

**Home Office Research Study 284**

# Reassuring the public

– a review of international policing interventions

David Dalglish and Andy Myhill

*The views expressed in this report are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Home Office (nor do they reflect Government policy).*

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## Foreword

Delivering reassurance to the public has become a major challenge for British policing. Discussions about reassurance, typified by references to the 'reassurance gap' between public perceptions of rising crime and actual crime statistics that point to a fall over several years, have expanded recently to include a complex and diverse range of topics. These have included feelings of safety, satisfaction with the policing provided and confidence in the police.

In spite of the term's popularity, there remains no agreed and consistently applied definition of the concept of reassurance. Instead it has come to mean a number of different things to policy makers, practitioners and academics alike.

This review of existing research seeks to make a constructive contribution to clarifying the reassurance challenge. The review involved clarification of the concept of reassurance and the identification of its key elements. The study also provides a comprehensive review of interventions designed to address the key constituents of reassurance and how effective they were in achieving their intended outcomes.

The findings from this review will therefore be relevant to both policy makers and practitioners involved in either developing or implementing future interventions in this challenging area.

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## Executive summary

### Background and aims

Reassurance has become a prominent issue in UK policing. It is related to several Home Office aims and public service agreement targets. Measures relating to aspects of reassurance are also being consolidated in the Home Office's Policing Performance Assessment Framework. The concept was described as the 'primary objective' for policing in the National Policing Plan 2003–6, and this message has been continued in the most recently published plan, which makes provision of a 'citizen-focused' service a key priority.

However, there is a lack of consensus as to what reassurance actually relates to in a policing context. Policy makers, practitioners and academics use the concept to refer to a variety of different processes and outcomes. The overall aim of this review is to provide a clearer idea of what constitutes reassurance in relation to policing, and to appraise the evidence base on the police's effectiveness in reassuring the public. The review is timely, as it will provide knowledge about evaluated interventions that have addressed aspects of reassurance, in order to inform work taking place within and outside the Home Office.

For reasons of expedience and practicality, the work was undertaken as a comprehensive review, adhering as much as possible to the principles of systematic review. This consisted of a number of structured stages to search for literature, appraise relevant studies, and to synthesise and evaluate the evidence.

### Conceptualising reassurance

Two definitions of reassurance were discovered in the early stages of the review; those of Bahn (1974) and HMIC (2001). Both definitions related to an individual's feelings of safety. However, they did not cover the entire debate around reassurance, which seemed to be intertwined with improving confidence in the criminal justice system.

In order to define reassurance for the purposes of the review, an initial literature search was conducted. The concepts used in articles produced by this search were totalled, and the issues of public perceptions and visibility were used most frequently. The public perceptions mainly related to confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police. The next most frequent

aspects concerned feelings of safety and fear of crime, which were often used interchangeably. It was decided that these four key aspects of reassurance would be presented under two headings:

- perceived police effectiveness (incorporating confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police);
- feelings and perceptions of safety (incorporating feelings of safety, and fear of crime).

The conceptualisation stage of the review led to a definition of reassurance being created for the purposes of this review:

*“the intended outcome(s) of actions taken by the police and other agencies to improve perceived police effectiveness (mainly confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police), and to increase feelings and perceptions of safety (including reducing fear of crime)”.*

This definition stresses that reassurance is an outcome (or set of outcomes) of a particular mechanism or mechanisms contained in an intervention.

## **Methodology**

The review required a wide and comprehensive search of electronic databases and other reference materials. The decision was taken to only appraise evaluated interventions designed to address one or more aspects of reassurance. It was also decided not to cover issues of ‘probity’ (e.g., those relating to police corruption and misconduct) and survey research of police user-satisfaction. These issues could be covered by further work to update this review.

The appraisal of the literature was completed using the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (MSMS) (Farrington *et al.*, 2002). Studies are graded according to the robustness of their methodology. A descriptive method of data synthesis was then performed, allowing the reviewer to take into account the context of the interventions, as well as the fact that there was insufficient methodological information available for some interventions, resulting in a (possibly unjustly) low MSMS score.



The strength of the evidence that emerged from appraisal of the evaluated interventions was assessed using the MSMS 'what works' classification. Intervention mechanisms were classified as 'what works', 'what's promising', 'what doesn't work' and 'what's unknown', based on their relative success in the appraised interventions. It should be remembered that the MSMS scale favours larger, quantitative, experimental-type evaluations. It should also be remembered that the 'what's unknown' category will contain a mixture of intervention mechanisms. Some are classified unknown as a result of a lack of methodological information about the study, others may have produced results that were not statistically significant.

## Results

The findings from the review are discussed under the headings of 'increasing perceived police effectiveness' and 'feelings and perceptions of safety'. The results are presented by type of intervention mechanism (e.g., patrol-based interventions). As some studies were multi-faceted, and attempted to address more than one aspect of reassurance, using a variety of mechanisms to achieve their goals, they appear in more than one section.

The review found 22 evaluated interventions that dealt with one or more aspects of reassurance. Twelve of these studies related to perceived police effectiveness, and all 22 addressed in some way feelings and perceptions of safety.

### Improving perceived police effectiveness

In relation to improving perceived police effectiveness, the mechanisms of increasing police visibility and familiarity were found to be the most effective.

What works	What's promising	What doesn't work	What's unknown
Improving police visibility and familiarity	Community engagement Community policing Foot patrol Beat policing		Neighbourhood Watch

Community policing and beat policing were separated as mechanisms, due to interventions employing the former involving actual involvement from the community, as opposed to just a visible and familiar police presence in a defined area.

### Improving feelings and perceptions of safety

In relation to feelings and perceptions of safety, increased levels of foot patrol were found to be most effective.

What works	What's promising	What doesn't work	What's unknown
Increased foot patrol	Improving police visibility, accessibility and familiarity Community policing Increased residential security		Street lighting CCTV Street drinking restrictions Neighbourhood Watch Crime prevention Beat policing Community engagement

### Issues to consider

The results of the review should be interpreted with reference to the following influencing factors:

- **Context** of the intervention – many of the interventions took place several years ago, and also in a range of different countries, where the political, socio-economic and cultural climate could differ from the present day. Interventions designed to address feelings of safety can also be affected by seasonal variations.
- **Transferability** of the intervention – much of the evidence discovered, particularly relating to foot patrol, came from the United States. All of the appraised interventions were implemented in urban areas, and the mechanisms of visibility and familiarity, in particular, may not transfer easily to a rural context. Some interventions implemented in affluent areas may not transfer well to more deprived areas (and vice versa).
- **Implementation** – mechanisms that involve simple operational or environmental changes may be easier to implement than those involving sustained organisational change. Partnership working may benefit interventions with multiple reassurance outcomes, but may raise further implementation issues. An intervention needs to be well established before reliable evaluation measures can be taken.
- **Sustainability** of interventions – many interventions are resource intensive, particularly those involving increased foot patrol. If resources are reallocated, other areas may be affected. Sustainability is also related to organisational change, and this may only be achieved with strong backing from influential people. Community-related interventions can depend heavily on the sustained involvement of the original key personnel.

## Recommendations

The provision of public reassurance involves a variety of agencies and people. The following table includes a number of recommendations for addressing reassurance. In some instances, the recommendations apply to more than one service delivery area or agency.

Recommendation	Home Office	Research	Police	CDRPs*
Constituent aspects of 'reassurance' should be measured in a rigid and consistent way in future evaluations.		✓		
There should be further work carried out to establish 'acceptable levels' for specified aspects of reassurance. These threshold measures may vary in different intervention contexts.	✓	✓		
Future interventions should consider 'baselining' levels of relevant aspects of reassurance before undertaking evaluations, as this is advantageous when interpreting results.		✓	✓	✓
A reassurance toolkit or something similar should exist on the Crime Reduction website. Building on the current Fear of Crime toolkit could be one way this is achieved.	✓			
Future interventions should consider publicity as an integral part of the project, particularly if the intervention mechanisms are not visible to the public.		✓	✓	✓
The visibility, accessibility and familiarity of police officers should be optimised when introducing new patrol strategies, preferably in smaller and more localised areas where possible.			✓	
When addressing feelings and perceptions of safety, the feasibility of an increase in the number of officers that patrol on foot should be examined.			✓	
Reassurance should be the shared responsibility of the police, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, other local stakeholders and community members.	✓		✓	✓
Interventions that have been referred to in the review that currently exist in England and Wales (such as police-community stations) should be evaluated.	✓	✓	✓	✓

\* Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships



## Background

'Reassurance' has recently become one of the more prominent issues in UK policing. It is related to Home Office Aim 1, as well as the Home Office's Public Service Agreement (PSA) targets 1, 2 and 4 (see Box 1.1). Despite its relatively recent appearance on the policy agenda, it is not a new concept in the debate around policing. In 1974, in the United States, Charles Bahn authored *The Reassurance Factor in Police Patrol*, where he defines reassurance as "the feelings of safety and security that a citizen experiences when he sees a police officer or police patrol car nearby" (Bahn, 1974:341). Bahn expands on this by arguing that police 'visibility' and 'accessibility' are the key factors behind citizen reassurance. He highlights that this need for reassurance is often communicated as a request for a return to 'beat-policing'. This has been reflected, in the UK context, in recent calls from members of the public, and certain sections of the media, for more 'bobbies on the beat'.

### Box 1.1 – Relevant Home Office Aims and Public Service Agreement targets

Home Office Aim 1:

To reduce crime and the fear of crime, tackle youth crime and violent, sexual and drug-related crime, antisocial behaviour and disorder, increasing safety in the home and public spaces.

PSA Target 1:

Reduce crime and the fear of crime; improve performance overall, including by reducing the gap between the highest crime CDRP areas and the best comparable areas; and reduce:

- vehicle crime by 30% from 1998/99 to 2004;
- domestic burglary by 25% from 1998/99 to 2005; and
- robbery in the 10 Street Crime Initiative areas by 14% from 1999/00 to 2005; and maintain that level.

PSA Target 2:

Improve the performance of all police forces, and significantly reduce the performance gap between the best and worst performing forces; and significantly increase the proportion of time spent on frontline duties.

PSA Target 4:

Improve the level of public confidence in the Criminal Justice System, including increasing that of minority ethnic communities, and increasing year on year the satisfaction of victims and witnesses, whilst respecting the rights of defendants.

More recently, another theoretical article (Smith, 1994) called for a 'reassuring visible police presence'. Although the author is less specific than Bahn with regard to the meaning

of reassurance, he does refer to the Police (Secretary of State's Objectives) Order 1994, of which one of the objectives is "to provide high visibility policing so as to reassure the public" (op.cit:176). Neither of these theoretical articles refer to any empirical evidence. Their existence, though, highlights the cyclical nature of the reassurance debate.

### **Recent developments**

The present Home Secretary outlined his vision of reassurance, as a key strand of police reform, in his speech to the Superintendents' Association conference in September 2001. He discussed the issues of police numbers, a visible police presence, and the gap between 'fear of crime' and actual crime rates. Since then, reassurance has become more central to the policing policy agenda.

In 2001, a thematic inspection was carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), designed to report on the role of visibility and accessibility in public reassurance. The Open All Hours thematic defined reassurance as 'the extent to which individuals perceive that order and security exist within their local environment' (HMIC, 2001:20). It went on to add the concept of 'familiarity' to visibility and accessibility in its view of an integrated approach to public reassurance.

Reassurance was also mentioned repeatedly in the National Policing Plan 2003–6, which identified greater public reassurance, alongside improved police performance, as "the primary objective for the police service for the Plan's three year duration" (Home Office, 2002a:2). The most recently published plan (National Policing Plan 2004–7) continues this message. It sets as a key priority 'providing a citizen focused service to the public which responds to the needs of individuals and communities and inspires confidence in the police particularly amongst minority ethnic communities' (Home Office, 2003c:13).

The Policing Performance Assessment Framework (PPAF) consolidates existing police performance indicators, and also assesses force performance in other areas. Best Value Performance Indicators (BVPIs) relating to the police are now called Statutory Performance Indicators (SPIs), and SPIs are part of the overall assessment framework. Table 1.1 shows the SPIs that relate to aspects of reassurance covered by this review, and the BVPIs that they replaced.

**Table 1.1 Statutory Performance Indicators (2004/5)**

Statutory Performance Indicator (SPI)	Indicator replaced	Source	Includes
SPI 1 (a-e) (Satisfaction measures)	BVPI 23 (a-f)	Local surveys	User satisfaction of victims with aspects of police service delivery
SPI 2 (Confidence measures)	New indicator	British Crime Survey	Percentage of people who think their local police do a good job
SPI 10 (a) (Quality of Life Measures)	BVPI 121	British Crime Survey	Worry about certain types of crime ('fear of crime')
SPI 10 (b) (Quality of Life Measures)	BVPI 122	British Crime Survey	Feelings about certain types of crime and disorder ('feelings of public safety')
SPI 11 (a) (Capability measures)	BVPI 28	Force	The proportion of officer time available for frontline policing

Since the Home Secretary's speech, in 2001, and the subsequent HMIC thematic, further debate has occurred in various policing and criminal justice journals voicing support for, and opposition to, a move towards more reassurance in policing. Many forces and authorities now have strategies to improve public reassurance and have implemented interventions to address this. For example, those participating in the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) aim to improve community safety, and reassure communities by accurately identifying signals of crime or disorder and targeting police resources towards them.

## Research reviews

Research reviews seek to draw together available evidence from previous interventions and theoretical studies. Systematic reviews are the gold-standard form of this type of exercise. They are a scientific method of assembling and appraising original studies. They comprise a number of stages, designed to transparently search for, assess and synthesise the relevant literature. The following processes are based on an outline of how to structure a review, provided by the Evidence Network (a group of specialists at the Economic and Social Research Council-funded UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice). The review stages include:

- the identification of the question(s) that the review will address;
- the development of a protocol to guide the review (see Appendix 1);
- searching for relevant information;

- selecting studies to be included based on an inclusion criteria;
- appraising the quality of the included literature; and
- synthesising the findings.

All of the stages of the review should be recorded and the final product should provide evidence-based information to assist policy development. It should also benefit practitioners, in terms of implementation and evaluation of future interventions.

Full systematic reviews are both time and resource intensive. In order to respond to an increasingly pressing need for evidence on the emerging issue of reassurance, the Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate (RDS) decided to conduct a comprehensive review of research in this area, adhering as much as practicable to the principles of systematic review.

### **The comprehensive review of reassurance research**

The aim of this review is to appraise the evidence base of evaluated interventions assessing the police's effectiveness in reassuring the public and, where possible, to find examples of the police working in partnership with other agencies. The review will also identify the knowledge gaps for future research in this area. The review endeavours to achieve these aims by:

- defining 'public reassurance' in the context of policing by conceptualising relevant literature;
- identifying evaluated interventions designed to address aspects of reassurance, assessing which are more effective and why;
- isolating, where possible, the contribution of the police; and
- providing contextual information to assist with the interpretation of the findings.

The issue of defining reassurance is particularly important, as there is a lack of consensus concerning a definition, and the term tends to be used by different people in a number of different ways. Finding examples of partnership working and work done by other agencies is important in the context of the work of Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRPs). Furthermore, it is also important in assessing whether reassurance can be delivered using mechanisms outside of operational policing, for example improving street lighting. Interventions addressing aspects of reassurance that use mechanisms designed to improve the physical environment may also be undertaken by police partner agencies.



## **Structure of the report**

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 highlights the process behind the conceptualisation of the term 'reassurance' and offers a working definition of reassurance for the purposes of the review. Chapter 3 sets out the review methodology. Results tables highlighting the interventions that have been designed to address the different aspects of reassurance are included in Chapter 4, which also examines some of the interventions in further detail and concludes by discussing issues surrounding context, transferability, implementation issues and sustainability. The final chapter puts forward the conclusions of the review and sets out recommendations.



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## 2.

## Conceptualising reassurance

Prior to commencing work on the comprehensive review, two definitions of reassurance were recognised – those of Bahn (1974) and HMIC (2001). These definitions related to an individual's feelings of safety, with HMIC emphasising that a visible, accessible and familiar police service was the framework for achieving public reassurance. However, these definitions did not cover the breadth of the debate around reassurance, which seemed to be intertwined with improving confidence in the criminal justice system.

Consequently, the term reassurance was explored in more detail. Firstly, different dictionary definitions were examined. The Oxford English Dictionary describes reassurance as:

- "renewed or restored confidence" (The Oxford English Dictionary 2nd Ed. Vol. XIII., 1989:293).

Under the word reassure (from which the word reassurance derives), the following definitions were offered:

- "To restore (a person, the mind, etc.) to confidence" (The Oxford English Dictionary 2nd Ed. Vol. XIII., 1989:293);
- "to relieve (someone) of anxieties; restore confidence to" (Collins Concise Dictionary, 5th ed., 2001:1249); and
- "allay the doubts and fears of" (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 10th ed., 1999:1193).

These definitions suggest that, in its general sense, the term reassurance is broader than previously defined by Bahn or HMIC. Further to this, no agreed definition of reassurance in relation to policing, or way of measuring the concept, appeared to exist. Therefore, a stage of the review that conceptualised what reassurance meant, in a policing context, and how the term was being used by those writing in this area, was required, in order to provide a working definition for the review. This conceptualisation would also provide a basis for the main literature searches. To inform this, discussions took place with colleagues both within the Home Office and within HMIC, and a search was then carried out to obtain the literature required for this stage (see Appendix 2).

