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The work of Welsh Government funded Community Support Officers

Executive Summary

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1 Introduction

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

2 Background to the Programme

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

- **A Shrinking Workforce**
England has seen an overall decline in CSO numbers since 2010. The Welsh Government investment has increased the number of CSOs in Wales from March 2012 onwards. All forces have seen reductions in the number of police officers.
- **A Changing Workforce**
Reductions in police staff numbers have not been uniformly distributed within or across police organisations. The Welsh Government funding has shifted the public-facing profile of police staff in Wales more towards CSOs.
- **Public Perceptions of Police Visibility**
Daily visibility of local police in Wales in 2012/13 exceeded that of England where it has fallen by 4 percentage points between 2011/12 and 2012/13. Within Wales local police visibility has been increasing in more deprived areas and decreasing in the least deprived areas over the last three years.

3 Aims of the Programme

The Welsh Government's funding of 500 CSOs aimed to provide an additional resource 'to play a pivotal role not only in making our communities safer, but in making them feel safer' (Welsh Government, 2011 pp 25-26). From its inception the policy accented social deprivation, with a stated intent that

additional resources be preferentially focused on Communities First areas. Nevertheless, the responsibility for recruiting, employing, training and deploying the new officers rested with the forces themselves to accommodate a commitment to the 'overarching operational independence of the police service'. A core condition of programme was that the new CSOs employed under it be *in addition* to forces' planned policing levels.

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

A number of more specific outcomes of the investment were detailed:

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

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

4 Aims of the Research

The Universities' Police Science Institute (UPSI) at Cardiff University was commissioned to independently assess the programme. Using multiple research methods, the research addresses three key issues:

- **The policy and its intent:** to identify how the choices and decisions taken in formulating the policy shaped and framed how the additional CSOs were deployed, the services they delivered to communities and any differences to levels of community safety that were detectable as a result.

¹ Annex A: Terms and Conditions applying to the Award of Community Support Officer Grant, Welsh Government, January 2012.

- **The operational implementation:** how the Welsh Government CSO resource was used by each force in terms of strategy and deployment patterns;
- **The impact:** any change as a result of this extra investment in terms of a variety of community safety outcome indicators. The research includes an assessment of change in some of these key indicators owing to influences outside of any services delivered by the 500 CSOs. This recognises the complex relations that exist between cause and effect in wide-ranging social interventions of this kind.

The policy, its implementation and impacts were assessed at three levels: nationally; at police force level; and within selected case study areas.

5 Findings: At the National Level

5.1 Implementation

Whilst the Welsh Government highlighted Communities First areas as ones where they would particularly wish to see progress under the policy, the overarching principle of operational independence allowed Chief Officers to use the new resource in whatever way they felt most appropriate provided they “had regard for Welsh Government strategic priorities and the aim of Safer Communities for All²”. Consequently, the public facing delivery of the policy was directly shaped by the different force strategies and deployment models used to integrate the new CSOs into in each force.

A key condition of the grant was that the new posts remain additional to each force’s existing establishment and forecast staffing reductions. Welsh Government established a rigorous monitoring process to ensure compliance with this agreed ‘additionality principle’.

The 500 new CSOs were distributed across the five forces as follows: 206 to South Wales Police (SWP); 101 to North Wales Police (NWP); 101 to Gwent Police (GP); 74 to Dyfed Powys Police (DPP); and 18 to British Transport Police in Wales.

The first CSOs were deployed by Gwent and Dyfed Powys in January 2012 and the final intake by South Wales Police in October 2013.

