

Volunteer Street Patrols: An Ethnographic Study of Three
Manchester Volunteer Street Patrols and their Role in
Community Safety and the Policing Family

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Dedicated to all the volunteers who walk around the streets of our towns and cities helping those who find themselves in a bit of bother.

Abstract

The aim of this ethnographic research is to explore the actions, contribution, motivations and relationships of volunteer street patrols in the urban environment. The study followed three independent and diverse volunteer street patrol groups, located in the city of Manchester, UK, during their routine weekend evening patrols around the city. The research is set in a time when policing and the criminal justice system is under pressure following an extended period of austerity and cuts. As such, the voluntary sector has an ever-increasing role to play in supporting and substituting the state. The volunteers in this research are considered from the perspective of responsabilised citizenry, where the continual processes of empowerment and participation feature in their motivations to help others.

The research uses participant observation over a twelve-month period to explore the actions of the volunteers whilst on patrol in the city. Semi-structured interviews complement the observations and provide rich information on what motivates volunteers to participate. Their relationships with each other and with the local police, ambulance service and other stakeholders in the city are considered. They provide an insight into the stories, opinions and experiences of the volunteers.

The findings demonstrate how the presence of volunteers allows them to act as a guardian on the city's streets, reducing opportunities for anti-social behaviour, harm and vulnerability. The actions of volunteers centre around reassurance, care, well-being and support. Their motivations show a collective efficacy and continual willingness to act to address the city's problems, which the volunteers have an increased awareness of and a strong desire to address. While their independence remains key, accountability and legitimacy in their relationships with others form a local governance structure that must be maintained, managed and developed.

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Chapter 1: The Research and the City at Night

Thesis Introduction

Manchester is a vibrant and growing urban city that has several hundred voluntary organisations operating within its city centre boundaries. Three of these voluntary organisations are the focus of this research, the volunteer street patrols that operate within the city at night. This chapter sets the scene of this vibrancy and offers an insight into the environment in which the voluntary action takes place. It outlines the aims of the research and the theoretical and methodological contribution that the work offers. An overview of the chapters is also presented. To begin, the place where the voluntary action takes place, Manchester, is explored.

Manchester at Night

The city of Manchester in the Northwest of England is where this research takes place. The famous words of Tony Wilson (1950-2007), the founder of the Hacienda nightclub in the city, suggests that Manchester is a place where things are done differently. As such, it is relevant to contextualise the research by considering what makes Manchester, Manchester. The city has an estimated population of around 541,000 in 2016 (Manchester City Council 2018) and is argued by many as the UK's second city. In terms of social deprivation, the region of Greater Manchester has 40% of its neighbourhoods identified as in the most deprived 10 per cent of neighbourhoods nationally on the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2015 (Department for Communities and Local Government 2015). In terms of economic growth, the city is argued as the centre of the Northern Powerhouse, witnessing several billions of pounds of investment over the next decade (HM Government 2016). Figures for 2017 suggest that gross value added, employment and economic contributions have been on an upward trajectory for several years and continues to grow (Manchester City Council 2018).

Culturally, Manchester is a city of firsts. From the first Industrial Revolution, the first artificial waterway independent of natural rivers - the Bridgewater Canal in 1761, to the first gas street lighting in 1805, Manchester became the best British city to live in based on achieving 46th place out of 160 internationally in the Global Liveability Survey (Manchester City Council 2018); Manchester has a long history of innovations, industry and economy. It is also well

known for its culture with famous Mancunians suggesting “*Manchester’s got everything except a beach*” (Ian Brown 1984, Lead Singer – Stone Roses), to the view that Manchester is a city that thinks a table is for dancing on, often attributed to Mark Radcliffe the BBC Broadcaster. Manchester can be vibrant, exciting and hedonistic. With two international football clubs, an international airport and a thriving music, entertainment and recreational scene, the city is a playground for those seeking a booming nightlife. This nightlife can be described as offering “opportunities for the transgressions of social norms that are taken for granted during the daytime. Night is the time to try to be something the daytime may not let you be” (van Liempt 2015:487). Manchester is no exception. It is the nightlife and the volunteers that work within it that are the focus of this research.

The night-time economy (NTE hereafter) in the city of Manchester provides a significant contribution to the region in terms of revenue, employment and capital. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority recently appointed its first ever NTE advisor, a role that is dedicated to developing and diversifying Greater Manchester’s night-time offering (GMCA 2018). This is reminiscent of research that suggests the NTE in the UK’s major cities, including Manchester, often provides vast opportunities for growth (van Liempt *et al* 2015). With the renewed focus directed towards the city, the regulation and control of it comes into question.

Hadfield *et al* (2009) inform us that nightlife zones are often contested spaces, in which the different emotions, perspectives and desires of diverse populations play out. This is combined with the increasing need for regulation and safety to address the growing alcohol fuelled consumption that we find in the cities across the country (Hadfield 2006; Hough and Hunter 2008). British cities find themselves addressing the need to promote civility whilst tackling anti-social and criminal behaviour (Crawford and Flint 2009). Faced with new challenges around intoxication from alcohol, illegal drugs and highs, regulation of the night-time space sees the challenge of governance subject to a new set of desires (Measham and Brain 2005).

The need for safety and regulation of this space provides the opportunity for the focus of this research. As Hadfield *et al* (2009) inform us, a plethora of private security and situational

crime preventions methods are found amongst the more traditional methods of reactive policing. The new era of night-time governance provides the arena in which the volunteer street patrols are found. As part of a wider pluralised policing framework, explored in this research, volunteers walk the streets of the city to help those in need. Often cited as 'soft' policing examples (Innes 2005; van Liempt *et al* 2015), the volunteer street patrols provide care and support to the consumers of the night, ultimately adding to and enhancing the well-being of those in the city at night (Middleton and Yarwood 2015). Accordingly, the following section of this chapter provides the aims of the research.

Research Aims

This thesis aims to explore the contribution, actions, motivations and relationships of volunteer street patrols in Manchester. In doing so it considers how volunteering is evidenced in the wider framework of criminal justice, community safety and policing. It uses the responsabilisation thesis by Garland (2001) as a means of exploring the climate surrounding the participation of volunteers in criminal justice. The research provides a timely exploration of one example of volunteering, the volunteer street patrol. Due to the nature of voluntary action in criminal justice and community safety, and the type of volunteering that is a street patrol, this research traverses and embraces several criminological perspectives. These include responsabilisation, empowerment, governance, austerity, collective efficacy, guardianship, volunteer motivations, policing the night time economy, plural policing and the role of volunteers in policing. The focus remains to offer further insight into this form of voluntary activity and highlight the experiences and perspectives of those that volunteer (Bullock 2014).

Volunteer Street Patrols

Bullock (2014) suggests the collective effort of volunteers sees a group of people coming together, usually for a common cause, to walk or patrol the streets within a city or neighbourhood. For this research this is the volunteer street patrols. A commonly associated image, known internationally, is the US Guardian Angels, known for their crime fighting, people protecting and at times vigilante movement on the streets of New York and other US cities (Pennell *et al* 1985; Yin *et al* 1977). In the UK, we often associate the idea of a street

patrol with the image of the Street Pastors who hand out flip-flops to drunk people on a night out. As representatives of the church, these volunteers share their faith in a supportive role to people in towns and cities throughout the UK (Ascension Trust 2017). The concept, however, is more comprehensive than our initial understanding in terms of a definition and the contribution and function of the groups.

Defining a volunteer street patrol and identifying the scope of their work is challenging. Bullock (2014), in her summary of citizens and community crime control, offers an overview of the literature around 'citizen patrols'. She states that to date, no official definition of a citizen patrol exists, possibly due to the diverse nature of the groups and the activities they are involved with. The work of Yin *et al* (1977) summarises that the definition of a citizen patrol comprises of interventions delivered by citizens or residents, usually safety or crime prevention based, within a residential community. The US example of the Guardian Angels who are described as offering "the potential of a positive force against disorder and crime in areas most in need" (Pennell *et al* 1985:1) appears to be a common reference and potential place to start. Accordingly, policing, community safety and volunteering are the three central focuses in this work and are considered next.

Policing, Community Safety and Volunteering

As volunteers who support the police, volunteer street patrols have recently found themselves situated under the citizens in policing umbrella and part of the citizens in policing framework (College of Policing 2017). They are classified as volunteers who are "partnered and supported by the police" (ibid). "The citizens' role in policing continues to be as vital today as it was in the creation of the Peelian principles on which the police service was founded" (College of Policing 2017). The current economic climate is one of the key drivers of this research. Stemming from a reduction in local policing witnessed in the city centre of Manchester (Greater Manchester Police 2016), the period of austerity the UK has witnessed has left public and emergency services under financial constraint and increased pressure (Lumsden and Black 2017; Millie and Bullock 2013). This research is based on a desire to explore the challenges this climate of austerity and cuts to policing and public services has presented, and to consider who replaces or supports the police during challenging times. In

thinking about the challenges to the voluntary sector and the police, it also highlights the opportunities. Millie and Bullock (2013) set the scene by suggesting the police are now operating in difficult and challenging times which places significant strain on resources, budgets and services. A 20% drop in funding between 2011-2015, which resulted in losses of around 37000 police officer and staff jobs has recently been witnessed (Lumsden and Black 2017; Millie and Bullock 2013). However, they are also operating in a time where opportunities exist to change and develop, and there is now a chance to innovate (Millie and Bullock 2013).

A greater understanding of the role of the voluntary sector in policing, the wider voluntary criminal justice system and of the volunteers themselves that choose to participate in this area of volunteering is needed (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). Whilst it may have been appropriate to consider looking at police volunteers such as the Special Constabulary or Police Service Volunteers, volunteer street patrols have been chosen to demonstrate the wider examples of active, responsabilised or voluntary action commonly found within the emergency services, especially within policing (Bullock 2014; Corcoran *et al* 2018; Johnston 1992; Millie and Bullock 2013). Despite the current position of the volunteer street patrols being situated in policing, literature suggests the focus of their work centres around offering care and support to those in need (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). Therefore, this research considers the position of the volunteer patrols in connection to formal policing by exploring their position within the wider community safety framework. Accordingly, several theoretical perspectives are utilised in this process.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this research begins by situating the volunteers under the responsabilisation thesis. Johnston suggests there is a “desire not to mobilise just ‘any old citizens’ but ‘responsible’ ones” (Johnston 1993:784). Volunteer street patrols are argued as examples of active and responsabilised citizenry that have been enabled and empowered by successive political discourses and social challenges (Garland 1996, 2001). The reduction in policing, particularly community and reassurance policing, has created a gap that the voluntary sector has been encouraged to try to fill (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). An

increasing awareness and acceptance of the self-burden of protection has led to participation from the responsabilised citizen (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Accordingly, this has led to a change in the relationship between the individual and the state. Volunteer street patrols remain an example of how the voluntary sector has stepped into the area of policing to support those that may need help on the streets.

To explore this relationship, volunteers are considered through the lens of guardianship and Guardianship in Action, GIA hereafter (Reynald 2009, 2010). Taking its foundations from routine activities theory (Cohen and Felson 1979), the GIA model sees potential guardians as available, capable and willing to address crime, anti-social behaviour and disorder. This research applies this model to the Manchester street patrols as a way of considering how their actions contribute towards community safety. In doing so, the motivations of the volunteers are highlighted as key to understanding the willingness to act for the common good. Evidence of collective efficacy between volunteers in Manchester is explored as a means of investigating volunteering in an urban environment as opposed to a residential based setting (Morenoff *et al* 2001; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997).

As noted, little is known about why people participate in a street patrol and who they work with when they do (Bullock 2014). Accordingly, the theoretical framework utilises and extends Rochester *et al* (2010) volunteer paradigms (altruism, civil society, serious leisure) to include a reflexive paradigm, exploring motivations based around self-development, particularly for volunteering in criminal justice. In exploring who the volunteers work with, the bonding and bridging social capital that exists between and within each volunteer group and those they work with, is considered (Putnam 2000). Key stakeholders in this relationship feature those in the community safety arena and include the police, the ambulance service, taxi staff, door security employees and others from local offices of accountability.

Methodological Framework

This ethnographic study charts the life of three volunteer groups over the course of a year in the city centre of Manchester. A qualitative study has been developed utilising participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Qualitative research has allowed for the experiences and opinions of volunteers from the three street patrol groups to be captured.

Walking and talking with the volunteers and those they interact with provides a rich account of this form of volunteering and life in the city at night. In addition to the use of participant observation, several semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders were carried out with those who worked with the volunteers, including the police, the ambulance service, taxi marshals, door staff and several other key figures in the city.

The research is informed from a personal interest surrounding the work of the voluntary sector in policing and community safety, which stems from the researchers own previous background as a police officer. A reflexive approach is taken towards access, ethical considerations and the role of the researcher. Identifying as an insider outsider (Brown 1996), my positionality has informed the research design. To capture the rich stories of the volunteers, data analysis uses a narrative grounded theory and thematic analysis exploring key themes related to this voluntary action.

Research Participants: Manchester Street Patrols

In Manchester, there are three distinct volunteer organisations operating within the city centre at night. These are the Manchester Street Angels, Manchester Village Angels and the Manchester Street Pastors. Each of these groups is classed as a street patrol and offers support to those in need in distinct ways. Existing literature commonly identifies two types of street or citizen patrol, the Street Pastors and the Street Angels (Bullock 2014). This research includes a third independent group, the Village Angels. All three of the groups operate within designated areas of the city on a Friday and or Saturday night and early hours of the morning, each being defined below.

The Christian Nightlife Initiative (CNI), who are the regulating organisation for the Manchester Street Angels (MSA hereafter), suggest the purpose for their volunteers is:

“To promote the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the inhabitants of localities across the UK and the world.” (Christian Nightlife Initiative 2017)

Similarly, the Ascension Trust, the regulatory body that oversees the Street Pastor movement across the UK, describes the role as:

“Street Pastors engage with people on the streets to care for them, listen to them and help them. They work together with other partners in the night-time economy to make communities safer.” (Ascension Trust 2017)

The final organisation positions itself slightly differently than the Street Pastors and Street Angels, as it was established to address issues connected to the gay village of Manchester. Part of the LGBT Foundation (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans), which is a registered charity, the Village Angels offer a general definition to encompass the work they undertake:

“The work of the Village Angels is incredibly diverse and never the same two nights in a row. At times, the Village Angels will act as a mobile tourist information bureau, offering directions and information to people who have come out to enjoy the LGBT space. The Angels will also respond to serious incidents. These range from helping people to report crimes to responding to mental health crises and helping people who are alone and vulnerable to get home safely. The Village Angels will often be the first people on the scene when serious medical incidents occur in the Village and will provide basic first aid and manage the incident until paramedics arrive.” (LGBT Foundation 2019)

These local definitions are similar to those of the limited generalisations made around volunteer street patrols. Importantly for this research, key words that feature throughout the specific groups’ literature, aims and missions include safety, well-being and care.

Contribution to Knowledge

Looking at the volunteer street patrols in Manchester through the responsabilisation lens, this research adds to the growing literature base and the increasing understanding of the role of the voluntary sector and the criminal justice system in times of austerity. Despite the challenges of a tough economic climate affecting policing and requiring the wider responsabilisation of the citizenry, exploring volunteer street patrols allows this research to address the potential benefits and challenges that exist to policing, community safety and the voluntary sector alike (NPIA 2010). A further contribution comes in the form of an increased understanding around volunteer street patrols and their overall contribution to community safety, their motivations for volunteering and the relationships they have with others (Bullock 2014). Contributions are also made towards the theoretical model of Guardianship in Action and the motivations for volunteering in community safety. An outline of how the thesis is organised is provided next.

Thesis Overview

The principle aim of this work is to tell the story of the volunteers who participate in a street patrol by exploring the motivations of the volunteers, their actions on the street and ultimately the contribution they make towards community safety and policing. The relationships they hold with others who work and volunteer within the city form part of this and are also considered. As such the thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 This first chapter covers the aims and contributions of this research. It provides a detailed context for the research that considers the city of Manchester and the need for safety and policing within the night-time economy. It includes a brief introduction to the research, the research participants and the research setting.

Chapter 2 is the first of two literature chapters presenting the political, social and theoretical considerations of this research. It begins by considering responsabilisation and its place in contemporary crime control and community safety (Garland 2001). This is achieved by exploring the wider issues facing the voluntary sector and volunteers such as empowerment and the role of the citizen in social control and community safety. The theoretical framework for this research sees the volunteer street patrols being considered through several perspectives. The action of volunteers is explored as a means of Guardianship in Action (Cohen and Felson 1979; Reynald 2009, 2010). The relationship they have with others is addressed through Putnam's Social Capital thesis (1993, 1995, 2000). The willingness to collectively volunteer is considered from several perspectives including collective efficacy (Morenoff *et al* 2001; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997).

Chapter 3 is the second literature chapter exploring the role of the voluntary sector in the community safety and policing environment. This chapter outlines the position of the responsabilised citizen. Responsibilisation ideals offer the contextual basis for exploring voluntary action within policing and community safety and as such the chapter charts some of the historical and contemporary advances. A focus on the historic and current challenges that face volunteers, the voluntary sector and volunteers in the criminal justice system and policing is explored. The chapter concludes with a review of the current literature around volunteer street patrols.

Chapter 4 the methodological chapter explores some of the key challenges I faced when carrying out this piece of ethnographic research. In this chapter I locate myself as the researcher, a position central to the processes and outcomes. It begins by outlining the rationale and aims of the research before moving on to describing the methodological challenges an ethnographic research project can encounter. A detailed account of the methods chosen for this study is offered around participant selection and observation, and semi-structured interviews that were utilised. The data was analysed using a narrative grounded theory and thematic analysis whereby key themes are reported. Ethical issues considered in this research are also found here.

Chapter 5 is the first of the findings chapters and presents the data connected with the contributions and actions of volunteer street patrols. The chapter begins by exploring the role of the volunteers before moving towards key aspects of their actions such as their presence and their reassurance function. It explores acts of intervention the volunteers engage in whilst addressing issues including befriending, vulnerability and harm prevention.

Chapter 6 is the second findings chapter dedicated to the motivations of the volunteers. This chapter presents the data on why volunteers have chosen to volunteer in a street patrol and what it means for them to do so. The altruistic, self-expressional and reflexive motivations for volunteering are explored along with considering the volunteers as responsabilised citizens. The links volunteers have with Manchester are considered in this chapter under their attachment and attraction to the city.

Chapter 7 the last of the findings chapters focuses on the relationships the volunteers have between themselves and with others in the night-time economy within the city. It explores the relationship with the police and the associations that arise from this regarding the citizens in policing ideals. Relationships with the local ambulance service, taxi marshals and door staff are also considered before looking at how volunteers work with each other in partnership. This chapter considers several of the outcomes of volunteering in community safety including accountability and legitimacy.

Chapter 8 is where the different strands of the research are brought together and discussed. The key themes are presented and ordered under three central strands which are walking

the street, responsabilisation and governance. These have emerged from this ethnographic study of the Manchester street patrols.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter outlining the contribution the work has offered. It is here where I summarise and return to the aims of the research and present the theoretical and methodological contributions this work makes. I also demonstrate the contribution to knowledge this research offers. Several recommendations are included in this chapter based on spending a year walking and talking with the three volunteer street patrols.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework- Rediscovering the Citizen

“There is an explicit need to re-think the problem of crime and the strategies for managing it” (Garland 1996:447)

Chapter Introduction

This chapter is the first of two literature reviews and explores the theoretical perspectives influencing volunteering in the criminal justice system. The responsabilisation strategy by Garland is utilised to provide a framework to explore some of the key drivers of change affecting volunteers and their role in the delivery of safety, namely volunteer street patrols. The changing political context of citizen participation and empowerment in community safety and crime sets the scene to what Garland suggests is a need to rethink the problem of crime and its associations. He proposes that in rethinking crime, the strategies for how it is controlled or managed come under examination (Garland 1996, 2001). Accordingly, the chapter begins by exploring recent political climates alongside some of the grand sociological narratives and ideals of responsabilisation. The purpose of this section is to consider how the individual sits within the responsabilisation strategy and what this may mean in terms of an increased role for the community and the individual.

The second section of the chapter explores the position and the role of the community. The appeal and the idea of the community for wider participation in the control of crime and community safety are presented. The community is viewed as a place that rationalises, organises and delivers agendas relating to participation and the involvement of the individual. Collective forms of control are discussed here using the theoretical ideas of guardianship and collective efficacy for community action.

Participation forms the chapter's next section, as the individual's role and actions towards community safety are central to this research. The focus centres around the political discourses that aim to empower communities and individuals to participate and have charted the place of the citizen within the civil society and community safety arenas. Participation by the individual is represented and explored through the lens of social capital.

Finally, the discourses around control and safety from the community safety perspective are considered. The nature of volunteer street patrols sees them working as examples of informal social control. Moving from more traditional methods of crime prevention delivered by the state, community safety initiatives and policy see individuals and communities being encouraged to participate alongside traditional criminal justice agencies. Accordingly, this section addresses the challenges and boundaries of informal social control. To begin, Garland's views on the need to rethink crime is considered by exploring the empowerment of the individual or volunteer within the political context.

Political Context

Taking Garland's ideas around rethinking crime highlights a need to explore the relationship the voluntary sector and the individual has with the state, or more specifically the state's political ideals around community safety (Garland 2001). As such, the following section considers the key changes and challenges that exist around the empowerment of the individual and their role in community safety. The challenges the traditional criminal justice system has witnessed have led to times of difficulty whilst also offering opportunities for new, innovative ways to manage crime. These are typically through partnerships with the civil society and private providers (Millie and Bullock 2013; Shearing 2001). These challenges are evident in both policing and the voluntary sector. Corcoran *et al* summarises this change to the role of the voluntary sector by arguing the political discourses over time have led to the voluntary sector slowly forming a "shadow penal state" (Corcoran *et al* 2018:187). Accordingly, the political context of how the individual and the community became empowered to be involved is explored.

Three central themes run through the political discourses of the last several decades setting the scene for wider involvement of the citizen and community in the control of crime and delivery of safety. The state is one of many agencies holding an interest and responsibility for delivering crime control and community safety, through policing and crime prevention apparatus (Bullock 2014; Crawford 2009; Hughes 1998, 2007). Crawford informs us that firstly, the formal institutions of crime control and prevention, when working in isolation, are becoming more limited in terms of their ability to adequately control, reduce and prevent

crime. Secondly, the political landscape is moving towards one that wishes to explore alternative ways of governing crime reducing the economic, social and human costs associated to more traditional methods. Finally, the change to traditional bonds of informal social control that exist within families, communities and voluntary organisations are starting to show a decline and a fragmentation towards the social ties that once existed (Crawford 2009). These key developments highlight that changes in social conditions, including individualisation and crime being regarded as a normal social fact, are becoming common place against a changing political, social and policing landscape that sees greater responsabilisation of the citizen (Garland 2001). Ultimately this social and cultural change within society has led to the politicisation of crime and disorder and the increasing reduction of the state's provision of community safety. Crawford suggests this change as "a tale of institutional reconfiguration within and between policy domains and among relations between (and responsibilities of) the state, market and citizenry" (Crawford 2009:3). It is here we see an increasing role for the voluntary sector. This change becomes the focus due to its importance in charting the development of the citizen.

Neoliberal governance has witnessed successive governments wrestle with the privatisation of key criminal justice services whilst refocusing the role of the community and the individual (Clarke and Newman 1997; Plant *et al* 2009). This has resulted in a constantly changing role for the citizen. Key questions concerning police and criminal justice effectiveness and challenges to the rehabilitation aspect of prisons were factors that led to a decline in confidence around the capability of the state to manage crime (Garland 1996). The role of the citizen was affected by the government of the day's political agenda, a desire to marketise security and policing, and the need to acknowledge the extent to which society and culture was changing (Hughes 2007).

Neoliberal governance under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government (1979-1990) and then John Major (1990-1997) saw policing services opened up to commercial and civic sectors through policies including civilianisation, the introduction of privately-run prisons and the opening up of probation work to the private sector against a political crisis of concerns over crime control, an increasing prison population and a changing or rolling back of the state (Corcoran *et al* 2018; Hughes 2007). The dominant performance management

culture saw the system of governance towards the criminal justice system become more directed to private market principles and cost effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of services (Jones *et al* 1994). The wider promotion of the commercial sector in the fight against crime saw changes to how crime and social problems were managed (Clamp and Paterson 2017). The impact of marketisation from the 1980's onwards witnessed an 'alternative governmentality' (*ibid*). For the voluntary sector Corcoran *et al* (2018) inform us this meant wider examples of the sector being incorporated into the shadow penal state. For policing, public concern of crime rates lead to reactive governmental responses in terms of tough policing initiatives including zero tolerance approaches; and increased stricter penal interventions focused on the management of risk, rather than community involved and focused reactions, ultimately aimed to encourage and secure wider public support to address the challenging issue of crime (Joyce 2011; Young and Matthews 2003). For the voluntary sector, an increase in involvement with the state and the delivery of public services became evident (Alcock 2010; Corcoran *et al* 2018; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). Alongside this, an increased fear of crime was witnessed, despite steadily decreasing crime rates noted towards the end of the 1990's (Clamp 2010).

Changes under New Labour (1997-2010) saw the development and wider involvement of the citizen in terms of community crime prevention, and an attempt to govern through communities with the promotion of active citizenship and a focus on community cohesion based on the previous government's citizen charter (Hirst 2000). The managerialism culture of New Labour's 'new localism' led to an increase in central governance of public services that focused on performance, measurement, evaluation and improvement (Hughes 2007; McLaughlin 2006; McLaughlin and Murji 2001). This was alongside an increase in the range of agencies, partners and local groups that appeared under the multi-agency working ideal (Crawford 1998). Under New Labour, a centralised control model was very much evident, with limited authority being given to local actors suggesting participation from the community was needed (Hughes 2007; Joyce 2011; Maguire 2004). For the individual and the voluntary sector, New Labour regarded their potential contribution and involvement as "the missing link in a mixed welfare landscape which, alongside commercial providers, could invigorate contestability in public services" (Corcoran *et al* 2018:189). In terms of formal

control, or the police, it was the involvement of the individual that distinguished the more traditional approach of community policing from the neighbourhood policing approach and the National Reassurance Policing Programme witnessed under New Labour (Bullock 2014; Innes 2004).

The coalition government and current Conservative government (2010 onwards) introduced a focused local agenda in the form of the Big Society and local accountability and governance in the form of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) (Joyce 2011). This significant constitutional move from the “central to the local and the professional to the representative, offers a significant change in the governance of community safety” (Brain 2013:109). Much of the involvement until 2012, from a community perspective, was evidenced in the political discourse and concept of the Big Society, which ideologically offered a new kind of community volunteerism (Loveday 2013). Davies informs us “this individual point of accountability was attractive to Conservatives as it chimes with a responsabilisation philosophy, in which clear responsibility for crime reduction can be taken (and consequently relinquished by the state)” (Davies 2014:9). Currently, the policy surrounding citizen empowerment is lacking. The limited Civil Society Strategy (2018) offers a general summary of the current governments plans for its vision to empower and involve communities.

Currently, the role of the citizen in communal crime prevention is challenged by two significant influences; the austerity agenda and level of crime. The ‘austerity agenda’, which at the time of writing is still prevalent in the UK, presents challenges to all criminal justice agencies of requiring to do more for less through cuts to services, but also through wider pluralisation. Here we see the voluntary sector as a key service provider through public sector outsourcing and mixed market service provision (Corcoran *et al* 2018). Policing in the UK has witnessed a 20% drop in funding between 2011-2015, which resulted in losses of around 37000 police officer and staff jobs amongst other significant cuts to service delivery and spending (Lumsden and Black 2017; Millie and Bullock 2013).

The second influencing factor is the crime drop. The late twentieth century saw an increase in recorded crime, higher numbers of people in the criminal justice system, overcrowding in institutions, a wider focus on the social and economic costs of crime and challenges to the

formal processes, suggesting they may have a limited effect on crime (Hughes and McLaughlin 2003; Garland 2001:12). The recent drop in crime witnessed in the UK raises the question around effectiveness of the state's provision in criminal justice. In doing so this creates the opportunity for the introduction of a market led service provision (Fox *et al* 2016; Tseloni *et al* 2010).

Community crime prevention sees a change to the relationship between the state and the citizen. The state's acknowledgment that traditional policing techniques and strategies, such as routine police patrol or police responses to crime, proved to be less effective at reducing and preventing crime during the crime rise in the 1980's and 1990's (Bullock and Fielding 2017). This suggested a change in the relationship allowed for a greater role for the citizen. Garland argues this change is not so much the administration of crime control being placed on the citizen, but one that sees the individual as a subject and partner of a new form of governance from a distance (Garland 1996). Importantly, this requires us to explore the change in boundaries because of this change in relationship (Bullock and Fielding 2017). Through the lens of a responsabilisation strategy, adopted in this research, community crime prevention is regarded as an extension, rather than replacement, of the state provision (Garland 1996; Hughes and Rowe 2007). As such, this highlights key concerns around the role of the volunteer, accountability and the off-loading of responsibility (Bullock 2014; Corcoran *et al* 2018; Fyfe 1995; Herbert 2006). Accordingly, the responsabilisation thesis is now explored as a way of interpreting voluntary action in crime prevention, social control and community safety.

Responsibilisation and Rediscovering the Citizen

To rediscover the citizen, the key messages from several sociological narratives of transformation, and ultimately social control, that have emerged within the preventative arena, are considered (Hughes 2007). Changes in structures of governance are now in play involving the wider use of the community and the citizen (Stoker 1998). The principle that runs through the responsabilisation thesis is that the state cannot and should not be solely responsible for the provision of security and safety and total control of crime is "beyond the state" (Garland 2001:123). As Garland, Johnston and Shearing argue, firstly, the change in

the role of the state to one that rules at a distance, creates opportunities for “processes of situationally-specific negotiation which privilege the use of less overtly coercive tools of governance and often involve non-expert ‘lay’ persons in their implementation” (Johnston and Shearing 2003:30). The following section explores some of those key messages from ideas of responsabilisation including the shifts that have occurred in the governance and control of crime and safety that have led to a pluralised environment of provision. The section also considers the importance of the ideas of responsabilisation when exploring the actions of volunteering in community safety.

Utilising the responsabilisation framework to consider volunteer street patrols is the first stage towards understanding the contribution, actions and motivations of those who volunteer in the criminal justice system. It is acknowledged the way crime and security are controlled has moved towards a model of governance involving a range of agencies and actors other than the state (Crawford 1998; Johnston and Shearing 2003; Stoker 1998). Hunt (1992) reminds us that focusing on governance such as the processes of crime control, community safety and crime prevention, rather than on the institutions that traditionally provide crime control and security, is important. To unpack these ideas, aspects of governance are considered next.

The increasing involvement of the individual highlights the process of governance considered in this research is ‘beyond the state’, through the involvement of the civil society. This is supported by the state apparatus in the delivery of safety (Swyngedouw 2005). Stoker proposes that to explore the idea of governance it is important to consider the institutions and actors involved, the blurred boundaries of responsibility and the capacity of those involved to “get things done” (Stoker 1998:18). Definitions of governance evidence the process as being “a methods/mechanism for dealing with a broad range of problems or conflicts” (Schmitter 2002:52), through models of action by combinations of social actors (Swyngedouw 2005). This research explores the role of the voluntary sector and its role in the governance of safety.

Garland argues two significant changes in issues of crime control have occurred. Firstly, Garland suggests a change in the way society considers crime, with individuals becoming

more “crime-conscious, attuned to the crime problem, and exhibiting high levels of fear and anxiety” (Garland 2001:164). Secondly, a new adaptive preventive strategy exists centring around the increasing need for self-protection and the protection of others against a reduction in the state’s role in crime prevention and the control of crime (Garland 2001). Johnston and Shearing, in their grand narrative on governing security, also consider the role of the state in the delivery of security as one in a process of change (Johnston and Shearing 2003). Security is their focus, over Garland’s control of crime. Both narratives generally propose the state is no longer solely accountable for the regulation of the fragmented and pluralised crime control arena but has a role to play in reducing effects of such change (Hughes 2007).

The wider pluralisation evident in the control of crime sees the wider distribution of responsibility amongst a range of actors and institutions (Bullock 2014; Garland 2001; Stoker 1998). For Loader this is evidenced as “policing below the government” (Loader 2000:328), namely the citizen led approaches evident in public order maintenance. This is evidenced in communities being called upon to participate in preventing crime and deliver safety through the utilisation of a range of agencies, organisations and individuals that may not traditionally be associated with crime (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). Garland, and Johnston and Shearing, have commonalities and differences. Both suggest the change to the crime, security and safety arena is based more around the idea of community governance than the idea of “professional police hegemony” (Johnston and Shearing 2003:11). This implies whilst state apparatus is arguably required, the involvement of the community in the governance of safety is far greater than previously required (Stoker 1998). Here, ideals of responsabilisation are considered.

Garland informs us that responsabilisation is a strategy adaptive in nature and is used by the sovereign state to address its limited capacity to control crime and provide security (Garland 1996, 2001). Key features of responsabilisation are the encouragement of non-state agencies and individuals to support, enhance, replace or substitute the state whilst accepting greater ownership for tasks of self and communal protection and control (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). The shift in responsibility has led to communities and individuals being encouraged to accept a degree of self-protection (Garland 2001; Johnston and Shearing 2003). An increased level

of individual participation is required to address criminal behaviour and ensure safety. The state, meanwhile, incentivises communities and individuals to informally control what needs controlling, through participation in certain crime prevention practices. This is whilst the state withdraws or reduces its service provision (Crawford 2006; Hinds and Grabosky 2010).

This research uses the responsabilisation framework as a means of exploring the delivery of community safety by volunteer street patrols. As such, three key themes considered are the community, participation and empowerment of the individual and issues concerned with control and the delivery of safety (Bullock 2014).

As noted, high crime rates have influenced the work of Garland who argues the theories that shape how we consider crime are heavily based around 'control theories', namely those centring around social, situational and self-controls (Garland 2001). This comes at a time when crime is considered common place and a part of everyday life (ibid). Changes to social and cultural traditions within communities (Garland 2001; Hughes 2007) are suggested as a further justification for an increased focus on crime, with a greater expectation being placed upon services by the information rich and risk conscious public against a backdrop of slowly declining rates of crime (Clamp 2010; Clamp and Patterson 2017).

The current climate of austerity has led to a withdrawal of state services and provision in times of economic challenge, and a need for mobilisation of the citizenry and the police (Bullock and Fielding 2017). For the individual, this situates them as part of the development of the pluralised policing environment; and the successive governments desire to promote self-development and self-sufficiency with the citizenry (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Wider pluralisation includes roles for the community, the individual and the voluntary sector. This presents concerns with levels of participation, which until recently were argued as being in decline (Bullock 2014; Putnam 2000) but are again starting to rise (NCVO 2019). It also places the role of the individual or volunteer as one which requires scrutiny.

Garland's Responsibilisation thesis is not without its limitations. Hughes analysis of his 'indices of change', whilst applicable to UK crime control, suggests they have been developed to consider ideologies and political and social systems and practices from the UK and the US (Hughes 2007). Both are politically and socially informed systems of justice. Moreover, the

general nature of Garland's work remains just that, lacking local or specific application (ibid). This is also summarised through the work of Crawford, who informs us the responsabilisation strategy proposed by Garland over two decades ago offers a "de-differentiated' response that is not compartmentalized but affords a generalized, non-specialist activity built into the routines and consciousness of all citizens and organisations" (Crawford and Evans 2017:800). This raises questions on aspects of this generalised narrative in times of austerity, new vulnerabilities and social conditions from the perspective of non-residential based volunteering.

Fragmented markets, political agendas and the position of the state, influence the commitment towards the community of successive governments and suggest this may not be as robust as Garland's responsabilisation thesis proposes (Hughes 2007). Wider contexts, as suggested and described below, also need consideration, including the current climate of austerity, pluralisation of policing and security and a drop in recorded crime levels, which challenge the grand narratives. Key considerations include firstly, England and Wales were said to be experiencing high crime rates compared to the current drop in crime being witnessed at the time of writing (Fox *et al* 2016). Secondly, much of the thinking may be built around nostalgic notions of communities, active citizenship and society (Hughes 2007). Thirdly, it is worthy of note that throughout the idea of responsabilisation, grand ideals of a commitment to partnership working and the inclusion of the individual are common place, evident in political discourses. In response, the work of Johnston and Shearing (2003), highlights the need for a more refined and focused approach. Situating the responsabilisation thesis within the context of social control and the wider aspect of community governance, highlights the argument offered by Hughes that grand narratives, such as those suggested by Garland tend to downplay issues surrounding community governance (Hughes 2007). Finally, the issue of accountability and legitimacy of the community, and the individual's involvement in community safety when empowered to participate, remain key considerations that are explored next.

Participation in the control of crime and community safety raises questions around the legitimacy of the process. Accordingly, attention is turned to community crime prevention being a method used to enhance police legitimacy. Whilst police legitimacy is not the focus

of this research, it is important to note the issues surrounding legitimacy, community participation and the police before exploring the relationship and responsabilisation of the citizen. For Bradford *et al* (2013), police legitimacy is achieved through consent, which is granted based on the principles of the police acting in a moral fashion towards those within their care, within the bounds of the law. This is also relevant for the individual, who has an ever-increasing role within the community safety arena. Joyce states the wider introduction of the individual through multi-agency working and partnerships, could be viewed as an attempt to enhance legitimacy, through what he suggests is “popular participation” (Joyce 2017:119). In the case of the voluntary sector, its acknowledgement as a key part of the community safety apparatus highlights the need to achieve and maintain consent (Hoff 2015). The wider involvement of the citizen, through community crime prevention, is argued as a means of changing the sometimes tarred and frail relationship that has existed between numerous communities they serve (Bullock and Fielding 2017). It is also a question of accountability, which is commonly addressed under the factor of legitimacy.

From the perspective of the citizen, legitimacy is also required for active participation in community crime control and safety and raises questions around the mobilisation of citizens and the relationship with the police. Williams suggests issues of legitimacy became apparent in her research around Street Watch Partnerships. Here she proposes that legitimacy is a central concern around citizens that take to the streets from the perspective of actions of vigilantism. Vigilantism, accountability, governance and regulation of active citizens, are key considerations for the new “extended strand of the policing family” (Williams 2005:536). The relationship between the state and the local comes into question, particularly in times where the state provision appears to be retracting through the widening of individual involvement (Garland 2001). The perspective of the voluntary sector and its relations with others sees governance as ensuring that not for profit organisations are correctly principled, responsible and well-managed. Accordingly, through the increased empowerment of individuals, a fine line exists between legitimate citizen involvement and actions of vigilantism (Crawford and Lister 2004; Hoff 2015; Sharp *et al* 2008; Williams 2005). This creates the need for a balance in enhancing police legitimacy and maintaining that of the

voluntary sector in criminal justice, versus the need to empower the community to become responsible for issues of community safety.

Regulation of the active citizen or volunteer sees a withdrawal by the state but does not see the state removed from providing crime control and delivering safety. It places it in a regulatory position allowing for the renegotiation of the boundaries between the state and the citizen (Bullock and Fielding 2017). Individual management and regulation issues are often left to those in the voluntary sector organisations to recruit, manage and retain volunteers, highlighting issues of leadership and governance (Anheier 2014). It offers an opportunity for the wider involvement and participation from the community and the individual and comes with several benefits fitting within a new preventative environment. Accordingly, this research considers this new position adopted by the state. The role of the community in this arrangement is now explored.

Community, Community Governance and Efficacy

This section will discuss community governance, to explore community as a concept, and to expand on the suggestion that responsabilisation and governing beyond the state are now common features of the community safety landscape. Community governance tends to consist of a range of networks, partnerships and bonds that should aim to empower those working within them. Hughes (2007) suggests that trust, independence, honesty and participation should form the horizontal style of governance that sees the community and the citizen as equal to the state. Their purpose is to activate and enable communities to work as partners to govern, control and participate in addressing local crime and safety issues. 'Communities of action' are evidenced by Garland and Johnston and Shearing who inform us community involvement tends to exist, in terms of crime, within the preventive sector (Garland 2001; Johnston and Shearing 2003). The individual and their knowledge are considered as vital in the formation, maintenance and development of community-based partnerships.

Hughes (2007) argues that governing the community also presents difficulties to those that govern due to the fluid and changing levels of participation found within them. In the control of crime and community safety, the community may act as a "sight of governance, the mode

of governance and the (intended) effect of governance” (Clarke 2002:5 in Hughes and McLaughlin 2003). Aligned with partnership and through responsabilisation, communities are also keepers of values and resources that may be activated or re-activate at any stage in the processes of governing and co-governing (Hughes 2007; Hughes and McLaughlin 2003:7). Combined with incoherent ideas of what communities should and should not be responsible for, as well as encouraging participation and maintaining that participation, is the challenge. Edwards and Hughes make this point:

“The elusiveness of what community actually means in relation to crime control, the absence of any clear consensus over what constitutes ‘community-based crime control’, ‘community safety’, ‘community crime prevention’ and community policing etc., is a product not of intellectual vacuity but of the political struggles to define the responsibilities for, and strategies of, crime control.” (Edwards and Hughes 2002:3)

The instabilities of a community present a range of challenges for institutions and Governments in terms of developing them as active and truly engaged. Often communities can be found as “contested and changeable constructs rather than naturally occurring identities” (Clarke 2004:124). The construct of community requires further exploration.

The concept and idea of community is described as a nebulous concept (Crawford 1995) and spans across political, social and geographical discourses. Classical views of community, for example the work of Tonnies (1885-1936), suggest two contrasting perspectives exist around the idea of community making distinct references to community and association. The idea of community is argued as the real ties and emotions existing between people, usually from an organically bonded interdependence, namely those interactions that take place between family and close friends. This has important considerations for this research with reference to Putnam’s theory of social capital. Association offers a contrasting view, which remains separate from community and is concerned with the exchanges between people that happen in unbounded contractual relations, both beginning from and because of naturally shared experience (Bullock 2014).

Two themes are evident in the literatures regarding community, geographical communities and those communities identified through social attachments. Definitions of community tend to include the common theme of geographical boundaries and defined space or be

related to the formation of bonds and ties between groups of people. Warren proposes that community may be defined as “a specific population living within a specific geographical area with shared institutions and values and significant social interaction” (Warren 1963:3). Whilst geographical boundaries influence the views surrounding community, place and locality are often challenged in the literature.

Several general themes tend to exist in the literature proposing community tends to speak about an attachment to a group, rather than individual actions, albeit with differing strengths (Day 2006). For the purposes of this research the group attachment as suggested by Day raises the question around the bonds and conditions that need to exist for attachment to be formed. These motivations, and the attachments to a group or common ground, offer a challenge to traditional notions of volunteering in communal crime control, that tend to focus on residential areas such as neighbourhoods.

Cohen (1985a) offers a perspective that community is formed through meaning and symbol. Based on a set of ethnographic studies, he argues the construction of community tends to originate on two principles, commonality between groups of people and some aspects distinguishing them from others. Boundaries exist within communities ranging from the physical, legal, social or administrative, however boundaries of tolerance and understanding help to provide the community with its identity. In terms of crime, the strengthening of community bonds may be achieved through the meaning, values and experiences of residents or volunteers around what is acceptable and unacceptable forms of behaviour and the interventions because of this action. The challenge exists in widening participation in communal crime control away from residential areas, presenting different bonds that encourage participation. Crime enables citizens to create formal and informal boundaries, be they individual or group based, about what is acceptable and what is not, based on values and meanings they have (Crawford 1998).

In contemporary society it may be argued a range of factors including technological advances and migrant populations allow for people within communities to belong to a range of networks, that may or may not re-define community (Bullock 2014). Defining community presents significant issues, both for communities based on geographical location and those

with social ties and bonding. This discussion is limited in its ability to fully define the concept with communities being suggested as “generally weakly bounded and leaky systems” (Hughes 2007:65), which highlights a challenge when defining what a community is and exploring how the term applies. Bullock (2014) also argues that despite typical notions of community being based around geographical location, volunteering within the urban environment adds further challenges.

This research focuses on the actions of volunteers, which takes place away from an individual’s residential area. Attachments and networks other than location are important. Bullock (2014) suggests volunteering in urban areas can be considered by what Bott (1957) proposes as communities being more than the place where people live. Here, this includes thinking about community through the social relationships that exist and are maintained not dependent on the boundaries of the area. Ultimately, limitations to how we understand community suggest “community can no longer be satisfactorily understood as either geo-local (the anthropological sense) or as marked by predictable social divisions, such as a social class (the Marxian sense)” (Bullock and Fielding 2017:92).

Literature surrounding the aspects of social ties and bonds, develops this further by suggesting ties are grown within family networks, friends and the wider social systems including statutory institutions and more specifically voluntary organisations and actions (Bott 1957; Knox 1987; Putnam 2000). It is therefore vital to consider communities from the two themes of geographical and symbolic, to be able to explore the issues connected to communities of action for community safety. The nature of this research moves away from typical perspectives formed when thinking about volunteering in crime prevention, based around geographical neighbourhoods.

Geographical boundaries, ties and bonds and intimate relationships are challenged when the community comes under threat stimulating division, for example the introduction of asylum seekers or travellers, crime and disorder. Even the introduction of a new shop can challenge individual priorities. The implications of defining communities can be both dangerous and damaging, which raises questions around the introduction of uniformed volunteers into areas of symbolic, geographic or bonded communities. Community and its contested

concepts also have implications for the delivery of safety from the perspective of policy, delivery and participation, which is explored below.

Garland (2001) proposes the community is now considered in the preventive sector as the all-purpose solution to many problems in both policy and practice. In terms of governance, community can easily be misused. Community itself is often used for “rationalising, organising and ultimately delivering wider agendas within public policy” (Bullock 2014:11). Significant literatures in crime prevention, policing and safety exist around individual participation and community including community policing, reassurance agendas, the creation of cohesive societies and legitimacy to give inclusive and valued community involvement (Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Innes 2005; Myhill 2006, Seagrave 1996). These highlight the need to consider issues connected to participation when individuals, namely volunteers, become involved or responsabilised under the ideology of community or communities of action connected to the criminal justice system. The ideology behind the concept is often overused with a set of wide and diverse meanings, rich in symbolic power and is highly complex and often contested (Cohen 1985a). In looking for a common sense meaning, community may be constructed from the basic human interactions with others including commonality, the bonds that exist between others and a sense of or actual belonging to something (Day 2006). The remainder of this section addresses issues of guardianship and collective efficacy as a means of exploring voluntary action in criminal justice.

Collective Efficacy

Volunteering in a street patrol is considered as a collective effort (Bullock 2014). Accordingly, collective efficacy is required to enable shared interests to be realised. The following section introduces the foundations of collective efficacy, beginning with social disorganisation before moving to consider what is required in the volunteering climate for collective efficacy to exist. It is worth noting much of the present literature tends to be based on examples of residential or neighbourhood action, a dimension that features heavily in other research. It remains the focus of this thesis to explore volunteering that takes place away from a residential setting. However, the features and challenges evident in the residential examples

are transferred to the voluntary action in different community settings. By exploring the concept of collective efficacy, this section aims to demonstrate the theoretical framework that uses collective efficacy to address the participation, contribution and actions of volunteer street patrols. A suitable place to begin is to consider social disorganisation and how this informs collective efficacy amongst the citizenry.

Several commentators suggest social disorganisation is often one of the causes of crime problems (Rosenbaum 1988; Shaw and McKay 1942; Skogan 1989). In Shaw and McKay's study between 1900-1930 it was noted that within the zone of transition, factors including transient populations and high youth arrest rates in residential areas subject to low economic status, were also often found with high rates of crime and youth delinquency (Bursik and Grasmick 1993). Hunter (1985), and Jacobs (1961) suggest further signs of neighbourhood disorder, including visual signs of social and physical disorder evident in an urban environment, will provide a threat to social organisation and most likely will cause further problems.

For this research the urban non-residential environment that remains the focus. Morenoff *et al* argue that during the 1970's and 1980's a definition for social disorder was suggested as "the inability of a community structure to realise the common values of its residents and to maintain effective social controls" (Morenoff *et al* 2001:519). They argue the local community is a complex system of friendship, kinship and acquaintanceship networks and associational ties from family and socialisation processes, requiring further thinking around how collective action in response to crime and disorder is evidenced. The social organisation of a neighbourhood can go some way to explaining crime rates, be they high or low, suggested by Sampson *et al* (1997) who modified the ideas of social disorganisation and suggest it acts as a barrier. Recent extensions applied to social disorganisation theory focus more on issues related to social control and are explored towards the end of this chapter. The networks contained within the urban environment allows us to see action related to the common good (Maimon and Browning 2010). In this, we now explore collective efficacy.

Collective efficacy is defined as the activation of social ties amongst neighbourhood residents to achieve collective goals (Sampson 2006). Other definitions for collective efficacy include

“social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good” (Sampson *et al* 1997:918). The definition is later widened to encompass social control based on certain requirements such as “the linkage of cohesion and mutual trust with shared expectations for intervening in support of neighbourhood social control” (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999:612), or a “task specific construct that highlights shared expectations and mutual engagement by residents in local social control” (Morenoff *et al* 2001). Features of each definition, and therefore the theory itself, centre around resident action, cohesion or knowledge of each other, shared expectations for how the neighbourhood should be and resident engagement. Common amongst all the definitions are the ideas that within the neighbourhood setting the willingness to intervene is based on residents having conditions of mutual trust and solidarity. This defines the context for neighbourhood collective efficacy but offers an opportunity to explore the actions of volunteers who come together outside of the neighbourhood setting. It raises the question around what conditions and bonds need to exist to enable a willingness to intervene when the bond or network of a residential neighbourhood is removed.