The literature that was collected was examined, and the key concepts that authors had used when referring to reassurance, or the topics that were included in their work, were noted. This process highlighted that the many authors concerned all had varying ideas of what was meant by reassurance or how they would address the concept.

A tally chart was created to record the frequency of the topics mentioned by the authors. It recorded several 'aspects' of reassurance (see Appendix 2). Perhaps surprisingly, the terms 'trust' and 'probity' did not appear (despite a number of recent events, such as the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the establishment of a new police complaints body: the Independent Police Complaints Commission). Probity concerns issues surrounding fair delivery of policing services, police treatment of minority ethnic groups, and the handling of complaints made against the police. Whilst it is acknowledged that groups or individuals may be (more or less) reassured by the way in which they perceive they will be treated by the police, especially in terms of whether they will be treated fairly in relation to others, the decision was taken not to cover this set of issues in this review. This was mainly due to the need for timely presentation of evidence relating to other aspects of reassurance. This review, though, should be regarded as work in progress, and when updating this work, it would be possible to consider issues relating to probity.

The terms 'public perceptions' and 'visibility' were the most numerous in the literature. Visibility had already been identified as related to reassurance (from the HMIC 'Open All Hours' thematic report), and visibility of officers was seen by HMIC as a process for providing reassurance. The term reassurance is also sometimes used in relation to 'processes' for achieving certain outcomes. This review views reassurance as an outcome (or a number of associated outcomes) of specific interventions designed to (for example) increase feelings of public safety.

The 'public perceptions' mainly concerned confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police and, as these two concepts have different meanings (one being concerned with prospective police action, the other with retrospective assessment of police action), they were initially separated. However, much literature used the actual terms 'confidence' or 'satisfaction' interchangeably when discussing reassurance issues. In addition, some evaluations measured satisfaction as well as another determinant of police performance (for example, Criminal Justice Commission, 1995). Therefore, it was decided to bring confidence and satisfaction together under the heading of 'perceived police effectiveness', as both of the aspects and their related measures would be affected by how effective the public perceived the police had been.

The next most frequent aspects ('feelings of safety' and 'fear of crime') were related to individuals' feelings about themselves and/or their local area, and were connected to the definitions of Bahn and HMIC. These two terms are often confused and used interchangeably, so it was also initially felt that they would be kept separate for the purposes of discussing the outcomes of the review. However, it was subsequently decided they would also be merged, as some evaluators had measured fear of crime using questions relating to feelings of safety (and vice versa). It was felt that it would be less confusing to present results from these studies under the joint heading of 'feelings and perceptions of safety'.

With reference to the work done for the conceptualisation stage of the review, the definition of reassurance for the purposes of this review (utilising the two key aspects of police effectiveness and feelings and perceptions of safety) is:

*"the intended outcome(s) of actions taken by the police and other agencies to improve perceived police effectiveness (mainly confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police), and to increase feelings and perceptions of safety (including reducing the fear of crime)".*

This definition is similar to that of Bahn, in that reassurance is seen as an outcome of a particular method or process. An important point to consider is that as reassurance is being seen as composed of a number of aspects, multiple reassurance outcomes can also exist. So, in the case of some of the studies appraised in this review, an intervention can use several mechanisms to address more than one aspect of reassurance – resulting in multiple reassurance outcomes.

This definition is not absolute, as other concepts have been linked to the reassurance agenda (such as civil renewal, antisocial behaviour and community cohesion). These concepts are yet to be explored in detail by evaluated interventions, but could eventually be seen as aspects of reassurance. However, the definition should serve as a guide to future evaluators to define what they mean by 'reassurance', and how this would be achieved by their intervention mechanism(s). For example, if an agreed low level of antisocial behaviour was seen by an evaluator as what constitutes a reassurance outcome, and antisocial behaviour orders (ASBOs) were the intervention mechanism, then reassurance, in this context, would be a reduction in antisocial behaviour to the agreed target level.



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### 3.

## Review methodology

Following conceptualisation of the term 'reassurance', the next stage was to design and implement a search strategy, with the constituent aspects of the definition used as the key search terms to be built around for the main search phase. Reassurance, in terms of how it had been defined for the review, had not been the subject of previous literature reviews, with the exception of one of the sub-aspects: fear of crime.

### Data collection

The review required a wide search of electronic databases and other reference materials. The search criteria were modified from the conceptualisation phase, as the decision was made only to review examples of evaluated interventions designed to address one or more of the identified aspects of reassurance. The key concepts from the previous stage were built around using terms that would make the search more specific to policing, and also to empirical research (see Appendix 3). It was felt that, compared to the conceptualisation phase, the main search required a wider range of sources. Thus, an increased number of electronic databases (including those searched in the conceptualisation phase) were used for the final search. Several searches were conducted using a number of combinations of the terms identified (see Appendix 3 for the full list of search terms, databases and other resources). It was sometimes necessary to carry out a number of searches on one particular issue, for example patrol, because a considerable number of studies were produced from the original search and there was thus a need to make the search more narrow.

None of the evaluated interventions addressed reassurance as a concept, or as an outcome in itself. Rather, they were aimed at addressing a constituent aspect or aspects (as discussed in Chapter 2, it is possible for a single intervention to have multiple reassurance outcomes). The lack of evaluated interventions using reassurance as the term of reference seemed quite surprising given that the concept first appeared in theoretical literature with Bahn (1974) and had been reintroduced to the debate in the 1990s. There are a number of possible reasons for the reassurance concept not becoming 'common currency'. For example, in previous years, these theories were not as widely debated and thus would not have received the same investment as more recent reassurance work. It may also have been the case that police (and evaluators) efforts were concentrated on other themes within the criminological sphere such as crime prevention or crime reduction. Furthermore, it cannot be

discounted that this review may have missed interventions that specifically used reassurance as a concept, despite the rigorous search.

The next stage was to acquire the literature identified. This was done using several means (see Appendix 3). A database was created of literature requested, which was then updated when literature arrived. Some of the pieces of literature were either unobtainable or were difficult to acquire, and steps were taken to counter this (see Appendix 5). At this stage it was felt that, as there were only two documents, the foreign language studies would not be translated, as they would not impact hugely on the review.

### **Data extraction**

The sifting and appraisal of the literature was done simultaneously to minimise potential delay caused by sources that were difficult to obtain. Studies meeting the review criteria (evaluated interventions) were input to a spreadsheet, which included information around the intervention, the methodology, and the findings. Those that were excluded were also put into a spreadsheet, giving the reason(s) for their exclusion (see Appendix 5).

Some studies were excluded because they were duplicated by other studies, or looked at a particular aspect of an evaluated intervention that was covered by the full evaluation report. One example was Brown and Wycoff (1987) who looked at the Houston experience that was covered in Pate *et al.* (1986). Other excluded studies were reviews of literature from other countries – Bayley (1989), for example, examined previous results from Singapore (Quah and Quah, 1987) that were to be covered anyway by the review. Finally, some evaluations were excluded because the appraisal stage of the review indicated that there were sufficient methodological concerns to cast doubt upon the validity of the results.

The appraisal of the literature was completed using the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (MSMS). This scale was devised by criminologists, using various scales of methodological quality as an inspiration, in order to create an assessment tool that would 'communicate to scholars, policy makers and practitioners in the simplest possible way that studies evaluating the effects of criminological interventions differ in methodological quality'. (Farrington *et al.*, 2002:13). The studies included in the review received an overall grading (with 1 the lowest and 5 the highest), based on scoring aspects of the research design. This was used as the baseline from which points could then be deducted for aspects such as a small sample size, low response, high attrition rates, or the appropriateness of statistical analysis. This grade was set against the level of impact and statistical significance of the evaluation results. A copy of the modified MSMS quality assessment form can be found in Appendix 6.



Some of the evaluation reports were only available in summary or journal article format. It is possible that, due to a lack of information contained in these reports, some interventions may have received a higher grade had further information been available. This potential limitation of the appraisal system has been taken into account when synthesising the results of the review (see below). It should also be recognised that the design of the MSMS favours quantitative, experimental research designs. Qualitative and small scale designs are usually excluded by the MSMS. Attempts are made, during discussion of the review results, to highlight where consideration of such research may be desirable.

### Data synthesis

An appropriate method of synthesising the evidence produced by the review was needed. It was felt that a descriptive method of synthesising the results would be more appropriate than meta-analysis, as almost all of the measures used in each intervention were different, and were aimed at addressing different issues. Meta-analysis of statistical results also pays little attention to the context of the intervention. A descriptive synthesis allows the reviewer to take into account the statistical outcomes presented by the evaluator, but to set these against geographical, cultural and implementation factors. Finally, the descriptive method also allows the reviewer to make allowances for the slight limitations of the MSMS highlighted above, in that interventions that may have scored higher if more methodological information was available can be presented as promising, with the appropriate caveats.

The synthesis will be presented in the results chapter by type of intervention 'mechanism' – for example 'patrol based interventions'. At the end of the different sections in the results chapter, information will be given around 'what works'. This will assist policy makers and practitioners by offering a summary of methods of intervention that have been shown to be successful. The rationale for deciding what works and what is promising also comes from the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale. The authors (Farrington *et al.*) saw classifying types of interventions or methods as one of their main aims. Their classification comprised four categories:

- what works: intervention mechanisms that have shown positive, statistically significant results in two or more evaluations with an MSMS score of 3 or above;
- what doesn't work: as above but showing negative results;
- what is promising: methods or interventions that score 3 or above on the MSMS and where only one evaluation offers positive statistically significant results; and

- what is unknown: methods or interventions that do not fit into any of the above categories.

There are two main reasons for appraised interventions falling into the 'what is unknown' category. Firstly, it may be that insufficient methodological information was available for the intervention to have scored a three or above on the MSMS scale. Secondly, it may be that the intervention yielded positive reassurance outcomes, but that the results were not statistically significant. It is therefore possible that, under different circumstances, certain interventions classified as unknown could be classified as promising. There could have been, for example, implementation or evaluation issues associated with particular interventions that prevented them from meeting the criteria – intervention mechanisms in the unknown category may work if implemented in a different context.

The MSMS scale presented above will be used as rigidly as possible in the classification of interventions identified by this review – where there are exceptions, a clear justification will be offered.

### Introduction

The results from the appraised interventions addressing one or more aspects of reassurance are reported in this chapter. It has been previously outlined that the identified aspects of reassurance have been grouped for the purposes of the review into two sections: increasing perceived police effectiveness, and feelings and perceptions of safety.

In both sections, the results will be presented by type of intervention mechanism. There will be a discussion of some of the more robustly evaluated intervention results, followed by a summary table of all interventions appraised in the section. Interventions are ranked in these tables by quality assessment grade, and titles of interventions that produced positive results are in bold type. When discussing the evaluation results, only those with a Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (MSMS) grade of three or above (see Chapter 3) will be discussed in depth. However, there will be exceptions – for example when one of the evaluations is a follow-up to a previous evaluation that scored three or above (e.g., Mazerolle *et al.*, 2003), or if there was a lack of methodological information meaning the evaluation may have scored higher (e.g., Cordner, 1986).

Using the MSMS scoring method, and the descriptive synthesis, appraised evaluations are classified under the following headings: ‘what works’, ‘what’s promising’, ‘what doesn’t work’ and ‘what is unknown’. In the final section, issues surrounding the context, transferability, implementation and sustainability of interventions will be discussed.

### Increasing perceived police effectiveness

This section highlights the features, results and reliability of the 12 appraised studies that attempted to measure perceived police effectiveness. In Chapter 2, the rationale for merging the two most common reassurance concepts related to police effectiveness (confidence and satisfaction) was explained. This was principally the inconsistency and complexity of the measurement of these issues.

Some of the evaluators’ questions were directly related to the word ‘effectiveness’ (Kelling *et al.*, 1974). Furthermore, some of the measures do relate to effectiveness, such as Bennett

(1990) who used the proxy measure “Taking everything into account, would you say the police in your area do a good job or a poor one?”. This method of questioning is similar to that used in the British Crime Survey, where participants are asked, “How good a job do you think the police are doing?” (Flood-Page and Taylor (eds.), 2003).

Despite a wide variety of the conceptual literature using the term confidence, none of the measures in the appraised interventions contained questions that used the term ‘confidence’. In contrast there were an assortment of questions that assessed satisfaction. These ranged from the general ‘were you satisfied’ or ‘how satisfied’ type questions (e.g., Criminal Justice Commission, 1995), to those that asked about specific duties, for example around public satisfaction with the police concerning crime prevention (Cordner, 1986). Furthermore, alternative measures were used for gauging public perceptions of the police, such as ‘attitude toward’ (e.g., Quah and Quah, 1987).

There are further issues to be considered around measurement in relation to increasing perceived police effectiveness (some of which are also applicable to the other aspect of reassurance). Firstly, there appears to be no consistent threshold for what constitutes an ‘acceptable’ level of perceived police effectiveness, or around public confidence in, or satisfaction with, the police. Secondly, the measures used vary widely between the appraised studies. In particular, some studies use a single, overall measure, whilst others use more intervention aim-specific measures. The most robust evaluations include measures that assess both overall perceptions of police effectiveness and measures to assess more specific aspects of the intervention and officer behaviour.

A final point to remember in relation to measurement is that, when reporting results, many studies do not differentiate between ‘levels’ of effectiveness, confidence or satisfaction – there is usually no way of telling whether the majority of respondents (for example) ‘strongly agree’ that the police do a good job or just ‘agree’; or whether indeed answers were a straight ‘yes/no’. One reason for this, as mentioned earlier, is that some of the reports available were summary reports. Technical reports, which may have contained more detailed information, were sometimes not available.

Although many of the evaluations in this section relate to patrol interventions, many used other mechanisms alongside patrol. These included mini-police shops, community newsletters, neighbourhood meetings, crime prevention services, and Neighbourhood Watch, most of which were delivered by, or in association with, the police.

### Patrol-based interventions

As mentioned above, the interventions relating to patrol strategies were a mixture of those where patrol was the single intervention method, and those that were delivered alongside other mechanisms. The appraisal of patrol evaluations is very timely, due to the recent debate around 'bobbies on the beat', a visible police presence, community support officers and the 'extended police family', and the commitment of the government and some forces (such as the Metropolitan Police Service) to these types of intervention.

Patrol strategies vary somewhat, from randomised forms of patrol, evaluated for example by Kelling *et al.* (1974) or Trojanowicz (1982), to directed patrols, evaluated by Cordner (1986). Within certain variants of patrol intervention, some officers have particular responsibilities – for example, increasing familiarity and contact with the public (Pate *et al.*, 1986; see also Bennett, 1991), or increasing the visibility of officers (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997).

#### Pate et al. (1986)

One of the most successful interventions in improving perceived police effectiveness was the Houston and Newark Fear Reduction Strategies (Pate *et al.*, 1986). The measure relating to perceived police effectiveness was 'improve evaluation of the police', though the exact questions were contained in a series of technical reports, which were unavailable. This study looked at seven different fear reduction initiatives implemented between 1983 and 1984. Improving satisfaction with the police was one of four key goals.

In Houston the following mechanisms were implemented:

- Re-contacting Victims: A team of police officers contacted recent crime victims by telephone or by letter in order to show a more caring side of policing.
- Community Organising Response Team: The creation of a group of residents who would work closely with the police to identify neighbourhood problems, devise solutions and remedy the situations.

In Newark the two separate strategies were:

- Reducing the "Signs of Crime": A two-pronged attempt at reducing social disorder and physical deterioration consisting of a Directed Patrol that would intensify order maintenance and a Clean-Up Programme to remove the signs of urban decay.

- Co-ordinated Community Policing: An integration of a number of programmes including the signs of crime reduction and the police-community station that took place in Houston.

In both areas programmes included:

- Citizen Contact Patrol: Proactive patrol work devised to increase familiarity between officers and community members.
- Police Community Station: A smaller station designed to bridge the gap between the police and the community and thus increase accessibility.
- Police-Community newsletter: Two versions of a newsletter mailed to two different sets of residents on a monthly basis. One containing information about meetings, officer profiles and crimes that had been solved, and the other containing local crime data.

The sample sizes varied between about 300 and 760 respondents, depending on the area or intervention mechanism examined. The results were determined using two sets of analytical methods and these were presented in the form of a matrix, with the mechanisms appearing vertically and the goals appearing horizontally. A tick was placed in the relevant boxes where statistically significant favourable results occurred.

The authors analysed both panel and cross-sectional data. Panel data uses the same individuals as respondents at different times in the intervention. With this method, the Citizen Contact Patrol showed positive, statistically significant effects. Cross-sectional analysis studies the views of respondents at one particular time period, by sampling a percentage of the population. When this method was used, it showed that the Citizen Contact Patrol result was not statistically significant. There are merits to both forms of analysis, however the panel analysis is more useful when measuring effects over time. That is, the positive effects shown by the panel sample perhaps suggest that it was continued contact with the patrol that led to a gradual increase in respondents' evaluation of police effectiveness.

