

COMBATTING COMMUNITY TENSIONS IN WALES: MAPPING THE COOPERATION SPACE FOR MULTI- AGENCY COHESION DELIVERY

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Abstract

Purpose - this paper maps out the cooperation space between partners responsible for tension monitoring and cohesion delivery in Wales. The network, labelled Cohesion Delivery Network (CDN), is examined using a mixed method approach. The final output provides a visualisation of the cooperation space between seven key stakeholder groups and indicates what predictive factors cause increased and decreased cooperation. The final section of this paper provides explanatory accounts of the findings made, providing an insight into why and how the cooperation exists.

Key Findings - Analyses of cooperation findings indicate gaps and bottlenecks within the network that were not previously understood. Cooperation faults and gaps relate to both cooperation frequency and cooperation quality. MDS and PCA procedures provide evidence that clustering exists between stakeholder groups in the network, with the axes helping to explain these. Predictive factors are found for cooperation frequency within the network and are cross-examined in three separate models, relating to different stakeholder clustering's identified. We also found that some partners act as a 'gateway' for other stakeholders to enter the inner circle of cooperation. Finally, reasons are provided for clustering and cooperation faults by open questions. These are broadly

caused by two factors (1) the lack of a cohesive cross-agency agenda and (2) the network and particular roles only recently being established.

Value - This research paper presents the first empirical evidence of the CDN cooperation in Wales. Evidence shows the structure of the network, highlighting cooperation frequency and quality. Findings indicate where gaps and bottlenecks exist.

Keywords - Partnership, Community Cohesion, Community Justice, Network Mapping, Cooperation

Introduction

An increase in reported tensions and hate crimes throughout the UK in a post-Brexit landscape have given way to wider considerations in responses to community tensions and cohesion delivery (Williams et al., 2019). In doing this, multi-agency approaches in other areas of policing and community-justice have likewise emerged. This has occurred at both a broader United Kingdom level, but also specific approaches have been applied within Wales. This paper provides the first account of how this recently emerging network interacts. Seven key stakeholder groups were identified from Welsh Government framework for action: (1) cohesion coordinators, (2) cohesion officers, (3) The Welsh government, (4) community groups, (5) academics, (6) the police and (7) charities.

Multi-Agency Partnerships in Community Justice and Cohesion:

The turn of the millennium has given way to a widely acknowledged, yet subtle, shift in policing and community (Bayley and Shearing, 1996). Several key factors have been indicative of this shift; notable changes in surrounding academic literature include an emphasis on a more preventative approach, community participation and the use of multi-agency partnerships (Crawford, 1997). All three factors are integrated through improved cooperation between an array of stakeholders working under a nodal governance (Shearing, 2001). Evidence has widely suggested that taking a more pluralised approach results in better outcomes, measured by lower offence levels (Choi and Choi, 2012). Although some exceptions have been noted (Sedgwick et al. 2020), academic and real-world consensus promote collaborative approaches. Nodal governance systems consist of many different actors working in coordination to address issues that arise in social systems (Burriss, 2004). These were formally implemented into the community justice system as a part of the Crime and Disorder Act in 1998. This included the involvement of many different stakeholders such as: community groups, the third sector, private sector, the police, and government (Crawford, 2002). Recently in Wales, evidence has emerged of a multi-agency partnership for cohesion delivery. This study has termed this partnership as the Cohesion Delivery Network (CDN). Although the CDN is not an officially recognised network, multi-agency approaches in combatting community tensions and upholding cohesion are evident. A further inspection of key terms is needed when considering arguments associated with these emerging networks. The Welsh Government define community tensions as ‘a state of insecurity, uncertainty and disharmony, which has the potential to threaten peace and stability, and which may lead to disorder’ (Welsh Government, 2011: 48). This construction

suggests that specific institutions can be targeted alongside communities and can be informed by ‘threats, prejudices, experienced or reported events and actions’ (Welsh Government, 2011: 48). Moreover, we can understand community cohesion as the absence of these tensions, giving way to fully integrated and diverse communities within society. Tension monitoring can be understood as the regular inspection of potential community tensions, with the aim to detect, prevent or quickly respond to them. The Home Office (2016: 2)) define hate crimes as a ‘criminal offence motivated by a prejudice of a specific (protected) characteristic’¹. The crime can include an array of actions such as damage to property, offensive language, abuse, threatening messages and harassment (Perry, 2001).