Sampson *et al* argue it is the “linkage of mutual trust and a willingness to intervene for the common good that defines the neighbourhood context of collective efficacy” (Sampson *et al* 1997:919). Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) suggest collective efficacy in neighbourhoods can be associated with participation by individuals, usually residents, in neighbourhood groups when friendship, ties and trust exist. Ties are needed for collective efficacy to flourish. Sampson informs us that, amongst other things, “collective efficacy is the activation of social ties to achieve shared expectations for action” (Sampson 2006:39). Viewing the presence of capital as a ‘resource potential’, engaging and activating volunteer or resident action leads to the conversion of ties to action for the achievement of common goals (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). The social networks that can exist in neighbourhoods can facilitate conditions, such as trust, that allow collective efficacy to thrive. Sampson (2006) reminds us that although the right conditions maybe present, there are no guarantees that is enough for social control. When exploring if trust exists between neighbours and between neighbours and the police, it is possible to make links to the case of trust existing between volunteers in a street patrol, the police and the state (Sargeant 2017).

To address the question posed by collective efficacy and social control we can refer to the ideas of the situational and enduring effects of collective efficacy (Sampson 2006). Here, collective efficacy is split into collective efficacy working to address crime, disorder and safety issues in a specific neighbourhood; or collective efficacy being enduring when in a neighbourhood it influences the behaviour of a person when they leave that neighbourhood (Kirk 2009). Sampson proposes that collective efficacy tends to be situational, particularly with delinquency rates, as research suggests it has “little staying power once residents are outside the boundaries of the given neighbourhood” (Sampson 2010:5). This highlights a challenge based on voluntary action.

Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) offer a theoretical framework that describes a balance of structural constraints with recognition of purposive social action and control, be that individually or collectively. Reminiscent of ‘broken windows thinking’, the need to address crime and disorder to create a sense of safety and a reduction of fear is suggested as being achievable through wider community empowerment and acts of collective efficacy (Squires 2017; Wilson and Kelling 1982). It is suggested that informal social control is a dynamic process that is differentially activated across different neighbourhoods. The argument theoretically is that individual and collective efficacy are the same or have a strong degree of likeness and similarity. Both refer to “the capacity for achieving an intended effect” (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999:612). At a neighbourhood level it is the cohesion and mutual trust amongst neighbours, to address crime and disorder, that suggests collective efficacy will take place. Personal ties and friendship are argued as not enough and may interfere with public trust. For this thesis the motivations of volunteers become important and act in place of the aspect of neighbourhood. In simple terms, what brings people together (cohesion), the level of trust, knowledge, existing bonds (mutual trust), coupled with a desire or motivation to help (intervene) will result in the level of neighbourhood social control. In considering the creation of collective efficacy, these can play out in the community control arena through guardianship, which is explored next.

Guardianship

Community crime prevention is argued as having two theoretical strands. The first strand is informal social control, the collection and build-up of social capital and the collective efficacy that features in and with volunteers. The second strand is opportunity reduction, for example the aspect of routine activities that require supervision (Bullock and Fieldling 2017). A suggested theoretical stance for opportunity reduction is Routine Activities Theory that considers offenders, victims and guardians. This research takes the strand of suitable guardian as a way in which to explore the actions of volunteer street patrols. Routine Activity Theory (RAT hereafter) provides the foundation for the concept of guardianship. RAT suggests components to understanding criminal behaviour, namely that for any criminal event to occur three elements must take place in time and space. Firstly, a likely or motivated offender, secondly, a suitable target, and finally, the absence of capable guardianship. It is the third dimension of the theory that focuses on the presence and suitability of an appropriate guardian (Cohen and Felson 1979) in view of routine activities that take place in the home, place of work or “any other place that is defined by a person’s daily routines” (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011:54). The three strands of RAT are uneven in their focus and as Sampson *et al* (2010) informs us, there has been a significant gap in the RAT literature regarding the preventative actions of people and organisations.

Guardianship is described as any person who “serves by simple presence to prevent crime and by absence to make crime more likely” (Felson 1995:53). Most of the defining features of guardianship involve the physical presence of a suitable guardian. Exploring the definition of guardianship further leads to re-visiting the work of Felson who later revised his working definition of the concept as “a guardian keeps an eye on the potential target of crime” (Felson 2006:80). He also suggests that guardians are viewed as “someone whose mere presence serves as a gentle reminder that someone is looking’ or “ordinary citizens going about their daily lives by providing by their presence some degree of security” (Felson and Boba 2010:28). In general terms this could be regarded as a guardian being a person that watches or could watch instances of inappropriate behaviour (Hollis *et al* 2013). This includes anybody passing by, or anybody assigned to look after people or property. For the

nature of the work of a volunteer in a street patrol, patrolling and looking for vulnerable people fits with this definition.

Guardianship in Action

Reynald (2009) provides a framework to explore guardians based on the idea of Guardianship in Action, GIA hereafter (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009). Reynald proposes a four-stage model of guardianship intensity based on residential examples that have been applied to levels of active guardianship at property level. For this research, the model offers a suitable way of considering the actions of volunteer street patrols and their contribution towards community safety and crime prevention. The original model is designed with a focus on residential properties and ultimately place. In applying the model to non-residential examples of volunteering, Rochester *et al* (2010) paradigms of volunteering may offer replacement for the residential or property ties, bonds and conditions. The willingness to intervene, the final level of the model, will be represented through the interventions and justifications of such by the volunteer street patrols.

The four-stage model of guardianship intensity suggests that four levels of guardianship exist. The first or foundation level requires the presence of a guardian for action to exist. The further three levels are based on the presence of guardians within a situation, without which the model cannot be applied. The second level of the intensity model is the available level where guardians are present and available. Here it is suggested the physical capacity of the guardian to supervise comes into play. This, the third level, is the capability for guardians who need to have the “physical potential or capability to carry out surveillance or monitoring” (Reynald 2009:3). At this stage residents require resources that are available to them to be able to act. Reynald (2009), when focusing on residential guardianship, brings in the built environment and the environment in terms of defensible space (Newman 1972). It is this stage where context comes into play. GIA requires volunteers to be capable. Context is suggested as having an awareness and being familiar with the immediate space (Hollis *et al* 2013; Reynald 2010). In this case the space is the streets of Manchester and the respective geographical communities of each respective volunteer group. In the case of the volunteer street patrols, the motivations, relationships with others and governance structures become

the potential and capability aspects that allow the volunteer to move from available to capable guardians. The final level is significant for this research as the focus becomes the jump from capable guardianship to a willingness to actively intervene. Here the actions of the volunteers on the streets of the city are explored in terms of their willingness to intervene and their contribution towards the safety, control and prevention of crime in the city.

Much of the literature around the concept of guardianship makes a valid argument that guardianship is not a form of informal social control. Hollis *et al* suggest “informal social control implies *intent* on the part of the controlling individuals, whereas guardianship does not involve an intention of the guardian to prevent deviant or criminal behaviour” (Hollis *et al* 2013:72). Formal or informal examples of social control, such as the police or security guards, do not fit this category as Felson and Boba (2010) argue these examples tend to arrive after the crime has been committed. They also suggest the purpose of examples, such as the police, is to “actively prevent or control those behaviours” (Hollis *et al* 2013:72). The intent of the volunteers in a street patrol is brought into question when defining them as guardians or agents of informal control. Guardians are suggested as not “necessarily making direct efforts to control behaviours or prevent crime” (Hollis *et al* 2013:73). However, contradictions in their analysis and thoughts surrounding the concept exist. They offer a further working definition of what guardianship is “defined as the presence of a human element which acts - whether intentionally or not - to deter the would-be offender from committing a crime against an available target” (Hollis *et al* 2013:76). Hollis-Peel *et al* (2011) in their review of the most recent literature provide the opportunity for the theory to be advanced. In their review of the literature surrounding the US example of the Guardian Angels they suggest reasons for participation were based around dissatisfaction with the police and rising crime problems. Whilst this seems to be the case, it can be argued volunteers within the UK examples operate in different ways and have different reasons for participating. Accordingly, this review now explores and charts how the volunteers feature in this discourse by exploring the political agendas and issues connected to participation of the responsabilised citizen.

Participation and Empowerment

This section builds upon aspects of the community, guardianship and the collective efficacy suggested for volunteering in communities by moving away from the place and towards participation. This section now reviews the political relationship that exists between the state and civil society. Based on the idea of the mediator, the voluntary sector has been described as the space that allows for the protection of ordinary people through advocacy, social transformation and relationships with the state (Harris 2010; Kenny *et al* 2015). It is also considered as the “training ground for active citizenship” (Milligan and Fyfe 2005:417). There are two significant themes for this research; facilitating advocacy and a place for the voluntary sector and the state. A third theme also exists, namely the place that can provide democratic opportunity and inclusive volunteering spaces that are important in the development of stronger communities (Putnam 2000; Reitsma-Street *et al* 2000). The concept of civil society is widely debated and contested and therefore requires definition. Cohen and Arato (1994) propose civil society as being the space where interactions take place between the state and the economy with people and organisations being free to form relationships with each other based on shared public interest. Despite several differing attempts at a comprehensive definition for civil society, common elements seem to be those of a shared public space or arena, including a mix of the market, the state and private and public organisations who aim to challenge or work towards achieving mutually constructed social exchanges.

By identifying some of the common themes found within civil society discourses, some of the limitations are also highlighted. Much of the discourse found within government policy and the political arena tends to be based on the romanticised and ideological view of traditional associations in society (Cohen 1985a), In contemporary society the homogenised groups portrayed by policy and discourse tend not to exist (Bullock 2014). Civil society and the promotion of it has led to an increase in individual responsibility but a decrease in state responsibility (Powell 2007).

Exploring the role of the citizen in terms of individual participation and responsibility leads the research to considering some of the contemporary debates around active citizenship.

The role of the state and the individual through the values and motivations of the volunteer, feature within the active citizenship framework. To begin, it is important to consider its origins and history. Argued as the “human agency in social change”, active citizenship grew in the 1980’s from changes to the political landscape, suggested as the alternative to the state. Here we see neoliberal influences on government policy distributing control, functions of economic and social activities away from the state (Kenny *et al* 2015). This led to the wider participation of individuals in society that we see today (Marinetto 2003).

The origins of active citizenship emanate from that of citizenship. For example, Marshall’s concept of citizenship argues there is a growing focus towards citizenship and for the wider involvement of citizens to participate and access the rights of the political community. For Marshall, citizens are viewed as passive participants in the wider social change (Marshall 1992). It was proposed that several elements are important when considering citizenship, including the state bounded framing of citizenship and the need to distinguish between formal and informal (Kenny *et al* 2015). Critiques of Marshall argue that a different direction should be considered when looking at active citizens, namely by regarding them as truly active rather than passive. As such Turner proposes active citizenship should involve people shaping rights and obligations through their participation in society as active rather than merely passive citizens (Onyx *et al* 2012; Turner 1992).

Various types of active citizenship are suggested by Kenny *et al* and include considering active citizenship as a civil commitment:

“This type of active citizenship is not about political activism but rather about preserving important assets and services in the community, generating social capital and encouraging social cohesion. Citizens actively work together to preserve and protect, to enhance and improve the community in which they live.” (Kenny *et al* 2015:79)

The general direction found within the political environment, as previously discussed, is towards a shift in the role of the state with a large portion of responsibility being passed over to the community and the citizen through the encouragement and growth of the active citizen (Garland 1996, 2001; Kearns 1995).

It is suggested that active citizens and the wider involvement of the community encourages and promotes communal bonds, wider democracy and transparency for the criminal justice and government organisations (van Steden 2018). The growth of the active citizen in “preserving and protecting a community” (Kenny *et al* 2015:79) plays on the individual values and motivations of a volunteer (Halman and Moor 1994) and the beliefs that something may be wrong (Rochester *et al* 2010). The shift towards community as a government specialisation or all-purpose solution to many social ills, has meant a new area for resources has been found. In preserving the good aspects of community life, active citizens are viewed as working towards small but significant incremental changes that can lead to a change in the quality of life for them or their neighbours (Onyx *et al* 2012). Much of the focus remains on residential volunteering, however offers a conceptual framework with which to explore non-residential examples. An example of active citizenship can be found in the involvement of individuals within the delivery of community safety. One of the aims being the encouragement of citizens in the defining and setting of targets to reduce and control crime and disorder through informal social control (Crawford 1998). However, participation and active citizenship, particularly in community safety, comes with certain limitations.

A collective desire to work together has several challenges, particularly when volunteering occurs away from an individual’s residential area. Individuals who possess more social involvement tend to be linked to aspects of networking, ties or social capital (Wilson and Musick 1997). Research suggests that links exist between an individual’s social capital and their participation and desire to volunteer (Wilson 2000). The facilitation and nurturing of active citizenship are argued as requiring agency, association, democratic processes and the development of a cosmopolitan way of thinking (Kenny *et al* 2015). Kenny *et al* suggest “citizens actively work together to preserve and protect, to enhance and improve the community in which they live” which is explored further by this research due to the specific nature of the voluntary action of street patrols (Kenny *et al* 2015:79).

Out of place volunteering that exists in an urban street patrol lends itself to looking at volunteer motivations and backgrounds, individual and group associations, bonds and connections that citizens place on the community in which they choose to volunteer. The use of the voluntary sector as facilitators allows citizens, namely volunteers, to interact in a

defined space. This collective approach or agency aims to link people with shared experiences and interests. As previously noted, the voluntary sector tends to have experience through the diverse organisations that operate within it and access it. This can facilitate associations with others, which are now considered through the theoretical lenses of social capital.

Social Capital

The concept of social capital is often generalised as comprising of groups of people acting together to achieve a shared set of objectives (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). The following section explores the challenges and boundaries of social capital and its relevance for voluntary action from individuals. Strong links exist between volunteering and social capital through aspects of mutual co-operation, trust, networking and reciprocity (Sixsmith and Boneham 2003). The relationship between social capital and volunteering is argued as not being explored to its full potential (Kenny *et al* 2015). In terms of responsabilisation and the delivery of community safety, social capital plays on the access to networks by the individual or community that exist across a range of organisations and agencies. Several key theorists for social capital exist including Bourdieu (1985) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000). This research uses Putnam's theory of social capital as a means of exploring voluntary action, however Bourdieu's ideas are touched upon first.

Bourdieu's (1985) ideas focus around class and the enhancement of the individual through social relations. The concept of social capital was defined by Bourdieu as:

"The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition." (Bourdieu 1985:248)

Bourdieu is concerned with ideas around class and suggests that social relations enable individuals to advance their interests in terms of economic, cultural and social standing. He is concerned with the position that individuals hold or possess within social, economic and cultural capital and adopts the view point that individuals have a focus on pursuing their own interests. Social capital as defined by Putnam, considers the communitarian approach and suggests the importance of civic engagement, the community, co-operation and social networks (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000).

Often claimed as a tool used to foster civility, social capital can help address the security issues found within communities and more widely, society (Crawford 2006), particularly when it exists alongside collective efficacy (Sampson 2010). Putnam's view of social capital stems from research into the institutional structures and their successes within the Italian government (Putnam 1993). In 1995 he added to the theoretical debate on the concept by suggesting "social capital refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1995:67). Community life is found to be easier in communities consisting of networks that foster civic engagement, have norms of reciprocity and encourage social trust to emerge (ibid). As a result, communities exhibiting these signs generally tend to have stronger networks allowing for better coordination and communication. The key piece of work *Bowling Alone* takes the idea of alienated Americans disengaged from civil society and participation and argues social capital should contain three key elements, namely networks of civic engagement, norms of reciprocity and social trust (Putnam 2000:19).

Putnam refers to the American decline of participation and active involvement in community life. Using the metaphor of *bowling alone*, social capital is offered as the connection by individuals that feature trust and have civic virtue (Putnam 2000:19). This should maximise the social resources of mutual support, cooperation and trust against the negative aspects of human behaviour including corruption, separation and diverse separation (ibid).

Putnam suggests two specific types of social capital exist based on the value formations and the development of ties. "Bonding capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40" (Putnam 2000:23). Firstly, bonding social capital is based on the strong loyalties that exist within a group, not normally accessible to outsiders. By bonding, the action achieved is bringing people closer together. With bridging social capital, thoughts are centred around the ties, networks and trust exist outside of a group or friendship. Here it is suggested bridging social capital brings together people, groups and organisations that did not previously know each other (Putnam 2000). A common feature of bridging social capital is trust. In its simplest form this is around behaving in a predictable manner. For bridging social capital, it may be considered through the need for routine (Mollering 2006).

Critiques of the approach highlight several relevant points, which is significant in voluntary participation. Generally social capital is considered as a 'cure-all' solution for a range of social and community problems (Portes 1998). Portes goes further to suggest that Putnam offers a 'nostalgic view' of social capital with a strong focus on the positives rather than the negative side of social capital (ibid). However, contrary to this Baron *et al* (2000) argue Putnam does not view social capital from a position of nostalgia but proposes the future could see mutually adapted forms of association that meet the needs of the contemporary society. Social capital is also viewed as the property of the collective rather than the individual (Portes 1998), which may pose implications for volunteering and social capital. The idea of social capital is that social networks that exist, or have been formed because of collective social action, have value in-terms of trust, cooperation and reciprocity (Gittell and Vidal 1998:15).

When looking at pluralistic approaches towards criminal justice, it is relevant to consider the role of the voluntary sector and the individual's interaction with it. Putnam's view of social capital lends itself well to what he terms 'voluntary associations' (Putnam 1993). Here it is proposed that by association, social interaction and co-operation between citizens, communities and organisations is enhanced. Empirical research argues voluntary organisations can be the link between the state and the community, which allows access for residents and local communities to resources and local institutions (Crawford 2006). The importance of social cohesion and social capital is emphasised through the renewal of community as a set of resources and self-help (Forrest and Kearns 2001).

A link is acknowledged between volunteering and social capital. It is suggested volunteers can generate social capital; and through formal volunteering, informal actions take place (Kenny *et al* 2015). Putnam questions the relationship between volunteering and social capital with reciprocity being viewed as important in social capital. In volunteering, reciprocity tends not to be a feature (Kenny *et al* 2015; Putnam 2000). Onyx *et al* (2003) provide some key considerations for this research useful for exploring social capital and volunteering. Firstly, volunteers can be community builders by helping to create new services and organisations. Secondly, volunteers can develop community links and bonds. Thirdly, volunteers work across existing community networks between the state and the voluntary organisations. Finally, volunteers also develop bridging links (Onyx *et al* 2003;

Kenny *et al* 2015). Kenny *et al* (2015) summarises this action as either filling a gap or acting as the bridge between the professional and the community to access resources, expertise and services. The discussion now moves to focus on the final theme in this research, community safety and control.

Community Safety and Control

This final section of this chapter considers the role of the individual in community safety and social control. Volunteer street patrols, like other examples of volunteering within the criminal justice system, hold functions associated with informal control. The section begins from the prominent argument that is the foundation of this discussion, that the state cannot be the only provider for crime control and safety (Garland 1996, 2001). Acknowledged earlier in this chapter are the discourses around community as a site of delivery for political agendas and as a site of activity for the volunteer. The dominant model that tends to exist in most neo-liberal societies sees the state and the police as a reactive force against crime. However, since the publication of the Morgan report in 1991, crime prevention policy is argued as focusing more on the opening up of crime prevention to the wider markets, partnerships, communities and individuals. This has presented itself as community safety policy and initiatives (Squires 2017). Community based approaches introduced during the 1990's offered an alternative to the more traditional state provision (Clamp and Paterson 2017), even if the idea of community is commonly attached to several ideological crime prevention and control initiatives (Joyce 2017).

Defining community safety is a challenge due to the several approaches it takes and the questions it asks around crime, risk and the victim (Squires 2017). 'Broken windows thinking', based around the need to satisfy the visible signs of crime and disorder found within some communities has been influential on community safety policy and activity in the UK (Wilson and Kelling 1982). The act of addressing the causes of crime and disorder, with the involvement of the individual, communities and partnerships, focuses community safety towards wider reassurance that can be gained from increased citizen responsibility or informal social control (Cohen 1985b). Accordingly, Joyce (2017) informs us that community safety features interventions delivered by other agencies than the police and rely on

situational and social methods of control that focus more on the victim such as addressing vulnerability over the offender. The involvement of the citizen in the delivery of safety and crime prevention is evidenced in this relationship between the state and its relationship with the civil society. From a policing perspective, Clamp and Paterson write “policing discourse has shifted or is shifting towards a more community-orientated and democratically responsive style that aligns with other modes of liberal democratic politics” (Clamp and Paterson 2017:3).

Examples of citizen participation have been noted under the wider umbrella of policing. Hope (1995) states actions of citizen participation range from informal social control and opportunity reduction. These can include community organising, resource mobilisation, protecting vulnerable people and community defence, which are suggested as models of community crime prevention. Contemporary crime prevention is argued as having changed to acknowledge the limitations of the formal social control agents and the fluctuating relationship between the state and the citizen in a late modern society (ibid), with Bullock and Fielding arguing “Community crime prevention has come to prominence as a technique for managing crime within late modern societies in the context of political and cultural changes that have shifted how governments and citizens think about and act in response to crime” (Bullock and Fielding 2017:88). It is from the act of policing and through the angle of communal crime prevention that this research is focused. Accordingly, volunteering is now explored as a form of informal social control.

Social control is often referred to as a form of “organised reactions to deviant behaviour” (Innes 2003:3). Social control provides the focus for an extended social disorganisation theory that sees the limitations and inabilities of the community, as a collective, in realising their common goals for effective social control (Bursik and Grasmick 1993; Sampson and Groves 1989). This research, whilst considering some of the changes to formal social control, is focused on informal social control evidenced through the actions of individuals who participate in the control of their communities and the city. To begin, social order is considered. Social order, organisation and control measures are commonly found throughout historical and contemporary narratives concerned with society (Innes 2003).

Goffman (1971) defines social order as the regulated encounters people participate in with each other involving the use of social routines or practices. For voluntary actions, this can be considered as including casual interactions or more established arrangements, which ultimately results in social order when associated with ground or societal rules. Ross (1901) suggests the social order of a society is the “smooth running of social machinery” with each of the participants having a defined part to play within a set of defined guidelines, the results of which are then shared between the majority (Ross 1901:2 in Innes 2003). Due to the fluid nature of social order, it is suggested social control will therefore comprise of processes involving a range of formal and informal actors and institutions that possess a varied set of values, ideas and ultimately actions.

Ross proposes that social control features elements of collective interest shared by individuals or groups and should serve as an action to protect those with that interest (Ross 1901 in Innes 2003). The concept is argued as particularly useful for understanding how groups and individuals organise themselves as well as identifying patterns and deviations from social norms and behaviours (Innes 2003); therefore, suitable in exploring volunteer street patrols. Black defines social control as “the normative part of social life, or the definition of deviant behaviour and the response to it, such as prohibitions, accusations, punishment and compensation” (Black 1976:2). Here it is advocated that a range of systems and ways of dealing with problems must be used in a purposeful manner to address and regulate criminal, anti-social or troublesome behaviour that moves away from societal norms. It is important to note that this regulation, through control, usually stems from problems associated with criminality, deviant acts or immorality (Black 1976). Reiss proposes a vaguer definition by suggesting social control is “the ability of social groups or institutions to make norms or rules effective” (Reiss 1951:196 in Groff 2015:91).

Cohen provides a suitable definition suggesting a layered and expanding social control framework and defines social control as:

“Organised responses to crime, delinquency and allied forms of deviant and/or socially problematic behaviour which are actually conceived of as such, whether in the reactive sense (after the putative act has taken place or the actor been identified) or in the proactive sense (to prevent the act).” (Cohen 1985b:3)

Cohen's definition originates on the back of the many open definitions suggesting social control is a concept that is vague and can be a cover-all way of thinking (Cohen 1985b; Innes 2003; Reiner 2010). However, the term has been refined, narrowed and as a result tends to be complex (Innes 2003). It is important to consider the expandable nature of the concept, in terms of its contribution to the understanding of the production of social order (Reiner 2010). Social control provides an identification and a means to address the issues society is straining to control, using various actors both state and informal (Innes 2003). The concept has been used to address a range of social problems across different disciplines, however, Cohen's definition attempts to narrow this whilst offering some degree of flexibility (ibid).

As a by-product of role relationships established for other purposes (Brewer 1989), informal control struggles to find a suitable encompassing definition (Innes 2003). Cohen's definition of social control talks of "any organised response to crime and deviance" (Cohen 1985b:3). When looking at informal actions, this can be problematic due to the nature and range of actors who may be involved, and sometimes the absence of the organised approach within the context of informal participation. That said, informal social control is argued as the way in which to "restore a sense of community" (Rosenbaum 1988:327). Innes suggests social control, including actions of informal control, may be viewed from a revisionist perspective namely by, "developing an understanding of control as behavioural modification where it is construed as any action intended to change people's behaviour" (Innes 2003:3). This highlights that viewing the concept of social control as two separate entities can lead to complexity and misunderstanding. Taking the role of formal control as the involvement of law and statutory interventions (Black 1976), informal control is therefore generally actions excluding that involvement, such as those produced through voluntary action in communal crime prevention.

Place, community and control are also important when thinking about informal agents of control. Groff (2015) proposes informal control exists at multiple levels including the place. Here, actions of informal control are unique and generally based on the social bonds that exist. A significant amount of literature addresses the relationship with informal social control and the breakdown of bonds with reference to the family and peer 'role relationships' (Hunter 1985; Hirschi 1969; Simmel 1950). The ability of communities and neighbourhoods

to organise and control is argued by Hunter (1985) as offering a three-levelled framework that looks at the relational networks found within informal control. Firstly, the private network, namely the actions of family and friends that act as a control mechanism through sanctions including respect or the withdrawal of social support. Secondly, the 'parochial' and the involvement between local neighbourhoods and nearby acquaintances, and finally the 'public' level, that argues the community is a site for informal control with the external, national and local organisations operating within it providing either service or goods (Bursik and Grasmick 1993:34).

The landscape of control now includes actors that do not simply address deviant behaviour but have originated as a response to it. For example, the volunteer street patrols who are central to this thesis. The focus of this research lends itself to addressing the framework of control due to the nature of active and responsabilised citizens found within the control environment. Innes's makes the point that manufactured control acknowledges the wider changes to the state apparatus. The solution that has originated because of the shift in the wider involvement of actors is the introduction of a more complex and diverse network of social control actors. The "community is no longer seen as an end but a mechanism for the achievement of enhanced levels of order" (Innes 2003:153). This suggests informal social control is wider and more complex than partnership working between the state and communities.

Chapter Summary

In summary this chapter argues that under the idea of responsabilisation, suggested by Garland (2001), we are witnesses of a changing political discourse geared towards a wider role for the individual and the community. It is argued as a result of this change in focus, the state apparatus is becoming less and less. The preventative ideal that exists has led to increasing responsibility for the control of crime and community being accepted by the individual. Community is now argued as both the site of governance and the solution to societal problems, despite contestations existing around the idea.

Moreover, the willingness to intervene from the perspective of the individual is evidenced in the collective efficacy, guardianship and social capital that goes towards voluntary action within neighbourhoods. For crime control and community safety, the community is the site of action with increasing empowerment being found with the political discourses and policy. The increasing requirements placed on the voluntary sector and the individuals who have become responsibilised, have led to voluntary action centred around the criminal justice system becoming informal actions of social control. Accordingly, this sets the scene for the next chapter. The second literature chapter explores the voluntary sector and voluntary action and presents the key debates connected to volunteering in policing. It also brings the focus of this research into perspective by considering the volunteer street patrols.

Chapter 3: Practice and Context- the Voluntary Sector and Voluntary Action

Chapter Introduction

“In banding together to patrol the streets to deter would-be offenders, reassure communities and act as the ‘eyes and ears’ of the police service, citizen patrols clearly fit into the themes of the ‘active’ and ‘responsibilised’ citizen.” (Bullock 2014: 147)

The purpose of this second literature review chapter is to explore the key considerations surrounding voluntary action in community safety, using the example of volunteer street patrols. Bullock (2014) suggests individuals who group together to patrol the streets fit within the discourses of active and responsibilised citizens. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of responsibilised volunteers as a suitable way of considering volunteering in the criminal justice system, building on the responsibilisation narrative explored in the previous chapter. It explores how the empowerment of the individual, a feature of responsibilisation, evidences itself through the involvement of the voluntary sector in the criminal justice system. It then moves to address volunteers and their motivations for volunteering in the criminal justice system. The voluntary sector is then explored before the chapter considers some of the empirical examples of volunteers in policing as a way to highlight key challenges for this research. The chapter draws to a close by looking at the literature surrounding the volunteer street patrols, the focus of this research.

As previously noted, the grand sociological narrative of responsibilisation by Garland (2001) has been chosen and is used as a framework to explore voluntary action from the perspective of rediscovering the citizen in the control of crime and safety and is used to frame this research. The ideas of Garland are considered under what he suggests as the ‘preventative ideal’. This creates an opportunity for the participation of volunteers and the voluntary sector in the control of crime and delivery of safety to be considered. Accordingly, this chapter builds upon the drivers of change that have influenced the participation of the citizen and voluntary sector working in the criminal justice system. To begin, responsibilised volunteering is considered.

Responsibilised Volunteers

Two central arguments are acknowledged when looking at the individual and criminal justice volunteering, firstly, the state has actively promoted the increased involvement of the individual, and secondly, the community which has encouraged a degree of self-protection and responsibility (Crawford and Lister 2004; Garland 1996, 2001). There has been a shift in individual responsibility through concepts such as self-prevention of crime and self-protection; and a noticeable withdrawal from the state in its provision as a service provider towards a less top down overseer. This has resulted in a gap for wider service provision. Important for this thesis is the changing role of the individual against the role of the state.

Hinds and Grabosky offer a definition for responsibilised citizenry by suggesting, “a responsibilised citizenry is one who has acknowledged that police resources are scarce, and in response has accepted a greater burden of self-protection.” (Hinds and Grabosky 2010:110). The citizen must accept responsibility in the first instance. This empowerment of the citizen comes with several conditions that lead to an individual either accepting or rejecting responsibility. There is not a universal acceptance by all that the responsibility for crime and safety should fall to the individual. A strongly held belief by many is that the state is responsible and therefore should accept that responsibility (Braithwaite 2000). Factors such as time, low income and the likelihood of not becoming a victim will also play a part. The perception of crime also leads to varying levels of responsibility in that individuals will have different opinions and responses to different types of crimes, disorder and behaviour (Hinds and Grabosky 2010).

As Garland (2001) suggested in his responsibilisation thesis, we are now more attuned to crime and have a stronger awareness of the need for protection. Responsibilisation is subjective and based on the individual characteristics and experience of a person, the range of neighbourhood factors such as crime rates and previous state interventions, and their attitudes towards formal agencies that will all contribute to how a person accepts responsibility for safety and crime. This may be viewed on a continuum for people and levels of responsibility, starting from crime control being exclusive to the police and ending with those that consider the police and the state as unable to significantly contribute towards

their self-protection (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Responsibilised citizens are willing to shoulder the burden of crime and safety up to a point. When that point is reached the police and other service providers are called in and the expectations of the police and service providers, from the individual, increases (ibid). They view the police and others as a reserve rather than a necessity. It is appropriate therefore to now consider the role of volunteering from the general perspective and from volunteering within the criminal justice system.

Volunteering

Voluntary action is widely acknowledged as part of society and the historical aspects of volunteer involvement with society and policy are widely documented (Hodgkinson 2003). The following section of this second literature chapter explores the reasons for a greater empowerment of individuals. A suitable place to start is by defining volunteering and establishing a theoretical framework to explore the actions of volunteer street patrols. Hustinx *et al* inform us no one integrated theory has emerged toward volunteering and there is a “lack of general consensus on exactly what a theory of volunteering should be.” (Hustinx *et al* 2010:410). They offer a framework for volunteering, which is adopted in this research. The ‘Hybrid Conceptual Framework of Volunteering’ suggests three stages. Firstly, that there is a need to establish a definition for what volunteering is. Secondly, there is a need to explore from which perspective volunteering is being studied. In the case of this research a sociological and criminological focus is adopted as volunteer street patrols volunteer to help address societal needs. Finally, the need to approach volunteering from a multidimensional point of view such as the motivations of volunteers, the style of volunteering, the contributions volunteers make, and the negative consequences and challenges associated with voluntary action (Hustinx *et al* 2010:413).

To begin, a definition of volunteering is offered. Wilson proposes “volunteering is any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person, group or cause.” (Wilson 2000:215). Snyder and Omoto suggest similarly volunteering can be defined as:

“Freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time, are engaged in without expectation of reward or other compensation and often through formal organizations, and that are performed on behalf of causes of individuals who desire assistance.” (Snyder and Omoto 2008:3)

Verduzco makes defining voluntary action simpler, particularly when thinking what constitutes formal and informal actions. Here it is argued that regardless of formality or the attachment to a group, volunteering is “unpaid help given to another person not a member of one’s family” (Verduzco 2010:49). The features commonly found in the definitions around volunteering are similar in nature. These include free choice, the absence of remuneration, structure and an intended beneficiary (Cnaan *et al* 1996; Rochester *et al* 2010). Much of the literature and policy surrounding volunteering focuses on formal volunteering, that of helping via groups (Anheier and Salamon 2006; Merrett 2001; Perotin 2001). This is in comparison to informal volunteering that tends to help others on a one-to-one basis or through informal aid (Williams 2008). This research is based on examples of formal volunteering with Snyder and Omoto’s views on volunteering fitting with the volunteers in this research, who participate freely in three separate organisations to help others (Snyder and Omoto 2008).

Examining some of the reasons and features of voluntary action will help identify a workable theoretical framework (Hustinx *et al* 2010). Researchers encounter a lack of integration across volunteering theory when attempting to apply a suitable theoretical model to volunteering (Wilson and Musick 1997). The challenges here stem from the lack of a suitable definition and the varied boundaries of what constitutes voluntary action. The interdisciplinarity of volunteering, and its association with a range of differing meanings and measures generated depending on discipline of study, present a problem. This is combined with a bias around the ‘laws of volunteering’ that challenge what a theoretical approach must consider (*ibid*). The interdisciplinary nature of volunteering and the attachment of varying meanings create different perspectives, such as economic, psychological, political and social, that offer a different set of values and ultimately meanings towards volunteering (Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1997).

The sociological perspective of volunteering leads towards the general premise that voluntary action is centred around informal, collective action based on the use of social ties, bonds and connections (Hustinx *et al* 2010). Much of the literature tends to focus on understanding who volunteers (Musick and Wilson 2008), however a second stream of thought exists, that of volunteering viewed as a productive, collective activity (Hustinx *et al*

2010). Collective efficacy forms part of the theoretical framework adopted for this research and is addressed in the previous chapter. Justification for this approach is based on the premise that the work of the volunteer street patrols is viewed as helping to address societal needs and supporting those in need (Bullock 2014). This is further considered by Wilson and Musick (1997) who argue volunteering requires three different kinds of capital; social, cultural and human.

Human capital is outlined as the resources that are attached to volunteers and offered as productive activities. Income is also considered along with health status. For this research it is the resource aspect that is explored. Volunteers in a street patrol donate their time to address what they see as societal issues (Bullock 2014; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). Social capital allows us to focus on the social connections that volunteers can provide. The final aspect of Wilson and Musick's work is the cultural capital where they suggest that "the possession of symbolic goods enables people to 'act out' their values, to demonstrate their 'good taste'" (Wilson and Musick 1997:696). This implies that through volunteering, individuals produce and consume 'symbolic goods' based on and to fulfil their values, beliefs and motivations. It is here that volunteer values and motivations are considered.

Motivations may be categorised into altruistic, instrumental and obligatory motivations (Krutkowski 2014) or organised into two groups: altruistic and egotistic (Rochester *et al* 2010). Viewing motivations through two lenses, psychological and sociological (Musick and Wilson 2008) or self-orientating volunteering (Hustinx *et al* 2010). The three perspectives model of volunteering is offered by Rochester *et al* (2010) and has been adopted for this research and accordingly extended. Volunteer values and motivations are interchangeable. They suggest the dominant and civil society paradigms along with volunteering as serious leisure, are a suitable way to capture volunteering.

The dominant paradigm suggests that one of the most common reasons for volunteering is altruistic, namely the donation of free time. Motivations include a desire to help or give something back (Hustinx *et al* 2010), or humanitarianism-based values (Clary and Snyder 1999). The showing of empathy towards others features heavily in this paradigm and forms the basis for the main motivations in voluntary action (NCVO 2019). Wilson (2012)

summaries these motives of volunteering by suggesting that feelings of concerns for others, possibly those who are less fortunate, indicate that empathetic motivations are common. Wilhelm and Bekkers (2010) suggest the motivations under the dominant paradigm as those that feature a principle of care. For volunteering in the criminal justice system, altruistic motivations are also noted as a common feature of wanting to participate (Bateson *et al* 2002).

Volunteers in a street patrol are argued as volunteering that is based on “engagement, welfare and support of vulnerable citizens and would-be victims” (Bullock 2014:147). This is similar to the typical reasons for volunteering and motivations suggested by the NCVO (2019). Accordingly, the associations and values held by the individual are important to volunteer street patrols and are explored in this thesis. Here, Rochester *et al* (2010) propose that volunteer motivations can be linked to the civil society paradigm, namely wanting to help those less fortunate through mutual aid. The values of volunteers therefore become worthy of consideration as does the social context. The social context of volunteering is argued as informing and influencing the behaviour of volunteers (Wilson 2012). The values of volunteers tend to be deeply rooted and cause them to act in a certain manner (Halman and Moor 1994). Altruism, solidarity, reciprocity or civic motivation, equality and social justice are offered as a way of looking at the values of volunteers, which is also important for their associations (Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2012). Compassion, a concern for the welfare of others and the desire to help people in their time of need are important (Sagiv and Schwartz 2000). The association or attachment to a place or a community because of levels of social justice may also influence participation levels (Putnam 2000). Values that are pro social can encourage or provide a reason to participate (Musick and Wilson 2008).

Solidarity with a community or a cause is particularly important for this research as the participation in an urban volunteer street patrol tends to happen outside of the individual’s residential community (Bateson *et al* 2002). Motivations that fall within this paradigm are noted to be collective with volunteers working together to address a shared issue (Lyons *et al* 1998). For community safety this is also reminiscent of collective efficacy (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Volunteers who have experienced a temporal or long-standing connection towards a community tend to show understanding and empathy to a cause.

Socialisation in a setting or a place creates an association that may or may not influence the level of value individuals place or hold towards a specific place (Day 2006; Lim and Laurence 2015).

Motivations based on a person's religion may also feature within this paradigm. For this research this is an important point to explore as volunteering to be a Street Pastor is based around the Christian faith (Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). As a subjective disposition, religious motivations are said to be based around volunteer beliefs, attitudes and sentiments towards a particular faith (Wilson 2012). Voluntary action centred on religion tends to be focused around social action or volunteering rather than social activism (Caputo 2009). Einolf (2011) and Wilson (2012) suggest volunteers identify an association between spirituality and volunteering based around doing what they think God, or the religious texts, would want. Einolf (2011) argues volunteering based on religious motivations is formed around helping others (Einolf 2011). For this paradigm, in line with volunteering in the civil society, volunteer motivations centre around addressing a need or a cause that helps others in line with the teaching of a particular religious narrative.

Volunteering may also be viewed as serious leisure, such as the informal participation at a sporting event or in the pursuit of a hobby or for reasons of self-interest (Stebbins 1996; Stebbins and Graham 2004). Rochester *et al* suggest that voluntary action that falls within this paradigm lends itself towards "an activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participants to find a (non-work) career" (Rochester *et al* 2010:14). Motivations for volunteering within serious leisure are said to be intrinsic in their nature with the volunteer identifying a need or desire to fill their time with events or activities.

Several new perspectives of volunteering have emerged, that challenge and expand the typical motivations for volunteering, which include; the economic perspective (Wilson 2012), volunteering to achieve a short-term goal (Garner and Horton 2013), or as offered by Evans and Saxton (2005) and Saxton *et al* (2015), the selfish volunteer is now more common. A change to the demographics of volunteers is also noted with the NCVO suggesting that there is no one volunteer journey (NCVO 2019:7). This research by the NCVO highlights the rise of digital, wider participation from young people and a lack of diversity in volunteering (ibid).

This change in the climate of volunteering leads to a new paradigm and an extension of Rochester *et al* (2010) model, based round the need to self-develop, argued as taking a more reflexive approach. Socio-economic changes have led to a new climate for volunteering. Volunteering is still argued as having altruistic motivations, though the reasons behind the giving of time and effort become more personal. This includes overcoming loneliness, meeting friends, gaining skills, employability, or increasing feelings towards oneself (Evans and Saxton 2005; Saxton *et al* 2015). In the current climate of austerity, competition in the job market and the continual requirement to obtain or renew skills, motives connected to self-interest are not only being combined with a desire to help others but also to help the individual (Lim and Laurence 2015; Saxon *et al* 2015).

Volunteering in a street patrol or community volunteering offers an opportunity to gain essential skills, particularly when working in the criminal justice system. Volunteering and employability are evident in UK policy and practice, promoted and aimed at increasing the individual's chance of gaining the skills needed for finding employment (Finnegan 2013). Volunteering long term is suggested as developing employability-based skills (Hirst 2001; Nichols and Ralston 2011). However, Paine *et al* (2013) and Kamerade and Paine (2014) found that whilst essential skills can be gained through volunteering, employment is not always a guarantee.

For some volunteers, incidents or actions that are morally wrong require them to act through wanting to make a change (Rochester *et al* 2010). Volunteering within their own community setting plays on the values of volunteers and their level of attachment to their local community (Day 2006). It is argued that volunteer street patrols in this research are examples of volunteering that is out of place in terms of residency and that volunteers may associate with several communities, geographical or symbolic, outside of a residential area. In helping to explore out of place or non-residential volunteering, the idea that encouragement of volunteering can be through personal, social and organisation ties is addressed in the previous chapter (Freeman 1997; Musick and Wilson 2008). It is therefore appropriate to now consider some of the wider challenges and boundaries that the voluntary sector faces.

The Voluntary Sector

This section explores the voluntary sector, its role in the criminal justice system and more specifically within Greater Manchester. Volunteer street patrols belong to voluntary organisations that have a role within the criminal justice system and with other state agencies. It is therefore appropriate to explore the challenges and boundaries facing the voluntary sector. The section is organised into three parts and by doing so explores the definition and boundaries of the voluntary sector and the participation found within it.

The Greater Manchester Voluntary and Community Sector (GMVCS) is the focus for this research. It is important to look generally at the wider issues concerning the voluntary sector along with those specific to working in criminal justice. Establishing a definition for the voluntary sector is challenging, however it is necessary to better understand and frame the voluntary action of street patrols. Much of the discourse surrounding the sector is littered with contested terminology and vast concepts that include 'voluntary' and 'community' (Alcock 2010). Milbourne (2013) offers three points worth noting when exploring the voluntary sector. Firstly, the contested meanings of the terms voluntary, third sector and non-profit, secondly the diversity of the work and the participants of the sector and finally the changes in the ideologies and values from those who are internal and external to it.

The voluntary sector is the "most commonly understood reference to the sector as a whole" (Corcoran *et al* 2018:196) and is one of the many names attached to this group of agencies, charities, grassroots organisations, social enterprise and individuals involved in community action. Described as a "loose and baggy monster" (Kendall and Knapp 1995:66), the voluntary sector is often also referred to as a nebulous concept (Kenny *et al* 2015). Milbourne informs us that "referring to *a* or *the* voluntary sector presupposes a definable entity, which as research suggests, may be increasingly open to challenge, as boundaries between sectors become blurred, hybrid organisations become commonplace" (Milbourne 2013:4). This can create a sense of notions of homogenous groups of people and organisations. This should be treated with caution as the diverse nature of volunteering and the vast differences in organisations and enterprises that deliver it should not be viewed as homogenous. To address this, taking the key features of voluntary organisations offers a

more holistic approach. Focusing on the nature of voluntary organisations (Salamon and Anheier 1997), examining their similarities and differences (Billis 1989; Kendall 2003; Knight 1993), considering their funding arrangements (NCVO 2019) or their independence from others (Knight 1993), can go some way to establishing a definition. Whilst definitions prove challenging, this process provides key questions for voluntary action in criminal justice and for this research. Who and what is included are considered next.

Inclusivity as suggested by Taylor and Kendall around who and what should be considered as voluntary remains a challenge and is contested (Milbourne 2013; Taylor and Kendall 1996). Two areas are notable here, firstly, from an organisational perspective and secondly from the actions of participants. Taylor suggests that our understanding of the voluntary sector is fuelled by the “breath-taking diversity” found within it (Taylor 1996:58). Due to the varied nature of voluntary organisations, some groups can fall beneath the radar. A second consideration is what constitutes voluntary action and what are the notions of participation. The distinctive nature of individual participation and the vast array of voluntary organisations that provide raises challenges around what should be classed as voluntary action (McCabe and Phillimore 2009). Accordingly, the term the voluntary sector has been, for this thesis, based on the distinct nature of participants, the vast amount of difference in voluntary activity and the range of organisations involved, particularly within the criminal justice system (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016).

Despite the challenges in defining the sector, its position and relevance within the economic community should not be understated. The scale of the sector and the scale of individual participation are considered. To set the scene, current figures from the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) highlight that in 2018 approximately 166,000 voluntary organisations were registered nationally with an income generated of around £47.8 billion, contributing to the British economy around £22.6 billion (NCVO 2019). Within Greater Manchester, there are around 15,890 organisations, 77% of those being micro-organisations namely with an income, if any, of under £10,000 annually. 8% of this figure within the region are said to identify as a social enterprise (GMCVO 2017). The income for the Greater Manchester sector is estimated at around £1.3 billion for 2014/15 and have an economic contribution of approximately £905.3 million from people employed within the sector (ibid).

The role of the Voluntary Sector is firmly established within the British economy, including that of the criminal justice system. Participation in voluntary action is significant nationally and within the Greater Manchester regions, where participation rates have risen. This is explored next.

Much of the information available tends to be based around actions of formal volunteering, namely through organisations, clubs, agencies or groups (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2000). Nationally it is suggested that around 12 million people volunteer (NCVO 2019). Mostly volunteering takes place locally within neighbourhoods (81%) and most commonly in community spaces, for example community halls (*ibid*). Regionally the sector has approximately 461,800 volunteers who donate around 1.1 million hours of their own time each week and employs around 28,600 FTE paid staff. It is important also to consider the impact that this has not only to provide a context for this research but also to evidence how participation in the community is played out. It is suggested that in the latest volunteer survey, participation in activities relating to the civil society have increased. “Around two-thirds (67%) of recent volunteers had volunteered for civil society organisations (e.g. charity, voluntary organisation, community groups), with 17% volunteering in the public sector and 10% in the private sector” (NCVO 2019). This comes with one of the most significant motivations for volunteering being a desire to improve things or help people (*ibid*).

Damm *et al* (2017) inform us that around 21.9 million interventions between volunteers and clients, users or beneficiaries have taken place during the past twelve months. The value of the voluntary sector is evidenced in the contribution that it makes nationally and locally within the Greater Manchester region. It is important to consider the scale of the sector and the increases in volunteering due to the increased role in the delivery of public services. The voluntary sector is now a key service provider within the criminal justice system (Corcoran *et al* 2018; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Mills *et al* 2011; Tomczak 2014), carrying out welfare, health and public service functions with and on behalf of the state (Corcoran *et al* 2018).

Key questions are raised here following this short review around the ability of the voluntary sector to provide services within the criminal justice system, the relationship that it holds with the state and the opportunities and challenges that these can offer. It is also relevant

to consider participation in the sector and the criminal justice system from the motivations of the volunteers, their level of involvement and reasons why they volunteer in the civil society and, as before, the opportunities this can offer. The following section therefore considers volunteering within the criminal justice system.

Volunteering and the Criminal Justice System

The voluntary sector works extensively within the criminal justice system, for example within policing, probation and prisons (Bullock 2014; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Tomczak 2014). The distinctive themes and ethos found within voluntary organisations that work within the criminal justice system enables them to deliver distinguishable activities and interventions. These include, not exclusively, working with offenders in prison (Mills and Meek 2016) or victim support (Williams 2016). Noted for working with hard to reach groups and offenders, raising the profile of minority groups and promoting enabling practices through service user involvement, it provides a distinctive contribution through a generally independent voice (Martin *et al* 2016). In support of the argument that the voluntary sector is argued as many things too many people, the example of the criminal justice service demonstrates this relationship well. The sector brings unique and innovative ways of working with a range of people and may be viewed, despite the challenges, as a provider that offers a holistic approach.

