

# Volunteer police cadet leaders in England and Wales: Economic benefits to Policing

**Ian Pepper**

University of Sunderland



**Colin Rogers**

University of South Wales

## **Abstract**

*Policing organisations across the world are continually increasing the use of volunteers in support of day-to-day activities as they attempt to deal with unprecedented challenges. The utility of this approach is contested by some, with debates concerning the economic, organisational, and social benefits of the use of volunteers within policing being paramount. However, it is the economic benefits that are often highlighted within this debate as public policing organisations come under increasing pressure, often as a result of reduced funding and increased demands for service.*

*This article explores the potential economic benefits of one such under-reported volunteer role in England and Wales, that of the Volunteer Police Cadet (VPC) leader. Based upon original research involving VPC leaders, the article explores the commitment of such volunteers and discusses the potential economic and social benefits. The results indicate a clear economic benefit for policing organisations, whilst highlighting the social benefits for communities at large and for the VPC leaders themselves in terms of personal development. This research, whilst purely indicative rather than completely representative, illuminates the potential for the use of volunteers across a range of roles within policing which may have resonance across a number of countries.*

**Keywords:** *Benefits, Volunteers, Police Cadets, Leader*

## Introduction

There is an established history of volunteers supporting frontline policing (Bullock & Leeney, 2016; Wolf *et al.*, 2017; Dobrin, 2017). Across England and Wales, uniformed police volunteers (special constables) can trace their history back to 1831 (Bullock & Leeney, 2016). In the Netherlands, the routes of the contemporary volunteer uniformed police patrol officer (politie-surveillant) has its origins in a model of reserve policing from 1948 (Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2018), and in Estonia the role of the volunteer assistant police officer was established in 1994 (Ramon, 2020).

There are also a number of other volunteer roles within policing that are often lesser known and under researched, and although not necessarily on the frontline, are equally valuable to the service. Some Dutch police volunteers donate hours to roles behind the scenes, including administration, computing and the staffing of receptions (Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2018), while in Estonia IT specialist are recruited as volunteers to counter cyber threats (Hitchcock *et al.*, 2017). O'Connor *et al.*, (2021) report a wide range of roles conducted by volunteers within Canadian policing, ranging from supporting crime prevention initiatives and search operations, to acting as role players during training and undertaking administrative activities. Whilst across England and Wales, police support volunteers (PSVs) also provide many similar 'behind the scenes' roles, which differ between police forces, but can include the staffing of reception areas, the taking of crime reports, updating victims of crime, and donating their time to lead, inspire and support young people as Volunteer Police Cadet (VPC) leaders.

Devore (1989) identifies police cadet schemes for young people in Australia and the UK during the 1930's and the growth of schemes in the USA during the 1950's targeted at attracting young people towards careers within policing. Schwindt (1998) describes how in the 1970s an idea from Switzerland was evolved in Germany as a uniformed volunteer traffic cadet scheme for young people, where teenagers were trained to support the police controlling the flow of traffic at major events, such as exhibitions or parades.

The contemporary national VPC scheme across England and Wales was launched in 2013 as a police focused and led inclusive youth organisation (VPC, n.d.). Although no official national figure has been published, in the region of 2,300 to 2,500 volunteers, including a small number of employed staff, lead the delivery of the VPC scheme across all police force areas (Callender *et al.*, 2019), supporting almost 18,000 cadets in over 500 units (DeMarco & Bifulco, 2020). However, what are the economic benefits to the policing of utilising volunteers to lead the cadet schemes?

