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The Scottish Campus Officer Past, Present and Future

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The Scottish Institute
for **Policing Research**

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The Scottish Campus Officer Past, Present and Future

1. INTRODUCTION.

Campus Officers were first deployed in Scottish Schools in 2002. The Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) provides a hub for information sharing and training of Campus Officers. However, the appointment and deployment of Campus Officers currently lies with the individual Police Force in which the officers serve (FronDIGOUN, Smith & MacLeod, 2013). However, to date there has been little empirical academic research in Scotland into the role of Campus Officers (Smith & FronDIGOUN, 2011). This report results from our SIPR¹ sponsored two year research project into Campus Officers in Scotland. Our initial interest stemmed from a smaller project in which we tried to initiate a 'Practice Note' series of studies into Community Policing practices. Practice notes are a powerful medium for promulgating occupational skills and knowledge. We co-authored one such practice note with a Campus Officer (see Smith & FronDIGOUN, 2011²). Although a variety of academic issues interfered with our plans to further that project, we were so impressed by the work of the Campus Officer we worked with that we re-thought our research strategy and decided to concentrate our efforts on a study of Campus Officers in a Scottish context. Since producing our first practice note in 2012 we have forged links with the VRU Campus Officers Forum. While the original aim of a series of briefing sheets has not been shelved, the quality and quantity of material gathered has grown substantially.

In Scotland, prevention, intervention, diversion, and partnership approaches lie at the core of current youth justice thinking in relation to the policing of troubled and troublesome young people, reducing antisocial behaviour and increasing public reassurance.³ This research was developed in relation to one of SIPR's aims: to promote the dissemination of policing policy and practice through 'high quality, independent research [...] to make evidence-based contributions to policing policy and practice.'⁴

¹ The Scottish Institute for Policing Research. www.sipr.ac.uk

² Smith, R. & FronDIGOUN, L. (2011) Tackling Youth Gang Issues on Campus - A Case Study. Dundee: Scottish Institute for Policing Research. http://www.sipr.ac.uk/downloads/Practice_Notes/Campus_Officer_1.pdf.

³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/crimes/youth-justice> (accessed 17th February, 2013).

⁴ <http://www.sipr.ac.uk/aboutus/index.php> (accessed 17th February, 2013).

Although this study examines the work of Scottish Campus Officer, Past, Present and Future, it was conducted prior to the advent of the single Scottish Police Service on the 1st of April 2013. Of the eight Scottish Forces (Northern Constabulary, Grampian Police, Tayside Police, Lothian and Borders Police, Fife Constabulary, Central Scotland Police, Strathclyde Police and Dumfries and Galloway Police) at the time of writing all have school based officers.⁵ We believe this is an opportune moment to take stock of the achievements of the combined Campus Officers in Scotland during the past decade. Our research is based upon a focus group and individual interviews with Campus Officers and a Head Teacher and attendance at a number of Campus Officer Forum meetings during the Spring and Summer of 2012.

We make no apology for concentrating on the work of the Scottish Campus Officers as we believe that both ideologically and practically, the work of the Scottish Officers is deserving of serious academic study. We acknowledge that there is also good work being carried out by Campus Officers across the UK. However, we are not aware of this resulting in a stream of academic work. We strongly believe that the work of the Scottish Campus Officers is world leading and practical in a pedagogical sense. The Police in other countries could learn much from the practices and processes discussed in this report.

2. CAMPUS OFFICERS – DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS.

The term ‘Campus Officer’ is perhaps a misnomer but is widely recognised as a catch-all term to encompass a variety of different policing roles. By Campus Officer we mean any police officer based in or assigned to a school as part of their regular duties. This is important because it forms part of a social contract between the police and the educational institution. In the past, individual police officers have been involved in schemes on an ad-hoc basis such as involvement in the *Community Schools Initiative (CSI)*⁶ or as part of a *Parent Teacher Association* and as such may have carried out work with schools, utilizing their policing skills and knowledge to ‘design out’ crime in schools. From our research, we are aware of such instances. This report does not take cognizance of such work, important though it is. Our definition is in line with that of Black *et al* (2010) who defined Campus Officers “*as police officers who are located within secondary schools and work within these schools and the local community*”. Where we differ is that we seek to include work in feeder ‘Primary Schools’.

⁵ However, it is our understanding that Fife now only has one full-time Campus Officer.

⁶ For a discussion of the new community schools movement see Sammons *et al* (2003).

Black *et al* (2010) also acknowledge that the Campus Officer terminology is not used in some parts of Scotland. Campus Officers are known under a wide variety of names, designations and acronyms. In Strathclyde Police they are known as Campus Officers; in Lothian and Borders they are known as School Link Officers (SLOs); and in Grampian Police they are known as School Liaison Officers (SLOs).⁷ Although there are similarities in the overall ideology of the role across the eight Scottish police forces, in practice they are operationalised in different contexts. We consider this to be essential to their developing role as we do not advocate a 'one-size-fits-all' strategy.

The Campus Officer's role as described by the VRU is to 'help develop greater links with the community and in particular young people...[and]...the officer becomes part of daily life, providing additional moral authority and building up real trust: many pupils come to Campus Officers seeking advice on everything from bullying to drugs. The officers are also able to enhance the intelligence available in the area around the school, for example, who has been selling drugs or gang fighting.'⁸

Consequently, there is variation in the levels of support experienced across Scotland for the Campus Officer, very little structured training, misconceptions about their role, and little research. In 2010 Black *et al* reported on the benefits of deploying a Campus Officer and observed that '[t]he picture emerging from [their] study is a positive one... Improvements can be made to ensure that the officers provide maximum benefit both to the school and, more widely, the local community which they serve... but it is important to get everything right.'⁹

The stated purpose of Campus Officers is to work with education authorities to help young people engage in positive behaviour and steer away from antisocial activity and crime (Black *et al*, 2010). The current number of Campus Officers in Scotland is unknown. However, as of the summer of 2009, Black *et al* (2010) reported that there were a total of 55 Campus Officers in 65 secondary

⁷ For example, in Grampian Police the School Liaison Officers are predominantly classroom based and act as teachers developing a link between the officers, the police and the local community, albeit there is a Campus Officer at one School in Aberdeen and another school where the village police station is part of the community school. As a general rule, the SLOs in Grampian, as specialist officers, seek to educate youth into becoming better citizens. The School Liaison Officers tend to stay in post for periods of a lengthy tenure thus it is not unusual for them to know the children and teach them in both Primary School and Secondary School developing continuity of practice. Grampian Police were pioneers in this type of work and their approach is worthy of a separate study.

⁸ <http://actiononviolence.co.uk/content-relationship/campus-officers> (accessed 17th February, 2013).

⁹ Black, C., Homes, A., Diffley, M., Sewel, K. & Chamberlain, V. (2010) Evaluation of Campus Police Officers in Scottish Schools, Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

schools, across 6 police forces and 15 local authority areas. They reported that there were no standard, national criteria for deploying Campus Officers and such decisions were typically policed, with decisions made autonomously at a divisional level.

3. A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW TO UNDERPIN THE RESEARCH.

Academic studies in relation to the work of Campus Officers and school liaison officers are quite rare. Exceptions include the studies of Hopkins *et al* (1992), Hopkins (1994), Jackson (2002), Brown (2006), Lyle and Hendley (2007). These can broadly be divided into British and American Studies.

3.1. The British studies

The earliest work in relation to school liaison officers was conducted by Mack (1963) who reported on the forerunner of the Campus Officer role in Scotland, known as the police juvenile liaison schemes. This early scheme was more of a desk-based approach than the current role. The work of Brown (2006) confirmed that in a UK context prior to the 1990s the practice of assigning sworn police officers to serve in schools on a full-time basis was uncommon and that academically little attention was devoted to understanding the actual role of school based police officers. Hopkins *et al* (1992) argued that the influence of SLOs was minimal over time and that the young people in their study regarded their SLOs as being atypical from other police officers. According to Hopkins (1994) pupils clearly differentiated between SLOs and those 'on the street' and their perceptions of the qualitatively different social relations between young people and the police 'in the school' and 'on the street'. See also the scoping study by Lamont *et al* (2011) for a discussion of police in schools in England and Wales.

The study of Black *et al* (2010) discussed above is a seminal study in relation to understanding the role and potential scope for the development of the role of the Campus Officer within the framework of Scottish Policing. The said study was based on a detailed empirical research framework consisting of interviews with over 50 Campus Officers and Head Teachers. However, in the report, a semi-quantitative aggregate framework was used to present the findings in an objective scientific style whereby the qualitative voice of the Campus Officer respondents was somewhat obscured. As a consequence the study presents detailed but dispassionate tables and graphs. We believe the report could have provided an opportunity to present the qualitative voice of the Scottish Campus Officer for posterity. We encourage the Scottish Government to release

the data which informed the above study. Our position as researchers is not to replicate the excellent work of Black *et al* (2010) but to build upon it by providing the missing qualitative voice.

3.2. The American studies

The extant literature on Campus Officers has generally concentrated upon the American experience (see for example the studies of Heinsler *et al*, 1990; Leitner and Sedlacek, 1976). In the American literature the term Campus Officer is often used to refer to police officers assigned to schools and universities to act as security. This is a role still alien to the UK and this report does not cover such issues. In such studies, the American Campus Officers referred to are 'sworn' police officers recruited into police departments, but managed by the institutions themselves. These institutions may be schools, colleges, or universities. In the American model, such Campus Officers perform the same role as regular police officers but also have a security role within their institutions. They will often have to police youth crime and deal with gang-related issues. Jackson (2002), in an American context, found a similar attitude towards Campus Officers as reported by British academics and argued that schools should utilize their financial resources for counselling, student-faculty crime prevention programs or delinquency awareness programs instead.

4. ON METHOD AND METHODOLOGY.

This section provides a brief overview of the methodology underpinning this study. The report has been informed by a number of sources of information. The first is the existing body of knowledge built up by members of the research team over a period of three years of studying and working with police authorities across Scotland. This work has resulted in the production of a number of reports (See Frondigoun, et al 2008; Frondigoun & Addidle, 2009; Frondigoun, et al 2010; Smith, 2010; Smith & Frondigoun, 2011; and Frondigoun, Smith & MacLeod, 2013) as well as the development of very constructive working relationships with police forces around the country, as well as with the Violence Reduction Unit.

We used a mixed qualitative methodology consisting of a focus group and face-to-face interviews with Campus Officers and a Head Teacher. Focus groups are a wonderful mechanism for 'lifting the veil' on difficult to reach social issues (Finch & Munro, 2008). We supplemented this by immersing ourselves in the world of the Campus Officer by attending five Campus Officers Training Days where we acted as observers in a participant observer role. A key strength of this research strategy is that this report builds upon secondary evidence from elsewhere. In particular, the study

of the CO programme conducted by Black *et al* (2010) was extremely helpful in providing an overview of the state of play in Scotland. This report was a mixed-methodological study of the impact and effects of the Campus Officer programme across Scotland. Whilst this report was very instructive, it highlighted a dearth of quantitative information available to allow for an assessment of the CO programme. This is an issue which we have also encountered and, as such, our report aims to build upon the existing body of evidence by providing far greater qualitative testimony from Campus Officers themselves than was possible in the Black *et al* (2010) report.

The interview took place in May 2012 and involved a serving Campus Officer and the Deputy Head from the school in which the Campus Officer was based. The focus group took place in July 2012, and involved nine serving Campus Officers. This was complemented by a detailed 'Practice Note' provided by a serving Campus Officer on a range of their experiences during their time in the post. Finally, at least one member of the research team was present at meetings of the Campus Officer Forum between the summer of 2011 and January 2013, allowing for observation and first-hand interaction with serving Campus Officers.

During the interview and focus group, interviewees were asked to share their opinions and experiences in a number of different areas, including their background, their day-to-day work as a Campus Officer, the way in which key partners had dealt with the idea and practicalities of working with a Campus Officer, key success factors, barriers or obstacles to the work of a Campus Officer, and the impact or outcomes of their work as a Campus Officer. A number of these key themes were also covered in the Practice Note.

The interview and focus group were fully transcribed, before being analysed thematically by the research team. Key trends in the data were identified and organised by the research team in order to provide a coherent report organised by theme. Wherever possible, the themes and trends identified are explained before allowing personal testimony from interviewees to further illustrate these points in their own words. Where quotes contain information which may lead to Campus Officers being identified, this information has been redacted.

Whilst the strength of this report lies in the qualitative testimony from the Campus Officers, we do acknowledge that this approach (as with any approach adopted for interpretive research) has its limitations. In this respect, the aforementioned lack of quantitative/statistical data to supplement

the qualitative aspect of this work has two key implications. Firstly, it means that it is not possible to effectively triangulate some of the key arguments made by our interviewees (e.g. the financial benefits of the Campus Officer programme). However, the limited availability of this sort of data has already been well documented elsewhere (e.g. Black *et al*, 2010: 5.2).

Secondly, the reliance upon qualitative data means that drawing generalizable conclusions can only be done tentatively. This is particularly true in cases where the sample size is relatively small in nature. Due to the limitations of the scope of this research, the sample size here means that this report is probably better viewed as a case study of the experiences of the Campus Officers involved, rather than a generalised account of the views and experiences of all Campus Officers on the issues discussed.¹⁰ A further issue also arises here. The two forces to which the respondents predominantly belong share a common approach to Campus Officer deployment (in respect of key issues like operational responsibilities, number of schools covered, expectations of role etc). We recognise that other police forces in Scotland take different approaches: for example, some take an approach which focuses far more upon education across a large number of schools than prevention and enforcement (where necessary) in a very small number of schools. We do however acknowledge that our study has a strong South of Scotland and Central Belt focus.