² Annex A: Terms and Conditions applying to the Award of Community Support Officer Grant, Welsh Government, January 2012

5.2 Impact

Community Support Officers do not represent a new intervention in policing. To obtain some indication of what differences might be resulting from the uplift in CSO resource in Wales, comparisons with patterns and trends in England have been made. In England there was no additional investment in CSO numbers over the same time period. This comparative analysis shows:

- The long-term downward trend in crime for Wales tracks that of England. There is no evidence that additional CSOs in the last two years have had an impact on the crime rate in Wales.
- The rate of falling crime exceeds the rate of police officer workforce reductions implying that there is no obvious demand for CSOs to take on police-based work in response to crime. There is little reason to expect more CSOs to alter the volume of recorded crime in Wales.
- The Crime Survey for England and Wales suggests that members of the public living in more deprived areas of Wales are most likely to report a high police presence. These national trends provide evidence to support the WG policy intent to steer the additional resource towards deprived areas.
- The Beaufort Omnibus Survey shows that over the period of Welsh Government investment, public familiarity with CSOs in Wales is very high but has not changed.
- A sizeable percentage of those who had seen a CSO said that visible patrol made 'no difference' to their safety. This percentage has fallen over the last year and there has been a corresponding increase in the percentage who feel 'a lot safer'. Other data suggests that the 'dosage' of visibility has to be tailored to local conditions if it is to be reassuring.

6 Findings: At Police Force Area Level

6.1 Implementation

All of the Welsh forces ran internal and external recruitment campaigns. Many of the candidates who applied had an ultimate ambition to join the police service as warranted officers. Applications for re-deployment from redundant police civilian staff were also considered.

- The majority of CSOs who joined under Welsh Government funding were more likely to be under 25 years of age and male than those already in post.

- Dyfed Powys Police deployed the new resources quickly, 'doubling up' with existing resource with the flexibility to re-deploy if necessary as their new Neighbourhood Management model rolled out.
- The primary deployment strategy for North and South Wales used existing force modelling of local demand, deprivation and rurality to calculate allocations. In both forces, local management teams were consulted about how to deploy the newly allocated officers.
- Gwent sought to employ part-time officers working at weekend peak demand times to maximise police visibility. By offering limited hours roles, they anticipated recruiting a diverse range of candidates for whom part-time working was attractive.
- For the BTP in Wales there was a clear strategy to keep the new officers deployed together in order to better evidence their impact and officers were therefore consolidated into the three force Neighbourhood Policing Teams based at key stations in Cardiff, Pontypridd and Bangor.
- Deployment of extra CSOs coincided with wider organisational changes as services were reconfigured in a climate of austerity. This complexity, together with the different strategic approaches, makes it difficult to directly compare the Welsh forces and decreases the likelihood that the same impacts would be found – or expected – in each one.

6.2 Impact

- For GP, SWP and NWP there has been a slight rise in recorded crime over the last year, although in each force the prevailing, underlying trend is one of falling crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB) that pre-dates the Welsh Government investment in CSOs. These trends reflect the national picture across Wales and, as similar trends are observed in England where no extra police resource was available, cannot be directly attributed to additional CSOs in Wales.
- With the exception of Gwent, all terrestrial forces have seen a sizeable fall in recorded ASB since 2011-12 and this has been consistent over time.
- For BTP there have been some reductions in both crime and ASB associated with stations or journeys over the last two years.

- There is evidence of an increase in the percentage of recorded incidents, such as anti-social behaviour, attended by a CSO. This change is not evident for recorded crimes.
- Survey data show that the public have become more familiar with CSOs in 2 out of 4 Welsh terrestrial forces. The findings suggest that CSO familiarity and visibility have changed over the deployment period, but the direction and magnitude of change is variable across the four Welsh forces.
- The public increasingly view managing anti-social behaviour as integral to the CSO role, along with the issuing of Fixed Penalty Notices and confiscating alcohol and tobacco. These findings suggest that public expectations for the CSO role are changing in a way that is broadly in keeping with what CSOs are doing.
- There was no change in public awareness of the Welsh Government policy of funding CSOs which remained at only around 1 in 10 of the Welsh public in each force area.
- National Passenger Survey data suggest there is greater police visibility to the public using train routes in Wales and perceptions on emergency action, dealing with crime and knowing how to report are more favourable for Arriva Trains Wales than the UK total. However, perceived personal security on board has dipped slightly in the last year.