An important feature of this relationship is the independence that the sector offers to the criminal justice system. This independence from the statutory providers allows for diverse interventions, drawn from an extensive range of sources, helps to encourage trust and approachability when working with offenders, victims and vulnerable people (Corcoran *et al* 2018; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Mills *et al* 2011). In defining the relationship, a general summary is proposed:

“The sectors distinctive contribution to the criminal justice system can be summarised as offering holistic, person centred interventions, deeply embedded in the appropriate social and legal context.” (Martin *et al* 2016:32)

The sector is widely noted as a key service provider and partner to many criminal justice agencies (Corcoran 2009; Corcoran *et al* 2018; Morgan 2012; Tomczak 2014). Many responsibilised citizens are found in this arena. The work of the sector in criminal justice

away from crime is significant to this research, and this 'offering of difference' is further explored.

Volunteering within community safety related activity remains the focus of this research. As established, numerous examples of voluntary action in the criminal justice system exist. In policing, the introduction of community policing is one example that came with a renewed focus and push towards co-production of services and the engagement of the community (Joyce 2011). Increased pressure on public services to meet demand for policing and safety services has led to wider involvement of the civilian or citizen involved police (Choi and Lee 2016; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Sharp *et al* 2008). Four motives are associated with volunteering in a community arena, namely: egoism, altruism, collectivism and principalism, which are not too dissimilar to the general motivation offered through the general volunteering literature (Bateson *et al* 2002). Here it is advocated that serving the community has benefits to the individual, other people or a designated group of people, and in terms of welfare provision and upholding moral principles. The engagement of communities is regarded as forms of active citizenship based on reassurance, the ability to address wider issues than crime, to improve the public's confidence and ultimately encourage formal or informal participation by members of the public (Myhill 2006).

The introduction of volunteers into the crime and community safety environment comes with two considerations. Firstly, there is now an acknowledgement that the police cannot and should not be the only controllers of crime and safety; and secondly, due to changes in the public's priorities towards controlling crime and responsibility for safety, the statutory service providers, such as the police, should not be the only ones responsible (Garland 1996, 2001; Zhao *et al* 2002).

The wider involvement of the community and the individual in the co-production of community safety and more widely policing, sees volunteers filling the role with a move towards more responsabilised citizenry (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). As noted above, motivations for volunteering come into play. Helping others, wanting a wider social involvement or having an increased concern with social disorder, security and crime within

their neighbourhood are offered as some general motives for volunteering in criminal justice (Ren *et al* 2006; Wilson and Musick 1997).

Whilst giving something back and personal reward are important, volunteers that participate in criminal justice and community safety volunteering are exposed to levels of responsibility that may sometimes require different motivations. Participation by the individual in community safety volunteering tends to be evidenced in a cooperative relationship between the police and the citizen. Citizens are regarded as both consumers and collaborators of public security and without them, statutory providers would be limited in the contribution they could make to the community safety and crime arena (Choi and Lee 201; Friedman 1994). Volunteering in community safety or with the police is different from other forms of volunteering due to the exposure to crime, disorder and the 'darker side of life' (Zhao *et al* 2002). The role of the individual is therefore changed along with the motivations and values of the volunteer. Volunteering in policing is considered in the next section of this chapter.

Volunteering in Policing

This section of the chapter considers some of the examples of volunteers in community safety. Volunteers who participate in the Special Constabulary, Police Service Volunteers and members of Neighbourhood Watch groups are explored. The purpose of including these examples in this review is to demonstrate the common issues that feature in volunteering in community safety. It also highlights the unique dimensions of the volunteer street patrols as volunteers who support the police. Volunteers in support of the police and those volunteering for the police fall into the pluralised policing environment, namely the wider networks that exist around policing, which includes a new way of viewing the social systems that surround the act of policing (Jones and Newburn 2006; Rogers 2017).

Voluntary action has always been a feature of the police. According to Bullock and Fielding (2017) and Rogers (2017), citizen and community involvement in crime prevention and control can be traced back to medieval times. Literature from the National Archives proposes this date could be earlier with local community crime prevention being evident in the Tithing and the Posse Comitatus (National Archives 2019). Indeed, before the formal establishment and professionalisation of the police in 1829, crime prevention and

community control were primarily delivered by communities and private individuals (Bullock 2014; Crawford, 1998). Even after the establishment of the police, communities and citizens have retained an active role in delivering informal crime prevention and control, as well as safety more generally.

The eighteenth century saw communities self-regulating with regards to the control of crime and enforcement of punishment. Johnston (1992), Cohen (1989), Emsley (1996, 2013) and Reiner (2010) provide accounts and examples of the actions that were taken by communities to establish and enforce law and order. As early as 1285 the communal actions of citizens are noted in the Statute of Winchester (1285) that features a theme of communal responsibility and a personal service to the community (Critchley 1978). 'Hue and Cry' functions at neighbourhood level existed with local provision such as a 'town watch' throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, involving citizens guarding the entrance to towns and villages and conducting patrols. Communal responsibility featured heavily (Bullock 2014; Crawford 1998; Critchley 1978; Rawlings 2008). Importantly for this research, a feature in the control of crime, maintenance of order and the safety of the community was traditionally achieved through the social structures and social relationships that were found within communities (Reiner 2010).

The formation of the professional police in 1829 witnessed the informal voluntary actions and participation of citizens move from volunteering to paid employees of the state. Much of the work of the professional police at the time is suggested as being like that of the ordinary citizen who undertook the role previously (Bullock 2014). The need for community involvement through informal action, however, has always existed. In the shift from the 'police' to the actions of 'policing', the role of the citizen, or community, becomes paramount through democratic action. The relationship between the state, through the example of the police, highlights the boundaries and challenges between the two and evidences the position that the citizen may hold.

Participation in policing is evident from the involvement of individual citizens and includes contemporary examples such as residents who self-help in controlling crime (Johnston 1992), private or in-house security (Button 2008; Jones and Newburn 2006), volunteering within

the police service including Police Service Volunteers and the Special Constabulary (Bullock 2014; Leon 1989; Mawby 1990; Millie 2016), Neighbourhood Watch Groups (Bennett 1990; Bennett *et al* 2008) or Citizen Patrols (Bullock 2014). This vast amount of voluntary action raises questions around participation, volunteer actions and the involvement of the citizen in policing. These include considerations around responsibility, efficiency or ability to deliver policing services and what ethical issues may exist when responsibility is distributed (Zedner 2006:80).

Volunteers within policing are used in the delivery of safety and to increase community representation, and assistance in addressing the concerns of communities around social disorder and order maintenance at a local level (Lee *et al* 2015; Zhao *et al* 2002). Individual responsibility, and therefore participation in volunteering, is evidenced in the empirical examples of the Special Constabulary, Police Service Volunteering and Neighbourhood Watch. The participation of volunteers in and with policing and community safety can enhance policing functions that include increasing visibility (Cooke 2005), preventing crime, the maintenance of order, support for victims of crime and the ability to help in the investigation of crime (Ren *et al* 2006). This has led to a pluralised policing environment, which is explored next.

Pluralised policing is argued as the second tier of policing which is provided by the private sector, other public agencies and the voluntary sector. It sets the scene for volunteers in policing. In essence it “entails an enhanced role for those other than the police service in performing police related duties” (Joyce 2011:644). The need and desire to provide the public with a uniformed presence on the streets has led to the act of policing being opened up to other agencies and individuals away from the professional police (Cooke 2005; Joyce 2011). Historically this change in policing is attached to the reassurance function of the police based around the collective demand by the public for safety and security that is greater than the police are able to provide (Crawford and Lister 2004; Innes 2005). For this research it is the voluntary sector and its role within the criminal justice system or specifically policing that is considered.

Jones and Newburn (2006) suggest that features of pluralised policing tend to include the actions, initiatives and interventions that are provided by others rather than the police. This highlights several challenges. As appears to be common within the policing landscape, the voluntary sector is found to be taking on wider policing duties (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Corcoran *et al* 2018). The introduction of volunteers is evidence of this change. The involvement of non-traditional agencies and organisations into the delivery of policing requires governance and accountability (Loader 2000). The role of the police becomes one that is seen as a stand-by or secondary in the production of social order (Innes 2007), suggesting that others, namely volunteers in the case of this research, adopt and deliver the functions and services that would normally be provided by the police. The most popular example of volunteering in the police is that of the Special Constable, considered next.

Volunteers in the Special Constabulary were regarded as a police reserve to backfill and supplement the regular police force (Gill and Mawby 1990). Successive governments since the 1970's have promoted and encouraged volunteering within wider society and particularly within the police (Millie and Jacobson 2002). Often seen as value for money policing, police forces are actively recruiting Special Constables in times of financial challenge (Whittle 2014). Currently, and arguably linked to the wider changes brought about by the promotion of volunteering during austerity, the recruitment, role, promotion, management and retention of Specials appears to be a primary consideration for the UK police service (Bullock and Leeney 2014; Pepper 2014). A lack of research exists around the Special Constabulary; however, research is beginning to highlight the key findings in terms of challenges and boundaries for the role (see Bullock 2015; Bullock and Millie 2018; Millie and Jacobson 2002). Exploring these further, highlights similarities and differences for the volunteer street patrols.

How the volunteer is deployed and valued within the organisation are important points to consider for this research. The position of the Special Constable is predominantly a role that is used by the police for patrolling and engagement. Many Specials volunteer to support the regular police officers (Reiner 2010). A sense of value is attached to feeling part of the organisation as well as being accepted and regarded as a competent resource rather than a hindrance (Bullock and Leeney 2014). Research highlights that for the most part Special

Constables are valued within the respective organisations; however, tensions exist between regular officers and volunteers. Integration is a challenge and the relationship requires constant maintenance (Bullock and Leeney 2014; Whittle 2014).

The support, management and equipping with the essential skills are also areas of concern for volunteers in community safety. Training is argued as an essential requirement of the role by equipping volunteers with basic skills, whilst providing an opportunity to develop and grow their experience. Research argues that whilst most Special Constables experience integrated working patterns alongside regular officers, the ineffective use of their time, poor supervision and the mismanagement of the volunteers is a common problem (Millie 2016; Whittle 2014). When considering a role such as the street patrols, the relationship with the police and other agencies become paramount. Factors discussed above including the mismanagement of volunteers and a lack of support and guidance, may influence volunteer motivations, retention and the creation and maintenance of social capital.

Empirical research proposes that the role of the volunteer within policing is changing (Bullock and Leeney 2014; Bullock and Millie 2018; Pepper 2014), as is the role of the voluntary sector within the state apparatus (Corcoran *et al* 2018). ‘Specials’ are no longer being classified as “well-meaning amateurs as attempts are being made to professionalise the Special Constabulary” (Bullock and Leeney 2014:484). The professionalisation of the role highlights several key points that are appropriate to consider. Like that of the Specials, the branding of ‘well-meaning amateurs’ is often aimed at volunteers. Professionalisation remains key to volunteers in terms of the relationship with the state or the police and the levels of support offered such as training or equipment. It also questions the existing boundaries between volunteers and the police when working with street patrols. Police Service Volunteers also highlight other key characteristics that need consideration.

Police Service Volunteers (hereafter PSV) are the second example that this review will consider. Bullock (2015) informs us that two significant reasons exist for the use and growth of PSV, similar to other volunteers in policing. These are the change and acceptance that the state alone cannot be the sole provider of security, and that police forces can increase in strength whilst saving money by incorporating and developing the role of the volunteer

(Bullock 2015; Callender *et al* 2018; Millie 2016, 2018). Starting around the 1990's, PSV differ from the Special Constable in that they are not sworn officers and therefore do not carry the office of the constable. Generally, found within police stations, PSV support the functions of the police service through the donation of time to help engaging in a range of activities that includes staffing front counters, managing neighbourhood watch groups, data entry, operation of CCTV, administrator support and other police duties (Unison 2014). Challenges exist with PSV, as with the Special Constabulary, that are worth considering in terms of volunteer street patrols. Firstly, challenges to the integration into the policing family in a landscape that has traditionally been hard to access. Secondly, the difference between PSV's and a volunteer who holds the office of a constable, namely the position and the role(s) of PSVs within the respective forces; and thirdly the coordination, management of the volunteers and supervision (Bullock 2015; Callender *et al* 2018; Millie 2016, 2018).

The final example considered is that of Neighbourhood Watch, the most well-known example of the volunteers in policing. The example of the Special Constabulary and the Police Service Volunteers highlights volunteering for the state police. The example of voluntary action within residential communities is evidenced in the actions of volunteers from neighbourhood watch groups. Heavily promoted by Governments in the early twentieth century, the overarching idea of Neighbourhood Watch is members of the community help the police to detect crime and reduce the fear of it, improving relations between the police and the public and promoting social cohesion (Bennett 1989; Bennett *et al* 2006; Bullock 2014).

The activity is a significant example of voluntary action in the criminal justice service and is suggested as being the largest movement within the UK (Neuberger 2009) and the USA (Bennett *et al* 2008). It is also an example of residential based volunteering within criminal justice. Research proposes that around 173,000 schemes exist in the UK, although this figure should not be taken as accurate due to reasons including varying levels of participation.

Several critiques can be found within the discourse surrounding Neighbourhood Watch, which are important for this research and could be applied to volunteer patrolling. A lack of systematic evaluations and robust evidence is a common challenge to research (Bennett *et al* 2008; Gresham *et al* 2004; Laycock and Tilley 1995). Although the focus of this research

is not based around effective outcomes, Neighbourhood Watch failed to demonstrate links between engagement and crime reduction (Bennett 1989) and it is ineffective in preventing crime (Sherman and Eck 2002). Research also suggests that in areas where Neighbourhood Watch is present, and participation is active, crime has fallen, however an increase in the fear of crime by participants has been noted (Laycock and Tilley 1995).

Divisions exist between the watched and the watchers due to the presence of a Neighbourhood Watch scheme (Laycock and Tilley 1995). The links to the police may also be damaging from the perspective of the community in areas of high crime or high numbers from black and ethnic minority communities. From the perspective of the police the amount of commitment that is required in terms of training, management and resourcing for Neighbourhood Watch volunteer schemes can be a strain on policing resources when compared to the return gained (Gresham *et al* 2004). This presents questions around the management of volunteers and the boundaries that exist in the relationship between the police and the volunteer street patrols. Neighbourhood Watch highlights that a balance must be achieved when the voluntary sector works with the state. Accordingly, the chapter draws to a close by exploring the challenges and boundaries around volunteer street patrols, the focus of this thesis.

Volunteer Street Patrols

This final section of the literature review is about citizen or volunteer street patrols (hereafter). Bullock (2014), in her review of citizens in crime control, situates volunteer street patrols within the contemporary structures of pluralised policing. Their actions contribute towards the control of crime and delivery of safety. It is suggested that they have a chequered history. Originating from the US, this form of voluntary action is associated with the US example of the Guardian Angels. Established in 1979 in the US, the Guardian Angels were self-proclaimed peace keepers (Kenney 1986). Here volunteers took to the streets to help reduce the occurrence of crime and bring offenders to justice. They wore distinctive uniforms that made them highly visible to potential criminals and members of the public. Membership of the group was based around desires by the community for increased social control and a reduction in crime on the streets (Pennell *et al* 1985). Their membership is

said to have reached around 5000 at its peak (Kenney 1986). However, issues relating to the behaviour of members, their motives and the methods of their leader, manifested in strained relationships between the organisation, the public and police administrators (Pennell *et al* 1985). Sometimes branded as vigilantes with many members of the group taking the law into their own hands, Guardian Angels actively intervened in crime control and the apprehension of criminals (Bullock 2014). The actions of their volunteers remain an important consideration for this research by exploring how they fit within contemporary examples of participation.

Despite the connection with vigilantism, research into the group highlights another side to their story by evidencing interventions that are non-crime related activities (Pennell *et al* 1985). It is here that similarities with the UK example can be made. A history of the introduction of volunteer street patrols is offered by Bullock (2014). To begin, she suggests that initially the introduction of the groups centred round London, with the aim to tackle knife crime on the underground in 1986, before eventually seeing the activity spread to other cities in the UK with the introduction of the Street Pastors. The 1990's, saw a lack of interest from the Conservative government due to the potential risks, including vigilantism and member behaviour, that were associated with the US example of the Guardian Angels (*ibid*). However, evident through the growing active citizen discourse witnessed from successive governments, the influential reviews of voluntary action in the criminal justice system (Casey 2008; Neuberger 2009) and the changes that have been witnessed in the pluralisation of policing, a wider acceptance of volunteer street patrols in the crime and safety landscape is now evident.

Bullock in her review also highlights a further significant point concerning the remit and the perceptions of volunteer patrols that is a general consideration in this research:

“Initially citizen patrols were associated with confrontation between patrollers and criminal suspects whereas more recently they have been associated with engagement, welfare and support of vulnerable citizens and would-be victims.” (Bullock 2014:147)

This represents a significant change in the activities of volunteers involved in patrolling and sets the scene for the UK examples that are explored next. Bullock (2014) summaries that

the focus of volunteer patrols is to assist and support those in need, most commonly within the night-time economy. Here the focus is on deterrence rather than the apprehension of criminals. Middle and Yarwood also support the difference between the US and UK examples in their work on the Street Pastors. They argue that the groups aim is to “provide non-judgemental care for those on a night out” (Middleton and Yarwood 2015:502). The angle adopted for this research is to explore volunteer street patrols through the lenses of the voluntary sector firstly, and secondly as citizens in policing. The two most common UK examples are considered next.

Many of the volunteer patrol groups within the UK originate from faith-based organisations. Their ethos being one that aims to address social, economic and spiritual deprivation (Johns *et al* 2009). Two main groups of volunteer street patrol can be found in the UK, namely volunteers grouped under the Street Pastors and the Street Angels labels. The first example that is considered is that of the Street Pastors. Established by the Ascension Trust in 2003, the Street Pastors was founded by Les Isaacs and colleagues as a way of taking the faith onto the streets (Ascension Trust 2017). At the time of this research it is anticipated that there are over 13,000 Street Pastor volunteers (*ibid*). The movement proposes a self-label as to how they regard themselves, namely as part of the “urban trinity” (Isaac and Davies 2014:52).

The project, at its conception, was aimed at tackling escalating gun and knife crime on the streets of London and other UK cities (Bullock 2014). The remit for the volunteers, despite originally introduced to tackle gun crime, is evolving but remains specific. They offer a visible uniformed presence on the streets, they patrol in the night-time economy and they offer practical help, which is secular in its nature, to those who appear vulnerable and in need (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009; Johns *et al* 2018; Swann *et al* 2015; van Steden 2018). The group work in partnership with the police and other statutory service provides to help and support people within the night-time economy (Isaac and Davies 2014). Their purpose is to engage with people that other services may sometimes avoid with the aim of preventing and reducing crime and anti-social behaviour and promoting safety and well-being (Middleton and Yarwood 2015). The pastors hold the belief that through Christian values, listening to

people and showing compassion they can make a difference (Middleton and Yarwood 2015; van Steden 2018).

A later addition in 2005 came in the form of the Street Angels, the second largest group of volunteer street patrols, who originated in the northern town of Halifax to address issues connected to the night-time economy. At the time of writing around 130 Street Angel patrols are in existence across the UK (Christian Nightlife Initiative 2017). Their remit, like that of the Street Pastors, is to help those who are vulnerable and in need (NPIA 2010). The group recruits volunteers from local churches, similar to the Street Pastors (Bullock 2014), however, as will be explored, this net has widened within other examples of the Angel groups. Like the Street Pastors, the governance structure is coordinated by the Christian Nightlife Initiative (CNI), that acts as an umbrella organisation that provides support and governance for projects in the UK and abroad.

Several other examples of patrol-based volunteering exist under the CNI umbrella including “Festival Angels, Train Station Angels, Club [nightclub] Angels and Youth Angels” (Christian Nightlife Initiative 2017). Claims made on their website regarding the work of the volunteers include: helping to change a culture of alcohol related admissions to A&E and a reduction to alcohol related violence; and helping to make the streets of the communities in which they work feel safer again (ibid). The Street Angels project has spread across the UK and into Europe with examples being found as street patrols or in the provision and coordination of safe spaces (ibid). More detailed information on the groups in Manchester, the focus of this research, is presented in the methodology chapter of this thesis. Based on the key points raised so far, it is a suitable place to explore how volunteer patrols are defined.

Accordingly, defining a volunteer street patrol is a challenge. In doing so, however, we can expose several key questions that this research will aim to address. Literature surrounding volunteer patrols offers little in the way of a suitable definition. Defining the Guardian Angels suggests that they “offer the potential of a positive force against disorder and crime in areas most in need” (Pennell *et al* 1985:1), although this is subjective. Bullock (2014) informs us that no official definition of a patrol exists due to the diversity, composition and activities of each volunteer group. Yin *et al* (1977) and their work on volunteer patrols portrays the

widest and most encompassing definition by arguing that the definition of a volunteer street patrol comprises of interventions that are delivered by citizens or residents, usually safety or crime prevention based, within a residential community over that of a commercial area.

This would appear a suitable encompassing definition for the general array of volunteer patrols. However, a key challenge exists surrounding the residential and commercial community aspect of Yin *et al* (1977) definition. Whilst most examples of volunteer patrols work within residential settings, arguably based on residents' fears and concerns with crime, the three examples in this research work within the urban environment. Moreover, their volunteers tend not to live in the areas they patrol, preventing them from fitting into the resident aspect, but having an attachment or tie to the area. To explore this, something that will be developed throughout this thesis, a focus toward the features of volunteer patrols is necessary.

Bullock (2014) offers five key areas of consideration to help conceptualise the actions of volunteer patrols. Firstly, the object of the surveillance. Bullock suggests that normally patrols have a remit or a focus that they are geared towards in their surveillance or patrol. It is important to explore what this may be in order to consider the motives or actions of the patrollers. Secondly, and important in this research, is the type of area that the patrol takes place in. The remit in terms of geographical location is important in defining volunteer patrolling be that within the city or the traditional residential setting. Accordingly, the third point to address are the activities in which patrollers participate, which will assist in understanding their contribution and partnerships. Fourthly, how the patrol is undertaken, be that on foot or in a vehicle and finally, the actions that volunteers in patrols are willing to take to prevent crime or apprehend criminals (Bullock 2014; Kenney 1986). This five-point perspective provides the conceptual guide for this research and justifies the need for research based on this voluntary action. It also presents several questions that the research will work towards that are discussed next.

Three key themes are considered when defining volunteer street patrols that originate from an acknowledgement that contemporary examples of street patrols differ than those of the US example of the Guardian Angels. These are the actions that volunteers would be willing

to take, the ethos or aims of the group and the relationships and positions within local governance structures that they have. Volunteer street patrols differ in terms of their actions, the motivations of their volunteers and their ethos and focus (Bullock 2014; Kenney 1986; NPIA 2010; Pennell *et al* 1985). The actions of the volunteers tell us that volunteer patrollers can be active or passive in terms of how prepared they are to intervene in crime situations (Pennell *et al* 1985). An active patroller would evidence behaviours similar to that of a Guardian Angel, namely to apprehend criminals or intervene in criminal acts. A passive patroller would be less focused on apprehension of criminals, less concerned with crime and possibly stay with being the eyes and ears of the police (Bullock 2014, Pennell *et al* 1985; van Steden 2018).

The activities of the patrols are said to vary between each group (Bullock 2014). This is evidenced in the levels of intervention that volunteers are willing to take. Johns *et al* (2009) suggest that the Street Pastors are a group that overtly suggests they will not intervene in situations unless they are directly approached to do so. They argue that regardless of a person's vulnerability, on occasion, Street Pastors hold the guiding principle that intervening must be based on being approached. This raises questions around their efficacy and their effectiveness (Bullock 2014; Jayne *et al* 2010).

The ethos or aims of the patrols can tell us their focus and their contribution. For example, the UK volunteer patrols are said to centre their actions round support, care and reducing vulnerability as opposed to fighting crime, taking a passive approach in their actions (Pennell *et al* 1985). Finally, the relationship with others. Considering who the volunteers work with will contribute towards a better understanding of governance structures and their place in the delivery of community safety and the challenges this presents.

Bullock informs us that when thinking about who the volunteer street patrols hold relationships with, the police appear to be the leading agency. She writes that "police service statements on the issue suggest a preference for schemes which are operating within 'formal structure'" (Bullock 2014:159), which raises questions of the governance of the local street patrols. Governance for the street patrol is important with regards to the accountability of the volunteers and in some aspect their legitimacy. Johns *et al* (2009) argue that much of

the structures that exist around volunteer street patrols tend to fall within the local community safety policy and frameworks. Belonging to a local framework of governance can address issues of legitimacy as volunteers are accountable to others when it comes to their actions. This is important in regard to vigilantism. It is suggested that an attachment and relationship with the police may go some way to negating this (Pennell *et al* 1985). Formal agreements with the local policing teams can hold the volunteers and patrollers to account should the need arise. Needless to say, having a relationship with the police comes with several challenges.

Similar to their views around interventions, Street Pastors operate within their own governance structure, separate from that of the local police (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009). Isaac and Davies (2014) in their book titled 'Faith on the Streets' suggest that relationships with local community safety partners remains important to the group. They summarise that the Street Pastor movement does not wish to align itself with anyone in particular but wishes to hold several partnerships with statutory partners. Barton *et al* (2011) believe that the Street Pastor movement is hesitant to form and maintain relationships with anyone that could challenge or threaten their organisational aims, ethos and vision.

Accordingly, a final area worthy of note is the relationship volunteer street patrols hold with the police. Limited research exists around the relationship between the volunteers and the police however important points remain around the level of support offered to volunteers. Johns *et al* (2009) suggest that, based on the Street Pastor group in their research, varying levels of support from little to extensive, from the statutory services, including the police, were evident. Further challenges are presented in the form of the role that volunteers were willing to accept, and the levels of independence in the relationship (Sagar 2005). It also raises the question whether patrols are willing to accept the symbolic functions of police work such as visibility, reassurance and patrol (Innes 2003, 2005, 2007; Sagar 2005).

Chapter Summary

The literature that surrounds the voluntary sector and volunteering suggests that the responsabilisation discourse is firmly embedded within the sector. An ever-increasing role is noted for the voluntary sector with the criminal justice arena, one which creates the space

for responsible volunteering to take place. The motivations of volunteers highlight that similarities exist between the general motivations for volunteering and those specific to volunteering in criminal justice. The overview of volunteer patrol literature highlights gaps in the research that surround the actions of the volunteers, the people that participate in them, the relationships that they hold with others in the night-time economy and the contribution they make towards community safety. In exploring other examples of volunteering within policing, similar issues are presented. Volunteering within the Special Constabulary and police service volunteers highlights challenges of value, relationships and volunteer management (Bullock 2014, 2015; Bullock and Leeney 2014; Millie 2016; Whittle 2014). The example of neighbourhood watch provides deeper rooted issues connected to representation of the community or the contribution of volunteers towards crime and safety, whilst wider thinking around the role and position of the volunteer in terms of responsibility is evidenced (Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010). It also offers a need to consider the relationships that exist between volunteers and the state and the associated boundaries.

The next chapter explores the methods and methodological approach that was adopted in this research. The research design is outlined alongside several of the notable issues that this ethnographic study has considered. To begin, the chapter outlines the three research questions that the research aims to address.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents and reflectively considers the methodology and the research design selected for this thesis. It offers my reflections on the methodological challenges that came with this ethnographic study. It is organised into three sections, including an outline of the rationale and aims of the research. It presents the research questions that have originated from a detailed review of the literature that surrounds volunteer street patrols. My own biography is the first section that sets the scene and explores my positionality within and throughout the research process. The chapter then considers some of the methodological challenges that surround an urban ethnography including the justification for choosing an ethnographic qualitative research approach. Secondly, I explore the methods that were adopted in this research and detail some of the processes that were carried out. The final part of the chapter considers some of the challenges addressed in this research, which include the ethical dilemmas, the recording of data and bringing the research to a close. To begin, alongside the aims and rationale of the research, my own biography and positionality that has featured and influenced this empirical study is considered.

Rationale and Aims of the Research

This is an ethnographic study carried out with three urban volunteer street patrols in Manchester. These are the Manchester Village Angels, the Manchester Street Angels and the Manchester Street Pastors. The justification for this research stems from my background and interest in volunteers within the criminal justice system, specifically those that are concerned with policing. Previous experience of working with voluntary groups in policing led to a focus on the work of street patrols that support and assist people, typically at night over the weekend. My interest in the life of my home city Manchester prompted me to explore voluntary action in the city and to consider which volunteer groups support the police and other emergency services.

The central aim of this thesis is to explore the actions, motivations and contribution of volunteers that participate in a volunteer street patrol. To achieve this, three research questions remain central to the work:

- What contribution do volunteers make towards community safety?
- Who do volunteers work with and why?
- What motivates volunteers to volunteer in a street patrol?

To answer these questions, an ethnographic approach was chosen as the most suitable option. In choosing an ethnographic approach for my research design I was able to walk and talk with the volunteers to experience and share in their voluntary action, detailing their stories and actions. My position within the research is outlined first. In doing so, my aim is to reflect on my role within the research whilst touching upon some of the issues that I reflect upon throughout the chapter.

Positionality

“All ethnographers should bring their biographies to the research table.” (Hobbs 2013:9)

This section refers to aspects of my position within the research and that of my personal characteristics and experience (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Hobbs (2013) makes the point that all researchers should bring their biographies to the table. Auto-ethnography, including the inclusion of the self, in criminological research is increasing (Ferrell 2006; Philips and Earle 2010; Wakeman 2014, 2018). However, this thesis does not aim to be a piece of auto-ethnographic research, its purpose is to detail the accounts of others, whilst acknowledging my own story. The aim is to explore my position within the research to encompass my past ideas and experiences or my “honest and rigorous appraisals of our [my] own assumptions” (Campbell and Lassiter 2015:4). I also aim to use reflectivity as a way of addressing some of the methodological obstacles I encountered. To begin, I consider the need for reflectivity in research, my fascination with the city and my previous vocational experience.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:14) suggest “social researchers are part of the social world they study”. In the geographical sense I have an attachment to the city of Manchester. In other words, this is the “biography of a research project” (Hobbs 2001:1). I was born in Lancashire, not far from Manchester, and for all my adult life and have had various connections to the city. I remember as a young child and teenager visiting the city with my

Mother and Aunty for shopping trips. I remember fondly the excitement and fascination that I experienced when we got off the bus and walked through the city streets. Life in Manchester, from my memory, was and has always been busy, bustling and messy. This fascination appears to have never left me as soon after university I began to spend much more time in the city with colleagues and new friends. Eventually I succumbed to the city life and rented one of the many apartments with a friend that overlooked one of the smaller rivers in the city. Over the course of ten or so years, I have moved to different areas of the city including Castlefield, The Northern Quarter and the outskirts of the neighbouring City of Salford. My role within the field becomes important here. Lofland (1971) suggests that most researchers typically enter the research field as a novice, with the research setting being unfamiliar. My experience of Manchester and the city has helped to reduce some of the challenges this could have presented. Knowing the city, the neighbourhoods and the ebbs and flows, gave me an element of confidence in what to expect on the streets and offered a foundation from which to build.

Despite my familiarity with the geography and life of the city, uncertainty came when thinking about observing volunteer groups within the city. In my previous vocational life, I have worked in several roles as a police constable including that of a community police officer, responsible for community issues within a designated geographical area. I have drawn from this experience as it is here that I first encountered volunteers and voluntary organisations that supported the police. Several local community projects led by small and large charities operated in the local area that supported vulnerable people in dealing with issues of vulnerability, loneliness, crime prevention and rehabilitation through engaging in the environment. I saw first-hand the impact charities and volunteers could have on vulnerable citizens.

As a police officer, I first encountered a Street Pastor group whilst policing the local area and wondered what role they played in supporting the police and preventing crime. One of the motivations for this research is this exposure to a street patrol several years ago, that was geared towards supporting and working with the police. This was an instrumental factor in my choice of focus towards exploring the volunteer street patrols. I acknowledge that

despite my previous experience in policing, working with volunteer groups was daunting. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) make a point that I can associate with:

“There is nothing magical about the process of learning. Novices watch what other people are doing, ask others to explain what is happening, try things out for themselves- occasionally making mistakes- and so on.” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:798)

I was willing to follow, watch and explore the actions of each group, however it was important to acknowledge how my past vocation and experiences gained from policing could influence my research. As such, my positionality or the insider or outsider position has shaped my understandings (Brown 1996).

Brown (1996) suggests that four different types of research investigators exist when it comes to researching the police, namely the positions that the researcher adopts. These range from the insider, a person who works for the police or has done so previously, or the outsider, who can take on several roles that focus on researching the police with little or no previous connection to them. For me, I can identify with what is termed the outsider / insider perspective namely my previous occupation as a police constable and my new role as a researcher. Brown (1996) argues that individuals may move from role to role as they progress through their careers or their research changes. According, I also identify with the position of the outsider / outsider, despite no longer being connected to the police but undertaking research that may be of interest within policing. Therefore, wider positionality issues need to be considered. Westmarland (2001) suggests that Brown’s work, whilst being focused on those researching the police, is relevant for any researcher engaged with those in the criminal justice system. Whilst several policing studies have originated from outside / insiders, several limitations need to be considered including the movement between statuses, the positioning of the researcher and the emotional experiences of researchers within criminal justice.

It is important to note the debates that surround the researcher from the insider or outsider perspective. Bryman (2012) suggests researchers tend to adopt active or passive roles when it comes to ethnographic research. In his work on field roles and participation in ethnographic research, I identify myself as having the features of a partially participating

observer. Here it is suggested that during my observations of the street patrols, I made the effort to observe but with little intervention in the situations that occurred. As described by van Maanen (1978), despite my best efforts there were occasions when my participation in the activities of the volunteers was unavoidable. For instance, I would help volunteers by carrying spare equipment such as bottled water. I supported people who were drunk when sourcing a taxi to take them home, or while volunteers assisted a person who needed support I would talk to their friends. This highlights the challenges that are presented around the role of the researcher in observational research.

I argue my position as an outsider, regardless of the ability to change roles (Brown 1996), if pressed to define a role within this research. Despite acknowledging my previous experiences, I had no direct experience, connections or involvement with volunteer street patrols in this research other than that of the average member of public. Criticisms of insider status in ethnographic research include a closeness to the research that lack detachment or bias (O'Reilly 2009), or for outsiders, the threat of going native, making distinctions or the blurring of boundaries (Bryman 2012; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; O'Reilly 2009). In negotiating this position, and despite my inclination towards an outsider position, Dwyer and Buckle highlight what I have regarded as key to the research:

"The core ingredient is not insider or outsider status but an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience." (Dwyer and Buckle 2009:59)

Throughout the research process, I realised that despite the suggested definitions and role, their interchangeability and the contested issues and benefits that are associated with them, offer a suitable approach to take in this thesis. An awareness of my past, but not at the cost of the participants who took part, is important. Exploring the perspectives further, highlights that despite my self-classification of outsider, at some point in this research I will have moved temporarily towards an insider position. It is argued that the role of a researcher should be viewed as a continuum rather than a fixed point (Breen 2007). Accordingly, it is possible to argue that researchers "are neither complete observers nor complete participants, but often working in that 'third space' in between" (McNess *et al* 2015:24).

Working in the third space leads me to consider a final point connected to my positionality, that of guilty knowledge. The work of a street patrol can naturally lend itself to exposure of acts of criminality. My awareness of this was enhanced due to my previous experience of working within the police. This dilemma is reminiscent with Pearson (2009) who, in his research on football hooliganism, suggests that ethnographic researchers can often be in ethically challenging situations when it comes to the witnessing of criminal acts. Despite my awareness of the law and criminal behaviour, I would often find myself in situations that required me to think through what others, including my previous self, would do when faced with acts that are deemed as criminal. Guilty knowledge would often lead to ethically challenging situations or “encounters with ambiguity” (Westmarland 2001:531). For Calvey (2019) these challenges are described as raising “ethical moments” (Calvey 2019:257), a concept I would often reflect upon. My insider knowledge enriched the research, whilst at the same time offered a constant reminder of the indefiniteness and challenge of ethnographic research and the quest for advancing knowledge. Accordingly, my insider position is noted as offering a worthy and unique contribution to this research in more than just my knowledge of the city and its streets, but also in my understanding of situations of vulnerability, harm and crime. My biography is acknowledged and featured throughout this work.

Research Theory

The research design for this thesis aligns with what Maxwell states as an open-ended approach (Maxwell 2004). Initially, the nature of this led to uncertainty around the selection of suitable methods, choice of participants and the suitable environment to observe in. At the beginning of a research project, other than the general methodological considerations (see Ferrell and Hamm 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; King and Wincup 2007), little is available to the researcher to aid in research design. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that this is a natural part of the qualitative research process, particularly within ethnographic research, which is primarily concerned with the production of descriptions and the explanation of certain phenomena. A key function in research design is a need to plan, collect and analyse evidence to answer the research questions (Ragin 1994). It is this action of designing the research that turns the initial research questions into projects (Robson

2002). As part of the research design, I address my ontological and epistemological positions that I have adopted for this research as they are argued as significant in informing how the research is formulated and approached (Bryman 2012). For this research, an ethnographic approach was selected. A qualitative methodology was chosen as the most suitable way to capture the experiences, views and opinions of volunteers. The research also uses some descriptive statistics around the demographics of volunteers that are explored in this chapter.

Quantitative Methods

Although this is not a quantitative study, it is important to acknowledge the potential that one could offer. Quantitative methods traditionally lend themselves to the measurement, testing and quantification of data and its analysis. By its very nature it remains a deductive approach that focuses on the testing of theories through formulated hypothesis that are based around viewing social reality as an external objective reality (Bryman 2012). The epistemological position of quantitative research has historically tended to stem from a positivist perspective. Concerned with a positivist epistemology, quantitative methods see the testing of knowledge in regard to its validity and reliability. While inferential statistics have a place in some research, it was not deemed appropriate for the current research. In designing this research, I had no specific hypothesis that required testing, only my opinions on the volunteer street patrols and the current climate of community safety that I wanted to explore. A perspective offered by Williams and Treadwell informs us that “what is learnt in the field remains not objective fact, but perspective formed opinion” (Williams and Treadwell 2008:57). Accordingly, an ethnographic approach was chosen that was based on an open-ended approach towards the data and the research that was required (Maxwell 2004). However, a quantitative study could be used further to evaluate the contribution volunteer street patrols make towards community safety. This would offer a different perspective towards their contribution but is not the focus of this research.

Despite choosing not to adopt a quantitative methodology, ethnographers are required to draw from several sources of data (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Quantitative data is evident in this research. Brief descriptive statistics are used to help build a narrative around

the demographic information that was collected. This level of statistics sets the scene of who is involved in a Manchester volunteer street patrol. Accordingly, the features surrounding a qualitative approach for this research are now considered.

Qualitative Methods

A qualitative methodology allows this research to explore the behaviours, opinions, feelings and experiences of volunteers in a street patrol. The features of qualitative research include the opportunities to study people and naturally occurring events in their natural settings with a certain degree of flexibility in the methods available to use (Miles and Huberman 1994). Accordingly, it lends itself to the interpretivist approach of social research explored below (Bows 2018).

For Denzin “in the social sciences there is only interpretation” (Denzin 1997:313). Qualitative research has advantages that allows for the exploration of social complexities, social realities and their making (Alder and Alder 1987). The interpretivist perspective adopted in this research is in contrast to that of a positivist position. This epistemological stance sees this research looking towards the subjective meaning of the social action, namely that within the volunteer street patrols. My epistemological stance is based on the wish to consider the subjective nature of the actions, values and the behaviours of people (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Accordingly, the interpretivist position sees the construction of social reality as part of this action (Bows 2018).

My methodological, epistemological and ontological approach acknowledge that there is no single truth, no single story but that through a sociological and criminological lens, I intend to develop as rich as possible narrative of street patrols operating in Manchester. Constructivism as an ontological position informs this research. This is based on the need to tell the story of volunteers in a street patrol, through the interpretation of meanings, interaction, representations and relationships. Constructivism is argued as the phenomena and the associated meanings that are carried out by actors in society, in this case the volunteers and those actors, institutions and processes who interact with them. It is this that is subject to interpretation (Bryman 2012; Flick 2014; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). For a volunteer street patrol several processes and interactions take place at any given time. The

nature of this research is to explore these in order to add to the existing knowledge. This ontological position is also one that sees the social world as a construction and one that is constantly changing over time (Bryman 2012). For this research, an extended period of study in the research field allowed for the interpretation and meaning of this social world and its constant revisions to be explored.

A central idea of qualitative research is to allow the researcher a chance to explore the social relationships that exist between individuals and groups of people, and to capture the perspectives of the research participants to construct a social reality through interactive processes (Flick 2014). This research is about the interactions that take place in the volunteering environment. An ethnographic approach can capture the rich and diverse life of the city whilst exploring volunteering in action. Pearson informs us that ethnographies have a habit of “telling it like it is” (Pearson 1993: viii), which aligns with the central aim of the research. Qualitative ethnographic methods offer two things, amongst others; a suitable way to collect data through the observation of the research participants and the opportunity for the researcher to participate in the research environment (Bryman 2012). Accordingly, ethnography was selected as a way in which to achieve this and is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Ethnography

In looking at the work of volunteer street patrols, an ethnographic approach fits naturally with the various definitions of ethnographies including what Brewer suggests as “the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘field’ by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities” (Brewer 2000:6). Ethnographic studies in criminological research involve the use of several methods that include interviews and participant observations, featured in classic examples such as Becker’s *Outsiders* (1963, 1973) and Whyte’s *Street Corner Society* (1943), to more contemporary examples that consider the study of small groups, similar to this research, as part of a bigger picture of social, economic and political landscapes (Hall 2018). Silverman argues that regardless, an ethnography is an opportunity to “look at what people are doing” (Silverman 2014:230), something which resonates with this research. Due to the current lack of research into street

patrols (Bullock 2014), ethnography through participant observation, offers a chance to explore the unknown.

Punch suggests that an ethnographic approach is:

"A method of discovery and is particularly useful when we are dealing with something new, different or unknown. It is an excellent way of gaining insight, context and symbolic significance of behaviour we need to understand, in a way that other research approaches cannot into a culture or a social process ... the ethnographic approach can sensitize us to the cultural." (Punch 1988:162)

Alder and Alder see ethnography as vital in developing knowledge and understanding of the social world. They inform us that:

"Ethnography's great power lies in its deep penetration of a topic or area: it yields explanatory insights in to the reasons that people, groups and organisations act as they do and how conflicting social forces are resolved." (Alder and Alder 1987:17)

The features of ethnographic studies, as outlined above, offer a suitable method and opportunity to actively observe people and their social interactions and relationships. This is also the case for this research as it offers an opportunity to focus on the volunteers within their social setting. This is what makes this research ideal for an ethnographic research design. An ethnographic approach provides the opportunity, through observing the volunteers, to allow for knowledge to emerge organically, rather than constructed by the researcher. The common aspects amongst ethnographies include the opportunity to spend time in the research field with the view of generating knowledge and information on the daily habits, routine practices and options of the volunteers (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In choosing to carry out an ethnography for this research I was able to embrace the ontological and epistemological position and design of the research so that I could consider the social world of the volunteers from within. Alder and Alder (1987) suggest this to be a key feature and benefit of ethnography. This is the case in this research a year in the field, which involved observing and spending time with the volunteers on their weekend evening patrols, allowing me access to many different spaces that the volunteers occupy and the numerous roles that they become involved in. Ethnographic research for researching the actions of volunteer street patrols offers a method that is open ended and flexible. The

nature of this research requires such an approach due to the time of day that the patrol operate and the environment in which it takes place. For example, very rarely were the patrols routine, often involving late finishes, unexpected emergencies or detours along the way. Walking with the volunteers offered a way of seeing the chance encounters that they were often part of. Ethnography offered the research the degree of flexibility needed.

The central focus of this research is based around human and social action. Accordingly, it is the interactions that take place and the interpretation of them that will result in the construction of knowledge. As Flick (2014) informs us, ethnographies are a suitable way to embrace and harness the views of the research participants, something which this research aims to provide. This focus is also aligned to Maynard's views on the role of ethnography related to a constructionist model:

"In doing ethnography, researchers attempt to draw a picture of what some phenomenon 'looks like' from an insider's account of the phenomenon and for some audience who wants to know about it. The ethnographer, in general, is in the business of describing culture from the members' point of view."
(Maynard 1989:130)

My aim here, in line with Maynard, is to explore how volunteers both see and do the things they do and to interpret the social reality and the interactions that take place around them.

Ethnography's closest to this research stems from that conducted on the police and policing such as that of Ramshaw (2012). Although this piece of research is not research of the professional police, similarities are drawn from policing related ethnographies, in particular those concerned with police patrol. Ramshaw, in her work on the patrolling styles of the police officer, makes an important point that resonates with this thesis. "It is the ethnography that captures the reality of operational police practice and offers the policy maker valuable insights into a raft of issues that, quite possibly, evade the evaluative policy" (Ramshaw 2012:230). Ramshaw argues that ethnography can capture the diverse and rich interactions that take place during a police patrol, and as such contribute a distinct set of outcomes that could otherwise be missed when it comes to informing policy. It is here where the limitations of ethnographic study are considered.

Qualitative research, particularly ethnographic studies, are not without their challenges. Several considerations are discussed around the use of ethnography as a method for researching street patrols. A significant challenge is founded upon the epistemological stance of the researcher that is based around endless interpretivism. A further limitation that is apparent when considering ethnography as a method is that of generalisability (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Challenges levied towards ethnographic studies suggest that there can be a lack of generalisability. This is reminiscent of Hammersley and Atkinson's suggestion that "because only a single case, or at any rate a small number of cases, is studied, the representativeness of the findings is always in doubt" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1993:42). For this research, the purpose remains to discover more about volunteer street patrols and add to this growing area of research (Bullock 2014). This research to date remains distinct due to its exploration of three groups within an urban environment. I am unable to claim that the sample used in this research is representative of other street patrols in different cities, countries and contexts. The purpose remains only to offer an insight into this voluntary action.

Criticisms of ethnographic research come into question when thinking about the limitations that exist with ethnographic study. For example, it is argued that when using interviews as a source of data collection, they may offer a distorted view of the subject being studied (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Reasons for this can include a misunderstanding of the question that is being asked or the subject that is being discussed. Other challenges such as participants feeling that their response should be what the interviewer wants to hear, namely presenting their "front stage" (Goffman 1959:32), or a need to play to the camera, which are all issues that can lead to distortion in the interview process (Duneier and Moloth 1999). Measures taken in this study to overcome these issues include conducting multiple interviews from participants across the three distinct organisations to harness several perspectives, a review of current policy, website searching of the three organisations mission statements and news sharing platforms, and a yearlong observation period across four seasons to capture the life cycle of the city, which included observations in a range of settings other than just the street patrol. The central data collection methods for this study are participant observation and interviews, which are explored next.

Participant Observation

This research centred round the method of participant observation. Denzin defines participant observation as:

“A field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection.” (Denzin 1989:157)

Participant observation was selected as a central method in this research as a way of overcoming uncertainties towards the research design, such as who and what to observe in the field and for how long. I relied upon this method to observe the environment, interactions and climate of the volunteers on patrol. This proved successful as through a year spent observing, walking, talking and listening to volunteers, I was able to fulfil the role of an ethnographer, namely to explore people’s everyday lives and interactions, their way of thinking and their environments. Participant observation as a method provided me with a suitable way in which to access the field almost immediately. It is argued that the role the research takes in the field is often adopted based on the research setting (Alder and Alder 1991). This was the case in this research as it is the time spent with the volunteers on the streets of the city that has informed this thesis. It informed the methodological approach and led to the theoretical generalisations.

Gold (1958) and Bryman (2012) offer a typology of the role a participant can adopt in participant observation. I identify as a minimally participating observer (Bryman 2012), or an observer as participant (Gold 1958). For this research all participant observations were overt with a clear identification of my role as an observer, identified by an observer’s tabard. A key challenge of participant observation is the balance between active and passive participation. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) offer a summary of the challenges in managing the role of an observer in the field ranging from complete observer to the complete participant. They suggest that when studying the unfamiliar, the researcher enters as a relative novice to the research field. It is argued that within the research design, anticipating the changing of roles and the management of such is required. Having identified as an observer participant (Gold 1958), it was difficult to maintain and manage the level at which I participated in the research setting. As the year progressed I became more familiar

with the volunteers and the research setting (van Maanen 1978). Remaining in the role of the researcher becomes a key challenge when familiarity increases, which was overcome by reaffirming to the volunteers that the purpose of my role was to explore their work within the city.

Interviews

The second method chosen to complement this ethnographic study is interviews. Semi-structured interviews were selected as a method for the research to harness further opinion and experiences of the volunteers noted during the observation stage. A significant advantage of semi-structured interviews is the flexibility they allow the researcher when trying to capture how a participant considers the world around them, or to see the social world from the perspective of the participant (Bryman 2012). The method allows researchers an opportunity to ask further questions or engage in conversations. For Pierre and Roulston (2006) they provide a means of capturing rich data that is often based on lived experience and thick description related to a truer representation. As stated previously, the purpose of including semi-structured interviews in this research is to capture several different perspectives, including those of the stakeholders, who may not have been part of the observation process. The interview as a method allows for the participants own reality to be shared (Bows 2018).