With these limitations in mind, we now proceed to consider the evidence received from our various different sources of information on the Campus Officer programme.

5. CAMPUS OFFICERS – THE PEOPLE.

We begin by providing an overview of the people who typically fill the role of Campus Officers. We consider firstly the themes emerging in relation to their backgrounds, before considering the type and duration of service in the police prior to taking on the CO role, before finally considering the extent of their work with schools and/or children and young people prior to beginning their work as a CO.

5.1. Background.

¹⁰ The views and working practices of other police forces in Scotland have not been canvassed. This was not a deliberate research strategy but we believe has resulted from a geographic artefact, in that officers from Grampian Police and Northern Constabulary may not routinely attend the Campus Officers forum because of time and distance constraints.

Most of the COs we interviewed explained that their professional background was in community policing. In some cases, community policing was the only experience that some COs had had in the police. The following comments typify the background of the majority of COs interviewed.

For the last three years I've been involved at schools as drugs awareness officer.

(CO, Interview)

I've always been a community officer.

(CO, Interview)

There were, however, some exceptions, with one interviewee explaining that they had been involved in a very wide range of policing activities prior to taking on the CO role. Despite apparently having been involved in a wider range of activities than the other COs we spoke to, there was nevertheless still a strong element of community-based policing.

I've done a bit of everything: CID; crime patrol; and a lot of community-based work.

(CO, Interview)

5.2. Police Service.

In terms of length of service in the police, there was a very wide spectrum of experience among our interviewees. Of the interviewees who provided information on this, only two of them had less than ten years of service. Rather, it seemed to be the norm for COs to have had a much longer term of service: for example, one interviewee stated that they had 28 years of service, another stated that they had 23 years of service, three stated that they had 18 years of service, another stated that they had 15 years of service, and another stated that they had 10 years of service.

Later discussions with interviewees appeared to indicate that length of service and the range of policing experience upon which they could draw was an important factor in being able to succeed in their role as a CO. This is discussed in greater depth in a later section.

5.3. Prior Work with Schools and/or Children and Young People.

Some interviewees also provided information upon work they had done with children and young people prior to taking on the role of a CO. Where any such experience was mentioned, it tended to be based around preventative policing initiatives in schools – for example, providing drugs

awareness talks to pupils. In some cases though, the CO had previously been involved in collaborative work with other voluntary/third sector organisations focussing on young people.

I recently came back to the police from a secondment with The Prince's Trust.

(CO, Interview)

Again, the theme of collaborative working with agencies from the public and voluntary/third sector was one which cropped up repeatedly later in our discussions with the COs. This is also covered in greater depth in a later section (see also Black *et al*, 2010).

However, this type of collaborative policing experience was limited to only a very small number of those we interviewed – in virtually every case, the only real prior experience COs had of working with children and young people came through community policing or intervention-based discussions within schools. In most cases, this community policing background was seen as being a distinct advantage – in some cases, COs even knew some of the schoolchildren prior to beginning their role within the school(s). This appears to chime with earlier work by Ipsos MORI on COs, which found that some officers were selected to participate in the CO programme, rather than participating in a competitive selection process (Black *et al*, 2010: 3.16).

I had worked in community policing prior to coming into the school [...] so I knew a lot of the young people, which was an advantage.

(CO, Interview)

I have no idea why we were selected but we were told it was on our policing/community skills and the ability to work with young people.

(CO, Practice Note)

This link to community policing makes sense: the introduction of Campus Officers is the latest role to emerge from the recent trend towards more community-based policing (cf. the earlier introduction of Community Officers).

6. CAMPUS OFFICERS – THE ROLE.

We now turn to consider the key themes which emerged in relation to our discussions of the role of Campus Officers. In this section, we will consider a number of key themes relating to the structure of the role, including the following:

- Blueprint/clarity of role
- Expectations of COs
- Preparation
- Type of schools/areas involved
- 'Selection process' for schools
- Enthusiasm of schools
- Situations typically faced
- Type of young people dealt with
- Approach taken to the role
- Relationship with other school policing models

6.1. Blueprint/Clarity of Role.

The overwhelming impression from our interviews was that for most Campus Officers, there was very little clarity in terms of what their role entailed when they took up their new positions. Of course, this is due to the fact that the CO role is a relatively new one anyway, making a prescriptive approach to the job difficult. However, many of the COs we interviewed explained to us that this had made their first months in the role extremely challenging. Many COs were left to use their best judgement as to what they should be doing, and how to go about doing it.

You're just flung in at the deep end.

(CO, Interview)

It was very nerve-racking at first because, there had never been one [a Campus Officer] and I basically set up everything that I'm still doing just now.

(CO, Interview)

My remit was to: enhance the profile of the police; positively improve the school and surrounding area; and to only arrest/lock up where it was absolutely necessary and to do this with no manual, no formal training, and no real support from the school.

This lack of clarity also extended to the schools involved, many of whom had no understanding of what the COs were supposed to do in the school. For some of the COs, this mutual lack of understanding led to difficult or embarrassing situations during the early days of their new role, or even – in a very small number of cases – a degree of conflict between the CO and the school(s) they covered (see also Black et al, 2010: 3.11, 3.13).

For me, one of the concerns I had was being asked by a head teacher: “what are the things that you can do for me?” and initially being unable to answer those questions. It didn’t feel very professional.

(CO, Interview)

For other COs, this lack of clarity was not necessarily a drawback: indeed, the flexibility of the role was seen as one of its key strengths by some COs. Whilst our later discussions will cover the importance of flexibility and adaptability as being crucial to the role of CO, experiences such as those described above appear to confirm the need for some degree of structured introduction to a CO’s role and remit, although extremely strict codification of the role is probably best avoided. This conclusion broadly echoes that of Ipsos MORI’s earlier work on COs, which recommended that flexible and generic job descriptions should be prepared collaboratively by the relevant agencies (Black *et al*, 2010: 3.14).

6.2. Expectations.

This last experience points us towards the next key theme to emerge from our data – namely, the expectations of the role held by schools when COs took up their posts. This was highlighted as an important issue by the earlier Ipsos MORI study (Black *et al*, 2010: 3.32-3.35), which detailed the importance of a common understanding of the CO role among all parties involved.

As outlined above, the lack of clarity upon entering the role of CO led in some cases to difficulties in terms of the expectations different parties had of the role of a CO. A common expectation described by a number of interviewees was that a number of individual teachers initially expected that COs would be present to enforce discipline in the school, or to help with the smooth running of the school e.g. during breaks and lunchtime. In some cases, this led to a tension between the

expectations of teachers and schools on the one hand, and the remit of the COs on the other. In this respect, several COs mentioned that teachers expected the CO in their school to patrol the corridors, proactively police the behaviour of pupils and deal with disciplinary issues. This, however, was not what these COs understood their role to represent. Their perspective was not that they were a police officer for the school, but rather just another police officer who happens to be based in the school.

They [the teachers] will think: "great, I've got an extra body here to walk up and down" and they'll chance their mitt really, to be honest with you.

(CO, Interview)

That's not my job. My job at lunchtimes and break times is to be out in the community to make sure that they're behaving there [...] It's not my job to patrol corridors.

(CO, Interview)

I've only been there a few days [...] I think they're not sure what we do. It's a nice school [school name removed] but they want me to do a bit of everything, and I get the feeling they're obviously wanting me there as a sort of security person walking round at break time and lunchtimes.

(CO, Interview)

You're reliant on the teaching staff volunteering their services to self-police the actual establishment, but [...] you get some teachers that will religiously stick to having their breaks and saying: "no, no, no; my job's to teach, my job's not to police behaviour: that's what [CO name removed] is here for".

(CO, Interview)

I remember at a departmental meeting a member of staff asking me: "right, so if kids are misbehaving in the class we just phone you and you come and take them out of class?" So I made that quite clear early doors [...] There's a sort of chain of command within the school: you wouldn't report it any differently, and if you've gone from teacher to head of department to a depute or whatever and you're still not having any success, then obviously I can become involved. I probably do it a lot more than I should or anyone else would, but I

think that is simply because there's a lot of kids I've got such a good relationship with that I'm maybe one of the only people they'll respond to in the school.

(CO, Interview)

On the other hand, a smaller number of COs indicated that carrying out this type of role was part of their everyday work, and that they were quite happy with this, again lending support to the earlier contention that strict codification of the role is probably best avoided.

High-vis lunchtime, home time, break time. Kids will come and knock on the door throughout the day for anything, absolutely anything you can imagine. Something that's happened in school: "oh, my phone's been stolen" or they've been in a fight or whatever; or they'll come and they'll discuss stuff that's happening at home or anything that I can help them with. Staff will come in for advice [...] If there's been a particular issue, staff will ask me to intervene.

(CO, Interview)

I would – where appropriate – arrest and charge pupils.

(CO, Interview)

Again, this difference of experience between the COs who do and those who do not see this type of duty as part of their remit reflects the lack of prescriptive job description, leaving the role open to negotiation between the CO and the school(s) in question. This also allows Campus Officers to use their personality to win over pupils and staff, and to use their best judgement as to where their efforts are best focused (these points are covered in greater depth in a later section).

A large number of COs also indicated that their role also incorporated a very strong element of pastoral care and, in a smaller number of cases, restorative justice. Again, this is discussed in a later section.

In some cases, the lack of structure identified in the section above also manifested itself in the form of confusion as to who should be responsible for managing the COs. A very small number of interviewees explained that whilst their schools initially believed that they should be responsible

for managing and directing the work of the CO, in actual fact this responsibility remained with their parent police force.

I had a sense of this management that both head teachers wanted to have over me and it felt quite... it felt quite intense!

(CO, Interview)

I've said: "no; you're not my boss, [police force name removed] are my boss. I'm here to work with you, help you and it's partnership working [but] you're not going to give me directives what to do. I'll help you if I can and I'll try and keep you in the information loop, but you're not my boss".

(CO, Interview)

One of the schools, they wanted to line-manage the Campus Officer and also wanted him to do traffic control at a junction [...] He walked out [of] the role and says: "no, you're not letting me do the job I'm supposed to be doing, so I'm not doing it". But they've now had the supervisors in saying: "no, that's not his role".

(CO, Interview)

Most COs we interviewed suggested that as well as COs needing to be educated on their role and remit, so schools and teachers would benefit from this type of clarification too. This would ensure that all parties are aware of the CO's role and responsibilities within the school. COs explained that once schools and teachers had been provided with this clarification, there were no further major problems in terms of an expectation mismatch. As such, preparation (e.g. a code of practice) is essential for schools as well as for COs.

It's [about] educating the school as well.

(CO, Interview)

It is a little bit [of] education and once you get them on board, I've never had any issues

with that at all [...] [It's] probably 'cause they just aren't aware of what the role should be.

(CO, Interview)

[The head teacher] asked if I wanted introduced at assembly and I said: “no, I want to go into classes individually – PSD [Personal and Social Development] – and introduce myself and tell them why I'm there, but I also want to [go to] one of your staff meetings prior to taking up the role: I want to come down and speak to your staff about my role and answer any of their questions” and I was allowed to do that. [...] [So I] told them why I was there, what the role was, a bit about me and gave them the opportunity to ask any questions. And I did get over again that I wasn't there for discipline: they still dealt with it.

(CO, Interview)

When I had my initial meeting with the second head at my other school, I went down and I outlined the fact that any discipline matters, they deal with it. They've always dealt with it, so they continue to deal with it. If there's a fight in school, it's still discipline. It's not a police matter. If they want me to assist them in investigating things, I'm quite happy to do that but I'm not going down the line that I'm going to be dealing with it, and they know that.

(CO, Interview)

At the start I spoke to staff, I addressed staff at a full school assembly and afterwards I attended departmental meetings, just so they were aware what I could do [and] what I couldn't do.

(CO, Interview)

6.3. Enthusiasm of Schools.

Our interviews revealed that there were real differences between the levels of enthusiasm shown by schools selected for the CO programme. Most COs we spoke to suggested that their schools had been keen on the idea, with some expressing very strong support for the scheme.

They were keen. The year prior to me arriving, this school had merged with [school name removed] so there were quite a lot of issues. There was a lot of gang fighting, there was a lot of pupils from other schools challenging young people to fight, so I think they were quite delighted to have a police officer based in the school.

(CO, Interview)

However, this response was not universal. Some COs mentioned that even when the general reception had been positive, there was nevertheless a degree of uncertainty on the part of schools in relation to what having a CO actually said about the school. This serves to highlight the kind of

concerns schools have in an era of league tables and reputations. However, it also causes a degree of confusion, in relation to whether having a Campus Officer is a sign of a positive and progressive school, or one that is problematic with a troubled/troublesome student cohort.

Some of them were unsure. There was a lot of uncertainty: “does this mean this is a bad school?”

(CO, Interview)

One CO indicated that there was almost a sense of puzzlement in one school they worked at, where the head teacher could not see any real reason for having a CO on the premises. However, as time went by, it became apparent that even where there may not appear to be significant problems of the type usually associated with police intervention, there may be hidden or latent issues which need to be addressed.

My new head teacher has obviously contacted my existing head teacher to find out what I do and what the role is, and when I went up and introduced myself the [new] head teacher said: “great to have you here, but I don’t know what you’re going to do, because we don’t have many issues”. Well, I have been very busy in that school and I’ve been more busy in that school than I have been in my own [old] school.

(CO, Interview)

A very small number of the COs we spoke to had experienced a fairly frosty reception from some members of teaching staff in their schools.

Going to a new school, I just get a different vibe. I get a different sort of... I feel I'm getting a different reception, sort of standoffish. I do get that sort of “why are you here?” [attitude] from certain members. Other teachers are great, but certain other people... there’s that sort of issue.

(CO, Interview)

Others found staff members more positive than those running the school.