## Review of the literature

The benefits and challenges of utilising volunteers within policing is often debated by Government (Millie, 2019; Löfstrand & Uhnöo, 2020), not least of which, because at face value volunteering expands the visible presence of policing at minimal cost whilst also continuing to establish and grow the legitimacy desired between the police service and communities they serve (Gravelle & Rogers, 2010; Millie, 2019). For example, in the region of 3,800 volunteers have been trained and equipped in Sweden to support policing by providing a visible and highly recognisable volunteer policing presence (Löfstrand & Uhnöo, 2020), whilst in Estonia 1,050 volunteer uniformed assistant police officers donate the majority of their time on preventative duties such as visible patrols (Ramon, 2020). In the Netherlands contemporary volunteer policing consists of almost 1,700 uniformed police volunteers who perform similar visible duties as their regular police colleagues, and 1,600 Police Support Volunteers, who donate their time to support policing 'behind the scenes' functions (Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2018). Across England and Wales slightly over 9,500 special constables (Home Office, 2021), who when on duty have the same warranted powers and almost identical uniforms as regular police officers, support front-line policing, with additionally just under 8,500 police support volunteers (PSVs) providing 'behind the scenes' functions (ibid.). Whilst in Scotland, volunteer special constables are often partnered with a regular officer to corroborate evidence (Dickson, 2015).

Gravelle and Rogers (2010) describe how volunteers can be used to augment the finite resources available to policing organisations. As well as the volunteer roles, such as special constables across the UK or reserve deputies in the USA, directly supporting frontline policing, examples of 'behind the scenes' volunteer roles range from the staffing of reception areas or the monitoring of CCTV for the Dutch police (Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2018) to supporting victims and witnesses in police forces across England and Wales. However, volunteering in policing is not free, it incurs direct and indirect costs for the police service, such as allowances, the issuing of resources, completing training etc., and it is also worthy to note that it can incur costs for the individual volunteers, such as transport to/from events, additional clothing, childcare etc. Reported organisational costs vary significantly. For example, Dobrin (2017) details how the initial uniform and equipment costs for a volunteer police officer in the USA amount to \$7,000 (€5931), whilst Schwindt (1998) describes how traffic cadet uniforms cost DEM 350 (€178). Hirschmann (2014) identifies how volunteer police in Baden-Württemberg, Germany can claim an hourly compensation of €7 an hour, similarly, special constables in England and Wales who are retained on duty beyond 4 hours, but not exceeding 8 hours, can claim up to £7.23 (€8.45) for refreshments (Home Office, 2014). There are ongoing debates with regards to such cost versus the benefits of utilising volunteers within policing (Gravelle & Rogers, 2010; Van Steden & Mehlbaum, 2018).

Across England and Wales, suggested costs for volunteer roles within policing vary hugely. This is probably related to how direct and indirect costs are measured by individual forces. For example, one force reports how it deployed 162 PSVs at a cost of slightly over £1,400 (€1,638) each, whereas another force reports deploying 536 PSVs for a little under £145 (€169) each (Unison, 2014). A third police force reports training costs for a special constable of just under £1,400 (€1,638) each, with uniform and equipment costs in the region of £480 (€561.60) (Durham Constabulary, 2015).

Van Steden and Mehlbaum (2018) suggest a blurred vision and ongoing mistrusts in the Netherlands with regards to the replacement of paid roles with volunteers. O'Connor *et al.*, (2021) also suggest concerns over integrating volunteers within the regular police service in Canada due to the perception of replacing paid roles. However, in contrast, the Police Federation for England and Wales (the staff association for police constables up to the rank of Chief Inspector), view the volunteer special constabulary as an essential part of policing (Police Federation, 2021). Although Bullock and Leeney (2016) point out that acceptance of the special constables seems to be much higher amongst those police officers they work with regularly. One of the public service unions which represents police staff, Unison (2014), also acknowledge that some volunteer roles, such as those donating their time as volunteers with police cadets, are non-controversial, as they are genuine voluntary roles not affecting the employment of paid staff. The acknowledgement that some volunteer roles are not replacing paid roles is a positive and welcome step. It is however important for policy makers to balance the costs associated with recruiting, training and equipping policing volunteers with their part-time commitment and likelihood of longevity in their voluntary role (Bullock and Leeney, 2016).