The use of interviews in research comes with challenges such as being over-sentimental, exaggeration and subjectivity (Denzin 1997; Silverman 2005, 2014). Participants may also offer responses based on what they feel the research wants to hear or perform according to the situation and the environment. This, as with the presence of an observer in the field, is reminiscent of Goffman's front stage (Goffman 1959). Accordingly, the responses were treated as opinions, stories and experiences over objective truths. Observation with the volunteers led to the development of the research questions, following six months observing the participants in the field. Interview scripts or guides were used that allowed me opportunities to develop key points offered by the participants. Questions centred around my reflections of the existing data.

A key challenge in interviewing is the selection of participants. Purposive sampling was the approach taken in this thesis, which is an approach commonly associated with qualitative research. For Denzin and Lincoln (1994), this is summarised as the processes of seeking participants or groups in a variety of settings that centre around where the research is taking place. In the case of this research this was the volunteers in the three street patrol groups, along with the stakeholders within the city, which the volunteers were found to be interacting with. Purposive sampling was adopted in this research as it purposely sought out participants from each of these groups (Silverman 2014).

Research Processes

Data Collection Instruments

All data collection for this thesis has been generated from the voluntary action of volunteers and their associations. Aside from interviews away from the street, data collection happened on the streets of the city of Manchester between March 2016 and March 2017. My initial aim was to collect data for one calendar year as detailed previously, however this slightly over ran due to interviewee availability and logistics. Details of the organisations that took part in this research along with the volunteers who participated can be found in the following section.

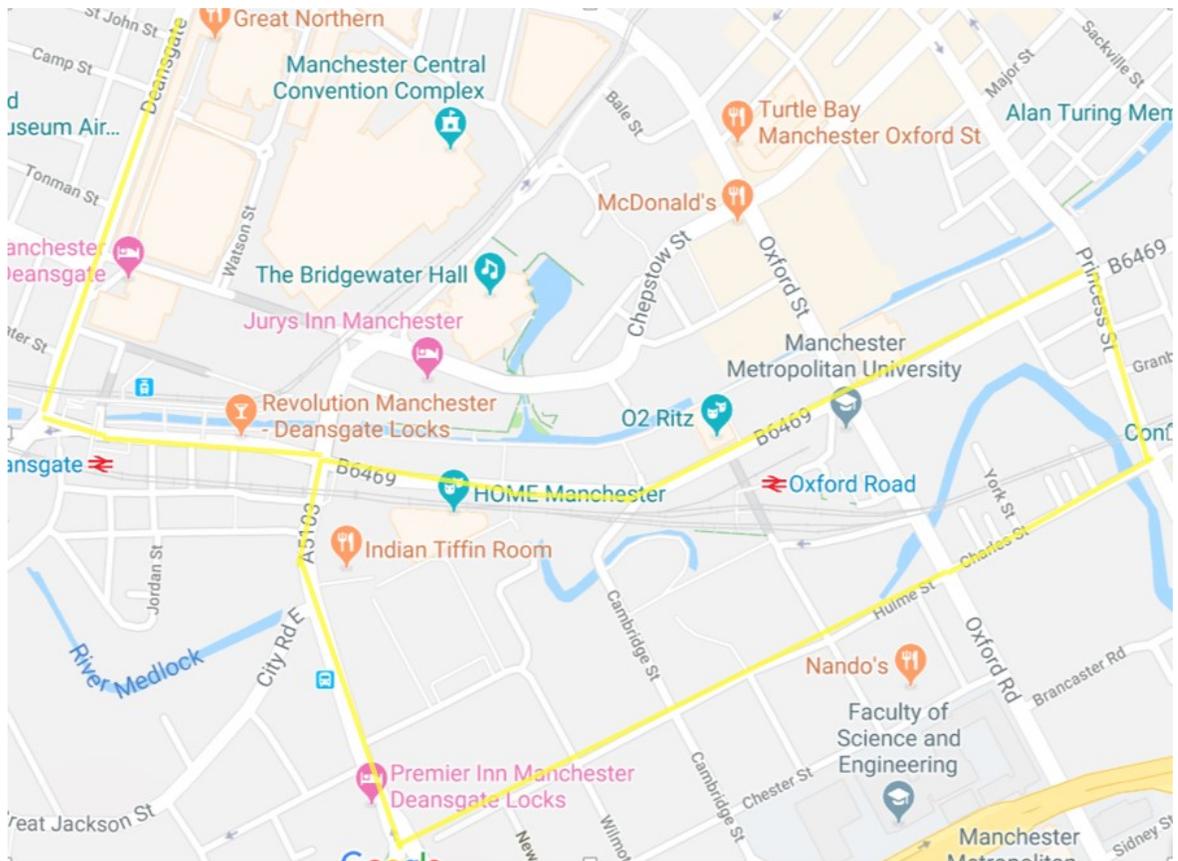
Selection of Participants (Organisations)

In Manchester there are several street-based patrols that operate across the city amongst a range of voluntary and community organisations (see GMCVO State of the City of Manchester 2017). Three groups within the city specifically patrol the streets at night on a Friday and Saturday. Their focus is to help those who are in need within the night-time economy. These are identified as a street or citizen patrol. A criterion in selecting these groups was based around the time that the patrol takes place, namely over an evening through to early morning and the group having a general focus away from specific social issues such as a homeless support patrol, or a group dedicated to supporting sex workers. The three groups selected for this research, a summary of which is provided below, met these criteria due to their general approach for patrols and the time of day that their patrols were carried out.

Manchester Street Angels

The Manchester Street Angels (MSA hereafter) is a registered charity (1136416) that was initially formed following several tragic deaths of teenagers in Manchester and operates under the wider umbrella organisation, The Christian Nightlife Initiatives (CNI). Initial volunteer recruitment and the foundations of the group originated as part of a media response from a local Manchester radio station, Key 103. MSA aim to help people within the night-time economy by reducing vulnerability within the city through maintaining a visible presence. Their mission statement is “Standing together and making a difference”. The Manchester organisation has been in existence since 2014 and at the time of this research has around 54 active volunteers who participate in their patrols. MSA patrol specific areas of the city, notably Deansgate Locks, Whitworth Street, Oxford Road, Charles Street and Princess Street, along with areas of the Great Northern Square (see Figure 1 below). These areas consist of licensed premises with some restaurants and local businesses, which tend to attract the large student population of the city. The patrol operates weekly on a Friday night, subject to volunteer numbers, between the hours of 22:00 and 02:00 hours. Extra patrols, around Christmas and ‘Fresher’ events were added to the schedule if required. The organisational structure consists of volunteers who are led by a steering group who direct and manage the activities of the charity and its volunteers. The demographic information of the volunteers was not made available for this research despite several requests. At the time of writing MSA are no longer actively out on patrol on the streets of the city but appear to still be in existence. The reason for this is unknown.

Figure 1 Manchester Street Angels patrol route

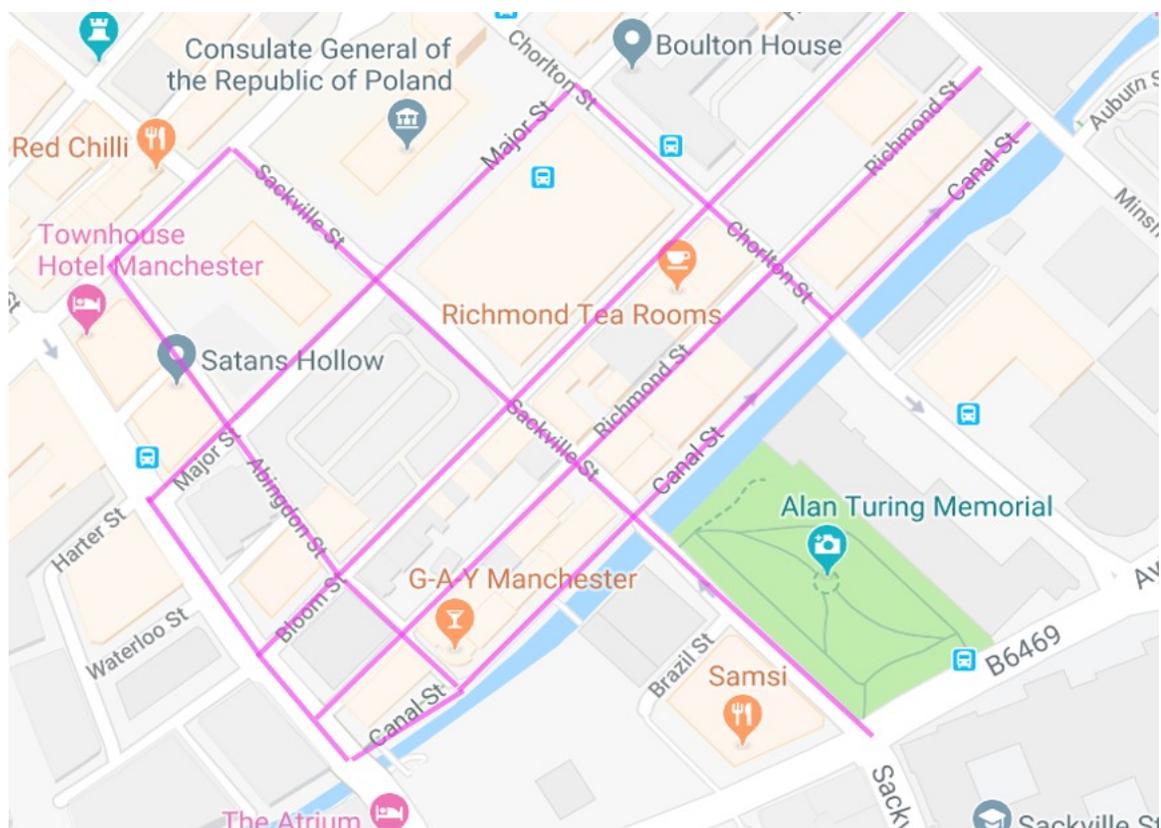


Manchester Street Pastors

The Manchester Street Pastors is an initiative of the registered charity (1127204), The Ascension Trust. Operating within the city centre since 2011, the Street Pastors belong to a wider network of the national Street Pastor movement. The focus of the Street Pastors is based on faith values with volunteer membership being dependant on belonging to a participating church within Greater Manchester. At the time of this research, 19 volunteers were registered with the Manchester Street Pastors, who currently operate on the first and third Friday of the month, patrolling an extensive area that includes The Printworks, The Northern Quarter and Piccadilly Gardens of Manchester (see Figure 2 below). The Pastors plan to grow their volunteer membership and increase the frequency of their patrols to cover every Friday of the month with a view to extending the service to include Saturdays. Here the aim of the patrol is to engage in conversations with people that the volunteers encounter whilst on patrol and listen and offer support if needed. Demographic information for the Manchester Street Pastor volunteers at the time of this research is presented in Appendix A.

Angels also support key events in the LGBT community such as Sparkle, The National Transgender Pride, and Manchester Gay Pride. Many of the volunteers also participate in outreach work for the LGBT Foundation and engage in other types of volunteering within the LGBT community. At the time of writing the Village Angels have assisted with the development of the London Soho Angels, London UK and are supporting the wider expansion of street patrols that focus on the student areas within the city (Lad Bible Group 2019). Demographic information for the volunteers in the Village Angels at the time of this research is presented in Appendix B.

Figure 3 Manchester Village Angels patrol route



Volunteer Demographics

By exploring the demographic information from two of the three groups in this research, several trends are noticeable. Firstly, the make-up of volunteers. In the two groups that provided information, volunteers in the Village Angels (average age 29) appear to be younger in age than those in the Street Pastors (average age 46). The majority of volunteers described their gender as male (n=21) in the Village Angels, compared to the Street Angels who had

more female volunteers (n=15). Ethnicity for the Village Angels comprised of predominantly volunteers who identified as white (n=22), whilst the Street Pastors appeared to have similarities in their numbers of volunteers with white (n=10) and black (n=12) heritages. Secondly, all of the volunteers across both groups resided within Greater Manchester. Finally, a range of professions were noted in the volunteers from the Village Angels and the Street Pastors such as medicine to social work, teaching to addiction work, and to those that were currently studying. The volunteers in the Village Angels had four members who suggested they were unemployed. Although this demographic information offers a basic view of the volunteers in these two groups, descriptive statistics offers a foundation for the analysis of the volunteer motivations, their associations with the city of Manchester and their use of professional experiences in their volunteering, that are further explored in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Negotiating Access

Access to the volunteer patrol organisations was negotiated individually with each organisation. An initial internet search was conducted to locate any volunteer patrols within the city centre, one of which, the Manchester Village Angels, was already known to me. Initial contact was made by an email to all three organisations. Access to the organisations and research participants was negotiated via three individual gatekeepers, namely the volunteer coordinators of each organisation. All three of the organisations showed initial interest in participating in the research but each had individual requirements that needed to be fulfilled before access was granted. The MSA wanted me to attend a shadowing shift where the volunteer coordinator spent time asking questions about my research, finding out information about my work and seeing if the research would work with the organisation and dynamics of the group. The Village Angels required similar with me having to provide an outline and ethical statement to the Community Safety Manager for the LGBT foundation before I could observe the volunteers on patrol. Access to the Street Pastors was the most time consuming with my application, consisting of an outline of the research, ethical statement and an interview with the coordinator having to be put forward to the governing board of the city centre team before commencement of the research. Due to time constraints, this limited the amount of time that I was able to spend with this group through

the observation stage. As the research progressed, access to the volunteers and their activities was never viewed as an issue. Upon leaving the research setting, which was stated at the beginning of the process, the three organisations asked if I would consider volunteering for the group and if I would consider staying on longer to work with them.

In the initial stages, the volunteer coordinators ensured that they were present on the shifts that I observed. Each of the three groups has a lead or volunteer coordinator that is responsible for organising volunteer recruitment, volunteer development including training alongside resource coordination so that patrols were staffed. For this research it is the three coordinators that acted in the role of the gatekeeper. Davies *et al* (2010) remind us that a balance of power and understanding is normally negotiated between the gatekeeper and the researcher. They would accompany me around the patrol area, asking questions and chatting about what my focus was. Davies *et al* (1999) suggest that those already in the institution or individuals such as gatekeepers can influence access in research settings based on the justification of withholding some action, practice or information from the researcher. Initially I felt as though there was some apprehension towards my research with uncertainty as to what I could find. I recall a conversation with the coordinator for the Street Pastors who suggested that the group had never been researched before, which applied to all three organisations. As I became more familiar with the volunteers and the nature of their work, coordinators suggested that I observed patrols when they were not present so that I could gain more of a varied perspective.

On reflection the hesitation expressed by the coordinators around allowing me access to patrols, without the lead coordinator, was based around protection for the organisation and the volunteers. Each group was relatively new within the city, particularly the Street Pastors, and were nervous about the impact that research at thesis level could have. This had little effect on the research, as the majority of shifts that took place across all three groups had a lead Angel or Pastor on, normally the groups' coordinator.

Throughout the remainder of the research, no further access issue arose other than difficulty accessing the MSA group due to infrequent patrolling. On three occasions I was unable to observe their activities due to late cancellation of patrols. Whilst this is sometimes a

challenge with voluntary action, the MSA became more infrequent with their patrols, which limited the amount of time I was able to spend with this group.

Methods of Data Collection: Participation Observation

An extensive amount of data that comprises of 170 hours of participant observations from the three street patrol groups in the city has been utilised throughout this thesis. The observation stage ran between March 2016 to March 2017 where I spent most weekends following, observing, talking and listening to volunteers whilst out on patrol, attending training sessions or interacting with the public or other workers in the night-time economy.

My interactions with the volunteers usually took place before, during and after the patrol, or shift, as often referred to by the volunteers. Observations meant spending time with volunteers listening and watching their actions. In the early stages of the data collection period, I established relationships with the volunteers and the coordinators, whilst orientating myself with their ways of working, their patrol areas and who they worked with. Spradley (1980) refers to this as the descriptive observation. This is where many of my field notes, recorded after the end of a shift with the group(s) were general, sometimes non-specific and at times descriptive. Spradley (1980) proposes a simple model for the recording of field notes, that is suitable for ethnographic study and which was adopted for this research. Whilst out on the street I carried a small note book with me, often writing one or two key things that I needed to think about. On the odd occasion, I would ask a volunteer if I could jot down what they had just said. During any breaks, or immediately after the end of the patrol I would quickly jot down points of interest and issues to reflect upon when I had the opportunity. According to Lofland and Lofland (1984), field notes should be made as soon as practicable during the data collection stage of the research. The nature of a street patrol meant it was generally not practicable to record or make notes out on the street. I decided that notes from the observations would be made after the event. As the patrol tended to finish around 3am I would expand on the notes in the car, usually whilst trying to get warm after the patrol had ended. The field note book acted as a guide and inspiration during the research.

Part of Spradley's model suggests a more detailed approach towards taking notes. In this research this was after the patrol, in the early hours of the morning, where I would sit and type my full field notes (Sanjek 1990). This typically took around 2 hours in which I would free write my thoughts and feeling towards what I had seen and heard on the street. After some sleep, often on the same day or later in the week, I returned to the notes to begin some basic analysis. This involved identifying any key themes, commonalities and points to explore that were evident in the notes. This proved to be a time of reflection which gave me the opportunity to begin the constant data analysis process from the time of collecting the data. Information was typed onto a proforma that I designed for this research with the aim of keeping the data focused on my research aims and questions and more accessible for when I began analysis. A copy of a Blank Proforma is included in Appendix C of this thesis.

As the year progressed I entered the second stage of data collection, referred to as the focused observation (Spradley 1980). Although I still joined patrols each weekend on their walks in the city, I began to narrow my focus towards the actions, contribution and motivations of volunteers. Undertaking the same recording format, I noted specific actions and developed them the following day. Specific reflections are recorded in my field notes against seemingly insignificant points or actions recorded at the time, but which have now become relevant. The final stage, the selective observation, came around two months before the end of my time out on patrol where I developed and focused my understanding of some of the issues and events that I have previously reflected on. Carrying out participant observation provided the foundation to then gain further insights through interviews, a common way of moving to the interview stage.

Methods of Data Collection: Interviews

Thirteen individuals volunteered to participate in the research by undertaking a semi-structured interview around their experiences and roles as volunteers. Eight semi-structured interviews were also carried out with stakeholders. The interview process commenced six months into the data collection stage of the research, starting in September 2016. This was a conscious decision which gave me time to immerse myself in the patrol teams and to allow volunteers some element of familiarity with the research and myself. As highlighted in the

previous section on access to the volunteer groups, familiarisation between me and the research participants was a two-way process. The purpose of a formalised interview was to enable me to elicit further information from the volunteers on their experiences in a street patrol, gained from the time I had spent observing the volunteers on the street (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

The Research Interview Schedules for the research can be found in Appendix D of this thesis. Each interview consisted of open questions, aimed at eliciting more information from the participant than noted during the observation process. For this research, the questions asked in interviews were designed around the three research questions and the emerging themes generated from observing the volunteers. For example, volunteers were asked to talk about what motivates them to volunteer in a street patrol, what they felt their role was, what they could contribute and who they worked with in the city. Stakeholders were asked to tell me about their understanding of the volunteer groups and how they worked with them. Having flexibility in the interview allows participants to offer me more about their views, experiences and thoughts (Bryman 2012; Flick 2014; Silverman 2014).

Interviews took place in the offices of each of the respective volunteer groups, or in a meeting room at the stakeholder's place of work. Due to the Street Pastors having no office of their own, these interviews were carried out by arrangement with the volunteers either in their place of work, with several of the volunteer interviews taking place in a private room at the university. On average an interview with a volunteer would last around thirty minutes to one hour. For a stakeholder, this took longer, around one hour. I exercised as much flexibility as possible in arranging the interviews due to volunteers having to give their spare time to take part.

On several shifts with the Village Angels and the Street Angels, interviews took place during the patrol time. The volunteer coordinators arranged for extra volunteers to cover the patrol, whilst I remained in their offices to interview those that consented to take part in the research. Each interview was recorded using a Dictaphone, which was then transcribed shortly afterwards. At this stage, any identifying information was removed, and participant details replaced with pseudonyms. The exception to this, as explored later in this chapter,

are the stakeholders and volunteer coordinators. One interview took place with a volunteer via telephone, which was also recorded in the same method.

Selection of Participants: Volunteers

Participants for this research are divided into two groups. Firstly, volunteers from each of the respective three volunteer street patrols and secondly, those labelled as stakeholders that include key individuals from organisations that support the volunteers in their work. The selection process for participants is outlined below.

Sampling for this research is based around purposive sampling (Silverman 2014). Volunteers were openly asked by me if they would like to take part in an interview to help gain a greater understanding of the role that they played in a street patrol. Once the volunteers had given their consent, a time and location for the interview was arranged. I provided each participant with a Participant Consent Form and a Participant Information Sheet for their information in advance of the interview. Copies of these documents are included in Appendix E and F of the thesis. The respective gatekeepers were utilised in contacting volunteers outside of the street patrol times so that no personal data belong to the volunteers was shared unless agreed. Flexibility on the side of the researcher was important so that the time and resources of all participants were not overly strained.

The nature of mobile patrol naturally lent itself to the use of mobile methods. Walking interviews were considered as part of this research (Hall 2017), as selection of the research participants centred around the voluntary activity that took place during the evening patrols. Due to the risk this posed to the researcher and the participant, namely the time of day, risk of harm or injury through lack of concentration, or any inclement weather this method was discounted. Noise was also a limiting factor as the city centre at night is loud. One audio recording was attempted as a trial to see how clear the audio would be, but this proved difficult to hear and was later deleted.

Selection of Participants: Stakeholders

Key people within the city were asked to take part in this research based around their involvement with each of the three street patrols. Individuals were identified throughout

the observation stage of the research based on interactions with stakeholders during patrols, training and meetings. A list of stakeholders is provided in Appendix G. The community safety team within the local council were also asked to participate in the research but were unable to do so at the time. The Lord Mayor for the city offered his views on the volunteers. Each of the participants took part in a semi-structured interview with the purpose of exploring the contribution and relationships of the volunteers.

The decision to ask stakeholders to participate in the research is based around the central research aim of trying to explore the actions, motivations and contribution of volunteers in a street patrol. During the first six months of observing volunteers, it became apparent that none of the groups worked in isolation. A series of relationships exist with several key individuals and organisations in the city that the volunteers engage with as part of their work.

It is therefore relevant to consider the views of those that work with the groups. Situated as part of the wider community policing model, the governance of this kind of volunteering tends to sit under the control of the local police (Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Bullock 2014; Joyce 2011; Millie and Bullock 2013). Community policing, although not the focus of this research, lends itself to wider supportive networks, partnerships and relationships between individuals and groups. The relationships that exist around these groups therefore emerged as a key theme, important when exploring the work of the volunteer street patrols. Participants, with justifications for their selection, are included in Appendix G, developed through observing volunteers working and talking with others.

Data Analysis

Hammersley and Atkinson (2000:205) propose that "in ethnography the analysis of data is not a distinct stage of the research". In the case of this research, the data analysis began as soon as I started walking with the volunteers on the streets of the city. The analytical approach taken for this research is based around a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006). Generated during the observation process, themes were identified based on the actions of the street patrols, under the general areas of interest namely the three research questions. This was generated from the observation process, through the interpretation and allocation of meaning towards the actions of the volunteers, their motivations and their

relations with others, the purpose being to tell the story (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Continual analysis was undertaken on the data to identify repetitions, similarities and differences, missing data and links to theory (Ryan and Bernard 2003). Bryman (2012), a critic of this technique, highlights that thematic analysis lacks clearly specified series of procedures. Mindful of this, the data analysis used the principles and tools of coding associated with elements of grounded theory in order to expose the data to wider protocols and formula (Atkinson *et al* 2001). Adopting a bottom-up approach towards thematic analysis allowed me to build the thematic framework. For Urquhart (2013) the identification of key themes, which are underpinned by smaller themes or codes, namely conceptual description (Glaser 1992), do not often lead to the generation of a theory that is reminiscent of true grounded theory. However, the process of coding to identify patterns in the data can offer the basis for an analysis.

Coding the data drew from what Charmaz (2006) suggests as labelling, separating, compiling and organisation of the data. The development of codes for a research project were identified and developed to “represent the identified themes and then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis” (Guest *et al* 2012). To facilitate this process, Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software CAQDAS was utilised (Lee and Fielding 1991). For this research NVivo, a qualitative research software, was employed so that the data could be visualised. Memos were created following a period of coding to help identify themes generated from the data. Faced with a mass amount of data, I became conscious that I was filing and ordering the data, rather than exploring the stories and relationships that existed within in. I adopted a further coding model to enable me to construct the story.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) offer three distinguishable coding practices that were adopted in this research. Initially, open coding was carried out to identify concepts on the back of categories and comparisons of the existing data. This resulted in general codes being applied to the data. The purpose here is to organise the data into non-specific directions (Urquhart 2013). Although the purpose of Grounded Theory lends itself towards the generation of theory (Glaser 1978), for this research it offers a means of ordering the data. Once categories were formed, axial coding was carried out to establish links by bringing the data back together (Charmaz 2006). It is here that I began to explore the relationships that existed in

the data, making links across the three groups and to the wider patterns that existed. To achieve this, a coding paradigm that saw the identification of context related conditions, action and interactions and consequences, was developed (Urquhart 2013). In selectively coding the data, several multiple core categories were developed that are argued by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as the development of the storyline that frames the research. The core categories, and the sub-categories within these, were then considered and referred to as themes identified for the research.

It is at this stage that I began to write several drafts of the research findings in order to tell the story of the volunteers. Faced with a vast amount of information, I constructed several narratives under each theme and sub theme. This allowed me to further reflect on the relationships, patterns and links to the literature that had informed the research so far.

Reflections on Researching

Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted by following the ethical practice guidelines of the British Society of Criminology (2015) and the British Sociological Association (2017). Details of the research were submitted to, and approved by, the research ethics board of Manchester Metropolitan University. A copy of the initial Ethics Approval Form can be found in Appendix H of this research. In conducting an overt ethnographic study several challenges exist as summarised by Hall (2018) including consent, willing participation and the negotiation of risks. Accordingly, these are addressed below.

The nature of ethnography and participant observation, particularly in the city, can generate any situation at any given time. Steps were taken to negate personal risk. Throughout the research process I identified as an observer, usually wearing a tabard labelled as such. I followed the lead of the volunteer group that I was walking with, agreeing beforehand what actions I should take if conflict or hostility arose. Many of the situations that the volunteers encounter feature people in different states of vulnerability. To negate issues that could result in the harm of research participants or those that they encountered, the guidelines of the British Sociological Association and British Society of Criminology were employed. Non-evasive data collection techniques were selected for this research. No conversations during

the participant observations were recorded or filmed. Notes were made when away from the research setting. No personal information was asked for or collected from members of the public. Sensitive information, information that could identify a person, or specific details of persons involved in supporting and helping a vulnerable people were anonymised or not recorded. All situations where vulnerability was noted were handled by the volunteers in the street patrol or the emergency services.

The risk of disclosure of personal or sensitive information is also a concern. Procedures that are aimed at ensuring data is collected, stored and destroyed in a suitable manner, were used in this research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Rowe 2007). Data management and storage remains a key consideration in any research. Upon completion of the interview, participants were allocated a pseudonym and their personal data removed. The purpose being to reduce the risk of the disclosure of personal information of the research participants and to offer those that took part anonymity. The exception remains with the stakeholders and the volunteer coordinators. Although several of these participants have been allocated a pseudonym for their name, their position remains evident in places throughout the research.

Informed consent to participate in this research was a serious consideration for the researcher. Despite steps being taken to ensure all those who participated consented, the nature of ethnographic study, particularly in a public place, raises the question of those that do not consent to participating in the research. Punch (1986), suggests that obtaining the informed consent of everyone involved or connected to a research project remains near impossible. Fetterman (1989) argues that ethnographers have a responsibility to remain open about their task. A challenge arose for those that were unaware that the volunteers were participating in a research project, such as members of the public on the street. All research participants were provided with a Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix F), which detailed the nature of the research, the rights of the participant and contact details of the researcher and supervisor, including details of how to complain. At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked to read and sign a Participant Consent Form with the researcher taking time to check and explain any key issues. These included the protection of participants information, the purpose of the research, participant information and their

protection, how participants would remain anonymous, how to withdraw from the research or to complain if necessary and support and well-being services available to those that took part in the research. Copies of the Participant Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet can be found in the Appendix E and F.

As Calvey (2008:907) proposes, “all probabilities cannot be covered by the consent form”. Informed consent had to be continually negotiated during the observation stages of the research as I was out in a public setting observing the volunteers. This leads to the question of privacy, or as Hammersley and Atkinson suggest the “making public of things that were said or done in private” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:212). For this research this meant the actions and conversations that took place on the streets of the city. The focus in this research remains centred on the volunteer street patrols. Due to the fluid nature of research in the social world (Miller and Boulton 2007), comments and interactions with members of the public remained as chance encounters that formed part of the street patrols routine patrol. To negotiate this challenge in the public space I remained focused on the actions of the volunteers rather than those with whom they interacted. I recorded only passing comments from members of the public that could be heard by anyone found at that time on the street. I watched interactions with a focus towards the actions of the volunteers, later reflecting on what this meant towards answering the research questions. If members of the public were willing to share details, they were informed of the research that was taking place.

Recording Data

All data in this research was stored and managed in line with the Manchester Metropolitan University Research data management policy (2017). Care and attention were paid to protect the data generated from this research and the identity of the participants, as highlighted in this chapter. Participants in this research remain anonymous, with the exception of several of the stakeholders. In the case of these participants, their names were removed from the research, leaving only their title within their respective organisations. In order to minimise any risk that could occur from the disclosure of a participant’s details, I followed the guidance offered by Aldridge *et al* (2010) and Israel (2004). Following transcription, all audio recordings of interviews were deleted. Each participant has been

allocated a pseudonym in place of their name. No other personal details were recorded from participants. All identifying features that relate to the participants have been removed where possible throughout this data and the thesis.

Leaving the Field

Knowing when to leave the field was a key consideration in this research. The sometimes messy nature of ethnographic study can lead to the researcher not being able to establish an end point (Bryman 2012). For this research, the end point in terms of the data collection was set after one year spent in the field. During this time all observations and interviews were completed, with the exception of two observations that took place for inductions and training events that happened annually. Towards the end of the twelve months with the organisations it became apparent that I had a significant amount of data available to me in order to be able to answer my research questions. Despite this, I continued in the field for the allotted twelve months in order to capture the annual life cycle of the city. Feelings of repetition came into play towards the end of my time with the participants as much of the data in my research appeared familiar and repeated what I had already noted. This is a common factor in ethnographic research and can offer the research a sense of reassurance (Altheide 1980).

Whilst the process of leaving the field for this research was planned and coordinated, the nature of ethnographic research lends itself to messy and sometimes continual processes of exposure. As Calvey informs us, the “post-fieldwork self” can lead to a longitudinal relationship with one’s research (Calvey 2019:257). My positionality within this research acknowledges that my love for the city of Manchester features heavily in my life in terms of where I live, where I socialise and work, and where I choose to spend my time. Despite leaving the research field several months earlier, I continue to encounter and engage with the volunteers and the environment in which they participate. I argue that when conducting research in the place where you live, work and play, the researcher is never able to truly leave. I often find myself socialising with friends and spotting groups of volunteers, or when walking through the streets of the city I will remember events and conversations that took place in the early hours of the morning. I am reminded, or sometimes directly asked, about

my research and the rich stories it was designed to tell. Ethnography can be messy, disorganised and challenging. Leaving can be traumatic, difficult or exciting (Watt 2010). It can be, as described by Calvey, “like being stuck in a research project with no closing date” (Calvey 2019:258). This messiness offers not only challenge but opportunity, as never truly leaving provides the researcher with the chance to continue learning about what was once the unfamiliar. It is here where this chapter draws to a close.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the methods that have been used to gather the data for this research and the methodological issues and challenges considered as a result. Despite the research not being an auto-ethnographic study, my positionality and role as an outsider / insider in the research forms a significant part of it. In choosing a qualitative study over that of quantitative research, the aim remains to capture the actions, experiences, opinions and stories of the volunteers who participate in the three Manchester urban street patrols. Ethnography was chosen as a suitable method and methodological perspective as it allowed me as the researcher to experience what life is like on the streets for the volunteers.

Over 170 hours of observation data, with several interviews from stakeholders and volunteers, has generated a considerable amount of rich data, which is explored in the following three chapters in the research findings. Through thematic analysis and the use of some of the tools of grounded theory, I was able to identify key themes, which are explored with the aim of answering the three research questions that were outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

In drawing the chapter to a close I have suggested some of the challenges I encountered and the respective measures that were considered to negate any harm or risk to the research participants and the researcher. I acknowledge that whilst the data collection period lasted a year, a planned strategy was in place for my exit. This was further reassured by my confidence in the data I had collected towards the end. Accordingly, the following three chapters detail the findings generated as a result of spending a year with the volunteers and those that they encounter.

Research Findings

The following three chapters of the thesis present the research findings. These include data from interviews with the volunteers and the stakeholders, accompanied by observation notes taken whilst walking with the three volunteer groups. Chapter 5 is the first of three chapters that explores the contribution that the volunteers make towards community safety. The focus in this chapter is around the act of walking around the streets of the city that gives the volunteers presence. Whilst out walking, volunteers interact with people in the city. Accordingly, these actions are explored as their contribution towards community safety. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the motivations of the volunteers in terms of their participation in a street patrol. A model of volunteer motivations is applied in order to explore the reasons why volunteers participate in an urban street patrol. These include altruistic motivations, connections to the civil society, volunteering as a leisure activity and for self-development. Chapter 7 is the final chapter that presents the research findings and addresses the relationships and governance structures that the volunteer street patrols are part of. Relationships with the police, the ambulance service, taxi marshals and door staff are considered. The nature of this voluntary action lends itself to working in teams. As such, the relationships that the volunteers have with each other and the public are presented. To begin, chapter 5 explores the contribution volunteers offer towards community safety in the city.

Chapter 5: The Contribution of Volunteer Street Patrols

Chapter Introduction

“A whole new infrastructure has been assembled at the local level that addresses crime and disorder in a quite different manner... The new infrastructure is strongly orientated towards a set of objectives and priorities – prevention, security, harm reduction, loss-reduction, fear-reduction – that are quite different from the traditional goals of prosecution, punishment and criminal justice.” (Garland 2001:16-17)

This chapter discusses the key themes concerning the contribution volunteer street patrols offer. This is based upon Garland’s proposal of the new infrastructure of addressing crime and disorder (Garland 2001). Bullock (2014) claims there is currently a limited knowledge and understanding towards volunteer street patrols, with specific reference to their contribution to crime control and community safety. This chapter addresses this growing research and is organised into two key themes relating to the activities of the volunteer street patrols. Firstly, the presence volunteers have on the street is explored and considers the act of walking, the interactions walking allows the volunteers to make, the independence of the volunteers, and the networks that can form. It also considers the need for street patrollers to be visible. Secondly, the interactions volunteers undertake in safety related interventions is addressed, which include addressing vulnerability, actions reducing harm and the emergency-based interventions that volunteers make. To begin, the presence of volunteers is explored.

Presence

A significant function of a volunteer street patrol involves walking around the streets of the city. It is this action that enables the volunteers to establish their presence. Walking takes up the majority of the volunteers’ time. It allows the volunteers to participate in community safety. For this research, walking around the streets of Manchester took place at night and into the early hours of the morning. Patrols, as discussed in the previous chapter, operated on either a Friday or Saturday night. Spending time out on the streets makes the volunteers visible to the public. Similarities can be drawn towards the links between police visibility and confidence. The act of walking or patrolling increases visibility and confidence, something which the volunteers were keen to achieve (Cooke 2005; Sindall and Sturgis 2013).

The time it takes to walk the streets varies, and can take up to two hours, depending on the interactions that take place. Each group tends to stick to a designated route within their respective areas. Gary, a volunteer with one of the street patrols describes the length of time it can take to complete one walk around the patch, subject to who they speak to:

"It's about 1 and 1/4 miles, something like that. Maybe 1 and a half miles per patrol, per walk round. Normally takes an hour and ½, depends if we are stopped, if we are asked to help, or if we're sort of talking to people it can be up to 2 hours." (Gary, Street Angel)

The value of walking or patrolling as a key function of a volunteer street patrol is discussed by Bullock (2014) and Johns *et al* (2009) who suggest walking around the streets allows the volunteers a chance to be visible and establish a presence. Traditional policing literatures suggest the reassuring presence of the traditional 'Bobby on the beat' can address public concerns (Loader 1997).

Interactions

Walking allows volunteers to interact with others. It also forms the participation aspect for social capital and the act for collective efficacy (Putnam 2000; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Through walking, the volunteers have a chance to speak to people on the street. It provides them with a chance to hold conversations or to say hello to passers-by. Volunteers in this research were often approached by members of the public who simply wanted to chat or say hello, a form of interaction. These interactions between the public and the volunteers were frequent, light hearted and sometimes humorous. The conversation between Lucy and a member of the public highlights this:

"Can I have a hug luv?" (Member of public)

"Yeah of course you can." (Lucy, Street Angels Volunteer)

"Right, where's the best chippy? I want some chips and gravy." (Member of public)

On several occasions throughout this research volunteers would take time to interact with the public. It is a way for the volunteers to establish their presence out on the streets (Johns *et al* 2009; van Steden 2018).

Table 1 below shows some of the actions volunteers engaged in when walking the streets. The information in this table is taken from field notes recorded over a year spent walking and talking with the volunteers whilst out on their patrols. This remains subjective but offers an insight into the actions of the volunteers. Several of the key points in this table are explored below. The interactions in this table were noted whilst volunteers were speaking to other people on a predominantly informal basis.

Table 1 Common actions of volunteers when walking the street

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Took time to walk around the patrol areas (reasonable pace)	Always	Sometimes	Always
Observed area for people, issues, safety (checked doorways etc)	Always	Sometimes	Always
Gave directions / recommendations	Always	Always	Always
Took selfies / photographs when asked by public	Always	Always	Always
Hugs and hand shaking with public	Always	Always	Always
Say a prayer	Sometimes	Never	Never

Many of the volunteers would often refer to the importance of walking and talking with those around them. This was evidenced in all three of the patrols through the volunteers chatting, stopping for a photograph or a 'selfie', answering a request for directions or providing a recommendation for food or drink. Walking also allows the volunteers to establish their presence. To do this, volunteers in the Village Angels and the Street Pastors would always stop and look around an area. This would involve checking of doorways for vulnerable people or walking at a reasonable pace, so they were noticed by others. A difference existed with the Street Angels, who seemed to spend less time on actions that would lead to establishing

their presence. Volunteers in this groups, led by the coordinator, would walk around the patrol route at a quick pace, often not stopping to speak to others. This tended to result in missed opportunities for conversations and limited the chance of promoting their presence. The importance of this is explored as this section progresses.

Establishing presence is important for the volunteer street patrols for several reasons including creating awareness of their role and their contribution. Similarities are drawn here to that of community policing. Evaluations of such suggest that confidence in the police rose as a result of an increased police presence on the street (Skogan and Hartnett 1997; Tuffin *et al* 2006). For volunteer street patrols, being present on the street was also a means of increasing confidence.

Middleton and Yarwood write that the focus and contribution of the Street Pastors is to “provide ‘non-judgemental’ care to those on a night out” (Middleton and Yarwood 2015:502). Volunteers viewed spending time with people on the street, and creating an awareness of their role, as being important. Leonie, a volunteer for the Street Pastors, sets the scene:

“For us we try and do more, we try and connect with the people in the areas that we serve.” (Leonie, Street Pastor)

It was always the first task of the night to walk around, to stop to chat, shake hands and actively engage the public and workers. Leonie refers to connecting to people when talking. On most occasions the Street Pastors would hand out sweets and toffees to the door staff and other workers, often using the opportunity to say hello, catch up on news and to share the plans for that evening. Volunteers from this group believed that regularly spending time connecting to people would allow them to establish themselves early in the evening. This was benefitted by an increase in awareness of the volunteers, particularly before people became drunk or ended up unaware of their surroundings (van Steden 2018).

Volunteers in all three groups engaged with other people whilst out walking the streets. As noted above, small interactions with others were common amongst the volunteers. Bullock (2014) writes that there are opportunities to gain a greater understanding towards the actions of volunteer street patrols and as such, Table 2 presents the data collected whilst

observing the street patrols and provides a brief view of the small informal actions that help volunteer groups situate themselves as part of the night-time economy of the city.

Table 2 Communication between volunteers and others

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Talked of importance of interactions with public	Always	Sometimes	Always
Talked of importance of interactions with others (NTE workers, police, ambulance)	Always	Sometimes (in a negative way)	Always
Interactions seemed important to the volunteers	Always	Always	Always
Said "Hello" to people where possible	Always	Sometimes	Always
Stopped to talk to the public	Always	Sometimes	Always
Stopped to talk to NTE workers	Always	Sometimes	Always
Actively approached people rather than being approached	Always	Sometimes	Always
Made interaction part of the routine patrol	Always	On Occasion	Always

A noticeable difference appears again in the way the Street Angels navigate the issue of presence. Unlike the Village Angels and the Street Pastors, actions such as saying hello or stopping to speak to other workers were not consistently demonstrated in this group. With volunteers in this group, a feeling became apparent that when under the direction of the coordinator, they would often not spend enough time present and available in the area they

patrolled, resulting in a less established presence within the city at night. This is reminiscent with the challenges of power leadership, authority and management often faced within the voluntary sector. The values and coercive power of an individual can directly impact and influence the organisation and the volunteer (Anheier 2014).

The purpose of the street patrols establishing their presence and developing networks went some way to helping them establish themselves as groups that were there to support people in need. Similarities are drawn here to the aspect of reassurance policing, namely the individual perceptions society holds regarding order and security being present in local environments (Innes 2007; Povey 2001; Skogan and Hartnett 1997). By spending time interacting with others, the presence of the groups in the area was created. Similar to the purpose of reassurance policing, volunteers looked at ways to increase their visibility, accessibility and familiarity with people and places in the area they patrolled (Innes 2007 and Povey 2001). Networking and actively speaking to people featured in every patrol observed with the Street Pastors and the Village Angels.

The Village Angels built in actions at the beginning and start of their shifts that actively aim to establish their presence. The observation notes reflect on the process of the Village Angels actively making themselves available at the start of a shift:

From the outset there is an established and well-maintained network that exists with the Village Angels. Much of this is possibly based on key volunteers socialising in the area or being part of sports clubs or gay societies, but the actual role and purpose of the Village Angels is well known and respected. Several door staff were stopped and spoken to. Laughter and jokes were exchanged with some stories about things that had happened during the week. The new volunteer and myself were introduced and “shown off” in a proud and inclusive manner. *Observation Notes- 6th May 2016*

Each evening, the Village Angels would ensure the group’s first task was to visit all the bars, restaurants and eateries, whilst spending time slowly walking around the area. Again, volunteers would stop to chat to bar staff, door staff or members of the public. Like the Street Pastors, their focus seemed to be establishing their presence early in the evening so as the night progressed they would be established in the area to provide support,

reassurance and advice if called upon (Innes 2007; Middleton and Yarwood 2015; Pennell *et al* 1985; Povey 2001;).

Networks

The Village Angels also used the opportunity of walking round the streets early in the evening as an opportunity to equip themselves with information and knowledge for the night ahead. Here similarities are made to Putnam's ideas on bridging Social Capital in terms of the creation and maintenance of networks to help establish and encourage social capital (Putnam 2000). This was evidenced in the exchange of information that may or may not be called upon during the patrol. It is important that the volunteers are aware of what is happening in their respective areas as much as the night-time workers and the public have an awareness of the patrols. Ray explains that by taking the time to chat to others, the volunteers also gain valuable knowledge:

“At the beginning of the shift we often go around speaking to all the bouncers, speak to all the security staff and you get an impression of what's going on in the Village.” (Ray, Village Angel)

Ray implies that connecting with others is a two-way process in terms of information exchange. Establishing and maintaining networks with others is important for the volunteers for them to stay informed about what is happening from those who work in the area. It is an exchange of information. This was common for the Village Angels and the Street Pastors. Throughout the research each group were noted to maintain relationships with others, something explored further in chapter 7. However, as my time with the groups was ending, the Street Angels appeared less committed to this activity.

Networks between the Street Angels and others in the city at night appeared to be in decline compared to the networks of the Street Pastors and Village Angels. As suggested in Table 2, actions that developed relationships and networks were only carried out on occasion within this group. There was a noticeable decline in time spent interacting and establishing a presence in their patrol area over the course of the year spent with the group, much to the displeasure of the volunteers. Under the direction of the lead coordinator, patrols were often rushed and sometimes only one walk around the patrol route was carried out. On numerous shifts, little interaction with the public would take place as described by Hannah:

"We just walk around too quick, it's like we just whizz past." (Hannah, Street Angel)

Hannah is talking about the speed at which she feels the volunteers patrol. She suggests they walk too quickly to be able to carry out any meaningful interactions. This highlights the importance of establishing and maintaining a presence on the street. As my time observing the groups progressed, the Street Angels appeared to spend less time engaging with the public out on the streets, and often more time chatting and catching up in the briefing room instead. There appeared to be no notable reason for this other than the desires of the lead coordinator of the group and the influence she held over the volunteers and their actions (Anheier 2014). Reference was made to tensions between the coordinator and other workers such as the taxi marshals, which is discussed further in chapter 7. The outcome for the presence of this group is the limited development and maintenance of the networks that they could be part of. A further method of establishing the volunteers' presence on the street is evidenced in their choice of uniform, which is considered next.

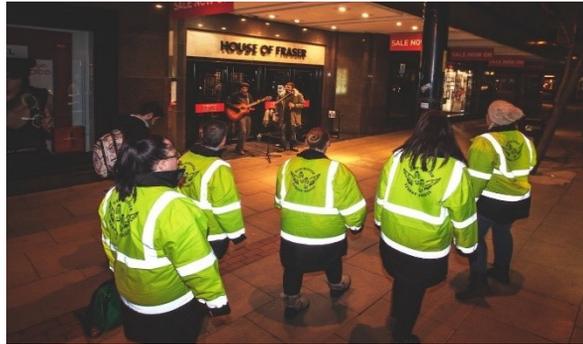
Uniform

A tool used by the volunteer groups to establish their presence is their uniform. It also presents several key issues that remain important in the contribution of volunteer street patrols, namely their need to remain independent, the need to have a legitimate presence, their position in volunteering with the police and their need to acknowledge their unique contribution of the voluntary sector, compared to that of the state. The uniform volunteers choose to adopt can have a reassurance function based on the independence of the volunteer street patrols.

Remaining independent of the state is important to the volunteers. One of the ways this is expressed is in their uniform. Their uniform offers the groups a chance to establish their own identities as voluntary organisations, separate from the state whilst identifying them as volunteers. As Mills *et al* (2011) suggest, the independence from the state that the voluntary sector in criminal justice has is of utmost importance. The nature of their work differs from that of state agencies, and centres more around holistic approaches with hard to reach groups or underrepresented communities (Martin *et al* 2016).

Each group wears a distinctive coloured uniform, with reflective strips on their jackets for safety and increased visibility. The photographs below highlight the differences in uniform between each of the three groups, shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Volunteer street patrol uniforms



Manchester Street Angels



Manchester Village Angels



Manchester Street Pastors

The choice of uniform colour and its purpose was discussed with volunteers and the coordinators from each of the three groups. The colour and style of their uniform has been chosen purposely based on several independent factors, which are considered next.

Independence

The Village Angels wear a bright pink tabard, embossed with the logo 'Village Angels LGBT Foundation' signifying their attachment to Manchester's gay village but also to ensure they stand out from the rest of the workers and support services, including the police and the ambulance. The CEO for the LGBT Foundation and the Village Angels explains:

"We are really keen to make sure that there was a very clear identity, not only to keep the Angels safe but also keep them separate from the rest of the clubbing and partying crowd. Because it's really important for the Angels not to be perceived as part of the community in that sense and that moment, they are there as a guardian, they are there as sort of like assistance, they are there as a service." (Paul Martin, CEO LGBT Foundation)

Paul discusses the impact that the choice of colour has on the local area. He describes the choice to use bright pink as a colour due to its association with some elements of the gay community. Confidence in the LGBT Foundation is important here. The volunteers need to be considered as separate by the public and other workers in the night-time economy. Accordingly, this raises the question of legitimacy and volunteering connected to the police.

Being distinctive and wearing a uniform helps the groups to identify as a non-state organisation (Mills *et al* 2011). In aligning with the work of Middleton and Yarwood (2015) or van Steden (2018) on the provision of 'non-judgemental care', being separate from the police, ambulance or council was important to all three street patrol groups. This is also reminiscent of responsibilised citizenry as links can be drawn between the volunteers accepting responsibility for the issues in the city at night through their independent and distinctive action (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). The volunteers expressed that to be the police, or an arm of the police, would be damaging to the work they do and harmful to the relationships they have established, something which is explored further in chapter 7. Lauren discusses the need to remain separate from the police and their work:

"We are not volunteer police workers so that's not necessarily something we need to be involved in." (Lauren, Street Angel)

Whilst it was viewed as important to work with the police and other emergency services, being separate from the police and ultimately police work was a concern. They felt the choice to wear a distinct uniform made them stand out and symbolised this.

