Elements (legal elements of the particular offence being investigated); Defences (legal defences to the particular offence being investigated); Legal procedure (related to the legal procedure in forensic investigation); Interview procedure (related to the interview procedure; e.g., "my head will be down but I am still listening"); Rapport building (related to the police recruit attempting to build a relationship with the witness); and Interviewing technique (content regarding how to conduct the interview). An additional category, Other (where the content does not relate to any of the aforementioned categories, or is indecipherable), was not included in the analyses due to insufficient data.

With regard to analysing the total number of items, all of the 37 participants' plans were included in the analysis on each of the four occasions. With regard to analysing the proportion of items, only recruits who prepared plans on each of the four occasions were included in the analyses as calculations generating the proportion of items required data on each occasion (*n* = 23).

Main Findings

The aim of the present study was to compare the content of plans across four occasions in order to understand what recruits plan for and how training influences the content of their plans. Specifically, the proportion of items in particular categories was analysed to provide insight into the aspects of interviews that recruits emphasise in their planning. Statistical analyses revealed significant differences in the total number of items across the four time periods, and significant differences in the proportion of items included in 7 of the 11 categories: Pre-existing information, Elements, Defences, Legal procedure, Interview procedure, Rapport building and Interviewing technique.

With regard to the total number of items included in plans, there was a significant increase in the number of items included at Times 3 and 4 (*M* = 53.73, *SD* = 21.22 and *M* = 41.19, *SD* = 21.45 respectively), compared to Time 1 (*M* = 9.03, *SD* = 8.89). As no training had been completed when interviews were conducted at Time 1, it is not surprising to see an increase in the number of items at Times 3 and 4 by which time recruits had received legal, procedural and interview training. There was also a significant increase in the number of items included at Times 3 and 4 compared to Time 2 (*M* = 13.68, *SD* = 7.32), and a significant decrease in the number of items included in plans at Time 4 compared to Time 3. This decrease in items included in plans at Time 4 may be explained by previous findings that the amount of knowledge retained from training diminishes over time (Madden, 2006).

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The final interviews in the present study were conducted 8 or 10 weeks after interview training, and the findings suggest the need for regular maintenance and feedback following training (Price & Roberts, 2011).

With regard to the proportion of items in particular categories, trained recruits placed most of the emphasis of their plans on Incident details, Interviewing technique, and Interview procedure (see Table 1 for associated means and standard deviations). While the proportion of items related to Incident details remained consistently high across the four occasions, the proportion of items related to Interviewing technique and Interview procedure changed following training: there was a significant increase in the proportion of items included in plans at Times 3 and 4 compared to Time 1, and at Time 4 compared to Time 2. With regard to Interviewing technique, there was also a significant increase in the proportion of items included in plans at Time 3 compared to Time 2. These findings are encouraging for trainers as the content in this category is directly related to the content of the interview training received at the Academy prior to interviews conducted at Time 3. With regard to increasing the proportion of items in plans relating to Interview procedure, the findings suggest that recruits become more cognisant of aspects of the interview procedure that they would need to remember (and may be likely to forget) in the interview itself, and are therefore including these in their plans..

The proportion of items included in plans related to Legal procedure and Pre-existing information followed the same pattern, only in opposite directions. There was a significant increase in the proportion of items related to Legal procedure at Times 3 and 4 compared to Times 1 and 2, and a significant decrease in the proportion of items related to Pre-existing information at Times 3 and 4 compared to Times 1 and 2. The decrease in the proportion of items relating to Pre-existing information is somewhat expected as recruits became more familiar with the process and were able to remember the small number of details provided prior to the interview without making notes on their plans. With regard to Elements, there was a significant increase in the proportion of items included in plans at Times 3 and 4 compared to Time 1. Finally, with regard to Defences and Rapport building, there was a significant increase in the proportion of items included in plans at Times 3 and 4 compared to Time 2. This increase in the proportion of items related to Elements and Defences at Time 3 rather than Time 2 may indicate that the interview training itself is where recruits are synthesising all aspects of their training, including legal and procedural training. Furthermore, the delayed increase in the proportion of items following interview training rather than following legal and procedural training may indicate that interview training has resulted in recruits' changing the emphasis of their plans to reflect a more holistic approach to the interview. Indeed, the finding with regard to items related to Rapport building appears to be a positive indication of the emphasis on rapport building in interview training. This finding is of particular importance as rapport building with the interviewee is essential for maintaining trust and confidence (Roberts, 2010) and has been associated with increased interview quality (Walsh & Bull, 2012a). The non-significant findings with regard to Introduction, Witness demographics, Interview demographics and Incident details may be explained by recruits' consistent confidence in relation to these aspects of the interview across the four occasions.

Conclusion

The findings from the present study indicate that recruits emphasise planning around the details of the incident to the exclusion of other categories of content. Previous research has found that untrained police recruits focused on the Account stage of the interview to the exclusion of the Engage and explain and Closure stages (Scott, Pedretti, Tudor-Owen, & Bull, 2013; Scott, Tudor-Owen, Pedretti, & Bull, 2014). If this finding is considered in light of the findings of the present study, it can be hypothesised that what recruits emphasise in their plans is reflected in what is emphasised in their interviews, with recruits consistently planning proportionately more for aspects of the interview related to the Account stage (e.g., Incident details). Given the finding that recruits' 'natural' interviewing emphasises the acquisition of information pertaining to the incident itself, it is of critical importance that recruits' training highlights the importance of planning for other aspects of the interview.

While the purpose of the interview is to obtain a full and accurate account of events, it is important that interviewers are planning for how this account will be elicited, and maintaining awareness that the witness may not be co-operative. As such, plans need to provide for flexibility within the interview. To this end, it is encouraging that recruits included significantly more items relating to Interview procedure and Interviewing technique following interview training.

Table 1 Proportion of Items: Means and Standard Deviations

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Introduction	.01 (.04)	01 (.02)	.03 (.03)	.02 (.02)
Witness demographics	.16 (.18)	.21 (.26)	.04 (.06)	.05 (.09)
Interview demographics	.05 (.09)	.04 (.07)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.02)
Pre-existing information*	.16 (.22)	.11 (.09)	.03 (.03)	.02 (.03)
Incident details	.56 (.29)	.45 (.25)	.42 (.15)	.38 (.19)
Elements*	.00 (.01)	.08 (.15)	.03 (.03)	.03 (.04)
Defences*	.02 (.04)	.00 (.00)	.03 (.03)	.03 (.03)
Legal procedure*	.00 (.00)	.01 (.02)	.05 (.04)	.06 (.06)
Interview procedure*	.01 (.03)	.05 (.12)	.13 (.08)	.14 (.08)
Rapport building*	.01 (.04)	.00 (.01)	.03 (.03)	.04 (.03)
Interviewing technique*	.02 (.05)	.04 (.06)	.18 (.12)	.20 (.12)
Total	*1.00*	*1.00*	*.99*	*.99*

*Note. *Categories with significant differences in the proportion of items included in plans across the four time periods.*

Analysis of the literature reveals that interviewers (both police officers and benefit fraud investigators) believe that Preparation and planning is an important stage of the interview process (Cherryman & Bull, 2001; Soukara et al., 2002; Walsh & Bull, 2011). It is also clear that those surveyed in relation to planning in their own practice do not necessarily believe it is a well-developed skill. Walsh and Bull (2011) discuss the need for interviewers to be trained in self-evaluation, as it appears to be a skill that is learnt, rather than one that is naturally occurring. In the same way, it can be argued that interviewers need to be taught how to plan.

The present study was limited by confining analysis to the content of written plans. In reality, there is likely to be much planning that occurs and is undocumented, for example, in reading and analysing case briefs and contemplating the prospective interview. However, in the academic context it is difficult to obtain measurements of these aspects of planning. Furthermore, this study is the first to consider the written plans of recruits in detail and allows for a more authentic analysis of planning than has previously been reported.

When interpreting findings, it is essential to remember that recruits were interviewing witnesses of a mock crime and, as such, may have placed less emphasis on the more 'human' elements of interviewing, for example, offering support or follow-up assistance. Research in this area would be further extended through the analysis of plans utilised in real life interviews conducted by police. Further research examining the influence of the content of plans on subsequent interviews would also provide additional insight into the efficacy of planning. Notwithstanding the limitations described, the present study provides a uniquely intricate understanding of what recruits plan for and how this changes during training.

Examining the plans of recruits at such an early stage in their career provides valuable insights into their skill in Preparation and planning. As has been noted elsewhere, in order to obtain the maximum benefit of training it is important to target the training at the level of the participant, tailoring the approach where appropriate (Powell, Wright, & Clark, 2010). As such, findings from the present study can be used to enhance the utility of existing training programmes for recruits, and to inform future training of established interviewers.

It is clear that interview training corresponds with changes to the content of recruits' plans and that recruits plan proportionately more for items relating to the incident than any other area. Training that emphasises the inclusion of items related to other areas may correspond with more balanced interviews. Training that is tailored towards planning for specific underdeveloped aspects of the interview (e.g., the Engage and explain, and Closure stages) is likely to be effective in changing the emphasis in plans, as is training in planning for interviews generally.

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Migrants in Police Forces:
A Sociological Attempt to Get a Broader Picture

Professor Dr. Jonas Grutzpalk, FHöV NRW (Bielefeld)

Abstract

In Europe there has been a lot of talk about the integration of migrants into the local and national police forces in the last quarter of a century. In my article I propose to practice what philosophers call epoché (ἐποχή = retention) and suggest that we need to take a sociological step back to get a broader picture of what seems to be the problem in this debate.

Sociologically speaking the question of the integration of migrants into police forces is the question of the integration of minorities into organisations. So from a sociological point of view the question is a rather general one: how are minorities integrated into organisations?

Introduction

In the early 1990s Europe, as in many other countries across the world, discovered that it had become an immigration zone. Whilst having been the source of massive emigration in the previous centuries the 20th century saw a growing number of immigrants namely from former European colonies and from neighbouring states.

The 2nd World War had displaced millions of people and the political divide between east and west had drawn much of the public's attention towards other topics. But in the 1990s finally were the years when Europe started debating the "immigration-question" on a large scale. This of course could not leave the police untouched.

In May 1996 a conference under the title 'Policing for a multi-ethnic society; principles, practice and partnership' was held in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. During the conference, a group of approximately 120 participants, consisting of police officers, representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and officials from local, national and European authorities agreed on some principles now known as the "Rotterdam Charter".

In this paper the participants argued for an increased employment of immigrant policemen and women. Their argumentation runs thus:

"1. The Police as a Mirror of Society: The composition of the population in most European cities is changing rapidly and dramatically. To establish their importance as a legitimate force in society, the police have a professional interest in reflecting the same ethnic diversity in their organisation. One of the most important means to reach this goal is recruitment.

2. Enhancing Professional Standards: Recruitment of police officers from minority ethnic communities will have an added cultural value that will be beneficial to the police department as well as to the society as a whole. Ethnic diversity can benefit the entire organisation and as a result promote professionalism.

3. The Changing Labour Market: In most cities, the work force has become more and more multicultural. At present, half of the labour force already consists of minorities in several large European cities. The police can therefore no longer afford to ignore the growing 'pool of talent' that minority ethnic communities represent in the job market." (Rotterdam Charter 1996)

This is quite convincing but when it comes to putting this agenda in place the police forces encounter interesting problems, which have been researched and described affluently for the German case by the MORS-project ("Migranten in Organisationen von Recht und Sicherheit"). Amongst the findings these might be the most interesting: a) politicians talk about integrations, but it is assimilation they want, b) police leadership talks about a "added cultural value" without being able to describe what they actually mean by that, c) immigrants tend to "over-integrate" in order to underline their readiness to be part of the police-subculture (Behr 2007; 10f.).

So whilst there is a lot of (political) good will and foresight there also is a lot of uncertainty as to what might be meant by "integration" and to what kind of surplus police might gain from employing immigrants.

I therefor propose to practice what philosophers call epoché (ἐποχή = gr. reservation, retention) and I suggest to take a sociological step back to get a broader picture of what seems to be the problem: that organisations tend to be exclusive, that they are keen to set boundaries between themselves and "others". That organisational insiders communicate by using codes. That machines seem to be a part of the social structure of many organisations. That whilst we plan organisations their inner social life sometimes remains a mystery even to the planner.

Generally speaking the question of the integration of migrants in police forces is the question of the integration of minorities into organisations. Police is just one of many possible organisations and migrants are just one of the many possible minorities that can (or cannot) be integrated into an organisational body. So from a sociological point of view the question is a rather general one: how are minorities integrated into organisations?

Different sociological approaches lead to different perspectives on organisational reality. We see that it is made out of different – sometimes contradicting – ingredients: there are the official sets of rules that construct the hierarchies, there are the unofficial codes, rumours, rope teams etc. that create invisible paths of communication, there are insiders and outsiders who might communicate in different ways about the same things etc.

This article cannot be more than a brief glance at what some branches of sociology have to say on organisations and minorities within them. The topic of migrants in police forces might invite us to jump to conclusions all too quickly. For the sake of some academic distance to the topic I will therefore introduce some general considerations on minorities and organisations that might be helpful to get a broader understanding of immigrants in the police forces.

Minorities

So to start with I shall have a close look at what can actually be meant by "minority".

First of all, a minority is a group of people, which is – in a numerical sense – smaller than the surrounding majority. This might sound all too easy as a definition but it shows that potentially every human being in a society can be a member of a minority every now and again without even realising it. In Germany for example where half of the population is 40 years or older, young people form a mathematical minority. The Protestants who for a long period in history formed the majority in Germany are now at about 30% of the population. But still nobody would regard them as a minority as one would do with Muslims (5%) or Jews (0,25%).

A minority does not always have to be underprivileged as we learn from Marxism-Leninism. According to this particular sociology, it is the owning classes that rule the majority of the population by means of the state (Assmann e.a. 1983: S. 239). We will not get deeper into this topic as this owning class is not the kind of minority we deal with when talking about "migrants as police officers". But it is important to notice that "minority" does not automatically stand for "lack of power".

According to Kurt Wolzendorff (1921; 8f.) the problem of *national* minorities "historically only came up with the rise of the democratic idea. (…) Only when the state is understood as a project of the community of The People the issue of nationality becomes a problem." It is thus in the early stages of a democratic development, that minorities become a topic on the political agenda. In the German case, the Slavic Sorbs (some call them the German Aborigines) who live in Saxony and Brandenburg became centre of a debate about their "integration" into a German nation state. Other democratic nation states know similar problems. One might just think oft he Kurds in Turkey or the Bretons in France and many other national minorities.

This example shows that the definition of a minority depends very much on the majority. Only those minorities are being talked about that are seen as such by the majority. There are quite a few minorities (for example academics, truck drivers, drug addicts) nobody ever would regard as such. So what we have to do is to look, how the surrounding majorities are talking about minorities.

The terms being used by the majorities to describe minorities often reflect the urge to help them integrate. For example the term "affirmative action" aims at the "prohibition of discrimination (…) because of race, color, religion, or national origin" (Executive Order 10925 of March 1961). Some years later the term "gender mainstreaming" was coined to describe the will of the United Nations "to achieve gender equality" (ECOSOC 1996).

