

# Impact of community policing on public confidence in the police

Antonina Savka

University of Essex

---

## Abstract

Since the early 2000s, the police have been facing a ‘reassurance gap’: despite crime reduction, the public perception of safety has worsened. To overcome this issue, the British police have since undergone a set of reforms, moving toward democratic policing. In particular, supported by a positive experience in the US, community policing (CP) became widely used to reassure the public of the police's effectiveness. However, despite all efforts, statistics keep indicating declining confidence in the police. Concerned about the lack of improvement, this article investigates whether the modern approach to policing is the right means to restore public trust. Specifically, through analysis of the recent academic research and official reports on this subject, it is found that the CP model is indeed beneficial for both the public and the police. However, this paper also indicates that, among other challenges, the conceptual misinterpretation of CP results in its ineffectiveness. Further, the article advises on the countermeasures to achieve balanced policing and, thus, to restore the police's reputation.

**Keywords:** community policing, confidence, evidence-based policing, police, reassurance

**Date of Submission:** 26.04.2025

**Date of Acceptance:** 16.07.2025

## 1. Introduction

In the second half of the 20th century, the gap between the police and the public reached a critical point, with minority communities being the most affected (Awan *et al.*, 2019). Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1999) indicated that racial bias became deeply rooted in procedural justice. Likewise, Pickles (2020) found that the way police treated the LGBT+ community created one of the most challenging historical legacies in the police-public relationship. By 2010, two facts were undeniable: the public trust in the police was persistently declining, and the police's ongoing bias towards minorities was the root cause (Rowe, Ralph and Malik, 2024). It became clear to the policymakers that to improve the situation, the focus needed to shift from the police as an organisation to policing as a practice (Rowe, Ralph and Malik, 2024). That is, the problem was not in the police being the holders of power, but rather whether and how this power was used to meet the public's needs.

Nevertheless, despite the government's ongoing efforts to implement democratic policing, the Performance Tracker shows a declining trend in confidence in the police (Richards and Davies, 2023).

Concerned about the lack of improvement, this article will investigate whether the modern approach to policing is the right means to restore public trust. Specifically, it will analyse the practical implementation of community policing (CP) in England and Wales. Firstly, the paper will discuss the CP model in the context of contemporary policing. Next, to understand the latest progress in the field, an analysis section will examine the academic research and official reports predominantly published after 2018. Lastly, a discussion section will aggregate the findings to advise on the further application of the contemporary CP to the problem of trust. The article will conclude with an acknowledgement of its limitations and recommendations for further research.

## 2. Theory

Tilley (2009, pp. 373-403) outlined three models of modern policing focused on improving its effectiveness and efficiency: intelligence-led, problem-oriented, and community policing. According to the author, intelligence-led policing (ILP) is concerned with a bigger picture of criminal activity and patterns derived from intelligence obtained from partners and communities. The main purpose of ILP is to detect crimes and enforce the law. In contrast, problem-oriented policing (POP) is tasked with resolving safety issues within communities. Similarly to ILP, POP looks for crime patterns with the support of information from the residents. However, unlike ILP, POP prioritises solving communities' problems over detaining offenders. Lastly, the community policing (CP) model primarily focuses on a joint effort of the police and the public in problem-solving. Importantly, Tilley (2009, p. 376) stated that this model is about "policing *with* and *for* the community rather than policing *of* the community" (emphasis in original).

While each of the models has a different purpose and implementation, all three rely on intelligence from the communities. Indeed, Modise (2023) argued that police-community interaction is mutually dependent and, thus, should be treated according to the Systems Theory. The Systems Theory prioritises the interactions among the systems and environment over their internal arrangement (von Bertalanffy, 1950). Hence, investing in police engagement with the population should be more effective than improving the police organisation. Myhill (2006) identified five stages of community engagement: information/reassurance, monitoring/accountability, strategic consultation, partnership/cooperation, and empowerment/co-production. The following section will analyse the practical application of CP at each of these stages and its implications.