Unlike the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (see below), the introduction of the interventions in Houston and Newark were not grounded in change by the local police departments. The rationale behind the initiative was a one-year evaluation by the National Institute of Justice, which is part of the US Department of Justice. This was a response to the issue of fear and the gap between fear and actual risk. However, the successful implementation of the intervention was dependent on organisational change, resource management and the application and behaviour of officers allocated to the intervention.

### **Police Foundation (1981)**

The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Police Foundation, 1981) was a one-off evaluation of a non-sustained experiment, involving reallocation of existing foot patrol resources. The evaluation was funded by the Police Foundation, whilst any costs associated with implementation of the intervention were met by the Newark police department. The evaluators used a single measure of effectiveness (that was one of 12 measures for the overall evaluation of the police). The effectiveness measure was 'job done by the police department' – though the actual survey question and response options were not available in the report.

Despite the actual response options not being available, it was possible to establish that responses were based on a seven-point scale. The experiment had a before/after design and the mean value of the post-test was compared with that of the pre-test to determine any change. In this case, the post-test showed a gain, but it is not possible to reveal the extent of this change, nor was it possible to locate the baseline level, without the assistance of a technical report.

The authors presented the results for individuals (an 'across the board' measure of confidence) and also broken down by beat area. The former was statistically significant; the latter was not, due to the analysis being performed on a sample of only 12 beats. Using the seven-point scale the added and retained beats showed a mean improvement of 0.834 and 0.04 respectively, in contrast with the beats that were dropped which showed a mean decline of 0.45. The authors argued that the findings could have been even better, but a dispute around police officer redundancies was widely publicised and may have affected respondents' views.

However, there are two important issues to remember concerning the Newark intervention (and other experimental projects). The first point is sustainability. Unlike the intervention in Chicago (see below), the Newark experiment did not seek to introduce a fundamental change in the nature of policing. Rather, it involved temporary reallocation of resources to foot patrol, for a specified period of time. It is likely that the level of resources required to increase the level of patrol was not sustainable beyond the life of the experiment. Future experiments on the nature of foot patrol should consider the question of sustainability, and also the other salient issues raised in the conclusions of the report (including raising the status of foot patrol in relation to other policing duties, specific training for foot patrol reflecting its functions, and utilising flexible working practices so that officers are deployed to maximum advantage).

The second issue relates to considering the evaluation results of experimental interventions. It is possible for evaluators to attempt to control for other factors that may affect outcomes of an intervention (for example, by performing regression analysis on the data). However, it is still possible that wider factors could affect the respondents' perceptions of police effectiveness. In this instance, the respondents' views of the 'job done by the police department' could be a reflection of the foot patrol initiative, or of the police department's general performance, or of any number of other factors.

#### **Skogan and Hartnett (1997)**

Another effective intervention relating to increasing perceived police effectiveness is the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). One interesting aspect of the CAPS is the political context that brought it about. The evaluators suggest that the mayor of Chicago perceived political gain in a change of ethos in the policing of the city. This made for a well-supported and sustained intervention.

The Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy is based on concentrating police officers in small beat areas. These officers work with residents and community groups to solve problems in their localities. 'Beat meetings' take place in each locality as a forum for police-community interaction. The intervention began in five pilot areas in 1993 and went city-wide in 1995. The initial evaluation surveys took place before the programme began and between 14 and 17 months later, the second evaluation surveys were carried out. The reported results come from this period. The evaluators examined the police around three key areas: responsiveness, effectiveness and demeanour.

The questions for responsiveness related to how well the police worked with the community to solve problems, and how they responded to and dealt with community concerns. The results show that the average response concerning public perceptions of police responsiveness improved in four out of five experimental areas. However, the evaluators felt that the impact was not huge, and that the potential for further increases existed.

Regarding effectiveness, the police were rated on crime prevention and order maintenance. The participants rated response options on a four-point scale, ranging from 'poor job' to 'very good job'. There are no clear results on the impact of this measure across the experimental areas.

For demeanour, respondents were asked about the fairness, politeness and helpfulness of officers. The results varied between different groups, that is, satisfaction rose amongst



African-Americans, Hispanics and young people, yet it dropped amongst homeowners, the elderly and long-term residents. The visibility of officers was also found to be a factor associated with positive views around the quality of police service.

The results relating to demeanour are interesting. Satisfaction rose among groups that have traditionally had the most contact with the police. This is a positive finding, indicating that increased interaction with these groups was effective in raising satisfaction. However, satisfaction among groups who traditionally have less contact with the police actually fell, suggesting that perhaps their previously higher levels of satisfaction were prompted more by perception than by actual experience of interacting with the police.

**Table 4.1 Patrol-based interventions dealing with aspects of police effectiveness**

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	Several 'fear-reduction strategies' contributing towards a number of goals including 'improve evaluation of Police'. Two types of analysis (panel and cross-sectional) were used to measure the effects.	The cross-sectional analysis showed that the citizen contact patrol did not have a statistically significant positive effect; in contrast there was a positive effect using panel data, which perhaps suggests that sustained contact was the reason for the positive effects.	5
+Police Foundation. (1981). The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment; USA (Police)	Three 'Neighbourhood Foot Patrol' experiments, which dropped, retained and added patrols. The experiment increased foot patrol visibility and numbers in high crime areas.	Where foot patrols were retained public opinion improved, even more so where patrols were added. Conversely where patrols dropped, public opinion worsened.	3
+Skogan and Hartnett (1997). Community Policing, Chicago Style; USA (Police)	Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS): 'Beat policing' incorporating visible patrols, community engagement and problem solving, implemented in 1993. The respondents were interviewed before CAPS began and again in 1994.	Perceptions of police responsiveness improved in most of the experimental areas. The visibility of officers was also linked to positive views around the quality of police service.	3
Kelling et al. (1974). The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment; USA (Police)	'Preventive foot patrol' with three sets of five beats: one where patrol was discontinued, another where patrol was maintained, and another where it was intensified two or threefold.	There were no statistically significant changes	3

Cordner (1986). Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear Reduction Strategy; USA (Police)	Three strategies were used: directed patrol, crime prevention and problem solving.	The way the findings are presented means that it is hard to see whether the initiative improved citizen satisfaction with the police generally. The impact of the different initiatives are mixed.	2
Brown. (1980). Police patrol in Victoria: the Prahran patrol evaluation; Australia (Police)	New police patrol operation of “integrated community policing” which centralised the police from two smaller police stations and increased patrol resources.	The opinions of ‘the job that the police were doing’ ranged from ‘very good’ to ‘fair’.	1

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Access to the police

The issue of police accessibility has been seen as one of the key contributors to police reassurance of the public. It is particularly important in rural areas, where access to police stations is more difficult, and contact with the police is rarer.

Access to the police can be provided in a number of ways. It can be at an organisational level (for example, through local police stations being in close proximity to all residents), through improvements in customer-service (for example, call-handling or response), or through innovative methods (such as allowing reporting of crimes by text-message). Accessibility can also relate to individual police officers on the street, or to the extended police family, such as Police Community Safety Officers (PCSOs). The sorts of interventions appraised included mechanisms such as localised police-community stations (also known as ‘shopfronts’ or ‘storefronts’), and residential police officers.

Access is ultimately a ‘user’ issue. There is survey research, relevant to accessibility, that has not been considered by this review, due to it not being intervention based. Evidence exists of satisfaction with police response to calls from the public (Ekblom and Heal, 1982) and more recent analysis of survey data suggests ease of contact is a key driver of service-user satisfaction with the police (OPSR, 2003:13)

### Pate et al. (1986)

One of the methods used in the Houston and Newark Fear Reduction Strategies (Pate *et al.*, 1986) was a police-community station in Houston, which made the police more accessible to the public. This was also a contributory method to the Co-ordinated Community Policing initiative in Newark. There was no success surrounding this method in Houston under the

'improve evaluation of the police' measure. By contrast, using the same measure, the Co-ordinated Community Policing in Newark achieved successful results, using both panel and cross-sectional analysis. However, it is unclear how much of an independent effect the police-community station aspect had in Newark as it was initiated alongside other methods such as the reduction of 'signs of crime'.

### **Criminal Justice Commission (1995)**

This Australian intervention involved a sustained change in the style of policing in the experimental areas – small beats in a provincial city called Toowoomba. The aim of the 'beat-policing' intervention was to 'make individual officers primarily responsible for the policing of a designated geographical area' (CJC, 1995:2). Officers would patrol the areas on foot wherever possible, using their local knowledge to proactively address underlying problems. As well as the mechanism of familiarity, the intervention also employed mechanisms of visibility and accessibility – most notably, officers living in the experimental areas had part of their residence acting as a 'mini'-police station and point of contact for local residents. The concept of perceived police effectiveness was assessed by 'how good a job' the police (in general, as opposed to just the beat officers) were doing on the following four measures:

- working with residents to solve local problems (which increased from 44% in 1993 to 61% in 1994);
- dealing with problems of concern to the neighbourhood (up from 41% to 55%);
- preventing crime (up from 44% to 54%); and
- keeping order on the streets (up from 50% to 62%).

All measures of confidence rose by 10 to 15% in the experimental areas whilst control areas posited little or no change, suggesting that the intervention had a positive impact. Two hundred respondents were questioned in each experimental area and 100 in each control area, as well as 191 'service users'.

The interventions in Toowoomba also addressed satisfaction with the police. The Toowoomba pilot study analysed the satisfaction of members of the public who had recently contacted the police. This was measured by asking: 'Overall, were you satisfied with the way in which the police handled the incident?' (CJC, 1995: 6). The results were divided between those who had received service by beat officers, and those who had received service by general duties officers. Ninety-four per cent of respondents in the experimental area reported being satisfied with beat officers, in contrast with 83 per cent in the control

area being satisfied with general duties officers. The evaluators also stated that the results were statistically significant. Both sets of results indicate very high levels of satisfaction. Unfortunately, it is not possible to truly judge the impact on satisfaction with the police as it is unclear whether the levels of satisfaction increased, dropped or stayed the same in either area over time.

**Mazerolle et al. (2003)**

The CJC evaluated Australian beat policing initiative was sustained in Toowoomba and extended to a further 28 areas of Queensland in the following years. Mazerolle *et al.* (2003) evaluated three of these interventions, including the original Toowoomba beats, and also beats in suburbs of Brisbane and Cairns. This evaluation added a further two measures of confidence and retained the original four measures in Toowoomba – allowing an analysis of changes in confidence over time. All four measures had increased by around ten per cent in the eight years between the two evaluations. This suggests that a sustained intervention can produce a gradual increase in perceived police effectiveness.

The Queensland interventions are premised on the mechanisms of familiarity, visibility and accessibility, all of which are transferable to potential future interventions. The specific accessibility aspect of these interventions (officers living in their beat areas with their own houses acting as mini-police stations) is not likely to transfer well to a UK context. However, there are examples of more generic ‘police houses’ operated by certain UK police forces (such as Merseyside and Northumbria) whereby a house in a particular area or estate is used to conduct police business, with officers ‘resident’ during their day or night shifts.

**Table 4.2 Interventions on police effectiveness emphasising accessibility**

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	Several ‘fear-reduction strategies’ contributing towards a number of goals including ‘improve evaluation of Police’. Two types of analysis (panel and cross-sectional) were used to measure the effects.	The cross-sectional and panel analysis showed that the police-community station did not have a statistically significant positive effect, although the opposite was the case for the co-ordinated community policing.	5

+Criminal Justice Commission. (1995). Beat Policing: A Case Study Toowoomba Queensland; Australia (Police)	'Neighbourhood Beat Policing' residential senior constable in each area with a 'mini'-police-shop attached to house. Officers required to answer calls from their beats whenever possible.	The project improved confidence in the police in the beat areas by between 10% and 17% across 4 measures. There was little or no change in the comparison areas. Furthermore, 94% of people were satisfied with the service given by the beat officers. This is compared to 83% for the comparison area.	3
Quah and Quah. (1987). Friends in Blue: The Police and the Public in Singapore; Singapore (Police)	In 1983, the Singapore police introduced the Neighbourhood Police Post system. This intervention provided a mini police station that would serve a smaller number of residents to enhance a community-based approach where the police were more accessible.	This intervention did not show a statistically significant improvement in public satisfaction with the police.	2
+Mazerolle et al. (2003). On the beat: An evaluation of beat policing in Queensland; Australia (Police)	'Neighbourhood Beat Policing' model (see Criminal Justice Commission above) and 'Shopfronts', which are police offices located in shopping centres.	'Neighbourhood Beat Policing': This evaluation showed that for the Regional and Toowoomba areas the intervention was better than the comparison area on all (six) measures, and for four out of six in the Metropolitan area. If this report is cross-referenced with the (CJC) 1995 results, it shows around a 10% increase across the original four measures.  'Shopfronts': shoppers were more satisfied in the Metropolitan and Regional areas than their counterparts in the comparison areas. Retailers in the Metropolitan and Regional areas were more weighted to being 'very satisfied'. Those in their comparison areas were generally satisfied too. Cross-references to the 1995 evaluation are not possible.	2

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Community-related interventions

Interventions that involved the police working in partnership with the community are related to the current debates around justice and citizenship. They relate to the Government's civil renewal agenda, including issues such as active engagement and participation. The Home Secretary's Edith Kahn Lecture, in which he set out his vision of civil renewal, announced a research project to pilot three innovative approaches to community engagement, the results of which will contribute to this debate. The pilots are due to run until July 2005. The mechanisms used in this section relate to these issues quite closely as they include community engagement, that is involving community members to identify problems and contribute towards solutions.

They also include community policing, which has been defined in various ways. Very generally, the concept relates to the ethos of concentrating some sort of policing strategy in a specific area, or community. However, it can be argued that community policing actually goes beyond merely having officers designated to particular neighbourhoods, and should actually comprise some sort of community involvement in the setting of priorities for policing, or problem solving in an area.

**Pate et al. (1986)**

The most relevant methods used in this intervention were the Community Organising Response Team in Houston and Co-ordinated Community Policing in Newark (for further details see 'Patrol-based interventions' section above). The evaluators found that when using both panel and cross-sectional analysis, both of these methods have been shown to produce positive statistically significant effects for the perceived police effectiveness ('improve evaluation of the police') measure.

**Wycoff and Skogan (1993)**

An intervention in Madison, Wisconsin (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993) looked at changes in working practices designed to lead to an improvement in service delivery to the community:

- improved leadership and management of the organisation: improved systems, team-working, inclusion of employees in feedback and decision-making, and innovation and creativity;
- healthy workplace: seeing employees as "internal customers" and addressing their issues using a problem-solving approach; and
- physical decentralisation: improving workplace conditions whilst becoming physically closer to the community and, thus, gaining a greater awareness of their priorities.

This internal change should then be reflected in the service delivery, which consisted of three mechanisms: enhancing the quality and productivity of the service, community policing, and problem-oriented policing.

The intervention was experimental, because it did not take place across the whole police department, but rather in one of its divisions. The change in practices was designed to bring about several 'community benefits', including a reduction of fear, and increased public satisfaction with the police. When presenting their findings, the evaluators offer a summary

of the overall level of public satisfaction with the police that, interestingly, resulted in a decrease in satisfaction (though this was not statistically significant). The reasons given for the negative results include the initiative being inadequately developed at the time of measurement and citizen satisfaction levels already being very high.

**Table 4.3 Community-related interventions on police effectiveness**

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	Several 'fear-reduction strategies' contributing towards a number of goals including 'improve evaluation of Police'. Two types of analysis (panel and cross-sectional) were used to measure the effects.	The cross-sectional analysis showed that two methods had a statistically significant positive effect: the community organising response team in Houston, and co-ordinated community policing in Newark. The panel analysis also found that the same two initiatives were successful, as was the citizen contact patrol in Houston.	5
Wycoff and Skogan. (1993). Community Policing in Madison: Quality from the Inside Out; USA (Police)	Community policing stressing a closer working relationship between the police and their 'customers' (citizens).	For self-initiated police contact respondents were less satisfied in the experimental area (where satisfaction decreased very slightly) than in the comparison area (where it stayed the same).	3
Cordner (1986). Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear Reduction Strategy; USA (Police)	Three strategies were used: directed patrol, crime prevention and problem solving.	The way the findings are presented means that it is hard to see whether the initiative improved citizen satisfaction with the police generally. The impact of the different initiatives are mixed.	2
Bennett. (1990). Evaluating Neighbourhood Watch; UK (Police and Community)	Neighbourhood Watch. 'Street co-ordinators' liaised with members of the scheme and with each other and with police officers. Other mechanisms existed e.g. newsletters, street signs, and stickers in their windows.	The evaluator used two analysis methods: one showed favourable results in one of the two experimental areas. The other method found no statistically significant results.	2
+Husain (1988). Neighbourhood Watch in England and Wales: a locational analysis; UK (Police and Community)	This study was an evaluation of the impact of several Neighbourhood Watch schemes. Although there is no consistency between the different Neighbourhood Watch schemes, most schemes were similar to those highlighted in Bennett (1990).	Just under three-quarters of respondents felt that the Neighbourhood Watch schemes had been 'successful' or 'very successful' in improving police/community relations	1

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Improving police effectiveness – what works and what’s promising

In the previous chapter the rationale for assessing the success of different methods of intervention was explained. Based on the information above, the following intervention mechanisms have been categorised by strength of evidence.