"Diversity management" is an even broader approach towards minorities and describes religious, sexual, national and ethnic differences (Karakus 2008). Its aim is to acquire "the necessary knowledge and dynamic skills to manage such differences appropriately and effectively" (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005). In recent time the term of "intercultural competence" has reached broader use. It is meant to describe "the ability to interact effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations" (Bertelsmann-Stiftung 2006).

By looking at this stream of development one gets the impression that the actual minority, which is being talked about in these terms, becomes more and more opaque. Whereas "race, color, religion, or national origin" or "gender" are easily understood, the terms "diversity" and "culture" seem to reveal a problem: the majority does not really seem to know what minority it is actually talking about. In fact introducing the term of "visible minorities" into statistical language in Canada has envisaged this problem: "This category includes persons who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour and who do not report being Aboriginal" (Statistics Canada 2014).

In Europe there seems to be a tendency to talk about "migrants" when talking about significant minorities. This term nevertheless is not very clear either. A lot of inhabitants of nowadays Germany could justly be called "migrants" – but a lot of these people do not seem to be meant, when the term comes into usage:

"After the war up to twelve Million (German) refugees from the east had to be settled. (...) Ten years later came the first immigrant workers: Italians, Spaniards, and Greeks and a little later Turks, Portugueses and Yugoslavs. Then came refugees from the eastern European neighbouring countries (...) and then Germans (who had formed a minority in Russia for centuries) – about three million of them. 2,5 million asylum seekers mainly from Africa and from the Near East were integrated as much as 350.000 Serbs, Croatians, Macedonians and Albanians fleeing from the Balkan war" (Fleischhauer 2009; S. 262).

The term "flexecutive" shows us that there is indeed of kind of migration (mainly of the owning classes as a Marxist-Leninist would put it) that is by no means regarded as problematic or even worth talking about (Terkessidis 2010; 23).

When we look into sociological network theory the problem of minorities becomes tricky. The findings in this area make it plausible to understand society not like a firm body politic but as a loose association of a myriad of individuals (Latour 2009; 51). Within small social networks we can observe a thorough interpenetration of actions which is based namely on imitation (Christiakis/Fowler 2010). "Integration" in the sense of network research is a connection between independent networks (Christiakis/Fowler 2010, 159).

Networks are often connected with each other quite loosely and it is people one might feel tempted to call "hubs" that interconnect them (Christiakis/Fowler 2010, 208). Sociological network theory makes it difficult to even speak of "minorities" as there are no social entities that "integrate" others but only connections between social actors (and, to make it even more complicated: between human actors and non human actants (Latour 2005, 65)).

So maybe it is easier to ask people directly what they think a minority is. And this is what I did when I tutored a student's working group on a research project entitled: "Aged Migrants in German Communities". In fact I asked them to create an ideal type of a "migrant". Max Weber invented this sociological trick of creating a non-existing person (the "ideal type") that carries every feature of what one would expect if they were speaking for example of a typical "capitalist" (Weber 1988, 55). Here is what my students wrote on the typical migrant:

"He is a first generation immigrant and part of the lower middle class. To him tradition, culture, and religion are particularly important. His command of German is rather weak. Before retiring he has earned his living with hard physical work. He lives with his extended tribal family."

So what the term "migrant" seems to describe for my students is in fact a certain social milieu in which money is rare and family and tradition are regarded as important. But this is only half the picture. When I asked my students to paint a migrant they thought was typical they drew a picture of a moustached dark-skinned man followed by his veiled wife.

Organisations

There is a long tradition of the sociology of organisations and it would be pointless to even try to retell its history here. But some brief affirmations from the early years of sociological reasoning on organisations may be retold for the sake of getting at least a broad image of what can be meant by "organisation":

First of all the sociology of organisations describes an organisation that "differs from a community in the same way a society does" (Meyers Lexikon 1927; Vol. 9, 58). Ferdinand Tönnies (1921) introduced the differentiation of "community" (of blood, place, and spirit) and "society" (a voluntary association, in which the common currency is money) in 1887. We thus learn that an organisation is *not* a community. This point is relevant when looking into the question of how minorities are integrated into organisations.

Even though a lot of people are concerned with its doings "the sociological opposite to an organization is the mass" (Meyers Lexikon 1927; Vol. 9, 58). Gustave Le Bon put down some general observations on the nature of human masses in 1895. In his famous book he had claimed: "La foule (…) est un être provisoire, formé d'éléments hétérogènes qui pour un instant se sont soudés" (Le Bon 1912; 15). So we know now that an organisation is not like that at all. This idea was pushed ahead by "scientific management" that connected every dot in an organogram with a specific duty as part of the organisational workflow.

More up-to-date sociologists made the important discovery that it often is the unofficial organisations within the official organisational body that seem to keep an organisational knowledge management running (Glückler 2013).

The System-Theory describes organisations as systems that tend to be autopoietic and closed towards their surrounding umwelt (Baecker 1999). An organisation might thus be seen as a closed shop in which its members communicate solely on organisational matters. Their umwelt is regarded with a certain distance and is categorised in a very superficial manner in order to reduce its complexity. This general description of an organisation seems to fit with the following observations on the police:

"According to the seminal work of William Westley (1970), the police subculture is a crucial concept in the explanation of police behavior and attitudes. The subculture, in his view, characterizes the public as hostile, not to be trusted, and potentially violent; this outlook requires secrecy, mutual support, and unity on the part of the police. (…) Van Maanen (1978) explored the attempt to identify people with whom police must interact and identified three types: 'suspicious persons', 'assholes,' and 'know-nothings.'" (Scaramella/Cox/McCamey 2003; 99, 105)

The very anti-Durkheimian Actor-Network-Theory – as we have already seen – points out that a social network consists of people as much as of things (Latour 2009). This observation is particularly interesting when it comes to understanding the cooperation of machines and people in a given organisation (Grutzpalk 2013). In a research I did on the use of computers by the police I nonetheless observed that it seems to be the society of policemen and -women that integrates machines into its culture rather than living an associated social life with them. They tend to "ask" their computers questions that support their theories for example on a suspect rather than "discussing" the matter with the machine. So I tend to agree with Durkheim (1903, 39) when he argues that human societies tend to integrate things (and machines) into their social schemes of sense and order rather than adapting to them.

Minorities in Organisations

It is quite depressing to read the pessimistic accounts of some management theoreticians on the integration of minorities in organisations. William G. Ouchi for example describes an organization as a "clan" – and thus as a "community" in the Tönnies'ian sense:

"A clan is a culturally homogeneous organization, one in which most members share a common set of values or objectives plus beliefs about how to coordinate effort in order to reach common objectives." (Krell 1996; 337)

An organisation seen in such a manner does not support otherness and is extremely reluctant in tolerating aberrations from the organisational scheme. Minorities must be reflected as inimical parts of the non-organisational world (Krell 1996; 338).

This reminds me on Georg Simmels reflections on "The Stranger" – a social figure Simmel (1987; 63-70) knew a lot about by experience. According to his observation a stranger is someone one can do business with but who always remains suspicious of barbarism. He is also ambivalent in as much his presence might evoke passion as much as delusion. He might be someone one can share one's secrets with but only under the condition that the stranger remains such – only outsiders can be trusted with the inner secrets of an insider. So from Simmels point of view the integration of a stranger into an organisation only works, when the stranger ceases to be regarded as such.

Frantz Fanon made this point even more clear when he argued that members of ethnic minorities are always regarded with admiring curiosity *and* condescendence (Fanon 1953; 237-248). Later he even argued that this could only be changed by the use of violence (Fanon 1961). He argued that the stereotypes concerning ethnic minorities were so strong that only the use physical force could destroy them. Only after that would people realize how wrong they had been in their thinking about the otherness of the others (Fanon 1975; 180).

A less violent idea to achieve the same aim has been proposed by those who argue in favour of quota. Norway is famous for its 40%-quota for female board members introduced in 2003 and extended to private firms in 2005. What is less known is that Norway also introduced a "father's quota" in 1993: This "fedrekvote" is a policy instrument that reserves a part of the parental period for fathers. The idea of both quota systems is to get hold on gender-stereotypes and change them gradually by example. The Norwegian quota systems are "all about changing values" explains Arni Hole (2013), Director General of the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion. Hole argues that gender stereotypes are so harmful to economy and society that they needed to be tackled by the means of quota.

This value-change seems to be working out quite nicely: According to an international study Norwegian family fathers engage in 64 minutes domestic work daily whereas their German counterparts only take 37 minutes to unload dishwashers, vacuum clean the living room or hand wash woolen jumpers. Norwegian fathers look after their children for 74 minutes per day. German fathers spend 68 minutes with their children (Boll 2012).

Conclusion

What is important about this discussion on quota is that it brings us back to the first question on what a minority actually is. We see that quota do in fact change values and I would even argue that they can change things for a better.

The problem is that terms like "diversity management" and "intercultural competence" indicate that the possibilities of quota systems are limited. Okşan Karakus quotes 18 "Metropolitan Police Support Associations" that cooperate in the police's diversity management scheme. They represent national (Irish, Italian, Turkish, Greek), sexual (gay), ethnic (Black, Asian) and religious (Catholic, Jew, Muslim) and gender minorities. For simple mathematical reasons quota cannot be introduced for every one of these groups.

So quota cannot further the integration of every imaginable minority into an organization. But still this must be affirmed: values will need to be changed in order to integrate minorities into organizations. But I could imagine that it is not by looking only at the minorities that organizations will find ways of integrating them. In the end an organization does have a reason of existence. Maybe it helps to keep that in mind in order to let stereotypes go that hinder a good performance.

What we learn from this brief tour de force through the history of sociological ideas on minorities in organisations might be this:

1. A minority a not a factual social entity but something that is defined by a majority.

2. The problem of integration of a minority into an organisation depends very much on what is deemed to be in its way.

3. In contrast to what early sociologists thought an organisation is not at all a rational societal machine that can integrate everything and everyone. It is a living organism that upholds stereotypes for the sake of inner integration. An organisation is thus a system that integrates its members by closing up towards the structural *Umwelt*. There are – with other words – parts of reality that are collectively ignored.

4. Organisations tend to distrust members of their own structures when they are regarded as "foreign" or "strange".

5. Imposing structural changes like quota *can* change the stereotypes reigning in an organisation.

Police of course is a special organisation as it guarantees the monopoly of force held by the state. An organisation which has such powers and who's members are allowed to use (and suffer) force is of course different from an organisations producing and selling shoes. The centripetal forces of integration in a police organisation are far more driven by the experience of fear and uncertainty than in other businesses.

The use of force moulds a feeling of cohesion that is in some way far more simular to that found in military units than in the shoe-factory mentioned above. According to the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1960, 456) it is the collective experience of violence that binds groups more effectively than anything else. If that is true it is particularly true for the police. But still all organisations – whether selling shoes or administrating force – have to deal with the problem that they have to integrate "otherness" and that they must find a proper balance between individual liberty and social cohesion.

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About the Author

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Trends in Low Light Surveillance – Peak Tactical

Your company operates globally assisting governments improve their covert surveillance. What are the emerging trends in officer-conducted surveillance?

Now that most low light devices have achieved acceptable levels of performance we see a need to understand how to develop and prioritise a surveillance plan, to adopt new surveillance tactics that negate criminal counter measures and to select those technologies that augment conventional surveillance methodologies.

Because we know you work across both professions what are some differences you've observed between Law Enforcement and Military surveillance?

There are many differences in the context and threat levels; one is nearly always dynamic and increasingly operates in a sensor rich environment, one is more a blend of these things. Also notable is how Australia undervalues the skill levels law enforcement possesses in the covert arena compared with the recognition military specialists enjoy. What's striking though are the high risks individual officers can operate under while performing surveillance and frankly that's a testimony to their courage. For this reason we'd like to see more emphasis on rehearsing contingency actions when a member is badly compromised because unlike the military we can't fight a member out of a permissive urban environment, nor can we resort to overwhelming force to extract someone compromised in a roof space.

Doesn't the recruitment of ex servicemen and women provide access to new tactics?

With respect you need to be very careful grand-parenting military experience directly across to Law Enforcement. We are very, very conscious of the accountability of law enforcement to its legislation governing surveillance and what is lawful. Military freedoms of action are more permissive than law enforcement will ever enjoy. And the different command cultures also have an impact.

Up front, what makes your products unique?

Great sensitivity in true low light conditions- as one of our Police Tactical Teams found when conducting close reconnaissance of a rural drug lab, discovering they could detect active IR perimeter alarms far earlier using our technology. Our R&D supplies the world's most powerful officer-portable and weapon mounted IR devices used to greatly extend operating ranges.

We must acknowledge this is a two way street as we're fortunate drawing on an experience pool that's continuously refreshed by our police, security and military customers. This gives us a head start identifying global trends in counter surveillance and thus selecting which technologies to shortlist into R&D to maintain tactical advantage.

Are you targeting the High End user in Law Enforcement?

Not alone; we acknowledge budgets are tight in law enforcement but costs have fallen steeply and these days the value in officers having access to low light aids is proven, say at least one NVD per shift in cars patrolling high crime areas. As an example of this we had a trials device across in NZ and that patrol, responding to a break and enter, used the sample to locate 5 suspects hiding in a tree line across a sports field. So low light surveillance devices have equal applicability in general duties policing and not just specialised surveillance units.

Any closing advice?

We have a saying that on any given day our opponent can be better than we are, because remembering this stops us becoming complacent. If we put that into an Australian context, the knowledge Eastern European criminals already use sophisticated covert devices here means they are well trained how to conduct counter-surveillance. It would be naive of us to continue to operate as though these developments aren't spreading through the criminal underclass and that should be generating responses to use greater standoff distances, compensate for this with specialised technology and adopt tactics such as step up groups.

Crime and Tourism: The Police Response

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Abstract

Tourism has long been recognised as a crime generator, with resorts honeypots for offenders. Much of the early research on tourism and crime was conducted in Australia, and this and other studies suggested that many tourist resorts suffer higher than average crime rates and that tourists are disproportionately victimised, but that tourists also often cause crime and disorder problems. This poses a dilemma for areas seeking to expand their tourism industry and in many resort areas the police have worked in local partnerships to alleviate the problems. However, there is surprisingly little hard data available for resort areas to allow policy makers to develop and evaluate appropriate responses. Using the author's experience as external advisor to a recent European initiative, this article considers the contribution of the police on two levels: firstly as providers of robust data on the relationship between tourism and crime; and secondly on responding to the problems identified by developing effective policies.

Keywords: *Tourism and security; crime prevention; official statistics; policing tourism.*

Introduction

Cheaper air fares, more leisure time and greater disposable incomes have seen more people travelling than ever before. Despite persistent economic challenges, this growth in tourism is expected to continue (UNWTO 2013). This is true of both Australasia and Europe.[1] But this expansion is not without its costs. There is an unwelcomed but close relationship between tourism and crime. As early research in Australia demonstrated, tourism can act as a crime generator, and while not all tourist centres experience high rates of crime and disorder, many do (Kelly 1993; Prideaux 1996; Walmsley, Boskovic and Pigram 1983).

