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1. <u>There are several different practices of anti-social behaviour policy in Scotland (Shiel, Clark and Richards 2005). Using one of the theoretical frameworks, can you provide an exhaustive classification of these practices?</u>

Introduction

In this paper, we aim to provide a classification of the different practices of anti-social behaviour policy in Scotland using the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF). Using the Better Neighbourhood Services Fund (BNSF) programme, we will discuss the characteristics of its multiple streams through this framework and subsequently, the practices which appear to have stemmed from this activity. We will also include a set of policy recommendations based on the limitations of BNSF programmes as well as recommendations on how anti-social behaviour policy could be classified in the future.

Background

The Better Neighbourhood Service Fund (BNSF) was established in 2001 as a 3-year project, originally given a budget of £90 million. The scheme aimed to tackle issues such as crime and anti-social behaviour in 12 low-income areas of Scotland with the intention of promoting community safety. The Scottish government introduced this scheme with the intention of narrowing the gap between Scotland's most impoverished and the general population, in line with their wider goal of advancing their social justice objectives as noted by the authors. Although the vast majority of the schemes detailed in the BSNF do not specify an upper-age limit, they mainly target youths in impoverished areas.

Multiple Streams Framework

Problem Stream

The problem stream contains the conditions that stakeholders would like to see addressed. In this case, BNSF stakeholders seek to address specific problems of community safety and anti-social behaviour both of which were priorities of the Scottish Executive. These problems can be brought to the attention of policy makers by indicators gathered from feedback from existing policies, focusing events or monitoring activities/studies (Kagan, 2019: 222). Feedback gathered about existing BNSF projects consisted of largely positive responses from the local community, particularly about increased surveillance; although limited due to the fact that it is purely anecdotal, it may have encouraged further BNSF action related to CCTV and policing. Conversely, BNSF projects do not appear to have been implemented in response to particular focusing events.

However, indicators gathered through consultations with community members, identified specific problems upon which certain BNSF practices were based and many Pathfinders relied on these consultations to steer projects. For example, the community in Inverclyde experienced a littering problem which was addressed by environmental improvement schemes, and East Ayrshire identified problems with young people loitering which was addressed through the development of youth outreach services and community centres in the area. Fear of crime was identified as

a problem by some communities and many initiatives such as the introduction of neighbourhood wardens and additional policing address this. Therefore, there is a clear link between activity in the problem stream and several BNSF projects.

Policy Stream

Within the MSF policy stream, a policy may only come to fruition once it achieves public acquiescence, value acceptability, technical feasibility, and resource adequacy (Zahariadis, 2016). The majority of Pathfinders utilised community consultation in order to determine which programmes and projects to develop. The consultation of experts and professionals including councillors and council officers, police and fire services, and housing providers helped to ensure public acquiescence and the value acceptability of potential projects among community representatives, professionals, and service providers.

The technical feasibility of potential projects was very much dependent on available resources and uncertainty regarding continued funding beyond 2004. The short-term nature of BNSF funding contributed to the need to strike a balance between small- and large-scale projects (improved street lighting or new community centres), capital and revenue projects (new youth centres or additional youth workers), innovative services and the enhancement of existing services (neighbourhood warden service or funding additional policing staff).

The BNSF projects provided both direct and indirect measures for improving community safety and tackling anti-social behaviour. However, only three Pathfinders directly attempted to tackle the issue of anti-social behaviour. Decision-makers generally attempt to make small moves away from problems, rather than towards solutions (Jones, 1999), with this being most evident in the case of the BNSF programme as a new scheme. Therefore, a common method for Pathfinders was to focus on incremental and diversionary measures to deter anti-social behaviour, through providing access to sports facilities and youth clubs, and small-scale environmental projects such as improved street lighting and removal of graffiti in order to improve communities' perception of safety.

Practices which involved young people are likely to have stemmed from the policy stream as prevention and engagement methods which steer young people away from anti-social behaviour using education and diversionary activities have been identified as good practice by experts (Clarke, 2014). Therefore, aforementioned programs aimed specifically at young people such as improvement of community faculties, sports activities, training and education programmes, restorative justice programmes, mediation services and services integrated with Second Schools (e.g. Fusions, Route 15) can be linked to activity in the policy stream.

Politics Stream

Community safety measures through the introduction of anti-social behaviour and crime policy were a priority for the newly formed Scottish government in 1999. The government aimed to reduce the gulf in standards between Scotland's poorest communities and the general populace, with the authors noting that the BSNF "intended to advance the executive's social justice objectives", showing the clear

willingness and intent of political actors to enact this policy. Kingdon (1984) notes that the introduction of new administrations (i.e. creation of Scottish executive in 1997) will 'mark' their introduction through large-scale, identifiable policies, such as the BSNF. In terms of national mood, it is fair to say tackling poverty and inequality will be unanimously popular among the population. Also, as the policy is specifically tailored to tackle "the concerns of the local community" in this regard it is aiming to remedy the problems raised by citizens themselves, raising the likelihood it will be popular and accepted among the Scottish populace.