This study identified CDN members, objectives, and success criteria by considering a Welsh Government framework for action- ‘Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents’. The framework outlines four central objectives that all include sub delivery areas (figure I)

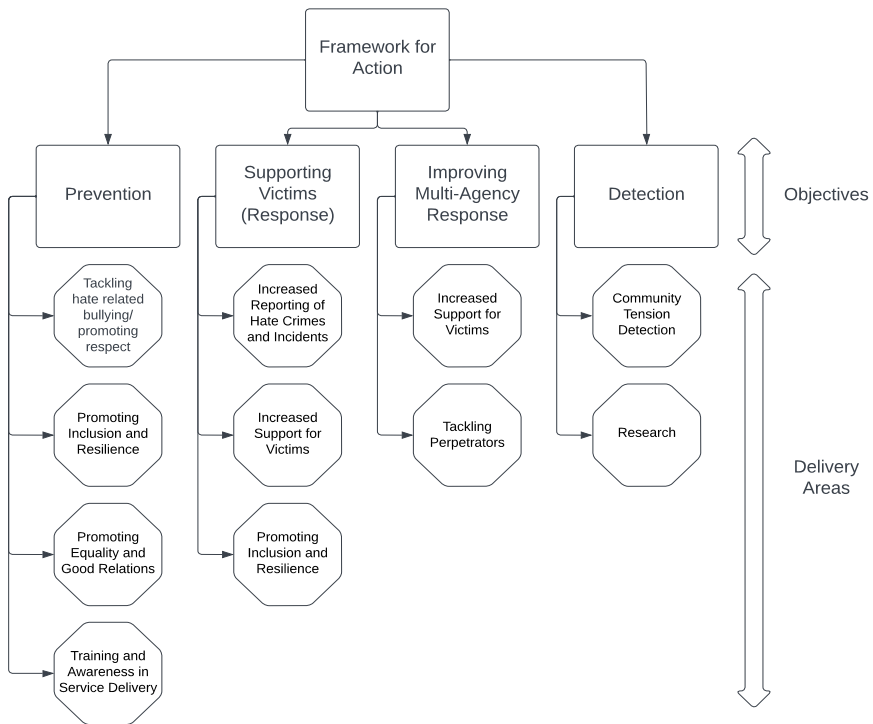


Figure I: Summary of Welsh Government (2017) ‘framework for action’ objectives and delivery areas

¹ Protected Characteristics: Age; Gender; Race; Disability; Religion or belief; Sexual orientation; Gender reassignment; Marriage or civil partnerships; Pregnancy and maternity

An important tool in delivering the framework for action objectives is the EU transition fund. This funding was originally provided to assist in cohesion delivery operations associated with Brexit specific tensions and includes the developments of cohesion roles such as the coordinators and officers. Thereafter, EU transition funding helped create roles that specifically focus on community tensions, which have since given way to a more cohesion-focussed nation-wide network. The framework focusses on four central objectives; prevention, detection, victim support and a multi-agency approach. The inclusion of the former two objectives shows clear intention to merge focus in criminal activities with what Zedner (2007) describes as 'pre crime' situations, situations that often precede hate incidents. These refer to community tensions, rather than hate crimes. Zedner (2007) suggests that the integration of preventative justice approaches can result in both temporal and sectoral implications. These result in a comprehensive 'spreading' of the state amongst a number of different coordinated frameworks and partners. This is evident in the Welsh Government (2017:1) objective; 'improving multi-agency responses'. One potential risk of taking on this approach is that objectives, belonging to different agencies, can conflict and be diminished by the lead objectives set by the overruling and expansive state. This risk has been realised in other British multi-agency partnerships such as the preventing violent extremism (PVE) network (Thomas, 2010). The expansion of the network saw many instances of power conflict motivated by turf expansion and objective differences between local authorities and the police. Thomas (2010) suggests that although the police have a legitimate role to play in counterterrorism, their heavy involvement in community cohesion became counter-productive as a result of blurred professional boundaries and potential lack of trust. Thereafter, multi-agency partnerships can give away to risks of intrusive partners overreaching into other sectors, perhaps diminishing their objectives and overall community participation. This paper therefore focusses on the implications of adopting a multi-agency approach driven by the merge of criminal response and preventative justice.