7 Findings: At a Case Study Area Level

At a local level, Welsh Government-funded CSOs were fully integrated into the existing Neighbourhood Policing Teams. This made the differentiation of their roles and activities impossible within case study areas. The analyses explore the role of the CSO in general without reference to their funding source. The exception to this is for the part-time Welsh Government CSOs employed by Gwent Police (sections 7.3 and 7.4). Collectively the case studies demonstrate the considerable variations between areas in terms of how CSOs were deployed and tasked³.

³ A sub-division of the UK-wide force with specialist responsibility for the rail network, the BTP in Wales operates differently to the four Welsh terrestrial forces in a number of regards. The police force level analysis was therefore considered appropriate to assess the 'local' implementation and impact of the small number of additional CSOs allocated to the force and deployed across a large geographic area. Consequently, no additional case study area was selected for this force and findings at this level apply to the four Welsh terrestrial forces only.

7.1 The Isle of Anglesey – North Wales Police

The CSOs focus upon community support and engagement activities including: a dedicated rural post; a number of police watch schemes; engagement with schools and young people; Street-Meets and Community Council Meetings. CSOs also have increasing responsibility for tasks such as CCTV reviews, house-to-house enquiries and creating crime/ASB occurrences. Force level re-organisations and the associated loss of warranted Community Beat Managers resulted in some lack of direction for CSOs who are now the only neighbourhood policing specialists on the island. There has been a slight rise in recorded crime and incidents relative to January 2012 and a considerable increase in CSOs attending ASB incidents since October 2013. Members of the public who agreed 'police are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community' increased in Anglesey by 5 percentage points from 2010-2011 to 55 percent in 2014.

7.2 Tenby – Dyfed Powys Police

In Tenby the new CSOs were used to create a 'surge' in policing presence, with particular emphasis upon a range of community support tasks, including: engagement with schools and young people; vulnerable people; local businesses; public meetings and surgeries; and cohesion activities at community events. As part of this surge strategy, there was a focus on high visibility foot patrol in the town where there is a large transient tourist population. CSOs across the force area have been attending more non-crime incidents. The public in Tenby values high visibility, but this is moderated by them distinguishing between CSOs and police constables. Recorded crime has fallen slightly but there is no overall change in ASB volume. Local people are more likely to rate their local police as 'fair' rather than 'good' or 'excellent' in 2013 compared to the previous year and feel less informed.

7.3 Newport Central – Gwent Police

The part-time Welsh Government CSOs are engaged in high visibility, reassurance patrol in the City Centre, dealing with a transient population, ASB and night-time economy issues. There is also considerable engagement activity with businesses, but limited opportunities to proactively develop local resident engagement. Some frustration was expressed by the CSOs about the drift towards a reactive police-support function when they have only limited powers. There has been an increase in recorded incidents of anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012 in this area. This contrasts with a decrease in recorded crime over the same period for selected offences. In the Newport Unitary Authority Area, 52 percent regularly saw CSOs on patrol in 2012 and 2013 much higher than for the Gwent area as a whole.

7.4 Ebbw Vale – Gwent Police

In Ebbw Vale, community support and police support functions predominated in different parts of the area. In the less deprived neighbourhoods, CSOs were performing more community support activities, whereas in some other areas - where traditionally relationships with the police have not been good - they are engaged in rather different tasks. The initial focus selected for the part-time CSOs was to crew a reactive ASB response vehicle across a large geographic area at peak times. This strategy is now being withdrawn because CSOs wanted more opportunity to develop their community engagement activities. The full-time officers have boosted community support and engagement activity including: with young people in local schools and colleges; events co-hosted with third sector partners; surgeries and public meetings; and regular community clubs. In focus groups, local officers suggested that their increased numbers were off-set by an increase in office-based administration. There was an increase in recorded incidents of ASB and, to a lesser extent crime, relative to January 2012. There has been an increase in the percentage of ASB victims in this area who know how to contact local officers (+9 percentage points), but only 17% of the general public regularly saw CSOs on patrol, much lower than for the Gwent as a whole.

7.5 Aberdare – South Wales Police

The new officers were allocated to wards but with flexible deployment over a large geographical area of the Cynon Valley. This constrained opportunities for familiarity to develop within communities. There was an emphasis on police tasks such as: response calls; victim follow up; fast-time actions around crime investigations. This resulted in significant frustration among CSOs that proactive community engagement activity was being neglected. Specific projects were facilitating some community engagement, such as: 'Project 446' to understand perceptions of safety and security among communities in Aberaman and Aberdare East and 'Operation Perception'.