The staff did not share the view of the Head Teacher [...] and indeed were supportive of a

Campus Officer being appointed to their school.

(CO, Practice Note)

Overall though, the majority of COs we spoke to indicated that schools were generally enthusiastic about the placement of a CO at the outset, with this enthusiasm and support for the role increasing considerably as time went by.

6.4. Preparation.

Another recurrent theme in our discussions with COs was preparation. In particular, this related to training and support given to COs before they took on their school-based role. There was a very strong consensus in relation to the lack of formal preparation, training or guidance for the role prior to taking it up. This also echoes a similar finding from Ipsos MORI's 2010 study (Black *et al*, 2010: 3.22, 3.24).

There's no training. Nothing. Nada!

(CO, Interview)

No formal guidance as such.

(CO, Interview)

There's been no formal training for myself.

(CO, Interview)

I was called into my Superintendent's office along with a colleague and told that we were being sent to become Campus Officers [...] There was no manual, there was no training.

(CO, Practice Note)

Two COs in our focus group mentioned that there are Campus Officer seminars held at the police college. However, these appear to operate according to a fixed annual timetable. For one of these COs, this was not a problem, as the course was being held around the time they started in their CO role.

I was lucky: there was a Campus Officer seminar [...] at the police college at the time when I started, but that was a pre-planned event and I haven't had any other contact at all

regarding the expectations of the role, other than speaking to these other chaps in the room.

(CO Interview)

However, the other CO who mentioned this course was not so lucky with their timing.

They seem to be running school link officer courses at Tulliallan but I'm showing [sic] one in March next year, [sarcastically] which is great: you're in post from April now, but you're not doing a course till March next year.

(CO, Interview)

Of course, for a small number of COs, it would presumably not be cost-effective to run a course like this on an ad hoc basis. However, if the CO programme were to be extended, our interviews suggest that a more flexible or frequent delivery would be of great benefit to new starts.¹¹

The issue of peer support was a crucial one for most of the COs we spoke to. Indeed, some stated that speaking to (or shadowing) existing COs was the only way in which they were really able to get to grips with the remit of their new role.

I went through and worked with [name removed] for a couple of days in [school name removed], just to see his set-up, the different things that he did. That was quite good for me and since then I've probably had about between six and ten different officers come to me because I know what it's like starting off [...] I've returned that favour for other people [...] It's such a unique role, there's no other job in the police like it and the only people who do understand and who are going to give you advice and support are other Campus Officers.

(CO, Interview)

I shadowed [CO's name removed] for one day as well.

(CO, Interview)

This lack of training and induction is a reflection of the lack of codification/proceduralisation of the CO role. However, there was a general belief among our CO interviewees that as the role

¹¹ Alternatively, it may simply be more practicable to ensure that all COs take up their post around the same time each year (i.e. when these courses are being run at the police college).

develops, there should be greater levels of support provided in terms of training/induction. This is also borne out by personal experience on the part of the research team: when attending meetings of the Campus Officers forum, it was very evident that newly appointed or rookie Campus Officers were taking plentiful notes and trying to learn from the more experienced COs, including making personal arrangements to visit other COs at their schools. This experience also lends very strong support to the continuation of the Campus Officers Forum, which – in some cases – represented the first opportunity for some COs to meet another CO. As well as face-to-face interaction (e.g. shadowing, which can potentially be very time-intensive for both parties involved), some form of remote advice (e.g. online support, guidance podcasts etc) might be a useful complement to the briefing notes already being prepared by a small number of COs. This theme of support is discussed further in a later section.

6.5. Situations Typically Faced.

The report now turns to consider the type of work typically undertaken by COs on a day-to-day basis. We found a great deal of variation in terms of COs' work and as such, we distinguish between school-based work, out-of-school work, and pastoral work (which straddles school-based and out-of-school categories). This distinction does not reflect any particular value hierarchy, but rather seeks to reflect the different arenas in which COs are generally required to act.



6.5.1. School-Based Work.

There were two main types of school-based work in which COs were usually engaged. These were preventative policing and dealing with serious disciplinary issues (i.e. issues escalating above and beyond 'normal' disciplinary issues like in-class disruption). Underlying both of these areas of work was a considerable amount of informal intelligence-gathering by COs and attempts to break down existing barriers between the police and children and young people.

Preventative policing formed the largest aspect of the work of most of the COs we spoke to. This took two main forms. The first type of preventative policing took the form of acting as a visible presence (i.e. as a deterrent) in the school and in the local community. Despite the perception (covered above) of many COs that it is not their job simply to patrol the corridors of their school(s), the fact that they provide a visible police presence was thought to be an extremely important part of the COs' work.

My being in and around the school led to a familiarity amongst the pupils which helped in reducing barriers towards the police [...] [This] led to a closer relationship (trust might be too strong) but at least to a willingness to engage and share information

(CO, Practice Note)

My role was not that of guard, but one of engagement with young people to raise the profile of the police and encourage/educate young people so that they would make different/more positive choices about their lifestyles.

(CO, Practice Note)

The visibility of this presence inside the school was complemented by regular patrolling of community areas outside of school, particularly during lunchtimes. In addition, a number of COs mentioned additional efforts to increase police presence outside of school hours, through such examples as riding on school buses in the morning or patrolling the local area(s) after school. Again, these efforts help to emphasise the fact that the CO role is a community policing role, and that schools form an integral part of a community.

Some mornings, I come in at seven and I ride the buses into school with them [...] 'cause we do have issues on the buses, and that's a prevention thing. And I stay late: I used to do it

once every week and just walk around the schemes. So they never knew when I was going to be there, and they actually liked that. A lot of kids liked that, 'cause they felt safer.

(CO, Interview)

The preventative impact of this was particularly clear in some cases, such as the CO who talked about their efforts to reduce the number of people (i.e. non-pupils) 'hanging around' just outside the school premises at break time and lunchtime, encouraging students they know to play truant, or looking for opportunities to sell drugs.

There was a lot of young people who'd left school hanging about the school gates and whatever, trying to get other young kids to truant. That was stopped because they saw me.

(CO, Interview)

There is no drug dealers or suppliers hang about any of my schools [...] There is none of them there now!

(CO, Interview)

Some COs also described the work they had done with a view to preventing the escalation of bullying, particularly in relation to cyber-bullying and the distribution of inappropriate videos by mobile phone (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.34). This was seen to be an increasingly prevalent problem, and one which needed to be 'nipped in the bud' at an early stage wherever possible.

This type of preventative policing (i.e. based upon a visible deterrent presence) was complemented in most cases by a great deal of educational work being undertaken by the COs. When discussing the areas in which they had carried out educational work as part of a preventative policing effort, our focus group participants and interviewees mentioned a huge range of areas, including (but not limited to) the following:

I also deliver inputs to classes on drugs, alcohol, internet safety, gangs, knife crime etc.

(CO, Interview)

In most cases, this was done through the tried and tested method of speaking to groups of children and young people in the classroom. However, in addition to this proactive approach, a

small number of COs also discussed a more reactive approach, based around 'open door' sessions in the school, and the provision of information to youngsters who needed advice or information on subjects like those above (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.7-4.8, 5.19-5.20, 5.30).

There's a lot of good work goes on, and a lot of it the kids don't know about, so I've always got leaflets in here.

(CO, Interview)

Some of these educational efforts were delivered in conjunction with other agencies or emergency services.

'Fire Reach' is another thing I do. I work really closely with the Fire Service [...] They [the pupils] are wee mini fire fighters for the day which is absolutely brilliant for them.

(CO, Interview)

In some cases, the educational work was seen as blurring the otherwise clear distinction between police officer and teacher (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.17). This was particularly true in cases where COs had sought to help provide a real world context for learning about police work in subjects such as Modern Studies.

They've maybe been doing stuff on gangs and I can [...] maybe do a wee a workshop or whatever. Modern Studies: it's always for the Higher, for the role of the police in the community and stuff like that. So quite often it's just an open forum kind of thing, or they'll have questions prepared.

(CO, Interview)

This type of educative work was not simply limited to the children and young people attending the school(s) in which COs are based. For example, one CO explained that a key part of their work was to deliver similar sessions for teaching staff, and for pupils' parents.

I've also put on a couple of seminars for teaching staff in [council name removed], education staff on internet safety which is a big, big thing just now [...] I did parents' nights as well [...] It's not just the kids that you're trying to educate.

(CO, Interview)

A small number of COs also mentioned that in addition to the work they do with their secondary school(s), they take the time to visit local primary schools in order to carry out the same type of preventative educational work with the children there. However, this seemed to be dependent upon an invitation from the primary schools in question and as the following quote shows, not all primary schools took up the option of having a CO visit.

I'll have planned out each term what talks I'm doing, so I'll maybe do a drugs talk and then I'll maybe do a gangs talk, a visit to one of the primaries, maybe. Not all the primaries call on me.

(CO, Interview)

The other category of school-based work covered by our interviewees related to disciplinary issues. Whilst it was mentioned above that COs were generally reluctant to be seen as a first port of call in the event of disciplinary issues within their school(s), this did not preclude them from getting involved where disciplinary issues were of a serious or criminal nature. For example, a small number of COs mentioned that they had dealt with thefts in their school(s).

A girl got her phone taken in the class, she reckoned. No witnesses. No one seen anything and I got told a week later. So I spoke to all the class individually, took them all out [...] and within an hour another kid who was S4 [...] came to see me and went: "oh, by the way, it was such-and-such [who] took the phone, and this is who he sold it to", someone that was outwith the school. So I've been trying to get the phone back at the moment but prior to going and having to officially charge the boy, I'm hoping that I can get the phone back [...] If we can't get the phone back, they'll get the parent in and then we'll be dealing with it officially through the school and through the police.

(CO, Interview)

Similarly, some COs referred to experience of dealing with incidents which constituted a breach of the peace.

An example would be during the Maths Higher exam last year: a girl set off the fire alarm and the entire school had to be evacuated, including pupils in wheelchairs [...] So she was charged with a breach of the peace for that.

(CO, Interview)

There were also references to other serious incidents, including knife crime and the purchase and possession of illegal drugs. Where problems did escalate beyond a certain point, COs were required to use their judgement as to when they should step in and enforce the law.

As a team my role was that of enforcer where necessary [...] That process would (most likely) be with the Children's Panel because of the age of the pupils as opposed to the more formal Scottish Criminal Justice System.

(CO, Practice Note)

Experience of fights was fairly common across our interviews. However, there were different attitudes in relation to how involved COs should be when dealing with fights at school. Whilst some COs were perfectly happy to get involved, others were keen to ensure that the school continued to take the lead in upholding discipline on school premises (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.45).

Kids will come and knock on the door throughout the day for anything, absolutely anything you can imagine [...] "Oh, my phone's been stolen", or they've been in a fight.

(CO, Interview)

If there's a fight in school, it's still discipline; it's not a police matter. If they want me to assist them in investigating things, I'm quite happy to do that, but I'm not going down the line that I'm going to be dealing with it, and they know that. If it happens outside school, I'm quite happy to deal with it.

(CO, Interview)

This last comment points to two interesting paradoxes we found in our analysis of these discussions. Many of the COs we spoke to were keen to emphasise that they did not see it as part of their CO role to get involved in 'non-police work'. Very often, this related to disciplinary issues. However, many COs were already very heavily engaged in work which would not be seen as traditional police work (e.g. pastoral work, ad hoc restorative justice sessions). This begs the question as to how far beyond 'normal police work' community policing roles (such as COs) should be expected to go.

This leads to another paradox, focussing on what might be termed a territorial anomaly. A number of COs mentioned that a fight on school premises would not be a police matter, despite the fact that a fight outside of the school almost certainly would be a police matter. The difference seems to be in the perception of the school as being somehow subject to different standards and expectations. Of course, this is not altogether unique in society: for example, many incidents which take place in the professional sporting arena would be considered serious issues 'off the pitch' (e.g. violent confrontations or abusive behaviour by footballers or rugby players) but are seldom treated as such when they take place inside a stadium. Again, this begs the question as to how differently the same type of incident should be treated within the school and outwith the school.



Returning to the focus of this section, one response among COs to the issues they faced, particularly when dealing with incidents of theft and fighting, was to employ restorative justice techniques to achieve a resolution to the situation in question (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.31). This was flagged up by a number of COs and was seen as being very valuable not only in terms of dealing with issues which had already taken place, but also in terms of preventing similar situations occurring again in future. This was also seen as a more 'common sense' approach to dealing with issues which would otherwise be the subject of an official crime report.

Staff will come in for advice and help. If there's been a particular issue, staff will ask me to intervene and do maybe restorative justice work.

(CO, Interview)

I do restorative justice, I'm trained in that, and the 23 reports that have been handed to me by the juvenile liaison officer that would've went to the Children's Reporter, only one of those people have reoffended.

(CO, Interview)

Because they're kids and they'll fight one week and the next week they'll be pals, rather than raising a crime report for that, I'm restorative justice trained, so I will get them in – obviously with the permission of parents – and do a wee bit of restorative justice with them, which works 99% of the time.

(CO, Interview)

It's restorative, it's not the big long drawn out youth justice stuff. It's the stuff that needs to be done there and then and it's resolved, so you don't have something growing arms and legs [...] You could have a couple of hours of that and deal with a number of issues which means that the rest of the team don't have to do that.

(CO, Interview)

6.5.2. Out-of-School Work.

In addition to the foregoing situations typically faced by COs on school premises, our interviewees also identified a wide range of typical situations encountered or duties performed outside of school or in an extracurricular capacity. The most common type of duty described in this context was simply providing a visible presence in the community. Again, this was seen as being particularly important during breaks and after school.

My job at lunch times and break times is to be out in the community to make sure that they [the pupils] are behaving there.