A similar picture is evident elsewhere in the world (Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986; de Albuquerque and McElroy 1999; Pizam and Mansfeld 1996). Within resorts, tourists may experience high rates of victimisation (Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986; Mawby, Brunt and Hambly 1999; Stangeland 1998), but tourists may also contribute to the crime and disorder problem. The problems associated with the schoolies in Australia is a case in point (Homel et al 1997; Scott 2006), but is only one of a number of public disorder problems associated with tourists (Mawby 2012), which can in turn lead to resentment by local residents (Davis, Allen and Cosenza 1988; King, Pizam, and Milman 1993; Ross 1992; Teye, Sönmez and Sirakaya 2002). Additionally, offenders from outside the area may move to tourist resorts in high season attracted to these honeypots by the 'rich pickings' offered by careless tourists (Inciardi 1976), and terrorists may equally target tourist areas which are seen as soft targets, as the Bali bombings[2] and more recent Bangkok and Tunisian attacks[3] illustrate. Not surprisingly, as a result, there is evidence that potential visitors may be deterred from holidaying in areas that gain a questionable reputation (de Albuquerque and McElroy 1999; Ajagunna 2006; Alleyne and Boxill 2003; Brayshaw 1995; King 2003; Pizam and Mansfeld 1996). The impact of crime in tourist resorts is thus widespread: affecting tourists, local people, and the tourist industry itself.

The need to adopt tourism-based crime policies was recognised by the UN over 20 years ago at the 1991 UNWTO conference in Buenos Aires. However, policies aimed at increasing tourist security are the exception rather than the rule (see for example: Bach 1996; Botterill et al 2013; Crotts 1996; Jones 2010; Mawby 2014a; Pizam, Tarlow and Bloom 1997; Prideaux and Dunn 1995; Schiebler et al 1996). One problem that underpins this lack of local policies is the dearth of credible data on the precise association, at the local level, between tourism and crime and disorder. This article uses examples from author's involvement with the European Forum for Urban Security (EFUS) initiative on 'Security and Tourism'[4] to address the need for more and better data at the local level. It then uses examples from the initiative to suggest policy options that might be considered.

The information available to policy makers and practitioners: the reality and the ideal

The information available to local policy makers and practitioners largely consists of official statistics (crime data) and survey data.

Crime statistics are widely available. They reveal the amount and rates of crime, variations by geographical location, and variations by offence type. They also include 'victimless' crime and corporate/business crime. Nevertheless, official crime statistics have been consistently criticised by criminologists (Coleman and Moynihan 1996), particularly since they are dependent upon crimes being reported to the police (usually by victims) and recorded as crimes by the police. The so called 'dark figure' of unreported crime is acknowledged as considerable, especially for less serious crimes, crimes where the offender is known to the victim, and crimes that do not result in an insurance claim. This dark figure may be even greater for tourist victims where the time and inconvenience involved in reporting crime eats into vacation time.

Accepting these limitations, police crime statistics do allow us to compare tourist resorts with other areas or assess seasonal variations. But, given that the amount of crime in an area is dependent upon the numbers of people there, as potential offenders or victims, it is notable that in few tourist resorts are the tourist figures included as denominators. This means that where visitors comprise a significant proportion of the available population, crime rates based on resident population figures are overstated, taking no account of the fact that the population at risk is swelled and seasonal rates distorted. The fact that the *amount* of crime increases during the tourist season is thus no guarantee that the crime *rate* has risen.

Moreover, in the case of tourism-related crimes official statistics lack additional detail: for example, police data rarely identify the residential statuses of victims or offenders, i.e. whether or not they are locals or visitors, and if the latter their reason for traveling to the area. With regard to tourist victims, one notable early exception to this was Chesney-Lind and Lind's (1986) research in Hawaii.

However, in only one of the seven cities in the EFUS initiative was this data recorded. In Barcelona, from the beginning of 2014, the police have recorded whether or not crime victims were tourists. Figures for January-March 2014 indicated that 545 Spanish tourists were victim, as were 1,733 foreign tourists. However, given that tourists usually spend only a few days in a resort, comparing relative risk is more problematic.

Given the problems associated with police data, victim surveys became popular in the 1980s in many developed societies and subsequently the international crime victim survey (ICVS) provided a comparison of crime patterns across a range of societies (see for example: van Dijk, van Kesteren and Smit 2008). They have the advantage, *inter alia,* of: including crimes that were not reported to the police; allowing victims' experiences (e.g. of the police response) to be investigated; and incorporating victims' feelings (e.g. perceptions of safety; willingness to stay/revisit). However, they rarely include information on victimless crimes or crimes against businesses, or victims' awareness of 'their' offenders.

Moreover, conventional local victim surveys focus on local residents, effectively disenfranchising visitors. Dedicated tourist victim surveys have been conducted – for example Mawby, Brunt and Hambly's (1999) survey of British tourists' last holiday abroad – but such surveys provide little detail of particular tourist destinations. Alternatively, surveys may target visitors while staying in a particular resort; during the EFUS initiative, such surveys were carried out in both Brussels and Barcelona. Or at the end of the holiday; for example Bras' (2013) sample of holidaymakers leaving the Algarve from Faro airport, and a recent survey at Istanbul airport[5]. Two problems are endemic to these local tourist victim surveys, however. Firstly, there is a problem with obtaining a sampling frame. For example, in Brussels, using hotel guests omits day visitors, who may be Belgian tourists traveling to Brussels for the day or foreign tourists staying outside Brussels who travel there for the day.

Similarly, surveys conducted at airports exclude those who travel by other means (boat; car). Secondly, even if such surveys are conducted at the end of the visit, the time frame is likely to be very short. The result of this is that the proportion of respondents who have been victimized will be inevitably low. For example, the latest crime survey for England and Wales suggests that in 2013-14 the average respondent has a 2% chance of experiencing a violent crime, the average household a 3% chance of experiencing a burglary, and the average vehicle-owning household a 4% chance of experiencing a vehicle-related theft (Office for National Statistics 2015).

Translating these figures into a 2 week window of opportunity for the average tourist is not just a matter of dividing these figures by 26 because repeat victimization increases the proportion likely to be victimized in a shorter time frame. But if we allow for this and double the rate[6], then if British tourists' levels of risk on holiday were no higher nor lower than at home we might expect a sample of 1,000 tourists to register no more than two violent crimes and four burglaries, and for 1,000 tourists using a vehicle during their holiday, no more than six vehicle-related crimes. And if tourists' risks were four times those of the local population, we might still expect to be told of less than forty such crimes in total.

Moreover, population surveys are relatively expensive to administer on a regular basis. Nevertheless, three types of questionnaire survey might be particularly useful to inform policies: surveys of tourists; surveys of local residents; and surveys of known victims.

A number of cities in the EFUS initiative incorporated surveys of tourists. In Brussels, a self-selective survey is available online and administered through the major's office, and during the evaluation period a dedicated survey was conducted of tourists staying in a sample of hotels. Similar surveys were conducted in Barcelona and Brasov. While as expected these surveys unearthed few crime victims, they provided useful information on the types of visitor coming to the respective cities and their perceptions of the cities as safe/unsafe places. Indeed, such surveys are more useful as measures of *perceptions of safety* than of *crime experiences*. They are especially useful to assess feelings of safety, both compared with other perceptions of the resort/city and vis a vis spatial and temporal variations. In these respects, it is particularly useful to be able to compare tourists' preconceptions with their views at the end of their visit. This may involve surveys aimed at arrivals and departures or surveys that ask departing tourists to consider their original preconceptions of the city as well as their retrospective views.

Surveys of local residents are also useful (see Mawby 2012) as earlier Australian research illustrates (Ross 1992). These might incorporate questions on victimisation and questions on perceptions of safety (in different locations and at different times of the day or year), as well as views on the costs-benefits of tourism to the city, allowing policy-makers to respond to locals' concerns in planning future developments. None of the cities in the EFUS programme incorporated surveys with this level of detail. The Brasov evaluation, however, did include: an on-line public debate on the issue of assuring security in tourism, using a forum of 100 local residents; two focus groups of 10 local people each, to study the social-economic impact of tourism; a focus group of 10-12 stakeholders; and a public debate on security

in tourism, involving over 60 specialists in security and tourism, representatives of the local administration, residents, tourists etc. In general, though, specialist surveys of residents would enable local governments to make a stronger case for their policies and adopt tourism policies that are acceptable to local people.

Finally, while surveys of tourists who have reported their victimisations to the police were not deployed in any cities in the EFUS initiative, such surveys could be an invaluable source of information on tourists' experiences as victims, their views on how they were treated by criminal justice and tourist-based agencies (e.g. holiday reps.) and the impact of these on their future travel plans. While there is no primary research from elsewhere to answer such questions, some victim assistance agencies, like the *Irish Tourist Assistance Service (ITAS),* have carried out surveys of victims (Mawby 2014b) (see below).

In contrast to population surveys, enhancing police records may be a relatively low cost means of informing policy. As already noted, police data provides little detail of either victims' or offenders' residential statuses. There are a number of ways this might be improved.

With regard to the victim, it is important to record not only whether the victim is a tourist and their country of origin, but also more generally victims' residential status. This can be described according to whether victims are: local residents; second home owners; or temporary residents, e.g. seasonal workers, holidaymakers, or there on business. The last four of these are relevant from a tourist perspective.

As already noted, there is widespread acceptance that tourists are more at risk of victimisation than are local people. However, there is little evidence of the risks faced by other 'temporary citizens'. Business visitors comprised a significant proportion of temporary residents in the cities included in the EFUS initiative, and there is a suggestion that like leisure tourists they are targeted by criminals (Dixon and Newman 1998), but in none of the seven cities were any measures taken by the police to distinguish them as a separate group. Equally, while seasonal workers are crucial to the tourism industry (Prideaux 1996), there is no evidence of whether or not they experience high victimisation rates. There is more evidence regarding second home owners, with Mawby and Gorgenyi (1997) finding that owners of dachas outside the city of Miskolc (Hungary) were particularly at risk of break-

ins, and there is impressionistic evidence that in some areas where nonresidents have bought property, pushing up housing prices and undermining local culture, second home are targeted (Bunyan 2007; Carter 2004; Marsden 2011; Urquhart 2013). However, as for the other subgroups considered here, second home owners are not normally tagged in police statistics.

As with victims, offenders' status in the area can be subdivided according to whether the offender is a temporary resident, for example a seasonal worker, or a visitor to the area. Visitors can then be distinguished according to whether they are offending tourists or travelling criminals. Seasonal workers and offending tourists can be distinguished from traveling criminals in that in general they commit offences incidentally *while living in/visiting* the areas. In contrast, travelling criminals travel to the area in order to commit crimes.

Temporary or seasonal workers will usually be recorded as residents in police statistics. Perhaps because of this, they have largely been excluded from consideration: little or nothing has been written about seasonal workers as offenders, whether these be employed at tourist attractions or working on construction/building sites, albeit in larger tourist resorts in Australia Prideaux (1996) has suggested that marginal workers, attracted by the hedonistic lifestyle promised by mass tourism, may commit crimes to fund their lifestyle. There is, additionally, evidence that local residents in some resorts perceive seasonal workers as contributing to violent crime and antisocial behaviour (Mawby 2012).

Visitors, such as holidaymakers, may also commit crime and disorder. Again, it is important to stress that they are not visiting, say, Barcelona or the Gold Coast, in order to offend, but that while there they may offend, causing annoyance to local people. Of course, there is a fine line here between tourists who happen to break the law while on holiday and tourists who are attracted to resorts because of the opportunities offered for deviant activities. The case of schoolies, for whom the NTE is a key holiday attraction, is a case in point.

However, we can also identify groups of outsider-offenders who travel specifically to commit property crimes. These may commute to commit their offences, in much the same way as conventional employees may commute to work, or move into a tourist area for longer time periods, attracted by the richer pickings on offer. This may apply to offenders who target mass events like the

Americas Cup (Barker, Page and Meyer 2002) or, in a more rural context, music festivals, or as in Inciardi's (1976) early research pickpockets attracted to tourism hotspots. In both Barcelona and Brussels the police identified foreign criminals, especially Eastern European teams, as primarily responsible for thefts from the person, but in each case data were not collected systematically, and the involvement of traveling criminals in other offences was not rigorously assessed.

These examples illustrate the complexity of the relationships between tourism and crime. In order to deconstruct these relationships and develop appropriate policies, police statistics need to provide more systematic detail of the residential status of victims and offenders.

The need for evidence-based policies

While tourism is generally associated with increased crime and disorder problems, the pattern varies between different cities and resorts. Only by collecting data in a more rigorous and systematic way can appropriate policies be developed and successfully applied.

While partnership working has sometimes encountered difficulties in tourist resorts, notably where the tourism sector is not regularly involved in crime and disorder partnerships (Mawby and Jones 2007), it has been adopted in countries like Australia (Botterill, Pointing, Hayes-Jonkers, Clough, Jones and Rodriguez 2013; Homel et al 1997). The EFUS initiative emphasised the importance of partnership working on two levels: between public sector and private sector (for profit/not for profit NGOs) and between tourism-specialist and criminal justice agencies. Figure 1 illustrates this.

The extent of partnership working during the EFUS initiative, while extensive, was largely restricted to city tourist departments and various forms of public sector police liaising with hotels associations and NGOs involved in policing. This is partly due to the presence or absence of agencies in the different cities. Victim support, for example, was limited in most of the seven cities but did not feature

in the initiative even where it had a significant presence, as in Brussels. Similarly, private security was rarely included, largely because, unlike in resorts[7], it was marginal to the tourism sector.

Ideally, though, tourism and security partnerships should be created in all areas with a significant tourist presence and involve all relevant local agencies. With regard to the criminal justice system this implies representatives from: the police and the courts; and victim services and any private sector policing agencies such as private security firms. With regard to the tourism industry, this implies: local government tourism departments; and private sector bodies such as hotels associations and licensee associations.

This body might be responsible for deciding how information on tourism and security might be improved. For example, the police might be mandated to improve the relevant information they collate, the tourism sector might carry out surveys of tourists that incorporate crime and security questions, local government might solicit the views of stakeholders and local residents, and victim support services might survey service consumers. While the policies developed would then be dependent upon the findings, and would differ between resorts, the experience of the EFUS initiative suggests a number of areas that might be addressed. Five are briefly described here: the police approach to tourism and security; the use of technology and CPTED strategies; tourist education; tourism footfall and addressing the negative impact of tourism; and victim services' approaches to tourist security.
The first four were variously adopted by cities in the EFUS initiative, and the final example is one that was not initiated but was, in the view of the outside experts involved, worth developing.

The police approach to tourism and security

In many regions the police response to tourist security has been to either deny that a problem exists or to argue that tourists warrant exactly the same service as anyone else.