## 3. Analysis

### 3.1. Information/reassurance

Unlike Scarman's report in 1981, the publication of Macpherson's report in 1999 has triggered a chain of police reforms (Newburn, 2009, pp. 90-114). As a result, the figures suggest a steady decline

in victim-reported crimes, with about a 23% reduction between 2019/2020 and 2022/2023. Regardless of effective crime reduction politic, the police are still facing a 'reassurance gap' (Rowe, Ralph, and Malik, 2024): despite crime level reduction, more people expressed lack of confidence in police in 2024 (53%) than in 2019 (38%; Owen-Evans and Low, 2024). Researching this gap, Duffy *et al.* (2008) found that the more people feel informed, the higher their confidence in the police. Today, for this purpose, police actively use social media and similar online resources (Ralph, 2022). However, online communication is difficult to control from both representation and perception perspectives. Firstly, Ralph (2022) found that the public's perception of police legitimacy online is fluid and is threatened by the rapid dissemination of misinformation online. Secondly, cultural and language barriers create a challenge when delivering information to ethnic minorities (Page and Griffin, 2023).

Another approach to improving public perception of safety is by increasing police visibility. This approach relies on two aspects. Firstly, similarly to CCTV surveillance, police visibility creates the panopticon effect (Foucault, 2020). Secondly, unlike CCTV, officers who are familiar with the community are more favourably viewed by the public (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2001). Indeed, Page and Griffin (2023) found that knowing whom to report to improves the perception of police efforts. In this way, CP by patrol achieves both crime prevention and public support. However, high police visibility also has the opposite effect. According to Awan *et al.* (2019), while some residents feel safer with the police, others consider their presence a sign of high criminal activity in their neighbourhood. Moreover, increased patrolling does not eliminate crime but instead displaces it (Page and Griffin, 2023). Conclusively, on their own, information and reassurance do not resolve the confidence issue; rather, they shift it from one community to another.

### ***3.2. Monitoring/accountability***

In England and Wales, monitoring and accountability are implemented through the Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) and the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC). The PCCs are publicly elected and responsible for prioritising and guiding the police work according to the needs of the community they represent (APCC, *Impact Report*, 2024). To improve police efficiency and effectiveness, the PCCs utilise data from the complaints system managed by the IOPC (IOPC Police Conduct, 2023). The APCC's (*PCC Accountability Framework*, 2024) report on public accountability shows how this works in practice. Through the Cleveland PCC case study, the report exemplifies how the complaint trends and themes can be utilised to ensure the police embed the correct learnings. Its other case study highlights the South Wales PCC's effort to ensure the best level of accountability by prioritising engagement with local communities, partnership, and collaboration.

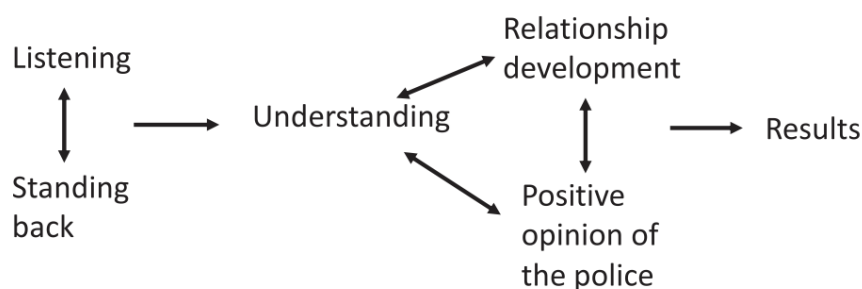
However, although the PCCs' role aligns with democratic policing, it creates a paradox (Lister, 2013) and manifests biopolitics (Davidson, Burchell and Foucault, 2008). Firstly, PCC represents the majority in an electoral area rather than all members of a particular community. Hence, the

voices of minorities are often overlooked, despite being the most insightful for successful CP (Rowe, Ralph and Malik, 2024). Secondly, Simmonds (2019) discovered that partner agencies are concerned that PCCs, who are members of political parties, tend to prioritise one type of victim's support program over others, adjusting to the political climate. Conclusively, monitoring and accountability can potentially increase public confidence in the police as long as they are free from political influence and remain truthful in protecting the most vulnerable.