What works	What’s promising	What doesn’t work	What’s unknown
Improving police visibility and familiarity	Community engagement Community policing Foot patrol Beat policing		Neighbourhood Watch

As mentioned previously, although several have been proposed, there is no consensus concerning a definition of ‘community policing’. It could be argued that interventions using ‘beat policing’ and those referring to community policing are close enough to be grouped together – which would result in this more generic mechanism being classified as ‘what works’. However, based on the nature of the interventions appraised in this review, a distinction can be drawn between beat policing in the sense of placing an officer (or officers) in a specific geographical area, in order to be visible, accessible and familiar to the local residents, and the more extensive notion of community policing, involving not only the aforementioned mechanisms, but also some form(s) of involving local residents in the policing of their community.

### Feelings and perceptions of safety

This section considers 22 appraised studies that aimed to address feelings and perceptions of safety. All of these evaluations appeared in the section relating to police effectiveness, as they had multiple goals. In that previous section, references were made to the inconsistency and complexity surrounding measurement issues. This section experiences the same problems. The issues of ‘safety’ and ‘fear of crime’ have often been considered separately, both theoretically and, as we will gather from this section, in the empirical research also.

There is an argument for these issues to be considered separately, that is, people can be safe but fearful, or vice versa (Home Office, 2002b). However, some of the evaluations in this section consider safety and fear as intertwined, to the extent that they have questioned respondents about feelings of safety when measuring fear of crime. It is for this reason that the section will consider all of the interventions under the rubric of ‘feelings and perceptions of safety’. This approach will assist with the policy agenda in this area, as much of the



current debate around reassurance and addressing the inconsistency between crime and fear of crime is considered against a backdrop of building safer communities.

Many of the evaluations in this section used the term 'safety' as their measure. Some used the term more literally than others, for example Trojanowicz (1982) asked citizens whether they 'felt safer' as a result of the intervention that had been implemented. Other authors asked more specific questions, such as whether people felt safe:

- at certain times of the day, for example 'walking alone after dark' (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2003); or
- in a certain place or area, such as 'sense of security at home' (Quah and Quah, 1987).

The latter measure also raises the point that the term 'safety' is interchangeable with words that have a similar definition, such as 'security'. Other measures, such as perceived 'probability of victimisation', have also been adopted (Bennett, 1990).

The same issues have also appeared around fear of crime. For example, in the interventions that have been examined the word fear has been substituted by terms such as 'afraid' and 'worry'. There are examples of the evaluators asking generally about the fear of crime, but there are also more specific measures, such as:

- around particular times of the day (Cordner, 1986);
- over certain time periods (Allatt, 1984);
- being a victim generally (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993); or
- being the victim of a particular crime (Fowler and Mangione, 1986).

Furthermore, the outcomes of the evaluations have seen a reduction in fear of crime overall and sometimes a reduction in fear of certain crimes (e.g., Allatt; Fowler and Mangione).

It is unclear from any of the interventions what is, or what should be, an acceptable level of perceived safety, or what constitutes being safe. However, information surrounding this issue, and those concerning measurement may have been covered in greater detail by some of the authors of studies for which we were only able to obtain summary, as opposed to full, evaluation reports.

There were a variety of mechanisms used to address this aspect of reassurance, some of which were initiated by the police, some by other organisations, and some via partnership

working. Mechanisms employed included police patrol strategies, voluntary civilian patrols (more commonly known as 'Guardian Angels'), Neighbourhood Watch, improved street lighting, and CCTV.

### **Patrol-based strategies**

The variety of patrol strategies seen in the previous section on police effectiveness were also directed at improving feelings and perceptions of safety.

#### **Pate et al. (1986)**

The evaluation by Pate *et al.* (1986), in Houston and Newark, used 'fear of personal victimisation' as a measure for fear of crime, as well as one relating to property crime. As detailed in the section on police effectiveness, there were two methods of analysis used by the evaluators – cross-sectional analysis and analysis of panel data. The cross-sectional analysis showed that the Citizen Contact Patrol in Houston reduced fear of personal victimisation; there were no statistically significant results for this mechanism using panel data.

#### **Trojanowicz (1982)**

The police-initiated intervention that made the greatest impact on feelings and perceptions of safety is the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint, Michigan (Trojanowicz 1982). Over two-thirds of respondents stated that they felt safer, and many added that this was especially the case when patrol officers were visible and were familiar to them.

The Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program (NFPP) began in 1979, following three consultation meetings with citizens in November 1977, January 1978 and March 1978. The intervention was initiated in 14 patrol areas that were selected based on crime figures and population density. The NFPP was intended to improve police-community relations and involve the community in preventing crime. The City Mayor and the Chief of Police implemented the intervention with the assistance of an award of \$2.6 million given to the City by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. The evaluation, therefore, was not a traditional pre- and post-test, as it took place from 1980 to 1982, but a retrospective examination of the impact of the programme and the attitudes of those involved, both the police officers and the citizens. The evaluators also did not examine any changes to the intervention in terms of different levels of patrol, as was done in the Newark evaluation (Police Foundation, 1981).

The intervention had ten goals, one of which was 'to increase the citizen's perceptions of personal safety'. These goals would be achieved by the introduction of neighbourhood foot patrol officers who would have a number of tasks, such as:

- increasing familiarity by engaging with community residents, through giving information regarding crime in the locality and also by receiving feedback about problems in the neighbourhood relating to criminal justice;
- giving crime prevention advice, in the form of community newsletters, public education, and also by attending residential areas and businesses to identify security needs; and
- meeting with school advisory councils.

The NFPP made significant gains regarding citizen's feelings of safety. This was measured by asking citizens whether they felt safer because of the NFPP. Sixty-eight per cent answered 'Yes' to this question. The evaluators added that some respondents said that this was especially the case if a foot patrol officer was "well known and visible" (Trojanowicz, 1982:86).

The evaluators state that the evidence they collected points to the fact that the foot patrol programme was cost-effective. They argue that foot patrols are certainly less costly than motorised patrols, and highlight that many calls for response may not require the use of a vehicle. They also point out that many of the mechanisms that led to the foot patrol programme being a success are done without the use of a vehicle. The success of the project is reiterated in terms of outcomes, in this case increased feelings of safety, and they also refer to a reduction in crime. In the case of the NFPP, the city received a large grant to assist with the programme and had the backing of the city mayor. It is not known whether the NFPP would have been initiated without such funding.

### **Police Foundation (1981)**

The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment is an example of an evaluation that conflated feelings of safety and fear of crime. The hypotheses related to fear of crime, yet the relative 'area of inquiry', and the subsequent measures, related to the perception of safety in the neighbourhood. Of the nine measures of perceived safety in the neighbourhood, only one has been used for the purposes of this review. This is because it specifically relates to general safety whereas the other eight concern the likelihood of becoming the victim of certain crimes. Resources were reallocated during the experiment by adding, retaining or dropping patrols in certain beat areas. In the areas where patrols were added, feelings of

‘general safety’ increased. However, due to the way the results are presented it is not possible to reveal exactly how much of an increase took place.

**Kenney (1987)**

This intervention is similar to those patrol strategies, such as Police Foundation (1981), where patrols were added or declined. However, it does not concern police patrols, but those of a voluntary, weapon-free patrol organisation known as the ‘Guardian Angels’. The Angels were established in the Bronx, New York, in 1979 out of frustration with the physical deterioration of the locality and crime. They exist in ‘chapters’ that cover city areas and their suburbs.

The intervention was implemented in three phases:

- Phase 1: normal patrols maintained;
- Phase 2: patrols discontinued; and
- Phase 3: patrols resumed at increased levels.

The evaluators found that the overall level of fear of passengers on subway trains was not affected by the existence of Guardian Angels, nor by the lack of them. However, there were statistically significant results that showed that fear of crime was reduced when the patrols were increased.

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	A number of ‘fear-reduction strategies’ contributed towards reducing the fear of crime. Two measures of fear of crime were used, the first concerned ‘personal victimisation’ and the other ‘property crime’.	Cross-sectional analysis showed that the Citizen Contact Patrol in Houston reduced fear of personal victimisation.	5
+Trojanowicz (1982). An evaluation of the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint Michigan; USA (Police)	‘Neighbourhood Foot Patrol’ designed to increase perceptions of safety, increase protection for vulnerable groups and deliver a community-focused police service. The officers carried out daily patrol duties, community engagement and crime prevention advice amongst many other tasks.	Over two-thirds of respondents felt safer because of the foot patrol programme.	3

+Police Foundation. (1981). The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment; USA (Police)	Three 'Neighbourhood Foot Patrol' experiments, which dropped, retained and added patrols. The foot patrols expanded police visibility and numbers in high crime areas.	Where foot patrols were added perceived safety improved. The opposite occurred where patrols were retained or dropped.	3
+Kenney (1987). Crime, Fear and the NYC subways: The role of citizen action; USA (Guardian Angels/ researchers)	This study was done in three phases where each phase changed patrol levels. The first phase maintained normal patrols, the second discontinued patrols and the third, resumed the patrols at increased levels.	The presence or absence of Guardian Angels on subways had little impact on passengers' overall fear. However there was a reduction in fear when the patrols were increased.	3
Skogan and Hartnett (1997). Community Policing, Chicago Style; USA (Police)	Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS): 'Beat policing' incorporating visible patrols, community engagement and problem solving, implemented in 1993. The respondents were interviewed before CAPS began and again in 1994.	The visibility of officers was linked to the fear of crime for some (for example, black respondents and those in rented accommodation), but not all respondents.	3
Tien et al. (1978). An Alternative Approach in Police Patrol: The Wilmington Split-Force Experiment); USA (Police)	A patrol method that splits the calls-for-service and crime prevention functions. In order to be implemented, the basic patrol (calls-for-service) had to increase efficiency to allow the formation of the structured patrol force (preventive patrol).	The respondents' perceptions of the safety of their neighbourhoods remained unchanged.	3
Kelling et al. (1974). The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment; USA (Police)	'Preventive foot patrol' with three sets of five beats: one where patrol was discontinued, another where patrol was maintained, and another where it was intensified two or threefold.	This study measured feelings of neighbourhood safety and several measures (and a composite measure) related to fear (the composite measure will be presented here). Safety: There were no statistically significant results. Fear: The authors conclude that the "experiment had little effect on citizens' fear of being victimised".	3
+Bennett (1991). The Effectiveness of a Police-Initiated Fear-Reducing strategy; UK (Police/ Researcher)	This strategy aimed to replicate the Houston and Newark experiments. The patrols included a continuous police presence and a process of handing out 'contact cards'.	This had a 4% positive impact on feelings of personal safety in Birmingham and a one per cent impact in London.	3
Cordner (1986). Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear Reduction Strategy; USA (Police)	Three strategies were used: directed patrol, crime prevention and problem solving.	The way the findings are presented means that it is hard to see whether the initiative reduced fear of crime. The impact of the different initiatives is mainly positive, although the measures are confusing.	2

+Brown (1980). Police patrol in Victoria: the Prahran patrol evaluation; Australia (Police)	New police patrol operation of “integrated community policing” which centralised the police from two smaller police stations and increased patrol resources.	Over three-quarters felt the area was “a safe place in which to live” (p16). Increased police patrol was highlighted by residents as an contributor to increased feelings of safety.	1
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Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Interventions emphasising access to the police

Access to the police was a key concept in the primary theoretical article on reassurance (Bahn, 1974). Bahn saw feelings of safety (and security) as central to his definition of reassurance. Issues surrounding accessibility were discussed in the previous section, relating to police effectiveness, where it was emphasised that accessibility can relate to the organisation as a whole, or to individual officers.

Most of the interventions emphasising accessibility were either unsuccessful in improving feelings of safety, or the evaluations received a low grade in terms of the robustness of their methodology. The evaluations in this section are identical to those considered in the perceived police effectiveness section (where the mechanisms for increasing accessibility are detailed).

#### Pate et al. (1986)

The evaluation by Pate *et al.* (1986), in Houston and Newark, used ‘fear of personal victimisation’ as one of its measures. The only mechanism that produced positive, statistically significant results from both cross-sectional and panel data analysis (in relation to this measure) was the Houston Police Community Station. This mechanism still exists in Houston today and provides the public with a more accessible means of contacting the police.

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	A number of ‘fear-reduction strategies’ contributed towards reducing the fear of crime. Two measures of fear of crime were used, the first concerned ‘personal victimisation’ and the other ‘property crime’.	The cross-sectional and panel data analysis showed that the Police Community Station reduced fear of personal victimisation in both Houston and Newark.	5

Criminal Justice Commission (1995). Beat Policing: A Case Study Toowoomba Queensland Australia; Australia (Police)	'Neighbourhood Beat Policing' residential senior constable in each area, with a 'mini'-police-shop attached to house. Officers required to answer calls from their beats whenever possible.	With regard to perceptions of safety, there were no appreciable differences between the experimental or comparison areas.	3
Quah and Quah. (1987). Friends in Blue: The Police and the public in Singapore; Singapore (Police)	'Neighbourhood Police Posts' where easily accessible officers provide round-the-clock protection. They are housed within a mini-police station in heart of the community. The station is also a free crime prevention advice centre. As well patrol duties officers have to carry out house visits twice a year.	The results were not statistically significant.	2
Mazerolle et al. (2003). On the beat: An evaluation of beat policing in Queensland; Australia (Police)	'Neighbourhood Beat Policing' model (see Criminal Justice Commission above) and 'Shopfronts', which are police offices located in shopping centres.	Using two measures of perceived safety ('walking alone after dark' and 'being alone in home at night'), the Metropolitan and Regional beats were less safe than the comparison areas for both measures and the Toowoomba beat was less safe than the comparison area for 'walking alone' and safer for 'in home'. In terms of 'Shopfronts' (police-community stations in shopping centres), shoppers and retailers were asked to respond regarding perceptions of personal safety in shopping centres. There were no significant differences between shoppers in the experimental areas i.e. those with 'shopfronts' and those in the control areas. In terms of retailers, those in the metropolitan area felt safer than those in the comparison area when 'walking to their car or public transport'. However, across the other two measures ('safety working in the shop' and 'safety walking around the mall') the results were not statistically significant. This is also the case across all three measures for the results from the regional area.	1

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Environmental changes

Mechanisms aimed at changing the physical environment were not directed at improving perceived police effectiveness. This could be due to a greater amount of interventions being directed at the 'safety' aspect of reassurance, or it could be that the nature of this aspect of reassurance enables a wider range of (non-police) practitioners to manage such interventions.

Environmental change mechanisms designed to improve feelings and perceptions of safety include improved residential security, installation of Closed Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV), improvements in street lighting and other neighbourhood improvement mechanisms.

**Allatt (1984)**

In this intervention, Northumbria police arranged for improved security arrangements – for ground floor windows and doors – on an estate in an area with high rates of burglary. The results showed a reduction of fear in general (and of burglary specifically) in the experimental area; and the opposite in the control area.

This intervention differs from others in this review in that it was police initiated, but it did not involve operational policing per se, rather it was an improvement in security. It is unclear from the report what led to Northumbria police introducing this particular intervention, nor what the aims of the intervention were, although based on the information given it is assumed that a reduction in burglary was the intention, as the experimental area had a high burglary rate. The police funded the intervention, and provided extra security measures for ground floor points of entry on the estate that was to be the experimental area. It is unclear whether all of the houses on the estate were subject to the intervention and the cost of the intervention is also unknown.

Although the intervention was mainly concerned with burglary, the evaluation examined fear of crime in general, as well as fear of burglary specifically. The results were positive in both cases, showing a reduction in worry generally of being a victim of crime and of being a victim of burglary specifically. This was in contrast with the comparison area, which showed increases in worry in both cases. With regard to the general question of fear of crime, the evaluators asked 'have you ever been worried in the last year of becoming a victim of any type of crime'. It is unclear whether the answers were part of a predetermined scale, or whether respondents gave simple 'yes or no' answers. In the experimental area, fear decreased from 59 per cent to 50 per cent, whereas it increased on the control estate from 56 per cent to 61 per cent.

Further evaluation work would have been helpful in relation to whether the fall in fear was sustained, as the author does state that in the year after the post-test, the burglary rate began to rise again – after a fall during the year of the experiment. It is possible that a fall in fear as a result of improvements in security could be a result of the positive signal sent out that an agency (in this case the police) was attempting to 'take control' of a particular area. Certainly, this evaluation suggests that interventions focused mainly on crime reduction should also attempt to measure effects on safety as part of the evaluation.



The report also refers to certain problems with maintaining the security devices, some of which were defective. This seems to suggest that the experiment was sustained to a certain extent, although it is unclear for how long it continued. It is likely that the intervention could be transferred elsewhere, given the relative ease of implementation. It is not likely that many police forces would fund security in areas that were vulnerable to certain crimes, although this responsibility might now fall to the local community safety team in the local authority, or to a Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership. This intervention would be particularly useful in an area with high levels of fear associated with high rates of burglary. A similar initiative is ongoing in the Neath and Port Talbot borough of South Wales. The police, in partnership with the local authority, supplied crime prevention devices to people over the age of 60 (and in some cases other vulnerable people, such as the disabled). This scheme, which is currently unevaluated, aims to reassure the vulnerable members of the community by increasing their security.