Figure 1: Examples of partners working to tackle tourism-related crime

	Public sector	Private sector
Tourism agencies	Local government tourism department	Hotels association
CJS	Local police	Victim support

This is narrow sighted. If, as seems clear, many resorts have a security problem that is exacerbated by tourism, then identifying the nature of the problem and designing police services accordingly is an essential requirement of evidence-based policing. Worldwide, the problems faced by tourists and the consequential impact of these on tourist numbers has led some police departments to create dedicated Tourism Police Units (Mawby, Boakye and Jones 2015; Tarlow 2000). Elsewhere, they may establish 'tourism-specific police operations' that involve patrols being assigned to key hotspots and in some cases personnel being stationed there semi-permanently during the period of the intervention. Often, the emphasis of such police efforts is on robbery. The Dade County Police Department, Florida, for example, initiated the Tourist Robbery Abatement Programme (TRAP) in response to a widely publicized local problem (Brayshaw 1995). Similar strategies have been adopted by the police departments in Nairobi (D'Arcy 1995), New Orleans and Cape Town (Pizam, Tarlow and Bloom 1997) and New Zealand (Barker, Page and Meyer 2002). It must also be noted that such operations are normally carried out purposely for some specific season or event. T

he EFUS initiative included at least two examples of tourism-specific police operations. Firstly, in Brussels, a specialist police unit was established to deal with robberies and other thefts from the person, which was recognised as an offence directed at tourists. Secondly, in Brasov, one division of the Local Police, the Tourist Police Department, was established in 2010 as a dedicated unit. It includes 27 officers and is based in the historic quarter of Brasov. The Tourist Police may act to support tourist victims but its main function is crime prevention through uniformed patrols of the tourist area.

While many such initiatives focus on the victimisation of tourists, this is not always the case. A recent example of the English police being temporarily assigned to Spain[8], following an earlier initiative in Rhodes (Mawby 2012), illustrates operations that target tourist offenders.

The use of technology and CPTED strategies

Newman's (1973) work in the USA first raised the question of how design modifications might enhance security, leading to the adoption of CPTED policies. This clearly has implications for tourism. If high rise buildings, with poor defensible space qualities, walkways that allow for little public surveillance, and poorly lit areas are central features of tourist areas, then crime might be exacerbated. Conversely, taking into account the possible implications of design for crime may be one way of improving community safety in holiday areas. As a result, CPTED has become a regular feature of debates over improving security in tourist areas, and the role of the police as advisors has increased significantly (Bach 1996; Crotts 1996; Schiebler et al 1996). Moreover, it appears that all-inclusive resorts may offer tourists similar advantages to those of gated communities (Addington and Rennison 2015; Blakely and Snyder 1998; Kenna 2010). Thus, Alleyne and Boxill (2003) found that rising crime rates in Jamaica deterred many British tourists, but other tourists staying at all-inclusive resorts where they were insulated from local crime threats felt relatively safe.

Target hardening provides an addition to the crime reduction toolbox. Some of this involves public or semi-public space. This may take the form of modest technological improvements, such as improved street lighting (Farrington and Welsh 2002) or more sophisticated technology, such as CCTV (Gill and Spriggs 2005; Welsh and Farrington 2002). In the context of tourism-related crime, Prideaux and Dunn (1995) reported that the Gold Coast City Council undertook a number of anti-crime programmes, including the fitting of CCTV in a crime hot spot and the provision of property lockers in the beach area. In other cases, holiday complexes may adopt better security by anonymising and individualising hotel door locks, improving the quality of hotel doors and locks/bolts/ security chains, providing safes, installing CCTV in corridors and car parks etc. (Bach 1996; Pizam, Tarlow and Bloom 1997).

Given the limited time scale involved, none of the cities included in the EFUS project adopted the more ambitious CPTED strategies, although it is feasible that these will be incorporated in future planning. Two features that were incorporated, however, were CCTV and improved street lighting. In the former case, there were considerable variations between cities, underpinned by political and cultural attitudes towards the cost-benefit of CCTV. At one extreme, for example, Barcelona has been reluctant to accept the widespread use of CCTV, seeing it as an intrusion and a threat to privacy, and CCTV did not form any part of the EFUS initiative in that city. In contrast, there was a recently installed network of CCTV cameras operating throughout Brasov, with dual control rooms in the gendarmerie and Local Police headquarters. There were 36 cameras positioned throughout the city, with four located in the historic quarter, with a particular emphasis on tourism security. Street lighting is a less contentious issue, and a number of cities saw this as a useful measure. Again, though, Brasov was to the fore. There, the City Hall controlled a new street lightning system. The municipal council, in conjunction with the local police, systematically timed the street lights in tourist areas so as to ensure that areas through which tourists passed after dark were sufficiently well lit.

Tourist education

It is widely accepted that effective crime prevention is dependent upon public education. The fact that crime prevention measures, such as window locks, are implemented means little if citizens fail to use them, e.g. leave windows open. A number of studies have therefore addressed the extent to which the public are aware of various ways they can minimise risk, and do indeed take appropriate precautions (Homel and Carroll 2009; Johnson and Bowers 2003). In the case of crimes against tourists, the common finding that tourists take less care on vacation than they would at home (Mawby 2000) suggests the need for tourists to be educated about the need to take sensible precautions, and advice on crime and the need for vigilance is commonly available.

At the same time, though, there is concern from local tourist industries that if there is too great an emphasis on security it will deter people from holidaying there. Consequently, there is a fine balance between providing crime prevention advice and ensuring that tourists are not unduly worried. While there has been no parallel research on the effectiveness of crime prevention education targeted at tourists, many of the cities involved in the EFUS initiative identified crime prevention education as a major plank in their strategies. For example, in Barcelona, an attempt to produce prevention leaflets that warned tourists of the dangers of crime without unduly alarming them featured one leaflet entitled 'Welcome to Barcelona: enjoy your trip', followed by details of the need for precautions regarding scams, pickpocketing, theft of luggage, responsible alcohol consumption etc.

Most notably, in Brussels, the local team identified specific crimes that tourists were seen to be affected by (burglary, pickpocketing/robbery, and vehicle crime) and produced leaflets for each. This was followed up by a focus on thefts from the person with the production of four video

clips and an information leaflet. The four clips are humorous silent cartoons, thereby understandable by tourists from any country, which show how to avoid being the victim of pickpocketing in four situations: at the ATM, in a café, at the hotel and in the metro. They are broadcast on the TV channel *Visit. brussels TV,* which is available in some 8,000 hotel rooms, in Brussels youth hostels, at the *visit.brussels* information points and on the *visit.brussels* website[9].

Tourism footfall and addressing the negative impact of tourism

While the measures described above focus on tourists as victims, as noted previously another aspect of the relationship between tourism and security is the impact of tourism on local people and local communities. Tourism may be good for the local economy, but for those who do not benefit from this, tourism may be equated with public disorder and the threats to local communities associated with the imposition of a tourism-dominated infrastructure that undermines traditional indigenous communities and the quality of life enjoyed by residents (Mawby 2012). As Barton and James (2003) have noted, this raises important issues for the police who should ensure that they listen to alternative 'perceptions of risk', not just the views of key stakeholders who may be the ones they meet most often in partnership discussions over security. In the EFUS initiative, this was reflected in concern in Brasov that local citizens, not just tourism-reliant businesses, should be involved in future planning.

However, it featured most prominently in Barcelona where local residents had voiced concern over the negative impact of tourism, especially its geographical concentration in areas of the city around La Rambla[10].

A key feature of Barcelona's security plan was, consequently, redesigning the tourism infrastructure of the city to encourage tourists to visit less well known features, thereby reducing tourists' concentration in La Rambla area. While the key aim of this approach was to reduce criticism by the public of the disruption created by tourists, it might arguably also reduce crime against tourists by diluting the crime generation 'honeypot'. Alternatively, however, it might run the risk of dispersing residents' dissatisfaction to the areas around these new tourist attractions. Although evidence for the effectiveness of this strategy is not currently available, it is mentioned here as an example of a policy that is not commonly found in the crime prevention toolkit.

Victim services' approaches to tourist security

Victim assistance programmes directed at providing help and support for victims of crime shortly after its occurrence, emerged in England and North America during the 1970s and later spread to other countries including Australia (Mawby and Walklate 1994). Six of the seven countries involved in the EFUS initiative had some such programmes[11], the exception being Romania, albeit in most services were limited, often being restricted to victims of certain crimes. However, specialist service for tourist victims are less common (Mawby 2012b), and none of the cities in the EFUS initiative incorporated victim support services into their planning processes. This was, arguably, a weakness. Where countries have provided specialist support for tourist victims, there is evidence that these services are valued by victims, and indeed may counteract the negative impact that being a crime target has on tourists. In Ireland, for example, it is suggested that tourist victims may be more willing to revisit the country and recommend it to their family and friends where they have a positive experience of victim support (Irish Tourist Assistance Service 2013; Mawby 2012b).

Summary and Conclusion

While the impact of tourism on crime and disorder is commonly acknowledged, little of the research that has been conducted on a local level has been designed to inform policy-making at that local level or to evaluate ongoing initiatives. The EFUS approach is a major innovation in this respect, but ironically one of its major findings is to highlight the dearth of hard data available. This article begins with a discussion of the limitations of both official statistics and survey data. While many, but not all, tourist destinations collect information on their visitors, this is not always extensive. Equally, police data is generally comprehensive, but as well as the well-rehearsed limitations to police statistics, in few cases are they geared towards identifying the residential statuses of victims or offenders. Survey data provides an alternative source of information, but again little of this relates to the local level. There are, moreover, inherent difficulties to local surveys of tourists, especially where these aim to measure victims' experiences.

What, then, is needed if policies are to be evidence-led?

Improvements to police crime recording and the use of dedicated surveys offer complimentary approaches. Three types of questionnaire survey have been discussed: surveys of tourists; surveys of local residents; and surveys of known victims. These are particularly useful in gauging the feelings of tourists and local residents about safety and security, perceptions of the role of tourists as offenders and victims, and the ways in which tourist victims are treated. However, they are relatively expensive. In contrast, considerable additional relevant information can be gained by minor changes to police recording practices.

Police data provides little detail of either victims' or offenders' residential statuses. This might be improved by recording both victims' and offenders' residential statuses: in the case of victims, whether they are local residents, second home owners, seasonal workers, holidaymakers, or there on business; in the case of offenders, whether they are local residents, seasonal workers, offending tourists or travelling criminals. Such information then provides the basis for the development of relevant policies geared towards the specific problems in different resorts and cities.

While the EFUS initiative did not allow for rigorous evaluation of the measures adopted in each city, the partnership approach was heralded as a success, particularly for bringing into the forum agencies not normally associated with crime prevention. Where these partnerships are formed, one of their first tasks needs to be to monitor the information available on tourism and security and consider how this might be improved. The evidence then available should form the basis for relevant and appropriate crime reduction policies. Four such approaches deployed in the EFUS initiative are described here: the police approach to tourism and security; the use of technology and CPTED strategies; tourist education; and tourism footfall and addressing the negative impact of tourism. Additionally, the development of victim services for tourist victims is discussed as a measure that might have proved beneficial in the cities involved.

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End Notes

1. EFUS conference *Security & Tourism: local policies and practices,* Paris, 25 June 2015. See also: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Tourism_statistics

2. See for example: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/2330359.stm http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/2324047.stm http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/low/uk/2329841.stm www.travelmole.com/stories/105262.php?m_id=619493&mpnlog=1 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Bali_bombings http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/4300274.stm http://www.travelmole.com/news_feature.php?c=setreg&region=3&m_id=Y!Y!vT_Y!T_m&w_id=31141&news_id=2018105

3. http://www.travelmole.com/news_feature.php?c=setreg%c2%aeion=2&m_id=Y%21Y%21vT_Y%21T_m&w_id=31115&news_id=2017921

4. Seven partner cities were enrolled in the project: Alba (Italy), Barcelona (Spain), Brasov (Romania), Brussels (Belgium), Munich (Germany), Rome (Italy) and Saint-Denis in Paris (France). The author was one of two external 'experts' appointed to advise on the initiative.

5. The latter incorporated a sample of new arrivals, albeit the two samples were not rigorously compared for changes in their perceptions of crime and security.

6. This is a generous assumption that incidence rates are double prevalence rates.

7. Private security features more prominently in theme parks, all-inclusive resorts, and larger hotel complexes. For an example from Disney World, see Shearing and Stenning (2003).

8. www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/06/british-police-to-patrol-magaluf-and-ibiza

9. http://efus.eu/en/policies/national/belgium/efus/9645/

10. www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/21/naked-italians-protests-drunken-tourists-barcelona www.travelmole.com/news_feature.php?c=setreg%c2%aeion=3&m_id=Y%21Y%21_rT_T_mb&w_id=10423&news_id=2014023 Subsequently in 2015 the newly elected major halted new tourist developments on the grounds that tourists were undermining residential communities: see www.travelmole.com/news_feature.php?c+setreg&region=3&m_id=Y%21Y%21vT_Y%21T_m&w_id=31029&news_id=2017470.

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County Lines and Wicked Problems:
Exploring the need for improved policing approaches to vulnerability and early intervention

Geoff Coliandris

Abstract

The UK National Crime Agency (NCA) intelligence assessment on the 'County Lines' criminal business model aims to raise awareness of an established though hitherto largely hidden and complex crime problem centred on the supply of Class A drugs. Key features of County Lines as 'wicked problem'-type enterprises are the exploitation and abuse of vulnerable people. The NCA assessment rightly highlights the safeguarding issues raised and makes a valuable contribution to the first stages of a viable problem-solving approach. However, subsequent efforts to deliver effective and sustainable responses are likely to be hampered by weaknesses located in the wider domain of policing, and in particular in the knowledge and understanding bases surrounding the concept of 'vulnerability'. Two emerging policing frameworks suggest promising ways forward for policing generally and responses to County Lines specifically. The one, referred to as 'vulnerable people policing', is centred in Australia while the other, termed 'early intervention', is emerging within mainstream UK policing discourse. This paper explores both frameworks and their inter-connections. It argues that together, they offer fruitful possibilities for improving responses to vulnerable people, as well as for police effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

Introduction

The UK National Crime Agency's (NCA) recent baseline intelligence assessment on what has been dubbed the 'County lines' phenomenon spotlights a crime problem of national significance. The report (NCA, 2015) titled *NCA Intelligence Assessment: County Lines, Gangs and Safeguarding,* presents a disturbing picture of an established though hitherto largely hidden and poorly understood criminal business model. Its key aim is to raise awareness among frontline practitioners. The County Lines revelations share similarities with previous official assessments on emerging crime problems such as child sexual exploitation (CSE). As with the sophisticated grooming models identified at the heart of CSE, County Lines exposes the limitations of traditional police thinking and practice as motivated criminals seek new ways and opportunities for overcoming policing attentions and responses. As with CSE, County Lines also features the abuse and exploitation of vulnerable people. In this latter respect, the NCA (2015) rightly highlights the safeguarding issues raised.

From a problem-oriented policing or POP (Goldstein, 1990) perspective, the County Lines assessment makes a valuable contribution to the initial stages of a viable problem-solving approach and in particular 'the scanning and analysis stages of the popular SARA ('scanning', 'analysis', 'response' and 'assessment'; Eck and Spelman, 1987) tool. Not only does the assessment name a serious problem of community concern, it maps out its key features, dependencies and underlying conditions. In this sense, it provides a focal point around which multiple agencies can assemble in a bid to formulate strategies designed to 'sabotage' (Sparrow, 2008) the vulnerabilities of the County lines operating model.