There has been a decrease in recorded anti-social behaviour relative to January 2012, but no change in recorded crime. A modest lift in CSO attendance for crime and non-crime occurrences in Aberdare since January 2012 was detected. The proportion of residents who felt that there are more police in their area more than halved between 2012 and 2013. A negative change was also evident for local confidence in the police, with the percentage who agreed 'local police are dealing with what matters to people in the community' falling over the same period.

7.6 Grangetown – South Wales Police

The CSOs in Grangetown are tasked with a number of community engagement and relationship building activities across a relatively small geographical area including: regular public meetings; drop-in surgeries; responsibility for managing the team's Twitter activity. Despite a similar increase in reactive police-focused tasks as their colleagues in Aberdare, they see many of these as community focused and part of their core role in developing community relationships. In a multi-cultural area, engaging with traditionally hard-to-reach groups is seen as a priority. There is a specialist role linking with the PREVENT agenda which presents a key community intelligence gathering function. When interviewed as part of this research, some frustration was expressed at the lack of available police back up in a high crime area.

There has been no change in recorded crime or ASB relative to January 2012. However, public perceptions have become more polarised over the last two or three years. The proportion of residents who felt that there are more police in their area has slightly increased, but so has the percentage who perceive less police presence. Evidence from recent research suggests that relationships between CSOs and young Muslim residents are somewhat strained and that the situation in Grangetown is complex, with recent high profile events impacting upon general perceptions of neighbourhood safety and policing.

8 Interpreting the Data

The analysis identifies a range of factors that have combined to make this a complex intervention in terms of being able to determine patterns of cause and effect between the additional CSO input and measurable public outcomes. These include:

- This was not a 'new' policing capacity, but rather an uplift in existing capacity.
- Implementation taking place in a period of profound public sector austerity, where reductions in central government funding for the police has seen the number of police officers fall across all Welsh forces.
- The wider economic climate has also seen all forces undertake significant organisational restructuring during the period when the new CSOs were being introduced.

- The five forces introduced their new CSOs at different points in time and at different rates. This makes it difficult to infer any key patterns that their introduction may have had for key indicators.
- Examining key trends in levels of crime, disorder and confidence it can be seen that many of these pre-date the arrival of the Welsh Government CSOs.
- The principle of police operational independence has meant that there have been differences in how the policy has been implemented.

8.1 The Four P's

Four key factors have been identified that help to explain how the programme has been implemented across Wales.

Policy: the policy's twin commitments to additionality and preserving police operational independence allowed a range of different strategic and operating models for the CSO role to emerge. The result was that local implementation was unlikely to achieve all desired outcomes in all places.

People: Positioning the CSO role as a 'stepping stone' into the police service has meant that many individuals recruited into the new positions had ambitions to become police officers. This has created 'churn' in personnel with negative implications for community relationship building. There is some evidence to suggest that it is the more vocational CSOs who are most likely to embed themselves into the more proactive engagement elements of their role.

Places: The make-up of the localities into which the new CSOs have been deployed is significant in relation to the success or otherwise of their interventions. Precisely what the public want from their local police is complex and situationally framed. It is clear that it involves some balance of visibility, accessibility and familiarity. The precise balance between these reflects local levels of crime and community cohesion.

Problems: Whilst the official CSO role description varies little between forces, the situated problems they deal with mean the reality of their day-to-day activities can be very different. Across all forces, low level crime and associated investigative tasks are becoming an increasingly significant part of CSO work.

8.2 The CSO Balancing Act

The interactions between these 'four P's' leave CSOs managing a delicate balance of community-focused proactive interventions and reactive 'police' tasks. Figure 8.1 depicts this balancing act.

Within the four terrestrial Welsh forces, two different 'ideal-type' CSO operating models can be observed:

- 'Community Support' focuses upon engagement activities and performing the kinds of tasks that help to nurture and support community cohesion.
- 'Police Support' undertakes tasks that were previously performed by police constables.