Surrounding literature indicates that multi-agency partnerships are best optimised by improving cooperation frequency and effectiveness with all stakeholders that exist at policy, community and enforcement levels (Sedgwick et al., 2020). When considering community justice networks, the notion of citizen partnership is integral. Arnstein's (1969) 'Ladder of Engagement' is an informative typology for identifying the extent to which citizen partnership exists within any given multi-agency network. Arnstein (1969: 217) provides a rejoinder critique of governmental bodies, suggesting they adopt vague terms such as 'community partnership' in order to appear as collaborative. He suggests that participation exists on a spectrum, with many forms operating well below meaningful implementation.

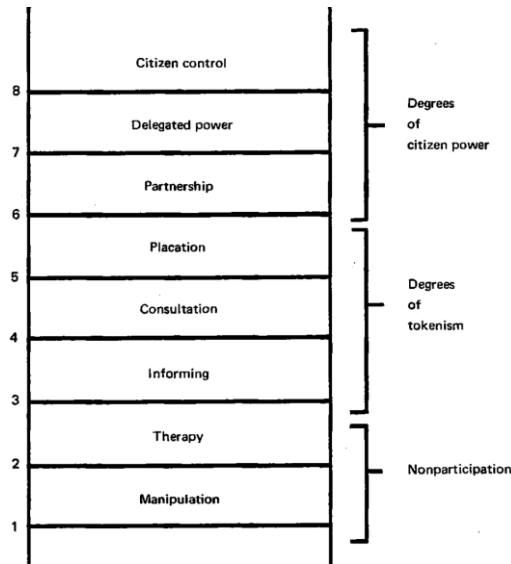


Figure II: Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969)

Although the ladder has eight distinctive steps, it can be further categorised into three overarching forms of citizen-participation. The lowest category of participation is 'non-participation' and involves two steps (1) manipulation and (2) therapy. These steps involve no citizen influence and little to no participation. The second category is 'degree of tokenism', this includes three steps (1) 'informing', (2) 'consultation' and (3) 'placation'. The first two steps relate to initial involvement of citizens, with ruling bodies informing them of decisions and ideas. Placation involves some form of citizen input, however Arnstein (1969) argues that these are entirely symbolic, and tokenistic because the levels of influence are so minimal that they can never hold any significant effect. The final category of participation is 'degree of citizen power' and includes three steps: (1) 'partnership', (2) 'delegated power' and (3) 'citizen control' (Arnstein, 1969: 217). Although it is acknowledged that complete citizen control could result in an array of entirely different issues, Arnstein (1969) puts forward that meaningful engagement, above a tokenistic threshold, can be beneficial in multi-agency networks. This is particularly true in those which specifically focus on community-based issues.

It is therefore important to understand different factors that can both increase and reduce cooperation within networks, both at a governmental and community level (Salmon, 2004). Salmon (2004) notes that more is known about factors that improve cooperation than factors that reduce it. One factor that potentially reduces cooperation levels can derive from non-reciprocal communication (Cheminais, 2009), this relates to cases when one partner shares information, however another does not reciprocate. This can result in two further collaborative-based issues. First, issues that are not made aware to the relevant partner are not addressed and therefore ignored. Second, duplication gaps can emerge in