(CO, Interview)

Whilst out and about in their communities, COs were required to deal with a wide range of situations. The most frequently mentioned types of incident would be covered under a heading of anti-social behaviour. This included such examples as dealing with litter, nuisance phone calls, loitering and, in the worst cases, serious assault and drug-dealing.

It's bread and butter stuff, mainly anti-social complaints from the community.

(CO, Interview)

The other main source of trouble was break times – mid-morning and lunch time – when pupils were leaving the school and causing all sorts of trouble outside the school and in the local shops.

(CO, Practice Note)

When I first took up my role there was loads of problems, people phoning up about the kids, the litter, and it was mainly the plastic bags. That was easily stopped. Tesco don't give them plastic bags now and [...] I go down on a regular patrol with the environmental wardens and we just educate the kids, so it puts a stop to it.

(CO, Interview)

I go into every single first year class the first week they're at [school name removed] and say: "one of my biggest issues is when you start getting into new groups and going down to the high street... I'll be down there, if I see you dropping litter I'll be contacting your parents". Obviously it still happens, when you've got 1,400 pupils, to get 1,400 of them to stop littering is not easy, but [...] you like to think you're having some impact.

(CO, Interview)

Every day there would be a call or calls up to [school name removed] area [...] and that's youth-related/school-related and it's from serious assaults to drug dealing to general anti-social behaviour and nuisance calls.

(CO, Interview)

In some cases, the restorative approach also extended to extracurricular misdemeanours.

Once they had had their restorative justice interview [they] were on occasions required to remove graffiti from the local community – clean up what they had done.

(CO, Practice Note)

Whilst a number of COs described being involved in other issues which would typically be associated with a community officer's remit (e.g. missing persons enquiries), others mentioned that they are also engaged in issues which would not traditionally be thought of as 'police issues'. Very often, this involved working in concert with other agencies.

Many of the issues have not been policing issues, we've had to instigate them or to run them and it's [the] Council, environmental wardens; it's social work, it's health issues...

(CO, Interview)

Conversely, whilst COs may be engaged in resolving issues for young people outside of school, there was also evidence to suggest that the liaison/crossover between school and community mean that some community issues could now be resolved in school. The upshot of this was that many issues could be resolved earlier than would otherwise have been the case, reducing the likelihood of the incident escalating to a point at which young people would have to be charged. One CO explained:

If an incident happens outside school, the kids think: "oh, it's just going to be I'll get a warning off of [CO's name removed]". They'll also get a bollocking off of the school, 'cause I've got that role now whereby the school will say: "no, you're bringing the school into disrespect [sic] in the community", so they're going to give them a bollocking as well – which works. Like library problems at [name removed]. I got them sorted out. Went and had a meeting [at the library], came back up [to the school]. "There's the list of names of the pupils who's causing problems". [The] depute got them out their classes [and said]: "don't think you are getting away with this; you're bringing my school into disrespect [sic]; I'll be phoning all your parents". Problem solved; nipped in the bud straight away.

(CO, Interview)

It should also be noted that the focus of the COs we spoke to extended beyond focussing on children and young people simply as wrongdoers. A small number of COs were able to describe

situations in which they were required to intervene with a view to protecting youngsters outside of their school(s). Three particularly notable examples stood out in our discussions: the first related to protecting young people from sexual grooming; whilst the second and third related to unscrupulous shopkeepers selling cigarettes and illegal drugs to pupils.

A person that was befriending school pupils in [name removed], it was a 32 year old guy from London [...] All these girls are signing him up as friends [on Facebook] and doing rude conversations with him [...] Me and the deputy head had 21 cases; 19 girls had him as a friend and were in conversation with him. Sometimes at three o'clock in the morning.

(CO, Interview)

All my shopkeepers are selling singles [i.e. individual cigarettes] to the kids at [name removed] [...] so I have to get involved with all that as well, and it takes quite a while to get round all your shops and say to them: "if I hear you're selling a single again, I'll get the pupils down that do the test purchasing, and I'll stand outside your shop", and they go "hands up" straight away. Well, it'll not happen anymore.

(CO, Interview)

When I first took over, young people from [area name removed] Leith were coming to [area name removed] to buy alcohol on Friday and Saturday nights, because there was shopkeepers selling them [...] They either can harm themselves or get into situations. So as soon as I found that out, I made a decision. I told the boss; I said; "I'm going to see these shopkeepers and I'm going to tell them; I'm not going to accuse them, I'm going to tell them what I know" [...] We had to get one test purchase, and he got charged and lost his licence for a period of time, but it turns out it was nine shops in [area name removed], nine!

(CO, Interview)

Two kids had divulged to me and the head teacher that drugs were getting sold [to pupils] from a shop in [name removed] [...] So on the back of that, we managed to get warrants to search it and the intelligence was bang-on that the shopkeeper had drugs hidden in the chiller cabinets.

(CO, Interview)

The final main dimension of COs' out-of-school work related to extracurricular activities, such as sports, social clubs, fundraising and leisure trips (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.3). One CO in particular appeared to have invested a great deal of time and effort into these, although there were also reports of other COs being involved in this type of work. The CO with the greatest experience explained that she was involved in football coaching, netball coaching, holiday clubs, youth groups and organising trips to football matches in England and abroad.

I coach netball, tend to do with the football as well, so there's nice things as well. [I] do loads of trips [...] down to big English [football] games, but only the kids who behave get to go on that [...] I went to Valencia with the football team with 30 boys. This was the second time I took the football team away, and we went to Madrid.

(CO, Interview)

Perhaps most impressive in this respect was the cost neutrality of the work: the cost of all of these activities was covered by contributions from the young people and their families, as well as by the fundraising activities and sponsorship arranged by the CO in question. Additionally, this CO has successfully persuaded numerous partner organisations/agencies and local groups to help out with some of these extracurricular activities.

We do loads of fundraising [...] I am the expert fundraiser, I'm telling you! Phoning folk and saying: "oh, we're taking them away and it's really good, and blah, blah, blah". I think we must have raised about £3,000 or £4,000 [for] each of the trips [...] For the netball one, I did a sponsored netball shoot, we did bag packing, we'd bake sales, huge big raffle, the Co-op gave us a telly to raffle, the Provost gives us money, big local businesses all give us money, so we knocked a few hundred pounds off the price for each of the girls.

(CO, Interview)

Every year, I do an 'Oktoberfest' [...] and it's when the kids are off in October. With absolutely no funding whatsoever, I lay on a week of activities for all the young people in [name removed], so from the Monday to the Friday from six till ten at night, in here, and I do that with the chaplains help out, the SFA, Fire Service, [Council name removed], Why

Sort It, Ronnie Harper's team, the Pulse, all different youth groups, the Braehead Clan, the Army and it's really, really successful. Massive. (CO, Interview)

These extracurricular activities were also seen as having an important role to play in the development of the young people's non-academic skills and aptitudes.

It's somewhere for them to go and to mix [...] Their social skills, you know, all of that. It's building up all of these soft skills that you can't always acquire in the school.

(CO, Interview)



6.5.3. Pastoral Work.

The final group of duties performed as part of the CO role are categorised here as being pastoral in nature. Pastoral work formed a very large part of the work of virtually all the COs we spoke to. In many cases, the COs appeared to be taking on the role of a de facto guidance tutor or counsellor, providing off-the-record support for children and young people. In some cases, this had been an intentional focus from the outset, usually based upon an understanding of the limitations of guidance support within schools, and the added value which a different agent could bring in a pastoral capacity.

[I've been] working very closely with staff, particularly pastoral care staff, within the school.

(CO, Interview)

Not criticising school staff, because we see in day in/day out [that] guidance especially are overloaded with work, but they are literally confined to a desk. So they're not going to get the opportunity to go and do a home visit, they're not going to get the opportunity to take the kid out to wherever it is that we think that might be able to support them, and guidance are in this phone call/email culture, and we are in a privileged position where we can change shifts, we've got flexibility.

(CO, Interview)

In other cases, this role had evolved over time as the relationship between pupils and their CO developed. Sometimes, the link to law enforcement meant that it was simply more appropriate to approach a CO than school guidance staff or counsellors.

One girl came to me, whose dad was a lifer in [prison name removed] who had been contacting her and she was very unsure both emotionally and practically whether or not she wanted to continue a relationship. Now, she came to me rather than guidance, because she'd seen me help one of her friends [...] I took her up to the prison [and] introduced her to staff there. Long story short: she's now re-established contact, but she's got more peace of mind having spoken to the people face-to-face rather than phone calls.

(CO, Interview)

There is a lot of stuff going on in the schools which the guidance [staff] choose to ignore or the kids won't report or gets lost in the ether, but when you're a police officer something usually gets done quickly.

(CO, Interview)

If a young person sees that we have helped maybe a friend or one of their peer group, they feel pretty much confident that they might get the same level of care.

(CO, Interview)

I have quite a lot of evidence that suggests that young people would rather talk to the Campus Officer than talk to their guidance teacher [...] If they've got something that's going on in the community or something they're not too sure about, they could go to their Campus Officer and ask about that and get information and sometimes support to go and do something about it or to record it or speak to another officer or someone else, whereas if they spoke to their guidance teacher, she just picked up the phone and phoned the social work, and that wasn't really what they were looking for.

(CO, Interview)

The 'word of mouth' effect was also true of parents, some of whom were reported to have contacted COs on the basis of recommendations from the parents of other children who had been helped by the CO in question (and, as will be seen later, also led to valuable intelligence being obtained on other community policing issues).

People will phone and say: "oh, my friend told me to phone you because you helped them with their child at school".

(CO, Interview)

However, most of the time, this pastoral role was simply part and parcel of being a friendly authority figure with whom pupils had regular contact. In some cases, the pastoral relationships developed were so strong that they endured beyond school age (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.7, 5.12).

In some cases we're a surrogate parent, 'cause a lot of them don't have the nuclear family that some of us have been brought up with.

(CO, Interview)

It's the number of phone calls you get from ex-pupils as well, just phoning up for advice.

(CO, Interview)

Just recently, there was a woman whose son had left [school] and she'd phoned the police station looking for me. She says: "because I know how much my son likes and respects you, I know he's not at school anymore, but can you come and speak to him?" (CO, Interview)

Indeed, the strength of these personal, pastoral relationships had been a crucial factor in helping to resolve a number of important police matters.

There was an incident stretching from last summer to this year [...] It was a male who was sexually or indecently assaulting girls [...] There was maybe about six or seven different incidents but nobody was linking them, and there was maybe four or five girls here who it had all happened to [...] I got one of the girls in and I knew what one description was, and I'm saying to her: "do you know somebody that does this?" and she said: "aye, he's on my Facebook". [She] went into her Facebook and showed me it, and we got him [...] Had I not had that relationship with this girl who'd been in just blethering to me about police work or whatever and linked the different cases, [...] he'd probably still be doing it.

(CO, Interview)

Some COs even mentioned that they had provided informal advice or counselling to teaching staff as well.

It does happen, staff will come and confide in you about domestic problems as well.

(CO, Interview)

6.6. Selection of Schools/Areas Involved.

Having discussed typical working situations with COs, we also explored the type of schools and areas involved in the CO programme, as well as considering the rationale for their selection.

Most of the COs we spoke to were responsible for two secondary schools, although in some cases only one school was covered by the CO. In most cases, COs covered at least one school which, from a policing point of view, was considered to be 'challenging'. For the COs covering more than one secondary school, there seemed to be an even split between those whose second school was also deemed to be 'challenging' and those whose second school was seen as being much less of an immediate challenge (based upon area, socioeconomic perceptions, previous disciplinary issues etc).

I cover [school name removed], it's about 700 pupils and now I also cover [school name removed] which is, again, about 700 pupils. Both schools [are] very similar to each other, to

be honest with you: same sort of socio-economic area; quite challenging from a policing point of view.

(CO, Interview)

[School name removed] had a specific problem with gang fighting and violence [...] This was a problem for the school, the community and the police. It was taking lots of police resources to police the area – they were throwing everything at it: support units, cars, bicycles, beat patrols etc. to little or no effect. Every day the kids came out of school, started fighting, and ran away when the police arrived.

(CO, Practice Note)

I've been a school link officer for three years in [school name removed], now I've got [school name removed] as well [...] It's the more challenging school. Everyone thinks [it's] because it's the deprived area, but the kids I've found are far more respectful than 'my own' high school.

(CO, Interview)

This last point proved to be an important one. The COs we spoke to explained that although there was a perception that having a CO might negatively impact upon people's perceptions of the school (this is explored in greater depth in a later section), it was not thought to be the case that under-achieving schools or those with economically deprived catchment areas were the only ones which would need a CO. Rather, it was explained that every school would benefit, and that there should be no stigma associated with having a resident CO.

Different schools bring up different problems [...] I covered [school name removed], a private school, and I got more emails and phone calls from staff there... Different sort of problems; not fighting in the street or drugs, but internet bullying, thefts in the boarding house, and they want to keep it in-house [...] but when you go and talk to the parents, they'll say: "oh, I sent him there because you don't get the problems there". Hold on a sec; I actually spend more time here than I get calls to [school name removed] [...] Kids will be kids and it doesn't matter where you are, they'll have problems.

(CO, Interview)

Although COs were not privy to the decision-making processes behind the selection of schools involved, some of them had been made aware of reasons as to why their specific schools had been selected. Of those COs who were able to share such information, the general perception was that their schools had been purposively selected on the basis that one of them was seen to be performing reasonably well, whilst the other was seen to be under-performing or to have disciplinary issues.

My understanding is [that] two schools were picked, and they picked a so-called under-achieving school, and [...] an academic sound school. My understanding was they didn't want to pick the two worst schools, 'cause they'll get tainted. (CO, Interview)

The first two schools – which was one of mine and another school, [school name removed] – were selected, as they say; one that was really, really challenging, and the other one was performing well.