### 3.3. Strategic consultation

The College of Policing (no date) occasionally runs the 'have your say' online consultations, giving the public an opportunity to provide feedback on existing and future policing practices. Such consultations are powerful in reassuring residents by allowing them to guide the policing process. Modise (2023) argued that for consultations to be successful, both parties must be voluntarily engaged in the process, which is difficult to achieve in practice. Firstly, Awan *et al.* (2019) showed that a negative experience with the police reduces willingness to cooperate. Secondly, according to Page and Griffin (2023), some residents find these consultations pointless, as they believe the police have already made all the decisions; meanwhile, those who keep engaging with the police find it stressful and exhausting.

To overcome the above-mentioned challenges, some forces invested in building rapport. For example, Gold (2022) employed Action Learning Research with the Humberside Police Service to enhance the procedural justice experience. He found that officers who utilised a model described in Figure 1 not only achieved better cooperation and feedback from the interviewed suspects, victims, and witnesses but also were more satisfied with their jobs. While a similar finding was reported two decades earlier by Brody, DeMarco and Lovrich (2002), CP on its own is unlikely to improve officers' job satisfaction and, thus, the quality of their services (Lawton *et al.*, 2000). For example, Gilling *et al.* (2024) analysed the success of the Keyham Recovery Programme in restoring residents' sense of safety after a mass shooting in Keyham in 2021. Among other reasons, they emphasised the importance of recruiting community officers rather than assigning them. Similarly, Pickles (2020) found that community officers who willingly undertake the role were more likely to establish a better connection with the LGBT+ community members. Conclusively, strategic consultation can be a good tool in regaining public trust when both sides participate in it willingly.



**Figure 1** *Tentative model for action to improve interaction throughout procedural justice (Gold, 2022, p. 240, fig. 3)*

### ***3.4. Partnership/cooperation***

Another method of reassurance policing is a police partnership with other agencies for crime prevention, victim support, and joint response (APCC, *Impact Report*, 2024). Multiple PCCs have reported successful results from this approach. For example, the South Wales PCC's (2023) case study of the DRIVE project emphasises how a multi-agency partnership helps to re-educate abusive offenders and make their homes safer places. Similarly, the Wiltshire and Swindon PCC's (2024) report includes multiple examples of police cooperation with non-profit organisations. For example, the Chippenham Community Hub case study highlights the contribution of the local detective constable to educating residents about online scam threads and how to avoid them.

Meanwhile, police cooperation with the private security industry (PSI) allows for meeting the growing demand for policing with less budget (Roycroft, 2013, pp. 191-202). However, its contribution to regaining public trust is unclear. Theoretically, police privatisation promotes competition and, thus, better quality of policing (Crawford, 2013, pp. 173-190). In practice, such a development is worrisome. As Roycroft (2013) emphasised, the PSI is neither regulated nor held to account in the same way as the police. Further, Rowe, Ralph, and Malik (2024) outlined an ethical dilemma: it is beneficial for PSI to foster the perception of insecurity as it generates more demand for reassurance and, thus, more profit. As a result, the genuinely vulnerable to crime population cannot afford protection. As a solution, Roycroft (2013) proposed a hybrid model, with police remaining in charge of sensitive cases while the PSI undertakes supportive tasks. Conclusively, despite partnerships and cooperation enhancing policing, there is no evidence that they improve the public's perception of the police.