which two separate partners address the same issue, rendering the response ineffective (Cheminais, 2009). Another common barrier to effective cooperation is differences in stakeholder culture. This has been notably observed between private and public sector partners (Levi and Williams, 2013), but is also commonly seen between government- non-government cooperation, something that can be worsened in cases of emergencies (Andersson and Malm, 2006). A difference in initial agendas, such as funded projects or key objectives, can likewise impact cooperation levels between partners (Kean and Hamilton, 2004). Although modern policing takes on a more proactive and therefore preventative approach, some stakeholders must still take on responsive and problem-detection roles. According to Cheminai (2009), while it is common for different partners to have conflicting overall objectives, the issues arising from this can be exacerbated if a coherent overall strategy is not implemented, typically at the policy level. Some evidence suggests that a node's perception of other stakeholder's effectiveness in the network can influence cooperation frequency. A sub-model analysis from one study showed that node perceptions of other stakeholders accounted for more variance in cooperation frequency than any other sub-factor (Levi and Williams, 2013).

Hypotheses:

H₁. Evidence of a multi-agency (nodal governance) approach will be evident in the CDN, with the government taking a central role

This assumption is based on theorisations of the existence of a nodal governance approach to contemporary policing (Shearing, 2001). Although most surrounding literature suggest that broad agenda development remains at the state level, such as the Welsh government and similar institutions, most modern networks involve a wider range of stakeholders that exist at a multitude of levels (Crawford, 2002). However, unlike many other modern networks, community-based issues tend to involve the private sector less, and instead a greater emphasis is placed on community groups. Community engagement is therefore pivotal and in order to occur requires a willingness and capacity to participate from not only communities but other pre-established partners (Myhill, 2006).

H₂. Trends in the network will appear between stakeholder groups: (i) clustering of stakeholder groups will be evident (in relation cooperation frequency), (ii) inter-cluster cooperation will be uncommon, (iii) non-reciprocal cases of cooperation will be found, and the extent will be greater in inter cases than intra.

These assumptions are based on previous research that uses similar techniques, such as principal component analysis (PCA) and Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) (Levi and Williams, 2013). Levi and Williams (2013) set out to examine multi-agency partnerships in cybercrime reduction and included twelve stakeholder groups. Although the network of interest differs from the one being studied in this paper, a large amount of overlap exists in stakeholder groups. In relation to (i) we predict that clustering of stakeholder groups will be evident in MDS and PCA findings. (ii) we predict that relations between non-clustered stakeholder groups² (inter-meta) will be weaker and less frequent than intra-meta relations. This hypothesis is based on basic assumptions of PCA techniques that suggest that member

² As determined by PCA/MDS procedures

groups of found components share commonalities and are more likely to correlate with one another (Suhr, 2005). In relation to (iii) we predict that non-reciprocal cases of cooperation will be found. This assumption is based on non-reciprocal relationships being a commonly discussed barrier to cooperation in multi-agency networks in surrounding literature (Cheminais, 2009). Cheminais (2009) suggests that cases of one-way communication can be harmful yet common in multi-agency partnerships.

H3. Cooperation quality will predict cooperation frequency

This assumption is based on a study that examined predicting factors of cooperation frequency in a cyber-security multi-agency partnership. Node perceptions of other stakeholders had an effect on cooperation frequency. More specifically, if respondents deemed a particular agency as ineffective, they were more likely to cooperate with alternative clusters (Levi and Williams, 2013). Node perceptions of other stakeholders accounted for the most variance in cooperation frequency than any other identified sub-factor. Therefore, we hypothesise that cooperation quality will have a positive association with cooperation frequency, and the extent of this will be greater within PCA determined meta-clusters.