In the United Kingdom (UK), a House of Lords debate (1968) provides details of how uniformed police cadets were recruited at 16 and trained towards employment as a police constable at the age of 19. However, the contemporary 21<sup>st</sup> century Volunteer Police Cadet (VPC) scheme across England and Wales is a very different entity. The VPC scheme is a uniformed youth group within the wider policing family for young people aged 13 to 18, with over 18,000 cadets (VPC, n.d.). The cadets meet weekly, not to develop into future police constables, but rather to adopt a spirit of adventure and become good citizens (Citizens in Policing, 2021). Cadets wear a uniform (although it differs across police forces) when attending weekly meetings or events, study a structured programme of knowledge and life skills development which includes learning about the structure and history of policing across the UK, basic criminal law, first aid, confidence building and teamwork. The cadets have the opportunity to visit different policing specialisms (such as neighbourhood, firearms and crime scene investigation departments), support social action in local communities (such as anti-theft bike marking campaigns or crime prevention leaflet drops) and take part in sport and adventurous activities (*ibid.*). Similarly structured youth policing programmes are described by Anderson *et al.*, (2008) in the USA.

Across England and Wales there is a National VPC team who lead the development of strategy and standards supporting the cadet scheme across the numerous units (VPC, 2021a). At the centre of the delivery of the unit activities are the VPC leaders, who freely donate their time to lead and manage the cadets towards achieving the national VPC objectives of youth led social action making a difference in local communities, diverting young people away from crime, building trust between young people, communities and policing, whilst allowing young people to have a voice within contemporary policing (VPC, n.d.). The majority of volunteer cadet leaders come from policing backgrounds, such as police officers or staff, but equally citizen volunteers with no policing background can also become leaders. All volunteers being vetted by their local police force to national standards, including a Disclosure and Barring Service check (which reports on any criminal records held), as suitable to work with young people and the vulnerable (VPC, 2021b).

The hours donated by leaders are not fixed but flexible depending on their availability and the roles for which they volunteer (VPC, 2021b). These roles range from the teaching of cadets during parade evenings or dealing with the required administration, to using existing specialist knowledge and skills to supervise community visits or deliver outdoor activities (ibid.). Whichever roles the leaders donate their time for, Anderson *et al.*, (2008) highlights the importance of establishing supportive relationships between adult leaders and young people in community-based youth police programmes, with Pepper and Silvestri (2017) reporting that within the Metropolitan Police VPC scheme, serving London, the cadets had strong relationships with their leaders, often sharing the same values and norms.

## Research Methodology

In the autumn of 2020 the researchers, in collaboration with the National VPC team who assisted in identifying established cadet schemes across England and Wales to be involved in the research, developed and administered an ethically approved survey to volunteer police cadet leaders across schemes embedded in six police forces areas.

The self-completion questionnaires and consent forms were administered online to 103 participants with respondents asked to return completed documents directly to the researchers. This enabled those completing the questionnaires to respond freely avoiding any sensitivities of returning via gatekeepers. As well as an initial introductory email being sent to participants before administering the survey, a follow up email was also sent to participants encouraging completion following initial administration. The questionnaire was constructed to gather background demographic information of the respondents, then using a blend of open questions, closed questions and free text

boxes to explore a range of data including time volunteering with the scheme, donated hours and experiences as a VPC leader.

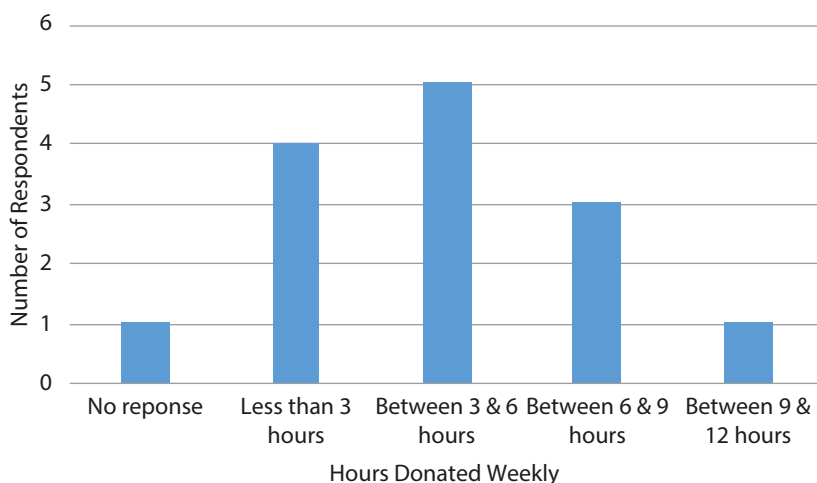
All completed and returned questionnaires were anonymised and the findings combined to ensure that no individual or cadet scheme could be identified, with the findings being analysed by researchers aware of the possible impacts of bias.