### ***3.5. Empowerment/co-production***

Empowerment and co-production are mutually beneficial for the public and police. On the one hand, they allow communities to implement the safety measures themselves. On the other hand, their voluntary nature is cost-effective for police. A famous example is Neighbourhood Watch (NW) - a community reassurance scheme based on a sense of belongingness and collaboration. In 2023, the Neighbourhood Watch Network (2024) recorded over 65,000 NW groups across England and Wales. It also found that the members have a more positive perception of safety than non-members. Another example is the Community Speed Watch (CSW) program, which aims to improve local road safety (Wells and Millings, 2019). Such programs empower their members to support policing by detecting and reporting offensive behaviour. On the other hand, the Youth Commission programs use a reverse-mentoring approach, allowing "young people to influence policing and crime prevention in their area" (Burns, 2019, p. 348).

However, there are downsides to co-producing policing. Firstly, using the examples of Shomrim and the Vigilante Grannies in the US, Johnson (2016) demonstrated how empowering residents can promote abusive behaviour towards "unwelcomed outsiders". In his opinion, a lack of accountability tempts NW members to consider themselves super-police. Secondly, analysing the

CSW program, Wells and Millings (2019) found that the offenders and the volunteers are usually members of the same neighbourhood. Hence, while community empowerment promotes unity, it equally causes a rift among the neighbours. Lastly, Burns's (2019) study of the Youth Commission projects' participants shows that the success of reverse-mentoring varies due to the officers' receptiveness. Conclusively, whether the empowerment and co-production restore public confidence in the police depends on the community context.

#### 4. Discussion

In the past two decades, evidence-based policing has gained more attention. Considering Macpherson's (1999) report, declining public trust in the police, and positive experience with the CP model in the US, the focus shifted from "policing of" to "policing with and for" communities (Tilley, 2009). The analysis from the previous section has shown both advantages and disadvantages of the CP model in practice (Table 1). Additionally, statistics keep indicating declining confidence in the police (Owen-Evans and Low, 2024). Hence, this raises the question of whether CP is the right tool to improve public perception. To answer this question, it is worth considering two extreme scenarios of policing: complete exclusion of public opinion and total public control.

In the first scenario, police forces would not consult with the public. Consequently, there would be neither public accountability nor overt intelligence gathering. Further, omitting community engagement would lead to regime policing, with the police protecting those in power rather than the law (Joshi, 2007). Such a model would only further marginalise population. In the second scenario, the police priorities and tactics would be defined and controlled solely by the communities based on their perception of safety. The danger is that such a perception often does not correspond to reality (Wells and Millings, 2019). Thus, accounting for Johnson's (2016) examples of vigilantism, each policing area would become its own kingdom where the priorities would be dictated either by the majority or the most influential of the neighbours. And again, the minorities would remain with no protection and no confidence in the police.

**Table 1** *Advantages and disadvantages of community policing*

	Advantages	Disadvantages
<b>Community</b>	Responsible policing Prioritising community needs Sense of being respected/empowered Increased sense of belongingness and safety Reduced crime level	Time- and energy-consuming Risk of retaliation
<b>Police</b>	Reduced demand for resources Cost-saving Increased job satisfaction Police effort acknowledgement	Vigilantism Crime displacement

## Intelligence

The analysis above indicates that the modern CP leans towards the second scenario. However, neither of these scenarios addresses the issue that led to accumulated mistrust. Both scenarios result in dismissing the interests of minorities. As history has shown, it was the misunderstanding and disrespect of marginalised communities that ultimately broke the trust. Ironically, it is the “social gap” that prevents officers from closing the “reassurance gap” (Kearns, 2017). Moreover, in accordance with Foucault’s theory of biopolitics, policing co-production and public empowerment may reinforce racism and homophobia (Su Rasmussen, 2011).