H4. Node characteristics will predict cooperation frequency

This assumption is based on partnership literature that indicates that cohesive agendas are a key factor in improving cooperation (Kean and Hamilton, 2004). Specific stakeholder objectives (or characteristics) in this study include EU-transition-fund recipients, government-based nodes, and agency prioritisation on detection, prevention, and response. Detection, prevention, and response agendas reflect priorities set out in the CDN agenda. We therefore hypothesise that EU-transition-fund recipients will be positively associated with high cooperation frequency in cluster groups also receiving funding, conversely, they will be negatively associated with non-recipient cluster groups. Likewise, government-based respondent's cooperation frequency will be highly associated with other government nodes groups, with non-government cluster groups being negatively associated. Finally, based on Cheminais (2009), we hypothesise that agency agendas such as prevention, detection and response focus will also predict cooperation frequency.

Data and Methods:

Sample: An online survey using the Qualtrics tool was implemented in this study (n=59). Respondents were identified through the Hate Crime Criminal Justice Board and were self-selecting, meaning a randomised probability sample was not possible to establish. Although non-probability samples usually have many negative implications, Dorofeev and Grant (2006) suggest they are minimised in studies that prioritise interrelationships between variables, using soft measures (Levi and Williams, 2013). Data output in this paper only indicates the nature of inter-relationships between stakeholder groups, rather than overall prevalence. One benefit of employing a non-probability approach was that an equal balance of representation could be ensured for node groups using selective targeting (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013). Moreover, this paper uses soft measures, to provide the first evidence of a cohesion delivery cooperation space amongst Welsh stakeholders.

Data:

Dependent Variables

PCA determined meta-clusters groups containing clustered stakeholder groups were converted into separate scale variables (see factor analysis section). These scales were used as dependent variables in three separate models. The models therefore related to the cooperation frequency observed with each of the three discovered meta-clusters. A bootstrapping (BCa) technique was used for the regression analyses across all three models. Tests confirmed that some initial selected predictors had to be removed due to issues of multicollinearity. Once removed, correlation and tolerance statistics indicated a robust fit for all models.

Independent Variables

In total, ten independent predictors were used in all three models. These can broadly be split into two sub factors: (1) cluster characteristics and (2) cluster perceptions. Cluster characteristics involved the following predictors: high level detection, high level prevention, high level response, multi-focus and multi-region, EU transition funding and government based. The multi-focus variable was determined by also running a factor reduction procedure. Respondents that showed high-level-focus in protected characteristics belonging to two or more meta-cluster groups were coded as multi-focus in a dummy variable. Cluster perceptions set out to understand perceived quality of cooperation for each of the three meta-clusters identified in the dependent variables. Thereafter, the same three meta-clusters were reduced in relation to the quality of cooperation Likert-scale items that were also considered in the MDS procedure. Alongside understanding how individual predictor variables are associated with cooperation frequency, a sub-model analysis was carried out for all three models. The output showed which (cluster characteristics and cluster perceptions) set of predictors explained the most variance in cooperation frequencies for each model.

Methods:

This paper takes on a framework for analysis employed in past multi-agency partnership research that examined cyber-crime prevention partners (Levi and Williams, 2013). Moreover, using Levi and Williams' tried and tested framework, we first use MDS PROXSCAL (PROXimity SCALing) and PCA procedures on SPSS to map out cooperation frequency³ for the multi-agency network responsible for cohesion delivery in Wales. Second, we use open questions and linear regression to provide an explanatory account for why particular gaps, bottlenecks and clusters exist within the CDN.

³ Cooperation frequency data is ordinal and was collected using Likert-scales

Results:

CDN Descriptive Statistics

Table I: Descriptive statistics of CDN respondents

Independent Variables	Coding	n/ %
Cluster Group	Cohesion Coordinator	8 (13.6%)
	Cohesion Officer	8 (13.6%)
	The Welsh Government	6 (10.2%)
	Community Groups	10 (16.9%)
	Academics	7 (11.9%)
	The Police	9 (15.3%)
	Charities	11 (18.6%)
Regional	Two or More Regions	25 (42.4%)
	Single Region	34 (57.6%)
Government Based	Yes	16 (27.1%)
	No	40 (67.8%)
	Don't Know	3 (5.1%)
EU Transition Fund Funding	Yes	13 (22.0%)
	No	42 (71.2%)
	Don't Know	4 (6.8%)
Length of Tenure	< 3 Months	3 (5.1%)
	2- 12 Months	17 (28.8%)
	1-2 Years	10 (16.9%)
	2-5 Years	13 (22.0%)
	>5 Years	12 (20.3%)
Multi Focus	Yes	35 (59.3%)
High Response	1	12 (20.3%)
High Detection	1	14 (23.7%)
High Prevention	1	7 (11.9%)

