

**A Scottish Institute for Policing Research Funded Report:**

**Review of Evidence: What effect do enforcement-orientated and engagement-orientated methods of visible policing have on public confidence?**



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## Key Findings

- There is a lack of existing research which focuses on the effect of visible policing on public confidence. In the main, the existing visible policing studies are primarily concerned with crime reduction.
- Crucially, there is also a lack of research on what police officers do while being visible, e.g., while on foot patrol.
- The research showed that strategies around increasing public confidence in the police should be based on an organisational and individual officer acceptance of the importance of regular foot patrols for enhancing community engagement.
- The research supports the idea that the type of policing technique used (i.e., soft versus hard policing styles) has different implications for how the police are viewed and engaged locally. For example, repeated use of enforcement-based styles have a negative impact on police community relations, whilst familiarity and positive communication can enhance public confidence.
- The evidence supports the premise that officers being visible on foot and bicycle patrols are perceived as more approachable, friendly and accountable to the public than those in cars and, furthermore, gather more in-depth knowledge regarding crime and criminal behaviour on their 'beat'. Local knowledge assists police officers to make the correct decisions for each context and assists in addressing local needs.
- There is evidence to suggest that without organisational buy-in and management support for community policing/foot patrols, e.g., the existence of key performance indicators and reward frameworks which only relate to enforcement activity, it is more difficult for community police officers to see the value in their role. They may become frustrated and look towards roles that are 'real' police work.
- Overall there is evidence that the style of policing (enforcement vs. engagement) delivered by individual officers has serious implications for police community relationships. This may raise questions around the policing styles and skill sets of officers and the need for focused training for community roles. Enforcement styles of policing can increase mistrust and act as a barrier to engagement. Negative experiences with the police impact more on public perceptions of policing than positive experiences.
- The review also highlighted the importance of regular community engagement, with ongoing communication being important for building trust and confidence with communities. Being familiar, accessible, approachable, helpful, empathetic, and listening and understanding the needs of the community are related to trust and confidence.
- Finally, there is a lack of research conducted in a Scottish context.

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### Keywords

Community engagement  
Enforcement  
Foot patrols  
Visible policing  
Communication  
Trust and confidence

## Research Report Summary

### Introduction

This review of the evidence (carried out in a systematic manner) aims to establish the current evidence base in relation to how different methods used in visible policing have different impacts on public confidence. Visible policing was chosen as the focus of this review as it is a key method by which officers can make contact with their local communities, through both responsive policing (including enforcement methods like stop and search) and through more preventive approaches (such as community engagement and problem solving). If these methods are used in the most effective and fair way (as suggested by the police legitimacy literature) this will improve public confidence in policing.

This project emerged from ongoing collaboration between the academic researchers and Police Scotland. This stems primarily from two of the internal Police Scotland governance groups for stop and search (the Research and Operational Review Group (REORG) and the Stop and Search Strategic Group (SSSG)) and also from discussion within Police Scotland's National Violence Prevention Board (NVPB) and conversations with the chair of the Public Confidence Steering Committee. In these fora, questions had arisen as to whether there are links between some recent rises in violent crime in Scotland and the fall in stop searches since 2016. Through discussions at REORG it has been established that a wider consideration of visible policing methods, including but not limited to stop and search, and their impact on communities would form a useful evidence-base to guide future operational practice. ACC Cowie had met with all three researchers (Aston, O'Neill and Hail) to discuss how changes to policing policy and practice (such as stop and search) and its impact on public confidence is also a priority for the Public Confidence Steering group. The project has been funded by SIPR under the Police Community Relations Collaborative Projects funding (2017 round).

This report will be made available to key partners (REORG, SSSG, NVPB, and the Public Confidence Steering Group) in order to guide current practice and future strategy. These bodies include representatives from Scottish Government and the Scottish Police Authority, so the reach of the research will be wider than just Police Scotland. This research has clear connections to Police Scotland's 2026 strategic priorities of "Protection, Prevention, Communities, Knowledge and Innovation" (2026:6)

### Context

Like their counterparts south of the border, Scottish policing has held visible foot patrol as a core part of its mandate since the first police force was established in Glasgow in 1800. The purpose of this method was for police officers to detect and prevent crime by being present in communities and becoming familiar with local areas and their residents. This aspect of policing was not questioned in terms of its effectiveness until the latter half of the 20th century. At that time, police forces had decided that their officers would be better to patrol in cars so that they could respond to calls for service more efficiently (Wilson and Kelling 1982). However, the unintended consequences of this action was the damage to police community relationships as local officers were no longer visible to, and directly accessible by, their communities (ibid 1982).

Post-police reform, Police Scotland have increased their focus on improving public confidence in policing by situating it at the core of their new ten-year policing strategy, Policing 2026. The strategy sets out public confidence as a key indicator in terms of informing the organisation on how effective the police are, highlighting the requirement for a greater understanding of public confidence. The issue of police activity in public spaces and public confidence in policing has particular salience for Police Scotland.

This organisation came under intense scrutiny for its use for stop and search in 2014 and 2015 (SPA 2014, Murray 2014 and HMICS 2015). Stop and search is an example of an enforcement-oriented approach to visible policing in public areas. There is some evidence in the existing literature that repeated stop searches of the same people can have a detrimental impact on public confidence in policing. In addition, research has also suggested that procedural justice has more salience for young

people than it does for adults and so particular care is needed with this group of people when conducting visible policing, such as with stop and search. As part of a larger body of work which is planned to examine police visibility and public confidence, it was decided that the first project should involve a systematic review of existing research literature. However, due to the financial and time constraints placed on the project, it was not possible to conduct a fully accredited systematic review. Therefore, instead a review of the research evidence was conducted in a “systematic” manner.