It may seem like CP is not the right choice for restoring trust. However, it is how CP is implemented rather than the concept itself that fails to resolve the issue. Based on the reviewed studies and reports, it has been possible to identify the challenges associated with contemporary implementation (Table 2). Addressing these challenges can be the answer. The most *critical* is overcoming the conceptual challenges. In essence, due to the CP’s multidimensional nature, it is easy to misunderstand its concept. For example, neighbourhoods and electoral areas are not necessarily communities (Johnson, 2016). And yet, PCC elections and NWs are clearly tied to the geographical locations, contributing to the earlier-mentioned paradox. On the other hand, the most *persistent* challenges are at the police level. Thus, to make CP effective, the police philosophy and culture must change (Bowling, Parmar and Phillips, 2009, pp. 611-641).

Lastly, it is important to consider the correctness of the goal. If the objective is to increase the number of people trusting the police, CP may work as long as the majority is satisfied. However, as discussed above, this will further marginalise minorities within neighbourhoods. Therefore, the indicators of public confidence must be revised. For example, it might be beneficial to utilise weighting to account for the initial reason for the low confidence and a degree of change in perception.

**Table 2** *Community policing challenges and proposed countermeasures*

Level	Challenge	Countermeasures
<b>Conceptual</b>	Complex	Refocusing on engaging with
	Neighbourhoods/electoral areas are not communities	communities instead of neighbourhoods
	Democracy is not consensus	Reforming PCC election to ensure
	Deman is perception- rather than evidence-driven	fair representation Risk-based prioritisation Regulations



	Insufficient regulations and accountability mechanisms for PSI	
<b>Community</b>	Negative experience with police	Engagement techniques
	Historical legacy	Recruiting minorities
	Language and cultural barriers	Partnerships
	Fear of being misunderstood	Volunteering officers who are allies
	Fear of retaliation	Transparency
<b>Individual</b>	'Bad' motives	<i>Requires more research</i>
	Indifference	
<b>Environmental</b>	Community fluidness	<i>Requires more research</i>
	Crime displacement	
	Context	
<b>Police</b>	Difficult to measure performance	Recruitment instead of assignment
	Culture	Volunteering officers
	Reluctance to change	Managerial support
		Training
<b>Technological</b>	Fake news	Partnership
	Lack of technical skills	PSI
		Education

## 5. Conclusions

This article has discussed reassurance policing in England and Wales in the context of regaining public confidence in the police. The objective was to understand whether the CP is a good fit for the purpose. The performed analysis has confirmed Tilley's (2009) opinion that CP, being a multidimensional model, is too complex to pinpoint what makes it a successful reassurance policing model. It has also been found that the contemporary implementation of CP is dangerously close to the total public control of policing, which may lead to vigilantism and further marginalise minorities. However, considering the benefits to communities and the police, it has been argued that shifting the focus from quantity (how many people trust the police) to quality (who trusts the police) can increase the sense of safety while mitigating risks. Specifically, this paper has advised revising the success metrics to differentiate genuine reassurance from perceived one.

It is also important to acknowledge the limitations of this paper. Firstly, the article has focused on the practices of England and Wales. As Gilling et al. (2024) highlighted, the restoration of trust is context-dependent and, therefore, requires consideration of cultural and historical factors when implemented elsewhere. For example, Blair et al. (2021) found that the effect of CP on public trust is less promising in poorer countries of the Global South than among richer nations. Similarly, Rukus, Warner and Zhang (2018) reported that CP is more effective in urban areas than rural areas. Thus, how to apply CP depends on the needs of locals. The second limitation is that the variety of



CP practices increases the risk of some data being omitted. A recommendation for further research would be to re-analyse the effectiveness of CP based on systematic literature reviews instead of scrutinising individual cases. It is also worth conducting a deeper analysis of CP at each community engagement level to understand which aspects and styles contribute the most to the public perception of safety.