#### **Fowler and Mangione (1995)**

This intervention was multi-faceted in that three mechanisms were used: changes to the physical environment, changes in police service delivery, and organisation of residents to improve their neighbourhood. In this instance the changes to the physical environment are most relevant. These changes included restricting and controlling vehicle traffic in the neighbourhood and visually defining the neighbourhood boundaries. This was done by redesigning the roads to channel access through major roads, creating one-way streets and cul-de-sacs, and narrowing some streets to make 'short-cuts' more difficult.

The results showed that, in the intervention area, rates of fear of burglary and of robbery remained quite constant. This could be deemed as a partial success as the control area (the rest of the city) saw these figures rise. However, these results are not specific to the individual methods of the intervention, so it is difficult to pinpoint which of the methods were more successful or whether it was a combination of the three. This could be because the results were not taken from a full report, but rather the chapter in a collective journal on community crime prevention (Rosenbaum (ed.), 1986).

#### **Brown (1995)**

The police have implemented some interventions in partnership with other organisations. In Birmingham, in 1989, the local police suggested that CCTV should be installed to combat crime and disorder, and also to manage demonstrations in the city centre. A local trust was set up to manage the implementation of the initiative, and funding came from private

sponsors and a Home Office 'Safer Cities' grant. One of the key aims of the initiative was to reduce the fear of crime within the town centre. Although this was the case, and despite one of the objectives of the survey of members of the public being to "assess any changes in self reported victimisation and fear of crime" (Brown, 1995:41), one of the measures was 'feelings of safety'. The pre-survey took place in December 1990, four months before the cameras became operational. The post-survey took place in December 1991, one month after another two cameras had been added.

Overall, there was little change between the pre- and post-test regarding feelings of safety. However, those who were aware that CCTV had been installed did show more of an increase in perceived safety. The responses of those who were aware of the CCTV were considered with those of the respondents who were not aware, which could account for the small change from pre- to post-test. The introduction of further cameras in November 1991 and another in 1994 indicates that the intervention was not experimental, and information from the West Midlands Police Chief Constable Annual Report (2000/1) suggested that the intervention is continually expanding, with a further seven cameras being provided. The impact of CCTV interventions has been covered by another systematic review (Welsh and Farrington, 2002). However, this focused on crime prevention outcomes and therefore does not cover the effectiveness of CCTV regarding feelings of safety (or fear of crime).

#### **Atkins et al. (1991)**

This study looked at improved street lighting, and took place in the London borough of Wandsworth. The local authority embarked on improvements to existing streetlights and the evaluators examined public attitudes before and after the improvements were made. It was felt that the improved lighting would reassure members of the public and deter criminal activity. In this study the authors also conflate the concepts of fear of crime and feelings of personal safety, by referring heavily to fear reduction in the text whilst using feelings of safety to measure outcomes. There were five questions regarding feelings of safety used in the study:

- how safe people felt walking alone in the area in daylight;
- how safe people felt walking alone in the area after dark;
- how safe people felt alone in their home during the daytime;
- how safe people felt alone in their home after dark; and
- how safe people felt compared with how they felt before the changes to the lighting.

None of the first four measures showed any positive change. The final question was asked retrospectively in the post-survey using a four-point scale ranging from 'much less safe' to 'much more safe'. Over half of the respondents stated that the improvements to the streetlights had increased their feelings of safety. However, the pre- and post-surveys took place within three months of each other and therefore there was little time for the respondents to fully assess the impact of the intervention. Furthermore, the pre-surveys took place in February, and the post-surveys in June, when evenings stay lighter for much longer. As a result, the seasonal effects on feelings and perceptions of safety and their relation to the lighting could have contrasted at the different stages of measurement.

**Table 4.6 Environmental change interventions on feelings and perceptions of safety**

Study: Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	A number of 'fear-reduction strategies' contributed towards reducing the fear of crime. Two measures of fear of crime were used, the first concerned 'personal victimisation' and the other 'property crime'.	Attempts to identify and target 'signals' denoting social and/or physical disorder did not produce statistically significant results for either measure.	5
+Allatt (1984). Fear of Crime: The Effect of Improved Residential Security on a Difficult To Let Estate; UK (Police)	Residential security was improved by fitting all ground floor points of entry with security devices.	Fear of crime and fear of burglary dropped in the experimental area. The opposite was the case in the comparison area.	3
Fowler and Mangione (1986). A Three-Pronged Effort to reduce crime and fear of crime; USA (Police and the Community)	Three phases took place: Changes to the physical environment, changes in police service delivery and organisation of residents to improve their neighbourhood.	Regarding the fear of burglary and the fear of robbery in the intervention area, rates of fear remained quite constant whilst in the rest of the city they rose.	3
Brown (1995). CCTV in Town Centres: 3 case studies; UK (Police and a local trust called 'Citywatch')	CCTV was installed by a local trust (Citywatch) at the suggestion of a local police commander.	Perceptions of safety in the day posited very little change. In terms of the night-time those who were aware of the CCTV felt safer, although those who were unaware did not show much of a change.	2

Atkins et al. (1991). The influence of Street Lighting on Crime and Fear of Crime; UK (Local authority)	The local authority improved the street lighting in the experimental area.	There was no 'general increase' in feelings of safety when out in the area after dark. However when asked whether street lighting had affected their feelings of personal safety 56% said it had (41% 'more safe' and 15% 'much more safe').	2
Nair, Ditton and Phillips (1993). Environmental improvements and the fear of crime. The Sad Case of the 'Pond' Area in Glasgow; UK (Local authority)	The local authority improved the street lighting and made other improvements to the area.	The respondents felt less safe at home and there were only slight improvements for feeling safe outside. There was also a slight decrease in 'worry' about certain crimes.	1

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Community-related interventions

These interventions were seen to elicit some successes in relation to police effectiveness, and are relevant to current policy agendas around policing, criminal justice, active citizenship and civil renewal. With the exception of Fowler and Mangione (1986), which used community engagement by organising community members to identify problems and contribute towards solutions, the interventions are identical to those assessed in the section on perceived police effectiveness.

#### Pate et al. (1986)

This intervention used 'fear of personal victimisation' and 'worry about property crime' as the measures for fear of crime. The relevant mechanisms from this multi-faceted intervention were the 'Community Organising Response Team' (CORT) and the Co-ordinated Community Policing (CCP). The CORT method involved creating a group of residents who would work with local police officers and be responsible for identifying, and solving, neighbourhood problems. The CCP method involved merging a number of the Houston and Newark methods together. It produced successful results for both fear measures although this was only found in the results based on panel data, not the cross-sectional results, where it was only seen as successful in reducing worry about property crime.

**Wycoff and Skogan (1993)**

Wycoff and Skogan's evaluation is another example of an experimental intervention by the police. Over 1,000 pre-test respondents and around 800 post-test respondents were asked four questions that contributed to the composite measure 'fear of personal victimisation', they were:

- there is a place where they (the respondents) fear being alone at night;
- they are somewhat worried about being robbed;
- they are somewhat or very worried about attack; and
- [the] worry about crime somewhat or very often prevents desired activity.

These measures produced mixed results around fear of crime, that is for the first and fourth measures there was a slightly higher reduction of up to three percentage points in the experimental area and vice versa for the second and third measures. However, overall the respondents in the experimental area and the comparison area both showed a decrease in fear.

**Fowler and Mangione (1995)**

This intervention used the organisation of residents to improve their neighbourhood, and changes to police service delivery, as mechanisms. The first included expanding the existing community organisation to create two more that would initially identify neighbourhood issues that could be changed to improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood. Eventually a Police Advisory Committee was formed that had a representative from each community organisation. This built on the original work of the community organisations, and implemented several initiatives such as 'block-watch', and recreational youth programmes.

The second mechanism involved setting up a police station within the project area that was directed to serve the needs of the local community. For this reason, this method could sit in the previous category of access to police. However, it is slightly more suited to this category, given that one of the functions of the police department was to consult the Policy Advisory Committee, and act on the community priorities identified by the committee.

The mixed results (which were discussed in the 'environmental change' section above) could not be connected specifically to these two methods. However, only a summary report was available, and further information may exist in another document, such as a technical report. The related documents that were identified during the search stage of the review (Fowler and Mangione, 1982; Fowler, McCalla and Mangione, 1979) were unobtainable.

**Table 4.7 Community-related interventions on feelings and perceptions of safety**

tudy; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
+Pate et al. (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark; USA (Police)	A number of 'fear-reduction strategies' contributed towards reducing the fear of crime. Two measures of fear of crime were used, the first concerned 'personal victimisation' and the other 'property crime'.	Panel analysis showed that the Co-ordinated Community Policing in Newark reduced both the fear of personal victimisation and the worry about property crime. When using the cross-sectional analysis, It only reduced the worry about property crime.	5
+Wycoff and Skogan. (1993). Community Policing in Madison: Quality from the Inside Out; USA (Police)	Community policing stressing a closer working relationship between the police and their 'customers' (citizens).	Overall there was a decrease in 'Fear of personal victimisation' in both the experimental and comparison areas.	3
Fowler and Mangione (1986). A Three-Pronged Effort to reduce crime and fear of crime; USA (Police and the Community)	Three phases took place: Changes to the physical environment, changes in police service delivery and organisation of residents to improve their neighbourhood.	Regarding the fear of burglary and the fear of robbery in the intervention area, rates of fear remained quite constant, whilst in the rest of the city they rose.	3
Bennett. (1990). Evaluating Neighbourhood Watch; UK (Police and Community)	Neighbourhood Watch. 'Street co-ordinators' liaised with members of the scheme and with each other and with police officers. Other mechanisms existed e.g. newsletters, street signs, and stickers in their windows.	The evaluator used two analysis methods: one showed favourable results in one of the two experimental areas. The other method found no statistically significant results.	2
+Husain (1988). Neighbourhood Watch in England and Wales: a locational analysis; UK (Police and Community)	This study was an evaluation of the impact of several Neighbourhood Watch schemes. Although there is no consistency between the different schemes, most were similar to those highlighted in Bennett (1990).	Just over 90% of respondents felt that the Neighbourhood Watch schemes had been 'successful' or 'very successful' in providing a sense of security.	1

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### Other interventions

Some interventions used mechanisms that did not fall into the pre-defined categories above, including changes to police service delivery, crime prevention, and legal restrictions (for example around street drinking).

These studies are not discussed, as they were either not methodologically robust enough to score a three on the MSMS scale, and/or they did not produce statistically significant positive results. However, they have been included in the review because, in the case of the study by Cordner (1986), it was possible that the intervention could have scored higher, had further information been available; the intervention evaluated by Ramsay (1990) is also of interest, due to the fact that it has been replicated since in several other parts of the UK.

**Table 4.8 Other interventions on feelings and perceptions of safety**

Study; Country of origin and intervention owners	Mechanism(s)	Results	MSMS Quality assessment score
Cordner (1986). Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear Reduction Strategy; USA (Police)	Three strategies were used: directed patrol, crime prevention and problem solving.	The way the findings are presented means that it is hard to see whether the initiative reduced fear of crime. The impact of the different initiatives is mainly positive, although the measures are confusing.	2
Ramsay (1990). Lagerland lost? An Experiment in Keeping Drinkers off the Streets in Central Coventry and elsewhere? UK (Coventry City Centre Alcohol Related Crime Project Committee)	A local committee set street drinking restrictions in the city centre in conjunction with other stakeholders such as the local (then) polytechnic, the Alcohol Advisory Service and the Home Office.	Fear reduced marginally, by a couple of percentage points	2

Note: + denotes interventions that produced positive results.

### What works and what’s promising?

Similar to the section on perceived police effectiveness, the interventions relating to feelings and perceptions of safety are assessed below, based on the strength of evidence.

What works	What’s promising	What doesn’t work	What’s unknown
Increased foot patrol	Improving police visibility, accessibility and familiarity Community policing Increased residential security		Street lighting CCTV Street drinking restrictions Neighbourhood Watch Crime prevention Beat policing Community engagement

As discussed in Chapter 3, the intervention methods that appear in the ‘what’s unknown’ section have either a lack of available information on methodology, or have produced results that are not statistically significant. This does not, therefore, mean that none of these interventions could have been classified as promising. Rather, it is likely that the ‘unknown’ section contains a mixture of interventions, with the possibility that some have been affected by context, implementation or other factors.

### Summary and discussion

The comprehensive review of evaluated interventions dealing with aspects of reassurance appraised a total of 22 studies. The interventions were divided into those addressing issues of police effectiveness (principally confidence and satisfaction), and those addressing feelings and perceptions of safety (including fear of crime). Twelve of the 22 interventions addressed effectiveness in some way; all the appraised interventions addressed feelings and perceptions of safety in some way. Many of the interventions were multi-faceted, in that they used one or more intervention mechanisms to address one or more aspects of reassurance. Intervention mechanisms were classified according to the typology of ‘what works’, ‘what’s promising’, ‘what doesn’t work’ and ‘what’s unknown’. However, these classifications of intervention mechanisms should be considered with reference to certain influencing factors.

### Context of interventions

The review has found varying successes amongst interventions that have attempted to address one or more aspects of reassurance. However, when examining these results it is important to remember a number of contributory factors. One such factor is the context within which the intervention was introduced and evaluated.



Many of these interventions took place several years ago – in fact only three of the appraised interventions took place in the previous ten years. This makes it possible that factors such as the political climate, crime rates, public debate around crime and policing issues and the existing levels of aspects of reassurance could all be different if similar interventions were initiated today.

The political will and influence accorded to a project is important. The police department did not initiate the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy; rather the local mayor saw it as a way of dealing with a variety of issues that threatened the outcome of a forthcoming election. Given its obvious political support this meant that, in contrast perhaps to interventions by a community-based group or a Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership, there was no need to apply for funding. Although the ultimate success or failure of an intervention is not inextricably linked to the issues of funding, having the support of influential people prepared to back a project is clearly advantageous.

An intervention can also be affected by the time of year that it is implemented and evaluated. The impact that seasonal variations can have on fear of crime and feelings and perceptions of safety is well documented. In winter, it gets darker much earlier and, given that people generally feel less safe and more fearful at night than in the day, this can contribute to differing levels of safety and fear. This, in turn, can skew any evaluation results which do not account for this in the way that authors such as Nair *et al.* (1993) have, by running the pre- and post-tests at exactly the same times of year.

A small number of the interventions were introduced to address particular crime problems such as burglary (Allatt, 1984; Fowler and Mangione, 1986). With such interventions, the principal context is crime reduction, as opposed to aspects of reassurance. In the case of the intervention evaluated by Allatt, the mechanisms were intended to address a crime problem (specifically residential burglary) and it must be speculated how such mechanisms will impact on reassurance.

### **Transferability**

The review uncovered evaluations from a number of countries, with the highest proportion coming from the United States. In particular, patrol-based interventions were heavily concentrated in a US context. In contrast, there were a higher number of interventions from the UK addressing environmental factors.

The location of these patrol-based evaluations (in particular) means that the results have to be considered with reference to their transferability to a UK context. There could be, for example, different political systems and processes, laws and cultural factors at play in countries where an intervention takes place. As mentioned above, the implementation of the CAPS benefited from the support of a city mayor and, in England and Wales, London would be the most comparable.

When addressing issues of safety, the laws of the different countries can have an impact. Although the issue of gun crime in the UK has risen on the political agenda in recent times, guns are not as freely available as they are in other countries such as the US. Consequently, feelings and perceptions of safety may differ somewhat in relation to this area, and results from US based safety studies should be viewed in this context.

However, some transferability issues are not as distinct. For example, the police-community station ('shopfronts') model can be easily implemented in many areas of the UK. In fact, shopfronts do exist in some capacity in Britain. In 1996, Lothian and Borders police introduced a police information centre at the request of members of the public and retailers who felt that an easily accessible police contact point was needed in Edinburgh city centre. The services provided by the police information centre include the reporting of crime and lost property, and also advice on crime prevention. However, this project has not been evaluated.

Similarly, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) has a 'community safety office' in the Soho area of London that opened in February 2003, where members of the public can report crime and pick up crime prevention advice. The office also serves as a 'drop-in' point for the extended police family, including the local Police Community Support Officers and the Soho division of the Westminster Guardians, who are similar to neighbourhood wardens. This intervention has both crime reduction and reassurance related aims. Evidence of positive effects is reflected by local crime statistics and the project will be further evaluated by community surveys – the second (post-implementation) phase of which are currently being completed at the time of writing.

The examples above highlight that very similar initiatives can be given a variety of names, from 'shopfronts' in Australia, to police-community stations and 'storefronts' in the US, to mini police stations in Singapore, to various names that are appearing in Britain.

Transferability issues can also be apparent when considering interventions within a particular country, relating to socio-economic or geographical factors. For example, it is

probable that transferring Neighbourhood Watch to a deprived area would not generate the same levels of willingness to get involved that are apparent in more affluent areas. Although in the Bennett evaluation only one of the two experimental areas was particularly affluent, neither area suffered from high levels of deprivation, often correlated with barriers and lack of trust between the police and the community. Additional problems are high crime rates, and people fearing the reprisals of co-operating with the police, which is reflected in the low levels of reporting crime and coming forward as witnesses.