The benefits of conducting the research using online methodologies are often explained as providing an economical way of reaching out to a geographically spread sample groups, and although this was an important aspect in this research, there was an added dimension of the need to adhere to the changing risks and rules in relation to COVID-19.

## Findings and discussion

The response rate to the survey was limited, with 14 questionnaires (13.6%) received. This could be due to a number of reasons including the survey methodology adopted, the participants focus elsewhere than the VPC scheme during the Covid-19 pandemic or the perceived value and impact of completing the questionnaire. As such, the findings are not easily generalisable to the wider population of VPC leaders but do provide a useful insight for policy makers.

**Chart 1.** Self-reported average weekly hours donated by VPC leaders



Of the responses received, 8 were completed by male leaders (57%) and 6 female leaders (43%), 10 of the leaders (71.4%) were over 35 and only 4 (28.6%) were between 18 and 34

years of age, with 11 leaders (78.5%) having volunteered for less than two years and none having volunteered for more than 4 years with the VPC scheme which, at the time of the data collection, had been established nationally for 7 years. Of the respondents, 11 (78.5%) were either in full-time or part-time employment.

Almost two thirds of respondents, 9 (64%), reported donating an average of more than 3 hours a week, with 1 respondent reporting donating an average of between 9 and 12 hours a week. Denny *et al.*, (2021) detail how volunteer leaders with the military sponsored cadet forces across the UK donate an average of 10 hours a week, with Talbot (2015) reporting donating an average of 15 hours a week as a volunteer scout leader. In a research project one special constable reported volunteering for a total of 120 hours in a month (Pepper and Wolf, 2015). Talbot (2015) continues to identify how giving time freely for a voluntary cause that an individual passionately supports, can lead to volunteers overstretching themselves and not managing their other commitments, as a result this requires careful management to avoid the feeling of burnout. Such overstretch of the volunteers leading to possible burnout is also highlighted by Warren and Garthwaite (2015). Talbot (2015) also explores a number of other negative impacts on volunteers such as stress, anxiety and excessive demands including at times feeling pressured to deliver a service. Similarly, Bullock and Leeney (2016) discuss how volunteers can feel pressured to volunteer at times that were not convenient for them.

There is no fixed way of calculating the economic benefits to policing of volunteering. Volunteering Gloucestershire (2021) describe how using the National Living Wage in the UK [currently £8.91 (€10.42<sup>1</sup>) an hour for those over 25] can be utilised to calculate the economic value of volunteers, but then continue to discuss how local charities believe that between £11.50 (€13.45) an £13.50 (€15.79) an hour is a more realistic figure. Dostál (2021) describes an alternate approach to calculating the economic value, where the value is equal to the number of hours donated times an hourly wage for a similar job role. As an example, similar youth leadership jobs advertised across England and Wales at the time of writing are with St John Ambulance (2021), who recruit part-time youth support workers to lead the planning and delivery of the national NHS Cadet programme for those aged between 14 and 18. The programme aims to develop the skills of young people for future volunteering within health, and for such paid roles, the advertisement states a reimbursement of £11.00 (€12.87) per hour (*ibid.*). Similar multiple part-time youth leadership roles advertised at the same time include Combined Cadet Force school staff instructors at £10.53 (€12.32) per hour, high ropes Assistant Outdoor Activity Instructors at £10.65 (€12.46) an hour and Activity-based Youth Workers at £9.74 (€11.39) an hour.