As BNSF programmes were based on community consultations, it is likely that many practices can be traced back to public demands. In terms of specific demands mentioned by Shiel et al. (2005), CCTV installation was requested by multiple communities and installed in Dundee, North and East Ayrshire. In some cases, delivering on these requests was constrained by resources availability. For instance, residents in Inverclyde wished to see CCTV installed but it could not be facilitated by the police.

Policy Entrepreneurs

Policy entrepreneur refers to an individual who takes advantage of opportunities to influence policy outcomes to increase their self-interests (Kingdon, 2003). The Pathfinders were able to lobby the Scottish Executive for an extension of the scheme from 2004 to 2005, with an additional £31m being made available for that financial year. The Scottish Executive administration of Henry McLeish and then Jack McConnell were able to take advantage of their Labour/LibDem coalitions' majority by announcing and implementing this scheme with relative ease. The regional Police forces also were able to lobby the Executive as it meant they could spend less time and resources focusing on anti-social behaviour, which resulted in positive policing practices.

Policy Window

Recent research into the MSF has argued that the 'Policy Window' can be divided into an agenda window (opening in the problem or politics stream) and a decision window (opening in the policy stream) (Herweg, Huβ, & Zohlnhöfer, 2015). In this instance, an agenda window opened in the problem stream as surveys and community meetings acted as indicators, bringing attention to the specific concerns of local communities. Furthermore, £90 million of funding was made available for BNSF projects between 2001-04, thus helping to ensure value acceptability of policies amongst experts and therefore opening a decision window in the policy stream. Additional funding for specific projects introduced by the Scottish Executive allowed for neighbourhood warden programs such as the one introduced in Renfrewshire and also mediation services. Openings in both the agenda and decision windows created a window of opportunity that was essential to the subsequent adoption of new projects to tackle concerns over community safety and anti-social behaviour. Examples of these projects are practices which improved youth services and venues which were supported by experts, funded by the Executive and able to address problems identified by communities.

Policy Recommendations

One of the criticisms of community consultation includes that the small self-selected representatives within the consultation group varied between the formation of projects and its implementation. A policy recommendation would be for future community consultation groups to include the same representatives across project development and eventual implementation feedback. Consultation groups predominantly focus on older citizens, therefore it would be advisable to include a more balanced cross-section of the communities, engaging with citizens from various age groups as well as engaging with ethnic minority groups.

One of the main flaws/areas for improvement the article makes throughout is that it was difficult to consult with young people directly about the policies - how they felt about them, whether they were sufficient, areas for improvement, etc. The article notes the BSNF utilised a 'video box' room where young people could give their thoughts on the policy privately. We thought this was a good idea because it bypassed some of the literacy issues young participants faced and it gave the targets of this scheme the opportunity to report on their perceived successes and failures from it. However, one of the drawbacks of this idea is that it relies on young people to reliably consult on policies which impact them which is perhaps not the most effective method of gathering feedback. There may be some concerns over privacy with footage of children being collected by the state, clear communication with the community could resolve this however.

Theoretical Alternative

Using MSF as a theoretical framework to provide a classification of policies was effective to some extent as we were to discern activity in each stream which led to policy change. In some cases, policies were introduced as a result of several factors such as public demands, available funding and support from experts and therefore, MSF was useful as these policies could be classified under Policy Window. However, MSF is limited in that it tends to focus on the agenda setting stage and also is relatively unsystematic- therefore, many of the classifications we have made are largely subjective. As a possible alternative, Evidence Based Policy Making (EBPM) framework could provide a classification, as the business case model could be used to allow the confidence that Pathfinders need to invest their funding into larger-scale capital projects, as well as a longer-term commitment to the scheme. This would have provided us with better understanding of the financial feasibility of anti-social behaviour policies. One considerable drawback of EBPM however, is that the term "Evidence" is often abused and it only uses Evidence from academia and not real-world case studies.

Conclusion

This policy memo has aimed to provide an exhaustive classification of anti-social behaviour policy in Scotland stemming from the BNSF programme by making use of MSF. This allowed us to identify where activity in each stream could be traced to the introduction of these policies as well as open policy and in turn, discern the strengths and weaknesses of using this framework to classify policy. Furthermore, we have provided our assessment of policy recommendations to improve the BNSF

programme, whilst also offering EBPM as an alternative theoretical approach to classifying practices.

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