Literature surrounding street patrols highlights this challenge further. Labelled as volunteers who support the police (College of Policing 2017), volunteers in the organisations regarded themselves as volunteers that support vulnerable people or help those in need. Their support of the police and other emergency services seemed secondary to that of helping those in need. This was evident during a Village Angels training session when Jim, a trainer, outlined the role of the Village Angels:

“We are not the police, certainly not the paramedics and we are not the door staff.” (Jim, Village Angels Trainer)

He went further to suggest the role of the Village Angels was one of support towards the police. As Hinds and Grabosky (2010) argue in their idea of a responsabilised citizen, participation or volunteering connected to safety can lead to the emergency services being regarded and called upon as a secondary support service. Several of the volunteers from the Village Angels discussed how their volunteering was not as a police volunteer but as a volunteer for their respective communities. Their independence remained key. This was also a common perspective with the Street Angels and the Street Pastors. They expressed the view that being viewed as a police volunteer was not what they wanted to be, nor the role they performed.

Volunteers in the Village Angels identified themselves as volunteering for the LGBT Foundation, which was reflected with their uniform, embossed with the LGBT foundation logo. This offered some level of legitimacy towards their voluntary activity. Colin discusses their volunteering role with the foundation and what it can mean in regard to presence in the village:

“So, I think the Village Angels works really well because we are very visible. People know of us as being LGBT [friendly]. We’re run out of the Foundation, so there is that sense that people can trust us more than they would the police officers. We’ve had it where on shift a few times people have come to us over police sometimes.” (Colin, Village Angel)

Colin talks of how the connection to the LGBT Foundation offers the Village Angels legitimacy. Historically, poor community relations between the gay community and the police have led to a fragmented relationship. Community crime prevention programmes, such as the volunteer street patrols, can place the individual at their heart (Bullock 2014; Crawford 1998; Reiner 2010). On the back of the work of the LGBT Foundation, volunteers, including Colin, would often talk of how belonging to the LGBT Foundation meant they were able to gain a wider support and acceptance than that of others such as the police. This association and identification with the LGBT Foundation, and distance from state services, allows the volunteers to deliver outreach services designed to promote safety initiatives that include distributing condoms and offering drug and addiction advice, which differs from those offered by the emergency services.

Distance from the state, and the need not to be viewed as policing volunteers, is also evident with the Street Pastors. The Pastors, like other groups, focus on supporting those the police may be hesitant to engage with (Jayne *et al* 2010). Based on religious commitments and membership to a local church, volunteering in this group is founded upon religion, which is reflected in their uniform. Their work centres round the Christian faith. The volunteers suggest the church as being their primary institution over that of any other. Their actions tend to be of a pre-emptive nature to avoid anti-social or criminal behaviour (Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015; Swann *et al* 2015; van Steden 2018). A conversation with one of the volunteers, recorded in the observation notes, highlights why:

The Street Pastors wear a dark blue/ purple coat that does have reflective strips on but is not high visibility. This is different from the other organisations. When chatting about this it transpired that this is on purpose. Although this is a national uniform the purpose of this is not to be seen as an authority figure.

“We help people, we chat to people and we listen.” (Street Pastors Co-ordinator)

The Pastors stressed that they do not want to be seen as the police as they are not the police. They do not do the same job as the police and therefore should not be seen as them. The choice of not wearing high visibility clothing also makes them look like less of an authority figure. *Observation Notes 19th August 2016*

The uniform of the Street Pastors is a dark shade of blue with reflective strips. They sometimes wear baseball caps, but on all occasions have either a large jacket or tabard with

the words 'Street Pastor' embossed on it. The uniform is standard across the national movement of Street Pastors throughout the country. This uniform seemed to blend in more to the local environment compared to the other volunteers, which is in line with the national framework for this group (Johns *et al* 2009,2018; van Steden 2018).

The embossed label on the Street Pastors uniform identifying them as Street Pastors is significant. A religious association was made by some members of the public, which the Pastors were proud to discuss. Kirsty, the Street Pastors Coordinator highlights this:

"When people see you with that jacket on people are making judgements about your faith, judgements about our God. So, we want to make sure we're doing it well, we're doing it in a professional way, we are serving effectively, and that we really are making a difference." (Kirsty, Street Pastors Coordinator)

Whilst observing the Street Pastors, volunteers would often talk about how they explained to the public what it was to be a Street Pastor and overcome any misconceptions. The emphasis being on the 'pastor' rather than the 'preacher'. Leonie shared with me how the volunteers overcome this:

"We don't preach; we are not preachers. One guy tried to take me on about religion and said, 'Come on then preach at me'. I just said, 'I am not a preacher, but I will gladly talk to you.'" (Leonie, Street Pastor)

There appears to be a misconception towards the work of the Pastors by the public through the belief that belonging to a religion means the volunteers are simply there to preach or pray. Whilst prayer was a service offered to anyone that should ask for it, it was the foundation, not the sole focus, of the Street Pastors actions (van Steden 2018).

The final group of the three, the Street Angels, appeared to struggle with their sense of identity when present on the streets at night. This group chose a bright yellow jacket for their uniform, a colour often noted as the colour of choice between many other workers and services in the night-time economy, including the police. The jacket is embossed with the groups logo on the back showing footprints and angel wings. However, the uniform of this group appeared to have the opposite effect to that of the Village Angels and Street Pastors as whilst it blended in, it failed to stand out. Gary, a volunteer for the Street Angels discusses how he feels the uniform may influence the presence of the group:

“There is the yellow coat visibility thing, they [the public] don't really know what we [Street Angels] are. They often think we are the police, or we are some sort of public service.” (Gary, Street Angel)

This highlights the importance for the volunteer street patrols in establishing themselves as independent from the state. It influences how they maintain their presence on the street and how they are regarded by others. In this group their independence seems to be in question. The Street Angels being perceived as the police or a public service placed a limit to the development of their presence but also influenced how people interacted with them as they were unsure of their status, associations and relationships (Mills *et al* 2011). Accordingly, having explored how volunteers contribute through their presence, the final part of this chapter presents the different types of interventions volunteers in a street patrol offered in this research.

Acts of Intervention

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to the second theme of the acts of interventions that were noted whilst spending time with the volunteers. Accordingly, this final part of the chapter demonstrates the range of interventions volunteers are willing to make. This is based around the perspective of responsibilised citizenry, which suggests an increasing role and widening responsibility for individuals and the community towards the control of crime and community safety (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). A way in which the responsibilised citizen participates is through their willingness to intervene. This is considered through the lens of Guardianship in Action (GIA hereafter) proposed by Reynald (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009). Reynald (2009) suggests a four-stage model (present, available, capable and willingness) of Guardianship in Action that argues residents, or volunteers in the case of this research, need to have a willingness to intervene. Like that of Hinds and Grabosky (2010), the willingness to act or the level to which a person feels responsibilised is key to the level of participation they are willing to make.

To set the scene, Table 3 below shows some of the common actions volunteers were found to engage in whilst on patrol. These actions were noted during the observation stages of the research.

Table 3 General actions of volunteers

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Help Vulnerable People	Always	Always	Always
Listening to People	Always	Always	Always
Befriending	Always	Always	Always
Keeping People Safe	Always	Always	Always
Breaking up a Fight	Never	On Occasion	On Occasion
Stopping Crime	No Evidence	Sometimes	Sometimes
Reporting Crime	No Evidence	No Evidence	Sometimes
Act as a replacement for the Emergency Services	On Occasion	On Occasion	Sometimes
Support the Emergency Services	Always	Always	Always

According to Bullock (2014) citizen or street patrols fit within the definition of citizens that take to the streets to deter and act as the eyes and ears of the police. It is the actions that each group is willing to undertake that both supports and challenges this perspective. Using the GIA model, volunteer street patrols in this research were present, available and capable to help people on the street. Each group exhibited different levels around their willingness to act based on the intervention that was needed. For example, the level of intervention with the Street Pastors seemed to differ from the other street patrol volunteers, which could be linked to their role in establishing a religious presence or their role as one of offering practical help and advice as opposed to one of direct intervention (Isaac and Davis 2009; Johns *et al* 2009; van Steden 2018). The Village Angels demonstrated the greatest hands on approach in terms of direct intervention in situations. The Street Angels offered a mixed response, depending on the needs of the person. The willingness to act is further considered in chapter 8 of this thesis, however examples are provided and explored in the following sections starting with actions that contribute towards addressing vulnerability.

Vulnerability

Volunteers from all three groups suggest that the purpose and aim of their role is to help those that are vulnerable. The level of vulnerability varies and depends on the situation or the person. In the case of this research, vulnerability is referred to as the state that a person is found in rather than belonging to or associating with particular concepts of identity commonly associated with disadvantaged groups (Bartkowiak-Theron and Asquith 2015; Perry 2001). The actions of volunteers in this research tended to be similar to those found within examples of community safety, namely the proactive approaches aimed to address local issues of crime, disorder and safety (Crawford and Evans 2017).

During the research, and as suggested above, situational vulnerability was often discussed in terms of the situation people found themselves in, or when volunteers referred to the condition of someone needing help. Vulnerability evidenced itself in several ways as the volunteers from the Street Angels describe:

“So, in a nutshell the Street Angels are here to help vulnerable people in a first aid capacity and also in a social capacity. So, if they’ve lost their friends we can get them back together hopefully or get them home. That’s what we do.”
(Jane, Street Angel)

“So, what we’re doing is helping people, mainly vulnerable people in the streets, usually because of drink on a Friday evening, offering first-aid, help with getting into a taxi getting home, directions, that kind of thing. Just keeping an eye out for people who might be in a vulnerable position.” (Lauren, Street Angel)

In the development of reassurance policing, Innes suggests that there are soft and hard functions to policing. He argues that neighbourhood policing was typically seen to deliver the softer side of policing such as acts of listening, befriending, welfare and problem solving (Innes 2005). Addressing vulnerability can often be linked to the role of reassurance or reassurance policing. Volunteer street patrols can be argued as carrying out actions of softer policing, commonly instead of the police, out on the streets of the city. Listening to people took up a significant amount of the volunteers’ time. Each of the three groups showed a willingness to listen to anybody who needed them. It usually involved hearing drunken stories or listening to people who simply wanted to talk to somebody. Leonie from the Street

Pastors describes how people often feel they can talk to the volunteers and how the volunteers need to listen:

"I mean from my point of view one of the things that I've had to learn is to listen. Listen more, rather than go into a situation and try to fix it because if you're a natural fixer you can get very frustrated, and sometimes you can't fix, all you can do is listen." (Leonie, Street Pastor)

The role of the street patrols is one that varies depending on the situation. Being present and available on the streets of the city enables volunteers to act on behalf of somebody else. The action is often determined by the situation. At times listening is all that is needed when helping someone who may be vulnerable.

Befriending and Listening

Reassurance can exhibit itself in several forms as demonstrated in the observation notes below. In this instance, listening helped the volunteer street patrols to address a welfare need of a man on the street at that time. The observation notes below show an incident that was common whilst observing the Street Pastors. On many occasions the volunteers let people talk to them:

Stood in the middle of Market Street a drunk male approached the group and in a quiet voice said that he needed some help. Despite this being 15 minutes before the end of the shift, the Pastors stopped to listen to the male. He was a tall man around 6ft tall and had been drinking. He smelt strongly of alcohol and was unsteady on his feet. He told the Pastors that he didn't know where to turn or what to do anymore. He was lost (in the sense of helplessness) and had had enough. I observed the Pastors simply listening to this man. They stood close to him, didn't say a word, nodded their heads when needed and listened.

Eventually he asked what they thought, to which they gave a short reply and then they listened some more. He asked them to pray for him and his son (who it later transpired was the cause of this person's worry), which the Pastors did. They listened some more. After around 15 minutes the man said that he needed to go to the toilet and should get home. He was overwhelmed and thankful that someone had listened to him and began to speak a little louder and hold his head a little higher. He hugged both the Pastors and went off towards home. *Observation notes- 4th November 2016*

On several occasions, the act of the volunteer groups being on the street would offer someone the opportunity to be listened too. On some occasions, members of the public

would suggest that they had nobody to talk to. Context is also important here. As guardians, volunteers would often show an awareness of their surroundings (Hollis *et al* 2013; Reynald 2010). The streets of the city can often be a cold, hostile lonely place (see Appendix J for Extended Observation Extract). The male they spoke to was alone and needed someone to speak to. At times, as the observation extract shows, listening whilst knowing there is no repercussion can help. Listening to people appeared to be a significant and important part of the volunteers' role.

During a typical evening, volunteers would approach people who appeared to be standing on their own or those sat on the kerbside alone. As noted in Table 3, befriending appears to be a key function of the volunteer street patrols. It is also reminiscent of the reassurance function or service role of policing (Innes 2007; Povey 2001; Sindall and Sturgis 2013).

Many of the people befriended showed signs they may be intoxicated. Each intervention was always based around helping people to stay safe. Sophie reflects on the kind of interventions that they do:

"There was a girl who came all the way from Liverpool on the coach. She was due to get the coach home at six in the morning. She had lost all her friends having only moved over to England three months ago. Her phone died, and she needed to call her friends. We sat talking to her and eventually she told us their names, so we went on our phones and went on social media and found her friends." (Sophie, Village Angel)

Sophie describes one situation and some of the actions that she and other volunteers do to help those alone or in need. The focus of the groups centres around small actions that can reduce the chance of people ending up in worse situations; in this case, lost, vulnerable or at risk of being a victim of crime. Volunteer patrols help vulnerable people that they encounter whilst walking around the city.

On the occasions when volunteers from all three organisations befriended people who were sat, stood or slumped on their own, it was noted that other members of the public appeared to be ignoring them or showing little concern. Gary from the Street Angels would often suggest that their focus was to help:

"We have this phrase about getting somebody in a taxi now rather than in an ambulance in an hours' time to get them home safely." (Gary, Street Angel)

He goes further to discuss how the volunteers always encounter somebody in need and alone during a patrol around the city, usually needing the group to help get them home safely. Gary explains how this is a common occurrence and a significant part of their role:

"We notice people who are wondering on their own and who look a bit worse for wear and then we approach them and ask, 'Are you OK?' Most of the time they say 'Yes' but even if they say, 'Yeah we're fine' we don't just walk off and leave them cos obviously they're quite drunk and on their own." (Gary, Street Angel)

Gary offers an example of being willing to act to support others. He, and others, watch out for people who they deem as vulnerable when walking the streets. This is reminiscent of the responsibilised citizen, with Gary suggesting that he is willing to accept responsibility for someone who needs his support (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Their actions are similar to those described by Reynald of a guardian, who is able, ready and have a willingness to intervene to help towards reducing the risk of harm to people (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009). They take actions that include reuniting them with friends, providing water to help return the person to a better state if intoxicated, or finding them a taxi that will take them home.

Often the volunteers are one of a limited number of available guardians present on the street at night (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009). The theoretical perspective of Routine Activities Theory, upon which Guardianship is founded, suggests that to reduce the opportunity of crime a suitable guardian needs to be present (Cohen and Felson 1979). Waiting with people appeared to be a regular feature of a street patrol. Each group spent time chatting to people whilst they were trying to get a taxi or even intervened and called a taxi for them. One cold evening in December, the Street Angels found an elderly man who appeared very drunk and unable to stand. Due to the nature of his condition, the volunteers decided to call him a taxi to get him home. The observation notes show how the volunteers approached the situation:

On route back to the briefing room the group stopped to help a man who was drunk and didn't know how to get home, he was stood up slumped against a wall. He was around 60 years old and had been drinking for most of the day. The issue was that he didn't have any telephone numbers of taxi companies to call to get him home. The Angels used their contacts to arrange for a taxi to collect him (paid for by the male) and take him home. This took around 20 minutes to arrange, with one of the problems being that he couldn't remember where he lived. He had just moved into a new house in the last week and wasn't sure of the postcode. When the taxi finally arrived, the driver took some convincing that the male was sober enough to get home. After some negotiation by the Angels for around ten minutes he was finally allowed in the taxi. Speaking to one of the Angels afterwards she said:

"I didn't think the taxi driver was going to let him in. Its best to let them [the person] walk to the taxi so that the driver can see how drunk they are; I really did think we would have a problem." (Lauren, Street Angel)

Despite the group having an agreement with a local taxi company, there are times when the individual drivers will not take someone despite them being with the Angels. This causes a big problem for the volunteers as they usually have to wait with the person until they begin to sober up. Or, in the worst-case scenario, if the person is unable to sober up then an ambulance needs to be called. *Observation Notes- 9th December 2016*

Lauren the Street Angel spoke of the situation as if this were a common problem. The group spent a significant amount of time waiting with people who need support in order to help them get home safely. Waiting with people also extended to waiting with those that needed medical attention. Volunteers often fulfilled the role of a suitable and capable guardian (Cohen and Felson 1979; Reynald 2009).

Volunteers would often call an ambulance if they were unable to help a person out on the street. At times they also called an ambulance if a person's condition worsened when they were speaking to them. At the time, ambulance waiting times would often be over an hour if the condition was not immediately life threatening. A short reflection from an incident that took the volunteers two hours over their shift finish time, after a busy night in Manchester's gay village, is detailed below:

An ambulance was called with a waiting time of 90 minutes. This was through no fault of the ambulance staff, but it transpired that this was as a result of the cuts to the NWS in general. The male was taken off to hospital.

After the event the volunteers talked about how it was common to wait for long periods of time for an ambulance, sometimes in difficult situations. *Observation notes – 2nd December 2019*

In this incident, the volunteers were waiting with a teenage male who had possibly overdosed on the drug Ketamine or GHB. Whilst the male was on the cold floor being sick, many stories were being told to the volunteers by the door staff and his friends. In this incident the volunteers called the ambulance acknowledging that as responsibilised citizens they had reached their limit in terms of a willingness and ability to shoulder responsibility (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). However, by waiting with the male they continued in their role as a suitable guardian until support came (Cohen and Felson 1979; Reynald 2009, 2010).

Waiting for the emergency services is common amongst the volunteers. They do this to keep the person safe whilst help arrives. Gary from the Street Angels describes how the volunteers often call for an ambulance if needed but end up having to wait:

“We had a fairly major incident just before Christmas on Edward Street. A girl with a head injury, we were trying to keep her awake. We waited just under an hour for the ambulance to come. I think they had bigger priorities and fewer [ambulance] patrols. So, we had to use quite a lot of first aid skills. Luckily, we found a paramedic in one of the clubs, he did an assessment on her until the ambulance came.” (Gary, Street Angel)

Gary’s reflections on the incident highlights the responsibilisation of the individual. As Hinds and Grabosky suggest, a responsibilised volunteer is one “who has acknowledged that police [in this case the ambulance] are scarce, and in response has accepted a greater burden of self-protection” (Hinds and Grabosky 2010:110). The volunteers in this research are examples of responsibilised citizenry through the extension of the concept away from just the control of crime. Volunteers in this group were willing to accept responsibility for the girl who had a head injury, up to the point that they felt they could no longer offer the support she needed. Instead they waited with her until that support arrived. They show an awareness that resources such as the ambulance are scarce or stretched and accordingly will offer their support. Their focus centres around helping those in need. A key function of the

volunteers in their role as responsabilised citizens is the reduction of harm, which considered next.

Reducing Harm

The volunteer actions are varied, but all of them centre round enhancing the safety of the area. Many of them are connected to preventing harm or reducing the risk of further harm to those out on the street. The actions of the volunteers fit within what Garland (2001) describes as the objectives and priorities of the new preventative turn, namely a focus on actions at the local level that address crime, disorder and security in a different manner. Table 4, comprised from observations, shows some of the actions noted during my time spent with the groups that aim to reduce harm:

Table 4 Actions by volunteers aiming to prevent harm

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Spent time Listening to people	Always	Always	Always
Befriending single individuals	Always	Always	Always
Spent time sobering people up	Sometimes	Always	Always
Dealing with drug taking / overdoses	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Always
Finding / relocating people with Friends	Always	Always	Always
Handing out water	Always	Always	Always
Handing out flip flops	Always	N/A	N/A
Arranging / calling taxis	Sometimes	Always	Always
Waiting with people for the emergency services to arrive	Always	Always	Always

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Removing glass bottles from the street	Always	Always	Hardly Ever
Administer basic first aid	No Evidence	Always	Always
	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Signpost to other support services (NHS, Charity, Police)	On Occasion	On Occasion	Always
Handout safe sex packets	N/A	N/A	Always
Say a prayer for people	Sometimes	Never	N/A

The street patrols' work has a routine element that takes place on most patrols. For example, it is common to find a lot of glass bottles scattered on the streets in doorways and across the pavements. Volunteers, particularly from the Street Angels and the Street Pastors, would take it upon themselves to collect and remove the glass bottles, placing them in the nearest bins. For the Village Angels this was not the case as others such as the door staff coupled with the geographical area meant less glass was on the street. Lucy describes why she removes glass bottles:

"We remove them so that nobody gets injured by them, the police don't tend to do it [collect and remove bottles], but someone could fall on one or get smacked over the head by one." (Lucy, Street Angel)

Volunteers view glass bottles as potential weapons that could be used to harm somebody or injure someone if they fell onto one. What seems like a 'keeping the streets tidy' activity has a purpose related to keeping people safe. The Street Angels and the Street Pastors often turned this activity into a game as to who could collect the most glass bottles in an evening with often up to 100 bottles being collected.

Volunteers, during an evening patrol, will often administer basic first aid such as handing out plasters for cuts or supporting people to get to a taxi with bruises or sprains. Routinely, the

Street Angels and the Village Angels carry basic first aid kits with them, so they can support people if needed. The Street Angels and the Village Angels aim to have a first aider on the patrol each shift, who is trained to deliver basic first aid to the level of the general public:

“We go for four in a team if we can. You’ve got radio [a person to operate], primary first aid, secondary first aid and then you’ve got a support as well. Just, if there is a big incident that’s happening you’ve got two people dealing with first aid you would need an extra person just to, you know, be the eyes and ears and crowd control around the situation.” (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

Alison suggests how each Street Angels’ patrol works in terms of first aid. The Street Pastors however did not routinely administer first aid or volunteer for such. The presence for this group was about taking a step back, rather than directly intervening, unless necessary. This seems to fit with their ethos, which centres around pre-empting potential criminal or anti-social behaviour (Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). The observation notes below show my reflections around this:

The final incident of the night was calling an ambulance for a homeless man who had fallen over and cracked his head open on the floor. I was a little shocked here as many of the volunteers seemed to stand back. I am not sure if they have had first aid training, but none was administered, despite one person being an ex-nurse. The man did not smell that clean and had urinated in his trousers, maybe this was the reluctance to physically help. No one seemed to have any protective equipment or first aid equipment that could have helped. Aside from keeping the man in the recovery position until the ambulance came and putting a pillow under his head to stop him hurting it further, little action was taken. *Observation Notes- 24th November 2016*

The Street Pastor volunteers suggested their role was one of being present and able to help if needed, but through listening, talking and supporting. Whilst being present and available on the street, they appeared to intervene less. Gayle discusses how she views her volunteering role:

“I don’t look for problems, I try and look for people who need my help, I don’t see it as problems.” (Gayle, Street Pastor)

The observation notes describe the time the group found a female lying on a bench in Piccadilly gardens and my reflections on their actions:

She was sat on a bench and was bent right over with her head below her knees. When the Pastors arrived the group of men moved to the side but continued to look at her. The Pastors tried to talk to her, sat down next to her and even put their arms around her. She was breathing but unresponsive to their questions. It was decided that the police would be called, not an ambulance (reason unknown at that stage). Once the police arrived they immediately asked if the Pastors had called an ambulance, they then called one themselves. It was interesting to note the curt and quite condescending questioning from the police sergeant who arrived "Have you called an ambulance?" The police moved the female into the recovery position on the bench where she immediately sat up and responded by shouting and swearing at the Pastors and police. The police advised the Pastors to "leave it with them" and thanked them for their efforts.

The focus here was not one of the actions that the Pastors took with the female, but the observations related to her safety that I was able to observe. Stood a few feet away from the Pastors I noted a few things. Firstly, that the Pastors co-ordinator stood slightly back from the group, close enough to help, but far enough away not to be directly involved. Secondly, that the incident lasted around 30 minutes during which the group of 6 men stood around looking at what was happening. Slowly over the 30 minutes they dispersed with one of them shouting to the Pastors that he had tried to help her, but he couldn't. This was around 20 minutes after we had arrived. The new volunteer and myself were able to see that in terms of safety, the involvement of the Pastors may have meant that the risk to the safety of this female was significantly reduced. By spending time with this vulnerable female and getting her back on her feet, it seemed to reduce her risk of becoming a victim of crime or harm. It may have prevented something illegal happening or deterred others from becoming involved. The interest by the group of men in the female that I witnessed felt unusual as noted by the other Pastors. The presence of the volunteers, I believe, was to help a vulnerable person and promote safety. *Observation*

The focus of the volunteer's presence was different when thinking about the incident compared the other groups. The presence of the volunteers was to be there in the area and act as a guardian, whilst awaiting the arrival of the emergency services (Cohen and Felson 1979). Other groups, if comparing, would have offered first aid. Other groups may also have called the ambulance first. These volunteers tried to speak to the female to gain a response, they called the police but also tried to move the six males surrounding her.

Harm Prevention Items

Reducing harm also includes outreach or items aimed at preventing harm being distributed. The Street Pastors carry flip flops in their bags, commonly associated with the Street Pastors and the general public understanding of volunteer street patrols. This is an example of a

community safety initiative designed to deliver local solutions to local problems (Crawford and Evans 2017). The Street Pastors are the only group in this research to carry flip flops, as this is a national initiative designed by the Ascension Trust. This is what Middleton and Yarwood (2015) refer to as the equipment used in the routine practices of the Street Pastors. Public awareness of street patrols is associated with volunteers handing out flip flops. This is evidenced by Peter, a Village Angel:

“All they want is bloody flip flops.” (Peter, Village Angel)

Peter comments on how he is constantly asked for flip flops despite the group never having previously handed them out. He went on to suggest public awareness is based around the idea that street patrols, or more specifically the Street Pastors, hand out flip flops to people to protect their feet. Crime prevention and community safety related activities are a common activity with all three groups. As suggested in Table 4, helping to make people safe is reminiscent of the literature around the preventative turn and the horizontal approaches to local issues of safety (Crawford 2009; Crawford and Evans 2017; Garland 2001).

The Village Angels, due to their connection with the LGBT Foundation, would often engage with people on the street and, if appropriate, signpost them to the outreach services the foundation offers. They would also hand out ‘safe sex’ packets to those that asked for them containing condoms, lubrication and safe sex instructions. The volunteers saw this as part of their role and as a contribution towards reducing harm:

“We also carry around information about our services and we always carry around, for example, packets of condoms and lube.” (Gareth, Village Angel)

This action appeared to be centred round reducing potential harm, particularly within the night-time economy. This action contributed to a particular need for the LGBT community, which the Village Angels are part of. Outreach and the signposting of wider services also occurred when volunteers felt the need for such intervention.

Dealing with Crime

The volunteer patrols could often be exposed to crime. Literature on the street patrols informs us their role can include being the eyes and ears of the police (Bullock 2014). In this research this did not appear to be the case. On a very busy shift with limited numbers of volunteers, an incident occurred where a young teenage male told two of the volunteers he had been raped earlier in the week by a taxi driver. The volunteer described the incident to me at the end of the shift, which is recorded in the observation extract below:

Walking back to the base the Angels came together as a team. The other half of the second team joined the rest of the group. It turned out they had been dealing with a young male who was unsure of his sexuality. He was 18 years old and disclosed that he had been raped two days earlier by a black cab driver. The Angels who dealt with the male offered their immediate assistance and offered to report this to the police with him. They urged him to do so but he declined. He was drunk and upset and needed to get home. Despite their urge to help him they sourced a taxi for him and said that the Village Angels would pay for it. He was resistant to get in the taxi but was reassured by the Angels that this was a safe and reputable arrangement. The Angels stressed to him the need to report what had happened and for him to seek medical attention. He refused all forms of help from the Angels. The only option they had was to give him a contact card with details of the LGBT Foundation that he could use if he changed his mind once sober. He could speak to somebody and receive confidential medical assistance. He could even report the matter to the police if he wanted to. He was eventually calmed down and provided with a taxi home. *Observation Notes – 21st October 2016*

The volunteers encouraged the young man to report this to the police immediately and offered to support him through this process. They spent a great deal of time with him, during which they informed him about the range of services on offer at the LGBT Foundation office. Although walked away from the volunteers leaving the matter unaddressed, after the event the volunteers expressed some comfort knowing they had made him aware help was available if needed. They discussed how their role is being available for people to talk to, who do not want to go to the police or don't need medical attention, but having the knowledge to signpost them to support services if needed. The actions volunteers take regarding potential criminal situations are explored next.

Volunteers were found to support those who appeared to be under the influence of drugs other than alcohol. Considered as the eyes and ears of the police (Bullock 2014), this poses a challenge for volunteers in this research around their role in reporting crime. Training is offered to all three volunteer patrols in drug awareness. When walking the city streets at night, people sometimes appear to behave suspiciously, for example standing close together in groups or hidden in the shadows. On one occasion, a group were observed passing a snap bag of white powder, which the volunteers imagined would contain drugs. Despite the bright yellow uniform, they appeared undisturbed by the Street Angels' presence:

Towards the top end of the street a group of 4 lads were stood the other side of the telephone box in a circle passing something between them. As the Angels walked past they stopped and smiled, looking in their direction and waited for the Angels to pass. Around the corner a discussion was had between the group of Angels about the lads dealing or taking drugs. It was discussed how this happens quite a lot in that spot, despite the police presence and the usual behaviour of people engaged in this activity was the same as this group of lads. The new volunteer asked what the Angels do about this, to which he said we tend to just ignore it. *Observation Notes – 24th June 2016*

Volunteers suggested they would support people who they thought had taken drugs or they had been informed had taken drugs. This was often noted with the Street Angels and the Village Angels, although not so much with the Street Pastors. All three groups received drug awareness training, however the nature of the Street Pastors often led to their volunteers not asking if drugs were involved in an incident. The level of support provided varied depending on the circumstances of the individual and the amount and type of drug taken. For the most part drug taking and dealing witnessed out on the street was ignored, until it posed a problem for the volunteers or a member of the public:

“We see it all the time, we just walk on past unless there is a problem and then we shout the police.” (Jane, Street Angel)

In most cases the volunteers spent time helping and supporting those that had taken too much of a particular drug by remaining with them until they were in a fit state to make their way home. On occasion, further medical assistance was called. Regardless, the actions of the volunteers always appeared to be based around help, support and safety. The final part of this chapter is dedicated to examples of the challenging interventions volunteers undertook.

Direct Interventions

Direct interventions, for this research, are actions of volunteering requiring the volunteers to prevent a serious incident occurring. Often the nature of these incidents would be carried out by state services, however, on occasion it fell to volunteers to step in due to the absence of police or the ambulance, or the volunteers worked with the emergency services to help others. The street patrols in this research supported people in times of crisis. The local Police Constable discusses this:

“So not only do they deal with the smaller stuff which is the majority of the original idea of the Angels, to engage with the community and make them feel safe, but because they work the night-time economy, they do come across more serious jobs.” (Local Police Constable)

‘Coming across more serious jobs’ was a regular occurrence for patrols, the level of which was unexpected when beginning the observation process. Serious situations range from aggressive behaviour, such as fighting, to suicide attempts. Table 5 highlights some of the direct interventions volunteers suggested they would be willing to make, based on their experience and training. The Street Angels and Village Angels were offered training in waterway management and rescue due to the presence of canals within their patrol routes. In some instances, volunteers shared experiences of when they had delivered interventions.

Table 5 Direct intervention volunteers would be willing to undertake / have direct experience

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Conduct CPR	Never	On Occasion	On Occasion
Prevent suicide	On Occasion	On Occasion	On Occasion
Rescue from water	Never	Never	On Occasion
Intervene to prevent unwanted attention	Always	Always	Always
Call the ambulance / police (welfare)	Always	Always	Always
Call the police (crime reporting)	On Occasion	On Occasion	On Occasion

	<i>Street Pastors</i>	<i>Street Angels</i>	<i>Village Angels</i>
Help victims of sexual assault	Always	Always	Always
Help victims of DV	Always	Always	Always
Help victims of crime (theft, assault, public order)	Always	Always	Always

A common intervention volunteers made involved spotting somebody, usually female, sat or standing on their own, being surrounded or coaxed to do something that could have placed them at risk. Each of the three groups would often intervene when they felt a person was at risk. Hannah, from the Street Angels discusses how the Street Angels support those in this situation:

“The one incident I always think about was where there was a girl being coaxed to get into a car with two blokes who she didn’t know. And we said are you sure you know these guys, we went up to her and she was so smashed out of her head that she could hardly speak. But it turned out, we believe, that she didn’t know them and as soon as we started making a fuss they just shut the window and drove off.” (Hannah, Street Angel)

The direct intervention Hannah and the team took for a young girl on her own, reduced the chance of her being put at further risk due to predatory behaviour in the city. The role of the volunteers here is based on prevention through their presence, reminiscent of the idea of willing and capable Guardians (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009), and of offering reassurance on the street (Innes, 2007 and Povey 2001). Walking around the city at night, looking for people who may or may not need assistance and being visible, in this example, led to a vulnerable female being sent home safely.

It was expected that volunteers would encounter aggressive situations due to their patrols taking place during the city at night. For the most part volunteers would take a step back from fights between people on the street and often call the police if required or ask the CCTV operators, via their ‘Night Net’ radios, to watch a certain group or call the police:

*"We do not get involved with fighting, we call the police or the cameras [CCTV].
If we can we calm it before its starts but once it starts, then it is not our place."
(Lucy, Street Angel)*

Volunteers would often diffuse a situation by speaking with the two opposing sides or individuals and removing them from the situation by walking away with them or trying to offer reasoning. This action was not a common event for the volunteers.

Despite Lucy's stance on not becoming involved in violent situations, one occasion was noted where direct intervention occurred. This highlighted the caring side of volunteers, whilst raising questions of their vulnerability and accountability. During an observation with the Street Angels, a volunteer group physically intervened in a fight between three males who were attacking a single male who had fallen to the floor. Despite calling the police from their mobile phone and through the 'Night Net' radio, two of the volunteers and the coordinator directly intervened and as a result were slightly injured. The observation extract below reflects on the incident:

This quickly turned into a fight with punches and kicks. The Angels stopped to observe this, initially no calls were made to the police or no calls were placed on the radio. Eventually the fight progressed, and the male who was with his girlfriend ended up on the floor receiving kicks to his head. At this point two of the Angels became visibly upset, they ran over to the situation and started shouting for them to stop it. One of the Angels said:

"We have to do something, we have to do something, we can't just stand here." (Hannah, Street Angel)

Other comments came from Angels suggesting that it was not their job to get involved, they had no equipment and did not want the risk to their own safety. Eventually the coordinator stepped in and ended up getting hit on the chin, which was only disclosed later on. *Observation Notes - 8th Jul 2016*

This incident highlights the potential dangers of intervening. The Street Angels and the Village Angels tended to encounter more violent situations than the Street Pastors. Training for each group, as discussed in Chapter 7, suggests intervention should not take place. It also suggests volunteers are placed in difficult situations and must make a choice whether to act or not. The general feeling amongst the groups is that intervening in a fight is not their role, however they realise at times, challenging situations occur (Hinds and Grabosky 2010).

Due to the geography of Manchester, much of the city's streets have easy access to canals. Canals present a danger to people who are drunk, and volunteers have assisted people out of the water. Sophie mentions an incident the volunteers from the Village Angels attended where a man jumped into the canal twice whilst out on patrol:

"He just started fighting and jumped in [the Canal]. I've never seen anything quite so dramatic as that, he was literally right in front of me and then he started fighting and jumped in. And then someone jumped in and they dragged him back out and then everyone had to sit on him." (Sophie, Village Angel)

Sophie discusses her surprise at someone jumping into a canal at night. The actions of the volunteers were centred around preventing the male from jumping in the canal. In this incident his friend sat on him once he was pulled out. The Village Angels receive training on rescuing somebody from a canal and volunteers would often discuss previously doing so on other patrols. Based on this training they could be argued as suitable guardians and both available and willing to act if needed, despite this incident not being crime related (Cohen and Felson 1979; Reynald 2009, 2010).

Direct intervention to prevent a loss of life or injury occurred within the volunteer patrols, particularly with the Village Angels. This group were noted to attend several serious events. During the year the group saw a rise in the number of suicidal people in and around the gay village of Manchester. A number of the volunteers have been involved in intervening with people who are trying to commit suicide from drug overdoses, jumping from the seven-story car park situated in the village or throwing themselves in the dirty, cold water of the Manchester canals. Ray describes his experience of this:

"The most serious incident was a young male in the village who is known to the Angels. He was on top of the car park, suicidal and on the wrong side of the barrier. I spoke to the police and we, the Angels, went up and spoke to them. It took probably, it took quite a while. I don't know it seemed longer when you're up there, but it seemed quite a while. Eventually the guy came down." (Ray, Village Angel)

In this incident, this was with the agreement and support of the police, whom the volunteers called in the first instance. However, the suicidal male did not want the police to be involved. Working with the police in this capacity is reminiscent of the responsabilised citizen and their

willingness to shoulder the burden of crime up to a point (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). The male, who was planning to jump, was engaging with the LGBT Foundation for other issues. The volunteers could talk the male down from jumping on this occasion.

Suicidal incidents were a relatively common experience for some of the volunteers in the Village Angels. Peter, who is a member of the LGBT rugby team, discussed with me after a shift about how he came across a young man wanting to throw himself in the canal:

“I’ve just rugby tackled somebody to the ground who wanted to commit suicide.” (Peter, Village Angel)

Peter, like Ray, took responsibility for saving a man’s life. An increased sense of responsibility is in existence here, above and beyond what could normally be expected of the average person. Street patrol volunteers have an increased sense of responsabilisation based firstly on their motivation to volunteer (Rochester *et al* 2010), then as their acceptance of the role of a guardian (Reynald 2009).

Chapter Summary

This chapter argues the contribution made by volunteer street patrols centres around support and care for those who find themselves in challenging situations on a night out. The actions of the volunteers are based around befriending, reducing harm and trying to address situational vulnerability. Much of the work of the volunteers sits under the ideas of community safety focusing on local solutions to disorder, crime and safety (Crawford 2009; Crawford and Evans 2017).

A significant function of a volunteer patrol has been identified as offering reassurance through visibility on the street, often connected to softer interventions including and centred around listening, talking and welfare (Innes 2005). This is achieved through the function of patrolling or walking around the city at night. This remains a significant activity for volunteers, and the focus of their volunteering is formed around this (Innes 2007; Povey 2001; Sindall and Sturgis 2013). As responsabilised citizens, their actions are based around a want or desire to help, centred on a willingness to intervene or to act in order to address a problem (Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011; Reynald 2009). In the current climate of austerity, it is argued the ‘preventative turn’ is seeing an increasing pluralised field

of community safety and prevention, which the volunteers feel part of. This wider involvement of the citizenry sees individuals and the community accepting greater levels of responsibility for their own and others safety (Bullock 2014; Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010).

Volunteer street patrols have shown signs of being a suitable guardian that can reduce or remove the opportunity for crime and harm (Cohen and Felson 1979) and are examples of Guardianship in Action through their presence, being available, capability and willingness to act (Reynald 2009). Accordingly, the thesis now moves to Chapter 6 that answers the second research question and considers the motivations behind why volunteers choose to participate in a voluntary street patrol.

Chapter 6: Motivations of Volunteers Participating in Street Patrols

Chapter Introduction

This chapter explores the motivations of the individuals who volunteer in a street patrol. Exploring the motivations that lead volunteers to participate can develop a narrative of this voluntary action. The street patrols in this research are considered as responsabilised citizens within the community safety arena (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). By considering their motivations we are able to explore what contributes to their sense of responsabilisation. The very nature of their altruistic motivations that lead to volunteering to address the problems of the city, is reminiscent of what Garland (2001) argues is an increasing awareness, acceptance and familiarity towards crime. The chapter uses Rochester *et al* (2010) perspectives of volunteering where three paradigms, namely the dominant paradigm, based on altruistic motivations; the civil society paradigm, featuring motivations for volunteering in issues relating to welfare; and thirdly volunteering for serious leisure, are offered as a means to explore the key motivations for volunteering in a street patrol. This framework has been extended to include an additional fourth paradigm, that of the emerging discourse of volunteering for self-interest or development (Saxon *et al* 2015; Wilson 2012), which is referred to in this research as the reflexive volunteer.

The chapter begins by exploring the altruistic motivations of the volunteers, volunteering for motivations related to the civil society and then those that are suggested as part of volunteering for serious leisure (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010). The final set of motivations are addressed in the extended paradigm of the reflexive volunteer (Saxon *et al* 2015; Wilson 2012). To begin, the dominant paradigm that centres around altruism as a motivation for volunteering is considered.

The Dominant Paradigm

The dominant paradigm offered by Rochester *et al* claims that volunteering is the altruistic donation of a person's time, commonly associated with motivations of providing "care, support, advice and other activities for the benefit of people in need" (Rochester *et al* 2010:11). This was evident in all the volunteers across all the three examples in this research. Motivations in this paradigm are also similar to those highlighted by Bateson *et al* (2002),

specifically altruism, that features with volunteers in the criminal justice system. Several of the volunteers suggested that their main reason for volunteering was based around helping others, including Gary, Steve, Harry and Lesley:

"You know I always felt at least I could be out there and give some, give a bit back. It is cliché but there is a bit of 'maybe I could stop something like that [harm to a person] happening'." (Gary, Street Angel)

"It's just about helping people." (Steve, Village Angel)

"It's about helping individuals, other people who find themselves in a fix." (Harry, Street Pastor)

"Here you meet everyone like, homeless people or drunk people. You see all sorts and it's good that you can help." (Lesley, Street Angel)

The majority of the volunteers would often say that in choosing to volunteer in a street patrol they were able to help and assist those who were vulnerable or needed support. This was achieved through the donation of their time (Snyder and Omoto 2008).

Many of the motivations for helping others centred around altruistic motivations that involved supporting those in need. Whilst the contribution that volunteer street patrols offer was explored in chapter 5, it forms an important point in exploring the altruistic motivations. According to Rochester *et al* (2010), altruistic based motivations tend to feature a desire to work in welfare related volunteering. Wilson (2012) summarises this as motivations that suggest feelings and concerns for others, with recent research highlighting that empathy towards others is common (NCVO 2019). Ray from the Village Angels talks about how his motivations have changed during the time he has been volunteering:

"I remember being on nights out, seeing what they [Village Angels] were doing, seeing that this was a really good thing. That was initially [the motivation] but I think those motivations have changed. We genuinely do things that are worthwhile, we actually prove a genuine service to the community and I think there would genuinely be deaths in the village or if not, severe injuries to peoples' lives, who would be genuinely affected if we weren't in the village. So, I think that has become the motivation. There is nothing quite like the feeling of helping somebody, even when you know a lot of the time you don't get any thanks." (Ray, Village Angel)

Ray suggests that exposure to the volunteering of the Village Angels motivated him to participate as well. He volunteers based on his awareness of the presence of harm and crime

(Garland 2001). He informs us that through his volunteering he helps and supports people and that volunteers can change the lives of those that they encounter. He also makes the point that his motivations have changed during his time as a volunteer. Whilst Ray's motivations are altruistic and fall within the dominant paradigm, it is important to remember that volunteers and their motivations may feature in other paradigm of this volunteering model (Rochester *et al* 2010)

Caring for Others

Throughout the course of this research, altruistic motivations based on care always appeared central. As the observation notes from the Street Pastors and the Street Angels show below, volunteers placed value in supporting others, which motivated them to be a volunteer in a street patrol:

All of the Pastors seemed to care about people, whatever state they were in. They all had a good understanding of some of the problems that people faced and were able to link it to their own lives. The volunteers had a natural flair in being able to speak to people and make them feel important. This helped, even if it was just chatting about random things or things that may or may not mean anything, was not a problem to them. *Observation Notes – 18th November 2016*

The Angels stopped to chat to a rough sleeper who was sat next to the cash machine at Tesco. They knelt down despite the wet floor, the immediate environment and the smells surrounding him. Around 10 minutes was spent chatting about a range of topics, not particularly relating to himself. He said it was nice to talk to someone after having been released from prison that day. He was drunk and apologised for this several times. *Observation Notes – 17th June 2016*

Volunteers would often spend time with people that they encountered out on the street despite some of them being in challenging states, as discussed in the previous chapter. Compassion and care were always shown, even if it was simply to stop and say hello. Volunteering in an urban street patrol also led to a further dimension in the volunteering, that of volunteer motivations being focused around collective action and working together.

The motivation to help others, through collective action, tended to be inspired by individual events that happened to the volunteers. Volunteers from each of the organisations talk about their experiences of the need for collective action:

"I came here as a student, and I've always been made very welcome. I see it as my hometown now. So, it's nice to be able to give something back. Because a lot of people visit Manchester and live here as visitors or visit for a night out. If you've got someone visiting your place you want to make sure they're okay." (Lauren, Street Angel)

"We were out on a rugby night out, one of the guys in the team got assaulted in a homophobic attack and he got his jaw broken. Luckily Andy and the Angels were there, and they pointed it out as a hate crime and made him go to hospital and encouraged him to report it. So, I thought I might as well get involved. I've always wanted to do something around the village as well so it kind of arose from that." (Peter, Village Angel)

"Being able to sit with someone, being able to listen to people, being able to help practically, to encourage people. You can share some hope, for me that's what it's really about." (Kirsty, Street Pastor)

Each of the volunteers suggest that they were motivated to volunteer based on a desire to collectively give something back for the common good. This is reminiscent of the ideas from Sampson of collective efficacy (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Motivations founded on altruism can lead to collective action and a willingness to intervene that is a feature of responsibilised citizenry. There is acknowledgement that problems exist on the streets, which can be addressed by volunteering (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Wanting to address some of the wider welfare issues that take place within the city and its communities is explored next within the Civil Society Paradigm.

The Civil Society Paradigm

Rochester *et al* claim that when thinking about the second perspective of volunteering, actions linked to the civil society are important. Whilst this paradigm tends to feature motivations that are less altruistic in their nature, motivations in the civil society paradigm contain traits of self-help and mutual aid (Rochester *et al* 2010). Moreover, they feature activities that centre around "the ability of people to work together to meet shared needs and address common problems" (Lyons *et al* 1998:52). Many of the motivations that volunteers suggested as prompting them to participate in a volunteer street patrol are based around wanting to help address problems in the city or within a specific community (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Examples in this paradigm also have links to those of

responsibilised citizenry (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). To begin, the attraction to the city and the community as a motivation for volunteering is explored.

The altruistic motivations of the volunteers, as explored above, highlighted a connection or attachment with the city of Manchester, and the communities that volunteers support or belong to. Volunteers actively choose to volunteer in an urban street patrol. Several of the volunteers across the three street patrol groups have an attraction to the city. This is reminiscent of the discourse that surrounds the notion of community, and the various manifestations that this takes in this research, be that of place, attachment to a group or links to the social relations that exist within it (Bott 1957; Cohen 1985a; Day 2006). All the participants in this research live close to the city. Most originate from the North West of England and many have grown up within the region. All the volunteers expressed affection towards Manchester with many discussing how they enjoy the time that they spend on its streets. The observation notes reflect on a conversation held with a volunteer about spending time in the city:

We stood at the end of Deansgate looking up at the Hilton. There was a warm summer breeze. People seemed happy, wearing summer clothes and chatting as they walked past. It had just gone dark, but you could see a sunset. One of the volunteers and myself chatted for a while about how nice the evening was. She said that she loved Manchester, she couldn't think of anywhere else she would rather live. I asked her what made her volunteer for the Angels, she said the chance to walk around this fabulous city. It was so exciting to her and me too if I am honest. *Observation Notes – 15th July 2016*

Attraction to the City

Having a personal experience and knowledge of the area was a motivation for choosing to volunteer, specifically within an urban street patrol. The place is important to the volunteers for several reasons. Harry discusses how he finds the city exciting and fun, which he suggests is a reason for him choosing to volunteer in a street patrol:

“It’s kind of exciting because anything can happen. I like getting to know my own city better.” (Harry, Street Pastor)

The city can be a place that takes people out of their comfort zones and offers exposure to new and challenging situations. In this case, volunteers spoke of the city as a place that was

different from what they were commonly associated with. It demonstrates that the attachment of the city leads to the collective effort to help others (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Gary, a Street Angel, also makes the point around attachment that is linked to his excitement:

“Each time I look up [towards the top of the buildings] I notice something different. Something particularly beautiful, something that you don’t get anywhere else. This is what makes Manchester for me.” (Gary, Street Angel)

Gary, and several of the volunteers in the Street Angels, indicated an attachment to the city and implied that it was a motivation for choosing to volunteer in an urban street patrol. The city makes the volunteering attractive for volunteers. It provides a different setting from their residential communities and local towns, whilst offering a different set of challenges, particularly when thinking about crime and safety (Bullock 2014; Day 2006; Hughes 2007).