1 Figures converted 16 July 2021 based on € values of £ = 1.17, \$ = 0.85, DEM = 0.51

Adopting the approach of Dostál (2021), the mean of the four similar part-time youth roles described above is calculated at £10.48 (€12.26) an hour. As such, when calculated together, the average weekly economic value to the VPC scheme locally and nationally from the self-reported weekly hours donated by the 14 respondents ranges from a weekly minimum of 42 hours, equating to £440.16 (€514.98), and a maximum of 81 hours, equating to £848.88 (€993.18), in reality it will be somewhere in between. Although these findings are not easily transferrable to the whole volunteer cadet leader population numbering over 2,000, if they were transferred to the 103 possible participants in the survey alone, the weekly hours donated and the economic value could equate from a minimum of 309 hours at £3,238.33 (€3,788.83), to a maximum of 596 hours, at £6,246.08 (€7,307.91), a substantial commitment by volunteers with significant economic benefits to the VPC scheme and the wider policing family.

It is equally important to recognise that volunteer leaders are not employed and measuring the economic benefits in isolation does not take account of many other benefits from volunteering to both communities and individuals. The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (2019) suggests volunteering has benefits across stakeholders in terms of economic, human, social and cultural capital. Leahy *et al.*, (2020) suggesting that volunteering within policing, in whatever capacity, has a positive impact on engagement with local communities, along with enhanced participation by the community itself in policing (Dobrin, 2017). This certainly appears to be the case with the range of activities executed by VPC leaders, as cadets' report valuing their involvement and impact in local communities (Callender *et al.*, 2019).

Anderson *et al.*, (2008) suggest that young people who engage with such youth policing programmes feel more comfortable and respected by the police, whilst Callender *et al.*, (2019) identified how the VPC scheme had positive impacts on those young people who engaged with it. It is therefore worth considering the transferability of other benefits to the police service of the volunteer cadet leaders who champion policing with their cadets, as they not only bring transferrable professional skills with them as a volunteer to their role (Millie, 2019; Leahy *et al.*, 2020), but also develop new and enhance skills of leading young people whilst improving their confidence in liaising with younger communities. DeMarco and Bifulco (2020) report how volunteer cadet leaders describe one of the benefits of volunteering as being the opportunities to reach out and support young people in local communities. The findings from the current research would tend to support this with one VPC leader respondent describing skills of youth engagement in the free text, stating how being a volunteer leader allowed them *"to work with young people from disadvantaged background and gives them an opportunity to see police officers in a different light"* and another respondent commenting how *"For anyone I believe that being a VPC Leader can help gain more confidence"*. Unsurprisingly, the majority, 12 (85%), of the cadet leaders responding either agreed or strongly agreed that the VPC leader role assisted them in understanding how to lead and supervise young people.



Cadet leader skills should also assist in meeting a number of the VPC scheme core objectives of diverting young people away from influences that may have a negative impact on them which could lead to the commission of crime, whilst also building trust between young people, local communities and policing (VPC, n.d.). Similarly, Denny *et al.*, (2021) report how volunteer leaders describe cadet membership of the military sponsored cadet forces as providing a positive alternative to criminal gangs and reduced vulnerability to manipulation by radical groups. Such positive engagement by cadet leaders can have economic impacts by providing role models, engaging with sometimes hard to reach communities whilst arguably reducing crime and the costs of policing, along with ultimately costs to society as a whole. Edmunds *et al.*, (2021) provides details of an evaluation of a structured programme of activities implemented to divert young people away from crime in New South Wales, Australia, which led to opportunities for significant reduced policing costs. However, estimating the costs to policing of dealing with crime (and other anti-social behaviour) can vary greatly due to a range of variables including crime type, allocated resources, administration etc. This of course also takes no account of costs to the wider criminal justice system, victims and so on. Heeks *et al.*, (2018) provide estimates of costs for policy makers of some crimes committed across England and Wales, and similarly Glaubitz (2016) discusses costs of crime in Germany.

In addition, almost two thirds of respondents in the current research, (64%), either agreed or strongly agreed that the role provided new skills and experiences for future roles or jobs, Denny *et al.*, (2021) also found similar career benefits for military sponsored cadet forces volunteers. The development of these additional transferrable skills may have economic benefits within policing, where a significant number of VPC leaders are employed (VPC, 2021b), or externally within wider society.