## References

- APCC. (2024) *Impact Report. Association of Police and Crime Commissioners. 2023-24 Year Review*. Available at: <https://www.apccs.police.uk/download/6678> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).
- APCC (2024) *PCC Accountability Framework*. Available at: <https://www.apccs.police.uk/download/5941> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).
- Awan, I. *et al.* (2019) 'Understanding the public perception and satisfaction of a UK police constabulary', *Police Practice and Research*, 20(2), pp. 172-184. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.1428098>
- Blair, G. *et al.* (2021) 'Community policing does not build citizen trust in police or reduce crime in the Global South', *Science*, 374(6571). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abd3446>
- Bowling, B., Parmar, A. and Phillips, C. (2009) *Handbook of policing*. 2nd edn. Edited by T. Newburn. London: Willan.
- Brody, D. C., DeMarco, C. and Lovrich, N. P. (2002) 'Community Policing and Job Satisfaction: Suggestive Evidence of Positive Workforce Effects from a Multijurisdictional Comparison in Washington State', *Police Quarterly*, 5(2), pp. 181-205. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/109861102129198093>
- Burns, S. (2019) 'Young People as Co-producers in Policing across England. An Evaluation of the 'Youth Commission' on Police and Crime', *Children & Society*, 33(4), pp. 347-362. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12312>
- College of Policing. (no date) *Consultations*. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/tags/consultations> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).
- Crawford, A. (2013) *The Future of Policing*. Edited by J. Brown. Hoboken: Routledge.
- Davidson, A. I., Burchell, G. and Foucault, M. (2008) *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-1979*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Duffy, B. *et al.* (2008) 'Closing the gaps – crime and public perceptions', *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 22(1-2), pp. 17-44. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600860801924899>

Foucault, M. (2020) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin Random House UK.

Gilling, D. *et al.* (2024) 'Community policing and recovery: a case study following a mass shooting in the UK', *Crime Prevention and Community Safety*, 26, pp. 16-27. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41300-024-00200-z>

Gold, J. (2022) 'Improving community relations in the police through procedural justice – an action learning initiative', *Action Learning: Research and Practice*, 19(3), pp. 230-247. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767333.2022.2129586>

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2001) *Open All Hours: A Thematic Inspection Report on the Role of Police Visibility and Accessibility in Public Reassurance*. Available at: <https://assets-hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/uploads/open-all-hours-20011130.pdf> (Accessed: 13 July 2025).

IOPC Police Conduct (2023) *Want to know how the police complaints process works?* 25 July. Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgB3mztd\\_O4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YgB3mztd_O4) (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Johnson, A. (2016) 'Neighborhood watch: invading the community, evading constitutional limits', *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Social Change*, 18(5), pp. 459-493. Available at: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/hybrid18&id=475> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Joshi, G. P. (2007) *Controlling the Police. An Analysis of the Police Act of the Commonwealth Countries*. International Police Executive Symposium. Geneva Centre for The Democratic Control of Armed Forces Working Paper No 13. Available at: [https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/WPS\\_No13\\_new.pdf](https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/WPS_No13_new.pdf) (Accessed: 20 April 2025).

Kearns, E. M. (2017) 'Why Are Some Officers More Supportive of Community Policing with Minorities than Others?', *Justice Quarterly*, 34(7), pp. 1213-1245. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2017.1380837>

Lawton, B. A. *et al.* (2000) 'Assessing the Interrelationships between Perceptions of Impact and Job Satisfaction: A Comparison of Traditional and Community-Oriented Policing Officers', *Justice Research and Policy*, 2(1), pp. 47-72. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3818/jrp.2.1.2000.47>

Lister, S. (2013) 'The New Politics of the Police: Police and Crime Commissioners and the 'Operational Independence' of the Police', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 7(3), pp. 239-247. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/policing/pat011>