The city’s problems, and the volunteers’ awareness of them, also became a motivating factor for volunteers in this research. Manchester, like many cities in the UK, has numerous social problems and harms that include poverty, homelessness and crime. The social issues and harms that are witnessed on the city’s streets act as a pull for the voluntary action. Volunteers suggested a need for collective action in order to address some of the social problems they had seen in the city (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Harry and Lesley discuss how they chose to volunteer within the city due to the different challenges they may experience:

“Help is needed. I was interested to get to know better the issues of the city centre, I mean there’s been a lot reported about homelessness and drug issues and crime. Or maybe I’m looking at it more because, I don’t know what way round it is, but there’s a lot of talk about it and I don’t trust what is reported in the media. I’d like to know first-hand some information. I wanted to do some sort of outreach work, and something that was relevant to the city.” (Harry, Street Pastor)

“You simply don’t see this on a night out, you get caught up in what you are doing, you just don’t see what is really out there.” (Lesley, Street Angel)

Harry refers to his increased awareness of the problems in the city. Lesley, a relatively new volunteer with the Street Angels, says that volunteering in the city allows her to see the social problems she wouldn’t normally see when out with friends. They suggest that this was a

motivation to help out. These motivations, whilst altruistic in their nature, are also an acceptance of the social problems found on the city's streets. The city offers challenges to people that are often not found elsewhere and it is these issues that seem to be one of the motivations for the volunteers to participate in an urban street patrol. Lyons *et al* (1998) claims that the motivations in the Civil Society Paradigm feature motivations of wanting to help others, whilst addressing some of the problems found within the city and within the civil society, which was common with many of the volunteers.

The parents of teenage children, who spent time in the night-time economy of the city, were common amongst the volunteers, particularly within the Street Angels. This influenced their motivations to volunteer in an urban street patrol. Their motivations tended to be based around wanting to make sure young people were safe. It also suggested elements of the responsabilised active citizen (Bullock 2014; Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010):

“My sons go out in the city, I just wanted to see what it was like, not what they get up to but what it was like.” (Hannah, Street Angel)

Hannah talks of how she volunteers to experience life in the city at night. She goes on to say that through her volunteering she is able to look out for other teenagers that may need help, or a lift home in the city at night:

“They don't mind it [her sons]. Sometimes they ring me for a lift home or come and say hello. Sometimes one of the other parents that I know will say that their son or daughter is in town and could I give them a lift home. It all just helps.” (Hannah, Street Angel)

Motivations for Hannah are to give something back and for her personal experience. For the Street Angels, this stems from a number of deaths on the streets of Manchester over several years. In particular, the catalyst that provided the motivation for founding the Street Angels was the death of Adam Pickup, a young man who tragically died following a night out with friends in the city. Adam's death was due to a suspected fall, with his body not being found for several days (see Greater Manchester Police 2014; Qureshi 2014).

Awareness of the Problems

Volunteers spoke of wanting to help young people that are new and sometimes inexperienced in the city, to remain safe and well. An increased awareness of the city's issues and the wider threat of crime existed (Garland 2001). Hannah and Alison from the Street Angels highlight why the group started and what motivated them to become involved:

"The Street Angels were set up by a group of volunteers, following the deaths of a lot of teenagers, mainly males, and one case in particular which just gave a lot of public interest. The issues were youngsters drinking and becoming vulnerable, and the negative spin that the media played upon. They never said that they [the teenagers] were just enjoying themselves, they never report the ones that get home and they'd rather just let a few cases of assault and tragedies such as the deaths with the waterways. So that was the main concern for a lot of the group, volunteers and members." (Alison, Street Angel)

"It started because of Adam Pickup, the reason I got involved was because my daughter's friend went to primary school with him. I just thought you know my kids at the time of his death were teenagers coming into town, it seemed like the thing to do." (Hannah, Street Angel)

Volunteers in the Street Angels had a commonality between them that motivated them to volunteer. This existed in a desire to help out following the deaths of people in the city or making an association with their own personal circumstances (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). This is reminiscent of Cohen's ideas on symbolic community, namely communities that are structured through commonalities (Cohen 1985a). Further attachment and identification to communities was also noted across the other street patrol groups.

Volunteering within the LGBT community of Manchester has symbolic connotations for the Village Angels volunteers, as they attach values, norms and morals to the place in which they volunteer (Cohen 1985a). Volunteers suggested that their community should be a 'certain way'. Issues related to safety such as increased drug taking and dangerous sexual practices taking place in Manchester's gay village, which the volunteers encounter during most patrols. Paul describes some of the challenges of this diverse community:

"So underneath the bright lights of Manchester's gay village there are people that are homeless that you wouldn't know, and I'm not talking about people sleeping rough on the streets, I'm talking about people who are in the clubs looking for somebody to go home with that night so that they can get a roof over their head. Getting into a whole series of temporary relationships so they

don't have to face up to the fact that they've got nowhere to live. You've got people that are in a range of different dysfunctional relationships, everything from a reliance on somebody for money, accommodation or validation; through to domestic abuse, domestic violence. You've got people selling sex, you've got people selling drugs, you've got people taking drugs, you've got people buying sex, you've got people drinking too much, you've got people smoking too much. Building a picture here. But you know you've got all of these things under the surface, and you've got people with mental health needs, you've got people committing crime, you've got people about to be a victim of crime, and so on and so forth." (Paul Martin, LGBT Foundation)

Paul and the Village Angels' volunteers want their community to be a safe place. They were aware of the problems that exist in this community. They are not against what is defined as illegal activity but suggest that on occasions the village becomes a dangerous community due to the diversity that exists within it. What the community means to them offers a way of defining their attachment to it and ultimately their actions as volunteers (Cohen 1985a).

The motivations are similar to that of collective efficacy, namely a shared willingness to act, based on shared outcomes in order to address issues found in the city (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). This manifested in some volunteers choosing to volunteer with the Village Angels, based on an attachment or identification with the LGBT community and a desire to make it a safer place:

"We need, in our society, for people to feel connected to their community. Whether that's a community that's a geographic community or a community of identity, it's really important I think to feel connected to that. Volunteering helps you do that because you actually kind of do, and it gives you more of a connection to your community." (Gareth, Village Angel)

Volunteers from the Village Angels all expressed an attachment with the gay village in Manchester. Volunteers during the patrols often discussed how they felt a need to volunteer specifically in the gay village, not only as a result of self-interest (Bateson *et al* 2002) but in identifying with the specific safety and crime issues in the community. There was a sense of attachment and ownership of the community expressed in the motivations of the volunteers. From this sense of identity, altruistic motivations of wanting to help others were common. Colin talks about his motivations being based on the time he was coming out as a gay man. He suggests his reason for volunteering is based around his identity and desire to support the LGBT community that has supported him:

"I'm just saying my reasons for working for the Foundation come from wanting to give back and advance on the rights that we've got cos of people that have come before me. I volunteer to further the community and to acknowledge that yes, we've got a lot of rights, but we've still got quite some way to go. Not just in this country but also in other countries that, through being showing how appreciative I am of the people that have gone before me in advancing our rights, being involved in a community and advancing those rights further, I kinda felt like I should give back in that way." (Colin, Village Angel)

Colin discusses how he was motivated to help those within his community that has offered him much in return. His desire to give back to the community that helped him during his phase as identifying as a gay man and coming out is a significant motivation for wanting to join others and offer something in return. Caring for one's own interests as well as those of others was noted with this volunteer and many others within this research (Bateson *et al* 2002). A strong link with the LGBT community and the Village Angels' volunteers suggested they were motivated to give something back to a community that also offered them something.

Religion

Volunteers from the Street Pastors differ from the other two groups in this research. Whilst volunteers within this organisation all demonstrate altruistic motivations, they offer a further motivation for volunteering in a street patrol based on their religion. Wilson (2012) and Einolf (2011) suggests when considering volunteer motivations, religion can be a subjective disposition where volunteering allows an individual to help others through their sense of morality. The Manchester Street Pastors comprise of volunteers who belong to the Christian faith and are members of their local churches. A strong motivation for volunteers in this group is the opportunity that it offers to take the Christian faith, through the provision of care, on to the streets to help others (Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015; van Steden 2018). In order to become a Street Pastor, each volunteer must belong to a local Christian Church. Volunteers must commit to a twelve-month training course and make a financial investment for their training and their patrol equipment that includes their uniform of approximately £300 per person (van Steden 2018). This aside it was evident whilst out on patrol with the volunteers and during conversations that the Christian faith gave the

strongest pull. Kirsty discusses how she is motivated by carrying out God's work on the city's streets:

"I think for me, I wouldn't be doing this kind of work if I wasn't a Christian. I think that all of the volunteers volunteer because ultimately, we love Jesus. We've been changed by him, we've had personal encounters with him, and we do what we do because we want to reach people with his love. That's our motivation, that's the reason why we do what we do." (Kirsty, Street Pastors Coordinator)

Kirsty is motivated by her faith and suggests that she feels others would benefit from Christian values. Einolf informs us that volunteers can bring their 'life narratives' to their volunteering and tends to suggest that their motivations are based around equating religion with helping others (Einolf 2011).

Becoming involved with the group stems from wanting to step outside of the church. Leonie and Harry describe how they feel this is achieved:

"I felt like I wanted to get involved because I'm a Christian and because I didn't want to just stay in the church and do Christian things in the church. I thought as Christians we should be out helping people." (Leonie, Street Pastor)

"It's also mixing with people from different church backgrounds, as I say my church is quite conservative and that's the way I've been brought up, my parents were similar. It's not about being necessarily evangelist, but just being a bit bolder to be out there, showing your faith, and acting on it. I want that kind of influence that I'll get from the other people around me." (Harry, Street Pastor)

The Street Pastors seemed the most suitable option for them based on their motivations. Whilst out on patrol it was evident that their faith featured in the activities and work of the group. At the start and end of a patrol a prayer was said which usually asked God to guide the volunteers to places of harm and need. Walking around the streets often led to the Pastors discussing how God led them to areas based on where he wanted them to go. This is reminiscent of the shared identity that forms a bond within the Street Pastors. It unites them together and can be argued as giving them strength through spirituality (Einolf 2011; van Steden 2018). During the patrols, prayers were often said for people and situations they had encountered during the evening.

Being motivated by religion often provided a spiritual element of the patrol. One evening with the volunteers, the group stopped outside an area that is notorious for drug dealing, robbery and anti-social behaviour. This is the area of Piccadilly Gardens, shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Piccadilly Gardens, Manchester



Before entering the area, the group stopped to say a prayer. This was based around giving them the strength, courage and ability to help those who they came across. This was discussed with Leonie in an interview. She implied Piccadilly Gardens was a dark place both physically and spiritually:

“We walked past that big concrete hideous wall and there were some lads hanging around there. There was obviously drug dealing going on, and they were looking at us in a hostile way, it was very dark, very isolated. I mean, it’s not that you feel unsafe yourself, it’s that you feel the area is unsafe. As we walked through the area we felt it was a dark place religiously as well as physically. But I’m surprised that I don’t feel unsafe, because I can be a bit of a wuss actually in dark places. But I don’t feel unsafe, I don’t feel alone. And I don’t feel unprotected. Not really.” (Leonie, Street Pastor)

Volunteers used prayer to guide them through areas, and in response to some problems they encountered on the street. This is reminiscent of what Middleton and Yarwood describe as the use of prayer in the negotiation of the space that Street Pastors create whilst out on patrol (Middleton and Yarwood 2015). It is prayer that gives them the motivation, strength and courage to help people and take the faith onto the streets. It allows the volunteers to

enter areas they define as 'dark' or challenging. The volunteers suggest it is what inspires them to help others and it is argued it is what motivates and informs their actions.

Prayer and faith aside, Street Pastors volunteers also have altruistic motivations and want to help with societal problems, particularly those in the night-time economy. Kirsty suggests her motivations for volunteering, whilst altruistic in nature, centre round helping others:

"I think wanting to give something back, wanting to help others, showing compassion, that's a real motivation." (Kirsty, Street Pastor)

Literature informs us that the role, actions and motivations of the Pastors are to provide care and support when the emergency services have left gaps, or there is a problem that would otherwise be ignored (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). Working to address welfare issues on the street was common with this group. Barry shows how the issues of the city have led him to volunteering for the Street Pastors:

"Helping people to get home safely, occasionally getting medical help for people. Chatting with the door staff, building relationships with them, and anybody else who's around. Sometimes working with addicts on the street, homeless people, there was a guy with a particularly nasty spice trip some months ago. Sometimes it can be people asking for directions, simple as that, people who are mislaid. It varies. From the serious to the trivial." (Barry, Street Pastor)

Barry goes further to describe his initial motivation to become involved in the urban patrols is based around volunteering in a local project that addresses the issues of the city:

"I was drawn in, I could see the advantage of this getting people on the streets, and I'd done a similar thing before, there was a project in my home town, which I did at night with one back in the late 90s, which predates the Street Pastors. But a similar great idea, again of some local people coming to do something to help the casualties of the night-time economy." (Barry, Street Pastor)

Barry suggests that through his faith he is able to help address the issues that are found on the streets of the city at night. His history of volunteering in similar projects led him to work in the Manchester Street Pastors having witnessed the challenges found on the streets. He demonstrates awareness and attachment to the group and the city. Moving away from the motivations that surround the civil society paradigm leads towards those motivations that fall within volunteering for serious leisure.

The Serious Leisure Paradigm

Volunteering as serious leisure is something that Rochester *et al* claim is “an activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participants to find a (non-work) career” (Rochester *et al* 2010:14). Motivations common within this paradigm centre round enthusiasm and interest, but also volunteering that involves the use of free time for rewards away from, or in absence, of paid employment. In the case of the Manchester Street Patrols, volunteering for serious leisure was common with volunteers using their professional skills and life experience to help others and, for some, to occupy themselves after retiring or finishing work in a professional capacity. This paradigm was evidenced the least in this research. The professional experience volunteers bring to a street patrol is considered first.

The professional lives of volunteers are important. A motivation for volunteering is to use their skills in a different environment. Several of the volunteers across the groups had a professional background or had life experience such as raising children, care giving or other voluntary roles that required specific skills and training. One of the threads that runs through all of the motivations for volunteers in a Street Patrol is the desire to take their skills and experience out onto the streets to help others. Several also wanted to develop their skills, which is considered under the reflexive volunteer. Mary, a volunteer from the Street Pastors, discussed during a patrol that she wanted to help people on the street with skills and knowledge she had acquired while working in a homeless centre. This is reflected upon in the observation notes below:

The three volunteers on this patrol had very different backgrounds and experience. One of them was a vicar, one a mum of two and a doctor’s receptionist, and one a worker for a homeless charity in Manchester. This brought a wealth of experience to the group, which showed in the way that they interacted with the people that they met.

The volunteer who worked with the homeless said she wanted to see what life was like on the streets. She was a Christian so what better way to do it. She helped people all day to reach different support services, now she wanted to walk the streets and use her skills. She said she knew most of the people she spoke to from the centre. *Observation Notes - 20th January 2017*

Mary felt she had numerous examples of how to successfully signpost people to housing support, medical intervention or other homeless charities, and this experience was too important to waste simply working in one place. Based on her motivation to take the faith out on the streets, a street patrol became the ideal choice.

Professional skills

Several of the volunteers came from a medical background, both current practitioners and retired. Demographic information is available in chapter 4 of this thesis. Nurses, doctors, dentists and health worker volunteers volunteered across all three organisations. Their motivation was to help those who find themselves in trouble on the street. They bring a range of first aid and emergency medical treatment to those that need it. Links can be made here towards the responsabilised citizen and also the role of the guardian. Through the use of skills and experience, volunteers are able to reduce the opportunity for harm and vulnerability (Cohen and Felson 1979; Reynald 2009). Farah, a senior nurse in the NHS, discusses how she is motivated to use her training and expertise out on the streets to help those who find themselves in vulnerable situations, noted in the observation notes below:

I asked her if there were any other reasons why she would choose this type of volunteering. She went on to discuss her experience as a nurse and thought that she would be able to offer some important skills in terms of being a medic to people who may need them. Later it transpired it was a challenge as it took her outside of her comfort zone, as in removed from the health and safety environment of a hospital to the street, where anything could happen. *Observation Notes - 12th August 2016*

Farah felt that helping people out on the streets, with all the associated environmental and situational challenges such as the weather, drunken people or a lack of proper medical equipment, offered her a new challenge. She later went onto discuss the overcrowding and under resourcing in Accident and Emergency, which she felt could be reduced by intervening at the point of crisis. This point is reminiscent of the acceptance and awareness of the need for increased self-burden when it comes to community safety. Farah is suggesting that her professional skills can be used outside of the professional arena to go some way to addressing these problems (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). A street patrol, in her opinion, was a useful way of achieving this. Her desire to help and her personal interest motivated her choice of volunteering.

As suggested, many of the volunteers had medical training which helped during patrol around the city with the delivery of first aid and support for injuries. This offered volunteers a chance to practice their skills outside of the vocational environment. Steve from the Village Angels is such an example. He suggests that volunteering not only allows him to give something back, it allows him to keep his medical skills active whilst taking a break from study, but still working in a caring role:

“My background is medical and first aid, so I tend to have a lot of the first aid situations that we get. I’ve just spent the past six years working for event medical companies, so I first started off in a well-known charity as an event advanced first aider and also teaching first aid from five-year olds up to adults. Now I’ve moved over to a company which is exactly the same. We do a lot more festivals. I was doing my nursing degree but I’m taking some time out, and now I work in a nursing home.” (Steve, Village Angel)

Similarities are made between Steve and Farah. Both appear examples of the responsabilised citizen and both have the collective desire and willingness to act (Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Reynald 2009; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Each of the volunteers may be argued as using their professional experience as a motivation to volunteer.

Several of the volunteers who participated in a street patrol were in retirement. Volunteering offered them an opportunity to try something new, fill up spare time and use the years of professional experience that they had gained whilst working for other purposes (NCVO 2019). Gary, a retired medical professional and manager decided to do exactly this:

“Once I retired I went back to basic nursing work to bank as an agency nurse for a while, I have been doing that up to Christmas. I haven’t done anything this year yet, probably won’t anymore, sort of put that behind me now. But I felt that I wanted to do something with people but different to what I had done before and I came across the Street Angels. I think I’ve got something to offer, I enjoy doing it.” (Gary, Street Angel)

Gary is an example of a volunteer within the serious leisure paradigm as suggested by Rochester *et al* (2010). One of his motivations is to make use of his medical and management skills to help others. Considering a different approach to motivations for volunteering leads us on to the final paradigm for volunteering, that of the reflexive volunteer.

Reflexive Volunteering

An emerging literature within volunteering discourse suggests that voluntary action is now used as a tool for self-development; and as an opportunity for people to gain skills and experience needed for career entry or career changing (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010; Saxon *et al* 2015; Wilson 2012). Bullock has informed us that little is known about volunteers in a street patrol, their motivations and their backgrounds. Accordingly, despite multiple motivations being entangled with each other, spending time with the three groups in this research has highlighted that volunteer motivations should also include volunteering in a street patrol for self-development purposes. Self-development was suggested by five of the volunteers from the Street Angels and the Village Angels as being a motivation for their volunteering. It was not a common feature amongst the Street Pastors. Ray, from the Village Angels, talks about his desire to gain extra skills, which he feels come from time spent volunteering in numerous organisations:

“I also work for the Albert Kennedy Trust focusing on LGBT homelessness. So, this [volunteering with the Village Angels] for me was a direct link to that as well in terms of wanting to help people. People don’t believe me when I say that’s why I want to be a legal professional, I want to help people.” (Ray, Village Angel)

Similar to the other paradigms, Ray, and others, were motivated by several motivations that could all go some way towards their self-growth. As Wilson suggests, the subjective dispositions of the volunteers can change and move depending on the everyday factors such as age, lifestyle, career and economic position (Wilson 2012). Volunteering can also help towards his self-development as a legal professional.

Self-development

Self-development for career purposes was also expressed with one of the younger male volunteers from the Street Angel group. Whilst out on patrol the volunteer discussed how he wished to start a career in the police. He described how it was always something he had wanted to do and that, following an unsuccessful application to join the police force, he was given the advice to volunteer for a street patrol rather than to volunteer with the police:

"I was advised by a police sergeant to volunteer with the Angels rather than become a [police] special, he said I would get to see what the streets were really like as a volunteer walking around them." (Luke, Street Angel)

Luke was advised to volunteer for a street patrol over volunteering in the Special Constabulary as it was thought that the volunteers would be able to gain a better insight into social problems and harms from a non-police perspective. His motivations were based around a realisation of gaining experience and exposure to life on the street in order to be able to meet the criteria for becoming a police constable.

Volunteering in a street patrol offered a similar experience to working within the emergency services due to the nature of the voluntary work and the environment. Working in the city even more so. Volunteers in a street patrol are often linked to those that volunteer in support of the police (Bullock 2014). Volunteers who were reflexive around their own professional development realised that volunteering in a street patrol would provide them with an opportunity to gain valuable experience (Wilson 2012). Sophie talks about these motivations for volunteering based around exposure and experience:

"To get experience [to apply for the police] yeah cos obviously I'll need to learn how to deal with high stress situations and I've never been in, before this [volunteering with the Village Angels] in a situation where it's pressured. It's teaching me valuable skills and stuff." (Sophie, Village Angel)

During the research, three of the volunteers mentioned in this research have now successfully gained positions as student police constables, and one as a trainee nurse. The experience of volunteering for a street patrol was cited as helping them meet the job criteria and allowed them to provide examples throughout the interview process.

The rise of the reflexive volunteer is also based around the socio-economic challenges that remain altruistic in nature but are suggested as making the giving of free time more personal (Rochester *et al* 2010; Saxon *et al* 2015). Several of the volunteers in all three groups had motivations that suggested they were volunteering for self-development. Many wanted to join the emergency services:

"The reason I joined was because I'm looking at going into working for the police, I thought it would be great to get some hands-on experience working erm, in a caring capacity on the street seeing a bit more of what goes on and what I might be dealing with as an officer in the future." (Colin, Village Angel)

"It is quite good experience for me to have cos if I do get into the police and stuff I obviously will have situations like this [those experienced during an Angel patrol]." (Sophie, Village Angel)

In discussing their reasons for choosing to volunteer in a street patrol, each of the volunteers thought that the experience of a street patrol would give them wider understanding of some of the issues that the emergency services face. Career development and gaining the required experience to enter certain professions, such as the police and the NHS, is growing through the medium of volunteering (Finnegan 2013; Wilson 2012). Walking with the volunteers during patrols highlighted that many felt this volunteering would allow them to see some of the social problems including crime, vulnerable people and people needing medical assistance. Despite exposure to issues of crime and harm, volunteers felt that volunteering in a street patrol was not tough. Volunteers appeared responsabilised showing a level of acceptance towards crime and harm and a constant awareness and exposure to the city's ills (Garland 2001). For motivations, working on the streets at night was different and they made a comparison to the work of the emergency services. Whilst observing the volunteers during patrols, it was often discussed how the volunteers were exposed to situations that the general public may not routinely come across, or as a responsabilised volunteer, the darker side of life (Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Zhao *et al* 2002).

Reflexive volunteering can, however, have negative consequences. Having the wrong reasons for volunteering also comes into play. Wanting to be the police or do police work does not fit with the way in which these three street patrols work. Unlike international examples, such as the Guardian Angels in the USA (Pennell *et al* 1985), the actions of these volunteers and their culture is not based around vigilante actions or viewpoints (Bullock 2014). Alison from the Street Angels discusses how people are sometimes confused as to the role of the street patrols when they choose to volunteer:

"No, it's not right for everybody and that's why we say, we offer a shadow experience. So, if they sign up and they register and they say we'd like to volunteer we get in touch and we say 'Lovely we'd like to welcome you to the team but we'll offer you a shadow experience first cos we do understand it's not for everyone and what you might expect or think it's going to be like it might be completely different.'" (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

All three groups have vetting procedures for new volunteers including DBS checks. The Street Angels operate a shadowing shift to see if volunteers are suitable, whilst providing the individual an opportunity to see if this kind of volunteering is for them. The Village Angels and Street Pastors also offered volunteers a chance to experience a patrol before applying to join the respective organisations. Volunteers for the Street Pastors undertake a twelve-month training course, which includes observation shifts, before being allowed to join their local group. On most shifts one or two people wore jackets with 'Observer' on the back.

Volunteering for Change

Motivations to volunteer can also be based around wanting to change an individual's life. For one Village Angel it was to overcome the 'toxic' environment of the gay scene. Volunteering for a street patrol, particularly one that focuses on the LGBT community, allows him to help others and reduce the chance of becoming involved in bad lifestyle choices:

"There has been a period of my life where I felt really vulnerable and quite toxic where I have probably done a few stupid things where I felt like maybe I would have liked a bit of help, do you know what I mean? I feel like maybe if you are in a vulnerable place where you are turning to alcohol and drugs and you're on a night out, you are not in the best place to be mentally, then you're vulnerable to perpetrators, abusers, rapists." (James, Village Angel)

James felt that the work of the Village Angels offers him a chance to see things from the other side. He described how in the past, certain elements of gay culture and lifestyle, such as drugs, sex and alcohol, resulted in him leading a 'toxic' lifestyle and making reckless choices towards his personal safety. Volunteering can act as a diversion from issues in a person's life, whilst developing the capacity to cope with challenges (Lim and Laurence 2015; Saxon *et al* 2015; Wilson 2012).

Volunteering to overcome personal issues was noted during the research on several occasions. This is important as this links to the type of volunteers for a street patrol and the challenging environment that the volunteering takes place in. During a conversation between Tia, who is a Street Pastor and a mum of three grown up children, and me, we chatted about her motivations for volunteering.

She refers to being motivated based on her need to refrain from drinking. She identifies as a recovering alcoholic:

I got chance to chat with one of the newish volunteers. Tia was an older lady who told me her motivations for volunteering were based around her addiction to alcohol. She said:

"I got the calling, you might think this is mad, but I got my calling. One day I thought I cannot do this no more. I was ruining myself and my families. I haven't touched a drop since; my health is better and so is my life." (Tia, Street Pastor)

She then went on to say she joined the Pastors because of her being an alcoholic. She felt that she was experienced and able to give something back, but also the act of helping others, with similar minded people, helped her to stop drinking and see things from a better place. *Observation notes – 8th April 2017*

Tia made links to people becoming drunk and incapable whilst out on the streets. She expressed that she had also previously been in similar situations and as a result felt enabled to help others. Her motivation was to challenge her demons, keep up with her sobriety and be able to appreciate what trouble people in similar situations to her previous life could find themselves in.

Jane also suggested similar motivations and associations with the work of the street patrol, volunteering and overcoming personal problems. She discussed how volunteering in a street patrol not only allows her to help others through her professional skills and personal experience but also stops her from drinking:

"Honestly I volunteered because I don't drink anymore. This will make me sound terrible but I'm not a terrible person. Basically, I don't have an off switch when I drink so I haven't drunk for about three years now so actually it's got to be about two and a half years since I started doing this." (Jane, Street Angel)

Jane goes on to discuss how volunteering for the Street Angels has helped her to stay away from alcohol:

"I thought if there was something I could do to maybe help other people in that situation then that's what I wanted to do, so I started to look into it and that's how I found about Street Angels and that's why I decided to do it." (Jane, Street Angel)

Volunteers who use their skills, experience or their previous life histories to develop themselves whilst supporting others were common amongst the volunteers in the street

patrols. They are argued both as active and citizens (Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Kenney *et al* 2015). The subjective disposition of self-development manifested itself across all three of the street patrols, each time connected to altruistic motivations. It enables the volunteers to use their life experiences in order to help others.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the motivations that influence volunteering in a street patrol. By exploring the motivations of those who participate in a street patrol we are able to find out more about them. Rochester *et al* (2010) provides an appropriate model of three paradigms with which to consider volunteer motivations. In doing so the dominant (altruistic), civil society and serious leisure motivations of the individuals are explored. The nature of volunteering in a street patrol and the motivations of the volunteers offered the opportunity for this research to consider their motivations from a forth paradigm, the reflexive side of volunteering.

The actions of the volunteers are based on altruistic motivations across all three organisations. The majority of the volunteers choose to volunteer based on wanting to help others (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2012). These actions stem from the volunteers having an awareness of a need to support the delivery of welfare within the city and the night-time economy (Bullock 2014; Rochester *et al* 2010). Volunteers in this research appeared attuned to crime and safety issues (Garland 2001). Accordingly, volunteers in the three groups have shown some acceptance of responsibility for their own self-identified community, be that of attachment, geographical boundaries or identification, and ultimately the people and the actions that they take within it (Bott 1957; Cohen 1985a; Day 2006; Hughes 2007). A willingness to act, whilst aware of the social problems and harm for people within a given area, city or space, demonstrates the collective desire to support those in need (Lyons *et al* 1998:52; Einolf 2011; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999).

Volunteering for serious leisure highlights that voluntary action in a street patrol brings volunteers together who have a range of professional skills and experience. This is whilst providing them an opportunity to develop and grow at all stages in their life (NCVO 2019;

Rochester *et al* 2010). Self-interest and wanting to develop oneself have also been identified as motivating factors for some of the volunteers due to the nature of this kind of volunteering. Working with the emergency services provides opportunities for individuals to volunteer in areas of community safety and policing that they may never have the opportunity to do otherwise (Saxon *et al* 2015; Wilson 2012). Like that of the general volunteering literature, volunteering in a street patrol also allows volunteers to share their experiences whilst helping others and themselves. The volunteers in this research are diverse and bring a range of vocational and life experiences to their volunteering, some of which raises important questions regarding responsibility and the pressure placed on volunteers in a street patrol (Bullock 2014).

In the next chapter, the relationships and governance structures that the volunteer street patrols have with others in the city at night are considered, in answer to the final research question of who the volunteers work with. To explore this, the data for this research on the relationship held between the police, ambulance, taxi marshals and door staff, and each other is addressed. Themes that have emerged as a result are the bonding and bridging social capital that exists alongside issues of accountability and legitimacy.

Chapter 7: Relationships and Governance

“The field now extends beyond the state, engaging the actors and agencies of civil society, allowing crime control practices to be organized and directed at a distance from the state agencies. Crime control is coming to be the responsibility not just of criminal justice specialists but of a whole series of social and economic actors.” (Garland 2001:170)

Chapter Introduction

Volunteers in the three volunteer street patrols form part of the voluntary network of agencies and responsabilised individuals that work with or alongside the emergency services (Bullock 2014; Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; NPIA 2010). As the quote from Garland (2001) suggests, the control of crime and community safety is now a pluralised arena with actors and organisations from several different fields. The network of agencies and responsabilised individuals is an example of the growth of community safety infrastructure and policy that moves away from state provision and is geared towards communal and individual involvement (Squires 2017). This is fitting with increasing levels of responsabilisation that the voluntary sector in criminal justice are exposed to. This chapter explores the relationship that the volunteer street patrols have with others and the issues connected to governance that arise as a result. To do so, it uses bonding and bridging social capital to explore the challenges that surround working with others in the community safety landscape (Putnam 2000). The relationship with the police is considered first, as the current governance structure that exists for volunteer street patrols sits under the local control of the police (Bullock 2014; College of Policing 2017; NPIA 2010). Next, the chapter explores the relationship with the ambulance service as the work of the volunteers in the city at night requires, on occasion, a need to seek professional medical assistance. The chapter then considers the volunteers’ relationships with other organisations and individuals who work within the night-time economy, such as the taxi marshals and door staff. The final section of the chapter begins by focusing on the relationships that the volunteers hold with each other within their respective organisations and as a collective of street patrols across the city. The chapter concludes by looking at how volunteers were viewed by members of the public.

As argued throughout this research, volunteer street patrols are considered as individuals who have increased awareness and levels of responsabilisation (Garland 2001; Hinds and

Grabosky 2010). As such, challenges occur between individuals, the state and the public within the community safety arena. To begin, the relationship with the police is considered.

Responsibilised Citizens and the Police

The literature has informed us that in historic and contemporary policing, evidence of citizen involvement is common (Bullock 2014; Johnston 1992; Rogers 2017). The discourse surrounding responsibilised citizens suggests that the relationship is one where individuals hold the police in reserve until needed (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). However, the current structures of governance require volunteer street patrols to hold relationships with the police, with volunteers now being a feature of the local law enforcement landscape (Bullock 2014; Pennell *et al* 1985).

This is the case in Manchester. Key Stakeholders, including the local Police Inspector, were interviewed for this research as detailed in chapter 4. The local Police Inspector for the city of Manchester talks about his experience of working with volunteer street patrols:

“The Angels [Village and Street] and the Street Pastors, are one of a number of groups of people who will be asked to support us in looking after people on nights out. And that’s pretty much been my experience in London, Bolton and Manchester.” (Local Police Inspector)

The support and governance of the street patrols falls under the local policing teams, situating street patrols as those that are citizens in policing, under the responsibility of local police managers (Bullock 2014; NPIA 2010).

Putnam’s work on social capital is one framework with which to explore this relationship, specifically bridging and bonding capital (Putnam 2000). Putnam suggests that “social capital refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1995:67), which are found between the volunteers and their relationships with others.

Local Networks and Mutual Support

The relationship in Manchester, from the police perspective, appears to be based around one of mutual support or partnership. In developing their local networks, volunteer street patrols are considered as a resource with whom the police can call upon if required. Putnam,

through his ideas on bridging social capital, offers a way of interpreting this relationship, namely by exploring the outward looking connections, ties and relationships that are formed, in this case between the volunteers and those with whom they work (Putnam 2000). The local Police Inspector took on a role of the organiser, facilitator and driver of this relationship, one that he was proud to share with others:

“For the last four years I’ve worked with all those teams, we’ve provided them with different sorts of support and what those groups together have allowed us to do is make the holes on that safety net on a Friday and Saturday night just that little bit smaller.” (Local Police Inspector)

The Inspector describes how holding a relationship with the volunteer street patrols provides the police with an opportunity to deliver safety. He suggests that the volunteers at the local level are part of a wider network of others, outside of the police, that help within the city. This is reminiscent of Garland’s views around the need to work with others as the control of crime and delivery of safety is beyond the state (Garland 2001). It is also suggestive that networks of informal actors and organisations are now part of the community safety apparatus in the city. The value of this relationship is considered next.

For the police, the volunteer patrols have several functions, one being agents of informal social control (Innes 2003, 2005, 2007). Volunteer street patrols are able to reassure where the police are unable to. They also deal with the ‘softer’ functions of policing that can free up officer time (Innes 2005). Members of the local policing team describe how they achieve this below:

“What the Angels allow us to do is basically provide a different sort of intervention, because sometimes if someone is particularly stressed or agitated, you know a yellow jacket, a big custodian helmet, the handcuffs, might provide some barriers.” (Local Police Inspector)

“They do free up a lot of time for the police officers, and they are a really valuable tool to be used at the weekend. We often see the same faces every weekend, which is quite a good commitment. Especially for something which is a volunteer post.” (Local Police Officer)

Holding a relationship with the patrols helps the police. It increases their network of actors available for the delivery of safety. For informal social control to exist, bridging social capital needs to exist between the two parties. The police in this example used the wider network

available to them. The police acknowledge and support the volunteers within the city and accept that voluntary action is now part of the wider policing landscape (Rogers 2017).

Responsibilisation

Accepting that volunteers are now a part of the network of agencies and organisations that exist within the city suggests that the police have an awareness of the citizen becoming responsibilised (Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Mutual support required the police to offer and provide training to the volunteers. The observation notes below, from a Domestic Abuse training session delivered to Village Angels, highlights how the local police as a whole consider the volunteer street patrols:

The training session was around Domestic Abuse, delivered by a specialist Detective Constable from GMP. She has a specific interest in the reporting of DV from the LGBT community. She began the training by explaining why she thought it was important for the Village Angels to receive the training:

“You are a specific service that is on the front line.” (DC GMP)

The trainer could not stress enough the importance of the role of the Angels [all the groups] in terms of helping people, specifically with reference to domestic abuse. A short question and answer session highlighted that the Angels had dealt with a number of incidents themselves where people had been arguing and fighting in the street.
Observation Notes – 4th August 2016

Observing this training session suggested that volunteers are an important service that work with various teams within the local police. The Detective Constable (Trainer) in this example was happy to deliver the Domestic Abuse training based around the work of the Village Angels, but also more widely around acknowledging that a relationship with volunteers is important. This agreement also suggests evidence of reciprocity between the volunteers and the police. The narrative of responsibilisation shows that the police see value in providing training to Village Angels, so they can in essence ‘do it themselves’ and support the police in doing their job. In doing so, this cultivates a supportive relationship between themselves and the Angels (Putnam 2000).

The narrative of responsibilisation was also noted when the local police suggested they supported volunteer patrols by providing and directing them towards funding, holding

informal meetings and offering guidance at a local level. The local Police Inspector describes how he does this below:

“We have tried, where we can, to support the drive for volunteers, so we give secured funding for equipment and with provided training where we can. I’ve supported them at meetings and events that they’ve had, and I try to give them direction.” (Local Police Inspector)

It is important for the police to support the volunteers and to build and maintain the relationship they hold with them. The Inspector was keen to develop the relationship and maintain the networks that existed between all three organisations. He acknowledged that volunteers feature in the pluralised police environment and if supported can help in return (Putnam 2000). They are, as suggested, able to support the police as examples of informal social control. The local policing team in Manchester was willing to support the teams within the local policing structures. For the relationship between the police and the volunteer street patrols to exist and function, certain processes need to be set in place.

Questions of accountability are raised with the responsabilisation of professionally qualified people, or those that act in a professional capacity (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). As this is a motivation to volunteer for some, as seen in chapter 6, the associated risks when things go wrong needs to be considered. Harry suggests when volunteering he was unsure of his role and value, and discusses his thoughts when assessing the need to help or call for support:

“Calling resources [Ambulance and Police], because Friday nights are very busy everywhere and making that call. But then I was thinking, you should take on the role of a best friend or a parent, you not a paramedic, you haven’t got the skills there for that, what would you do if it was your child? Would you make that call, would you call someone? Or do you think you can manage yourself. I mean I wouldn’t be on my own, there’d be three of us there at least make that call between us.” (Harry, Street Pastor)

The dilemma of wanting to help but not fully appreciating or holding the confidence to act based on his experience of a parent, a volunteer, a member of society or somebody that has received training greater than a general member of the public, challenged his motivations. This is reminiscent of Hinds and Grabosky’s (2010) views on the responsabilised citizenry, namely the acceptance of the self-burden for the control of crime, self-protection and safety by the individual.

Reciprocity

Despite the need for mutual support in the relationships between responsabilised citizens and the police, reciprocity, the exchange of things for mutual benefit (Putnam 2000), also becomes a consideration. Challenges were also noted from the police perspective towards working with responsabilised citizens. The local Police Inspector, despite his willingness to support and work with the three volunteer street patrols, highlights challenges:

“I think other than the Village Angels who are out without fail every Friday and Saturday, the projects have found it hard to grow volunteer numbers and be consistent. So, Street Pastors are probably out every other or every third week, Manchester Street Angels have been a bit hit and miss since the autumn. I think while that was an aspiration in the autumn last year when the anniversary was, the reality is there’s probably been a bit of a shrinkage. They’ve not been out every Friday, let alone Saturday in addition to Friday, so consistency has been a bit difficult. When it becomes patchy it becomes harder then for CCTV or door staff to integrate them.” (Local Police Inspector)

When challenges occur this places strains in the relationships between the police and the volunteers. It also limits the opportunity for networks to develop between others. These will ultimately limit the creation and growth of social capital (Putnam 2000).

Reciprocity requires all those who participate in a relationship to engage in exchanges for mutual benefit, a way in which bridging social capital is created and maintained (Putnam 2000). The governance structures of each of the street patrols appeared to be a way in which this was evidenced. The independence of each group being the key factor:

“You would expect the Village Angels, which is part of the LGBT foundation, to be very well organised and probably have better access to funding opportunities. Street Pastors are pretty organised and rigorous in the training process, and they come from a very well organised church structure. Something like Manchester Street Angels which started as a group on Facebook went through a very difficult birth with the individual that originally got the project going. There were some issues around that, and another group then took it to the reality of deploying out on the streets. I think it’s fair to say without being rude against anyone involved in the organisation of MSA [Manchester Street Angels], that they have struggled because they came together by Facebook, they are all from different backgrounds, different geographical areas, sometimes the only thing they’ve got in common is Manchester Street Angels.” (Local Police Inspector)

By working with the volunteers there is an expectation that something can be gained in return. The local Police Inspector highlights the challenges in the governance structures between the groups that lead to the different levels of participation. A strain becomes evident between the Street Angels and those they work with based on the nature of the group, its foundations and its leadership structure (Anheier 2014). This is less so with the Street Pastors and the Village Angels due to their belonging or sense of belonging to other founding organisations.

The Street Pastors, despite being part of the local governance structure in Manchester, have a noticeable difference in their national and local agreements for governance. The Street Pastors participate in the local agreements and relationships with the police but establish and maintain a distance through a carefully negotiated framework of community safety (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009). This is so that the group's ethos, aims and mission do not become comprised by their connection to the police. A point which is explored further in chapter 8.

The Police Briefing

A further example of reciprocity in the relationships of the volunteer street patrols is their invitation to attend the police briefing. A key finding from the data on relationships between the police and the volunteers centres around the volunteers' attendance at the weekly weekend police briefing. This act is an example of how volunteers are supported, included and viewed as volunteering that is "partnered and supported by the police" (College of Policing 2017). It also forms part of how the police attempt to maintain networks with the volunteer patrols and others that work in the city at night (Putnam 1995). Several areas of importance are highlighted here which include issues of accountability, legitimacy and building and maintaining relationships. It is also where the relationship between the police and the volunteer street patrols begins to be considered.

Each weekend, the local policing team for the city centre of Manchester held a police briefing in the central Town Hall. Each group considers this invitation differently. This was typically led by the duty Inspector or Sergeant and included all the officers on duty in the city that evening. An invitation to each of the volunteer street patrol groups was given by the local

Police Inspector, with attendance being encouraged but at the discretion of the volunteer groups:

“We’ve always tried to include all of the projects in our briefings. So, we have a structured briefing on a Friday and Saturday night.” (Local Police Inspector)

The formal briefing provides an opportunity for volunteers who are patrolling that evening to find out several important pieces of information including vulnerable hot spots and people within the city, people who the police would like to know of specific safety information for their patrol areas and any events that are taking place. This is reminiscent of the responsabilised citizen arena that volunteers find themselves in. In attending the briefing, they demonstrate a willingness to accept responsibility for safety (Hinds and Grabosky 2010).

Accountability and Legitimacy

Attendance at the police briefing was one way in which the relationship between the police and the volunteers was developed and networks between the two kept alive (Putnam 1995). Informally it provides an opportunity to develop the relationship between the volunteers and the police on duty that evening, an example of bridging social capital (Putnam 2000). A short observation extract from a shift with the Village Angels comments on the aim of the briefing:

The Angels attended the police briefing with around 30 police officers. It was mentioned on a number of occasions that the Angels were there to help the police and that they should be called upon if needed to do with matters relating to the village. Their role was expressed by one of the briefing officers as:

“The Angels are there to help people and also to take some of the pressure of you (police), use them if you need too.” (Local Police Inspector)

Observation Notes – 21st October 2016

The police appeared keen to offer this invitation to all three of the volunteer street patrols. There appear to be several reasons for inviting the volunteers to the briefing. It offers an opportunity for the volunteers to be made aware of local issues that evening. The invitation is also evidence of attempts to maintain and develop networks between the police and the volunteers. This could be argued as the police evidencing their duty of care towards the volunteers (Bullock 2014). The local Police Officer suggests as much:

“They attend our briefings that are done before the officers go out, they come into those with the police officers, so they know what the risks and for their own safety before they go out. And who to contact.” (Local Police Officer)

By involving the volunteers in the police briefing the local policing teams evidence some accountability towards the volunteers. Issue of safety, knowing who is out on the streets and familiarisation are all important. Accountability for volunteer patrols also comes into question. The accountability of the street patrols is suggested by Bullock as being more than the governance structures that exist. She claims that the risks posed to patrollers, due to the nature of the environment in which they operate, requires accountability on behalf of the governing agency (Bullock 2014).

In Manchester, attending the police briefing appeared to be a way of addressing accountability from the police’s perspective. The Local Inspector describes how he manages this:

“For me, the briefing is this kind of clock on and clock off thing. Because I do feel I have a responsibility to look after them [the volunteers], which is why I ask them to send me a text when it’s all done at the end of the night.” (Local Police Inspector)

The Inspector’s view for the use of the briefing, aside from a supportive perspective, is that it offers some structure to the patrols. Each of the respective coordinators has access to the Duty inspector or Sergeant’s mobile number, gained from attending the police briefing. It is an example of local accountability for the street patrols (Bullock 2014).

A further outcome of attendance at the police briefing is that of a sense of legitimacy for the volunteer patrols. Attendance offers volunteers a formalised opportunity to participate in local policing practices, of which they are part. From this perspective, attendance at the briefing can make police procedure, actions and intentions seem fairer and more transparent. It may also legitimise this example of voluntary action. It acknowledges due consideration of their commitment and time (Tyler 2003). The CEO of the LGBT Foundation, whom the Village Angels operate under, talks about the purpose of working with the police, in particular attending the police briefing:

“The police briefing gives them validation. It makes them feel important and involved. It makes them feel that they belong and are part of a team and that is important. If it’s important to them then it is important to me.” (Paul, CEO LGBT Foundation)

The point is made that the briefing offers an opportunity for the volunteers to be ‘validated’, to feel that they are part of a larger team, and to a certain point, feel important. It offers a chance for the volunteers to be part of the wider structure within which they volunteer, that of the policing of the city. In some way this may be argued as legitimising the voluntary action as part of the wider delivery of safety in the city. As such it is important to explore the perspectives offered by the volunteers.

The second perspective in the relationship between the police and the volunteers is now considered, that of the volunteers and their thoughts around working with the police. Attendance at the police briefing provides the starting point. Several of the volunteers appreciated the offer of attending the police briefing and felt valued at being asked to attend:

“In the police briefing, the police seem to know about us and know we’re there and know what the other volunteers are doing.” (Gary, Street Angel)

“It makes sense for the Angels to be properly embedded within the briefing structure. So, although there may well be issues with it it’s actually important that we go.” (Gareth, Village Angel)

The justifications for these volunteers attending are based around being part of the wider network of volunteers, police and other services that work to support people in the city at night. Gareth makes an important point relating to being embedded in the formal structure of the police. This suggests that volunteers feel valued but also are able to develop social capital through networks created by such involvement (Putnam 2000).

Whilst some positivity around volunteers attending the police briefing was found across all three of the groups. Many of the volunteers in this research painted a different picture of their relationship with the police. For the groups to build a successful relationship, a necessary pre-requisite is attending the briefings as this influenced the quality of the relationship held by each group.

A general feeling existed among all the volunteers that the police briefing, for the most part, was a waste of their time. That said, volunteers from the Street Pastors saw the briefing as

a formal part of their nightly routine and hardly ever suggested changes that could be made. The Street Pastors nationally, despite local attendance at the police briefing, have removed themselves from the formal structures of governance by the police, instead adopting their own way of operating (Barton *et al* 2011; Johns *et al* 2009). Street Pastors Leonie and Harry describe a mixed bag of feelings with an awareness of the purpose of attending:

“You just sometimes seem to be sitting there and it’s all aimed at the police, which it is mainly. And sometimes you get a nod in your direction, there is a volunteer group and that’s it.” (Leonie, Street Pastor)

“You are expected to be at the police briefing. I think it gives you a bit of confidence knowing what’s going on, what the issues are.” (Harry, Street Pastor)

Volunteers from the Street Pastors tended to be the most engaged with the police briefing. Despite Leonie’s comments on feeling like an extra, volunteers in this group saw the police briefing as an integral part of their nightly patrol. It offered them opportunities to work with the police and to build and maintain their relationships (Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015).

Tensions

Volunteers expressed different levels of contentment and dismay with how they were portrayed at the police briefing. The way in which the volunteers were introduced or regarded by the police in the briefing influenced their views of the police. Maintaining and developing relationships are important to the groups and to the police. The observation notes below show one example of how some of the volunteers from the Village Angels felt secondary after attending a briefing:

The Village Angels were introduced as the Village Angels with nothing more. Zones of working were established, and police procedure was discussed. The briefing was short and uninformative. There was clearly some confusion as to who the Village Angels were and what their role was. Upon leaving the room the sergeant of the team stopped the group to ask if they could meet up later to show them around the particular bars that had a problem.

Discussion took place after the police briefing about the quality of the process and what a “waste of time” it was viewed as by the Angels. A few interesting points were made around the feelings of a “them and us” situation with some of the Angels expressing that this had been an issue for a long time. - *Observation Notes – 6th May 2016*

The Village Angels, after this briefing, suggested that at times they felt as though the police did not know who they were or what they did. This presents challenges to the maintenance and development of social capital between the police and the Village Angels, as negative experiences and relations can dictate future relationships and the growth of social capital (Kenny *et al* 2015). Volunteers from the Village Angels, like the Street Pastors, showed some value in attending the briefing. At times however, volunteers felt their donation of time was undervalued. It also suggested that the relationships between the group and the police were not always without challenge.

Volunteers, despite being invited to the police briefing, did not always attend on a regular basis, neither did their respective coordinators. During the research, it was noted that the Village Angels and the Street Pastors were the two groups that attended the police briefing the most, usually at the start of each patrol. As suggested earlier, the briefing was used to highlight a partnership between the police and the groups. By not attending the briefing the opportunity for developing social capital was limited. For one group, the Street Angels, the briefing was problematic from several perspectives. Alison from the Street Angels would often suggest that the police briefing was a waste of their time:

“It wouldn’t start until twenty past ten [official start time at 10pm]. And you’ll be like ‘Oh god wasting half an hour of my time I could have been helping people on the street’. But then the idea is not to go on the streets until you know what’s going on, and know what events are on and what staff are out. But then when you get a really basic briefing, and you’re sat there for twenty minutes waiting for it to start. I could have recorded it as it took thirty-five seconds you’re like, ‘Really?’ And it’s like ‘Oh thanks for coming.’” (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

The format and the lack of inclusion of the patrols in the police briefing created unrest and discontentment with the volunteers and challenged the fostering of social capital within and outside of the group (Putnam 1995). Over the course of this research volunteers became disconnected from attending the police briefing, which was noted in other relations that this group held.