However, given one of the core objectives of the VPC scheme is the engagement by cadet units in community actions, almost two thirds of respondents (64%), either disagreed or strongly disagreed that being a volunteer leader made them more aware of local community issues, with similar numbers of respondents (57%) either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, that it made them more aware of local issues relating to equality, diversity and inclusion. The benefits of volunteers understanding, representing and giving back to their local communities is of great importance (Dickson, 2021). As such, a greater awareness of local community issues may be an aspect to enhance amongst leaders or alternatively the sample may not reflect the broader understanding. Either way, this requires further exploration to make the best use of the VPC scheme, the opportunities it presents and the valuable economic resource.

Surprisingly, respondents were fairly evenly split as to whether the role of VPC leader is appreciated within the police service. However, one respondent commented in the free text how “a large part of my force don’t even realise that the cadets exist”. DeMarco and

Bifulco (2020) tend to agree, commenting from their research that the VPC scheme was perceived as being undervalued by the police service and not seen as a priority due to both limited time and resources.

Denny *et al.*, (2015) explore the social impacts on cadets of being a member of a military sponsored cadet force, which include less absenteeism from school and increased likelihood of attending further and/or higher education. With the Youth United Foundation (2018) adding from their research how membership of a uniformed youth group increases social integration and responsibility. In the same way, the overall value of the VPC scheme to society may not necessarily be founded solely in the priorities of the 'here and now', rather in also meeting the societal needs of the not-too-distant future. Integral to the success of the VPC schemes are the volunteer leaders who need to feel part of the wider policing organisation.

If there is a need to recruit further volunteer leaders from across the police service, then wider promotion of the range of benefits should be promoted across potential volunteers as well as the decision makers. Although notably, all 14 (100%) of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they would recommend the role of VPC leader to anyone interested in helping others.

## Conclusion

Gravelle and Rogers (2010) propose that the economic and community advantages of using volunteers, especially during challenging times, is an option worthy of consideration. Although this research is only a limited snapshot in time, the findings suggest that the engagement of volunteer cadet leaders to inspire, lead and support a cohesive young persons' programme seems a highly viable option for policing, with cadet leaders donating significant hours of voluntary work of great economic benefit to the VPC scheme and the wider policing family. Such commitments as volunteers requires careful management to ensure that in some cases the hours donated are manageable by the individuals. In addition, the benefits of community engagement and diversion of young people from crime add additional value to the volunteer leaders' worth in a way, which is hard to measure. It also appears that the development of transferrable skills by the cadet leaders is not only of value to the individual but may also be of value to the policing family.

Opportunities to promote the broader value and impact of the cadet scheme should be increased across all levels of policing. Future research could also focus on establishing accurate costs for recruitment, training and equipping of policing volunteers across a range of roles, as well as their longevity volunteering, as this will enable an exploration of return on investment. In addition, further research should consider the longer-term community

impact of schemes such as the VPC programme (and other volunteer schemes), and as such identify the wider economic benefits to policing and society as a whole. By doing so, organisations and policy makers will be able to better establish the impact of volunteers who continue to provide invaluable support across policing.

## References

- Anderson, S., Sabatelli, R., Trachtenberg, J. (2008) A Process and Outcome Evaluation of Police Working with Youth Programs. *Journal of Youth Development*. 3 (2), pp. 18-37. DOI: 10.5195/jyd.2008.304
- Bullock, K. & Leeney, D. (2016) On matters of balance: an examination of the deployment, motivation and management of the Special Constabulary. *Policing and Society*. 26 (5), pp. 483-502. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2014.949713
- Callender, M., Cahalin, K., Moloney, D., & Britton, I. (2019) *National Evaluation of the Police Cadets*. Institute for Public Safety, Crime and Justice: Northampton.
- Citizens in Policing. (2021) *Police Cadets*. Available online at: <https://www.citizensinpolicing.net/roles/police-cadets/> (24 July 2021)
- DeMarco, J. & Bifulco, A. (2020) Shared Practice, Learning and Goals between Police and Young People: A Qualitative Analysis of the National Volunteer Police Cadets. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. Volume 0, (0), pp. 1–16. DOI: 10.1093/policing/paaa010
- Denny, S., Hazenberg, R. & Bajwa-Patel. (2021) What is the social impact and return on investment resulting from expenditure on the Cadet Forces in the UK? Available online at: <https://www.northampton.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/social-impact-cadet-forces-uk-2020.pdf> (17 May 2022)
- Devore, L. (1989) *The purpose and function of police cadet programmes in medium sized police agencies by the year 2000*. Available online at: <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/124727NCJRS.pdf> (19 July 2021)
- Dickson, G. (2021) Bridging the Gap? Police Volunteering and Community Policing in Scotland. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. 15 (4), pp. 2070–2082.
- Dobrin, A. (2017) Volunteer police: History, benefits, costs and current descriptions. *Security Journal*. 30 (3), pp. 717-733. DOI: 10.1057/sj.2015.18
- Dostál, J. (2021) Assigning a Value to Volunteering in Requests for Proposals. *SAGE Open*. April-May. DOI: 10.1177/21582440211009503
- Durham Constabulary (2015) 'FOI 40/15 Could you please let me know how much it costs to: A. Train a new police constable. B. Train a new special constable. C. Uniform and equip a new constable. Available online at: <https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/248432/response/611263/attach/html/2/Response%20letter%2040%2015.docx.html> (03 August 2021)
- Edmunds, K., Wall, L., Brown, S., Searles, A., Shakeshaft, A.P. & Doran, C.M. (2021) Exploring Community-Based Options for Reducing Youth Crime. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 18 (10), pp. 5097. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph18105097