None of the six case study sites used these models in a 'pure' form. However, they do provide a useful device for understanding how, relative to each other, some of the six sites tended to be weighted towards one or other model. Such decisions about local policy formulation and implementation served to structure what specific outcomes were being sought and achieved.

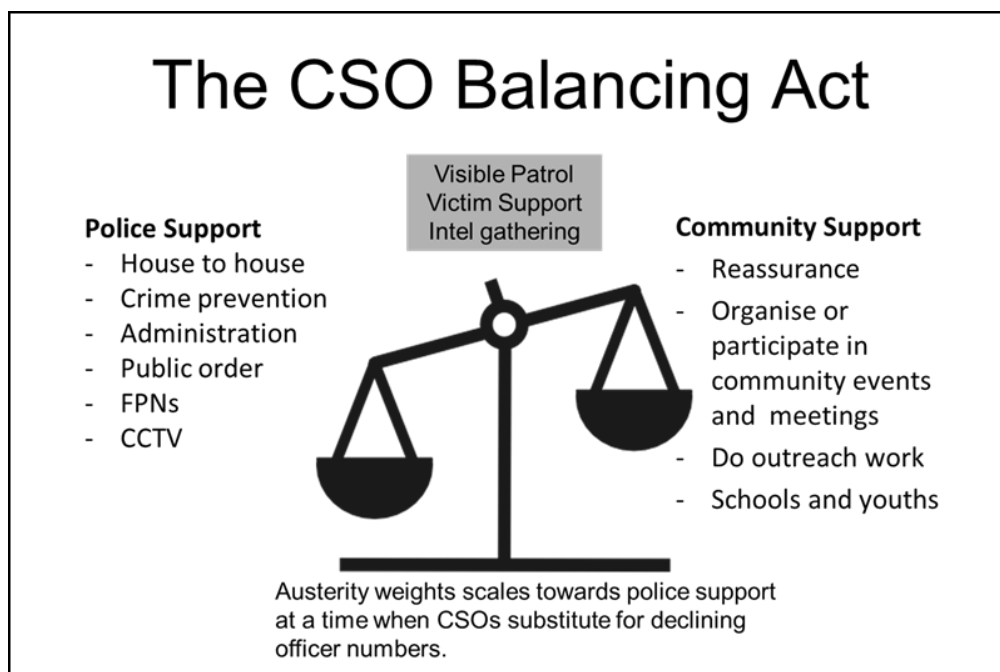


Figure 8.1 The CSO Balancing Act

8.3 Impact and Change

The research makes a key distinction between ‘change’ and ‘impact’. The latter term is restricted to those movements in key indicators that can be reasonably attributed to the activities of the CSOs. The concept of change refers to alterations that probably would have happened anyway. This is important to integrate within the analysis because there is good evidence to suggest that patterns and trends in the prevalence and distribution of crime, disorder and security in England and Wales are restructuring.

Table 8.2 summarises the key impacts and changes detected by the empirical evidence collected as part of this research. The columns represent the levels at which evidence of change and impact was sought: national; police force area; and in six case study sites.

The rows in the table set out a number of key indicators where it was envisaged impacts resulting from the policy intervention might be registered. These impacts were derived from three sources: (1) the purposes set out by Welsh Government (2) review of the available research literature (3) statistical modelling of the Crime Survey for England and Wales.

- The cells coloured green denote where evidence of programme impact has been established;
- Red cells are where negative **change** in that indicator has occurred. This may or may not have anything to do with the CSOs, but it is important to capture on the grounds that the additional capacity has not arrested it.
- A number of the cells are shaded amber. This colour is used to denote where there is some form of complex effect. This might be for example, where it is a situational or neighbourhood effect, or non-linear trend where the underlying pattern has shifted.
- Blue is used for where the indicator was stable or a slight positive change was detected but that there is no evidence to conclude that this is caused by the programme intervention.
- Where no colour is assigned to a cell in the table that means there was either insufficient data available, or no discernible pattern detected.