Attending the police briefing has shown how the relationship between the volunteers and the police is regarded from the volunteer’s perspective. The local Police Inspector at the time of this research describes the briefing as a two-way process:

"It's frustrating for me, the reality is how we staff the night-time economy operation is staff will come from across the city of Manchester, I think the value of still asking the volunteer groups to come on the briefing is that at least I can say that on Friday night, that's Village Angels, that's the sergeant who is looking after the village, and by rubbing people up together I hope people will swap phone numbers." (Local Police Inspector)

The Inspector suggested that in order to maintain the relationship between the groups and the police, both sides needed to have an appreciation of each other. He highlights the challenges that exist in creating and maintaining social trust (Putnam 1995). He referred to the pressures the local police were under in terms of policing the city, namely unfamiliar officers with little desire to police the city on a Friday and Saturday night. He suggested that regardless of the content or issues with the briefing, the fostering and maintenance of social capital and the continuity this could offer, achieved by inviting the volunteers to the briefing, far outweighed the risks of not (Putnam 1995, 2000).

Two narratives were found in the Manchester volunteer groups when asked about working with the police. The strongest story told by volunteers was of positive relations. Within this, frustration and tension existed. Hannah and Sophie show how they work with the police:

"I find it [working with the police] great, I find it quite interesting." (Hannah, Street Angel)

"When they're good they're really good. They always communicate with us whenever we see them. Sometimes they have two officers walking around the village and they've always been really friendly. The police officers who aren't so friendly still do the same thing, but you can just sense a bit of tension sometimes." (Sophie, Village Angel)

"I think by and large I've had positive experiences with the police, so with the Sergeants and with the police officers that are out on Canal Street, they're always friendly to go and speak to. Well I say always, generally they are friendly to go and speak to." (Colin, Village Angel)

Volunteers acknowledged the need to create bridges with others (Putnam 2000). Whilst some highlighted challenges to the relationship with the local police, the majority had positive encounters with them. The second relationship that the volunteers have is now considered, that with the local ambulance service.

Working with North West Ambulance

Trust

The North West Ambulance Service, NWAS hereafter, work within the city area of Manchester. Volunteer groups work with and support the ambulance service. First aid, delivered by the volunteer street patrols, is a key feature of this relationship, naturally something which NWAS have an interest in. Varying levels of trust were evident in the relationship between NWAS and the three groups with the strongest working relationship being between NWAS and the Village Angels. Volunteers in the gay village would often be faced with medical emergencies or first aid situations. They would call upon NWAS on a regular basis. The coordinator for the group discusses his working partnership:

“We have good relationships with paramedics. One of the paramedics has given me his personal mobile phone number because he’s aware and I’m aware of the problems during the night-time economy of access for ambulances etc. I can just give him a quick call. He also comes to deliver training to volunteers so it’s good that we have a fantastic relationship with paramedics because first aid is a key issue for us.” (Mark, Village Angels Coordinator)

For NWAS, the increased responsabilisation of the citizen places volunteers in situations where services that would typically be delivered by the state are reduced (Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Kenny *et al* 2015). Further examples of trust existed between NWAS and the Village Angels. Volunteers, including the coordinator, would often suggest that when dialling 999 the call taker would have some knowledge of the volunteers. When working on the street with the ambulance staff they would often be asked to help out:

“If I was to dial 999, and we asked a standard question, I would say we are the Village Angels, we are in Manchester city centre, they would put that on their core notes, and when the paramedic received a call they would know they are with a street patrol, and the person isn’t just with a stranger. Someone who is a stranger to them who might not be trained or where of how to deal with a certain situation.” (Mark, Village Angels Coordinator)

Kenny *et al* (2015) informs us that volunteering and social capital can offer a bridge to professional services. Mark suggests that a level of trust between the Village Angels and NWAS influenced how NWAS worked with and regarded the volunteers.

Networks

Each group held a different relationship with NWAS. The Manchester Street Pastors had a growing relationship with NWAS, one which the coordinator would like to see develop:

“I mean we don’t have that much of a close link with the ambulance service, but I’d love for it to be the same way that the police know of Street Pastors. I’d love the ambulance service to know us really well and work in close partnership.” (Kirsty, Street Pastors Coordinator)

Unlike the Village Angels, Kirsty thought a lack of awareness of each other existed, which appeared to influence the levels of trust between NWAS and the Street Pastors. The local paramedic for NWAS commented on the actions of the volunteer street patrols, particularly the Street Pastors by suggesting that varying levels of awareness and trust existed:

“When I’ve seen Street Pastors interacting there is a little bit of barrier around ‘Oh I’m not religious so go away, what are you here to do, are you here to look after me or here to preach at me’ which I’m sure they’re not, they’re not they’re there to make them safe.” (NWAS Paramedic)

It was noted that the partnership between the Street Pastors and NWAS was in its infancy. The delivery of first aid highlights this well. Unlike the Village Angels, first aid training with this group was optional. It is delivered in house for their volunteers, who seemed to prefer not to become involved in first aid incidents unless necessary. The development and maintenance of networks between NWAS and the Street Pastors was restricted by a limited understanding of each other and networks still in the development stage (Putnam 2000).

The relationship between the Street Angels and the ambulance also appeared to be in its infancy, despite several occasions where the Street Angels spoke of helping ambulance crews by supporting people until the ambulance arrived. Many of the volunteers for the Street Angels who volunteered regularly were qualified medical practitioners, fitting with the responsibilised citizenry discourse (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). First aid was a key focus of the group’s nightly routine. A strong sense of confidence was noted when patrolling with this group, similar to that of the Village Angels, around the administration of first aid and medical treatment as Gary describes:

“On the team we always have a first aider a sort of observer assistor and a radio operator.” (Gary, Street Angel)

Noted in chapter 5, volunteers in this group would actively prioritise and plan for first aid provision through the presence of a designated first aid volunteer. However, limited interactions were noted around a working relationship with NWAS. Weak networks between the coordinators of this group and NWAS appeared to be the cause.

NWAS offered first aid training to the Street Angels, this was not taken up. The training was provided by private training companies, rather than NWAS, as described:

“I know the Manchester Street Angels have a private organisation that does their first-aid, they have medics or did have, and again there was some politics around that and who that is.” (NWAS Paramedic)

It was clear that either tension or a lack of cohesion existed between NWAS and the governance team of the Street Angels around working together. Networking and trust appeared limited between the two parties. The reason why a private provider was chosen was unclear, particularly when NWAS offered training to other volunteer groups. The paramedic describes how private providers delivered this groups training. This seemed to limit the development of a relationship or partnership between this group and the ambulance service and hindered or impeded social capital (Kenny *et al* 2015; Putnam 1995). A further working relationship between the patrols and others is that of working with the door staff, which is explored next.

Working with Door Staff and Taxi Marshals

Networks

Social capital may be considered as a means of addressing issues of safety that are found within communities, especially when it is found alongside collective efficacy (Crawford 2006; Sampson 2006, 2010). Volunteer street patrols work with others that are not part of the state apparatus but work to support and deliver community safety. One such relationship is with the door security of the clubs and pubs within the city. One of the regional managers for the private door security company in the city offers her view of the Village Angels:

“I work pretty closely with them right from the beginning, and I’ve just seen them grow. And they’ve become now a tool in our working weekend that is absolutely indispensable, you know when there’s not many of them out, or

there is not any of them out, maybe a bank holiday Sunday or something, we really miss them.” (Meave, Door Security Manager)

Meave suggests that the volunteers fulfil a role that helps support people whom could otherwise be left alone and vulnerable. Much of the work of the patrols helps those that find themselves in challenging situations. Often the workers in the night-time economy, such as the door staff, are left to pick up the pieces when things go wrong such as physical violence and people becoming lost or at risk of harm. Meave suggests she values the relationship she has with the volunteers and would feel lost without it (Putnam 2000). For the Village Angels and the Street Pastors, developing and maintaining these relationships were integrated into their nightly routines. For the Street Angels this appeared less obvious.

Distinct differences exist in the relationship between all three groups. Limited and often infrequent interactions took place with the Street Angels and the door staff, when comparing them to the other two groups. Door staff would often speak highly about the Street Pastors and the Village Angels, as evidenced by Matthew about the Street Pastors:

“I have seen at first hand their caring and empathic approach when assisting members of the public with no bias or prejudice witnessed in reference to who they support. They always present a welcoming and safe nature when dealing with the public. On many occasions I have witnessed the Street Pastors, after assisting somebody, stay within visual proximity of the person they have just helped, to ascertain if they are safe.” (Matthew, Door Staff)

Matthew talks of the role that the Street Pastors carry out from the perspective of team work. He describes how door staff can rely on the volunteers to help them with people who need support. This is reminiscent of the trust that is needed to allow social capital to flourish (Putnam 2000).

The maintenance of this relationship encourages a collective approach towards safety delivery. The Street Pastors would stop and talk to door staff of the bars in their area. If they couldn't physically approach them due to large crowds or the staff being busy they would shout and say hello. When they did have the opportunity to speak they would often hand out sweets. The observation notes from one of the shifts with the Pastors reflects upon this:

As always with this group I noticed that one of the first activities they engaged in was to speak to the door staff and the workers in the NTE. The usual handing out of sweets took place and time was spent talking to the door staff of the various bars about how they were, what was happening in the night and how their week had been. Although many of the staff are familiar to the group there is always one or two that are new. The Pastors use every opportunity to talk to the new staff as much as the old. *Observation notes - 3rd March 2017*

The Street Pastors used every opportunity to speak to people and to say who they were, in line with their ethos of taking the work of the church out onto the streets (Middleton and Yarwood 2015). It is also about breaking down any barriers that may or may not have existed between people working in the night-time economy and the group. The simple act of saying hello and handing out sweets maybe argued as a public relations exercise but also as a means of establishing networks of support and trust (Putnam 1995, 2000). This was also considered in chapter 5 in the creation of presence by the group, to support them in their work.

Familiarity

Kirsty, the coordinator for the group, discusses how important it is to work with the door staff for the volunteers to feel a sense of belonging within the local environment:

"I think there are bouncers who really embrace and work alongside us, but then there's always room to improve relationships where we don't have relationships. My heart would be that wherever we have Street Pastors we would know all the door staff, all the bouncers, all of the shopkeepers so that they see us and welcome us as a part of the night-time economy, serving together we all want the same thing." (Kirsty, Street Pastors Coordinator)

Several important points emanate from this relatively simple action. Firstly, through the actions of this group networks are developed and maintained. As a result, trust between the Pastors and the door staff is created. Ultimately it is these features that develop social capital between the two groups (Putnam 2000). Secondly, through the maintenance and

developments of relationships with the door staff, volunteers promote and encourage people to work together to address the problem of crime and safety. This is reminiscent of the idea of collective efficacy and the willingness to act for the common good (Sampson 2006). Finally, as examples of responsabilised citizenry, street patrols fill a gap in safety delivery that the state or the private providers do not. The actions of the volunteers promote collective responses and at the same time offer differentiation in levels of support. It highlights the importance of relationships between the groups and a need to work with others (Hinds and Grabosky 2010; Hope 1995).

The Village Angels would include speaking to door staff from many of the bars in the gay village as part of their evening walk around. The purpose was to let the staff know the Village Angels were patrolling that evening and that they were available if needed. It was also an opportunity to introduce new volunteers and similarly new door staff, creating an awareness of each other. Mark, the coordinator for the group, explains the value of and the approach taken to working with people, including the door staff:

“We have relationships with door security, we have relationships with the regular visitors that come to the village, so the people who visit the village during the night-time economy, that often come up and say, ‘hi are you alright’. Some know us by name, so we have good relationships there. We have good relationships with venue owners and venue staff.” (Mark, Village Angels Coordinator)

The Village Angels, like the Street Pastors, actively encouraged working with others and made this part of their nightly routine. By widening and developing relationships with the door staff they built up networks of trust (Putnam 1995, 2000). As suggested in Chapter 5, the presence is important to this group so that they are able to support those in need. The development of wider networks, outside of the volunteer group, is also part of that process.

Developing wider networks with others as Putnam suggests is important in order for the volunteers to be effective in addressing harm, issues of safety and helping people who are vulnerable (Innes 2003; Putnam 2000). Relationships that were less established challenge the creation of social capital. The relationships between the Street Angels, taxi marshals and the door were limited. This group encounters door staff and taxi marshals on their patrol route, having at least three taxi ranks that they walk past. Within the Street Angels, a sense

of discontent was noted by the volunteers as the group collectively appeared to be less well known by the door staff and other workers in the night-time economy. One reason suggested by the group was the changes to the staff that work in pubs, clubs and taxi ranks on the patrol route as Gary describes below:

“Well the taxi marshals seem to change a lot, maybe 6 to 8 months ago they all disappeared and a whole new lot came. Door staff I wouldn't say we knew them that well no, we say hello. It's more of a social [thing].” (Gary, Street Angel)

“It's just harder, there isn't a relationship anymore. I mean you'll walk past and say 'Hiya' and they'll say hello. It's friendly. But it's also not a relationship of trust like beforehand.” (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

Due to an ongoing complaint at the time of this research between the Coordinator for the Street Angels and the governing body of the taxi marshals, volunteers appeared to make limited attempts to renew relationships. Gary and Alison make the point that relationships are important to the volunteers. Without them, social connections are not developed and maintained, and the volunteering can sometimes be more challenging. Changes to the door staff and taxi marshals have led to tensions in the relationship, and less of an awareness with this group, which has limited the growth of trust. Alison, the group's coordinator, discussed an incident that resulted in a complaint she submitted to the management of the taxi marshals. This was over the location of barriers, which she felt was a danger to the public. She talks of overhearing one of the marshals talking about the volunteers:

“We had a couple of comments from a guy, cos I put a massive complaint in cos I heard him say 'Fucking do gooders. Those fucking do gooders are out trying to help people' he was really smarmy.” (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

The incident escalated with other behaviours that involved inappropriate behaviour by the marshal towards a member of the public, which the coordinator also complained about. This incident highlights several challenges in this relationship. The lack of understanding and awareness between the two groups, due to constant changes of staff, has led to the erosion of trust. Fractured relationships suggest that support would not be available to the volunteers if they needed it in times of trouble. A general discontentment was expressed by

the coordinator around the behaviour and actions of some of the marshals, which challenged the confidence of the volunteers to engage with the taxi marshals on this particular rank.

Hannah, one of the volunteers for the Street Angels, suggested that the group “rushed around” the patrol route when she was talking about establishing their presence as discussed in Chapter 5. This was noted more frequently as the research progressed and appeared to be influenced by the direction of the lead coordinator. Moreover, this influenced the development of any relationships between the group and the workers in the night-time economy, whilst having negative impacts on the confidence volunteers felt in speaking to others and the trust that it may create. Accordingly, this chapter now considers the relationships that are found within each of the volunteer patrol groups.

Relationships with Each Other

Putnam (2000) informs us that bonding social capital, such as strong loyalties, friendships or networks exist within groups that are not normally accessible to outsiders. This is the case in this research. Relationships with each other emerged as an important aspect of volunteering. Many of the volunteers that provided accounts suggested that friendships were important when volunteering, particularly as a street patrol volunteer. This also provides a motivation for some to volunteer as discussed in chapter 6. Several aspects exist to this including a sense of belonging, the coming together for a shared purpose and the opportunity to socialise. The sense of belonging seemed to fit centre stage within this narrative.

Belonging to a network, group, activity or family was found amongst the volunteer groups, Alison from the Street Angels talks about the importance of this for the volunteers she oversees:

“Yeah it’s a combination of lots of things. I think it could just be the fact that they [volunteers] feel like they belong to a family group or a network cos it is like socialising as well.” (Alison, Street Angels Coordinator)

Belonging to a group was important for the volunteers for reasons that include making friends with other people. Alison informs us that volunteering offers an opportunity for

individuals to become friends. This close working relationship is reminiscent of Putnam's suggestion of bonding social capital (Putnam 2000).

Friendships

Several of the volunteers suggested that volunteering for a street patrol allowed them to be part of a team and form relationships. Friendship was commonly suggested as an outcome of volunteering in the street patrols. Many had a connection to those they volunteered with and felt proud and loyal towards the particular group. The volunteers discuss how relationships with each other are important:

"There is a big social side to volunteering, you meet some really good friends. I've met loads of people through the Angels, like Max who I am really close with now and I think there is a big social side. If you are spending six hours a week with someone you get to know them quite well." (Peter, Village Angel)

"Making friends I think we're all friends." (Gary Street Angel)

"It's really great, it's really good. We're all a friendly bunch. We're always larking and like we're gonna arrange where we meet up. All the Angels so we get to know each other better on a personal level rather than just working in the office." (Steve, Village Angel)

"It's about meeting people, having a laugh like having a good time with the door staff and the Angels themselves. Just being there for somebody, when they need ya." (Sophie, Village Angel)

"You do see that [teamwork] as you go out regularly and patrol with people, people do build friendships and relationships." (Kirsty, Street Pastors Coordinator)

All volunteers in this research suggested they had made friends when volunteering, a motivation to participate for some of the volunteers (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2012). Spending a long period of time, sometimes several hours, with the same group of people meant friendships formed between the volunteers in each street patrol group.

Putnam suggests social capital exists within a group when there is evidence of norms, networks and trust (Putnam 2000). Camaraderie, fun, humour and bonding was observed between the volunteers, a motivation for some (Rochester *et al* 2010). Trust was also noted

within each group expressed by friendships, team work and collective approaches as shown in the observation notes from a patrol with the Village Angels:

During the break time it became clear that the group I was working with knew each other well enough and had an established relationship enough so they were able to joke with each other. The coordinator was given an extra sausage as part of his meal. He offered this to the rest of the group as he didn't feel that hungry. This then became the cause of many jokes between all of the volunteers about what to do with this sausage, how kind of him to offer "his sausage" and did anyone want any mayonnaise on it. It was clear that established relationships existed, and the group felt confident enough to make joking sexual references around this with each other. *Observation Notes – 21st October 2016*

Spending time with the Village Angels showed that fun and friendship led to bonds between the volunteers. Many became friends and socialised outside of the patrol. Putnam suggests that for social capital to flourish, bonding capital is important. Friendships were evident in all three of the volunteer street patrols in this research. It was evident that volunteers enjoyed being with others whilst volunteering (Putnam 2000).

Volunteering provides the opportunity to socialise as suggested in the general volunteering literature (NCVO 2019). Bonds existed in all three of the groups between the volunteers. One of the functions of volunteering saw spending time together with friends as an opportunity to socialise, as noted in an observation with the Street Angels:

Sat around the table discussions ranged from problems with previous volunteers to things that had happened in people's personal lives. Many of the Angels know each other and have built up friendships over the 18 months the project has been running. Many talked of activities that they do outside of the volunteering, which includes some fundraising on behalf of the group. *Observation Notes – 17th June 2016*

Observing the volunteers highlighted friendships in and around volunteering activities. Volunteers would often chat about their week, home life, work or study. This is not only a motivation for volunteering in a street patrol but helps to develop the trust that is needed between volunteers when aiming to collectively address problems of safety (Putnam 2000; Rochester *et al* 2010; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997; Wilson 2000).

Volunteering in a street patrol, or the wider criminal justice system, can be tough. Due to the demanding role volunteers often found themselves in, several cited the relationships, or friendships, they had with each other as significant and important. Ray describes this next:

“Sometimes the first time you’ll meet someone is on a shift and something horrendous is happening so it’s really important to get them to be integrated fairly quickly and get them to understand who they are.” (Ray, Village Angel)

Ray refers to “something horrendous” that could happen whilst out volunteering, meaning the potential for challenging incidents out on the street. This is an example of trust, which is important for volunteering in a street patrol. Strong relationships with each other are important for volunteers in a street patrol as they can find themselves in tough situations.

Volunteering in a team meant that volunteers could help others and ensure their personal safety at the same time. Leonie describes how:

“Being part of the team, it’s not the right sort of thing for a lone crusader who sort of wants to go and sort everything out themselves. You’ve got to be part of a team, because a lot of the time you might be standing around just sort of checking out the area, while another member of the team is dealing with somebody.” (Leonie, Street Pastor)

Leonie suggests this volunteering cannot be carried out alone and implies that bonding social capital tends to feature in the Street Pastors (Putnam 2000). She tells us about how the volunteers work as a team on the street and refers to the need for the team to be strong and trusting. Again, the nature of walking around the streets at night with people who are intoxicated is better undertaken in a group rather than alone.

Challenges of Unity

Bonding social capital was noted in each of the groups, however this was not the case for bridging capital between each of the street patrols. The volunteer street patrols in Manchester appeared to work alone as three separate organisations, with limited interaction. In terms of developing and maintaining relationships, this challenged the efficacy and networks that volunteers were able to create.

Working as three distinct groups across the city comes with its challenges. In terms of the social capital of the volunteers, this lack of integration limited its development and growth. Little interaction between the three groups, other than at the police briefing, was noted. At times the coordinators would engage in email communication. This is a view that was shared

by the NWS paramedic who felt the three groups did not work together. His opinion was that wider collaboration, training and joint working practices would be beneficial:

“We do some stuff with the Village Angels and we have offered Manchester Street Angels, but again politics. There’s stuff that is done with different private groups and all the other things, and you think will we could do this to all of you.” (NWS Paramedic)

The NWS paramedic states that due to the distinct individual approaches between the groups, each will have different governance structures. Bullock (2014) makes the point that limited understanding and procedure is noted across the UK surrounding the governance issues of street patrol. As noted in this research, this is the case with the only common feature being the relationships they hold with the local police.

There was a limited desire for working together across the three groups, with volunteers having different views and opinions of what each street patrol group did. Volunteers often talked about an ideal situation if all three groups shared activities such as training, volunteer recruitment and other resources. However, the distinct nature of the groups was a continual barrier, and certain tensions also exist. The observation notes below are based on several conversations with volunteers from the Village Angels around working with other street patrol groups to better use resources, pool expertise and or develop wider relationships:

The conversation soon progressed onto the Street Pastors, who are not that popular with some of the Village Angels due to their views. It transpires that one of the Village Angels got into an argument with a Pastor after he said he would “Burn in hell” for his lifestyle choice. This is clearly not my argument or indeed anything that I should be involved in, however this may go some way to explain the lack of joint working that exists between these groups in Manchester. When I have suggested that it could be beneficial to work together to either share resources or indeed ideas, it has not been met with too much enthusiasm. It is clear that tensions do exist not just in terms of logistics and organisations but in terms of culture, beliefs and morals. *Observation Notes – 13th January 2017*

Tensions between some of the volunteers exist based on individual beliefs and lifestyles, which seem hard to overcome with some of the volunteers. A lack of wanting to work together was evident when speaking to the coordinators, despite the NWS paramedic and the Local Policing Inspector feeling it would be a good idea. Each organisation is distinctive in its nature and whilst having one common focus, to support those in need in the night-time

economy, each holds different sets of values. This is reminiscent of several points of the desire to promote joint partnerships. This includes challenges to the independence status of the criminal justice voluntary sector and the individual charities within it (Corcoran 2009; Corcoran *et al* 2018), or the loss of distinct contribution or mission drift (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Morgan 2012). Barriers within cross relationships would be the two diverse groups of the Village Angels and the Street Pastors as noted above.

The Village Angels work solely in the city's LGBT area and belong to the main charity of the city the LGBT Foundation. Many volunteers identify as LGBT. On occasion, volunteers from the Village Angels referred to other volunteers from the Street Pastors as not being able to work within the wider LGBT community based on religious views and actions. During one of the patrols, a volunteer and a member of the public were observed chatting about their role:

*"Are you those Angels? I thought you were street Pastors, wrong place for that!"
(Member of Public)*

He was asking the Angels why they were on the streets and what work they were doing. He was aware they could have been similar to the Pastors, who have a high presence in the NTE (generally) but due to the ongoing and ever-changing tensions between the church and the LGBT community, decided it was best for them not to be in the Village. On a previous observation with the Street Pastors, I commented on how the coordinator felt uneasy when she had to go into the Village due to the tensions. It became a little more apparent that the tensions exist between the groups based on the beliefs or misbeliefs of some of the individuals. *Observation Notes – 13th January 2017*

The diverse and distinct nature of participation that comes with community involvement is not always harmonious (Hughes 2007). The two organisations, whilst essentially working within the same governance frameworks to achieve the same or similar objectives, remain independent voluntary organisations working within the criminal justice arena, a challenge that may be hard to maintain.

The Public and the Street Patrols

The volunteers also held relationships with the public. Although it was not the intention of this research to explore this relationship, it remains an important consideration. This final section presents an insight into the relationship between the volunteers and the public. The actions of the volunteers suggest that they engage in the activities related to informal social

control (Innes 2003, 2005, 2007), that highlights the need for their wider place within the local community safety framework.

During the twelve months spent with the volunteer patrols, nearly all the interactions that were observed between the street patrols and the public seemed to be appreciated. On several occasions it was recorded in the observation field notes that the public had a knowledge of the volunteers and were for the most part seemingly appreciative. Volunteer patrols appeared part of the night-time economy and appeared to be accepted by the public. A member of the public and a parent of a young girl who was helped by the Street Angels express their appreciation in a passing comment:

"You are them secret angels, I love you, thank you. I think the work that you do is great." (Member of the public)

"I cannot thank you enough for this, God knows what could have happened, thank you." (Parent of Young Person)

Public comments tended to be in praise of the work of the volunteers, or appreciative of the direct action they took. The public appeared to value their presence on the street rather than oppose it. The general feeling expressed by the public towards the volunteers was one that was favourable, full of curiosity but also with expressions of gratitude.

Of course, exceptions to this were noted with the presence of the volunteers not always being welcomed by everybody. Negativity was expressed towards the volunteer patrols and witnessed first-hand on two occasions during this research. One occasion demonstrates that even when in a vulnerable position, assistance and support is not always welcome as the response from a female member of public who was refusing help from the Village Angels:

"Fuck off I don't need your help." (Member of the public)

On this occasion, two of the volunteers stopped to help a teenage girl who was sat on the kerb with mud on her dress, struggling to sit upright. The volunteers approached the girl who refused their help, stood up and walked away whilst shouting and swearing at the group.

A second notable incident occurred with the Street Angels, when a drunken member of the public took a dislike to the work of the volunteers who were trying to help her friend. The observation field notes extract shows how the volunteers felt towards that situation:

Towards the end of the shift the Angels bumped into a female who did not appear to be a fan of them. She started shouting at them:

“You lot should all go home, look at the state of you, you look hopeless, walking around here. No one cares, no one wants your help, go home you are hopeless.” (Female Member of the public)

This was the first occasion where I observed anyone be particularly against the Street Angels. Noted she was drunk and struggling to stand and say her words, but she did feel the need to express her views towards the Angels. The Angels simply expressed how sorry they were to hear that. Before walking away, she did however ask them if they had any flip flops and then told them to “Fuck off” when they said no. After the event I spoke to the volunteers to ask what they thought of the incident. It was generally expressed that this was a rare occasion and that they thought she was a little too drunk. They did seem visibly annoyed by what she’d said and with a change to the tone in their voices an element of defence came across. *Observation Notes – 16th November 2016*

The volunteers suggested that when negative encounters occur it impacts on their motivation and makes them think about why they volunteer. Exploring the public’s reaction is similar to that of the other agencies and individuals found within the community governance arena. In promoting the responsabilised citizen, a level of acceptance, trust and honesty needs to be present across all the relationships that the street patrol volunteers hold (Hughes 2007). Community involvement, support and acceptance are argued as a key driver that enables informal agents of social control to exist (Bullock 2014; Hughes 2007; Innes 2003). The majority of the volunteers in this research felt that their work, and their respective organisations, were well received by the respective communities and generally made a difference. This appeared to offer them motivation and the belief that they were able to have a positive affect with those that needed support.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter acknowledges the relationships that the volunteers hold with others and each other. A central theme that emerges when thinking about volunteer street patrols, and who they work with, is that of social capital. In order for them to be able to participate in the delivery of community safety they need to work with others to maintain and develop social capital. Bonding and bridging social capital, as suggested by Putnam

(2000), feature in their relationships; this is founded on establishing networks of acceptance and trust. As agents of informal social control, the development and maintenance of social capital feeds into the volunteers' collective desire to help others that is expressed as them having collective efficacy (Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997).

Important points have been raised as a result of exploring the volunteer relationships, namely the aspects of legitimacy and accountability. Each of which is both enhanced and challenged within the current governance framework. Responsibilised citizenry also features in the relationships of the volunteers, the police and the ambulance through an acknowledgment from the stakeholder that street patrols are responsibilised. As such attempts are made at supporting the development and management of the patrols. Much of this is evidenced as reciprocity, a feature of social capital, but not volunteering. In supporting the volunteer street patrols, there is an expectation of something in return. The chapter also explored the relationships that exist within the respective three groups and across them, highlighting that challenges existed for bonding capital across the examples in Manchester, something that was noted by the stakeholders in this research.

This chapter is the last of the three findings chapters and presented the information to address the final research question. The next chapter offers a discussion around some of the key themes and ideas that have been generated in this research. To begin the act of walking is considered as the act provides the volunteers with the means to participate in the community safety arena.

Chapter 8: Discussion

Chapter Introduction

The following chapter provides the discussion for this research. It is based on several themes that have emerged, which are organised into three sections. First the act of walking the streets, the main activity of the street patrol, is considered as a form of reassurance and through the theoretical lens of guardianship. The second section is titled responsabilisation, volunteers and the state and considers features of responsabilisation from the perspective of the volunteer, volunteering, and working with the state agencies. It is argued that the volunteers in this research are examples of responsabilised citizens and where the relationships of the volunteers are explored further. Finally, the chapter considers issues of governance that includes legitimacy and accountability that have emerged from the research. Each section will present a summary of the findings and how this research contributes to knowledge. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the three research questions that are to discover the contribution that volunteer street patrols offer towards community safety, the motivations of those that participate within a street patrol, and finally who the volunteers work with and the relationships that arise as a result. To begin, we consider the function of walking as a significant contribution of the street patrols.

Walking the Streets

It all starts with walking, the main activity of a volunteer street patrol. This following section explores the themes of visibility, reassurance and guardianship which are generated from the volunteers walking around the streets. Research that surrounds the volunteer street patrols has argued that the coming together of volunteers to walk around the streets, with the aim of deterring would be offenders and helping those that are in need, is a key activity (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). This research is supportive of such claims; however, it appears that walking can lead to so much more. It has several functions starting with the creation and need for volunteers to have presence on the streets.

Presence

Walking offers the volunteers an opportunity to be seen and to be heard. It allows the volunteers a chance to interact with others, to talk to people or to help those that need it.

This, as is discussed in chapter 5, allows volunteers to say hello to people, introduce themselves or answer any questions from those who were curious to know more about a volunteer patrol. Through walking, the volunteers establish presence on the street. Being out and walking through the streets leads to encounters with others. Walking also situates the volunteers in the arena in which they work and allows them to become part of the city at night. It forms the participation element that is required for social capital and also the collective action that is needed for collective efficacy (Putnam 2000; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997).

A perspective with which to consider the function of walking or patrolling is that of research on police patrol and police presence. Research on the police presence allows for similarities to be drawn to that of the presence of the volunteer street patrols. The suggestion is that the police need to have and maintain a presence on the street to encourage and promote confidence, accessibility and consent (Skogan and Hartnett 1997; Tuffin *et al* 2006). Similarities can be made between the police presence and the presence of the volunteers. Like that of the police, the function of establishing a presence means that volunteers are able to build relationships, become a familiar feature and ultimately support those that need it.

Presence can also be an outcome of the volunteer street patrols. The action of being present on the street, achieved by walking around, allows for connections to be made with people. Walking, talking and connecting with people allows the volunteers a chance to establish themselves as a source of support and help if needed. It increases the familiarity of the volunteers with the person they are about to help or with anyone else that maybe watching. However, the act of being present is not sufficient for the volunteer street patrols to gain the confidence from the public and be accessible. Consent, like that of the police, needs to be gained. I argue that this is also based upon aspects of reassurance and legitimacy, which are discussed accordingly as the chapter progresses. In order to establish and maintain their presence the volunteers also have to be identifiable, something which is achieved by being visible and in their choice of uniform that is considered next.

Visibility

Volunteers in this research establish their presence by being visible to others. As suggested this is achieved by walking around the streets. This action has links to the functions of police patrol and the contemporary field of hybrid policing or pluralised policing (Johnston 1992; Loader 1997). Within the city at night, several agencies from the public and the private sectors can be found through their uniformed presence, which raises numerous areas worthy of note including uniform and presence, identity and independence. Cooke (2005) informs us that having a uniformed presence on the streets, whether this is the police or other agencies, is generally accepted and welcomed by the public when compared with little or no uniformed presence. With the volunteer street patrols this also appeared to be the case. Wearing a uniform helped the volunteers to stand out and be visible to others. Without a uniform, volunteers would be little more than a member of the public walking the streets. Uniform is a means for the volunteers to have identity and remain visible to others.

Each group in this research wore a different coloured uniform, yellow, blue and pink. The colour of the uniform is important and symbolic as the colour has links to the purpose and aims of the volunteer patrols. This is noted in two of the groups, the Village Angels and the Street Pastors. The choice of colour provides different functions. The bright pink of the Village Angels was chosen to stand out in the vibrant gay village of Manchester. It was chosen to give the volunteers a sense of identity and belonging to the community that it services. The colour is vibrant and bright. Pink is not a colour that is often adopted by a state for the emergency services, but it is one that is commonly found displayed within this area of the city. This provided a means of establishing the volunteers as being separate from the state, it identified them as others, namely volunteers.

The Street Pastors wore a dark blue uniform, which when compared to the other two groups, blended into the dark streets at night. This is also symbolic, and is a conscious decision made by the Street Pastors nationally. Volunteers in this group would appear to blend in more than any other group. On occasions they would often be found talking and listening and appeared to stay on the fringes of situations not taking direct action. This is in line with research that informs us that the Street Pastors approach towards community safety is based

around listening and talking, and actions that do not compromise the aims, mission and values of the organisation (Johns *et al* 2009). In terms of exploring the contribution that volunteer street patrols make towards community safety, this is a significant point. Their choice of uniform colour dictates their stance and is reflective of the actions that they are willing to take. The volunteers in this group were noted to step back, listen from the side lines or only directly intervene if it was an emergency. In terms of their contribution towards community safety, particularly in the city, their approach was significantly different. The uniform has a practical element, namely to protect from the weather, and a symbolic element of attachment. As previously discussed, it signifies independence and provides an identity. Uniform identifies the volunteer patrols in this research as belonging to the voluntary sector and signifies that they are volunteers. It creates a distance between the volunteers and the other sectors in the night-time economy. Uniform also offers the volunteers forms of attachment and aspects of legitimacy.

A notable difference in the volunteers in this research is evidenced in the bright yellow colour of the Street Angels. A bright yellow uniform, whilst being highly visible, would often be swallowed up with the other agencies, workers and groups in the night-time economy. On the streets of the city at night, bright yellow can be found to be worn by services such as the police, taxi marshals and other charities. Unlike the Village Angels and the Street Pastors, yellow is a colour that in the city at night neither blended in nor stood out. During the time that was spent with this group, a lost sense of identity was noted in their attachment and their relationships. Based on a relatively simple factor such as the choice of a colour for a uniform, being visible, accessible and independent is an important factor for volunteer street patrols. It raises questions around their legitimacy, accountability and independence of whether a volunteer patrol is identifiable as a voluntary group and not the police or other state services.

Identifying as a volunteer is an essential feature of the Manchester street patrols. Research highlights that independence from the state within the voluntary criminal justice system is important (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016; Mills *et al* 2011). For voluntary sector agencies working in the criminal justice system, remaining independent is vital as connections to crime commonly challenge the independence of an individual or group (Corcoran *et al* 2018). This

is particularly relevant to the work of volunteer street patrols, which is evidenced in the Manchester example through their choice of uniform. Their identity and the independence that is symbolised through their uniform and being visible on the streets, is vital to the work of the volunteer street patrols. Being identifiable as a voluntary sector group allows for the patrols to deliver a contribution based around and enhanced by their voluntary status, namely one of supporting and helping those in need. Remaining independent means that they are able to reassure, which is argued as a central function of volunteer street patrols.

Reassurance

By establishing their presence on the streets, achieved through walking, this research proposes that a volunteer street patrol can be considered as a form of reassurance. To explore this, we draw from the reassurance policing discourse. Through their presence, their independent status and the actions that they take, their role has a function of reassurance. Research on reassurance policing offers similarities by arguing that there is a need for the police to be visible and familiar to the community or to be seen to promote visibility and familiarity in order to reassure communities (Innes 2007; Povey 2001). Whilst reassurance policing requires the police to focus on reducing the fear of crime and addressing all forms of criminality, the methods and focus used are appropriate when considering the actions of volunteer street patrols. Volunteer street patrols are a visible presence on the street. Over the course of this research, the patrols became a familiar feature of the city at night from the perspective of the public and the people working in the night-time economy. Much of the work that the volunteers undertake is based around actions that reassure people. Considering the volunteer street patrols through reassurance creates a new opportunity towards understanding their actions.

Several authors advocate that there is a public demand for order and security to be present in local areas argued as a feature of reassurance (Innes 2007; Povey 2001; Skogan and Hartnett 1997). The Manchester examples suggest that volunteer street patrols also have the capability to offer a form of reassurance in the absence of or instead of the police. Being present on the street can, for some, be a form of reassurance. It encourages feelings of support and safety for those that interact with the volunteers, as suggested in the data

throughout this research. It also places the volunteers as available and ready to help should they be called upon. This is considered through the theoretical lens of guardianship in the next section. However, it is important to explore reassurance, namely the presence of the volunteers in the absence of the police and as a form of reassurance instead of the police.

Volunteer street patrols often find themselves acting in the absence of state provided services. This research has established that volunteer street patrols can provide a reassurance function on the streets of the city at night. The three groups in this research would often be the only people on the street at night that were visible to help others. They are identified by the words 'Angel' or 'Pastor' on their uniform. Often the groups would be approached by members of the public to say thank you for looking out for them or to ask what their role and reason for walking on the streets was. On many occasions the volunteers would be asked for advice, support or directions. Much of the work of the volunteer patrols centred around helping people in need. Their purpose is to reassure. All three groups were visible to onlookers when engaged in helping people who appeared vulnerable. This signified to others on the street that someone was there to help.

Having someone available to help is important. This does not always have to be the state. This is argued by Garland (2001) as part of the ongoing process of acceptance that the state cannot and does not need to act alone when thinking about crime and safety. For this research it is the volunteer street patrols and their reassurance function that is evidence of this. Many of the occasions and interactions that are noted in this research did not require the police or ambulance to be involved. Much of the work of the volunteers centres around community safety interactions, such as supporting people who were vulnerable, befriending, listening or administering first aid. Volunteers would often carry out small interventions that would prevent the further need for additional services. Arguments exist around the role of the voluntary sector and its place in the delivery of public services, however this research proposes volunteer street patrols can provide a service that addresses community safety issues alongside what the state can offer. It is here where the independence of the voluntary sector comes into question. It is through their independence as a voluntary organisation that this is achieved.

As already touched upon, the use and involvement of the voluntary sector in criminal justice is a contentious and heavily debated issues (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). The volunteer street patrols in this research belong to three distinct charities that purposely support the police and actively engage their respective communities. This is in line with existing research on the contemporary examples of volunteer street patrols (Bullock 2014). Taking the example of the Village Angels, who are situated with the LGBT community of Manchester, suggests that being part of the LGBT Foundation, a leading charity in the area, gives the volunteers a legitimate presence that is based on their volunteers wanting to help others. The work of the charity is centred around supporting the Manchester LGBT community. Connections tended to be made with this group between that of wanting to support and the belonging to the charity. For some members of the public this proved to be reassuring as they were happy to be helped by members of their community. This research uses the theoretical lens of guardianship as volunteer street patrols fulfil the role of a suitable guardian within the community safety arena.

Guardianship

This research suggests that an appropriate way to theoretically consider the presence and contribution that volunteer street patrols have is through the theoretical lens of guardianship. The act of guardianship is defined generally as “a guardian keeps an eye on the potential target of crime” (Felson 2006:80), or “someone whose mere presence serves as a gentle reminder that someone is looking” (Felson and Boba 2010:28). In general terms this could be regarded as a guardian being a person that watches or could watch instances of inappropriate behaviour (Hollis *et al* 2013). For the nature of the work of a volunteer in a street patrol, patrolling and looking for vulnerable people fits with this definition. The theory of guardianship is situated around the control of crime. Challenges exist around the aspect of the intent of the guardian to be an agent of social control (Felson and Boba 2010). In this research the volunteer street patrols do not focus on the control of crime but the actions that can help others in times of need. Whilst they can be argued as agents of informal social control, their actions, such as reassurance, does not have the intent to informally control. Guardianship in Action, which is explored next is a suitable way to examine the actions of volunteer street patrol. Methodologically it is based around field observations that consider

presence and the interventions of guardians (Hollis-Peel *et al* 2011), a perspective that has been adopted in this research.

Guardianship in Action

Considering the volunteer street patrols through the theoretical lens of guardianship allows for this research to explore the contribution that volunteers make, but also what motivates and influences them to participate. The four-stage model of guardianship intensity, namely Guardianship in Action, GIA hereafter, by Reynald (2009) suggests that four levels of guardianship exist. The model proposes that the presence and actions of a guardian may be explored across four suggested levels to better understand their contribution towards reducing the opportunity of harm or vulnerability. Accordingly, the remainder of this section will explore volunteer street patrols using the GIA model.

Level one proposes that in order for guardianship to be in existence, the presence of a guardian needs to be in place. This is founded upon Routine Activities Theory, RAT hereafter, suggested by Cohen and Felson (1979). For the purposes of this research it is the presence of the guardian that is the focus. A suitable guardian is needed in order to reduce the opportunity for crime to occur (*ibid*). Volunteer street patrols, in their role as a guardian, remove the opportunity element of crime. They act as a suitable guardian through their presence and belonging to a volunteer street patrol in the city. Volunteers are present in order to carry out acts of guardianship related to community safety. Being present is achieved by their choosing to participate in a street patrol, a specific activity, that is engaged with supporting those in need within the night-time economy (Bullock 2014). This brings us to the next significant level of the model, that of the guardian being available.

Theoretically this suggests that a guardian needs to be available and to have the “physical potential or availability of a potential guardian” (Reynald 2009:3). Reynald is referring to examples of residential based guardianship set within residential areas. This research argues that volunteer street patrols, who participate outside of residential areas, can also be examples of available guardians. At this stage it is not the focus of the physical design of the residential area or the ability to carry out surveillance as suggested in the original GIA model (Newman 1972; Reynald 2009), but the extension of the GIA model to include the presence

of the volunteers on the street. By being present on the street the volunteers in this example become available. It is proposed that volunteers being available is not only based around their volunteering in a street patrol, but also their role within the responsabilised citizenry discourse (Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010). In summary, volunteers participate in a volunteer street patrol because they have a desire to help others that is based on an increased awareness of the need for voluntary action out on the streets. It is this that makes them both present and available to act as a guardian.

GIA requires volunteers to be available and present. This research argues that the presence of the volunteer street patrols is achieved through being visible. GIA also requires volunteers to be capable. Further research into this lesser researched element of guardianship identifies context as a factor that affects capability (Hollis *et al* 2013; Reynald 2010). Context is suggested as having an awareness and being familiar with the immediate space. In this case the space is the streets of Manchester and the respective geographical communities of each respective volunteer group. For a guardian to be capable, they need to know the area and who or what is in it. In much of the research on guardianship this evidences itself as guardians knowing of those who need supervision, namely potential offenders (Felson 2006). In this research, the capability of volunteers is evidenced in both their knowledge of the city and also their ability to support and recognise vulnerable people.

Walking and observing the street patrols highlighted that volunteers had an awareness of people who needed help. The volunteers are, as Garland argues more attuned to crime and the signs and outcomes of vulnerability than others (Garland 2001). Volunteers in this research became capable guardians, not in the sense of their ability to intervene, which is explored next, but in their awareness of the problems of the city. This awareness makes the volunteer street patrols capable and wanting to act. Volunteer motivations, which are explored at different points throughout this chapter, evidence this. A significant number of volunteers choose to participate in a street patrol based on the need to address some of the social problems found on the streets of the city. This was evidenced as altruistic motivations, or the want to give something back. The final stage of the GIA model suggests that active and capable guardians need to have a willingness to act. It is here that this research considers the willingness of volunteers

Willingness to Act

Willingness, the final stage of the GIA model, proposes that volunteers would be available, capable and willing to act in order to control the space or to intervene. Intervention is defined as acts that include direct intervention, calling the police or ambulance, or reporting suspicious activity (Leclerc and Reynald 2016). Volunteers in the street patrols demonstrated varying levels of willingness to act based on the group that they belonged to. The willingness to act plays out in the interventions that each group is willing to make.

Felson (2006) suggests that interventions are based on factors that include the availability, capability and also the understanding of an individual's role in community safety and crime prevention. For the volunteers in this research, this understanding was different between each group, such as the levels of intervention provided by the Village Angels. In this group, a strong commitment and awareness was demonstrated around the social issues and vulnerability that can be present in Manchester gay village. Volunteers in the Village Angels had an increased awareness of these and cited them as motivation for their volunteering. This in turn influenced the level of which they were willing to intervene. The acts of intervention that were carried out with the Village Angels, that included suicide prevention, and lifesaving first aid, demonstrates that volunteer street patrols have the willingness to act through an increased awareness and exposure to issues of community safety.

In comparison taking the example of the Street Pastors, who expressly state that they will not intervene should the incident compromise their aims, mission and ethos (Barton *et al* 2011; Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009), challenges their contribution towards community safety; or offers a different set of outcomes. Despite their availability and capability, this group appeared challenged at times when confronted with situations that included, for example, first aid or medical emergencies. Their understanding of their role within community safety is of relevance here. As stated, the group do not design their street patrol around direct intervention in incidents but position themselves as listeners. When thinking about how this group intervenes it is possible to suggest that they use 'softer' interventions when compared to the Village Angels. This group, in terms of the responsabilised citizen discussion, appear to evidence responsabilisation differently and were less willing to shoulder

the responsibility for the burden of crime and safety. In terms of guardianship, varying levels exist within the volunteer street patrols. This is noted by Reynald (2010) that despite the willingness, capability and availability, guardianship remains subjective and can be influenced by numerous external factors. To consider this point further the theoretical perspective of collective efficacy by Sampson *et al* (1997) is discussed.

Collective Efficacy

Volunteers in this research show signs of having collective efficacy in their choice to participate in a street patrol and their motivations for doing so. Considering this voluntary action as a form of guardianship highlighted several challenges including the awareness of volunteers being responsabilised and the levels and willingness of which they will interact if needed to do so. Collective efficacy offers the bedrock with which to explore these further. The features and focus of collective efficacy for this research is the willingness of volunteers to intervene for the collective good (Sampson *et al* 1997). The willingness to intervene in acts of community safety within the street patrols in this research is subject to several factors. Research suggests that stemming from social disorganisation, visual signs of disorder or vulnerability stimulate the willingness to intervene (Hunter 1985; Jacobs 1961). Social disorder, the foundation for which collective efficacy occurs, is based on the inability of community structures to realise and organise action against disorder and harm (Morenoff *et al* 2001). This is centred around the need for common values of residents that include friendships, networks, bonds and ties to be in existence and utilised. For this research, motivations for volunteering featured a common desire to address the problems that could be found on the streets of the city.

As suggested, collective efficacy is argued as a means of addressing social disorder and disorganisation within the neighbourhood setting (Sampson 2006). The act of volunteering in this research acts as the neighbourhood, which is formed through their friendships, ties and bonds that the volunteers create and maintain within their voluntary action. The challenge becomes one of considering collective efficacy away from the residential setting. This is posed by Sampson who argues that collective efficacy “has little staying power outside of the boundaries of the neighbourhood” (Sampson 2010:5). Therefore, it is the city that is

the platform for the social disorganisation and the voluntary action that creates the alternative residential neighbourhood. In this research it is the act of volunteering that creates the friendships, ties and bonds that are argued as being needed for collective efficacy. Accordingly, these two factors are explored next with reference to this research.

Collective efficacy, in this research, is based around the need to address the problems in the city at night. These include safety, harm, vulnerability and reassurance. This takes place on the streets of the city, away from the volunteers' residential areas. In order to address a social problem, cohesion, mutual trust and shared expectations need to be present (Sampson *et al* 1997). In this research it is the responsabilised citizen that brings the volunteers together through the willingness to participate in the collective action of volunteering in a street patrol. Being responsabilised is based around volunteers achieving the collective good, as argued by Sampson *et al* (1997) and is evidenced by the volunteers in their motivations for volunteering. Volunteers in all of the street patrols suggested that they were motivated to give something back, particularly when addressing societal or welfare needs. This research draws on the civil society paradigm from Rochester *et al* (2010) as a way of interpreting this volunteer motivation.