All of the localities where these interventions took place were – although not identical – generally metropolitan. There were no examples of interventions designed to reassure the public that were based in a rural context. It is difficult to judge how transferable the appraised interventions would be to a rural area – particularly those around patrol, where a sparse population and large geographical coverage would be a barrier. The mechanisms of familiarity and visibility would be difficult to implement in a rural context and interventions may have to focus more on accessibility. It is arguable that this is not the case for the interventions that make physical improvements, as they do not rely as heavily on staff resources or the size of the area.

### **Implementation factors**

Some of the appraised evaluations highlighted issues to be considered around the implementation of reassurance interventions. These were either directly referred to by the evaluators themselves, or were facets of the intervention context that were important considerations for similar interventions in the future.

A key factor in relation to implementation is that of who is the intervention owner. The review produced examples of interventions that were implemented by the police (the majority), or implemented with assistance from the police (Bennett, 1990; Brown, 1995) or implemented independently of them (Nair *et al.*, 1993; Kenney, 1987).

Most of the interventions were implemented by the local police, though this was sometimes with the assistance of grants from the government, or independent foundations (e.g., Trojanowicz, 1982). This, and the range of intervention sponsors discovered, highlights that the issue of reassurance is probably not one that can be addressed by the police alone. Rather, as interventions are often multi-faceted, and involve multiple reassurance outcomes, partnership working, or independent intervention by crime reduction agencies could be encouraged.

The issue of partnership working, though, raises further implementation issues. There was not sufficient evidence from the review to be able to judge whether partnership interventions were any more successful than non-partnership interventions – either in terms of outcomes or implementation. However, in the context of a large, multi-faceted, sustained intervention, the working relationships between partner organisations would need to be effective in order to guard against implementation failure in at least some parts of the intervention.

There is also a distinction to be drawn between interventions that involved relatively simple changes to the environment of an area, or to specific aspects of operational policing, and those that involved fundamental changes in the working practices of the police as an organisation. The review has highlighted examples of large scale redeployment of police foot patrol and other resources, and also examples of visible, accessible and familiar policing of certain neighbourhoods within a force. Far rarer are examples of interventions that have achieved a fundamental change in the way a city, or larger area, are policed, with the principles of community involvement in policing, and the citizen focus of individual police officers and police services, embedded within a force. This type of intervention is clearly much harder to implement and sustain.

The existing context is important when choosing where to implement an intervention. The Madison intervention (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993) underlines the importance of examining the levels of satisfaction (or whichever aspect of reassurance is being addressed) in an area where an intervention is proposed. This is important because administering a project designed to increase satisfaction might not be perceived as effective where levels of satisfaction are already high. However, in order to do this a definition of what constitutes a 'low', 'acceptable' or 'high' level of satisfaction would be required.

The Wycoff and Skogan evaluation also highlights the importance of ensuring that the implementation of an intervention is compatible with the timetable for evaluation. The authors felt that the limited effects shown by the Madison intervention could have been partly the result of the evaluation measures being undertaken before the intervention had been implemented sufficiently to be able to reflect change.

### **Sustainability of interventions**

A small number of the interventions appraised, (for example the CAPS Skogan and Hartnett, 1997), have been sustained over time. However, the vast majority of interventions were experimental, and it is difficult to assess whether these projects would have sustained their successes, improved or declined over time. By examining the sustained and experimental interventions, key factors for sustainability, and the barriers to achieving it, have been identified.

Many of the interventions, especially those concerning foot patrol and community policing, have been expensive and resource intensive, such that they either take resources away from other areas or require extra funding to prevent a shift in resources. This is particularly the case for the large studies of foot patrol. In some cases, it is difficult to see how it would have been possible to sustain the intervention beyond the life of the original experiment. If such interventions were sustained by means of reallocation of resources, it would be crucial to examine the impact on others areas of policing, most obviously crime rates and detections.

However, funding is not necessarily the most important issue in relation to sustainability. As mentioned earlier, some reassurance interventions, particularly those incorporating some form of community policing, require sustained change in the working practices and general ethos of the whole organisation. Achieving sustained change on this scale is not easy, and perhaps explains why some of these interventions have been restricted to smaller parts of organisations. In Chicago, the CAPS achieved organisational change more so than some projects partly because it had the political backing of an influential politician. Other interventions may suffer without similarly strong support from an external figure, or from key members of the host organisation, if other priorities became apparent.

The sustainability of community-related interventions can also depend on the continued involvement of the key personnel involved in the delivery. As we have seen, familiarity is a key mechanism for successful interventions of this nature, and it is therefore important that officers remain attached to a particular neighbourhood for a long enough period of time.

Intervention mechanisms that may initially be regarded as 'one-off' may also experience problems in relation to sustainability. The intervention evaluated by Allatt (1984) was interesting, in that it was police initiated, but did not involve a change in operational policing. Northumbria Police funded the provision of extra security measures for houses on an estate, with positive effects on feelings of safety. However, problems occurred with some of the devices, and the burglary rate increased after the evaluation period. It is not known whether security devices were maintained, or replaced after the evaluation period, though it seems likely this would have to occur if the success of the intervention were to be maintained. This would have obvious resource implications. There are, however, examples of similar interventions being implemented. For example, the police provided improved security mechanisms to reduce repeat racial victimisation (Sampson and Phillips, 1995). In other instances, it has been local authorities that have provided the funding to combat burglary (Forrester *et al.*, 1988).

In some cases the sustainability of an intervention, or the intervention mechanisms themselves, can depend on a change in policy. For example, the restrictions around street drinking have become more popular since Ramsay's evaluation (1990). The intervention was sustained in Coventry but many similar initiatives have emerged in the UK more recently. This is due in part to the policy having nation wide appeal and being guided by sections 12 and 13 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001. Under this legislation, organisations can put forward a case for the introduction of the restrictions to the Home Secretary who will grant assent based on the evidence presented. The main focus of these interventions more recently is around the curbing of antisocial behaviour, particularly amongst young people, which is sometimes attributed to under-age drinking. They have been introduced in areas such as Penge (in south-east London) and Westminster. Due to these interventions being implemented quite recently, evaluations are either in their early stages or ongoing. Thus it is not yet possible to gauge their impact on crime, antisocial behaviour or reassurance related issues.

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## 5.

## Conclusions and recommendations

Certain Home Office aims, public service agreement targets and police best value indicators all reflect the Home Secretary's vision of, and the Home Office's commitment to, delivering a police service that reassures the public. This review contributes to this commitment by providing the chronology of the term reassurance with reference to policing. It also provides a definition of reassurance, and an assessment of the effectiveness of evaluated interventions by the police and other stakeholders designed to address one or more aspects of the concept.

This assessment was carried out using the principles of a systematic review of literature. The results of the appraised interventions were then synthesised by type of intervention mechanism, to suggest what works and what is promising. Further information for the consideration of policy makers and practitioners was provided around the context, transferability, implementation and sustainability of these projects. The findings of this review are particularly timely, as a 'reassurance gap' has emerged between public perceptions of crime levels, police recorded crime figures and estimates of the total number of crimes generated by the British Crime Survey (Kershaw *et al.*, 2001:33).

### Conceptualisation and methodology

The conceptualisation stage of the review found that, whilst there was no shortage of literature concerning reassurance (particularly in the past three years), this was almost entirely theoretical. This stage also discovered that reassurance was not a modern concept, but rather first appeared in the 1970s in the United States.

The literature that was examined in the conceptualisation phase resulted in two main aspects of reassurance being identified: increasing perceived police effectiveness (including confidence in, and satisfaction with the police) and improving feelings and perceptions of safety (including reducing the fear of crime). These are an amalgamation of the terms that appeared most frequently across the theoretical literature, which reflects what the many authors believe reassurance to be.

The final, comprehensive, review search, focusing on the constituent aspects of reassurance, produced a total of 22 evaluated interventions. None of these referred to reassurance as a

specific concept. They were appraised using the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (MSMS), which categorises and scores evaluations according to the robustness of their methodology.

The interventions appraised experienced varying levels of success across the reassurance aspects identified. Some of the interventions – as well as being multi-faceted – addressed more than one of the aspects of reassurance (for example Pate *et al.*, 1986). There were examples of interventions achieving success in relation to more than one of the aspects, and also of interventions obtaining mixed results or no successes across the different aspects.

Due to the need to present timely evidence in relation to certain aspects of reassurance, it was decided that ‘probity’ (issues around police corruption, misconduct and complaints, and perceptions of fair treatment by the police) would be excluded from the scope of this review. The review also made no attempt to cover survey research on the impact of experiences of police service use on public perceptions of police effectiveness.

### **Strength of evidence**

The MSMS also assists reviewers by providing a basis on which to classify the strength of the evidence from each intervention by combining the methodological score, the quality of analysis and the level of impact. The mechanisms used in the interventions can then be classified by ‘what works’, ‘what’s promising’, ‘what doesn’t work’ and ‘what’s unknown’. An intervention mechanism is classified as ‘what works’ if it has had demonstrable success in more than one evaluated intervention (the reverse holds for ‘what doesn’t work’, although no mechanisms were classified in this category). If a mechanism has been successful in just one intervention, it qualifies as promising. Intervention mechanisms classed as ‘unknown’ either come from interventions that scored less than three on the MSMS scale, or come from interventions that showed positive results that were not statistically significant.

### **Increasing perceived police effectiveness – what works**

#### **Improving police visibility and familiarity (Pate *et al.*, 1986; Skogan and Hartnett, 1997)**

Two of the successful interventions used visible (and in the case of Pate *et al.*, familiar) police patrol as one of the constituent mechanisms of change in their multi-faceted intervention. These patrol strategies were not entirely the same: Pate *et al.*’s required officers to specifically make contact with members of the community. Both took place in the United States and the CAPS initiative (Skogan and Hartnett) still exists. The patrol mechanism evaluated by Pate *et al.* in Houston was replicated in the United Kingdom (Bennett, 1991) with less positive results.



The visibility and familiarity of the patrol officers also suggests that they were accessible. These concepts were highlighted by the HMIC thematic (2001), and were seen as essential in the theoretical contributions of Bahn (1974) and Smith (1994). More recently, they were key components of the Home Secretary's speech to the Superintendents' Association conference (2001).

### **Increasing perceived police effectiveness – what's promising**

#### **Community engagement (Pate et al. 1986)**

The Community Organising Response Team in Houston was successful in improving the perceptions of the public concerning the police. This was achieved by engaging with a group of residents to remedy neighbourhood problems. These results are encouraging, especially in light of recent Home Office commitments to greater community engagement, which is seen as a key strand of police reform (this is reflected in the most recent consultation document: 'Policing: Building safer communities together', published in November 2003).

#### **Community policing (Pate et al. 1986)**

The term community policing has been used – predominantly in the US – to describe a form of policing that "is better suited to meet the extraordinary, steadily increasing demands being made of the police" (Goldstein, 1994:viii). Consequently, it addresses the needs of localities and is not administered uniformly. The Pate evaluation found successes in the Newark experimental area. The 'Co-ordinated Community Policing' intervention method was an amalgamation of some of the other intervention methods that were introduced on their own in this evaluation. These included reducing the signs of crime, and the establishment of a police-community centre.

#### **Foot patrol (Police Foundation, 1981)**

The foot patrol method of policing is relevant to the perceived need for a return to a 'bobbies on the beat' style of policing. Most interventions concerning the issue of foot patrol have been implemented in the United States and have met with varying degrees of success. The Police Foundation evaluation was the most successful in terms of improving the perceived effectiveness of the police. The public looked upon the police favourably when the foot patrols were added to (or retained) but not so when they were dropped.

### **Beat policing (Criminal Justice Commission, 1995)**

'Beat policing' in this context relates to the method implemented by Queensland Police Service, that was evaluated by the Criminal Justice Commission. This is the model where officers concentrate on a small beat area and are residential in these beat areas with a mini police station in their garage area. This intervention method improved confidence in the police considerably across a number of measures and the residents were also more satisfied with this approach than the conventional style they were used to. This could be seen as an example of community policing and, occasionally, the terms have been conflated. However, community policing can be seen to involve more direct community participation.

### **Increasing perceived police effectiveness – what's unknown**

#### **Neighbourhood Watch (Bennett, 1990; Husain, 1988)**

The evidence on Neighbourhood Watch was not strong enough to be classified as promising, but did not indicate the mechanism does not work. The Bennett study found some positive results, but these were not statistically significant. The Hussain study found positive results regarding improved police-community relations, but was a one-off, retrospective evaluation, so was therefore not methodologically sound enough to rate a three or above on the MSMS scale.

### **Improving feelings and perceptions of safety – what works**

#### **Foot patrol (Police Foundation, 1981; Trojanowicz, 1982; Kenney, 1987)**

Patrol strategies achieved positive results, particularly when the number of officers was increased. In contrast to the results for increasing perceived police effectiveness, the Police Foundation evaluation did not find any positive results concerning feelings and perceptions of safety when patrols were retained, only when they were added to. Positive results were also found in Flint, where over two-thirds of people said they felt safer because of the foot patrol programme. Furthermore, some of the respondents said that visible, familiar patrol officers made them feel especially safe (Trojanowicz, 1982). The findings of both of these evaluations strengthen the case for having patrol officers that are visible and accessible to the community.

The results of the evaluation of 'Guardian Angels' (voluntary citizen patrols) also showed that there was a reduction in fear when patrols were increased (there was no effect on levels of fear when patrols were either reduced from, or maintained at, normal levels). This finding is pertinent to the debate on the extended police family, as Guardian Angels are (visibly) not police officers and they do not have powers of detention or arrest.

### **Improving feelings and perceptions of safety – what's promising**

#### **Community policing (Pate et al., 1986)**

The Co-ordinated Community Policing was also successful in addressing feelings and perceptions of safety. It reduced both the fear of personal victimisation and the worry about property crime in terms of the results from panel analysis, and reduced the worry about property crime when using cross-sectional analysis. As this was a combination of the different intervention methods implemented in their own right in the different experimental areas it is difficult to judge whether it was one or more of these methods that was successful, or that the results were positive because the methods were amalgamated.

#### **Visibility, accessibility and familiarity (Pate et al., 1986)**

The concepts of visibility, accessibility and familiarity are relevant to both how police reform is implemented and how reassurance has been defined in the past. These concepts were reflected in a number of intervention methods in the Pate evaluation, namely: the Police Community Station, the Citizen Contact Patrol and the Co-ordinated Community Policing. In relation to feelings and perceptions of safety, the results of the Co-ordinated Community Policing have been documented above. In terms of accessibility, the Police Community Station was successful in terms of reducing the fear of personal victimisation using both panel and cross-sectional data. In relation to familiarity, the Citizen Contact Patrol also reduced fear of personal victimisation, but only when using cross-sectional data.

#### **Residential security (Allatt, 1984)**

Most of what has worked or what is promising has been the result of changing methods of operational policing. However, promising results were recorded in an intervention designed to effect a change in the environment of an area, to protect the community from a particular local crime problem. The Allatt evaluation found successes regarding fear of crime when examining the impact of improved residential security. This highlights that positive outcomes relating to reassurance are not solely achieved in relation to changes in operational policing, or to policing styles.

### **Improving feelings and perceptions of safety – what's unknown**

There were several intervention mechanisms, including street lighting and CCTV, Neighbourhood Watch, beat policing, and community engagement that might have been classified as promising, but for either a lack of methodological rigour, or a lack of statistically significant positive outcomes.

## Interpretation of the results

The interpretation of the results of this review should be seen in relation to several key factors. The first is the context(s) in which the appraised interventions occurred. For example, some appraised interventions occurred in a particular political context, that may have increased their chances of success. Some interventions dealt with aspects of reassurance as a secondary goal (e.g., in the context of a crime prevention intervention), which may have limited their impact. Seasonal variations can affect the results of interventions designed to improve feelings of safety. Finally, many of the interventions took place a decade (or even two decades) prior to the review, which in itself increases the likelihood that political, cultural and other contextual factors would be different if the intervention were implemented today.

Secondly, there are issues surrounding transferability. For particular types of intervention, the bulk of evidence came from evaluated interventions in other countries. This was particularly the case for foot patrol, with almost all interventions having taken place in the United States. It is not possible to know whether the effectiveness of patrol-based interventions will be similar in a UK context. There are also issues surrounding regional transferability. There were no appraised interventions in a rural context, and those involving mechanisms of visibility and familiarity may be difficult to transfer to this context. Also, the political factors mentioned above are relevant, in that successful interventions may not be transferable if the political context, or the laws of a country, are different.

A third set of factors surround implementation. The review appraised some studies that were implemented in areas where levels of (for example) perceived police effectiveness were already high. This limited the potential effects that the intervention could show. There are also factors surrounding multi-agency response. Tackling reassurance issues should not be seen as the sole responsibility of the police. However, when, for example, an environmental improvement intervention needs to be implemented by more than one agency, a lack of co-ordination could result in the mechanisms being less effective than they could have been.

Finally, there is the issue of sustainability of interventions. The number of experimental interventions appraised outnumbered those that were sustained and, as a result, it is difficult to judge the long-term impact of many of the interventions. It is in fact possible that many of the experimental interventions appraised may actually be impossible to sustain on a long-term basis. This could be for several reasons. Most obviously, many experimental interventions involved provision of extra resources, or a substantial reallocation of existing resources for the experimental period. Police forces, in particular, may not be able to sustain

provision of (for example) extra foot patrol, if other areas of policing were adversely affected. However, there is also an issue surrounding wider, cultural sustainability – positive effects derived from (for example) community policing may not be sustained if the intervention is restricted to a few officers, as opposed to embedding a more citizen-focused approach across the organisation.