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence inquiry*. London: Home Office. Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a7c2af540f0b645ba3c7202/4262.pdf> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Modise, J. M. (2023) 'Community Engagement in Policing: A Path to More Meaningful, Knowledgeable, and Successful Public Consultation', *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology*, 8(6), pp. 3892-3906. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/385565630> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Myhill, A. (2006) *Community engagement in policing: Lessons from literature*. London: Home Office. Available at: [https://web.archive.org/web/20160306011218id\\_/http://www.nhwa.com.au/wp-content/uploads/Research\\_community-engagement-lit-rev-myhill.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20160306011218id_/http://www.nhwa.com.au/wp-content/uploads/Research_community-engagement-lit-rev-myhill.pdf) (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Neighbourhood Watch Network. (2024) *Impact Report 2023/24*. Available at: [https://www.ourwatch.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/2024-09/NW%20202324%20Impact%20Report%20Digital-compressed\\_1.pdf](https://www.ourwatch.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/2024-09/NW%20202324%20Impact%20Report%20Digital-compressed_1.pdf) (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Newburn, T. (2009) *Handbook of policing*. 2nd edn. Edited by T. Newburn. London: Willan.

Owen-Evans, R. and Low, N. (2024) *Public trust and confidence in the police*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.58248/HS80>

Page, S. and Griffin, S. (2023) 'The informal tripart relationship between the state, neighbourhood police and community groups: community safety perceptions and practices in a Midlands neighbourhood in the UK', *Safer Communities*, 22(4), pp. 266-280. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/SC-03-2023-0009>

Pickles, J. (2020) 'Policing hate and bridging communities: a qualitative evaluation of relations between LGBT+ people and the police within the North East of England', *Policing and Society*, 30(7), pp. 741-759. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2019.1588269>

Ralph, L. (2022) 'The dynamic nature of police legitimacy on social media', *Policing and Society*, 32(7), pp. 817-831. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1956493>

Richards, G. and Davies, N. (2023) *Performance Tracker 2023: Police*. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2023/police> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Rowe, M., Ralph, L. and Malik, A. (2024) *Introduction to Policing*. 4th edn. California: Sage.

Roycroft, M. (2013) *The Future of Policing*. Edited by J. Brown. Hoboken: Routledge.

Rukus, J., Warner, M. E. and Zhang, X. (2018) 'Community Policing: Least Effective Where Need Is Greatest', *Crime & Delinquency*, 64(14), pp. 1858-1881. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128716686339>

Scarman, L. G. (1981) *Scarman Report: The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981*. London: HMSO.

Simmonds, L. (2019) 'The impact of local commissioning on victim services in England and Wales: An empirical study', *International Review of Victimology*, 25(2), pp. 181-199. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758018787938>

South Wales PCC (2023) *Summary of our Impact. South Wales Police and Crime Commissioner. 22/23 Annual Report*. Available at: [https://www.southwalescommissioner.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/C23-0083\\_Police-Crime-Commissioner\\_Annual-Report-2023\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.southwalescommissioner.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/C23-0083_Police-Crime-Commissioner_Annual-Report-2023_ENG.pdf) (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Su Rasmussen, K. (2011) 'Foucault's Genealogy of Racism', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 28(5), pp. 34-51. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276411410448>

Tilley, N. (2009) *Handbook of policing*. 2nd edn. Edited by T. Newburn. London: Willan.

von Bertalanffy, L. (1950) 'An Outline of General System Theory', *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 1(2), pp. 134-165. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/685808> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

Wells, H. and Millings, M. (2019) 'Scrutinising the appeal of volunteer Community Speedwatch to policing leaders in England and Wales: Resources, responsivity and responsabilisation', *Policing and Society*, 29(4), pp. 376-391. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2018.1515945>

Wiltshire and Swindon PCC. (2024) *The Police and Crime Commissioner's Annual Report 2023-2024*. Available at: <https://www.wiltshire-pcc.gov.uk/how-we-do-it/reports-and-inspections/annual-report-2023-2024/> (Accessed: 19 April 2025).

## Copyright Statement

© Antonina Savka. This article is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Licence \(CC BY\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).