To our knowledge, this is the first review which has been conducted to explore what research has been carried out looking specifically at the impact of police visibility methods and foot patrols on public confidence. This was supported by one of the papers included in this review which stated that “...few studies have examined the relationship between patrol strategies and perceptions of the police” (Simpson 2017:395).

### **Approach taken for review**

The aim is to establish the current evidence base on how various methods used in visible policing impact on public confidence. The review was based on the following research question:

### **Research question:**

*What effect do enforcement-orientated and engagement-orientated methods of visible policing have on public confidence?*

### **Search terms**

It included the following search terms:

- 1) ‘police visibility’ OR ‘visible policing’, OR ‘foot patrol’, OR ‘police presence’, OR ‘directed policing patrol’  
AND
- 2) ‘engagement’, OR ‘community policing’, OR ‘neighbourhood policing’, OR ‘reassurance policing’, OR ‘intervention’, OR ‘operation’, OR ‘enforcement’, OR ‘disruption’, OR ‘stop and search/frisk /account/seize’, OR ‘identity check’, OR ‘zero tolerance policing’  
AND
- 3) ‘public confidence’, OR ‘public satisfaction’, OR ‘legitimacy’, OR ‘trust’

### **Inclusion criteria:**

- Published in the English language
- Publication dates from the last 11 years (from 2006 onwards).
- Include research from Scotland, England, North America, Australia and New Zealand.

### **Data Collection**

Our initial search was conducted using the Edinburgh Napier University Library and the Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA). In total 2,611 papers were initially returned which showed us that there were no existing reviews which fitted the exact criteria for the project. The research studies identified had in the main been conducted looking at police visibility and styles of policing in a context of crime control or crime reduction, rather than public confidence.

Abstracts for each paper were obtained and screened using the agreed inclusion criteria. These studies were reviewed during the first sift which included reading the abstract, introduction and conclusion of each paper in order to examine if the focus of the paper suited the focus of the systematic review, i.e. visible policing and public confidence. In the majority of cases papers were removed because they focused on the impact of foot patrols on crime reduction. This resulted in 63 papers being retained. Upon further inspection it was discovered that there were duplicate papers in the 63, which were identified and removed leaving 55 papers in total. On the second sift, each document was read in full which resulted in 44 papers being further excluded from the review and 11 papers being sent to project partners for further decisions to be made regarding inclusion.

### **Limitations**

Due to the financial and time constraints placed on the project, it was not possible to conduct a fully accredited systematic review. For example due to the restricted time frame for the overall project it

was only possible to search one large data base and we were not in a position to conduct a meta-analysis of quantitative data. Therefore, a review of the research evidence was conducted in a systematic manner. The limitations of this study relate to there being no existing studies found which address the research question above. Studies which broadly related to policing styles, visible policing and building trust and confidence in the police have therefore been used in this review.

## Key Features of Research

The tables below summarise the key features found in the research papers which suited the parameters of this study. All of the papers used have been published in peer reviewed academic journals and employ a variety of methodological frameworks. The tables are organised by 'what is promising' and 'what does not work'.

### What is promising?

<u>What is promising in relation to trust and confidence</u>	<u>Study</u>
<b>Methods of policing</b>	
Community participation in local policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Addressing local needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Foot/bicycle patrols make police appear more approachable, friendly, respectful and accountable to the public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Bicycle/foot patrols reduce perceptions of officers as aggressive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
Positive interaction with public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Police officers showing empathy, concern and compassion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Reducing fear of crime creates more confidence in the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> </ul>
<b>Visible Policing</b>	
General visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>• Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Police officers on foot or cycle patrol – supports organisational decision making based on local knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
Familiar officers on patrol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> </ul>
<b>Partnership Working</b>	
Viewing the community as partners in policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>



### Communication

The Community feeling more informed about local police activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al.2009</li> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Regular communication between police and community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Enhanced communication between police and partner organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
A more professional approach by Community Policing (CP) officers in relation to their role improves local relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Improved training to support CP officers in cultural diversity and communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Posick &amp; Hatfield 2016</li> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>

### Local Engagement

The importance of the style of engagement used by the police with the public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
The quality of public encounters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Addressing local needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>Marlow et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Non police-led engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>

### Plural Policing

Working with third sector organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Working with community members as partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>

Table 1: What is promising?

## What does not appear to work?

<u>What is not promising in relation to trust &amp; confidence</u>	<u>Studies</u>
<b>Hot Spot Policing</b>	
Hot Spot policing with its focus on crime reduction which focuses resources in specific geographical locations, raises concerns around procedural justice and distributive justice impacting on police legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Enforcement-led approaches</b>	
Enforcement-oriented strategies increase negative contact through increased pedestrian and vehicle stops.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
<b>Community Policing</b>	
No organisational buy-in with CP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Partnerships</b>	
The police not viewing the community as partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>



Police priorities taking precedence over community priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
<b>Engagement</b>	
Unsatisfactory public encounters with the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Simpson 2017</li> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
No police visible presence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Long held negative stereotypes of certain communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> </ul>
Perceptions of police racism and ineffectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Lack of communication leads to lack of engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Liederbach 2006</li> </ul>
Dependent on individual officers and their style of engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Liederbach 2006</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>Wood et.al 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Stop and Search</b>	
Disproportionate use of S&S impacts the whole community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Police attitudes to public during S&S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
<b>Communication</b>	
The police do not have relevant cultural knowledge to begin communicating with minority groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al.2007</li> </ul>
Police communicating with representatives of the community which the local community do not support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Not informing victims of updates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merry et.al 2011</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
The police having no connections with partner organisations to support community members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>

Table 2 What doesn't appear to work?