### **Gaps in the literature and future directions**

The review highlighted some of the gaps in the literature around the concept of reassurance and also raised issues about the way interventions are evaluated. As the review was restricted to evaluated interventions, it has not been able to cover the issue of how positive or negative experiences as a service user impact on overall levels of confidence in the police. As 44 per cent of the public had contact with the police in England and Wales in 2003, this is an important area for consideration.

One of the clearest gaps in the literature revealed by this review is the lack of evaluated interventions that have taken place in rural areas. Only one intervention contained some rural experimental areas (Cordner, 1986). This is not altogether surprising given the generally lower levels of crime in rural areas. Also, the mechanisms of police visibility and accessibility, implemented in urban contexts, could be difficult to transfer to a more rural context. This is especially so given public preference for more resource intensive foot patrol over vehicle patrol. Further thought may be needed to either overcome the barrier of transferability, or to devise mechanisms more appropriate to fostering public reassurance in rural contexts.

A further issue is the lack of thresholds for what constitutes 'acceptable' or 'target' levels of reassurance (or, more specifically, the aspect of reassurance being examined). It is particularly important that these issues are addressed in future projects in order to be able to gauge how much impact particular interventions have made given the problems highlighted in this review (e.g. Wycoff and Skogan, 1993).

This review did not examine the issue of probity on feelings of reassurance, as this would have increased the scope significantly, and the timeliness of reporting was prioritised. However, it is acknowledged that issues surrounding corruption or misconduct, and perceptions of being treated fairly by the police, are aspects of reassurance. Therefore it is recommended that any work seeking to build on the findings of this review, or to update it, should address these issues.

The impact of the media and communications on reassurance has also not been examined in this review. The literature on the impact of the media, particularly on fear of crime, seems quite considerable (see Eschholz, 1997, for a concise summary). It is felt that the influence of the media and communications should also be examined in future reviews of reassurance and, if possible, when evaluating interventions designed to reassure the public. Also, many of the successful interventions examined have had high levels of public awareness in the areas where they have been implemented. This could be as a result of the interventions' mechanisms actually being visible to members of the public (e.g., Trojanowicz, 1982), the mechanisms having been publicised as part of the intervention itself (e.g., Husain, 1988), or by local media or political support (e.g., Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). In light of this, future interventions devised to reassure the public should consider the issue of communications as an integral part of the intervention, especially if the intervention mechanisms are not wholly visible.

Finally, in this review, no attempt was made to look at the impact of the interventions in other areas, for example crime reduction. However this information was provided by many of the evaluations that were appraised, and future evaluations could consider levels of reassurance against crime levels. This is especially relevant if the intervention involves a re-prioritisation of policing resources, as opposed to extra resources being made available.

## **Recommendations**

The provision of public reassurance involves a variety of agencies and people. The following table includes a number of recommendations for addressing reassurance. In some instances, the recommendations apply to more than one service delivery area or agency.

Recommendation	Home Office	Research	Police	CDRPs*
Constituent aspects of 'reassurance' should be measured in a rigid and consistent way in future evaluations.		✓		
There should be further work carried out to establish 'acceptable levels' for specified aspects of reassurance. These threshold measures may vary in different intervention contexts.	✓	✓		
Future interventions should consider 'baselining' levels of relevant aspects of reassurance before undertaking evaluations, as this is advantageous when interpreting results.		✓	✓	✓
A reassurance toolkit or something similar should exist on the Crime Reduction website. Building on the current Fear of Crime toolkit could be one way this is achieved.	✓			
Future interventions should consider publicity as an integral part of the project, particularly if the intervention mechanisms are not visible to the public.		✓	✓	✓
The visibility, accessibility and familiarity of police officers should be optimised when introducing new patrol strategies, preferably in smaller and more localised areas where possible.			✓	
When addressing feelings and perceptions of safety, the feasibility of an increase in the number of officers that patrol on foot should be examined.			✓	
Reassurance should be the shared responsibility of the police, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships, other local stakeholders and community members.	✓		✓	✓
Interventions that have been referred to in the review that currently exist in England and Wales (such as police-community stations) should be evaluated.	✓	✓	✓	✓

\* Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships





The review protocol set out how the review would proceed, enabling the review process to be as transparent as possible. The information that relates to the protocol (for example, the quality assessment form and the search terms) are provided in other appendices. The outline of the review protocol was inspired by an example provided by the Evidence Network, and the instructions on the development of a review protocol by Khan *et al.* (2001:1-6).

**Review questions**

- How is public reassurance in the context of policing defined?
- What are the results from evaluated interventions that have addressed aspects of reassurance?
- What types of intervention mechanism have been successful?
- What has not been successful?
- Are there any factors that can contribute to success or failure?
- What other important factors exist when considering the results?

**Inclusion criteria****Conceptualisation phase**

Any articles (empirical research, theoretical or otherwise) that include the word reassurance in the title or abstract; and any articles that are recommended by relevant colleagues. The literature can be from any point in time, from anywhere in terms of location and in foreign languages, if applicable.

### **Main phase**

Any evaluations of interventions that have addressed one or more aspects of reassurance as defined in the review.

Interventions can be from any point in time, from anywhere in the world, and can be in a foreign language.

Any studies that do not meet the inclusion criteria will be excluded.

### **Search strategy**

#### **Conceptualisation phase**

The search term will be “reassurance” and the search sources will be:

- all available library catalogues (online or otherwise) such as the Home Office Library, National Police Library;
- all of the electronic databases that are accessible; and
- several ‘hand-searching’ techniques, such as colleagues, and partner organisations (e.g., HMIC and ACPO).

The next stage will then be to obtain the literature, record it in a database and then examine the literature to input the different related terms into a tally chart.

#### **Main phase**

The results of the tally chart will then feed into the main search phase. The search terms will be the most frequent terms recorded in the tally chart, alternative words with a similar meaning (for example, worry for fear) will be included. These will then be added to general terms such as police and policing to make up the full complement of search terms.

The search sources will be similar to those from the conceptualisation phase. However it is predicted that references from both the included and excluded documents, and any relevant literature reviews will be a fruitful search source also.

The literature will be obtained from the Home Office Library and National Police Library. If there are any difficulties in acquiring the identified sources, the reviewers will contact authors, or attempt to use inter-library loans.

## Quality assessment

The quality assessment tool will be the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (MSMS). The quality assessment form is based on the criteria of the MSMS as outlined in Farrington *et al.* (2002).

## Data extraction

The relevant information to be taken from included studies that have made it through the quality assessment stage will not be extracted using a standard form. The information will be placed in an Excel spreadsheet, under broad headings such as:

- author;
- title;
- year;
- summary;
- intervention(s);
- methodology;
- findings;
- comments; and
- further action.

## Synthesis

The results will be synthesised by the type of intervention mechanisms found. Further information will be provided in order to assist interpretation of the results. A discussion of further issues, such as context, transferability, implementation and sustainability will also be included.



## Appendix 2:

## Conceptualisation phase

**Table A2.1 Results from initial conceptualisation search**

Date	Where searched	Term	Applicable results
24/02/03	QAG Library catalogue	"Reassurance"	5 of 6
03/03/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	"Reassurance"	3 of 17
03/03/03	Sociological Abstracts	"Reassurance"	1 of 100
03/03/03	Sociofile	"Reassurance"	1 of 97
03/03/03	Criminal Justice Periodical Index		IT problems (Timed out)
03/03/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service		IT problems (problem with "Cookies")
03/03/03	Public Affairs Information Service		IT problems (Timed out)
03/03/03	BIDS		IT problems (Timed out)
03/03/03	Dissertation.com		IT problems (Timed out)
26/03/03	Albert Sloman Library	"Reassurance"	0 of 3
26/03/03	UK Data Archive	"Reassurance"	0 of 0
31/03/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	"Reassurance"	6 of 6
31/03/03	Sociological Abstracts		Access problems
31/03/03	BIDS		Access problems
31/03/03	Police Foundation		Access problems
31/03/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts (CD-Rom)	"Reassurance"	Already possessed those found
31/03/03	<a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/ifr/publications/policing">www.northwestern.edu/ifr/publications/policing</a>	"Reassurance"	3 in total
31/03/03	Bramshill Library Catalogue	"Reassurance"	18 of 20

In total 37 sources were found. Of these, many were duplicated, either from previous database searches, or from 'hand-searching', leaving 27 in total.

**Table A2.2 Titles of articles used for conceptualising Reassurance**

Author, Year and Title	Source
Bahn, C. (1974) The Reassurance Factor in Police patrol	Criminology; Vol 12, no 3
Blair, I. (2002) The policing revolution: back to the beat	New Statesman; 23/9/2002
Britton, N. J. (2000) Race and Policing: a study of police custody	British Journal of Criminology, 40(4)
Carrick, G. (2001) A police response to racial profiling	Law and Order; October 2001
Cooper, J. and Pomeyie, J. (1988) Racial attacks and racial harassment: lessons from a local project	Maguire, M., Pointing, J. (Eds) Victims of Crime: A New Deal? Open University Press, Milton Keynes
Dale, J. and Walker, M. (2002) Rural reassurance	Police Review; 11/1/2002
Dobbs, S. (2001) Time to wise up	Police Review; 28/9/2001
Donaldson, R. and Johnston, L. (2001) Community service	Police Review; 19/10/2001
Ekblom, P. and Heal, K. (1982) The police response to calls from the public	London: Home Office
Evans, R. (2001) The importance of investigation	Police Review; 7/9/2001
Hallam, S. (2002) Police performance, reform and community safety: How we came to where we are going	Community Safety Journal; Vol 1 Issue 2
Herbert, S. (2001) Policing the contemporary city: Fixing broken windows or shoring up neo-liberalism?	Theoretical Criminology; Vol 5 No 4
HMIC (2001) Open All Hours	London: Home Office
Home Office (2001) Policing for the 21st Century	London: Home Office
Home Office (2002) The National Policing Plan 2003–2006	London: Home Office
Home Office (2002) Crime Reduction Toolkits: Fear of Crime	London: Home Office
Innes, M. & Fielding, N. (2002) From Community To Communicative Policing: 'Signal Crimes' And The Problem Of Public Reassurance	Sociological Research Online; Vol 7, No 2 <a href="http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/2/innes.html">http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/2/innes.html</a>
Johnson, T. R. (1993) The Public and the Police in the City of Chicago	<a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing">www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing</a>
Mastrofski, S. D. (1999) Policing for People	<a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing">www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing</a>
Mulraney, S. (2001) Targeting Fear	Police Review; 26/10/2001
O'Connor, D. (2001) Civility first – the reassurance concept	Criminal Justice Management; July 2001
Orr-Munro, T. (2002) Conquering fear	Police Review; 10/5/2002
Povey, K. (2001) Open All Hours	Police Review; 14/12/2001
Reisig, M. D. and Parks, R. B. (2002) Satisfaction with Police –what matters	<a href="http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij">www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij</a>
Shoebridge, C. (2001) The price of reassurance	Police Review; 31/8/2001
Skogan, W. G. et al. (2002) Taking Stock: Community Policing in Chicago	<a href="http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij">www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij</a>
Smith, L. (1994) Keeping control of the streets	Policing; Vol 10, no 3
Strange P (2001) Street Wise	Police Review; 12/10/2001

**Table A2.3 Conceptualisation tally record**

Concept	Number
Accessibility	4
Bobbies on the beat	3
Capability	1
Civility/Incivility	4
Comfort factors	2
Co-ordination	1
Delivery	1
Diversity	1
Equality	1
Extended police family/civilianisation	3
Fairness	1
Familiarity	4
Fear of crime	5
Fear-triggers	3
First impressions	1
Friends/family	1
Identity	1
Intelligence	2
Lifestyle	1
Local environment	3
Maximised time	1
Media	2
Numbers	2
Order	3
Patrol	2
Perceptions	2
Performance indicators	1
Police presence	3
Public perceptions (e.g. confidence/satisfaction/concern)	11
Quality of life	1
Raising awareness	1
Reciprocal responsibility	1
Risk	1
Safety	5
Security	2
Signal crimes/events	2
Social cohesion	1
Support	1
Victimisation	1
Visibility	10

Those with a score of five or above were included in the main search terms.





## Search terms

The terms below were used as the search terms for the review in a variety of combinations. The asterisk is added when there are multiple endings to the word e.g. visib\* = visible, or visibility. The terms in bold are the core search terms.

Table A3.1 Search terms

Category	Terms
1	<b>Police OR policing</b> OR "law enforcement" OR "public"
2	<b>Confidence OR concern* OR satisfaction OR perception* OR safety OR "fear of crime" OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR reassur* OR familiar* OR trust OR secur*</b>
3	Trial* <b>OR evaluat* OR review*</b> OR scheme* OR project* OR intervention* OR initiative* OR program*
4	"community support officer*" OR "CSO*" OR "C.S.O*" OR patrol* OR warden* OR ranger* OR custodian* OR security OR guardian* OR special*

Table A3.2 Results from main search

Date	Where searched	Term/Category	Applicable results
30/04/03	SIGLE	Categories 1, 2 and 3	0 of 634
30/04/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts/BIDS/Sociological Abstracts/Political Science Abstracts	Categories 1, 2 and 3	12,450 but IT problems (Timed out)
30/04/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	Categories 1, 2 and 3	3 of 6,912
01/05/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	Categories 1, 2 and 3	0 of 500
01/05/03	International Bibliography of Social Sciences (Bath Information and Data Service)	Categories 1, 2 and 3	0 of 88
01/05/03	PsycInfo	Categories 1, 2 and 3	0 of 4,884
02/05/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	N/A	IT problems (could not log on)
02/05/03	Dissertation.com	Category 1	0 of 42
02/05/03	International Bibliography of Social Sciences (Bath Information and Data Service)	N/A	IT problems (could not log on)
02/05/03	PsycInfo	N/A	IT problems (could not log on)
02/05/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	Category 2 in 'subject search'	500 results (to be refined)
02/05/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	Category 3 in 'subject search'	50 results (to be refined)
02/05/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	Categories 2 and 3 in	

02/05/03	National Criminal Justice Reference Service	'subject search' Polic* AND confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* OR trust AND evaluat* OR review* OR intervention*	IT problems (Timed out) 0 of 500 results
06/05/03	<a href="http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij">www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij</a>	Examined publications	6 potentially applicable
06/05/03	<a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing">www.northwestern.edu/ipr/publications/policing</a>	Examined publications	3 potentially applicable
07/05/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	Polic* OR "law enforcement" AND confidence OR concern OR satisfaction OR perception* OR safety OR "fear of crime" OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* OR trust AND evaluat* OR review* OR intervention*	2,760 (to be refined)
07/05/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review*	3,059 (to be refined)
08/05/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	Polic* AND confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review*	44 of 1,354
09/05/03	Home Office Library	confidence/satisfaction/ "fear of crime"/safety/perception/attitude*/visibility/accessibility/familiarity/reassurance	14 of 44
13/05/03	Political Science Abstracts	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	3 of 503

13/05/03	Sociological Abstracts	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	IT problems (Timed out)
13/05/03	SIGLE	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	0 of 27
13/05/03	International Bibliography of Social Sciences (Bath Information and Data Service)	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	224 then IT problems (Timed out)
14/05/03	International Bibliography of Social Sciences (Bath Information and Data Service)	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	2 of 224
13/05/03	Sociological Abstracts	confidence OR satisfaction OR "fear of crime" OR safety OR perception* OR attitude* OR visib* OR access* OR famili* OR reassur* AND evaluat* OR review* AND polic*	28 of 1,580
23/05/03	Criminal Justice Abstracts	Category 4	Nothing found
23/05/03	SIGLE	Category 4	0 of 10
23/05/03	International Bibliography of Social Sciences (Bath Information and Data Service)	Category 4	0 of 0
23/05/03	Political Science Abstracts	Category 4	0 of 62
23/05/03	Sociological Abstracts	Category 4	0 of 83

A number of library catalogues were also searched, these were:

- The Albert Sloman Library at the University of Essex (online);
- The British Library; and
- The London School of Economics Library.

Certain Internet search engines (such as Google) were used, in addition to those of certain institutions:

- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary – <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/hmic/search.htm>;
- Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate – <http://search2.openobjects.com/kbroker/rds/search.jsp>;
- Dutch Ministry of Justice – <http://www.minjust.nl:8080/search>;
- Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations – <http://www.minbzk.nl>;
- National Institute of Justice – [http://nij.ncjrs.org/publications/pubs\\_db.asp](http://nij.ncjrs.org/publications/pubs_db.asp);
- Police Foundation – <http://www.policefoundation.org/>; and
- Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission - <http://www.cmc.qld.gov.au/>.

Experts were also contacted for help during the review. These included individuals from:

- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC);
- HMIC Scotland;
- Houston Police Department;
- Baltimore County Police Department;
- Metropolitan Police Service (MPS);
- Sussex Police; and
- Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO).