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

Figure 8.2 Impact and Change Summary

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

Summarising the key data in this way illuminates a number of key findings.

- The most consistent impact of the programme was in CSOs assuming a greater role in responding to ASB and non-crime calls for service from members of the public. This we label a 'delegation' effect.
- In an economic context where the number of police officers has been reduced, the delegation effect is an important and potentially consequential development in the organisation of policing.
- The research struggled to ascertain reliable data of impacts on community cohesion and perceptions of safety. The Welsh Government identified both of these in their purposes for making the grant to the police forces.
- There is some evidence of increased police visibility being enabled by the additional capacity. However, the impacts were moderated by the fact that at a very local level, whilst people were appreciative of the CSOs they can be seen as a 'substitute' for 'real' police officers.
- An important finding in relation to police visibility is the presence of a 'dosage effect'. Too little visible police presence has negative consequences for neighbourhood security. Equally though, too much police visibility in an area can be harmful because it makes people concerned about what must be happening to warrant this presence. It is important that the quantity and quality of police presence is carefully calibrated to local need.

9 Conclusions and Recommendations

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

The policy itself was designed by Welsh Government to afford a degree of flexibility and adaptability in terms of its implementation by the participating police forces. Clearly defining a space for the implementation processes to be tailored to local circumstances and need was important in terms of preserving the principle of operational independence of the police that was agreed by all stakeholders. It also

facilitated the additional CSO resource being used in ways responsive to local conditions 'on the ground' in communities. At the same time though, this way of framing the policy did induce a number of important 'downstream' consequences:

- The four forces devised different strategies for their deployment and direction of the new CSOs. Because the new officers were integrated into the police staff, it is very difficult to isolate and disaggregate what effects these different approaches might have had, and how appropriate and successful they were.
- Allowing the four forces to choose how to use the additional officers meant that rather different aims and expectations were established for the programme across Wales.
- The actual services delivered and tasks undertaken within communities by the Welsh Government funded CSOs differed significantly across the forces and within individual case study sites, reflecting the strategic decisions and choices that were made.
- The ability to robustly assess the impacts of the policy overall are rendered more challenging because of the policy design, and the fact that officers were deployed in very different ways in different communities and were engaged in delivering a diverse array of services.

9.1 Conclusions

Overall, the research concludes that:

- The Welsh Government investment provided an additional capacity of 500 CSOs. These posts have been taking on increased responsibility for dealing with ASB and other disorder, in line with public expectations.
- Impacts generated as a result of this additional capacity were constrained by external factors. Most notably, the central government disinvestment in policing and consequent reductions in the number of police officers. The Welsh Government investment has offset some of the effects of this with the result that the overall levels of police staffing in Wales have not declined in

the same way as in England. As such, the Welsh Government's policy has reshaped certain public facing aspects of policing in Wales.

- The demands and needs of particular communities in specific areas meant that the focus for CSO activities differed markedly. A combination of people, places, problems and policies are identified as the key determinants in influencing what the policy actually delivered on the ground.
- A high-level conceptual distinction is drawn between 'Police Support' and 'Community Support' models of the role. The available evidence suggests it was where key elements of both ideal-types are blended that the better outcomes for communities arise.
- In terms of the impacts of the additional CSOs, the evidence is mixed across different communities, contexts and indicators. But because the CSO role was conceived in very different ways in different parts of Wales, it was always improbable that all areas would acquire benefits across all key indicators. There were also domains such as perceptions of safety and community cohesion that may plausibly have been influenced by enhanced CSO capacity, but robust data was simply not available.
- There is some empirical evidence to suggest that CSOs have provided additional police presence in the most deprived communities.
- There is some evidence to suggest that the public has noticed an increased police presence and visibility in many areas.

9.2 Recommendations

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

1. We would recommend that Welsh Government extend the period for impact analysis of the policy. This would enable data from the third wave of the Beaufort Omnibus and subsequent iterations of the Crime Survey for England and Wales to be analysed. This would add considerable value to understanding the wider

perceptual impacts of the interventions. As originally conceived, the period allowed for assessment was rather compressed.

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

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

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

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

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