## **Full Report of Review of Evidence:**

### **What effect do enforcement-orientated and engagement-orientated methods of visible policing have on public confidence?**

#### **Introduction**

This review of the evidence (carried out in a systematic manner) aims to establish the current evidence base in relation to how different methods used in visible policing have different impacts on public confidence. Visible policing was chosen as the focus of this review as it is a key method by which officers can make contact with their local communities, through both responsive policing (enforcement methods like stop and search) and through more preventive approaches (such as community engagement and problem solving). If these methods are used in the most effective and fair way (as suggested by the police legitimacy literature) this will improve public confidence in policing.

The project emerged from ongoing collaborations between the academic researchers and Police Scotland. This stems primarily from two of the internal Police Scotland Governance groups for stop and search (the Research and Operational Review Group (REORG) and the Stop and Search Strategic Group (SSSG)) and also from discussion within Police Scotland's National Violence Prevention Board (NVPB) and conversations with the chair of the Public Confidence Steering Committee. In these fora, questions had arisen as to whether there are links between some recent rises in violent crime in Scotland and the fall in stop searches since 2016. Through discussions at REORG it has been established that a wider consideration of visible policing methods, including but not limited to stop and search, and their impact on communities would form a useful evidence-base to guide future operational practice. ACC Cowie had met with all three researchers (Aston, O'Neill and Hail) to discuss how changes to policing policy and practice (such as stop and search) and its impact on public confidence is also a priority for the Public Confidence Steering group. The project has been funded by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) based at the University of Dundee under the Police Community Relations Collaborative Projects funding (2017 round).

This report will be made available to key partners (REORG, SSSG, NVPB, and the Public Confidence Steering Group) in order to guide current practice and future strategy. These bodies include representatives from Scottish Government and the Scottish Police Authority, so the reach of the research will be wider than just Police Scotland. This research has clear connections to Police Scotland's 2026 strategic priorities of "Protection, Prevention, Communities, Knowledge and Innovation" (2026:6).

#### **Context**

Like their counterparts south of the border, Scottish policing has held visible foot patrol as a core part of its mandate since the first police force was established in Glasgow in 1800. The purpose of this method was for police officers to detect and prevent crime by being present in communities and becoming familiar with local areas and their residents. This aspect of policing was not questioned in terms of its effectiveness until the latter half of the 20th century. At that time, police forces had decided that their officers would be better to patrol in cars so that they could respond to calls for service more efficiently (Wilson and Kelling 1982). However, the unintended consequences of this action was the damage to police community relationships as local officers were no longer visible to, and directly accessible by, their communities (ibid 1982).

The Newark experiment was redeveloped by Ratcliffe et al. (2011) in Philadelphia in 2009, using a randomised control trial in crime 'hot spot' areas. This experiment involved higher rates of foot patrol in some areas and found a significant reduction in crime where applied. Other scholars have conducted similar experiments using different amounts of 'dosage' of foot patrol, targeting known hot spots for crime (Sherman and Weisburd, 1995, Weisburd et al. 2012). The general consensus of these studies is that targeted foot patrol in relatively short segments, at key points during the day, can have a significant deterrent effect on crime in these locations. However, what many of these studies

do not consider in much detail is what exactly the police do while on patrol (Sherman and Strang, 2004) and the impact this activity has on public confidence. Weisburd and Telep (2014) have argued that more research is needed on what types of police activity will have the largest effect as a deterrence as well as its impact on perceptions of police legitimacy. This is sometimes referred to as the 'black box' problem of experimental policing research: much is known about frequency and duration of foot patrols, but not about what the police actually do while they are on patrol (Wood et al., 2013). Some research has begun to address this question. Recent research conducted by the authors on the Horizon 2020 funded UNITY project (not yet published) has highlighted the importance of police availability in relation to perceptions of confidence in the police by members of the public in Europe. The initial findings indicate that trust and confidence in the police is related to regular face to face interaction with a familiar officer in their neighbourhood, who acts professionally and has the required training and experience to deal with their local concerns.

The primary question within the 'black box' problem is to what extent should visible policing take an engagement approach (working collaboratively with communities and partners, using proactive policing methods) or an enforcement approach (stop and search, arrests, reactive crime control)? Sorg et al. (2013) have argued that foot patrol in hot spots, which is used in a proactive and engagement-orientated way, can assist with local crime problem-solving activities and related enhancement to police legitimacy. There is a large body of research which has recently emerged (e.g. Tyler, 2004 and Tankebe, 2012) which argues that when members of the public have encounters with the police which they feel are conducted fairly and with attention the member of the public's point of view, that police legitimacy is enhanced. This is the case even if the end result of the encounter is that the member of the public is arrested. Thus, knowing what it is that police do on patrol and how they do it can speak directly to larger processes of enhancing public confidence in policing and perceptions of police legitimacy.

Police Scotland have increased their focus on improving public confidence in policing by situating it at the core of their new ten-year policing strategy, *Policing 2026*<sup>1</sup>. The strategy sets out public confidence as a key indicator in terms of informing the organisation on how effective police are highlighting the requirement for a greater understanding of public confidence. The issue of police activity in public spaces and public confidence in policing has particular salience for Police Scotland. This organisation came under intense scrutiny of its use of stop and search in 2014 and 2015. Kath Murray's (2014, 2015) research indicated that the rate of stop and search in Scotland was about four times higher than that of the Metropolitan Police in London and was disproportionately targeted at young people. Police Scotland have now implemented a new Code of Practice for the use of stop and search across the force as well as retraining every police officer from the rank of constable to inspector on the new procedures. New legislation has been enacted to prevent the use of non-statutory searches and the overall rate of stop and search has fallen to a fraction of what it once was. However, as has emerged from discussions within the organisation (such as within the SSSG and the NVPB), there has been some evidence of a rise in violent crime in certain areas of Scotland, which officers are concerned is linked to the fall in stop and search<sup>2</sup>.