Note: n= 59 (response options were removed from 'importance of cooperation' questions due to no responses)

Respondents from the charities made up the largest cluster group within the study (n=11, 22.0%), while the Welsh Government cluster group was the smallest cluster observed, made up of 6 respondents (13%).⁴ A fairly even distribution is seen in police regions with 34

⁴ However, this includes a combined response given by the central Welsh Government that represents an entire team that specialises in equality, community tensions and inclusion.

respondents operating in a single region (57.6%) and 25 operating in two or more (42.4%). A majority of respondents are not government based (n= 40, 67.8%), and received no funding from the EU transition fund (n= 42, 71.2%). Just over half of respondents have been in post for under two years (n=30, 50.8%). 59.3% (n=35) of respondents identified as ‘multi-focus’ agents. Tension detection (23.7%, n=14) was the highest priority action followed by response (20.3%, n=12) and prevention (11.9% n=7).

MDS and Factor Analysis Results:

Seven different items were collected to measure the levels of perceived cooperation frequency between stakeholders in the CDN. Each item invited the respondents to indicate levels of cooperation frequency for each stakeholder cluster groups on a six-point Likert scale (see figure IV). A Factor analysis was carried out using PCA with varimax orthogonal rotation. This helps reduce the data for ease of analysis in subsequent regression models, but also provides initial evidence of stakeholder group clustering. Alongside the PCA a PROXSCAL two dimensional MDS solution was likewise ran to provide an accompanying visualisation of clusters (figure III). The stress value for the MDS (0.03) indicates a robust goodness of fit, giving us confidence high output validity. Table II shows the final rotated component output produced by the PCA of all seven clusters. An initial inspection of the table reveals seven stakeholder groups loaded into a meta-cluster, and therefore none were excluded in later analysis. The three-component solution explained 77.48% of variance, with component one contributing 34.29 %, component two 27.87% and component three 15.32%.

Table II: Factor loadings for cluster group cooperation frequency

Item	Rotated Factor Loadings		
	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
<i>How much do you cooperate with the following organisations for cohesion delivery in Wales?</i>			
Cohesion Coordinators	.921		
Cohesion Officers	.894		
The Police	.720		
Charities		.957	
Community Groups		.928	
Academics			.834
Welsh Government			.692

Cluster borders that reflect the components found in the PCA are applied to the MDS visualisation. The items that loaded into component one included: ‘cohesion coordinators’, ‘cohesion officers’ and ‘the police’. All three items that loaded into the first component have a strong association with regional implementation of cohesion agents. Hence, all three clusters have duplicate roles that operate regionally. The cluster proximities seen within the

Other respondents that feature in the Welsh Government respondents include Crown Prosecution Service stakeholders and government-based members of the ‘Hate Crime Criminal Justice Board’.

regional agent meta-cluster (component one) on the MDS plot provide further evidence of the existence of sub-clusters within meta-clusters. Although the entire cluster border reflects the high scoring variance loading score, a much smaller sub-cluster border shows significantly lower loading variance between two meta-cluster member groups (cohesion coordinators and cohesion officers). This finding suggests that although the police load into the same meta-cluster (regional agents) as cohesion coordinators and cohesion officers they are a meta-cluster outlier.