- Glaubitz, C., Steglich, F., Koch, M., Klodt, H., Klatt, T., Hausmann, B. & Bliesener, T. (2016) What does juvenile delinquency cost? An approximation. *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform*. 99 (2), pp. 123–139. DOI: 10.1515/mkr-2016-0204
- Gravelle, J. & Rogers, C. (2010) The economy of policing – the impact of the volunteer. *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*. 4 (1), pp. 56–63.
- Heeks, M., Reed, S., Tafsiiri, M. & Prince, S. (2018) *The economic and social costs of crime. Second edition, Research Report 99*.  
Available online at: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/954485/the-economic-and-social-costs-of-crime-horr99.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/954485/the-economic-and-social-costs-of-crime-horr99.pdf) (01 August 2021)
- Hirschmann, N. (2014) Cooperative Policing in the City. *European Law Enforcement Research Bulletin*. 11, pp. 21-33.
- Hitchcock, A., Holmes, R. & Sundorph, E. (2017) *Bobbies on the Net: A Police Workforce for the Digital Age*.  
Available online at: [https://reform.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/Reform\\_Bobbies\\_on\\_the\\_net.pdf](https://reform.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/Reform_Bobbies_on_the_net.pdf) (16 May 2022).
- Home Office (2014) *Home Office Guidance on Special Constable expense and allowance rates*. London: Police Integrity and Powers Unit.
- Home Office (2021) *Police workforce, England and Wales, as at 31 March 2020 second edition*. London: Home Office.
- House of Lords debate (06 March 1968) Vol 289, cc 1355.  
Available online at <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1968/mar/06/police-manpower-and-recruitment> (01 October 2021)
- Leahy, D., Pepper, I. & Light, P. (2020) Recruiting Police Support Volunteers for their professional knowledge and skills: A pilot study. *Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*. Volume 0, (0), pp. 1–16. DOI: 10.1177/0032258X20914676
- Löfstrand, C. & Uhnoo, S. (2020) Blurred boundaries and legal uncertainty in police–volunteer partnerships. *Policing and Society*. 30 (8), pp. 950 – 965. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2019.1628754
- Millie, A. (2019) Citizens in policing: The lived reality of being a Police Support Volunteer. *Policing and Society*. 29 (4), pp. 407-419. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2018.1451529
- O'Connor, C., Frederick, T., Koziarski, J., Baker, V., & Kosoralo, K. (2021) Auxiliary Police Volunteer Experiences and Motivations to Volunteer in Canada. *Policing: A Journal of Policy & Practice*. 16 (1), pp. 152–166. DOI: 10.1093/police/paab071.
- Pepper, I. & Wolf, R. (2015) Volunteering to serve: An international comparison of volunteer police officers in a UK North East Police Force and a US Florida Sheriff's Office. *Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*. 88 (3), pp. 209-219. DOI: 10.1177/0032258X15585251
- Pepper, M. & Silvestri, M. (2017) It's like another family innit: Building police-youth relations through the Metropolitan Police Service Volunteer Police Cadet Programme. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. 11 (1), pp 1-13. DOI: 10.1093/police/paw007
- Police Federation (2021). *Blog: A special devotion to policing*. 6 June 2021.  
Available online at: <https://www.polfed.org/news/blogs/2021/blog-a-special-devotion-to-policing/> (16 May 2022)
- Ramon, L. (2020) *Volunteers in Estonia's Security Sector: Opportunities for Enhancing Societal Resilience*.  
Available online at: [https://icds.ee/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/ICDS\\_Policy\\_Paper\\_Volunteers\\_in\\_Estonia%C2%B4s\\_Security\\_Sector\\_Loik\\_June\\_2020-1.pdf](https://icds.ee/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/ICDS_Policy_Paper_Volunteers_in_Estonia%C2%B4s_Security_Sector_Loik_June_2020-1.pdf) (17 July 2021)