Stop and search is an example of an enforcement-oriented approach to visible policing in public areas and there is some evidence in the existing literature that repeated stop searches of the same people can have a detrimental impact on public confidence in policing (Tyler et al. 2014). In addition, research has also suggested that procedural justice has more salience for young people than it does for adults (Murphy, 2015) and so particular care is needed with this group of people when conducting visible policing, such as with stop and search.

### **Research question:**

*What effect do enforcement-oriented and engagement-oriented methods of visible policing have on public confidence?*

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/138327/386688/policing-2026-strategy.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> There currently ongoing debates in England and Wales about the utility of stop and search for addressing knife crime: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/04/stop-search-not-make-london-safer-diane-abbott-violent-crime>

## Approach

A large amount of research literature examining both public confidence in policing and police visibility has been published across the world. In order to synthesise this corpus of material to ensure that the literature identified was relevant to our research question and to provide a balanced summary of the available evidence, a systematic review was conducted. Tranfield et.al. (2003) argue that a systematic review of current literature is the most reliable way to underpin a programme of work as it provides a more comprehensive view of what we already know about the concepts under examination.

Our initial search, conducted through the Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA) accessed via Edinburgh Napier University library online database, showed us that there were no pre-existing systematic reviews examining police visibility, the style of policing employed and its effects on public confidence. This review will therefore be the first time this literature has been collated and presented together. The review found that where research had been conducted looking at police visibility it has been in a context of crime control or crime prevention, rather than public confidence. We did however identify some core findings which relate to this project's aims.

## Search terms

In order to begin our search a meeting was held with all project partners, Dr Liz Aston and Dr Yvonne Hail from Edinburgh Napier University; Dr Megan O'Neill of the University of Dundee; and Superintendent Ian Thomson, Police Scotland, where relevant search terms were discussed and identified along with the relevant inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Employing the research question, as set out above, the following search terms were agreed:

1) 'police visibility' OR 'visible policing', OR 'foot patrol', OR 'police presence', OR 'directed policing patrol'

AND

2) 'Engagement', OR 'community policing', OR 'neighbourhood policing', OR 'reassurance policing', OR 'intervention', OR 'operation', OR 'enforcement', OR 'disruption', OR 'stop and search/frisk /account/seize', OR 'identity check', OR 'zero tolerance policing'

AND

3) 'Public confidence', OR 'Public satisfaction', OR 'Legitimacy', OR 'Trust'

## Inclusion criteria

In order to be included in the review, the literature needed to conform to the following criteria:

- Published in the English language
- Publication dates from the last 11 years (from 2006 onwards).
- Include research from Scotland, England, North America, Australia and New Zealand,

## Data collection

Our initial search was conducted using the Edinburgh Napier University Library and the Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA). In total 2,611 papers were initially returned which showed us that there were no existing reviews which fitted the exact criteria for the project. The research studies identified had in the main been conducted looking at police visibility and styles of policing in a context of crime control or crime prevention, rather than public confidence.

Abstracts for each paper were obtained and screened using the agreed inclusion criteria. These studies were reviewed during the first sift which included reading the abstract, introduction and conclusion of each paper in order to examine if the focus of the paper suited the focus of the systematic review, i.e. visible policing and public confidence. In the majority of cases papers were removed because they focused on the impact of foot patrols on crime reduction. This resulted in 63 papers being retained. Upon further inspection it was discovered that there were duplicate papers in the 63, which were identified and removed leaving 55 papers in total. On the second sift, each document was read in full which resulted in 44 papers being further excluded from the review and 11 papers being sent to project partners for further decisions to be made regarding inclusion. The papers which were excluded from the study were those which did not contain any discussion in the focus of their arguments of either enforcement and engagement oriented police practice, visible policing or public confidence. Papers with an explicit focus on crime prevention and did not include a view of public confidence were also excluded from the project.

### Key Features of Research

The tables below summarise the key features found in the research papers which suited the parameters of this study. All of the papers used have been published in peer reviewed academic journals and employ a variety of methodological frameworks. The tables are organised by 'what is promising' and 'what does not appear to work'.

## What is promising?

<u>What is promising in relation to trust and confidence</u>	<u>Study</u>
<b>Methods of policing</b>	
Community participation in local policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Addressing local needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Foot/bicycle patrols make police appear more approachable, friendly, respectful and accountable to the public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Bicycle/foot patrols reduce perceptions of officers as aggressive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
Positive interaction with public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Police officers showing empathy, concern and compassion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Reducing fear of crime creates more confidence in the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> </ul>
<b>Visible Policing</b>	
General visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>• Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Police officers on foot or cycle patrol – supports organisational decision making based on local knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
Familiar officers on patrol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> </ul>
<b>Partnership Working</b>	
Viewing the community as partners in policing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>

### Communication

The Community feeling more informed about local police activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al.2009</li> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Regular communication between police and community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>Wunsch and Hohl 2009</li> </ul>
Enhanced communication between police and partner organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
A more professional approach by Community Policing (CP) officers in relation to their role improves local relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Improved training to support CP officers in cultural diversity and communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Posick &amp; Hatfield 2016</li> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>

### Local Engagement

The importance of the style of engagement used by the police with the public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Kochel &amp; Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
The quality of public encounters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
Addressing local needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> <li>Marlow et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Non police-led engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>

### Plural Policing

Working with third sector organisations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Working with community members as partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>

Table 1: What is promising?