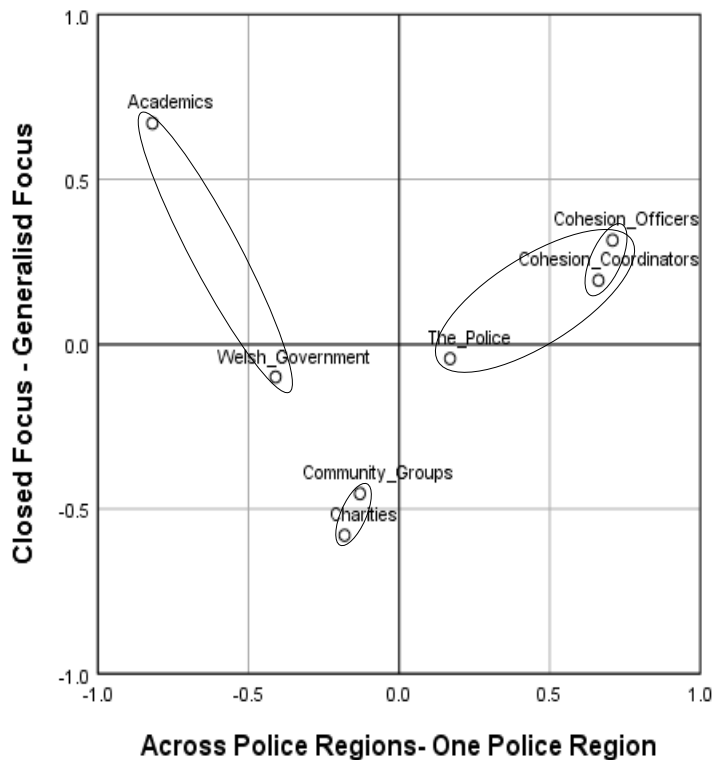


Figure III: CDN cooperation frequency space

Component two loaded two items; ‘charities’ and ‘community groups’. Both clusters can be understood as third sector organisations and have weak loadings with components one and three. The third sector meta-cluster (component two) shows a very small cluster border, meaning that cooperation frequency is high within component two stakeholder groups. This reflects the loading variance score, that ranked first amongst the meta-clusters. The final component also loaded two items: ‘academics’ and the ‘Welsh Government’. These clusters have a strong association with policy and evidence. However, component three ranked third in loading variance. This is evident in the visualisation (figure III) that shows a significantly

larger cluster border between academics and the Welsh Government. For ease of interpretation throughout the paper, the meta-cluster were labelled. Component one: cooperation frequency with *regionally implemented cooperation agents*, component two: cooperation frequency with *third sector organisations* and component three: cooperation frequency with *policy and evidence agents*.

Inter relationships refer to relationships between stakeholders in different meta-clusters, whereas intra relationships are seen between stakeholder groups in the same meta-cluster. These can be further understood by considering a rank order of mean stakeholder group cooperation frequency. Clear variability between cluster groups is evident on the plot. For example, academics can immediately be identified as outliers within the CDN. This is supported in figure II that shows an accompanying rank order of all node relationships. All of the six lowest ranking cooperation frequency relationships involved the academic group. Most of these cases (coordinator: 2, officer: 1.56, police: 2.11 charity: 2.46) indicated cooperation occurring every few months. The academic- Welsh Government relationship had a mean score of 2.75 (*monthly cooperation*). The relationship case with least frequent levels of cooperation throughout all nodes was seen between academics and community groups (1.48). Moreover, the academic cluster group has a mean rank of 18.50. This indicates very low levels of cooperation frequency and was ranked the lowest (7th) of any cluster group. Conversely, the Welsh Government had the highest mean rank (7.67) amongst the cluster groups, ranking first. This was closely followed by the Cohesion Coordinator cluster group that was the second highest mean rank (8.67). Community groups (mean rank: 10.5, overall rank: 4th) and charities (mean rank 11.67, overall rank (5th) can likewise be identified as cooperation outliers, although both of their mean ranks are significantly closer to other nodes than that of academics. On some occasions the community group and charity cluster groups experience high levels of cooperation with other clusters. For example, community groups experience high levels of cooperation with the Welsh Government (mean score of 3.6- *weekly cooperation*, rank: 6th) and cohesion officers (mean score of 3.31- *monthly cooperation*, rank 10th). This suggests that cohesion officers and Welsh Government act as a gateway for community groups to enter the CDNs dense cooperation space. Despite both the community group and charity cluster groups generally being outliers of the CDN, the relationship seen between them is very strong, ranking third in the entire network (mean score of 3.93 – *weekly cooperation*). The charity-community group relationship is therefore identified as a ‘high frequency relationship’, this is expected, because they belong to the same meta-cluster (as determined by the PCA). High frequency relationships are defined in this study as any relationship that averages at weekly or above. Another high-frequency relationship is evident on the MDS plot between cohesion coordinators and cohesion officers (mean score of 4.62 –*daily cooperation*). As previously discussed, this is a high cooperation sub-cluster within the regional agent meta-cluster.