(CO, Interview)

In some cases, schools had volunteered to take part, but in other cases, schools appeared to have been told by the local authority that they were to have a CO placed with them, without any prior consultation with the school.

It transpired that they had not been consulted on whether or not they wanted a Campus Officer. They did! Consequently, it was easier to work with the school than I had first anticipated.

(CO, Practice Note)

6.7. Involvement with Children and Young People.

In addition to the type of schools and areas involved in the programme, we also explored whether or not any specific types of young people were typically involved in the work of the COs. Whilst it might initially have been expected that most of the COs' dealings with young people would be in relation to disciplinary issues, the experiences already described show that this is not the case, and that COs instead have to deal with a very wide range of young people, from those with serious disciplinary issues to those who are seen as archetypal 'good kids' whose standards of behaviour leads to their being included in discretionary extracurricular activities such as the aforementioned

football-related trips to England and Spain. Furthermore, the popularity of COs as a source of pastoral guidance or advice has increased their involvement with young people who would usually have little or no contact with the police. In this respect, the COs represent a potentially valuable outlet or conduit for vital information relay between policing authorities and younger members of the local community.

In particular, some of the COs we spoke to mentioned that their role frequently brought them into contact with vulnerable or hard-to-reach children and young people (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.8, 5.17). As emphasised above, young people falling into this category often preferred to deal with the CO than with school guidance staff or local authority social services.

They wouldn't feel comfortable about speaking to anybody else or telling anybody else about it. Another example is a girl who was in an abusive relationship with her boyfriend and something had happened at the weekend [...] I was off on the Monday or something, and she held onto that and waited till the Tuesday morning and came in to tell me.

(CO, Interview)

There was a very clear sense of acceptance of the COs on the part of pupils. This strongly accords with previous research carried out by a member of the research team, which showed that above and beyond simply accepting the CO, many pupils whose schools are involved in the CO programme express a definite sense of 'ownership' of the COs. The extent to which COs were accepted meant that all sorts of children would approach them with information on trouble-makers.

Within six months/one year of beginning to work with the staff and within the school things were lots better and that change has been sustained: information began to flow and pupils began to give information about other pupils who were causing trouble.

(CO, Interview)

Perhaps surprisingly, this engagement was not restricted simply to 'good kids'. Indeed, the engagement of the COs with the wider pupil cohort led to the development of some surprising relationships, based upon a level of trust which would be impossible for other police officers. For

example, one CO spoke about how his efforts to build up a relationship with gang members led to extremely valuable information being sourced in relation to gang violence more widely.

One of the main gang leaders showed me his web site! He was a clever boy but always in trouble and one of the key individuals that I was keeping an eye on. His web site was a lucky find. This site was also linked to a number of other gangs in and around [area name removed]. It was invaluable [...] On these sites were gang names, the geography of the gang, pictures of members and weapons they used along with other useful information. This information was cascaded out to the wider force and led to the initial development of the [police force name removed] Anti-Gang Task Force.

(CO, Interview)

6.8. Relationship with Other School Policing Models.

A further important issue we covered in our discussions was alternative school policing models. There was some awareness of alternative models. In particular, there was a recognition that the CO model being pursued in Scotland was a better fit with the UK's tradition of policing by consensus than some of the other models with which COs were familiar. Some COs were familiar with the American and Israeli systems and although it was recognised that police officers in these areas faced very different security issues (e.g. firearms, potential terrorism etc.), it was felt that the approach adopted in Scotland was proportionate and appropriate to the context facing schools, pupils and the police.

In Jerusalem, that was the case. We passed through and there were the security guards there. They were there for two purposes: basically, to keep somebody out; but also to ensure that what was happening in the classrooms [...] It was like going back to Northern Ireland.

(CO, Interview)

However, there was some evidence of an increasing need to adopt aspects of a more proactive preventative approach in relation to issues such as weapons in schools.

There was an occasion where a boy had brought a knife to school, and the follow up to that was we got the Ferra Guard [...] It's a metal detector, so we had that outside the school and there was quite a few parents phoned in about that, but they asked to speak to me, but

once I'd explained to them why, they were like: "no, that's fine; I just wondered why that was happening".

(CO, Interview)

6.9. Approach Taken by COs.

It has already been established (see above) that in addition to issues such as internal school disciplinary matters, many COs face the same type of situations as 'normal' police officers do.¹² However, the approach taken to dealing with these issues was, in some cases, claimed to be markedly different from the way in which they would deal with these issues as a 'normal' officer. In particular, the personal knowledge built up of the staff and pupils and the relationships developed with them meant that a different set of tools was available to COs. Of these, the most effective were thought to be humour and embarrassment, which were only possible when based upon an existing level of engagement/trust and personal recognition between the CO and pupil(s) in question.

I've got one today. His profile picture's him standing with a samurai sword, so I was speaking to his guidance teacher this morning and says: "he's really nice as well, really quiet". She said: "are you going to embarrass him?" "Oh aye," I said! [...] I'll make a phone call to his parents to make sure it's taken down, and if there is a sword in the house, it's disposed of.

(CO, Interview)

As such, the COs we spoke to all explained that they were involved in numerous assemblies or class presentations throughout the year to make sure that they were a visible presence and that they were familiar with the pupils (and vice versa). Being able to do this either en masse to the whole school or in smaller, targeted groups was also seen as a key part of the approach taken.

Straight away, I got right into doing class talks for all the different year groups. If there was an issue, I'd assembly talk to a whole year group, although I prefer doing it in smaller groups, like to classes, 'cause you can get across a lot more, and get more interaction.

(CO, Interview)

¹² We are uncomfortable with the terminology used here, as we feel that it serves to heighten the impression that COs are somehow seen as being a different class of police officers (e.g. 'hobby bobbies'). We do not endorse this perception and welcome feedback on more appropriate terminology.

Also, as mentioned earlier, there tends to be a focus on a restorative approach to policing work, bringing together the parties involved in an incident with a view to obtaining a better understanding of what happened and preventing a recurrence (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.31). Again, this type of approach is greatly helped by the personal relationship developed with individual children and young people. It was stated by COs that if this restorative approach was not used, the likelihood would be that some of these young people would instead be charged formally. The effective early intervention which COs were thought to offer was seen as a real advantage by the COs who mentioned this.

I do restorative justice, I'm trained in that, and [out of] the 23 reports that have been handed to me by the juvenile liaison officer that would've [otherwise] went to the Children's Reporter, only one of those people have reoffended [...] I can't do it all the time, certainly I'll not have so much time to do it now, but the restorative justice [...] has dovetailed in absolutely brilliantly with the role that I do at the moment.

(CO, Interview)

In addition, the personal approach taken by COs to the development of local contacts also appears to have resulted in an approach which is more collaborative and community-centred. Many of the COs we spoke to told us about their links to community stakeholders, including supermarkets, libraries, publicans, small businesses etc. In many cases, this had resulted in an ability of COs to act as a readily available first point of contact for any community-related policing issues. This was widely thought to contribute to a much stronger deterrent effect upon pupils at the COs' school(s).

I've got a school mobile phone [...] The library and the Co-op and the takeaways and the hairdressers and stuff all phone me direct. They don't phone the police. Well, they do; but they're phoning me. They don't phone the main number.

(CO, Interview)

I now have over 100 contacts – 111, I believe, at the last count – from businesses, shops... This is everything from getting kids work experience through to them reporting them shoplifting, truancy, any concerns that they may have. It's local cafes, publicans... After my first year in the job, every week I went to visit two businesses and I kept that up for a year

and the spin offs and the benefits have been huge coming back. If there's anything going on, they'll phone me [or] they'll phone the school and leave a message for me or they'll stop me in the street or they'll ask someone to come and see me, and it means that you can be quite busy, but I'm quite busy preventing and deterring rather than dealing with crime.

(CO, Interview)

6.10. Reactions, responses and perceptions.

We use this section to explore the way in which different key agents have reacted/responded to the placement of COs within their school (or their child's school), as well as exploring the reasons behind these responses/reactions: namely, their pre-existing perceptions of COs, and the way in which these perceptions changed over time. In doing so, we consider six different groups of actors: children and young people; the pupils' parents; the schools involved in the CO programme; the partners and other agencies involved in the CO programme; the police force more generally; and the wider community.

6.10.1. Children and Young People.

In general, the response and reactions of children and young people reported by COs were broadly positive. There were no real reports of resistance. Indeed, as a result of efforts by the COs (including the aforementioned extracurricular activities, building of closer relationships within the school, developing a more visible and familiar presence in the community), it was possible to build an extremely constructive relationship with all different types of children, including those who would normally have been seen as 'difficult' or 'challenging'.

The most notable impact in this respect relates to pupils' perceptions of the police, which had changed markedly as a result of the CO programme. It was explained that most young people's previous interactions with the police would probably not have been particularly positive. However, the COs' 'pastoral policing' approach allowed these same children to see a different side of law enforcement, particularly where prior opinions on the police were negative in nature (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.10).

[For] most of my young people, sadly, contact with the police has been the riot squad coming through the door at six o'clock in the morning taking away the drugs and a parent or parents [...] or coming up and hassling them when they're standing about in groups

doing nothing much wrong [...] so they have a very negative start. But now, up until the first to fourth years, they don't see that at all with myself and most of my colleagues either.

(CO, Interview)

A lot of young people before I came into the school would've hated the police because the only involvement they would've had would've been the police up at their house maybe at their parents or their big brothers or sisters, or the police stopping them in the street, and not all police know how to speak to young people.

(CO, Interview)

Indeed, one CO explained how their efforts to engage with pupils had led to a large upsurge in interest in doing work experience with the police or pursuing a police career.

They've loved it. But this year I've been working with the careers guy and he says: "well, the other schools are all wanting it as well". But it was very interesting, 'cause there was about fifteen kids from here, yet the other schools maybe only had three or four [...] There's loads of them really keen [on a police career], so it'll be interesting in a couple of years to see just how many of them actually do it.

(CO, Interview)

6.10.2. Parents.

The response of parents to the suggestion that a CO should be based in their child's school was mentioned by a small number of our interviewees. The initial response was one of tentative concern around the idea that their child's school needed a police presence. However, the vast majority of our interviewees' experiences with parents indicates that this initial scepticism has been overcome, with most COs describing incidents in which they have relied upon the support of parents to successfully deal with emergent situations. Indeed, the relationship between the COs and the parents of the pupils subsequently developed to the point at which parents began to pass valuable information on criminal activity to the police via the CO.

Parents of children in the school were also communicating with the police through a more informal approach in the school and highlight problems in the community – for example: 'can I have a quick word about the drug dealer living next door?' (CO, Practice Note)

6.10.3. Schools.

A similar tendency was found within schools. Initially, there was a split among those who were in favour of introducing COs (i.e. volunteers for the programme) and those who were more sceptical, and in some cases quite hostile, about the prospect of having a CO introduced to their school. This was typically based upon a perception that they would either have too little to do, or that the school did not want to attract a reputation as a 'bad' school.

I turned up on the first day [...] and was greeted at the door by the Head Teacher who introduced himself and remarked that he did not want me there. It was bad for the image of the school.

(CO, Practice Note)

In addition, the initial confusion in many cases over the remit and responsibilities of COs meant that some schools and teachers were unsure about the benefits of introducing them to their schools. However, the testimony we received from the COs we interviewed suggests that every school in which they have been involved would strongly endorse the CO programme, regardless of initial scepticism or uncertainty.

[I get] more feedback from schools and pupils than I do from anybody in the police. They will always come, saying [...] "the school's so much better since you've been here".

(CO, Interview)

I think it's the relationships that she has built up and the impact these relationships have had on the staff in the school, teaching and non-teaching, the pupils, their families and the external agencies. It's the whole relationship business and from that has come trust, and these things are... you can't quantify that.

(School Representative, Interview)

Indeed, in some schools which have subsequently lost their CO, the position of the school has been made absolutely clear, as the quote below from a Deputy Head shows.

The police will live to regret this short-sighted budget-saving move, I'm sure. They are losing a vital source of information; we are losing a staff colleague, staunch supporter and friend.

(Deputy Head, Interview)

Anecdotal concerns have also been expressed to members of the research team that some slippage may already be occurring following the removal of this CO from their school. This anecdotal finding only serves to strengthen the need for statistical evidence to be kept at the local level in order to support this type of qualitative data and to explore whether or not such concerns re slippage are justified.¹³ This lack of 'hard' quantitative evidence was also flagged up by Black *et al* in their 2010 study of the CO programme (Black *et al*, 2010: 5.2).

6.10.4. Partners and other agencies.

In terms of response from other agencies, our evidence suggests that the initial response to the idea of a CO was positive, and has remained so. None of the COs we interviewed mentioned any concerns on the part of their partner agencies, but rather described numerous experiences of successful joint working with them from the outset.

There are all these different agencies who will phone and ask for information, like youth work through social work as well. Quite often, you'll speak [with them] and think: "what would be the best option for this young person?"

(CO, Interview)

I think there was an acknowledgement that the role was a good role and was making a difference in reconnecting with pupils primarily, but obviously the partnership working it was feeding back in, and from what I'm led to believe, lots of positive lines. There was little or a few negatives [...] That's why they've decided to expand it further: 'cause Education liked it, so did partners in Social Work, Health, and it's been good for the police to re-engage.

(CO, Interview)

¹³ Such statistical evidence may include (but is not limited to) figures such as exclusions and attendance, as well as police calls re anti-social behaviour and noise disturbance.

Because of the role, you can pull the different people in together [...] [For example] you can get a hold of the environmental wardens and pull them in. If the school were to do that on their own, that'd be quite difficult.