## What does not appear to work?

<u>What is not promising in relation to trust &amp; confidence</u>	<u>Studies</u>
<b>Hot Spot Policing</b>	
Hot Spot policing with its focus on crime reduction which focuses resources in specific geographical locations, raises concerns around procedural justice and distributive justice impacting on police legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Enforcement-led approaches</b>	
Enforcement-oriented strategies increase negative contact through increased pedestrian and vehicle stops.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
<b>Community Policing</b>	
No organisational buy-in with CP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Partnerships</b>	
The police not viewing the community as partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>

Police priorities taking precedence over community priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
<b>Engagement</b>	
Unsatisfactory public encounters with the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> <li>• Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
No police visible presence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marlow et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Long held negative stereotypes of certain communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Posick and Hatfield 2016</li> </ul>
Perceptions of police racism and ineffectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> <li>• Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> <li>• Merry et.al. 2011</li> <li>• Simpson 2017</li> </ul>
Lack of communication leads to lack of engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liederbach 2006</li> </ul>
Dependent on individual officers and their style of engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liederbach 2006</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> <li>• Wood et.al 2014</li> </ul>
<b>Stop and Search</b>	
Disproportionate use of S&S impacts the whole community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bradford et.al. 2009</li> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Police attitudes to public during S&S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kochel and Weisburd 2017</li> </ul>
<b>Communication</b>	
The police do not have relevant cultural knowledge to begin communicating with minority groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fountain et.al.2007</li> </ul>
Police communicating with representatives of the community which the local community do not support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fountain et.al. 2007</li> </ul>
Not informing victims of updates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Merry et.al 2011</li> <li>• Rosenbaum et.al. 2017</li> </ul>
The police having no connections with partner organisations to support community members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wood et.al. 2014</li> </ul>

Table 2 What doesn't work?

## Summarizing the evidence

We were surprised to find that in all of the research evidence gathered, there were no existing studies which fit the exact criteria for the project. Instead it was found that where research has been conducted looking at police visibility it tends to be linked to crime control or crime prevention. We have therefore included a total of eleven papers in this review which we found were the most closely aligned to our aims. The reason for the inclusion of each is listed in the Appendix to this report. The findings of the review are presented below, organised by our core themes of: community engagement, foot patrol and policing styles. As there are no pre-existing studies which matched the inclusion criteria of the project, these are these themes which were found in the literature were deemed to be the closest match.

## 1. Community engagement

In their paper, Merry et.al. (2011) employed the data collected from three different attitudinal surveys conducted in the same neighbourhood to provide evidence of how to increase public confidence in policing safeguard against negative impacts on the public. The paper identifies extensive research which corroborates the concept that negative experiences with the police impact more on public perceptions of policing than positive experiences (including research by Brown and Evans (2009); Stanko and Bradford (2009); and Finkenauer and Vohs (2001)). In relation to age, the study found that 18-29 years old had significantly lower confidence rates in the police, with older individuals (39-49 years) more inclined to be more positive regarding local police. The age differential noted in confidence levels cited in this study could also mirror the findings of other research discussed in this review which highlights the negative impact of stop and search policies on young people.

An interesting finding which emerged from Merry et.al. (2011) relates to confidence levels of individuals who have recently had contact with the police. The data shows that individuals who are familiar enough with their local police officer to know their name, indicated a higher rate of confidence in police (81.3%) compared to those who were not familiar with their local officer (64.3%). The paper concludes that there is a correlation between age and gender, specifically young males which indicates "...high apathy and least confidence in the police" (ibid 2011:129) which requires further examination.

In their paper discussing the impact of effective two way communication on public trust and confidence in the police, Wunsch and Hohl (2009) highlight the importance of providing "accessible, approachable and helpful" (ibid 2009:338) police officers at a local level. The paper provides evidence that positive community engagement by local police does improve public confidence and trust in the police in general. There is an additional caveat with this paper in that the evaluation only focused on short term results and no follow up study has taken place to assess where levels of public trust sit in the long term.

From a North American context, Rosenbaum et.al. (2017) in their evaluation of the Police Community Interaction Survey (PCIS) identified the benefits of providing the public with a survey which measures the concepts which they value highly. In this study concepts such as "...fairness, respect, use of force and overall competency" (ibid 2017:113) were used with the authors claiming that the study was shown to not only enhance public confidence in policing but to improve perceptions of the police being procedurally just.

Findings from a study conducted by Fountain et.al. (2007) illustrate how previous negative experiences with the police, whether here or abroad, can affect current trust levels with the police. Whilst conducting focus groups with Turkish and Jamaican community members in London to examine police community engagement, it emerged that many Turkish participants when faced with London police officers referenced their previous experience of "...oppressive policing in Turkey" (ibid 2007:39) and "...how it was at home [Turkey]" (ibid 2007:39). Comments such as this highlight the importance of local community officers being aware of the varieties of cultural diversity in the communities they serve and being knowledgeable regarding new migrants' backgrounds. Having that specific knowledge about community groups in their area would then empower police officers to engage in a more direct and positive manner increasing trust between them.

Posick and Hatfield (2016) claim that how police officers engage with the public has a direct correlation with if and how the public cooperate with the police. It is argued that "...when police officers displayed empathy by listening, communicating understanding, and being sensitive to the needs of the community, they were viewed as more effective and trustworthy" (ibid 2016:130). The paper focuses on the quality of interactions by comparing police officers to medical staff and discussing the important role of empathy and communication between the police and community members. They consider whether a police approach based on empathy increases perceptions of fairness and trust. The study implemented a model of behaviour borrowed from medical organisations known as 'H.E.A.R.T' which stands for: Hear, Empathize, Apologise, Respond, and Thank. The study used data from the Police Community Interaction Survey (PCIS) 2014 and concluded that where officers had shown examples of H.E.A.R.T in their dealings with the public there was a significant increase in the perceived fairness of police community interactions and the notion that the police were doing a good job.