- Schwindt, F. (1998) German traffic cadets. *Law & Order*. 46 (12), pp. 99-100.
- St John Ambulance (2021) Career Opportunities: Youth Support Worker (NHS Cadet Programme).  
Available online at: <https://www.sja.org.uk/careers-at-sja/vacancy-listing-page/> (17 July 2021)
- Talbot, A. (2015) The negative impacts of volunteering: a qualitative case study of one UK Scout group. *Voluntary Sector Review*. 6 (2), pp. 209-220.
- The National Council for Voluntary Organisations. (2019) What are the benefits of volunteering? *UK Civil Society Almanac 2020*.  
Available online at: [https://data.ncvo.org.uk/impact/benefits-of-volunteering/?gclid=EAlaIqObChMk\\_rptbk8QIVLPTCh0oFQeMEAAAYiAAEglaOfD\\_BwE](https://data.ncvo.org.uk/impact/benefits-of-volunteering/?gclid=EAlaIqObChMk_rptbk8QIVLPTCh0oFQeMEAAAYiAAEglaOfD_BwE) (27 July 2021)
- Unison (2014) *Home Guard of Police Support Volunteers to Fill in for Police Cuts*.  
Available online at: <https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2014/11/TowebUNISON-report-on-Police-Support-Volunteers2.pdf> (20 July 2021)
- Van Steden, R., & Mehlbaum, S. (2018) Police Volunteers in the Netherlands: a study on policy and practice. *Policing and Society*. pp. 1-14. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2018.1523165
- Volunteering Gloucestershire (2021). *Valuing Volunteers*.  
Available online at: <http://volunteerglos.org.uk/articles/value-of-volunteers.php> (24 July 2021)
- VPC (n.d.). *Volunteer Police Cadet Strategy 2020-2024: Connecting communities to policing and policing to communities*.  
Available online at: <https://www.npcc.police.uk/Local%20Policing%20Committee%20RH/Volunteer%20Police%20Cadets%2020%2024.pdf> (30 July 2021)
- VPC (2021a) *The National VPC Scheme*.  
Available at: <https://vpc.police.uk/meet-the-team/> (24 July 2021)
- VPC (2021b) *Volunteer Police Cadets: FAQs for Leaders*.  
Available online at: <https://vpc.police.uk/be-a-leader/faqs-for-leaders/> (25 July 2021)
- Warren, J. & Garthwaite, K. (2015) 'We are volunteers and that sometimes gets forgotten': exploring the motivations and needs of volunteers at a healthy living resource centre in the North East of England. *Perspectives in Public Health*. 135 (2), pp. 102-107. DOI: 10.1177/1757913914529559
- Wolf, R., Pepper, I. & Dobrin, A. (2017) An exploratory international comparison of professional confidence in volunteer policing. *Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*. 90 (2), pp. 91-106. DOI: 10.1177/0032258X16671966
- Youth United Foundation (2018) *Social Integration: The role of uniformed youth groups – executive summary*.  
Available at: <http://yuf.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/COMJ6149-Social-Integration-Youth-Groups-Executive-Summary-WEB.pdf> (17 May 2022)