(CO, Interview)

6.10.5. Police.

Perhaps the most interesting response/reaction category we discussed with our CO interviewees related to other police officers. In general, it was felt that the role of CO was often very isolated from other police work, in the sense that there was very little understanding of the role within the wider policing community, and in that where senior officers did have some knowledge of the role, it was not thought to be valued particularly highly.

It might be difficult for them to have their head around everything that you're doing, which normally in the police world they could do, they could look on a police system and go: "he's doing this, that and the other and that's exactly where he is with that or she is with that enquiry", and this is very different [...] Maybe supervisors struggle with that.

(CO, Interview)

It's such a unique role; there's no other job in the police like it and, really, the only people who do understand and who are going to give you sort of advice and support are other Campus Officers.

(CO, Interview)

They don't really pay attention to what I do.

(CO, Interview)

This caused an enormous amount of frustration among some of the COs we spoke to, who felt that this lack of understanding – and, in some cases, support – undermined the value of the work they did in their school(s) and community.

This is not uncommon in the police service, for people to be moved into post at short notice with no training and guidance or advice. In this particular case, again for me [it] reiterates the lack of knowledge and maybe even value of the role by the supervisors and managers.

That's not to be critical, it just seems to be the way things are in our police service, and it sometimes doesn't do us much good.

(CO, Interview)

My problem recently has been supervisors, and my big bugbear in the police is that supervisory officers, who haven't done the role, who haven't researched the role, basically who haven't been a police officer, make decisions! And the decisions are based on what they think best without doing a proper research of the role [...] With the prison visits, the first opening gambit from my supervisor was: "why are you doing that? That's not a police job". My gambit back to him was: "yes it is, 'cause we've all got a responsibility, each and every one of us – police, school, social worker, whoever" [...] We should not be in this habit still of saying: "that's not our job" [...] Come and spend three days with us one week, and then in four weeks' time another two days, see what we do, see the work that we do. Yes, it is not traditional, stereotypical police work but it's crucial work that has a huge impact on a young person's life.

(CO, Interview)

As a result, some of the COs felt very far removed from 'normal' policing.

I'm probably more part of the team here [at the school]. In fact, there's not even any 'probably' about it [...] [I'm] more part of the team here than I am along at the police office.

(CO, Interview)

This would appear to point to a need to better integrate the CO role within what would be considered 'normal policing'. Given that most of the COs we spoke to had a considerable number of years of service, this seems to suggest that the problem of isolation is based upon organisational links rather than the personality of individual COs (most of whom, presumably, would previously have been very strongly integrated in the police community). This issue is explored again later in the section on barriers to effective performance in the role of a CO.

6.10.6. Community.

The final category of response/reaction we consider relates to the wider community. As with the earlier section on partner agencies, it appears from our testimony that support for the role of the

CO in the wider community has been consistently high from the outset. Indeed, we found no evidence to suggest any hostility or opposition from the local community to the role.¹⁴ The COs appear to have been trusted and well liked within the community since beginning in their role, and we found numerous accounts of COs taking time to build effective links and recognition with shopkeepers and small businesses, for example, in the early days of their role. As a result, such representatives of the local community have responded very positively to the role of CO, and very often use the CO as a first port of call in relation to any police matters they wish to report.

If there's anything going on they'll phone me, they'll phone the school and leave a message for me or they'll stop me in the street or they'll ask someone to come and see me.

(CO, Interview)

This was partly based upon the familiarity of the CO to the local community, but also upon the perception that COs were better placed to deal with some of the complaints or concerns coming from the community. For example, talking about litter, one CO explained:

It's something we do that, with the best will in the world, the run of the mill cops, if you like, don't want to get involved in, but it's the sort of thing that affects the community quite a bit and it's the sort of thing that people will complain about. They seem to complain about the little things as opposed to the really big things, it's the little things that really annoy them in certain communities and we can sort of team up with our partner agencies and tackle that sort of thing tied in with the school. That just wouldn't happen if that role didn't exist.

(CO, Interview)

7. KEY SUCCESS FACTORS.

We now turn to consider the evidence we received in respect of key success factors. By this, we mean the various factors which COs highlighted as being important to the success of their work. A number of different factors emerged. Some of these related to the characteristics of the people selected to work as COs, whilst others related to structural factors and specific tasks which were essential in order to lay the ground for success.

¹⁴ The only exception to this is the aforementioned examples of shopkeepers who were caught breaking the law in respect of drugs and underage alcohol sales.

7.1. Personal Characteristics.

The first major factor seen as crucial to being a successful CO was personality. Of particular relevance here was the ability to be engaging, outgoing and chatty, especially with children and young people. This was highlighted both by the COs we spoke to and by the educational representatives whom we encountered in this research, as exemplified by the comments made by this teacher:

If you don't get the personality right, it doesn't matter what else is in place. If you get the clock watcher, the stickler, the person who has no give and take, you can forget it; it won't work or it'll have very, very limited success and that's certain [...] The way you talk to ordinary people [...] I don't think some of your colleagues have that skill.

(CO, Interview)

I think for Campus Officers personality is a huge, huge thing because if you can't speak to people, particularly young people, there's no point in doing the job.

(CO, Interview)

This was also highlighted by Ipsos MORI's earlier work on COs (Black *et al*, 2010: 3.18-3.19).

Other personal characteristics were also identified as being essential to success in the role. Patience was seen as crucial. Most of the COs who spoke about this explained that it was unlikely for the role to start bearing fruit immediately, and that the impact of any CO could only be seen after having bedded down into the role and built relationships with pupils, teaching staff and other relevant partners, as well as having developed links with the local community. This obviously takes time, but it was only thought to be after this had been done that the true benefits of the role could be seen. As such, it was important to be patient with the role. As well as applying to COs, this was also crucial for superiors within the police force, who could not expect too much too soon. For example, comparing his role to that of a community officer, one CO explained thus:

There's various layers of community officers around, the drug awareness officer, the impact and the power that he's had on senior pupils who are now policing younger kids out in the communities, that's taken three years probably, four years of work.

(CO, Interview)

It's taken me three and a half years to get into what is the ideal situation now [...] Don't expect to do it on day one or day whatever you want [...] It's taken a while to get into.

(CO, Interview)

When you come in, you're finding your feet as well and we've got to sell ourselves to the pupils and vice versa, so at times they might think you're doing nothing.

(CO, Interview)

Flexibility was highlighted as important. Whilst it was important for individuals to be flexible in the role, it was seen as more important for the parameters of the role to be flexible and non-prescriptive in order to incorporate the different demands of the position (deriving from different geographical and social contexts), and for superior officers to allow the COs to be flexible in their approach.

Being able to be flexible and not necessarily being challenged by somebody who doesn't have their head around what you're doing...

(CO, Interview)

This, however, was seen to be difficult as it clashed with the traditional approach to policing, which is based upon knowing exactly what action is being taken on an issue at a given point in time.

Normally in the police world [...] they could look on a police system and go: "he's doing this, that and the other; and that's exactly where he is with that or she is with that enquiry" and this is very different [...] The ranks above them probably want to know.

(CO, Interview)

The final personal attribute mentioned by a number of COs related to familiarity with new forms of social media, particularly Facebook. Given the role that these social media were seen to play in the lives of young people these days, understanding and being able to use these forms of communication was thought to be absolutely crucial to successfully fulfilling the role of a CO.

Younger police officers are obviously said to be much more au fait, but certainly I would never have realised [beforehand] the power of this social media.

(CO, Interview)

You'll get cops that aren't on Facebook, don't know the first thing about Twitter, don't know the little abbreviations that they've got for 'parent over shoulder' and all this sort of stuff. For me, it's just simple: I don't know why the gaffers don't formulate some kind of training programme¹⁵ – not just for school link – 'cause technology is absolutely bounding ahead of us and we are so slow at catching up, it's frightening.

(CO, Interview)

This last remark also demonstrates the valuable impact which working with young people can have on the police's ability to identify gaps in its armoury of intelligence-gathering.

7.2. Structural Factors.

A number of structural factors were also identified. Confidence was one such factor. This was very closely linked to the element of patience discussed immediately above: it was seen as being vital for a CO's commanding officers to have trust and confidence not only in them personally but also in the role of CO as a whole. However, this was not always forthcoming, due mainly to the problem (discussed earlier) of poor understanding of the role of CO in the police force more widely. As such, better education of other police officers was seen as being important in helping to build up this confidence.

It's having confidence in you and confidence in the role [...] and a lot of them don't have that.

(CO, Interview)

It's a different type of supervision that's required [...] Maybe they need training to understand how to supervise a school link officer.

(CO, Interview)

Another important structural factor was clarity over the role and responsibilities of COs. As covered above, there was often confusion or a lack of understanding on the part of individual

¹⁵ While no formal training specifically for Campus Officers was in place when the role was first developed the VRU have during the period of this study provided a number of training opportunities; for example: SCOTLAND AND VIOLENCE - 1.11.11; NO KNIVES BETTER LIVES - 21.12.2011; VIRTUAL VIOLENCE - 12.6.2012; POLICING BEYOND THE PLAYGROUND - 17.1.2012; SOCIAL MEDIA - 22.11.2012; THE KIDS ARE ALRIGHT - 24.4.2013. They also contribute to training inputs at the 'Early Interventions Through Education' training course run by the training department at the Police College, Tulliallan.

schools and members of teaching staff in relation to what COs are supposed to do. Whilst this would presumably develop where schools maintained an active CO, it is nevertheless a structural issue which was seen to require attention if the role is to be a success. Although the role appears more 'organic' and adaptive than many other policing roles and will therefore be subject to a degree of negotiation between CO and school/community, it was nevertheless thought that it would be helpful to have in place clear expectations prior to taking up position.

Closely linked to this last point was another structural factor: continuity, or consistency. It was thought to be very important for the role of CO to be structured in such a way that schools, pupils and members of the community were able to depend upon their being in a certain place at a certain time, and not being pulled between two different sites constantly. As such, it was important for schools to know that if their CO was in a different location (i.e. at a different school) that day, they would have to approach any problems in the usual way: by contacting their local police station. Returning to the earlier point about understanding of other police officers, it was also flagged up as being important for other officers to be aware that COs could not be in two places at once and that it was important for this continuity and consistency of approach to be respected (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.26-4.27, 5.61-5.63).

You need consistency, and the kids need to know that if you say you're going to be there Tuesday, you're going to be there all day Tuesday. So rather than me flip between the two schools if things happen on the same day, if I'm at [school name removed], that's me for the day. Even if [name removed] at [school name removed] phones me saying: "oh, [name removed] there's been..." No, the arrangement is you phone [police station name removed] and you get somebody from [police station name removed] if they're free to attend if it's that urgent. If it's not, not a problem [...] Now that can put a few noses out of joint at the other stations because, of course, they go along: "who's the school link; why is he not dealing with this?" [...] Again it's communicating what we do and what we can't do on certain days, and once you've got that established working practice, everyone knows you're singing from the same hymn sheet, and the kids know.

(CO, Interview)

7.3. Tasks.

The final type of success factor discussed was composed of a number of key tasks which needed to be undertaken, either by the CO or by partners in the programme. Two key factors were included here: preparation for the role beforehand, and working to build relationships of trust with partners once in post.

The first of these is slightly different from the others covered here, in that preparation was not strictly seen as being essential to successfully working as a CO. Indeed, as discussed earlier many of the COs had received no real preparation for the role at all prior to taking over, but had nevertheless worked hard to make the CO position a successful one. However, tasks which could ideally be covered in a preparatory fashion (e.g. establishing role and responsibility boundaries, or determining rotation patterns where more than one school needs to be covered) had taken some time to address after taking up the position of CO. As was laid out above, providing prospective COs with some degree of training and working with schools beforehand to ensure clarity of understanding were identified as being important, and this was reinforced when considering success factors.

The other task which was seen as fundamental to the success of the role was the building of relationships with key partners. In this respect, COs pointed to their relationship with pupils, schools and partner agencies as being essential.

It all boils down to relationships at the end of the day.

(CO, Interview)

If there was no relationship none of these things would happen. They would just not happen.

(CO, Interview)

In relation to children and young people, these relationships were seen as crucial if a bond of trust was to develop.

If you've got a good rapport, good relationship, good understanding with young folk and they see you caring, they'll come to you. If you put the wrong person in the role, you've lost the battle.

(CO, Interview)

You build up relationships [...] not just within the school but in the estates and the schemes where the young people and their families live [...] I'm just in for two hours this morning [and already] three young people have come to me and told me things that are absolutely nothing to do with school, they're to do with home life or what's happening in their communities.

(CO, Interview)

The same was true in relation to members of staff. It was emphasised that this relationship-building was an active process to be managed, and not simply something that developed as a matter of course.

It's so important to get the good relationship between yourself and the deputy head/senior management team [...] That working relationship is very, very important.

(CO, Interview)

It's getting the trust of the staff on your side [...] You do have to work and build relationships with your partners.

(CO, Interview)

I think it's the relationships that she has built up and the impact these relationships have had on the staff in the school, teaching and non-teaching, the pupils, their families and the external agencies. It's the whole relationship business and from that has come trust, and these things are... you can't quantify that.

(CO, Interview)

If the role of Campus Officer was to be successful and make a difference, [I] needed to work as part of a team with the staff and not as a lone agent. I was fortunate in gaining the

support of a senior member of staff who acted as my 'deputy sheriff' – he shared his insider knowledge of pupils who were 'trouble makers'.

(CO, Interview)

From a comparative analysis of the above discussion it is possible to develop a conceptual model or profile of the desirable qualities of a typical Campus Officer.