It also contributes to the expanding and increasingly sophisticated knowledge base within policing relating to a wide array of harms posed by domestic abuse, hate crime, child and vulnerable adult abuse, CSE and other policing problems where vulnerability is a core feature (see, for example, Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; Herrington and Clifford, 2012; Wate and Boulton, 2015). However, disconnects persist between such knowledge and evidence bases on the one hand and policing practice on the other. This has the potential to place vulnerable people at risk of (further) harm.

At the heart of these disconnects is a stubborn problem linked to weaknesses in police understandings of vulnerability and the need for more sensitive, tailored and timely responses to vulnerable people. This paper aims to explore these issues with an emphasis on two emerging and promising policing frameworks referred to here as 'vulnerable people policing' and 'early intervention'. In doing so, it seeks to argue that improving policing responses to vulnerability is not simply a legal or ethical imperative: rather, it speaks directly to the central questions of police effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy in democratic policing systems.

County Lines as wicked problems

County Lines is the name given by the NCA (2015) to a distinctive criminal business model based around the supply of Class A drugs (and particularly heroin and crack cocaine). It involves the use of a single mobile phone line number by groups to extend their drug dealing business into new locations outside of their home areas. Such lines tend to link urban centres with coastal, commuter and market towns. Factors suggested for the emergence of this new operating model are: to overcome market saturation in urban areas; to take advantage of weaker competition, their networks and assets; and to maintain anonymity and distance from law enforcement. Customers use a single number to order their drugs where the line functions as a brand marketed to customers. Unlike other criminal activities, where telephone numbers are switched on a frequent basis County Lines numbers remain constant over time and are closely protected.

The assessment notes that County Lines operations employ groups or gangs and draw on family and community links to facilitate the colonisation of new areas. While County Lines enterprises are centred on drug supply, they are inevitably implicated in other areas of criminality, notably domestic abuse, physical and sexual violence, threats and firearms possession. The gangs begin by taking over premises in the target town, sometimes by coercion. They will then expand the workforce, recruiting local 'runners' to deliver drugs and money. It is within the process of business expansion that vulnerable people become drawn into County Lines operations. Tactics adopted include using property belonging to local addicts or other vulnerable people (some of whom are paid in drugs), and beginning a relationship with a vulnerable female.

Conventional marketing tactics are employed by County Lines entrepreneurs to establish themselves, including the promotion of introductory offers and the use of business cards and texting. *Operation Engaged* has been launched as a national policing response and is thought to include traditional law enforcement responses such as disruption tactics targeted on secure bases and lines of communication.

County Lines enterprises involve complexity. Rittel and Webber's (1973) distinction between 'tame' (explained here as relatively simple to define, analyse, fix and measure) and 'wicked' (more intractable, messy and tricky) problems offers a useful way of analysing the policing challenges involved in confronting County Lines. The challenges of wicked problems (compared with their tame variants) centre on:

- Their unique and novel dimensions as difficult to define conundrums
- Given the potential for significant human costs arising from failure, the limited opportunities for trial-and-error
- The ways in which wicked problems tend to straddle professional/organisational boundaries
- The imperviousness of wicked problems to any clear-cut, uni-dimensional or unilateral solutions
- The limitations of 'off-the-peg' or standardised solutions
- The need to involve service users in the co-production of any meaningful or sustainable solutions

Arguing the case for alternative approaches, Carson *et al* (2013) caution against the pitfalls of 'mechanistic' thinking for wicked problems. Drawing on Chapman (2004, cited in Carson et al, 2013: 314) they conclude that such thinking is based on an assumption that problems involving people can be 'analysed, calculated, organised and tackled in the same way as those involving machines'. While clearly much of police work can be characterised in terms of wicked problems, such analyses clearly hold important implications for County Lines policing, not least in terms of the value of moving away from traditional, reactive approaches towards the adoption of proactive strategies based on principles of multi-agency collaboration and co-production.

Targeting vulnerability

As indicated, County Lines enterprises 'almost always' (NCA, 2015) involve the exploitation of (not specifically defined) vulnerable adults and children. Two main ways vulnerable people become implicated in gang activities are through being recruited as drug 'runners' and through use of their addresses for secure basing purposes. This latter tactic is referred to as 'cuckooing' by the NCA (2015). Leading UK hate crime researchers Chakraborti and Garland (2015) define cuckooing as a process of 'befriending' a vulnerable person by someone who proceeds to move into and take over their home with an 'ulterior motive' of exploiting them or their home in some way, often for criminal purposes. Tactics employed by County Lines perpetrators to achieve their aims and extend their networks are varied. As far as vulnerable people are concerned they may be overt or subtle (College of Policing, 2014a). Overt tactics include physical and sexual violence as well as verbal threats. More subtle approaches can involve perpetrators forming intimate relationships (particularly with vulnerable females). Victims can also be encouraged into drug-taking and drug debts. In some respects, County Lines shares similarities with the grooming tactics employed in CSE (House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, 2013) and the coercive-controlling tactics employed by the perpetrators of domestic abuse (Monckton Smith *et al,* 2014).

Though not specifically mentioned, but doubtless associated with County Lines activities will be other incidents requiring police involvement, such as those where children and young people 'go missing' from home, care or elsewhere. Research has established that 'going missing' represents a key risk factor and indicator (College of Policing, 2015a) for a range of abuses including CSE. In a current consultation process aimed at refreshing operational police guidance on responses to missing persons, the UK College of Policing (2015b: no page), noting how going missing can be a 'symptom' something is wrong in someone's life, argues:

> There is always a reason why a person goes missing. Understanding the circumstances will allow the police and other relevant authorities to tackle any potential causes of harm and identify intervention and safeguarding measures that can stop or minimise further episodes.

On a topical and relevant note, recent comments by influential UK Chief Constable, Sir Peter Fahy of Greater Manchester Police suggesting that police, in light of current demands and funding pressures, may need to review the nature and scope of their role in investigating teenager missing persons reports have, understandably, generated controversy. His view that missing teens represent an 'unsustainable burden' (Cooke, 2015) for police will clearly benefit from clarification and further discussion, not least given the complex ways missing person reports are now known to be articulated with other crimes and harms and with questions of vulnerability and safeguarding. He does, however, raise an important issue from a POP perspective, particularly around the importance of identifying and agreeing the appropriatenure and degree of responsibility among partners for effecting leverage over a problem – or its specific features (Goldstein, 1990).

Safeguarding vulnerable people

Safeguarding is seen as a key police and multi-agency responsibility and is intertwined with the concept of vulnerability. As a key responsibility it should be seen as a priority for every professional coming into contact with vulnerable people and not the preserve of specialists or specific agencies (Her Majesty's Government, 2015). The UK's Care Quality Commission (2015: no page) states that 'safeguarding means protecting people's health, wellbeing and human rights, and enabling them to live free from harm, abuse and neglect'. This suggests that safeguarding is a wide set of practical, normative and aspirational responsibilities encompassing but going beyond narrower protective activities and their more limited focus on immediate harm (or its threat). In this sense, safeguarding can be seen as core business across the spectrum of policing issues, including (but not limited to) cases where child abuse, domestic abuse, vulnerable adult abuse, hate crime, mental illness, physical or learning disabilities or radicalisation are indicated (Wate and Boulton, 2015). Noting the myriad ways vulnerability can be concealed it should also feature as a paramount concern for police in any encounter with the public – and not just those that are presented or categorised as being about public safety or welfare.

As far as situations where vulnerable people are implicated in, or at risk of joining, gang-related activities, safeguarding is seen as a particularly vital response. Her Majesty's Government (2010a) guidance on addressing such challenges argues that the precise nature and level of risks that young people will face because of gang involvement differ from area to area. Risks can include: violence and weapons; drugs; violent extremism; and sexual exploitation. Young and female victims face particular risks in relation to gangs.

The NCA (2015) assessment also notes the significant physical and mental health issues associated with children who are used as runners for drug gangs. In recognising the complexity of risk and vulnerability, contemporary policing and partnership approaches increasingly emphasise the importance of both proactive and reactive responses to vulnerability generally, and the problems of young people and gangs specifically. Here, a range of interventions need to be devised, tailored to particular scenarios. These include: education; mentoring; use of emergency powers and other legal measures; multi-agency monitoring, information-sharing and interventions; and diversion tactics (Her Majesty's Government, 2010a). Responding effectively to vulnerability will also require agencies to share information focused on the timely and effective identification, assessment and management of the various risk and protective factors operating at the personal, family and wider social levels (see Department for Education, 2015). This will benefit from, wherever practicable, the subject's fullest engagement and participation.

Perpetrators as victims

The County Lines problem presents further difficulties for policing. Firstly, historically, the official and public debate about 'gangs' has been characterised by conceptual confusion, sensationalism, moral panics and tendencies towards punitive responses based on questionable evidence bases and a predilection for punishment and/or control(Muncie, 2015). Recent and arguably more progressive thinking on gangs acknowledges the 'dual status' (Her Majesty's Government, 2010a) of gang members as both victims and perpetrators (see also Fuller, 2015). Such progressive thinking recognises the complex mix of push and pull forces and the multiplicity of risk factors likely to exist for a child who is vulnerable to gang involvement (Her Majesty's Government, 2010a). It also recognises the complex and subjective dimensions of victim decision-making in specific situations while alerting professionals to the dangers of subscribing to discourses that privilege notions of the 'genuine', (Winter and Asquith, 2012) 'awkward' or 'perfect' (Monckton-Smith et al., 2014) victim. Emerging knowledge from CSE and domestic abuse studies increasingly exposes the mediating factors shaping victims' decision-making processes to remain within abusive relationships and harmful situations. Such processes, which resonate with gang involvement, can appear as irrational or indeed perverse from 'outside' (including police professionals) perspectives where the 'right' decision is assumed to be to 'just leave'. Victims often decide to decline professional help and intervention based on intensely personal calculations around costs and benefits and these may defy police expectations or standard operating procedures. It is vital that professionals recognise that such decisions, however frustrating or apparently irrational (from the service provider's perspective), need to be understood from the perspective of the totality of the victim's lived experiences.

Secondly, failure by police to recognise the precise contours and factors underpinning vulnerability, making assumptions or clinging to out-dated stereotypes can put the vulnerable person at risk of further harm. The NCA (2015) assessment notes that children who are not known to services and who have no previous convictions are also utilised in County Lines activities in an effort to evade police detection. The assessment goes on to argue that this means that not being part of an organisationally – recognised vulnerable group can mean that signs of exploitation can go undetected or be unidentified for some time. Such a view suggests the limitations of existing approaches based around normative lists of vulnerable groups.

Thirdly, those recruited into County Lines operations can also be rendered increasingly susceptible to harm through exposure to the criminal justice system (CJS) generally and police custody specifically. HMIC (2015) found in their study of vulnerable people in police custody that not only are particular populations over-represented within police detention (including those experiencing mental illness, living with a learning or communication disability, people from minority-ethnic populations), but police custody itself, can cause 'considerable distress', often leading to 'increased vulnerability or aggression' (p.50). Further, HMIC (2015: 18) concludes that children in police custody 'are vulnerable and potentially at risk by virtue of their age'. Taking action – ideally preventive or pre-emptive – to limit the exposure of vulnerable people, therefore, to CJS and police custody encounters seems to represent an uncontroversial and worthwhile aim for multiple agencies in democratic societies.

The problem of vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability is complex, elusive and contested yet it stands as a key object in global policing discourse. As The UK College of Policing (2014a: 23) acknowledges, 'the term vulnerable has many meanings in different policing situations'. There can be little doubting, however it is defined, that the issue of vulnerability – be that in the form of mental ill health, domestic abuse, child or vulnerable adult safeguarding – occupies a significant amount of police time in advanced societies. This is confirmed by a recent analysis on the demands on UK police services by the College of Policing (2015c) that shows the major demands posed by public safety and welfare issues. Mirroring the empirical evidence, policing leaders are keen to emphasise the symbolic importance of vulnerability to contemporary policing. As Sir Thomas Winsor, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary (Winsor, 2015: no page) declares:

> As we all know, the primary purpose of the police is to prevent crime and disorder and protect people, particularly the most defenceless and vulnerable in our society.

Yet despite good intentions at the policy-rhetoric level, conceptual difficulties still remain that negatively impact on police practice. As Longstaff et al (2015) observe in their comprehensive literature review of neighbourhood policing in the UK, 'the police are often poorly prepared to identify vulnerability' (p.6). The situation is confounded due to the many different ways the question of vulnerability can be conceptualised. Some emphasise its dynamic nature, describing it as 'transient, persistent or progressive' (Bartkowiak-Theron and Asquith, 2014: 98). Others view it from a human rights perspective and in terms of unequal circumstances that act as barriers to the full realisation of individual and group rights (College of Policing, 2014b).

Some take more seriously the negative consequences of labelling someone or some group as vulnerable, particularly in terms of the stigmatising and disempowering effects that can follow (Chakraborti and Garland, 2015). Elsewhere, theorists seek to portray vulnerability (or indeed, multiple or overlapping vulnerabilities) as an inherent trait of the human condition (Turner, 2006). This latter approach supports a view (to be developed later) that for police, when dealing with individuals at each and every stage of the policing process, vulnerability should be seen as the 'norm rather than the exception' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012a: 48).

Understanding the risk factors associated with vulnerability as well as the protective factors that can bolster resilience can also be challenging and, again, no definitive approach exists. Vulnerability involves a myriad of personal and other factors and needs to be assessed in specific situational and social contexts.

The NCA (2015) assessment showed that 46% of areas colonised by County Lines enterprises had at least one issue with either deprivation, low levels of educational attainment amongst residents, unemployment, high levels of mental health issues or crime. Yet a wider range of 'push' and 'pull' factors associated with the risk of being drawn into County Lines gang networks can be suggested based on various research evidence:

• Status/respect

• Belonging, affection and friendship

• Revenge and retaliation

• Seeking protection

• Family/home-linked issues such as conflict and parental neglect

• Money

• Mental ill health and emotional wellbeing issues

• Low educational achievement (Her Majesty's Government, 2010a; Sturrock and Holmes, 2012).

This assortment of factors strongly suggests the importance of adopting multi-agency responses to vulnerability given no single agency is likely to be able to build a sufficiently accurate or comprehensive picture of, or response to, the problem. To its credit, the NCA (2015) assessment recognises that more 'in-depth' work is needed to identify better indicators of vulnerability than simple/traditional socio-economic factors.