From an English and Welsh perspective, Bradford et al. (2009) also highlight the importance of community engagement on public confidence in the police and discuss how developments in neighbourhood policing delivery have been increasing the frequency and improving the quality of police public interactions in an effort to "...enhance public confidence and feelings of security" (ibid 2009:3). The paper divides the concept of professional behaviour during public interactions into: officer competence, conversational etiquette, emotional control, use of force, police legitimacy and assistance to crime victims, which can all be used in future studies to explain and explore public confidence in the police.

## 2. Foot patrol

The study authored by Wood et al. (2014) was based on observation of police officers who were part of another experiment which looked to evaluate the effectiveness of foot patrol in high crime areas. The study found that police officers who spent considerable amounts of time in a geographically bounded area gained significant local knowledge which in turn supported positive local engagement, empowering them in their decision making regarding the implementation of specifically tailored local interventions. The authors claim that the levels of positive local engagement and local knowledge gained via the regular foot patrols surpassed that which could have been available to police officers conducting vehicle patrols in the area.

In his experimental evaluation of the factors that impact perceptions of the police, Simpson (2017) examined three different patrol strategies as part of his research: (1) vehicle patrol, (2) bicycle patrol, and (3) foot patrol. Participants were shown photographs of police officers in different patrol strategies. Simpson (2017), whilst stating that there were too few studies examining the impact of patrol styles on perceptions of police concluded in his study, argues that there was a more positive perception of officers on foot patrol. However, an added caveat here is that in this study Simpson (2017) was showing photographs of police officers in a variety of settings, i.e. sitting in a patrol car, on a bicycle and on foot patrol to college students. In showing the photographs of officers the college students who took part in the study had no actual physical contact or engagement with the police and were instead basing all of their responses on imagery alone.

Kochel & Weisburd (2017) look to evaluate the impact of direct patrol (DP), problem solving (PS) and standard police practice (SPP) (with no special interventions). The results found that the different patrol techniques employed by police (as outlined above) "...can have different effects on residents..." (ibid 2017:163) confirming that direct patrol of hot spot areas can have a negative impact on how the public there view the police. The decline was attributed to an increase in both vehicles and local people being stopped using the direct patrol technique, however DP residents also claimed that through the experiment the treatment they received from police had improved resulting in a localised increase in positive interaction between the police and the public. Areas using SPP grew in legitimacy over time, whilst both experimental sites (DP and PS), although showing an initial rise in legitimacy during the interventions, dropped to pre-trial levels once the experiment was over. The overall message in this paper was that effective two way communication between the police and the public had the potential to increase engagement and importantly trust and satisfaction in the police. Of importance to this study was the conclusion that "...during police-citizen interactions...officers are advised to deliver polite and respectful treatment" (ibid 2017:166) to develop trusting relationships with the police.

Wood et al. (2014) discuss the importance of local knowledge in relation to positive community engagement and cite community officers who conduct regular foot patrol, claiming that in their opinion they had more understanding of what was happening on the ground than officers who conducted patrols in cars:

"the one good thing about foot patrol is that you learn about the neighborhood [sic] The guys in cars never get out so they don't know half of what we know"  
(Foot beat #001 Wood et al. 2014:366).

## 3. Policing styles

As mentioned above, Wood et al (2014) used evidence from an observational study on community officers with regards to their activities while on foot patrol. They found that although their study could

not decisively conclude that policing styles by local officers out on foot patrol would have an impact on public trust, they did suggest that “different styles [of policing] have different consequences” (ibid 2014:376). The study claims that enforcement styles of policing can increase mistrust in the local population, marginalise and alienate certain community members and prevent the flow of local intelligence to the police. This lack of local intelligence then has a negative impact on effective police decision making and the deployment of resources, which in turn has the potential to impact on local accountability and confidence in the police organisation.

The study also discusses the importance of police culture and performance management techniques on how many frontline police officers react to being deployed to foot patrols, claiming that “For some officers, but not all, foot patrol falls short of a true police mission” (ibid 2014:371). The claim is made that current police performance measures do not take account of community policing or softer policing styles in general therefore, there is no way to highlight when officers require support or personal development to help them fulfil their role more effectively.

A further interesting point raised by Wood et.al. (2014) is that the decision of which policing style to employ whilst conducting foot patrols (engagement or enforcement) is based on an individual officer's own style of policing. The study discusses officer frustration with their role, cynicism and apathy and how this is translated into operational policing. This highlights that not every police officer has the relevant skill set to deliver a ‘softer’, more service-oriented policing style and thought should be given to this when officers are being deployed.

However, both Wood et.al. (2014) and Rinehart and Weisburd (2017) based their findings of foot patrols on Randomised Control Trials (RCTs) of policing crime ‘hot spots’: high crime urban micro-locations. Therefore, their findings would be difficult to generalise with low crime communities. In contrast, Liederbach (2006) focuses his observations on police in suburban communities. In his study, Liederbach (2006) looks to examine general work routines of frontline officers on an average 8-hour shift and interactions between police and community members. The case studies used were divided between urban, rural and suburban contexts with claims made that policing styles varied between these communities, and also varied between affluent and working class neighbourhoods. The study found that police officers on duty spent almost 80% of their shift not involved with local community members and on average had only between 4 and 6 citizen encounters on each shift, with the majority of these related to traffic issues in a more reactive style of policing. In his discussion Liederbach (2006) claims that “core” activities traditionally associated with policing such as motor patrol, report writing and driving to and from specific locations still dominated police officers time, with rural and suburban officers providing more engagement style interactions with local citizens. In contrast to above, Liederbach (2006) argues that it is not only the individual officer who dictates which policing style is employed but also the community context in which the police serve together with the direction of their local commanders who dictate daily routines. The study concludes that further research is required to explore and explain the daily work routines of front line officers. Although the paper has no direct comment to make on either what the officers actually do whilst on patrol or how this would impact on public confidence, it does highlight that on average these officers spent only 17% of their time engaging with the public whilst out patrolling. The study also provided observational data regarding the various ways policing is operationalised between the rural, urban and suburban contexts claiming that police encounters with citizens (17% for suburban and 14.6% for rural communities) are much less than those of an urban officer. They conclude that it is the types of community that the police serve which influences the style of policing employed by local officers.