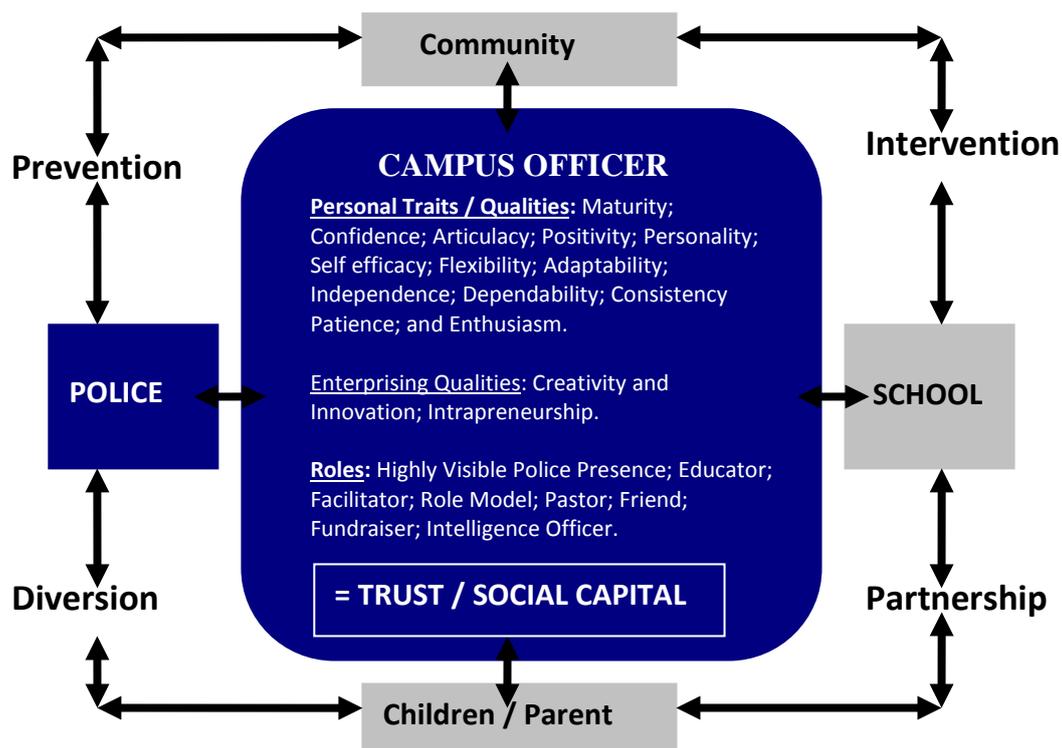


Figure 1 – Profiling the qualities of a Campus Officer.

The term 'intrapreneurship' may require clarification. An 'intrapreneur' is an enterprising person who works in an organisation and uses entrepreneurial skills and qualities to benefit the organisational aims.¹⁶

8. BARRIERS AND ISSUES.

In this section we consider the factors flagged up by our CO interviewees as barriers or issues. We found a mixture of both tangible and intangible issues: the former was composed of issues which

¹⁶ Pinchot, G. & Pinchot, E. (1978) 'Intra-Corporate Entrepreneurship'; Tarrytown School for Entrepreneurs.

made working as a CO difficult in a practical sense, whilst the latter was made up of issues which posed more of a strategic challenge to the role. Some of these barriers/issues from each category have already been covered in previous sections; nevertheless, we reiterate them here for the sake of comprehensiveness.

The first major issue identified by interviewees related to the difficult 'fit' between the role of CO and the police force more generally. This represented a barrier in two particular respects. Firstly, some COs reported feeling 'out of the loop' as a result of their distance from 'regular' police work. As a result, they often felt as if insufficient notice was taken of the work they were doing.

To be honest, they [the police force] don't really pay attention to what I do.

(CO, Interview)

In addition to this, some COs mentioned that they felt they could be better served by information networks within the police, which sometimes left them uninformed about recent developments involving pupils from their school(s) (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.11).

I always start and finish at the police office because I don't have any sort of police computer equipment here [at the school].

(CO, Interview)

What should happen is any involvement with any young person [in] that area, either at the high school or the primaries, whether they're a witness/they're an accused/something's happened, whatever, I should be told by e-mail or just a wee notification on the instant, and I'm not. That's been a huge issue for me [...] I come in and the school will say: "oh, I've just had a phone call from social work, such-and-such happened" and I feel like an idiot because my colleagues haven't shared this information with me.

(CO, Interview)

Secondly, this figurative distance and possible lack of understanding from the rest of the police force meant that some COs were more aware of a culture of 'deflection' than they might have been in a different role. Having seen the value of pastoral work with pupils, some COs were disappointed to find that this type of work was not altogether encouraged by senior officers.

We should not be in this habit still of saying: "that's not our job" and sadly, young and old, doesn't matter how many years' experience they've got, [the] higher up the chain you go, the more they're into deflection... "Come on; get rid of that; don't do that; you're there to do this", and my point is: "come and see what we do" [...] It is not traditional, stereotypical police work, but it's crucial work that has a huge impact.

(CO, Interview)

It was mentioned above that making the CO role a successful one is a process which requires considerable time and patience. However, our interviews suggested that these have not always been available in a sufficiently plentiful supply. As well as highlighting the lengthy lead-in time, some COs explained that they were having to work additional hours in order to ensure that they were able to deal with all of the competing demands on their time during the day.

I'm working more hours than I'm rostered to, but I'm happy with that because it fits into a plan and it's not every single night or every single morning.

(CO, Interview)

Some of the COs who covered more than one school mentioned that this type of situation was a case of the COs being victims of their own success. Because their schools felt so much happier with the response of their CO than the response of a call to their local police station, they would simply 'hold on' to issues on those days when the CO was covering the other school. This meant that these COs would be faced with a lengthy 'to do' list the minute they returned to the other school. Although the COs we spoke to could empathise with this approach, it was felt that for the greater good, it may sometimes be more effective to not 'hold on' to issues in this way, as a surplus of reactive work could potentially prevent the COs from engaging in the type of valuable proactive work described in earlier sections.

Once you've been in the school for a length of time and they get to know you, they'd rather hold onto stuff and say: "I'll speak to [CO name removed] when he comes in; he's not in today, he's got a meeting tomorrow, I'll hold onto that". You know, because they trust you, they know you, they know that they're going to be able to speak to you face-to-face, and a lot of times we're now having to say: "look, I would suggest that maybe holding on to

certain things isn't going to be best placed, you'd be better just phoning [the local police station] to get a response".

(CO, Interview)

In addition, some aspects of the work of some of the COs (most notably restorative justice work with pupils) was seen as being too time-consuming to do as regularly as might have been liked.

I can't do it all the time; certainly I'll not have so much time to do it now.

(CO, Interview)

Closely linked to this lack of time was an issue mentioned by a small number of COs, which might be thought of as 'role creep': namely, being drawn away from the schools and further into community policing. As a result of working successfully with the school(s) in their area, these COs had been asked to take on more of a traditional policing role within the surrounding communities, which would inevitably draw them away from the school(s) they cover (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 4.28).

I've been asked to attend a TAC [Tasking and Coordinating] meeting every two weeks in [area names removed] regarding looking at the young people who are then on the fringes of crime or involved in criminality in the area, which will take me away from the school. There's a couple of other things I've been asked to do that might take me away from the schools [...] I need to understand myself how will I build that rapport and get to know the schools, not having the benefit maybe of those five days a week in the first instance to actually really get to know them and have a little bit of chill time, as opposed to me being in that day and a half and there being a list of things already waiting for me to do when I get in the door and then I'm flying around doing a 'to do' list rather than just being there.

(CO, Interview)

A small number of COs mentioned feeling disappointed by a perceived mismatch between disciplinary offences committed by a very small number of children and the approach of the authorities to dealing with such incidents.

Another hurdle that I had to overcome was that of the then education exclusion policy for removing individuals from schools [...] The day following the public arrest of a boy in school who had been found to be carrying a knife in his schoolbag, he was back in the school the following day [...] I couldn't believe it, arrested for bringing a knife into the school and all the possibilities that go along with that, he could have maimed or killed someone with the knife. On speaking to the head teacher he explained the system and said that permanent exclusions were very rare and that it looked bad for the school if they have lots of exclusions.

(CO, Practice Note)

It was also mentioned by a small number of COs that the job itself was not seen as a particularly appealing one within the police. This was based mainly upon the perception that the work involved was less exciting than other police work. As a result, it was felt that attracting suitable candidates for CO positions in future may be challenging unless more is done to showcase the role.

Our force at the moment is quite young and the officers, mainly the younger officers, are still wanting to do what they joined the police for, and working cars and attending emergencies and not go to be politically correct in school.

(CO, Interview)

One of the most profound intangible issues affecting COs was that of short-termism. This was closely linked to the earlier issue (see above) about the lead-in time required for the position to be a success. Indeed, not only did this impact upon the ability of COs to carry out their work, but it was also seen as potentially endangering the long-term prospects of the CO programme in Scotland.

Everything, I fear, is looked at very 'black and white' and very short-term.

(CO, Interview)

In addition, this short-termism was linked to a belief that many people would look at the success of the CO programme and simply think that there was no longer any need to fund it, as its original

objectives had been achieved. This was very much resisted by the school representative we spoke to.

That's what bothers me greatly: [...] that when something is successful and working well, then the fact it's smooth and all of that doesn't mean to say we don't need it [...] And that's what I fear that our bosses – well your [i.e. the CO's] bosses – think: “well, it's alright now, so it's all better”. I don't think it's all better.

(School Representative, Interview)

A similar concern related to the concern with the financial 'bottom line' which was thought to be common among senior managers within the police and other partner services which could potentially be called upon to help fund future CO programmes. However, it was made clear that in terms of preventative spend, investing in the CO programme may be cheaper than dispensing with COs altogether and losing out on the 'early intervention' and preventative/deterrent benefits they bring. One school representative mentioned that the savings made by cancelling the CO programme could be outweighed in the long run by the increased cost of having to send pupils to higher discipline school units, or even secure units.

Some of the units, some of the places are £1,000 a week, but if you put them into secure it could be £150,000 a year. We only need three kids kept out of secure and you could have all the campus police officers in [area name removed] you wanted!

(Deputy Head, Interview)

Again, such comments as these only serve to reinforce the need for effective monitoring data to support the analysis of the CO programme.

9. IMPACT, OUTCOMES, BENEFITS AND ADDED VALUE.

This substantive section deals with the impact/outcomes and benefits/value of the Campus Officer programme. Again, certain elements mentioned here will already have been covered in greater depth in the preceding sections. Whilst we do not aim to replicate this depth of coverage, we will nevertheless mention each item as appropriate, even if already covered above. As with the previous section, it is possible to distinguish between tangible and intangible outcomes/benefits. Indeed, the distinction is more clear-cut in respect of benefits/outcomes, and this is reflected in

our analytic structure: we begin by considering tangible benefits before moving on to consider more intangible benefits.

Prior to elaborating upon these specific elements, two points are worth noting. Firstly, it should be recognised that even the COs we interviewed recognised that there were limits to the impact they could have. Whilst the COs and their schools are the greatest advocates of the role of COs, they nevertheless accepted in our discussions that the role was not capable of solving every single possible problem.

When you've got 1,400 pupils, you know, to get 1,400 of them to stop littering is not easy, but it's probably... You like to think you're having some impact.

(CO, Interview)

The second point to be made relates to the difficulty of defining and evincing positive 'impact' on the part of COs. Virtually all of the evidence provided to us is anecdotal in nature. Whilst this in no way undermines its validity, relevance or importance, it is also desirable that more quantitative measures be sought in relation to the impact of COs. For example, statistics relating to the number of crime incident reports in and around the schools in question (before and after the introduction of a CO) or the number of children being expelled/excluded from the schools in question (again using a pre/post comparison) would be good starting points.

It was to work with vulnerable children and their families, young people and their families, and that's how it has panned out, but that work has taken a variety of forms and a lot of families have been very supported [...] but they don't write testimonials [...] because for them, you're just doing a job and it sounds silly, but when you say it just in a few sentences it doesn't sound very much, and yet it's a full time job.

(CO, Interview)

9.1. Tangible Outcomes.

The most frequently mentioned tangible benefit related to the improvement made to service delivery as a result of having a CO based in schools. By acting as a first point of contact for a number of services (e.g. providing information to pupils on non-police services such as social work or the fire service), COs were seen to be an effective 'hub' and focal point for other services wishing to liaise with children and young people. Of key importance to this was the fact that COs

were seen as having more influence than the school would (if acting alone) when trying to work with other services.

Because of the role, you can pull the different people in together [...] If the school were to do that on their own, that'd be quite difficult.

(CO, Interview)

A lot of the schools don't have the knowledge or the partnership working of what the council are able to do, so we provide the link from a lot of that as well.

(CO, Interview)

Included in this was the impact upon other policing services. It was argued that having a locally based CO resulted in higher levels of community safety, both inside and outside the school (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.49-5.57).

The evidence so far suggests that the community is safer – even businesses' opinions have changed. The garage across the road is now prepared to give our kids the opportunity to go there for work experience and had taken pupils on as apprentices. Previously this would not have happened and indeed there was a bad relationship between the garage and the school as the garage proprietor believed that the damage caused by pupils attending the school cost him thousands per year. Similarly, shops now report less trouble since the pupils have been kept in the school at break times.

(CO, Practice Note)

As a result of this, the CO's presence greatly helped to reduce the volume of work in the school and the surrounding area for 'normal' police officers, who would otherwise have to cover these areas as part of their community (see also Black *et al*, 2010: 5.47).

When I first went to the school, within three months, I had charged two kids and detained another two [...] I have not charged a kid for a school offence in over 18 months [...] Not only just in the school now but in the community; [I have] not charged anyone.