In addition, a number of academics were contacted, including Wesley Skogan, Gary Cordner, Tim Hartnagel and Peter Homel, as well as current and former colleagues from the Home Office.

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## Appendix 4:

## Included studies

Allatt, P. (1984). Fear of Crime: The Effect of Improved Residential Security on a Difficult To Let Estate. *The Howard Journal*, 23 (3).

Atkins, S., Husain, S. and Storey, A. (1991). *The influence of Street Lighting on Crime and Fear of Crime*. London: Home Office.

Bennett, T. (1990). *Evaluating Neighbourhood Watch*. Aldershot: Gower.

Bennett, T. (1991). The Effectiveness of a Police-Initiated Fear-Reducing Strategy. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 31 (1).

Brown, B. (1995). *CCTV in Town Centres: Three Case Studies*. London: Home Office.

Brown, G. P., Ball, D. and Macneil, A. (1980). *Police patrol in Victoria: the Prahran patrol evaluation summary*. Victoria: Victoria Police.

Cordner, G. W. (1986). Fear of Crime and the Police: An Evaluation of a Fear Reduction Strategy. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 14(3).

Criminal Justice Commission. (1995). Beat Policing: A Case Study. *Criminal Justice Commission Criminal Justice Research Paper Series*, 2(1).

Fowler, F. J. and Mangione, T. W. (1986). 'A Three-Pronged Effort to Reduce Crime and Fear of Crime: The Hartford Experiment'; in Rosenbaum, D. P. (Ed) *Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Husain, S. (1988). *Neighbourhood Watch in England and Wales: a locational analysis*. Crime Prevention Unit Paper 12. London: Home Office.

Kelling, G. L., Pate, T., Dieckman, D. and Brown, C. E. (1974). *The Kansas City Preventive Patrol Experiment*. Washington D.C: Police Foundation.

Kenney, D. J. (1987). *Crime, Fear and the NYC subways: The role of citizen action*. New York: Praeger.

Mazerolle, P., et al. (2003). *On the Beat: An evaluation of beat policing in Queensland*. Queensland: Crime and Misconduct Commission.

Nair, G., Ditton, J. and Phillips, S. (1993). Environmental Improvements and the Fear of Crime: The Sad Case of the 'Pond' Area in Glasgow. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 33(4).

Pate, A. M., Wycoff, M. A., Skogan, W. G. and Sherman, L. W. (1986). *Reducing Fear of Crime in Houston and Newark: A Summary Report*. Washington D.C: Police Foundation.

Police Foundation. (1981). *The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment*. Washington D.C: Police Foundation.

Quah, S. R. and Quah, J. S. (1987). *Friends in Blue: The Police and the Public in Singapore*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Ramsay, M. (1990). *Lagerland lost? An Experiment in Keeping Drinkers off the Streets in Central Coventry and elsewhere*. London: Home Office.

Skogan, W. G. and Hartnett, S. M. (1997). *Community Policing, Chicago Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tien, J. M., Simon, J. W. and Larson, R. C. (1978). *An Alternative Approach in Police Patrol: The Wilmington Split-Force Experiment*. Washington, D.C: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Trojanowicz, R. (1982). *An Evaluation of the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program in Flint, Michigan*. East Lansing, MI: National Neighborhood Foot Patrol Center, Michigan State University.

Wycoff, M. A. and Skogan, W. G. (1993). *Community Policing in Madison: Quality from the Inside Out*. Washington D.C: NIJ.

## Appendix 5:

## Excluded studies

**Table A5.1 Excluded studies, with reasons for exclusion**

Author, Year and Title	Reason for exclusion
Balkin et al. (1983). Reducing Fear of Crime through occupational presence	Not intervention based
Bayley (1989). A Model of Community Policing: The Singapore Story	Overview – see Quah and Quah
Beito and Sigler (1997). Police Community Service: An Evaluation of Program Effectiveness. Tuscalooga, Alabama, US	The findings do not necessarily relate to a fear or perception of safety but rather a perception of crime rates
Bennett (1994). Confidence in the police as a mediating factor in the Fear of Crime	Not intervention based
Benson (1981). Political Alienation and Public Satisfaction with Public Services	Cross tabulation of indices with satisfaction with the police (political alienation, race, class etc.)
Brown (1976). Neighbourhood Team Policing: The Multnomah County Experience	Does not relate to any of the reassurance concepts
Brown and Wycoff (1987). Policing Houston: Reducing Fear and Improving Service	See the Pate et al. Houston/Newark study
Bunt and Mawby (1994). Quality of Policing	Theoretical
Caeti (1999) Houston's Targeted Beat Program: A quasi-experimental test of police patrol strategies	Not able to download a full copy of the document
Davis (1990) A comparison of attitudes toward the New York City police	Snapshot, not intervention specific
Dent and Hacker (1992). The Canora Neighbourhood Foot Patrol office: an evaluation of community based policing in one community	Does not relate to any of the reassurance concepts
Dietz (1997). Evaluating community policing: quality police service and the fear of crime	Not intervention based
Ede (2003). Public Perceptions of the QPS (Australia)	Does not apply to reassurance issues
Eig (1996). Eyes on the Street	Pre-CAPS critique of Chicago policing
Eklom and Heal (1982) The police response to calls from the public	Not intervention based
Finn (2001). Citizen Review of the Police	Not intervention based
Fitzgerald et al. (2002). Policing for London	Not intervention based
Grabosky (1995). Fear of crime and fear reduction strategies	Overview
Greene and Mastrofski (eds.) (1988). Community Policing, Rhetoric or Reality	Overview, but useful. Talks about Houston, Newark, Baltimore, and a host of other Community Policing initiatives and findings
Hale (1996). Fear of crime: a review of the literature	Overview. Useful for other studies on policing and fear of crime reduction

Heinen (1979). Officer Friendly: Evaluating a Police Community Relations Program	Applies only to one section of the community (children)
HMIC (2001). Open All Hours	Not intervention based
Herstad and Van Thanh (2000). Always connected bike officers	Not an evaluated intervention report
Hewstone and Hopkins (1991). Police-Schools Liaison	About perceptions of youth at schools
Hough (1996). 'The Police Patrol Function: what research can tell us'	Overview
Innes and Fielding (2002). From Community to Communicative Policing: 'Signal' Crimes and the Problem of Public Reassurance	Theoretical
Jacobson and Saville (1999). Neighbourhood Warden Schemes: An Overview	Overview, but does offer a couple of lines of enquiry
Johnson (1993). The Public and the Police in the City of Chicago	The findings are from the first year of the CAPS evaluation and thus are already covered
Knox et al. (2000). Partnerships in Community Safety	Does not apply to reassurance issues
Lawday (2000). Policing in France and Britain	Theoretical
Lee, Min Sik (2000). Policing, Culture, and Fear of Crime in the Korean American Community	About particular ethnic groups (USA also)
Liou and Savage (1996). Citizen Perception of Community Policing Impact	Does not apply to reassurance issues
Mastrofski (1999). Policing for People	Overview
Mastrofski (1999). Policing Neighborhoods: A Report from St. Petersburg	Not intervention based
Mayhew (1989). Chapter 6: Neighbourhood Watch (in 1988 BCS)	Overview
McDavid (1979). Police Cooperation and performance	Doesn't apply to reassurance issues
McElroy (1993). Community Policing: The CPOP in NY	Fieldwork is with 'community leaders' and is not about reassurance issues
McKee (2001). The Community Policing Evaluation Survey	Descriptive re: evaluation design to be made generic for community policing evaluations
Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (1999). Integrated programme on safety and security	Policy document
Monjardet (2000). Police and the public	Overview of the French situation and community policing
Muir (1987). Fear of crime: a community policing perspective	Overview. Mentions the Flint and Newark studies
Mulraney (2001). Pleasing the people	Two page review article
O' Rourke (1975). High Visibility Patrol	Two page review article
Orr-Munro (2001). Turning back the clock	Two page review article
Pate et al. (1976). Police Response Time	Covered by other work
Pennell (1986). Guardian Angels: An Assessment of Citizen Response to Crime	Methodologically poor
Pino (1999). Community Policing in Small City, Iowa	Only able to download a partial copy of the document



Priest and Carter (1999). Evaluations of police performance in an African-American sample	About particular ethnic groups (USA also)
Punch et al. (2002). Dutch 'COP'	Overview
Ramsay M (1991). The effect of better street lighting on crime and fear: a review	Overview, see Atkins, Husain and Storey in Appraised literature
Reisig and Parks (2002). Satisfaction with police – what matters?	Overview and summary and not intervention specific
Rosenbaum (1987). The theory and Research behind Neighbourhood Watch: Is it a Sound Fear and Crime Reduction Strategy?	Overview, not intervention based
Rosenbaum and Lurigio (1994). An Inside Look at Community Policing Reform: Definitions, Organisational Changes and Evaluation Findings	Overview
Salmi et al. (2000). Relation between Police Image and Police Visibility	Not intervention based
Skogan (1995). Community Participation and Community Policing	Does not apply to reassurance issues
Skogan (1997). Measuring what matters: crime, disorder and fear	Does not apply to reassurance issues
Skogan et al. (1995). Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two: An Interim Report	Used to cross-reference with the Year Seven and Years Eight and Nine reports
Skolnick and Bayley (1986). The New Blue Line	Helpful, but ethnographic
Smith et al. (2003). Between the lines: an evaluation of the Secured Car Park Award Scheme	Too assumptive, does not give a pre/post fear of crime reduction
Social Development Direct (2003). Neighbourhood Wardens Scheme : Good Practice Notes	Predictive and anecdotal
Squires and Smith (2002). Neighbourhood Wardens in a Rural Village Environment	Methodologically weak
Torres and Vogel (2001). Pre- and post-test differences between Vietnamese and Latino residents involved in a community policing experiment	About particular ethnic groups (USA also)
Trojanowicz and Banas (1985). The Impact of Foot Patrol on Black and White Perceptions of Policing	Interracial comparison study
Trojanowicz and Banas (1985). Perceptions of Safety: A Comparison of Foot Patrol Officers Versus Motor Patrol Officers	Officer not citizen perceptions
Trojanowicz and Carter (1988). The Philosophy and Role of Community Policing	Not intervention based
Ungerleider (1985). Police Intercultural Education: Promoting Understanding and Empathy between Police and Ethnic Communities	About particular ethnic groups (USA also)
Van der Vijver (2002). Evaluating Community Policing	Overview
Waiton (2001). Scared of the Kids?	Theoretical and did not interview the local community about the impact of the curfew
Whitehead et al. (2002). Neighbourhood Wardens: A Review of International Experience	Overview
Wilcox (1998). Influencing Public Perceptions of Policing	Overview
Winkel (1986). Reducing Fear of Crime Through Police Visibility	Results over time unclear

**Table A5.2 Unobtainable articles**

Author, Year and Title	Source
Chan and Tien (1981) An evaluation of an alternative approach in police response: the Wilmington Management of Demand Program	Cambridge MA: Public Systems Evaluation Inc.
Cordner (1985) The Baltimore County Citizen-Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) project: final evaluation	St Michaels MD: St Michaels Police Department
Dean (1980) Citizen ratings of the police: the difference contact makes	Law and Policy Quarterly, 2 (4) pp 445-471
Fowler, McCalla and Mangione (1979) Reducing residential crime and fear: The Hartford neighbourhood crime prevention program	Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice
Fowler and Mangione (1982) Neighbourhood crime, fear and social control: A second look at the Hartford program	Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice
Hale (1983) Quality of life, fear of crime, and the implications of foot patrol policing	Dissertation, MSU
Hall (1990) Community Policing: an overview of the literature	Albany NY: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Series
Higdon et al. (1987) How to fight fear: the Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement program package	Police Executive Research Forum Washington DC
Homant (1984) Effect of victimization and the police response on citizens attitudes towards the police	Journal of Police Science and Administration 12
Hornick et al. (1990) An evaluation of the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program of Edmonton Police Service	Solicitor General Canada
Klein et al. (1989) Perceived neighbourhood crime and the impact of private security	Crime and Delinquency 35/3 pp 365-377
Klein (1987) Rent-a-cop: Perceived Neighbourhood Crime and the Impact of Private Security	Dept. Sociology, Brooklyn College, NY 11210 (Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP))
Knee et al. (1983) Differential police response to citizen-initiated calls for service: executive summary, part 1	US National Institute of Justice
Larson et al. (1985) Synthesizing and extending the results of police patrol studies	Washington DC; US Government Printing Office
Mesko (2001) Community Oriented Police Work – A Challenge for the Slovenian Police?	Teorija in Praksa 38/2 Mar-Apr 272-289
NACRO (1999) Community safety, community solutions: tackling crime in inner city neighbourhoods	NACRO
Normandeau (1998) A provisional review of the research on community policing evaluation	Revue Internationale de Criminologie et de Police Technique et Scientifique 51 (2) pp 178-187
Obst et al. (2001) Punitiveness and feelings of security among the Swiss: A comparative analysis	Kriminologisches Bulletin de Criminologie 27 (1) pp 25-41
Parks (1976) Victims and police response	Victimology 1 (2) pp 314-316
Police Foundation (1983) Experiments in fear reduction: Houston and Newark: program and evaluation plans	US National Institute of Justice

Tyler (2001) Public trust and confidence in legal authorities	Behavioral Sciences and the Law 19 (2) pp 215-235
Van der Vijver (1999) Proximity Policing. Developments in the Netherlands	Enschede: University of Twente
Zhao et al. (2002) Participation in community crime prevention: Are volunteers more or less fearful of crime than other citizens?	Journal of Crime and Justice 25 (1) pp 41-61

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## Appendix 6:

## Quality assessment form

DATA EXTRACTION FORM	
Identification Details	
Author (s)	
Title	
Location (e.g. book/journal, conference proceeding)	
Publication date	
Publisher	
Location of intervention	
Where was the study identified?	
Where was source located?	
Focus/Type of Study	
What does the evaluation examine?	
Internal Validity	
What type of research design was used?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Correlational design – at ‘one point in time’ (1 point)</li> <li>● Before and after design – without control condition (2 points)</li> <li>● Before and after design with a comparable control condition (3 points)</li> <li>● Before and after design in multiple experimental and control units – controlling for other variables that may influence outcomes (4 points)</li> <li>● Random assignment of program and control conditions to units (5 points)</li> </ul>
Statistical Conclusion Validity	
Number of participants (individuals who participated in some aspect of the research) less than 100 = small sample	(if less than 100 deduct 1 point)
Were there high response rates?	(if ‘no’ deduct 1 point)
Were there high attrition rates?	(if ‘yes’ deduct 1 point)
Was the statistical analysis appropriate?	(if ‘no’ deduct 1 point)
Total score	



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- Eschholz, S.** (1997). The Media and Fear of Crime: A Survey of the Research. *University of Florida Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 9 (1).
- Farrington, D. P., Gottfredson, D. C., Sherman, L. W. and Mackenzie, D. L.** (2002). 'The Maryland Scientific Methods Scale'. In Sherman *et al.* (Eds) *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention*. London: Routledge.
- Flood-Page, C. and Taylor, J.** (2003). *Crime in England and Wales 2001/2002: Supplementary Volume*. London: Home Office.
- Forrester, D., Chatterton, M. and Pease, K.** (1988). *The Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, Rochdale*. Crime Prevention Unit paper 13. London: Home Office.
- Goldstein, H.** (1994). 'Foreword'. In D. Rosenbaum (Ed) *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Premises*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary** (2001). *Open All Hours*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office.** (2001). *Policing for the 21st Century: A Speech by the Home Secretary to the Police Superintendents' Conference, 11th September 2001*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office.** (2002a). *The National Policing Plan 2003–2006*. London: Home Office. (<http://www.policereform.gov.uk/natpoliceplan/index.html>)
- Home Office.** (2002b). *Crime Reduction Toolkits: Fear of Crime*. London: Home Office. (<http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/toolkits/fc00.htm>)

**Home Office.** (2003a). Policing: building safer communities together. London: Home Office. (<http://www.policereform.gov.uk/consultation/index.html>)

**Home Office.** (2003b). SR2002 Public Service Agreement Technical Notes. London: Home Office. (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/inside/aims/index.html>)

**Home Office.** (2003c). *The National Policing Plan 2004–2007*. London: Home Office. (<http://www.policereform.gov.uk/nationalpolicingplan.html>)

**Home Office.** (2004). Police Standards Unit: National Reassurance project. London: Home Office. (<http://www.policereform.gov.uk/psu/nationalreassurance.html>)

**Kershaw, C., Chivite-Matthews, N., Thomas, C., and Aust, R.** (2001). *The 2001 British Crime Survey, First Results, England and Wales*. London: Home Office.

**Khan, K. S., ter Riet, G., Glanville, J., Sowden, A. J. and Kleijnen, J.** (2001). Undertaking Systematic Reviews of Research on Effectiveness: CRD's Guidance for those Carrying Out or Commissioning Reviews. NHS Centre for Reviews and Dissemination: University of York. (<http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/crd/report4.htm>)

**Office of Public Services Reform.** (2003). *Citizen-focused Policing*. London: OPSR.

**Sampson, A. and Phillips, C.** (1995). *Reducing repeat racial victimisation on an East London estate*. Crime detection and prevention series Paper no 67. London: Home Office.

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