Volunteering for reasons concerned with welfare and helping others, particularly those that are in need, are some of the key motivations for volunteers in this research. It is argued here that this equates the collective good that promotes the collective efficacy that the street patrols possess. Whilst this is not based on a residential setting, volunteers in this research take pride in their city and show an awareness towards its issues. Their collective efforts are not for the good of their residential communities but for the wider good of the city. This would seem to build upon the responsabilised citizenry discourse as volunteers accept wider responsibility for the issues that exist outside of their immediate neighbourhood. Strong identity with the community of the city, acts as a motivation for volunteers to accept increasing levels of responsibility for the issues found within it. Accordingly, the aspect of how volunteers identified with communities requires further consideration.

Community

Although this is not the focus of this research, the idea of community features within the literature, findings and discussion. This is of particular importance when thinking about collective efficacy and the attachments, bonds and ties that are based on residential volunteering. As acknowledged, volunteer street patrols participate away from their immediate residential community by volunteering in the city. For other examples of volunteer street patrol across the UK, residential community volunteering may exist. Therefore, it is relevant to consider how the volunteers in this research consider community.

The nature of the urban based street patrol suggests that attachment or identification with the city highlights the belonging of individuals to different communities. For this research, communities appeared to be changeable and elusive with volunteers identifying with several communities including the geographical community (Edwards and Hughes 2002). Volunteers identified with communities of attachment and identity such as the LGBT community of Manchester, and communities of symbolism such as the need to help out on the streets. Volunteers also identified with communities of action, namely the need for collective action to address a shared or common problem. As Day (2006) suggests, volunteers in this research can be considered as communities of attachment to the city, the groups within the city or specific beliefs such as the Christian faith.

A further aspect needed for collective efficacy in the volunteer street patrols is formed bonds, ties and connections. As suggested above, the 'new neighbourhood', the volunteers' community, has become the city in this example of non-residential volunteering. Literature around collective efficacy suggests that the neighbourhood is the place where residential ties and bonds are formed with the purpose of addressing a problem to achieve shared goals for the collective good (Morenoff *et al* 2001; Sampson 2006; Sampson *et al* 1997). Volunteers in this research use their voluntary action in the urban street patrol in replacement of the neighbourhood. Through their volunteering in community they form bonds within their group that create ties, friendships and support. The bonds, connections and ties that are formed as a result are explored in the following section when the focus moves to explore the

themes of volunteers, responsabilisation and the state. Here the relationships that exist and influence the volunteer street patrols are considered.

In summary, the first section of the discussion chapter demonstrates how the volunteer street patrols contribute towards community safety, evidenced in the acts of walking, being visible and having presence and acting as agents of reassurance. This research suggests that the theoretical lens of guardianship offers an insight into the most significant contribution that volunteers make. The urban street patrol challenges the traditional ideas of collective efficacy by using the city and the voluntary action as the new neighbourhood. It highlights that volunteers are attached to communities through groups that remain changeable. It is therefore a suitable place to consider how collective efficacy is negotiated, which was found within the relations that volunteers have within their own groups and those outside of it.

Responsibilisation, Volunteers and the State

This second section of this chapter focuses on the responsabilised citizen by thinking about the motivations of the volunteers and the relationships that they hold with others. The purpose here is to consider the social capital that is generated between the volunteer street patrols and others as a means of exploring what the volunteers need in order to participate. To begin, this section considers how responsabilisation is evidenced in the motivations of volunteers in a street patrol.

As previously noted, volunteers in a street patrol are argued as responsabilised citizens. The literature informs us that the concept of responsabilisation that was originally proposed by Garland (2001), whereby the state is no longer the only provider of crime control and safety, requires an increased role for the citizen. In the following two sections some of the challenges and limitations this presents will be discussed. In order to become a responsabilised citizen a degree of acceptance is needed towards the increasing self-burden of protection for matters such as crime and safety (Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Volunteer street patrols in this research demonstrate that they have accepted the responsabilised citizen status through their choice to participate in a volunteer street patrol. Several themes have emerged as a result of this that go some way to addressing the responsabilisation discourse. These include why volunteers participate, their awareness of being

responsibilised and how this leads to the wider debates on the relationships that the volunteers have. To begin, a discussion around volunteer motivations is offered.

Volunteer Motivations

The motivations that volunteers in the street patrols suggest for their participation answers one of the central research questions of this thesis. Chapter 6 presents the motivations that volunteers have cited as their reasons for joining a street patrol, which is organised by using an extended model of volunteering paradigms suggested by Rochester *et al* (2010). Several points emerge from the data when thinking about motivations that are connected to responsibilised citizens and are discussed accordingly. Research informs us that the most common motivation for volunteering is that of wanting to give something back or altruistic motivations (NCVO 2019; Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2000, 2012). In volunteering related to criminal justice this is also evident (Bateson *et al* 2002). In this research this is evidenced under the dominant paradigm (Rochester *et al* 2010). Altruistic motivations focus on the desire of volunteers to help those who are in need by delivering care and support related activities, as is the case for volunteer street patrols. Helping others was suggested by most of the volunteers in this research as their main motivation for participating.

Altruistic motivations are important for several reasons. Firstly, because they tend to be a reaction to an increased awareness of the problems in the city, but also, because they highlight the nature and function of the UK example of volunteer street patrols. By having motivations that are altruistic in their nature we are able to support the suggestion that the UK example of volunteer street patrols have a purpose in providing support and non-judgemental care (Middleton and Yarwood 2015), and are “associated with engagement, welfare and support of vulnerable citizens and would-be victims” (Bullock 2014:147). The actions of the three groups in this research are reflective of this point as they suggest that volunteers focus on support, help and assistance over crime fighting, detection and criminal apprehension. By wanting to help others, the volunteers of the three groups directly influence the actions and the contribution that the patrols are able to make to the city.

The nature of this voluntary role lends itself to volunteers who want to support others. This seems to support the suggestion that the UK example of the volunteer street patrol is based

around welfare related interventions (Bullock 2014). This research argues that a significant motivation amongst volunteers in the three street patrols centres around volunteering for welfare related activities, seeing volunteers aiming to collectively address common problems in the city (Lyons *et al* 1998; Rochester *et al* 2010). Here the findings fall within the civil society paradigm of volunteer motivations. In this research this highlights two areas that are worthy of note when thinking about responsabilised volunteers, that of the volunteers increased awareness of the city's issues and their attachment towards the city.

Awareness

Volunteers from each group showed an increased awareness of the issues that people face on the streets at night. As explored in the introduction of this thesis, Manchester at night is vibrant and fun, but at times can be a challenging place in which to be. In line with volunteer motivations that focus on welfare, supporting others and altruistic values, volunteers in this research have a heightened sense of responsibility when they volunteer in a street patrol. Hinds and Grabosky (2010) tell us that responsabilised citizenry have an increased awareness of issues relating to crime and safety alongside an increased level of acceptance. This was evidenced as an increased awareness to the problems on the streets. Being aware of the challenges in the night-time economy was suggested as a reason for why each group spent time in the city and why their volunteers chose an urban patrol over one that was more local to them.

This is particularly evident in the formation of motivations for volunteering that were expressed by the Street Angels. This group was founded on the back of several deaths of local teenagers in the city on their way home after spending a night out with friends drinking in the city's bars and clubs. Volunteers in the Street Angels cited that they were motivated to help others to avoid further deaths. They suggested several reasons for this, from making associations with their own families and children of teenage years, knowing the families of the bereaved, witnessing the vulnerability of people who are under the influence of drink or drugs, to feeling an increased desire to help address the problem.

The motivations of the volunteers in the Street Angels, and also the other two groups, are reminiscent of a responsabilised citizen. We note that volunteers have an increased

awareness of a problem through personal connection or through increased exposure to it. Volunteers in street patrols exhibit an increased sense of responsibility, evidenced as such by their participation in a street patrol. It is argued therefore that the volunteers in this research, whilst being associated with the many motivations that are found generally and specifically within the criminal justice system, also have motivations that are specific to those of responsabilised citizenry.

Attachment to the City

Motivations that are exhibited are like those of a responsabilised citizen and can be linked to the attachment that volunteers have towards the community in which they volunteer (Day 2006). In the case of this research it is the city of Manchester. Neighbourhood context and community, as explored previously, can influence the volunteer's perceptions, opinions and motivations towards crime and safety. This research argues that volunteers in the urban street patrols had collective efficacy when acting as a guardian on the streets. By volunteering for a street patrol, volunteers also engaged in the development and maintenance of social capital, which is explored in the final section of this chapter. In terms of responsabilised citizenry the increased attachment towards the city is fitting with what Hinds and Grabosky (2010) suggests people have a more generalised concern about the threat of crime and accept responsibility for managing this everyday risk, which appeared to be the case in this research.

Volunteer motivations in this research showed a strong connection to the city of Manchester. Volunteers would often comment about their time in the city and how it provided them with challenges, excitement, happiness and fond memories. They would also discuss how they felt the need to address the negative press the city received when its social problems were discussed in the media. This for some was a motivation for volunteering. Placing the altruistic desires aside, it leads us to think about how volunteers attach meaning to their respective place of volunteering or towards their specific communities. The city is the community for the volunteers based on several factors as explored previously. Choosing to volunteer in the city and accepting responsibility for the problems that do not directly affect volunteers in terms of their immediate residence, demonstrates a wider awareness around

issues of safety. It also seems to suggest that the volunteers in the street patrol have been subjected to the wider drivers of responsabilisation. As this chapter enters the final section, this is considered firstly in the relationships that the volunteers hold with others but also in the challenges around consent, legitimacy and accountability that are factors that associated with wider responsabilisation. However, a notable point that surrounds responsabilisation of volunteers in a street patrol requires us to consider the type of volunteering and activities that volunteers do and their opinions on the challenges this presents.

Tough Volunteering

Volunteering based on altruistic motivations also comes with challenges and limitations, particularly when thinking about responsabilised citizenry. Despite the best intentions of the volunteers being to help others, the nature of volunteering in and with the criminal justice system can have added pressures. Zhao *et al* (2002) informs us that volunteers connected with the criminal justice voluntary sector, are exposed to a darker side of life due to the nature of the incidents and problems that people face. Arising from this is the perspective that volunteering in a street patrol, as a police volunteer or a Special Constable may be considered 'tough volunteering'. Despite the street patrols taking place at weekend, late at night and into the early hours of the morning, this appears not to be the case for the volunteers in this research. The volunteers in this research suggested that they did not regard volunteering on the city's streets as tough as was argued in chapter 6, regardless of the harm and vulnerability they saw. They considered that volunteering through the need to help others, give something back to the city and help make things better. It is possible that links can be made here to the responsabilised citizen and Garland's view of the wider acknowledgment that the control of crime is now a shared responsibility (Garland 2001). Through the volunteering an increased awareness of the social problems associated with safety is demonstrated.

It is possible to suggest that the volunteers in this research show signs of becoming more responsabilised through the acceptance of the need to support and help those in need. Their donation of time, skills and commitment for the volunteer street patrols goes some way to evidencing this. Despite the comparisons and similarities between the volunteer street

patrols and responsabilisation, it may be argued that from the perspective of the volunteers there is little awareness of their status as a responsabilised volunteer. By suggesting that they do not think of this volunteering as tough, volunteers seem to demonstrate an awareness of the issues that face the city, for which they want to accept some part in addressing, but do not see this as anything other than volunteering to help those in need or to give something back. Interestingly in this research, reference was often made to the waiting times for ambulances or the lack of police attendance. Despite some of the motivations of the volunteers in establishing the street patrols, for example the deaths of teenagers in the city or the vulnerability that is evident on the streets, very little reference was made around needing to volunteer in order to fill a gap left by the state or to supplement for a lack of resources. Volunteers would consider themselves as helping or supporting the police and the ambulance in their quest to help those in the city. Accordingly, this section now moves to explore some of the relationships that volunteer street patrols have as part of their work within the city.

Relationships

Volunteering in welfare related activities sees the volunteers working with a range of different agencies, organisations and people within the city. This research has considered the volunteer street patrols through the perspective of community safety, the criminal justice lens and the significant contributions that are made by the volunteers towards health, local authorities and the voluntary sector. In the final part of this section a discussion takes place around the relationships that volunteers hold with others and themselves. Putnam's theory of social capital is utilised as a means of framing this discussion (Putnam 1995, 2000).

Social capital offers this research a way of exploring how volunteer street patrols function and contribute towards community safety. Walking, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, is the foundation in how social capital is created. For Putnam, civic engagement and participation are the first stages in the creation and maintenance of social capital (Putnam 1995, 2000). Accordingly, the connections of the volunteer street patrols each features several points that are worthy of consideration that are explored in the following section. Volunteer street patrols seemingly maintain and create social capital through their

voluntary action. Their contribution towards helping others is aimed at addressing what Putnam (2000) calls the product of social capital, which addresses the negative human behaviour that can cause separation, division and upset. Putnam informs us that bridging social capital features outward looking networks, ties and friendships that are formed between groups, organisations and agencies (ibid). In this case this is the relationships that volunteers have with others such as the police, ambulance and private sector within the city. An important finding in this research, which answers one of the research questions, surrounds the relationships that volunteers have with others. Accordingly, this is explored through bridging social capital, beginning with the networks that volunteers have with others in the pluralised policing of the city at night.

Networks

Networks can facilitate and foster the exchanges of social capital (Putnam 2000). In this research, networks exist in two main forms; those found within civic engagement, as mentioned above, and those between the volunteer street patrols and others, referred to as stakeholders in this research. Civic engagement, in this case volunteering, is considered through participation in communal crime prevention. The participation of individuals in crime prevention and community safety is well documented (Hope 1995). The issues that surround individual participation, which are explored in more detail in the final section of this chapter, come with several challenges including legitimacy and accountability. In thinking about social capital, a significant challenge seems to be the wider creation and maintenance of networks that are now in place as a result of the increased role of citizens in the community safety arena. In this research, volunteer street patrols are part of this. Volunteer street patrols find themselves working with agencies and organisations that they may not normally have encountered had it not been for the change that society is currently subject to, such as austerity, political instability and an increased awareness of the burden of crime and safety. The networks that are formed in order to facilitate coordination and cooperation have therefore widened, and seemingly for the volunteer street patrols, they appear to exist across several fields.

Hughes (2007) informs us that the networks that exist in communal crime control should be horizontal in their nature and feature trust, independence, and honesty. They should see the citizen as equal to that of the state, private and voluntary agencies. Networks within the community safety infrastructure in Manchester were horizontal in their nature and showed signs of bridging capital (Putnam 2000). A significantly strong network existed between the police and the volunteers with a lesser network in existence with the ambulance service. More informal networks were noted between volunteers and private security and taxi marshals. Networks for the volunteer street patrols in this research varied between each group. This allows for this research to ask questions around how this was developed and maintained. The independent status of the volunteer street patrols and the levels of mutual support and cooperation become points of discussion. A key feature that facilitates the horizontal relationships in Manchester is the function of independence that was noted by all three groups. An interesting feature of the networks that the volunteer street patrols held in this research is their need and desire to remain independent that has resulted in different outcomes for each group.

Independence

Despite the volunteer street patrols belonging to a network of agencies and individuals that help to support the city's night-time economy, a common feature amongst all three groups was their independence. All three of the groups established themselves as independent from the state despite holding close working relationships with the police and ambulance service. As discussed, they identified themselves clearly as a voluntary group through their uniform and their actions. As Hughes argues, being equal in communal crime control is a significant point (Hughes 2007). In order for them to be equal each group had to use its independence as a voluntary sector organisation in order to achieve this, a common issue with the voluntary sector in criminal justice (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016). Volunteers in all three groups regarded themselves as equals to the police and the ambulance service. It is their charitable status that allowed them to achieve this. This was evident with Village Angels and also the Street Pastors.

As the Manchester group is part of the national movement of Street Pastors, their independence could be argued as a given. As research has informed us and what is emphasised as a significant point throughout this research, the Street Pastors are part of the wider framework of the community safety apparatus but remain separate so as not to compromise their mission, aims and ethos (Barton *et al* 2011; Johns *et al* 2009). This was evident in the Manchester group in terms of their independence. This group viewed themselves as equal in terms of the provision they were able to provide as they offered something different than other agencies. As discussed in this chapter, this group preferred to listen or talk rather than directly intervene in times of need. Volunteers would argue this was something unique and missing from the city at night. In terms of networks, the Street Pastors created their own managed network that offered their support to the police and ambulance service should they require it. The Street Pastors wanted to be part of the local community safety network, however they were able to carry on independently helping those in need. Therefore, the mutual support and cooperation are explored next against the need to remain independent.

Mutual Support and Cooperation

Putnam (2000) suggests that through civic participation, the resources of mutual support and cooperation can be maximised. This research argues that volunteer street patrols are examples of the community and individual participation that provides mutual support and cooperation to those working in the city at night. The volunteer street patrols offer a resource that supports the work of the police and the ambulance through the contribution that the volunteers can make. In doing so the volunteers in the street patrols form relationships that are based upon support and cooperation that sits within the local governance structure of policing the night-time economy. The independence of the groups influences the levels at which they are involved, however challenges remain.

The relationship with the police can be considered from two perspectives. In line with the current research on street patrols, local governance sits within the responsibility of local police managers. For this research this was the local policing Inspector. The example of Manchester, at the time of writing, saw the volunteer street patrols being supported in terms

of guidance, training, inclusion and development by the local police management. When comparing this to the involvement of the ambulance service, this was less so. The Village Angels were the only group noted for developing and maintaining a positive supportive and cooperative relationship with the ambulance service which, like the relationship with the police, increased the familiarity, saw the delivery of training and encouraged development and support. The Street Pastors demonstrated little engagement with the ambulance service and the Street Angels used private providers to deliver their training programmes. Both of which, from the perspective of the ambulance, exhibited itself in less cooperative relations. Relationships between each other can also be strained and limited.

Tensions existed around the mutual support and cooperation between volunteers and the state services. From the perspective of the volunteers these ranged from a lack of knowledge and misunderstanding about the role and capacity of the volunteer street patrols, to police officers showing disregard for the volunteer street patrols when attending situations where they were present. Tensions were noted by the volunteers in the Village Angels and the Street Angels about how the police dealt with some of the incidents they attended. This was less so with the Street Pastors, possibly due to the different role that this group aimed to perform. With the Village Angels and Street Angels, a more hands on approach was often the case when out on the streets, with members of these groups willing to directly intervene, more so than the Pastors. A suitable way to consider this is through the responsibilised citizen discourse.

The horizontal and equal relationships that the volunteer street patrols have in this research are argued as being enhanced by the three groups' independent statuses. It is this equality and independence that leads to thinking around volunteer street patrols as responsibilised citizens. As Hinds and Grabosky suggest that responsibilised individuals "hold police in reserve; to be called upon for service where an event of problem is viewed as sufficiently grave to be the responsibility of the police" (Hinds and Grabosky 2010:110). Their view also considered the legitimacy of the police and dissatisfaction with police responses. For the purpose of this research this leads to thinking about volunteer street patrols holding the police as a reserve, until the situation in question is beyond their remit or capability. Volunteers in this research saw their work and role as equal but different to the police, within

the bounds of the law. The findings suggest that this was evidenced in their contribution being sufficient to be able to help those in need on the streets. This played out in their relationships with the police.

It is also possible to extend the idea of volunteer street patrols being considered as responsabilised citizens to their relationship with the ambulance service and private sector. As noted, much of the work of the patrols centred round reducing harm and vulnerability. A significant part of this is the small first aid interventions and actions that reduced further vulnerability. Volunteers were prepared, in some cases trained and willing, to actively deliver such services to people on the streets in order to help them. On occasion, their actions went some way to reducing the need for the ambulance to be called or to attend. Volunteers were willing to help and offer a role in supporting people with first aid, without the need to call upon services such as the ambulance. Unlike the relationship with the police it would be challenging to suggest they hold the ambulance in reserve, however, it is possible to highlight that volunteers in a street patrol are able to accept certain levels of responsibility when it comes to first aid and reducing vulnerability before calling in the emergency services. A further consideration of this is the aspect of trust, a feature within social capital.

Trust

Trust in its basic form relates to how people perceive those around them. For Mollering (2006) it concerns reason, reflexivity and routine. Several arguments exist around trust that are connected to the volunteer street patrols beginning with trust as a requirement for social capital. In terms of social capital, Putnam argues that trust is a vital component for the creation and maintenance of social capital (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000). In this research, varying levels of trust existed in the bridging and bonding social capital between the volunteer street patrols and others. Trust between the police and the volunteers varied between all three groups. This tended to be based upon a previous knowledge of the police held by the volunteers, and the interactions that took place between the two during the street patrols. For example, volunteers in the Street Angels showed a lack of trust in the police based on encounters that they had held with them. This was also the case for some of the Village Angel volunteers who took part in interviews in this research. On occasion,

volunteers would express discontentment surrounding the actions that the police on the streets had taken either whilst out on patrol, such as the attitude of individual officers towards members of the public and their situation, or a lack of response offered by the police when requested.

Trust is a two-way process that influences the relations between the stakeholders and the volunteers. Trust between the stakeholders towards the volunteer street patrols was different between each group. Trust was established and maintained from the perspective of the stakeholders when the volunteer street patrols engaged with them on a frequent basis. An example of this can be found in chapter 7 where the police Inspector refers to the challenges that the Street Angels was with regular patrolling. He is aware of the difficulties that this group in particular face in terms of patrolling the city with willing volunteers, but he is also aware that their relationship is limited by the infrequency of their patrols. For Mollering (2006), who argues routine is needed for trust, infrequent patrolling or attendance at the police briefing led to difficulties in this relationship. Trust was limited by the lack of opportunity to develop and maintain it, which also then challenged the development of social capital.

A further perspective comes into play surrounding trust based around collective action. As Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) inform us, solidarity and mutual trust between neighbours influences collective action. In this research, the neighbourhood element of this theoretical perspective changes to that of the volunteers out on the street. Accordingly, it is necessary to consider how trust would then be formed to facilitate collective action. This research suggests that this becomes an issue of solidarity between volunteers, in this case for supporting those in need, which enables the collective action to take place. Volunteers within their respective groups have suggested that they have built up trust between themselves. The nature of the voluntary action, namely within community safety, encourages trust and depends on reliability between the volunteers as the work remains demanding and challenging. Trust is created within the respective street patrol teams based on the volunteers establishing and maintaining bonding capital.

Bonding

Putnam compares bonding social capital to a sociological superglue that features the friendships, ties and bonds in a group that are not normally available to those outside of it (Putnam 2000). Several examples of bonding capital existed between the volunteers within their respective groups. However, this was limited to intragroup bonds rather than working with each other within the city. Trust, as noted previously, has an influence on the bonding capital that exists in the street patrols. Volunteers, particularly in the Street Angels and the Village Angels, showed an awareness towards the value of trust that needed to exist between the volunteers. Like that needed for collective action, trust is also a feature for bonding capital within the groups. Volunteers referred to the trust needed for this kind of volunteering based on the nature of working in the city at night, especially when thinking around issues of community safety. This form of bonding capital existed in the form of friendships and teamwork. Much of this trust was often referred to as friendships of networks that existed between the volunteers. Evidence of friendships in and away from the volunteering existed across all three of the patrol groups. Many of the volunteers had become friends as a result of their volunteering. Because of this, during the nightly weekend patrols, friends would often work together, catch up, share stories and support each other. It is this support that give the volunteers trust between each other.

The friendships between the volunteers created ties between the volunteers within the groups, which led to teamwork. Volunteers in all three groups were of the opinion that they could not undertake this kind of volunteering alone due to the nature of volunteering and the environment. It was therefore in the interests of the volunteers to work as a team. A collective approach was evident that was supported by a desire to achieve a shared outcome, namely to keep people safe. Each group, whilst out on patrol, worked as a team. However, this did not extend to bonding between the three organisations.

Working with each other across the groups was not apparent in this research. Although examples of bonding social capital were found within the respective individual groups, this did not extend to others who were essentially undertaking the same act of volunteering. This influenced the relationships that volunteers were able to form from a bridging and bonding

perspective. Despite having stated that individual groups had a collective willingness to act, this did not form a cohesive response across all three groups in this research. It remained within each respective group. This is due to several reasons such as the independence of each street patrol group, their previous knowledge and experience of each other and the volunteers' perceptions and preconceptions of each street patrol. For the development and maintenance of social capital, both bridging and bonding, this became problematic.

Volunteer street patrols in this research did not work together, despite belonging to and being part of the wider network of policing the city that was coordinated by the local police. The independence of each group played a different role than previously discussed. The independence and distinctive nature of each group acted as a means of separation when exploring the bonding capital between the volunteers. Volunteers in all three of the street patrols groups in this research referred to the lack of joint working between the Manchester street patrols. In some cases, volunteers and the groups' coordinators spoke of feelings of not being able to work together due to the differing ethos and missions of the group. In terms of bonding capital, ties and trust between groups was limited or not in existence. A lack of knowledge, understanding and empathy between the groups meant that networking was limited and only evidenced when each patrol group attended the police briefing. Even on such occasions, interactions and engagement, aside from pleasantries, was limited.

This lack of engagement also limited the development of resources such as training, support and networking that were able to be provided by the police and the ambulance. Stakeholders in this research suggested that despite the unique nature of each organisation, they would have preferred more joint working events, training and networking between the three street patrol organisations. From the police perspective, this was expressed as a means of helping to coordinate appropriate responses for the city's problems, whilst ensuring a collective and regulated approach was taken. This was evidenced by the invitation to all three street patrols to attend the weekly police briefing, which received varying levels of engagement. From the perspective of the ambulance service, there was the need to ensure that volunteers, who are considered responsibilised, all have a basic level of skill sufficient enough to address challenges they find on the street. The suggestion that training could be provided to equip all volunteers, or even members of the public, to deal with first aid

emergences was a preferred option for the local ambulance coordinator. This research highlights that despite the wishes and desires of the local police and ambulance service, a coordinated approach was limited in the Manchester example. In terms of the wider implications, this highlights a discussion around the challenges of governance, which becomes an appropriate place to begin.

The Challenge of Governance

This final section of the discussion chapter considers some of the challenges connected to the volunteer street patrols and their participation in community safety. These challenges are considered as aspects of governance and start with the acknowledgement that volunteer street patrols are an example of responsibilised citizenry. The wider challenges of individuals who participate in community safety and communal crime control also come into play. Accordingly, the issues of the legitimacy of the street patrol and aspects concerning accountability are explored. To begin, the discussion explores the need for consent, which is evidenced through the relationships with the public and also stakeholders.

Consent and Legitimacy

The legitimacy of volunteers in this research can be compared to the discourses of the legitimacy of the police and those of consent. Consent as argued by Locke is given by the people within a society. This enables governments to rule, implement laws and act for the majority (Locke in Hoff 2015). For volunteer street patrols, consent is achieved through the voluntary sector. Firstly, by the independence of the voluntary sector, secondly, by the position of the voluntary sector in society and political discourses and policy and finally, through their relationship that the volunteers have with the police and other stakeholders. Consent for the voluntary sector to provide services within the community safety arena and society is based on the consent in the political processes. Accordingly, a volunteer on the street, such as a volunteer street patrol, requires consent to volunteer, which is gained from their association to their respective voluntary organisations. For this research, this is the case with the volunteer street patrols and exists alongside their attachment and identification towards their voluntary host organisations. The increased involvement of the individual within the community safety arena stems from historic changes towards

pluralising and marketising the police (Bullock 2014), a change that has been granted societal consent (Hoff 2015).

The nature of a volunteer street patrol requires members of the public to consent in order for the volunteers to be present and visible on the streets, and to be able to help people who are in need. Belonging to a voluntary organisation, for the most part, provides the consent that is needed to achieve this. An example of how this is demonstrated is evident with the Village Angels. The Village Angels are an outreach arm of the LGBT Foundation, a charity that works within the gay village of Manchester. The consent and legitimacy of the volunteers is enhanced with their belonging to this organisation over that of the police. Despite the police being an accepted organisation within society, the voluntary sector in this area of the city carries more standing. The LGBT Foundation is a recognised and accepted provider of support and services in the gay village of the city. It holds a legitimate presence that has been created by its work in the local community and the wider role of voluntary sector agencies in the community safety arena. (Corcoran *et al* 2018; Hoff 2015). The association with the LGBT Foundation, a voluntary organisation, offers the Village Angels an opportunity to create and maintain consent and the legitimacy that they need to work within the LGBT community in Manchester. The voluntary sector is an accepted political and popular organisation within contemporary society.

The consent and legitimacy of the Street Pastors is also based on their belonging and association towards the Christian church, an organisation with contested but influential standing within society (Hoff 2015). Issues of legitimacy and consent for this group centre round the current debates of the Christian church and its standing within the modern world. That said, the Manchester example of their Street Pastors, like the Village Angels, achieve a legitimate presence on the streets of the city, not through their associations and relationships with the police but with their foundations with the Christian church, despite changing attitudes towards faith. This is also reminiscent with the research that surrounds this group, which suggests that the local governance of the Street Pastors is negotiated at a national level (Barton *et al* 2011; Johns *et al* 2009, 2018). Established networks and governance structures exist with the Street Pastors movement nationally, which have provided a blueprint for local examples, such as Manchester, to work from.

The third group in this research, the Street Angels, despite being part of the Christian Nightlife Initiative (CNI hereafter), bring issues of consent, legitimacy and independence into question. The Street Angels did not identify with a particular organisation other than themselves as a group. Despite their governance structures being linked to that of the governing body CNI and their initial development being coordinated by KEY 103, a local Manchester radio station, management of this group was coordinated and heavily influenced locally by a small board of volunteering members. Their identity appeared confused by numerous factors such as their choice of bright yellow jacket, a colour commonly associated with the police and the emergency services. A lack of obvious attachment and identification within this group meant that their legitimacy was based on the actions, motivations and trust of their volunteers. Their consent was achieved and maintained based on their identification as a volunteer and the wider acceptance this holds within society (Hoff 2015). The legitimacy of this group was challenged during this research due to breakdowns in their presence and trust. Mollering (2006) argues that a component of trust is the need for routine. This comes into question here as towards the end of this research, volunteers in this group expressed discontent with the way in which they were managed, patrols were often cancelled and relationships with others, such as the taxi marshals, became limited or non-existent.

The legitimacy of the police is enhanced by the three groups in Manchester as they are examples of attempts to increase and improve community and police relationships (Joyce 2011; Sunshine and Tyler 2003). The relationship that the volunteers hold with the police is horizontal and equal in nature. Working with the police is considered as a joint relationship rather than a local partnership. Each of the groups were mindful of the relationships that they held with the police, with the associations being carefully managed so as not to lose the consent and legitimacy that has been formed with their voluntary status. For the Village Angels, legitimacy was also enhanced by the police perception of the LGBT Foundation. This being that the LGBT community was best represented by volunteers who had a good knowledge and understanding, even experience, of the gay village in Manchester.

A significant point to note in the relationship between the volunteers and the state agencies was how legitimacy could be achieved. In the Manchester example, volunteers in the three street patrols were invited to the police briefing before each shift. The Village Angels and

Street Pastors made the attendance part of their nightly routine. The Street Angels attended the briefing less so, usually as a result of a decision made by the lead coordinator on patrol that evening. The attendance at this briefing is significant in several parts. Firstly, by attending the police briefing, despite the individual views that volunteers expressed around its inclusivity and effectiveness, the briefing offered the volunteers an opportunity to build relationships with the local police, an example of a limitation towards bridging capital (Putnam 2000). Secondly, the invitation by the local police management can be viewed as a form of accountability from the perspective of the police and the volunteers, but also unique for the volunteer street patrols. No other voluntary sector organisations were present at the police briefing other than the street patrols. As argued in this research, the independence of the volunteer street patrols provides each group with a unique influence in the delivery of community safety. Attending the police briefing offered the volunteers a chance to use the knowledge and understanding that volunteers from each group had that could be used to help the police. Accordingly, in thinking about aspects of legitimacy, the accountability of the three patrol groups comes into question.

Accountability

The volunteer patrols sit under the local policing governance of the area that relies heavily on the volunteers and the local police management working together. As previously discussed, this was the case in Manchester, with the local Police Inspector informally implementing measures of governance by involving the volunteer street patrols in the local briefing for the weekend shifts and establishing relationships with each of the coordinators. However, a significant issue within the research surrounding volunteer patrols remains that of accountability and vigilantism. Williams tells us that there is a balance between citizen involvement in matters of crime and community safety and acts of vigilantism (Williams 2005). Moreover, several pieces of research that focus on the US example of Guardian Angels cite acts of vigilantism. A range of factors come into play here that include the motives of the volunteers, the actions that they take and the relationships that they hold with others (Bullock 2014; Kenney 1986; Pennell *et al* 1985).

In this research the volunteer street patrols are argued as being in line with the current literature on citizen patrols that suggests the motives, thinking and ethos of citizen patrols are no longer considered as vigilantes but as volunteers who are motivated by helping others (Bullock 2014; Johns *et al* 2009; Middleton and Yarwood 2015). In relation to issues of accountability, volunteers in all three of the groups in this research act in a manner that is based on care, welfare and support. Accountability remains a contentious issue for the state with the increased involvement of the citizen (Bullock 2014; Williams 2005). Belonging to the local governance structures of policing in the city makes each patrol accountable to the local police management, despite the varying levels of involvement. The active involvement with the local policing teams highlights that volunteer patrols in this research have some accountability that is managed by the local police. That said, volunteer street patrols in this research remained independent of the state and operated, for the most part, under their own guidance or that of their governing bodies. It is not possible to speculate what would happen if acts of vigilantism or criminal offences were committed by a volunteer, as no acts of such a nature were observed or shared whilst this research took place. The need for further exploration into the accountability of street patrols still remains.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter discusses some of the themes identified across the three urban volunteer street patrol groups in Manchester. Volunteer street patrols in this research provide a form of reassurance achieved through their participation in community safety. This is evidenced through the act of walking around the streets in order to help those who are experiencing harm, upset or distress. Walking is a key function for the volunteer street patrols and allows them to establish and develop a presence on the streets of the city. The presence of the volunteer patrols has been considered as guardianship, where volunteers act within the role of suitable guardian who is available, capable and willing to act.

The willingness of the volunteers to act has been suggested as the collective efficacy held by the volunteers. This sees volunteer street patrols in the city as not only being available and capable, but also willing to deliver acts of community safety based on altruistic motivations with strong desires to address welfare needs on the streets. Volunteers in this research are

argued as examples of responsabilised citizens through their willingness to act and increased awareness and attachment to the city. It is the city, the act of volunteering and the motivations of the volunteers that sees them as an example of non-residential guardians.

Through the act of walking, volunteers participate in civic engagement, which in turn is a facilitator for social capital. In this research the social capital that existed is based around the collective effort of volunteers for shared outcomes of safety. This is created in the relationships that the volunteers hold with others such as the police, ambulance service and workers in the city at night. Mutual support and cooperation are evident between the volunteers and the state agencies and varies in strength. A key factor in determining the strength of this relationship is linked to the independence of the volunteer street patrols and trust that they exhibited. Varying levels of trust exist between the volunteers and the police, but also with the ambulance service. The factor of independence that is key throughout this research means that the relationships are considered equal and horizontal.

By exploring the relationships between the volunteers and others the issues of consent, legitimacy and accountability are addressed. Volunteer street patrols achieve their consent and legitimacy through their connections and relationships with the voluntary organisations which they are attached to. For one group, the Street Angels, this is a challenge due to the relationship and lack of identification that exists. The volunteer groups in this research remain accountable to several parties including their founding organisations and the local police, however it is their actions that dictates their accountability, particularly in terms of vigilantism. In agreement with the research on volunteer street patrols, the contemporary examples that exist today focus their actions on reducing harm and addressing vulnerability. This is achieved through motivations of a willingness to help others.

As the research draws to an end, the final chapter of the thesis, the conclusion, is presented next. This chapter considered the research from two perspectives. Firstly, from the concluding thoughts that highlight the contribution this research has made to several existing theoretical perspectives, in particular guardianship, and secondly, it offers several implications for how this research can inform current policy.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Chapter Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis offers some of my reflections and concluding thoughts towards volunteer street patrols and community safety in the city, beginning with a return to the aims of the research and the research questions. The key themes that have emerged in this research, related to the volunteers, are presented from a theoretical and methodologic perspective. In doing so, evidence of the contribution to knowledge that this research makes is offered. Several recommendations are also presented throughout this chapter that may have implications for policy and future research on volunteer street patrols and community safety.

Aims of the Research

The overall aim of this research was to explore how volunteer street patrols contribute towards community safety in the city of Manchester. To achieve this, the actions of the volunteers, their motivations and the relationships that they hold with others were explored. Three research questions informed this research, namely:

- What contribution do volunteers make towards community safety?
- What motivates volunteers to volunteer in a street patrol?
- Who do volunteers work with and why?

Three different and distinct groups took part in this research. This makes it a unique study in this area of research and in its contribution to criminological knowledge offered. The perspectives, opinions and experiences of the volunteers and those they work with have been combined to explore this form of voluntary action. The research focuses on the urban environment of the city of Manchester which, as suggested, offers a challenging but exciting place to volunteer. The current climate of austerity, cuts and political uncertainty sees reductions to the state provision for community safety and policing, which provides both an opportunity and need for voluntary action. The research contributes towards the growing literature base and research around volunteer street patrols and volunteering in the criminal justice system (Bullock 2014). It has highlighted that volunteers are a key feature within the

urban community safety landscape and thus merit serious academic attention. A key recommendation of this research is for further exploration into volunteer street patrols and volunteering within criminal justice and community safety to develop and enhance our understanding of what is now a feature of the urban environment. Several conclusions can be drawn towards the theoretical and practical understanding of this voluntary action. Accordingly, these are now explored in this chapter.

Theoretical contribution

Spending a year walking and talking with the volunteers offered an insight into their actions, feelings and experiences. A key contribution that has arisen as a result of this research is a wider understanding of the contribution and actions that volunteer street patrols make towards community safety in the city. This is evident in this research as presence and guardianship. Their contribution centres around addressing issues of welfare through actions that reduce harm and address situational vulnerability as proposed by Bullock (2014) and Middleton and Yarwood (2015). It is argued here that the three groups in this research, and most likely other examples across the country, offer so much more.

Volunteer street patrols are a form of reassurance generated by their presence on the streets. This is achieved by being visible to others, identifiable as a Pastor or Angel, and having close links to the voluntary sector. Their actions are designed to reassure and support, interacting through small and seemingly insignificant actions such as a quick hello or a holding of a hand when needed. This reassurance function is in the absence of state services or whilst working alongside them as an additional source of support. Being a volunteer and remaining independent of the state allows for a different approach towards people in need, compared to the formal institutions of the state. For Manchester, it is appropriate to harness the power of the volunteers in the city to both support and provide services to those in need.

Being present, the volunteer street patrols are able to adopt the role of a guardian. In this research, the theory of guardianship (Reynald 2009, 2010), in particular Guardianship in Action, GIA hereafter, has been applied to this form of volunteering. Existing research focuses on residential based GIA over that of the urban environment. In developing Reynald's model of GIA and applying this theoretical perspective towards the urban

environment, I argue that this is an appropriate way to explore and evidence the contribution of volunteer street patrols and community safety. Volunteers in a street patrol are suitable, present, capable and willing guardians based on their motivations to volunteer, their attraction to the city and their awareness of the problems of crime and safety on the streets. Accordingly, the theoretical lens of guardianship has offered a way of exploring the contribution of volunteers towards community safety. I have argued that through the model of GIA, volunteers can fulfil the role of a guardian on the streets in place of, or with the support of, the police and others. Through the volunteers' willingness to act, their presence and their desire to deliver help to others, they can be viewed as a suitable guardian. Although this research does not in any way make claims towards the effectiveness of the volunteer street patrols, the research offers evidence that the small daily interventions that this voluntary action makes can have a positive impact.

Volunteer street patrols can be included as part of the holistic approach to delivering community safety. It is a recommendation of this research that in their role of a guardian, volunteers offer a presence on the street that has positive impacts on the situational vulnerability and potentially well-being of others. The contribution that patrols offer is something that can be harnessed by those responsible for community safety provision and developed into a formalised relationship based on their contribution. Many of the actions delivered by volunteers reduced the need for further interventions by state agencies such as the police or the ambulance service. Accordingly, a key recommendation of this research is that volunteer street patrols become further involved in the community safety arena and for suitable funding, support and infrastructure to be made available. Wider acknowledgement of their role and contribution is encouraged.

In 2017, I undertook a brief analysis of the emerging findings on the actions of the volunteer street patrols in the city on behalf of the Greater Manchester Police and Crime Commissioners Office (GMPCC). This contributed to evidence that explored the voluntary sector's contribution towards community safety in the city. Accordingly, funding was offered to each of the three volunteer groups featured in this research. For the Village Angels this assisted in the development and maintenance of a safe space within Manchester's gay village, known as the Village Haven.

Turning to the idea of why volunteers participate led this research to focus on the increasing prominent agendas of empowerment and motivations of participants in a street patrol. The ideas around responsabilisation were applied to this research from the outset. Volunteers in this research have been situated against the responsabilised citizen discourse (Garland 2001; Hinds and Grabosky 2010). Volunteer street patrollers show an awareness of the wider societal problems and challenges that face the city. It is suggested they are more attuned to the need of self-protection and protection that helps others (Garland 1996, 2001). Many identified with the issues that faced Manchester and took it upon themselves to offer their help and support.

An interesting and surprising point emerged around responsabilised citizenry in this research that suggested that volunteers showed some awareness of the state's limitations, but this was not the main reason for them participating in this example of volunteering. Although the empowerment agendas and discourses suggest that we should all accept wider elements of responsibility for our safety, volunteers in this research often suggested that this was a secondary motivation. Volunteers suggested that responsabilisation was something they were unaware of and implied that the need to help and support the state and society is something they consider as part of daily life for those that choose to participate. Their motivations are based around the collective desire to become involved for the benefit of something they see worthwhile.

The motivations for volunteering in a street patrol and the general motivations for volunteering generally appear to be aligned accordingly (Bateson *et al* 2002; Rochester *et al* 2010; Wilson 2012). A contribution this research makes is towards the growing need to volunteer for self-development, termed reflexive volunteering in this research. This has several implications for volunteering theory and advancements in policy. Although it is acknowledged that volunteer for self-development has been a motivation for several years, it is evident that this is on the increase (NCVO 2019). By extending Rochester *et al* (2010) paradigms of volunteering to include the reflexive volunteer, this combination of self-development volunteering is worthy of further exploration and theorising. For volunteering in criminal justice and community safety it highlights areas of note for policy. This research suggests that participation in voluntary activities such as a street patrol could offer self-

development skills and experiences needed for dealing with challenging situations in order to enhance a person's employment options. It is recommended that whilst developing the relationships and governance arrangements locally and nationally between the volunteers and the community safety infrastructure, more focus should be placed around supporting volunteers to gain relevant and appropriate experiences in volunteer street patrols. This could extend to professionally provided training, funding, shadowing opportunities and local community support for income, infrastructure and sponsorship.

A strong collective desire to support and help the city of Manchester was noted in this research, which is explored through the collective efficacy of volunteers. Whilst it is noted that volunteers did not feel responsabilised, they took it upon themselves to act as such. In this research the city offers the new neighbourhood, formed on the bonds, ties and friendships that have been developed through volunteering in the urban environment. Theoretically it is Manchester, the pull of the city and the volunteers' motivations to support it, that forms the new neighbourhood needed for collective efficacy to exist. Volunteers have a willingness to act, by participating in this tough volunteering, to address a commonly shared desire. Altruistic motivations suggest that volunteers want to offer something back to the city, however this research found that another form of connection was noted towards Manchester as an entity. The majority of volunteers in this research also wanted to support Manchester, its people, its success, its communities and its reputation.

Bullock makes the point that the coming together of volunteers on the streets has a function as the "eyes and ears of the police" (Bullock 2014: 147). This statement has offered opportunity and challenge for this work. A common thread that runs through this research is the relationship the street patrols hold with the police. However, it is suggested the relationship between the street patrols and crime is not how it would seem. Comparisons between the US Guardian Angels (Pennell *et al* 1985) limit our understanding when thinking about the volunteers in this research. Vigilantism, crime fighting, and crime focused activity cannot be associated with the three examples in this research. Crime was a carefully negotiated concept to the volunteers, who would often over-look acts of criminality unless it affected the wellbeing of a person at that moment. Reporting crime to the police, or a general disinterest in crime matters, was found in this research.

A significant relationship is held between the police and the volunteer street patrols. Current research by Bullock (2014) informs us that this tends to constitute the local governance structure and means of accountability for the volunteer street patrols on a national level. This research confirms this to be the case in the Manchester example, but in doing so highlights several missed opportunities for wider relationships to be developed. A key conclusion of this research centres around the governance structures of the volunteer street patrols. At present, this seems to lie with the local policing teams who, in this research, attempted to integrate and support volunteer street patrols. I argue this limits the contribution volunteers can make towards community safety, as much of their work remains unrelated to crime and more centred towards welfare, health, well-being and support. An implication for local policy could see the governance and networks of the volunteers being incorporated into the local community safety infrastructure or teams, rather than just the local policing teams. A lack of engagement from the local council in this research limited the opportunity to explore this further. A key recommendation stemming from this research is that volunteers sit under the local community safety infrastructure of the city, rather than solely the local police. A fine balance is needed towards the regulation and governance structures for the volunteer street patrols that would be enhanced with a multi-agency approach.

Despite three groups being included in this research, it was found the groups did not work together within the community safety arena. Bridging social capital (Putnam 2000) between the three groups in the city was not evident, possibly due to their belonging to other independent organisations. Although it is proposed that a framework of governance and support is needed for the patrols in the city, the independence of each of the volunteer groups provides an additional form of governance and accountability. The independence that being a voluntary sector organisation offers is important to the success of the street patrols in Manchester. It allows a different form of reassurance than that of the state and is one that can be used in replacement or alongside official state services. With crime not being the focus of the three groups, it is recommended that despite the lack of bridging or bonding capital between the three groups, a local multi-agency management structure is considered to help support the volunteer patrols and harness the positive contribution they can offer.

This should harness the individual statuses of the three groups, allowing them to remain distinct but be acknowledged as part of a larger city-wide infrastructure. This would include an agreed local framework for regulation and governance, access to funding for equipment and development, recognised status in the city's night-time economy and support and training opportunities for volunteers.

Methodological Contribution

This research explored the life of the volunteers over a year. It considered the actions and interactions of the three volunteer street patrols based in Manchester. If other research was to be carried out, nationally or internationally, it would likely produce different findings. It was never the intention of this research to be generalised to other populations. The research does however provide a useful framework in terms of the notions of guardianship and the responsabilised citizen from which to carry out such work. Such theoretical generalisations form the basis of qualitative research to which this research contributes, along with a better understanding of volunteer street patrols. As this research has been undertaken in the early days in the pursuit of this topic, one recommendation would be that it acts as the foundation for wider cross-sectional or comparative research within the UK and internationally to further explore the contributions that volunteer street patrols offer and the challenges they face

The findings of this research are not representative of all volunteers in all street patrols. Within this research each group is different, something that should be celebrated. The study remains a general approach to exploring volunteer street patrols, which was always the aim of the research. Outlined in the introduction to this research, volunteer street patrols traverse several criminological areas, including volunteering, policing, community safety, responsabilisation and empowerment, which have been explored in this research. There is scope to explore the volunteer street patrols on a larger scale with a view to supporting the sustainability of this voluntary action within community safety and policing. An international perspective would highlight the differences in policing styles and local law enforcement, which would add to the growing literature base of the volunteer street patrols and policing.

Several of the theoretical perspectives were chosen as a framework to explore the Manchester example. In thinking about further research design, it would be possible to extend the theoretical lens applied to volunteer street patrols. An opportunity highlighted by this research is the growing interest in the aspect of guardianship and the removal of the opportunity for disorder, crime and vulnerability to flourish. A key contribution of this research has applied the model of guardianship, a model designed for residential action, within a non-residential setting. A comparative study of several street patrols in different areas of the UK would be interesting, using the Guardianship in Action (Reynald 2009, 2010), as a theoretical lens could help grow and develop the knowledge of this voluntary action within community safety. Greater emphasis should be placed on the presence of volunteers as a means in which the opportunity for crime, anti-social behaviour and vulnerability is reduced.

Contribution to Knowledge

This research makes several key contributions to knowledge as explored in this chapter. It is a unique study of three volunteer street patrol groups within the urban environment. The diverse groups in Manchester offer a rich and valuable insight into the actions and motivations of the volunteers, which remain under-researched areas. Walking and talking with the volunteers over a year allowed this research to capture the experiences and opinions of those that participate in this form of volunteering, something which has contributed towards the wider understanding of who participates, why they participate and what they do. Applying the idea of responsabilisation has highlighted that in times of austerity and challenge, the voluntary sector has an important role to play in community safety. It also demonstrates the need for changes to the way governance is offered locally and nationally towards volunteer street patrol groups. Using the theoretical model of Guardianship in Action has allowed the research to extend the theory of guardianship to non-residential based examples of crime prevention and community safety. In doing so, it also highlights the role that volunteer street patrols play in the community safety arena as one of reassurance and support.

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