Defining vulnerability

In the UK, it has been noted that while there is national agreement over the term 'repeat victim' (usually expressed in terms of someone who experiences a specific number of incidents of victimisation over a given period; see the College of Policing, 2014a), there is a lack of consensus over a working definition of what or who constitutes a vulnerable person. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC, 2014a: 4.48) conclude that the lack of such an agreed definition leads to 'confusions' among police staff and 'inconsistencies' in service to the public. Again, a key challenge relates to the problem that no single, uniform definition of vulnerability exists within policing. Bartkowiak-Théron and Corbo Crehan (2012) suggest that vulnerability – in the context of risk – should be understood as 'an impaired ability to defend oneself in the face of specific sorts of risks' (p. 39). An arguably more comprehensive definition is provided by US scholars Mechanic and Tanner (2007: 1220) where:

Vulnerability, the susceptibility to harm, results from an interaction between the resources available to individuals and communities and the life challenges they face. Vulnerability results from developmental problems, personal incapacities, disadvantaged social status, inadequacy of interpersonal networks and supports, degraded neighborhoods and environments, and the complex interactions of these factors over the life course.

This alternative definition has the merit of making clear the connections between vulnerability, personal and other, external/environmental factors, as well as harm and resilience. In this latter respect, resilience suggests the capacities of individuals to recover from life's many challenges and stresses, including those related to crime, abuse and exploitation. In their current drug strategy, the UK Government (Her Majesty's Government, 2010b) refer to the term 'recovery capital' to describe the different resources individuals can draw on to overcome (in this case, drug-related) vulnerabilities. These include:

• Physical capital (including money and a safe place to live)

• Human capital (skills, mental and physical health and a job)

• Social capital (resources of support available through access to networks and relationships)

Mechanic and Tanner's (2007) interpretation of vulnerability clearly speaks to the importance of addressing the needs and issues of vulnerable people from multiple perspectives that draw on the discreet knowledge, expertise, skills and resources of multi-agencies. However, despite working definitions being available, they lack consistency, utility and in some cases, logic. As Bartkowiak-Théron and Corbo Crehan (2012) note, for example, not all mental illness inevitably renders a person vulnerable in their dealings with police (consider the case of mild depression). Similarly, being identified as a member of a recognised minority ethnic group does not necessarily mean the individual is vulnerable in such encounters (consider the case of such an individual from a minority ethnic background who is a highly skilled lawyer).

Categorising vulnerable groups

Operational policing globally has resorted to 'normative lists' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012a) of vulnerable people and groups. Different pressures – social, political and legislative – have contributed to this tendency. Here, for example, the 'ripple effects' of events such as the UK's Macpherson inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) have been felt worldwide by police organisations (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2014). In New South Wales, vulnerable people have been legally defined by virtue of section 24, Law Enforcement (Powers and Responsibilities) Regulation 2005. In the UK, a piecemeal approach can be found, with individual pieces of legislation offering provisions and protections for specific groups including 'vulnerable adult' (s. 42 Care Act 2014) and 'vulnerable witness' (s. 16 Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999). Other laws arguably offer protections for a broader range of vulnerable groups/protected characteristics including the Equality Act 2010 (focused on discrimination) and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (providing for 'aggravated offences' on race or religious grounds). The Queensland Police Service (QPS, 2012) in what can be seen as a particularly innovative and progressive step, have created a policy in the form of a 14-point list of which people count as vulnerable. In the UK, there is no single, nationally agreed list of people deemed to qualify as vulnerable. Noting the lack of such a definition, the UK HMIC (2014b: 137) have volunteered their own version of a 'vulnerable person' as someone 'who is in need of special care, support, or protection because of age, disability, or risk of abuse or neglect.' Elsewhere, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2013: 5), defines vulnerable groups as:

Individuals or groups of individuals who are made vulnerable by the situations and environments that they are exposed to (as opposed to any inherent weakness or lack of capacity).

In shifting attention towards the situational and environmental dimensions of an individual or group's experience, the WHO definition is clearly framed with the intention of overcoming the negative consequences associated with labelling any particular person or group as innately vulnerable.

In seeking to offer a rationale for such trends in policing, Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith (2012a: 45) argue that normative lists of vulnerable groups give 'direction' to operational practices, where police act as 'gatekeepers' of the CJS. As such, they allow practitioners to consider those who require:

• '[A]dditional support and/or referral' to partner agencies (such as crime victims)

• 'additional attention and care' as a consequence of 'historically tense' relationships with police (example BAME communities)

- Special attention due to their potential as a 'procedural risk' (such as those experiencing mental ill health)
- Care because they at risk of being treated unfairly by or within the CJS (specific minority ethnic populations)
- Due to their 'reduced accountability or culpability' (such as children)

Based on the above, and noting the variations between jurisdictions in vulnerable group categorisation processes due to situated differences in the factors at play, a comprehensive police working list can be attempted around the following categories:

- Children and young people
- Physical, mental or learning disability or mental incapacity
- Physical illness
- Chronic substance dependency
- Elderly
- Homeless
- Inability so speak an identified language
- Crime victims (especially repeat victims and victims of hate crime and domestic abuse)
- Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities
- Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers
- Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual and Trans-Gender (LGBT) communities
- Ex-offenders
- Children in social care and care leavers
- Missing persons
- Culturally or linguistically diverse populations (CALD)
- Sex workers
- Unemployed, socially deprived or socially excluded
- Persons in police custody
- Those in contact with the wider CJS (including those identified in law as 'vulnerable witnesses')

    (see, for example: Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012a;Birmingham Safeguarding Children Board, 2013; Chakraborti and Garland, 2015; HMIC, 2015; Jones and Newburn, 2001; NHS, 2011; Queensland Police Service, 2012)

While the existence of such normative lists can be seen as an indication of progress in the policing of vulnerability, their 'fragmenting' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012a) consequences can be limiting. These will be explored later.

Vulnerable people policing

In Australia, a promising body of work referred to by the umbrella term 'vulnerable people policing' (VPP) is emerging led notably by academics Bartkowiak-Théron, Asquith and Corbo Crehan. Accepting that VPP is still in its infancy as a coherent approach, such authors, while acknowledging progress in policing in recent decades, challenge traditional police thinking and continuing weaknesses in practice relating to vulnerability. In their view, VPP offers a more sophisticated, fluid and nuanced framework better capable of engaging with, and responding to, the complexities of democratic policing models as well as the ubiquity and diversity of vulnerability. They also suggest that VPP offers an innovative way forward as a development of the widely-valued paradigm known as community policing. Leading Professor of policing, Peter Grabowsky (2012) adds his voice in support of a call for a new approach to vulnerable people policing and in doing makes several important points:

- 'The degree to which police are able to recognise vulnerability, and to engage with or mobilise the most appropriate institution for its prevention and control, will help both the vulnerable *and* [original emphasis] the police themselves' (p.vi)
- 'Vulnerability begets vulnerability' (p.vi) – suggesting the need for early and effective intervention designed to break the negative cycles that blight the lives of individuals, families and communities.
- Some forms of vulnerability are more challenging in terms of effective responses. Research on repeat victimisation and crime hotspots strongly, for example, suggests that in respect of some forms of vulnerability (such as susceptibility to repeated burglary), relatively simple 'target hardening' measures (improved home security, for example) can lead to beneficial outcomes. However, vulnerability in families with complex needs is likely to require more concerted and complex interventions.
- Diversity (a now increasingly recognised facet of contemporary societies) includes vulnerability.
- Labelling someone as 'vulnerable' can have a stigmatising effect.

The VPP literature, though lacking a comprehensive empirical-research foundation, can be used to critique traditional approaches to vulnerability policing. Table 1 below draws on the works of Bartkowiak-Théron (2012), Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith (2012a; 2012b),Bartkowiak-Théron and Layton (2012), Grabowsky (2012) and Stanford (2012) to highlight key weaknesses identified in traditional policing vulnerability approaches:

Table 1: Critique of traditional police approaches to vulnerability from a VPP perspective

Criticism	Commentary
Police knowledge of vulnerability	Despite clear evidence of social and policing progress in raising awareness of diversity in recent decades, as well as improved practices and protocols, weaknesses persist in the police knowledge and understanding base relating to vulnerability. This is exacerbated by the lack of consistent terminology and definitions as well as the effects of persistent organisational cultural barriers and stereotypes. This lack of knowledge raises serious questions about the reliability of the evidence-base underpinning current police approaches to vulnerability.
Lack of consistent terminology	While it can be argued that police services have made considerable progress in terms of policing vulnerability in recent times, the lack of a consistent and uniform terminology continues to represent a major obstacle to greater progress. Vulnerable groups can also be known as 'at risk', 'complex needs' or even 'disadvantaged' groups. The 'erratic development of vulnerability-based vernacular'(Bartkowiak-Théron andAsquith,2012a: 45) is thus associated with the development of fragmented protocols and policies and less than optimal service delivery.
Multiple vulnerabilities	Over an individual's life course, they may experience multiple, overlapping or inter-sectional vulnerabilities. (These may be expressed in terms of co- or tri-morbidity factors). Vulnerability is therefore better understood as a process rather than a category. The co-existence of different forms of vulnerability presents challenges for the police who are trained and focused on siloed knowledge of vulnerability and who work to discreet protocols based on single vulnerability factors. (Consider the example of a substance-dependent individual who is also experiencing a mental health crisis while in the process of escaping the harms of abuse in a family-setting).

The role of police liaison officers	While good practice is noted in terms of the emergence of specialised police liaison officers for vulnerable groups, it is noted that such roles do not span the gamut of vulnerable populations. This may be as a result of limited resources, a lack of awareness and/or a deliberate strategy based on the idea that certain groups do not yet merit dedicated police resources given they are not yet deemed as sufficiently problematic, large or vocal in their demands. Further, such liaison staff are often focused on siloed responsibilities as far as vulnerability is concerned. This can present difficulties in cases where multiple vulnerabilities are presented.
Normative lists of vulnerable groups	Such lists are inevitably static, arbitrarily constructed and fail to take adequate account of the unique, variable, contingent and contested dimensions of the concept of vulnerability. They can also lead to the mis-diagnosis or a failure of diagnosis in some cases. (see also below)
Vulnerability as a label	Such a label can be rejected by the vulnerable person. There may be stigmatising and disempowering consequences associated with being labelled 'vulnerable'. This can adversely impact wider police-specific community relations as well as the individual's sense of identity, value and autonomy.
The growth of a risk-focused policing approach	Risk-focused approaches have come to dominate policing (and societies more generally). In such approaches, standardised responses become institutionalised to the detriment of professional judgement based on specific scenarios, needs and diversity. Stanford (2012) notes that the police are not immune from wider influences, in the form of prejudices and faulty thinking over questions of vulnerability and risk given they do not operate in a social or political vacuum. She argues the importance of cultivating 'reflective' police practitioners and organisational cultures capable of critically examining, as part of their routine activities, 'the taken-for-granted assumptions that are located in constructions of who is defined as "at risk" (that is, vulnerable) or "a risk" (that is, dangerous)' (p. 20).
Mis-diagnosed, over-diagnosed or undiagnosed vulnerability	Any one of these errors on the part of the police can lead to harm to the vulnerable person where an individual is incorrectly categorised as being vulnerable on the basis of a single factor or they do not readily conform to official categories. It can also lead to other harms and costs, including those linked to organisational effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. From the vulnerable person's perspective, such errors may be represented as a form of 'secondary victimisation' (Dignan, 2004) which, intentional or otherwise, describes the experience of a victim who suffers further victimisation from the very agencies charged with responsibility for safeguarding them. Similarly, there are dangers and wastages involved in cases where police assume vulnerability as a consequence of officially labelling someone as such by virtue of their presumed membership of an officially-listed vulnerable group. As suggested, each case and situation needs to be carefully assessed for its unique features and requirements (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2014).

Operationalising VPP

In terms of a way forward for VPP, it is possible to suggest a number of overlapping action points derived largely from the Australian literature. Table 2 below provides details:

Table 2: VPP action points

Action point	Commentary
Recognising the multi-dimensionality and uniqueness of vulnerability	A clear recognition and agreement around what the police can and cannot do in respect of vulnerability while acknowledging broader human rights and national legislation requirements as well as 'duty of care' issues. Police cannot and should not realistically be expected to 'know everything about everything' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012a: 47). However, to be effective and sensitive to the idea that all those coming into contact with the the CJS are 'diversely vulnerable' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2014) police should still base practice on a sound understanding of the diversity of communities, dynamic vulnerability audits and assessments and effective community engagement in a bid to ensure tailored responses are made available (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith,2012b). This carries training implications from initial recruitment through to in-service programmes (Bartkowiak-Théron and Layton, 2012).
Wicked problems demand multi-agency responses	Many vulnerability challenges can be seen as 'wicked' problems (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith (2012a: 47). This term suggests that vulnerability is a deeply complex and embedded social problem as well as a major personal trouble and as such will require the input of a range of agencies if meaningful, realistic and sustainable solutions are to be made a possibility. Police can and do not 'own' the problem of vulnerability; as a pressing personal and social challenge it benefits from criminal justice as well as other interventions. At a higher level of discussion and analysis, vulnerability as a wicked issue raises important and more controversial policy questions about the appropriate distribution of resources across the range of public sector agencies charged with safeguarding responsibilities. For example, if frontline police numbers are to be cut, then what impact will this have on safeguarding and who, if anyone, across the public sector, is available to fill any gaps created by a police withdrawal or revised level of participation?
Development of police organisational cultures and competencies	VPP depends on 'cultivating reflective police practitioners and organisational cultures capable of critically examining, as part of their routine activities, the taken-for-granted assumptions that are located in constructions of who is defined as "at risk" (that is, vulnerable) or "a risk" (that is, dangerous)' (Stanford, 2012: 20). Again, police training and education are key here, with particular value being placed on the potential of 'community placements' for bringing about radical and meaningful change in police officers' situated understandings of vulnerability and their implications for practice (Bartkowiak-Théron and Layton, 2012).
Universal precaution principle	Appropriated from other areas such as health ,the essence of the 'universal precaution' principle is an approach based on an assumption that each individual is potentially vulnerable, unless the contrary is confirmed (Bartkowiak- Theron and Asquith, 2012a: 47). The universal precaution approach, in combination with the assumption that most people coming into contact with the police experience some form of vulnerability, thus represents a shift away from the limitations of traditional 'risk-driven' procedures (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith(2012b: 220) to a more nuanced and sensitive approach that recognises vulnerability as a universal human trait (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012b).