Although the research paper by Rosenbaum et.al. (2017) does not explicitly examine or discuss policing styles in relation to soft or hard policing, they do highlight the importance of what they refer to as “conversational etiquette” (ibid 2017:118). This is defined as “...a basic set of manners and rules of social engagement [which] if followed contribute to mutual respect” (ibid 2017:118) and if not followed, they argue, “may lead to the police losing the respect and trust of the public” (ibid 2017:119).

In relation to examining the impact of styles of policing on public confidence in the police, the study conducted by Fountain et.al. (2007) across two London boroughs (Lambeth and Haringey) revealed some startling evidence on the negative impact of ongoing stop and search practices on young ethnic minority youth. The aim of the pilot project was to provide some indications of the supply of drugs in both communities, and importantly for this review to assess police community engagement in the local

areas. Prior to the study it was noted that there was a great deal of engagement locally with non-police led local drug interventions, however this was not repeated when the interventions were police-led.

Findings from the focus groups with community members showed that none of the target population, regardless of age or gender “were prepared to engage with police-led drug related activity” (ibid 2007:39), giving reasons which were based on local perceptions of “...police racism and harassment...[and] police ineffectiveness” (ibid 2007:39). Many of the young participants noted that their experiences in dealing with local police left them feeling “...angry, frustrated and humiliated by the perceived targeting of them by police” (ibid 2007:39) which had resulted in them being unwilling to work with the police in relation to local interventions or simply engaging with them. Community members claimed that in general local police patrolling the areas tended to stereotype ethnic minority communities, particularly Turkish and Jamaican young people and targeted them disproportionately in relation to stopping and searching them in public. This notion was illustrated by a note made by one of the researchers who claimed that when a young Nigerian man arrived to take part in a focus group and was told he could not take part as he wasn’t either Turkish or Jamaican he replied “...the police can’t tell the difference between Africans and Jamaicans – I get stopped because they think I am Jamaican” (ibid 2007:43). Advocates and intermediaries who worked with and in the local communities supported these claims, stating that whilst these actions “...were ineffective in tackling the supply of drugs” (ibid:39) locally, the impact of high levels of stop and search on young black males had resulted in the creation of barriers to engagement with local police efforts.

## Conclusion

The aim of this review has been to establish the current evidence base in relation to how police visibility affects public confidence. Although this review did not source any pre-existing studies within this exact remit, it did locate studies which examined each of these concepts individually and has provided empirical evidence that there is an association between police visibility, policing styles and public trust and confidence in the police. Please refer to page 2 for a summary of ‘key findings’. The remainder of this paper will set out how these findings can be used in terms of current policing policy and practice, future policing policy and practice and how they can be used to guide future research which will explore police visibility and public confidence in a more robust manner.

## Implications for policy and practice

Policing priorities set out in the 2018-2019 annual police plan for Scotland state that communities and local policing are a current focus. The plan acknowledges that communities across Scotland are continually evolving and diversifying with additional claims that Police Scotland will engage and work with local communities and partner organisations to keep communities safe. However, there is no detailed discussion on how this engagement will be achieved in the plan. The empirical evidence in this review indicates that police visibility and the styles of policing employed during foot patrols impact on public trust and confidence in policing. In order to encourage citizens to engage with the police at a local level, officers should be encouraged to, and rewarded for, adopting methods which prioritise face-to-face interactions conducted with empathy and fairness. More enforcement-orientated methods (such as stop and search and patrol in vehicles) are to be used as a last resort.

In terms of current policing it is hoped that the findings of this review will encourage Police Scotland to revisit how they plan to operationalise their local engagement practices as set out in the 2018-2019 policing plan. It is anticipated that the findings reported in this review will help direct police managers to pay particular attention to the deployment of regular foot patrols which are conducted by familiar officers who have the required experience and knowledge to engage with the variety of communities they serve. It may be necessary to develop specific training on community policing styles to ensure they are delivered in the most effective way possible.

In relation to future practice, it is hoped that this review will encourage police management to review all future deployment strategies around local visibility in terms not only of the benefits gained by embedding familiar officers in local communities on regular foot patrols, but also to be cognisant of the policing styles used by these officers in how they engage with their local communities. In keeping with the localism, inclusion and prevention focus of *Policing 2026* it is also suggested that Police Scotland develop an evaluation framework which would be used to provide evidence of best practice

in relation to positive engagement with local communities. Providing a method of capturing best practice and what works evidence in relation to community engagement practices will also help support local accountability, again a policing priority included in *Policing 2026*.

### **Implications for future research**

As highlighted at the beginning of this document there is currently no direct research evidence examining the impact of policing styles utilised during foot patrols on public confidence. This review, however, does provide empirical evidence that there is a correlation between police visibility and patrol styles and public confidence from a wide selection of academic research which has examined these concepts, albeit separately. The conclusion of this review is that robust research is required to explore if and in what ways the style of policing employed by frontline officers on foot patrol in Scotland impacts on public confidence. This research should take into account the variety of diverse communities across Scotland and include a focus on urban, rural and remote communities with additional attention paid to the socio-economic background of each community. Furthermore, research in the Scottish context could consider public confidence alongside broader outcomes like improving wellbeing and preventing crime or harm, rather than focusing more narrowly on crime reduction.