(CO, Interview)

I wouldn't say that there is [now] no gang problem in this area but I would say that there are fewer young people involved in gangs and gang fighting [...] Young people may still be aligned to gangs by their geographical location but they are not engaging in gang fighting in the way they did before.

(CO, Interview)

Being a community officer, every day there would be a call or calls up to [school name removed]. There is none now [...] And that's youth-related/school-related and it's from serious assaults to drug dealing to general anti-social behaviour and nuisance calls [...] The benefits to policing and society, you can't put that on a statistical chart anywhere [...] We have never had as low calls for youths and anti-social calls during school hours or outwith school hours as what we've got at the moment.

(CO, Interview)

We had real bother with gangs [...] We were constantly phoning the police, who for a variety of reasons didn't always come and when they did arrive, it was long after we'd dealt with it [...] And that all within weeks settled down [i.e. after the CO was introduced]. Now, gang warfare has not left [place name removed], but we haven't got it here.

(CO, Interview)

This was also the case for schools which had already been the focus of investment and police action. It was argued by this CO that investing in a CO was more likely to bring dividends than other types of investment.

When I first went there, we had young people committing 150 crimes, known for 150 crimes and they were continuing to do that despite all of the support being put into them. But since I've went there, been able to pull on other resources or scale things up, but identify early, [...] we have no recidivous [sic] pupils committing crimes now. We have no hugely violent young people.

(CO, Interview)

This type of preventative spending was highlighted by a number of interviewees. As well as the deterrent effect provided by simply having a police presence in the school and local community,

the effect of restorative justice efforts by COs where crimes had been committed was also highlighted. By dealing with these issues or antisocial tendencies at an earlier stage and not allowing them to escalate (which they may have done in the absence of a restorative justice intervention), it was widely claimed that it was possible to prevent the need for significant resources to be expended by other agencies as well (e.g. social services).

Simple as that [...] It saves policing, saves the community and in the school... Well, it makes it [a] heck of [a lot] calmer.

(CO, Interview)

One CO also referred to a positive evaluation of the CO's presence during their review of the school. Any future studies of the CO programme may wish to consider the content of these reports with a view to obtaining further feedback on the programme.

A small number of additional tangible benefits was mentioned. These were the aforementioned impact of COs on the number of applicants to join the police; and, in some cases, the ability of the CO to act as a fundraiser, effectively offsetting the cost of any additional extracurricular activities. However, it should be noted that this will be specific to certain COs, and is unlikely to be the norm across all COs (nor should it necessarily be expected as part of the role).

9.2. Intangible Outcomes.

A number of intangible benefits or outcomes were also identified. Of these, the most frequently mentioned was a change in perceptions of the police. This manifested itself in a number of different ways, including the aforementioned rise in interest in applying for the police force or doing work experience with them. However, a number of COs also identified an increasing trust and confidence among children and young people for the police. Whilst this is not in any way quantifiable using the evidence we have, it was nonetheless stressed by a number of COs as being a very positive outcome of the CO programme. This change in attitudes is probably best demonstrated through an increase in openness on the part of young people either to learning more about the police, or even applying to join the police. One CO, discussing the involvement of some of their pupils in police work experience, explained:

[For] three or four years in a row, I take them to Tulliallan [the Police College] [...] [I] take them maybe to Jackton (the Force training centre), to traffic, down to identification bureau and they set up a wee crime scene for them and they're all dusting for fingerprints and taking photos and stuff [...] This year I've been working with the careers guy and he says: "well, the other schools are all wanting it as well!" But it was very interesting, 'cause there was about 15 kids from here, yet the other schools maybe only had three or four.

(CO, Interview)

However, the best intangible evidence of the benefits or impacts of the CO programme was found when discussing alternatives to the programme, or when considering how things might be if the CO programme were to be scrapped.

It was widely argued that there was no real alternative to the CO programme. No other single individual was seen as being capable of acting so effectively as a 'hub' for so many other services. Additionally, many of the COs we spoke to explained that without their presence, there would be nobody within many of these schools who could deal adequately with the problems they faced, or who could respond as quickly as a CO was able to. This was clearly exemplified when a representative of one of the schools involved in the CO programme commented on a recent incident:

Last week, you [i.e. the CO] were away on Thursday when there was an incident with phones [...] [name removed] said: "gosh, I just wish [CO's name removed] had been here" 'cause it would've been dealt with there and then [...] It sounds terrible, [but] you get used to a resource that you have.

(School Representative, Interview)

It is perhaps fitting that the final word in our analysis should go to one of the schools which best typifies many of the issues discussed in this report. This was a school which was initially sceptical with regard to the value of participating in the CO programme. It had previously suffered serious issues with gang-related violence. Their CO had been given virtually no preparation for the role but went on to engage in considerable fundraising efforts in order to fund a wide range of extracurricular activities. However, shortly after we spoke with them, the school learned that their CO was effectively being recalled to 'normal' police duties. The statement made by the Head

teacher in the school newsletter upon learning of this is a far stronger and more direct testimonial than we can hope to offer.

At the start I certainly had serious doubts about having a campus police officer. What would the parents say? How would this affect their attitude to the school? Would they send their children elsewhere? Would they think that our corridors are running with blood? I am just so glad that I decided to give the idea a go because it has been a huge success in every way.

(School Representative, Interview)

10. FINDINGS

While there is a lack of clarity surrounding the role of the Campus Officer – which is of concern to some officers when they are first appointed – those officers who have filled this role for some time are quite clear that flexibility is the key to success. Length of tenure in community policing and within the community in which the schools they are appointed to are located is found to be a considerable support in establishing the CO role. The confidence of the CO on entering the school and establishing their role appears to be a key attribute. The COs identify more dialogue between the receiving schools and themselves prior to taking up their position as something that should be considered. This would go some way to establishing what they can and can't do in their role and help to overcome the disparity between the school's aspirations and the reality of what the CO can deliver. There is consensus amongst the officers that school discipline is not their remit. They may well have an impact on discipline and attendance by being in the school but that is an added value the role brings, not one of their core duties. The role of the CO is to engage, primarily with the young people, educate where appropriate in class or extra-curricular activities, and liaise with education and other statutory services where necessary with an aim to prevent young people from becoming involved in/divert them away from criminal activities.

There is a huge range of activities and input that our COs¹⁷ were involved in, which included anything from football coaching, netball coaching, holiday clubs, youth groups and organising trips to football matches in England and abroad to, for example, providing drug awareness talks to pupils and working collaboratively with other voluntary/third sector organisations focusing on

¹⁷ While some of these activities were undertaken by the Campus Officers in the course of their daily work on a discretionary basis, a number of them were also provided for the school pupils by the officers in their own time on a voluntary basis.

young people. Furthermore, a large number of COs indicated that their role also incorporated a very strong element of pastoral care and, in a smaller number of cases, restorative justice.

The importance of 'getting the correct person' for the role of CO is also identified as paramount to the success of the job - personality, communication skills and patience are all too important. What our research shows is that there are examples of good practice and a perception amongst the COs that they are having a positive impact for young people, schools and communities, but that there is little or no statistical evidence to support their work. Consequently, we would support their calls for some sharing of information between the police and schools on issues such as exclusion rates, attendance rates, and calls to the police from the schools and local communities, prior to and post appointment. One emerging concern from a few of the officers is that following the success they have had in reducing ASB in and around their schools, they have been removed from these schools and they caution that this may not be a prudent move. Their concern is that any sustained reduction in ASB was dependent upon their role, and they report anecdotal comments which suggest that the stability they brought may be being undermined.

Black *et al* (2010) was informative and made a valuable contribution to the literature. However, the voice of the Campus officer and indeed the voices of the myriad of stakeholders were somewhat muted. The following themes emerged from our study and are worthy of further exploration. These themes include: policing intelligently; joined up policing; community relationships; proactivity versus reactivity; boundaries; training issues (shadowing); supervision issues; humour; enthusiasm; managing expectations; respect; disrespect; action and interaction; fundraising; telling stories; the paradox of undisciplined discipline; flexibility; tensions; socialisation and resocialisation; extra-curricular activities; spaciality; Facebook and social media. The action orientated pedagogy of Campus Officers as a self-authored role is also a theme. There is a developing 'model' and developing a 'skills register' and 'a policing map of cognate organisations' would be feasible.

11. TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Having conducted the above research and examined the past and the present, it is now incumbent upon us to consider the future. As identified above, the Scottish Police Service is in a period of transition. As the single Scottish Force develops in this continuing age of austerity, we appreciate

that there will be pressure to continue to develop lean models of policing. However, we argue that it would be a mistake to cut funding and resources in relation to the work of Campus Officers. The ideology and ethos of the Scottish Campus Officer during the period from circa 2002 to the present has undoubtedly influenced the perceptions of two generations of school children towards the Police. Despite the suggestion by Hopkins *et al* (1992) that, as a general rule, school children do not view school-based police officers as being real police officers, the work carried out by our respondents is very real policing. Indeed, we argue that the numbers of Campus Officers should be expanded to cover every school in Scotland.

To us, the value added by the Campus Officers we interviewed was that they were unique individuals working within a wider system of community policing. The qualities they possess are enterprising in nature. They are self-directed autonomous learners, deeply pragmatic, inspirational, innovative, creative and entrepreneurial employees. Individually, each Campus Officer gives of their self and importantly, communicates effectively with different audiences within two very different social systems (the Police and the education system). In doing so, they build bridges between the two and, more importantly, between the two systems and the local community. As individuals, each Campus Officer builds unique levels of community social capital.¹⁸ The Campus Officers are trusted by the school staff, the pupils and their parents or carers. These qualities are vital in that they are essential to the performance of their roles as Campus Officers. This is because each Campus Officer develops a unique *modus vivendi*¹⁹ between self and the community. Although there are commonalities and patterns to what they do as a collective body, it cannot be distilled down to an essence or written up as a universally applicable practice. It works for them but may not work for others in the same situation. It could be described as authentic community leadership.

This notion of the Campus Officer acting as a type of 'social entrepreneur' is worthy of further study. The sociologist and criminologist Professor Dick Hobbs was one of the first academics to pioneer the notions of criminal entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial policing (Hobbs, 1986;

¹⁸ The notion of social capital (Putnam, 1968) is of interest here because the Campus Officers build their own cache of social capital which they can use as currency within the school and wider community when it is required. Putnam and others developed the concept of social capital to refer to forms of capital other than financial which people can accumulate as a result of their actions. Human capital refers to the individual skills/qualifications one develops or gains, whilst social capital relates to the attributes of personal qualities and how these are used to communicate trust and respect.

¹⁹ A *modus vivendi* is the unique and differentiated manner in which an individual communicates and behaves towards others dependent upon their relationship and status in respect of each other (Smith, 2009).

Hobbs, 1991; Smith, 2008). In his seminal study of the work of detectives in the East End of London, Hobbs explored their working practices in relation to criminal elements of the working classes. He likened the detectives to entrepreneurs in that the entrepreneurial detective traded in information whilst the more traditional entrepreneur traded in commodities. Hobbs later developed this idea further with the sociologist Gerard Mars (Mars, 2000, in Canter and Allison, 2000: 45) arguing that detectives were entrepreneurial whilst other types of police officers such as Crime Prevention Officers were not. We argue that this is not a universally given proposition and that the Campus Officers we interviewed are indeed entrepreneurial or intrapreneurial in nature. This has implications in relation to how they are selected and trained. Another, concept of interest to this study is the notion of the Campus Officer operating as a 'Community Animateur' in that they animate others to change their behaviours to the benefit of the wider community.

12. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Although our findings are tentative and based on a small sample of interviews, we nevertheless believe that our study has added an important dimension to the literature. We believe that we have introduced the voice of the Scottish Campus Officer to the growing debate. Our research challenges the claims of Hopkins *et al* (1992) who argued that the influence of SLO is minimal over time because children can differentiate between the liberal attitudes of Campus Officers and the tough attitude of street cops. Also, we found little evidence that the young people regarded the COs in this case study as being atypical: indeed, the Strathclyde Campus Officers are more typical of street officers and thus according to Hopkins (1994) they are less likely to be discriminated against by pupils as being somehow qualitatively "other".

12.1 Further Research.

We argue that there is a need for further sponsored studies into the wider Campus Officer phenomenon. In particular we identify a need for:-

- A mapping study to identify, locate and document the importance and value of the Campus Officer in relation to other 'Community Policing and Early Intervention Roles' as well as other youth related services, the VRU, the SCDEA and other initiatives both public and third sector.
- A study relating to other stakeholders such as Education Authorities, Head Teachers, School Guidance Officers etc to gather their views and opinions;

- A study from the perspective of the children and the communities;
- A study of all the areas in Scotland to capture best practice;
- A detailed documentary study of HMI school reports in which there are Campus Officers so we could comment on perceived progress by making comparisons between schools with Campus Officers and those without.

This would entail a collaborative effort and a more open research access culture with the Single Police Service of Scotland.²⁰

12.2 Developing the practice note concept.

We aim to develop further practice notes in due course to highlight particular examples of how Campus Officers nuance their policing practice to meet the needs of their schools, pupils and the local community. We would also like to take the opportunity to advocate the development of the practice note concept within the new Scottish Police Service. This need not be an overly academic endeavour. We are heartened by the recent release of the VRU Practice Note on domestic violence. We envisage that police officers could author their own practice notes by recording their experience on a Dictaphone (or other recording device) to capture their experiences in their own words before utilising the practice note template. This concept of the police officer as researcher would allow a vast amount of unwritten knowledge and practice to emerge quickly and for this to form the basis of best practice in related fields of community policing.

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²⁰ We stress this because each individual Police Force had its own research access policy and some (like Grampian) even had its own Research Unit. Each had different policies and agendas. Combined research projects need not be expensive nor prohibitive if a partnership approach is adopted.

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