Aligning VPP and POP	VPP should be consistent with POP principles. This would include adherence to 'systematic inquiry' (Goldstein, 1990) and use of rigorous analytical tools such as SARA (Eck and Spelman, 1987). POP also requires police to communicate with actual and potential vulnerable victims as a means of educating and enlisting their help in discovering responses. Co-production is seen as key in such respects. This requires police to build sound knowledge of the assets (community, police and partner) available as well as 'familiarity' with vulnerable people (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012b).
Seeing vulnerability as a process	Policing should adopt a process-based approach to vulnerability rather than one premised on a 'normative categorization exercise' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2014: 98). Process-based approaches engage with the subjective, unique, situated, dynamic and cumulative dimensions of vulnerability.
Streamlining existing standard operating protocols	Applying 'cumbersome' or standardised categorization exercises and the siloed protocols and institutional procedures they trigger can lead to service delivery failures that can leave a vulnerable victim (further) exposed to risk and harm.
Recognising vulnerability throughout the policing process	Police need to be alert to, identify and respond to vulnerability at every stage of the policing process. Tailored responses are vital. This encompasses police initial training, first contact encounters with the public as well as specialist police encounters, and police detention. VPP recognises that vulnerability can be a trait within the range of police customers (victims, witnesses or offenders; Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012b).
Recognise capabilities as well as vulnerabilities	Police officers need to pay more attention to questions of 'resilience, adaptability and agency' (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith, 2012b: 286) among vulnerable people. Individuals may be victims but they also have access to different resources that can aid resilience. To disregard such capacities is to deny the individual's right to 'autonomy' and raises serious questions for the quality of the police-public connection. It can also lead to wastages and inefficiencies for organisations and can be seen as part of the problem of the 'risk averse' culture seen to prevail in many police organisations (Stanford, 2012).
Specialised police resources	Police services should review and extend the range of specialised resources (for example, liaison staff) they offer in respect of vulnerability. Training for such staff should improve awareness of the more and less visible dimensions of vulnerability as well as the challenges of responding to overlapping vulnerabilities (Bartkowiak-Théron, 2012)

Early intervention

Early intervention can be seen as an influential, promising yet still under-developed framework in the UK public sector generally, and policing environment specifically (Curtis, 2015). Early intervention can clearly be aligned with VPP and other major and mainstream policing paradigms, including: POP; community policing; crime prevention; intelligence-led policing; community engagement; and citizen-focused policing (see Longstaff *et al*, 2015). It is also concerned with the 'business case' and reducing demand on police services by encouraging staff to 'get upstream' of problems. The Early Intervention Foundation (EIF), an independent charity and one of the Government's What Works Centres, is at the centre of developments. Its aims centre on the following:

• To shift spending, action and support for children and families from late to early intervention

• A pre-emptive approach

• A focus on the root causes of problems before they become entrenched and lead to escalation

• Ensuring children and young people have the necessary social and emotional skills, resilience and capability to function as effective, responsible adults with good levels of autonomy and well-being (Guy *et al*, 2014; Waddell and Molloy, 2015)

Early intervention (as an arguably capacious term) is already a feature of global police services and is of course, not an exclusive property of UK policing. In the UK there is good evidence of a growing political, academic and police service commitment to normalise and operationalise early intervention principles and practices within mainstream policing. Chief Superintendent Irene Curtis (2015), President of the Police Superintendents' Association of England and Wales is a strong supporter of early intervention. However, while she notes some positive developments around its practice, she still sees scope for more work to integrate it into the 'daily business' of policing. Noting that such integration will require a 'culture change' in terms of how the police work, Curtis (2015) highlights a central and recurring theme running through much of the literature and research on the challenges of effecting change in police organisations (see Reiner, 2010, for example).

Importantly, early intervention recognises the vital role played by frontline police professionals in identifying those at risk, particularly through their routine encounters with the public within communities and as first responders to families and individuals in crisis. This is relevant specifically for neighbourhood police teams who are seen to have a 'key role' in supporting vulnerable people (Longstaff *et al*, 2015: 6). Research also strongly suggests that young people in particular are more likely to come into contact with the frontline police due to their dispositions towards risk-taking behaviours and their preferences for frequenting of public spaces (Longstaff *et al*, 2015).

Such a view clearly raises major questions presently in many policing environments such as the UK where commitments to the hitherto protected neighbourhood policing model appear under threat due to the weight of funding, demand and resourcing pressures. As Longstaff et al (2015) note, these and other pressures related to changing crime patterns are requiring police leaders to reflect more carefully on a set of inter-connected questions linked to the social purpose, public value and priorities of policing in the 21st century. This is leading to forces reviewing, refocusing and reconfiguring their organisational structures and approaches. It is here that enhanced space may open up for VPP to take hold as the next variant of the contested though widely-promoted and adaptable 'community policing' model.

Along these lines, early intervention, in line with POP thinking (see, Goldstein, 1990; Scott, 2000) recognises that police can not and should not be expected to resolve every problem identified. Certainly, such a view is increasingly being articulated by UK police leaders faced with difficult choices. Northumbria Chief Constable Steve Ashman recently expressed his frustrations with other agencies thinking the police 'will do everything' (Hickey, 2015) His comments highlight an important part of any problem-solving process, namely the requirement to assess whether the police have a 'responsibility' or merely an' interest' (Scott, 2000) in the specific problem under review. Such assessments need to be followed by a strategy for ethically and effectively engaging with, persuading and mobilising those who do have a responsibility for the problem (which includes other agencies as well as communities themselves). For early intervention to succeed, effective partnerships based on mutual support, trust and timely and relevant information-sharing are seen as critical success factors (Waddell and Molloy, 2015).

Elsewhere, Sara Thornton (2015: no page), Chair of the National Police Chiefs' Council in the UK, in summarising the range of challenges now facing police services, called for a greater focus on 'failure demand' – 'the work created when we [the police] do not do things right for the public the first time'. Clearly speaking to the vital importance of early action, she also argued the case for the police, in collaboration with partners to 'go upstream and prevent harm' (Thornton, 2015: no page) over simply responding to the symptoms of problems. Such issues, she concluded were vital not just in terms of public satisfaction, but also police effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

Early intervention into practice

Recently, in a clear statement of commitment to the perceived merits of early intervention, the EIF, working with the UK Home Office and the College of Policing launched an Early Intervention Academy for Police Leaders (EIF, not dated). EIF sees effective early intervention as a vital tool for a 21st Century policing characterised by increasing pressures on resources, multiple and emerging demands and a vital responsibility for safeguarding the most vulnerable in society. In promoting its work, the EIF is careful to warn of the dangers involved in police 'retrenching' to a (now widely discredited; see, for example, Goldstein, 1990) more reactive policing focused on the symptoms rather than the deeper factors driving crime (EIF, not dated).

In Lancashire, England, the concept of early intervention is about to be operationalised. This follows the successful outcome of a bid to the Government's Home Office Innovation fund. The Lancashire bid essentially revolves around an overarching project that brings together social workers, child and parenting support, youth workers, mental health workers and police in an effort to deliver better results for vulnerable individuals, their families and wider communities. The project consists of different initiatives that collectively aim to tackle problems before they escalate and become crises. Key features of these initiatives include:

- The introduction of integrated, multi-agency-professional 'early action teams'

- An emphasis on projects such as peer mentoring designed to prevent and reduce gang involvement, youth offending and to educate about CSE

- Early action based on intelligence-led approaches targeting vulnerability and crime hotspots

- A commitment to helping build resilient and thriving communities through effective community and agency partnership- working based around the provision of quality support at the earliest point possible (Lancashire Constabulary, 2015).

In line with an 'evidence-based policing' paradigm (Sherman, 1998), the full project will be subject to an academic evaluation to ensure outcomes are fully evaluated and embedded into future working practices (see Curtis, 2015; Lancashire Constabulary, 2015). Finally, early intervention in the UK needs to be understood in the context of wider policy innovations designed to get upstream of problems while offering savings to the public purse. One example is the *Troubled Families Initiative* (TFI). Launched In 2011 by the Coalition Government the TFI described 'troubled families' as those 'who both have problems and cause problems' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2014: 7). The TFI aims to achieve progress within an identified number of national 'troubled families' and advocates interventions directed towards improvements in adult employment, crime and disorder reduction, child education and reductions to public finances. Unsurprisingly, TFI has its critics despite its underpinning official claims.

Criticisms tend to centre on its data protection implications, stigmatising effects, similarities with past and similar (failed) policy initiatives and concerns over inadequacies in professional understandings and practice (see, for example, Bragg, 2012; Morris, 2012). Yet the TFI is claimed to offer promising possibilities for a range of stakeholders and purposes, including crime prevention, public finances, ameliorating police and partnership demand and resourcing challenges, and of course vulnerable people, families and communities(Curtis, 2015).

Conclusion

County Lines has entered the policing lexicon of problems and as such, demands a response. As a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional problem, it calls for multi-agency based solutions. As with other emerging policing problems, County Lines brings the inter-connected issues of vulnerability and safeguarding into sharp focus and raises important questions about the proper roles and responsibilities of police services in democratic societies. Key to the delivery of effective, efficient and legitimate policing services will be the need to continue to build the knowledge, understanding and evidence bases surrounding the concept of vulnerability. Vulnerable people policing and early intervention represent promising frameworks for tackling not just the County Lines problem, but a range of other sometimes overlapping challenges that see vulnerable people coming to occupy victim and perpetrator status – sometimes simultaneously. VPP and early intervention are developing frameworks and are mutually supportive within broadly community-oriented, intelligence-led and problem-solving policing systems. Both offer fruitful pathways for developing more critical, nuanced and responsive practices for engaging with the complexities of County Lines and other policing issues involving vulnerability. Both will benefit from a free flow of evidence between policy, procedure and practice. Key to both pathways will be a recognition by practitioners that vulnerability is a universal human trait and a process; as such, it is best understood by reference to the complex and dynamic interplay of personal, family, cultural and social conditions.

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Social Media and Police Legitimacy

Andrew Kelly

Introduction

Police organisations in Australia and across the globe are increasingly turning to social media to enshrine and enhance their legitimacy. For more than five decades police and researchers have applied themselves to developing new and better ways to gain the consent and cooperation of citizens, without which police in a democratic society would be unable to operate effectively. Community policing provided the strategic and philosophical basis for many of the changes that have occurred over this time, but as a policing approach it has seemingly become less of a priority in many jurisdictions in recent years.

This article considers whether the proliferation of police social media represents a way forward for the community policing model. It provides an overview of the use of social media in Australian policing before discussing the strategic value of police organisations embracing social media for public relations purposes. It explains why it is important for police to generate an ongoing dialogue with the public, and how social media can be applied to achieving this goal. Finally, the article considers how social media can potentially help entrench policing as a legitimate institution of modern society.

Police use of social media

The pace of integrating online social networking services into everyday policing functions has been varied, with many jurisdictions adopting it as a strategic or operational imperative and others maintaining a limited and unengaging web presence. Police have been cautious about embracing social media because of concerns about resourcing, reputation and liability, but its presence on police websites has proliferated in recent years, partly because of the internal innovation of police and partly because of a push by governments wanting to improve services across all areas of public management (Brainard and Edlins, 2014, Brainard and McNutt, 2010, Burn, 2010).

Internationally, governments are increasingly emphasising the need for public bodies to be more accountable, responsive and encourage citizen participation in priority setting and running local services (Jackson and Bradford, 2010, Brainard and McNutt, 2010). The growth of police social media is

a challenge for researchers seeking to keep pace with the technological advancements in policing, whereas until recently they were faced with a scarcity of data (Procter et al., 2013). Police have come to accept that technology has a role in the future of policing, particularly in making police organisations more accountable and transparent, although policing culture continues to be dominated by traditional styles and values (Chan, 2001). The impact of this technological change on policing requires further research so that police managers can understand its impact on key policing measures such as legitimacy.

Police organisations use a variety of social media but the most commonly used applications are Facebook and Twitter (Ruddell and Jones, 2013). Globally, there has been rapid growth in the use of web communication in all facets of policing. The use of social networking services by police in the United Kingdom has increased significantly since 2008 following an endorsement by the Association of Chief Police Officers (Crump, 2011). In Canada, police successfully used social networking to engage with the public and protesters during the 2010 G20 Conference in 22 Toronto (Stevens, 2010).

Most Australian police organisations maintain Facebook, Twitter and YouTube accounts, along with a corporate webpage. Social media is used by police to gather intelligence on crime suspects; for aiding policing operations and events; recruitment purposes; as a tool for internal and external communication; to bypass the mainstream media; and for crisis and emergency management, where it has been demonstrated to be an effective way to communicate with large populations quickly, efficiently and accurately (Meijer and Thaens, 2013, Traffika, 2011).

There are considerable logistical advantages to using new media technology. Social networking services are easily accessed by police officers and the general public, and many of the social networks that police seek to engage the public on already exist (Crump, 2011). The ease of use and connectivity of social networking services should also alleviate the physical difficulties and time pressures of travel, crowds and fixed hours for participation in traditional public meetings, while also reducing costs and facilitating communication between members of the community (Brainard and Edlins, 2014, Perlman, 2012).

Social media is used by police for an array of purposes related to investigations, surveillance and intelligence but its most valuable use is arguably as a platform for engaging with various community stakeholders. The use of Twitter by Queensland Police to share emergency information during the January 2011 floods is a positive example of how social media can put police in touch with large sections of the community quickly and effectively to achieve policing objectives (Hearn, 2011, Traffika, 2011).

Police are essentially in competition with a vast online network of sites and interests for the attention of the public, who can choose to access policing information from any number of police or non-police social media sources. Victoria Police experienced the pitfalls of social media diversity during the 2012 investigation of Melbourne woman Jill Meagher's murder, when so called hate sites condemning the offender appeared on Facebook and threatened to derail the judicial process and the offender's right to a fair trial (Milivojevic and McGovern, 2014).

The use of social media by police for community policing purposes is no less problematic, as local police commands are often left to resolve and manage issues with resourcing, reputation and liability. Community policing first appeared internationally in the 1970s and in Australia in 1983 amid changing community attitudes about the role of police (Hunter and Barker, 2011). The traditional military model of policing, which invited limited public scrutiny and accountability, was inconsistent with changes occurring within society and this had led to the erosion of the image that police are an efficient and disciplined bureaucracy (Fleming, 2005).

Support for seminal community policing programs such as Neighbourhood Watch waned in the 1990s (Fleming, 2005), but the recent push by government for improved dialogue with citizens has led to the reinvigoration of the community policing model. Police in NSW, Victoria and the ACT are using social media to supplement the ailing Neighbourhood Watch scheme, and there is now potential for the scheme to move entirely online once most of the community has embraced new technologies.

In 2011 the NSW Police Force launched Project Eyewatch, a community-policing program that uses Facebook to connect the police with the public.

The program is based on Neighbourhood Watch and attempts to "reinvigorate community engagement and crime prevention through social media — essentially giving the Neighbourhood Watch program a 21st century makeover" (Maxwell, 2013). ACT Policing and Victoria Police have since adopted the Eyewatch program, establishing Facebook sites at various local police commands. "Facebook has given [police] an unprecedented and extremely powerful tool to communicate with the public and provide a higher level of customer service and information exchange" (Au, 2013).

Western Australia Police are trialling the use of Twitter accounts for reporting crime and policing issues as part of its Frontline 2020 strategy to improve the way it delivers frontline services. The organisation expects that by embracing social media it can be more effective, efficient and productive; direct policing efforts to where they are most needed; and reduce the demand for policing services through community collaboration, problem solving, and proactive policing and prevention (Police, 2015).

All Australian police organisations have a website providing information to the public, and many now have Facebook and Twitter sites. Other social media platforms being used by Australian police to share information or engage with the public include YouTube, Pinterest, Instagram, Weibo and Flickr, and increasingly police organisations are also using mobile applications (apps) such as Soundcloud (Tasmanian Police) and Policelink for iPhone (Queensland Police).

For online communities such as Eyewatch to prosper it is important that organisations focus on building membership, providing members with the tools, access and enabling technologies they need to participate, and actively engage with the membership (Williams and Cothrel, 2000). The more interactive an organisation is with the public online, the more control citizens have over police decision making and organisational direction (Welch and Fulla, 2005).