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## Appendix: basis for inclusion of studies in review

Evidence From	Basis for Inclusion in Review	Country of Focus
<b>Kochel1 &amp; Weisburd (2017)</b> Assessing community consequences of implementing hot spots policing in residential areas: findings from a randomized field trial in <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> (2017) 13 pp143–170 (RTC)	This paper reports on the results of an experiment examining the community impact of collaborative problem solving versus directed patrol hot spots policing approaches relative to standard policing practices. The focus is the impact on community perceptions of police.	USA
<b>Simpson (2017)</b> The Police Officer Perception Project (POPP): An experimental evaluation of factors that impact perceptions of the police in <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> (2017) 13 pp393-415	To experimentally evaluate the effects of attire and patrol strategy aesthetics on participants' perceptions of police officers.	USA
<b>Wunsch, D and Hohl, K (2009)</b> Evidencing a 'Good Practice Model' of Police Communication: The Impact of Local Policing Newsletters on Public Confidence in <i>Policing</i> , 3, (4) pp. 331–339	This article examines the relationship between police–public communication and public confidence in policing. It draws on several years of research within the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), including two qualitative studies that explored public information needs, and a collaborative effort between MPS and the London School of Economics to conduct a 'real world' experiment that tested the impact of newsletters on public perceptions and confidence.	England and Wales
<b>Wood, J; Sorg, E; Groff, R; Ratcliff, H and Taylor, J (2014)</b> Cops as treatment providers: realities and ironies of police work in a foot patrol experiment in <i>Policing and Security</i> 24 (3) pp362-379	This paper reports on field observations of foot patrol officers involved in an experiment, which was designed to capture officers' perceptions of, and experiences with the foot patrol function. Officers developed extensive local knowledge of their beat areas, which allowed them to draw from a repertoire of techniques to exert spatial control in the management of disorder.	USA
<b>Liederbach. J (2006)</b> Liederbach, John. (2006) Policing the big beat: An observational study of county level patrol and comparisons to local small town and rural officers in <i>Journal of Crime and Justice</i> 29(1) pp 21-44	This paper presents systematic social observational data concerning the work routine and citizen's interactions of suburban police officers.	USA
<b>Posick, C and Hatfield, H (2017)</b> Putting H.E.A.R.T. into policing: a 21st century model for effective and fair policing in <i>Policing: An International Journal</i> 40 (1), 2017	Using data from the National Police Research Platform's Police-Community Interaction Survey, correlates of perceptions of fairness in police-community encounters as well as variation in agency-level fairness across 53 jurisdictions are examined.	USA
<b>Rosenbaum, D. Maskaly, J. Lawrence, D. Escamilla, J. and Enciso, G (2017)</b> The Police	Examines findings from the Police-Community Interaction Survey which assesses citizen satisfaction with their encounters with the police.	USA

Community Interactions Survey: measuring police performance in new ways in <i>Policing</i> 40 (1) pp112-127	They use findings from PCIS to test an enhanced procedural justice theory which includes a consideration of empathy. Quantitative survey method.	
<b>Merry, S. Power, N McManus, M and Alison, L (2011)</b> Drivers of public trust and confidence in police in the UK in <i>International Journal of Police Science &amp; Management</i> 14 (2)	Indicates some demographic differences in relation to confidence. Sees perceptions of disorder as a stronger indicator than fear of crime. Frequent sightings of police associated with higher confidence as well as police maintaining good communication with citizens. “categorise visibility and communication	England and Wales
<b>Bradford, B. Jackson, J. and Stanko, E (2009)</b> Contact and confidence: revisiting the impact of public encounters with the police in <i>Policing and society</i> , 19 (1). pp. 20-46.	This article summarises evidence on contact and confidence from the British Crime Survey and surveys conducted by the Metropolitan Police Service. First, falls in public confidence over the last 20 years have been mirrored by growing dissatisfaction with personal contact. Second, while poorly handled encounters with the police can have a significant negative impact on subsequent confidence, there is some recent evidence that well-handled contacts can have a small but positive impact.	England and Wales
<b>Marlow, Alan. Miller, Ralph. Pitts, John. (2007)</b> Citizen Response Policing: an evaluation of a local initiative in <i>Community Safety Journal</i> ; Jul 2007; (6)3 pg. 22	This article reports the findings of an evaluation of an initiative that involved residents in determining local policing strategies with a focus on crime prevention.	England

Papers discussing Stop and Search	Message	
<b>Kochel1 &amp; Weisburd (2017)</b> Assessing community consequences of implementing hot spots policing in residential areas: findings from a randomized field trial in <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> (2017) 13 pp143–170 (RTC)	Accumulated experiences theory explains that, when residents perceive that they repeatedly experience intrusive or negative treatment (e.g., stops, searches, arrests, questioning) of either themselves or others like them (vicariously), this can generate systemic frustration and weaken residents’ attachment to police (Easton 1975). Repeated contact and the impact on confidence	USA
<b>Fountain, J; Alastair, R; Crompton, N; Sundari, A and Patel, K. (2007)</b> Stop and Search or stop and engage: Factors influencing community police engagement around drug supply issues in <i>Drugs and Alcohol Today</i> 7 (3) p37	Stop & search strategy, perception unfairly targeted (racism, stereotyping). Need to share information. Effective long-term community engagement practices - need for partnership approach repeated negative contact stop search etc. Partnership working community policing or partnership	England and Wales