(Brainard and Edlins, 2014) outline the necessary conditions for collaboration on social media between residents and police to be successful:

(1) the use of social media by police in the first place;

(2) interaction; and

(3) continuous dialogue.

They define interaction as two-way communication that tends to take the form of a question or a statement and response. A recent study of police Twitter use found that citizens value interaction, value messages with significant content, they value long-term commitment in terms of the age of the police account and the number of messages posted, and they value a personal style of tweeting by police and original tweets (van de Velde et al., 2014).

Why is legitimacy important?

Police managers have long recognised that for police to be effective in performing their duties they need the trust and confidence of the communities they serve (Rosenbaum et al., 2015). Public confidence can be enhanced simply by the police engaging as an active, visible and accessible part of community life, while trustworthy police are seen by the public to be effective, to be fair and to have shared values, interests and a strong commitment to the local community (Jackson and Bradford, 2010, Bradford et al., 2009, Tyler and Fagan, 2008, Skogan, 2006, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003a). Trust extends beyond perceptions that police perform their duties effectively and efficiently to include a sense that the police understand the needs of the community, they treat people fairly and with dignity, they give information and allow the public a voice to highlight local problems (Jackson and Bradford, 2010).

Legitimacy exists when the community accepts its obligation to obey the directives of a legal authority, when citizens trust the institution of policing, and when local police are viewed as fair and effective (Jackson and Bradford, 2010, Sunshine and Tyler, 2003b). Police are perceived to be a legitimate authority if they demonstrate the capacity to carry out their core business of preventing and controlling crime, and demonstrate procedural justice in the way they treat people and in the quality of their decision making (Mazerolle et al., 2014).

Police must be accepted by the public as legitimate if they are to function effectively, ethically and legally. When the police lack legitimacy citizens are less willing to comply with their requests, cooperate with investigations, are less willing to obey the law, and are likely to file more complaints (Rosenbaum et al., 2015).

The absence of legitimacy would leave the police with no choice but to resort to more repressive, force-led styles of policing that undermine their claim to be acting on behalf or in cooperation with those they police (Bradford et al., 2013). Bradford, Jackson and Hough (2013) suggest that police can be considered to be legitimate when citizens perceive that police officers act in morally valid ways, when they believe that police abide by the rules and procedures intended to govern their behaviour, and when citizens voluntarily offer their consent to police activity.

Social media generates all of the police behaviours associated with maintaining and improving public confidence, trust and legitimacy. Social media provides local police with a visible and active presence in growing online communities; it affirms that the values, interests and commitments of police are congruent with those of the community; it provides a forum for the sharing of information about policing and crime; it allows police to demonstrate that they are performing their duties effectively and efficiently; and, it gives the public a voice in police decision making and a means to provide feedback (Crump, 2011, Rosenbaum et al., 2011). Ruddell and Jones (2013) examined the police use of social media in the Canadian city of Vancouver, and found that people had higher levels of satisfaction and confidence in their local police after being contacted on social media.

Bradford et al (2013) suggest that policy attempts to enhance legitimacy should focus on factors that police can control and be realistic in terms of scope and ambition, such as the level of everyday interactions between police and the public. It is important that police organisations establish a strong social media presence, but they should also use social media in a way that is engaging and involves continuous dialogue with the public (Brainard and Edlins, 2014).

Most studies of police engagement on social media have found that police organisations are not yet capitalising on the dialogic potential of the medium, and are instead using the web to transmit information to the public and giving little consideration to public feedback (Kelly and Finlayson, 2015, Crump, 2011, Rosenbaum et al., 2011, Brainard and McNutt, 2010, Welch and Fulla, 2005).

Eyewatch and Frontline 2020 are significant and ambitious social media programs that have the potential to revolutionise the way police engage with the public, and the objectives of Eyewatch are consistent with the community policing objectives that have underpinned historical efforts to consolidate the legitimacy of police organisations within society (Kelly and Finlayson, 2015). However, social media is unlikely to have any positive effect on community perceptions of legitimacy if the community continues to be shut out of online conversations with the police.

Future directions

A significant amount of policing research is focussed on evaluating the effectiveness of crime control strategies, largely ignoring the fact that the vast majority of police time is employed in non-crime functions associated with the creation of a professional, democratic and fair police force (Rosenbaum et al., 2015). The effectiveness of police in solving crime and protecting the community is an important component of legitimacy, but it is not the only factor that influences public perceptions of police (Bradford et al., 2013).

Social media is a useful aid for investigations and intelligence, but there remains a great deal of unrealised potential in social media's capacity to put police in touch with the public. Brainard and Edlins (2014) suggest that there be further research to inform the use of social media by police and on the ways in which police can use social media to engage more efficiently and effectively with the public.

Social media has the potential to greatly increase dialogue between police and the citizens they serve, and potentially to revive an ailing community policing model. Police have been cautious adopters of social media but the presence of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube has become increasingly commonplace on Australian and international policing websites. Even so, many police organisations continue to use new media in traditional ways, transmitting information to the public without capitalising on the dialogic potential of the medium.

Eyewatch and Frontline 2020 are good examples of police social media innovation and if the potential of these programs is realised then there is also likely to be a corresponding increase in public perceptions of police legitimacy.

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About the author

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Preventing Violence in Australia: Practice, Policy and Solutions

Andrew Day and Ephrem Fernandez, Editors, 2015

The Federation Press, Leichhardt NSW Australia ISBN 978 186287 994 2 (ppb)
Reviewed by Brian Blakemore, University of South Wales, UK.
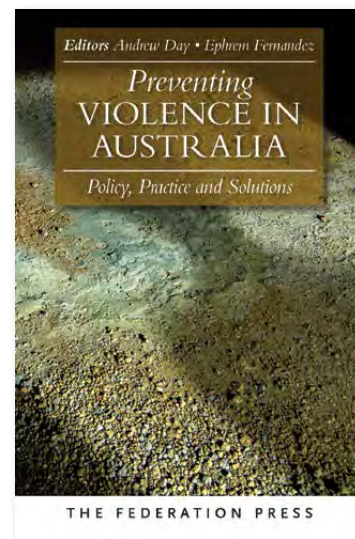
This text contains 16 chapters written by a host of experts from academia and practice. The format includes a restatement of key learning points and some questions to consider at the end of each chapter. Although focusing on Australia; context, statistics and case studies from further afield are introduced throughout the book. From the onset the authors consider the safety of citizens, the recovery of victims and the need to prevent violent reoffending.

Chapter 2 concentrates on the effects of violence on the victim and especially on factors that increase the effect on the victim. These factors should be considered and used by support agencies. The lack of integrated and coherent response is likely to increase post traumatic stress. A comparison is made of financial and other assistance schemes in Australia and leads into a discussion on victim's rights and the need for victims to have a voice.

Chapter 3 gives a very useful description of characteristics that are linked to the risk of Homicide although it recognises at present we have a long way to go before these can be used for predictive/preventative processes.

Chapter 4 looks at the patterns and prevalence of violence in Australia. Factors are again discussed in context as our projects and interventions that have been tried. Generally insufficient evaluation has been carried out to determine the effectiveness of these interventions.

Chapter 5 considers bullying and put it into contest with statistics, theories and situations. Interventions especially school based ones are described.

Chapter 6 focuses in on the combination of youth and mental health factors associated with violence. Again this is well described and a case study of a satellite clinic is given.

Chapter 7 considers risk and risk management of violence. The difficulty of using models based on too much static data is discussed. Risk management guidelines and examples are also presented.

Chapter 8 considers violence in mental health settings which may be on professional staff or other consumers, and finds that there are usable dynamic risk analysis tools, then considers the evidence that this changes staff behaviour. Interventions are discussed from restraint to pharmacological management and a model for the stages of aggression is illustrated.

Chapter 9 looks at Alcohol and its effects upon interpersonal violence: background data and trends are produced with categories of violent crime examined. The ecological model of interpersonal violence is introduced along with risk factors. Policy, interventions and a case study draw the chapter to a close.

Chapter 10 uses experiences from New Zealand to contrast how high risk offenders have been and are treated with discussion on issues and recent initiatives that are as yet of unknown effectiveness.

Chapter 11 is based upon case studies of racially motivated violence, looking at exiting legislation and the role of the media and the need to confront the reality of racism and the attitude to racism by professionals.

Chapter 12 looks at indigenous culture and how violence is positioned within it and debates whether different codes should apply focusing on different concepts of kinship and community conflict resolution.

Chapter 13 revisits violence related to age and gender and focuses on masculinity and life course this is followed by the implications for policy and practice.

Chapter 14 looks at domestic violence against women , covers factors and policy before using a case study before discussing prevention measures.

Chapter 15 considers changes in policy in Australia again categories of violence and statistics are presented to give context before discussing cross sector strategy and evidence based approaches and posing the question what works in prevention and early intervention a case study is used to enrich and further the discussion.

Chapter 16 not only rounds up the text but also discusses possible solutions to violence.

Overall this is a comprehensive text cover many dimensions of violence and critically examining laws, procedures and attitudes as well as using case studies to consider interventions and their likely effectiveness. Each chapter is self contained and so the reader can delve without need to starting at the beginning and working towards their area of special interest. On the down side this has resulted in the occurrence of similar definitions and trends in violence in several chapters but this is a very minor quibble.
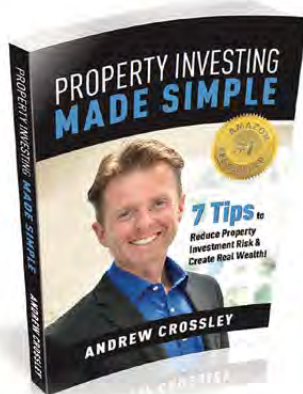
Who are the Police and what is Policing?

Professor Colin Rogers, University of South Wales (UK)

Introduction

At this time of much change to police organisations across the world, due to austerity or other issues such as increased terrorist threat, an opportunity arises for reflection upon what we actually mean by the terms police and policing. This is quite an important point, as there is a need to differentiate between the two concepts in order to introduce such changes and to provide an effective response to perceived threats.

Taking the police out of policing

As Reiner (2010) points out, the term 'police' is primarily used to denote a body of people patrolling public spaces in blue uniforms, with a broad mandate of crime control, order maintenance and some negotiable social service functions. This appears to be a 'common sense' understanding, but to understand the nature and role of the term 'policing' we need to engage in a deeper analysis of its function within a given society.

Indeed, there is a school of thought that suggests a pre-requisite for social order is the need for a police organisation; yet Reiner further suggests that many societies have, in fact, existed without a formal police force of any kind. The 'police' are therefore not found in every society, but 'policing' may still be undertaken by a number of different processes and institutional arrangements. What we come to understand as the state-sanctioned police agency today is only one example of policing.

The idea of 'the police' is therefore a relatively modern concept whilst 'policing' is an old one (Johnston, 1992). Prior to the 18th century, the term 'police' was used to explain the broad function of 'policing'- that is the general regulation of the government, morals or economy of a city or country. The word 'police' is derived from the Greek word 'polis' meaning 'city state'. 'Policing' thus referred to a socio-political function, instead of a formal legal one, that was exercised in any civil society, not just within the confines of the state. It was only in the mid-18th century that the word 'police' began to be used in its 'continental' sense in Great Britain, to refer to the specific functions of crime prevention and order maintenance.

This idea is reinforced by Radzinowicz (1956) who states that by the middle of the 18th century there was already a growing realisation that the traditional arrangements for keeping the peace had become inadequate. However, it was a further 75 years before a radical break was effected and a modern police established with the Metropolitan Police Act 1829. Indeed, when the word 'police' was first introduced into England in the early part of the 18th century, it was regarded with the utmost suspicion, and was widely believed to be part of the sinister force which held France in its grip.

In the early 1720s in England, the word was in fact almost unknown. However, by the time of John Fielding the word 'police' began to gain currency, and Fielding began using it in the title of a pamphlet he wrote in 1758 (Fielding 1758). He subsequently used the word in other publications, and it gradually became used to define not just government policies-as it had in Fielding's original publication-but also the regulation of such policies.

As the 18th century progressed, its use became more familiar and the term began to refer to themes more akin to its modern meaning, including the maintenance of good order or the prevention or detection of offences.

It is important to understand the differentiation between the terms 'police' and 'policing', especially as we enter a period of profound change for the police organisation. Indeed, Jones and Lister (2015) believe that the recognition of the conceptual and empirical decoupling of 'police' and 'policing' has generated a breadth of scholarly debate concerning how we might make sense of contemporary systems of crime control, regulation and social ordering etc. as well as understanding the implication that arises for relations between state, market and civil society.

Defining a definition

Whilst it would be easy to simply accept Waddington's (1999) answer to the question 'what is policing?' as being that which police officers do, it is in fact a far more complex role. We have seen that we need to separate out the term 'police' from the much broader term 'policing' in order to understand current changes in our society. However, in order to assist us in understanding and negotiating change in terms of policing we need to consider a fully working definition of 'policing' as it relates all those involved in its application.

In truth, Waddington does consider a more serious definition when he concludes that policing is the authority of the state over the civil population and that this authority is based upon the monopoly of legitimate coercion, which means the police will ask someone to do or not to do something and they will normally comply. If they do not comply, then the police will force them to do so. This agrees with Klockars' (1984) earlier definition of the police organisation as being 'institutions or individuals given the general right to use coercive force by the state within the state's domestic territory' (Klockars: 1984: 12).

In terms of the application of such a definition, the American sociologist Egon Bittner (1970:30) described such incidents as situations where 'something ought not to be happening and about which something ought to be done now'. The important word in this phrase is the word 'now' which indicates that all of these situations have the feature that they cannot wait for resolution. The crucial element in Bittner's discussion is therefore that of time. With the general right to use coercive force, the police are able to do something 'now', as the police are able to overcome resistance by use of their legal powers of coercion.

What is interesting about Bittner's idea is that the 'something' that is happening that needs attention remains un-defined. So it may include many incidents that on the surface may not be seen as police business but that the police become involved in and resolve.

If 'police' is a term specific to a group of individuals charged with special crime and disorder reduction powers, then 'policing' is a much wider concept and involves many other agencies.

Crawford (2014) sees policing as the outcome of a constellation of actors, agencies and processes both within and beyond the police organisation.

Policing therefore can be defined as the wider application of many agencies in order to support the functions of the state in reducing crime and disorder. It includes the work of educational bodies, who attempt to prevent crime through the education of citizens away from this activity, as well as community cohesion activities which promote active citizenry and volunteerism. Private security companies and other agencies are also member of the wider 'constellation' of bodies which work to support the state. However, private security, according to Crawford, tends to be more instrumental rather than moral, in the sense that it tends to be concerned more with loss prevention and risk reduction rather than with law enforcement and conviction of criminals. Nonetheless, both the activities of the police and of those involved in the wider process of policing are of course engaged with the idea of social control and security.

Conclusion

There is some confusion of the use of the terms police and policing in the current discourse regrading changes to law enforcement. This perhaps is natural as the term policing has been linked to the work of the public police organisation. However, we clearly need to understand the delineation of such terms if we are to undergo changes in the delivery of policing by agencies other than the public police.

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