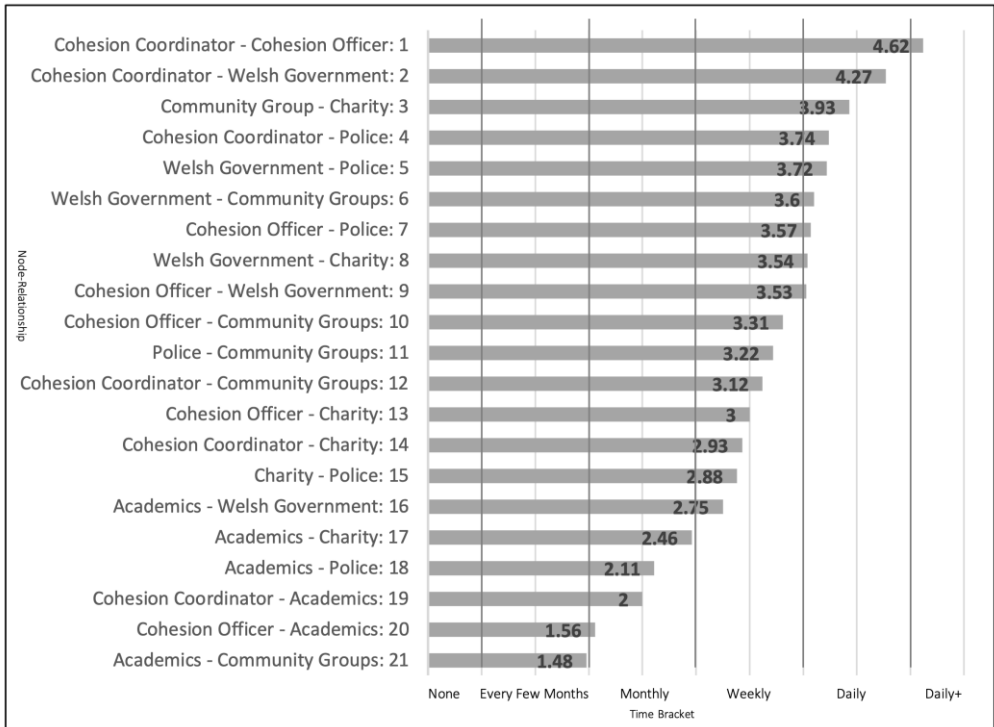


Figure IV: CDN node relationship rank order.

Note: ‘daily+’ is several times a day

A more detailed inspection of the rank table reveals that an inner circle of cooperation exists between cohesion coordinators, cohesion officers, police, and Welsh Government. Despite not having the highest mean rank, cohesion coordinators experience some of the highest levels of cooperation with other members of the inner circle, ranking 1st, 2nd and 4th on the comparative table. The highest levels of cooperation, that do not involve cohesion coordinators, exist between the Welsh Government and the police (mean score of 3.72, rank: 5th). This finding, alongside the relationship observed between the Welsh Government and cohesion coordinators (mean score: 4.27, rank: 2nd), indicate that although the Welsh Government did not load onto the regional meta-cluster, it still enjoys high levels of cooperation nodes. Conversely, the academic group shows low cooperation frequency with regional meta-cluster nodes. This suggests that the Welsh Government acts as a gateway to bridge academic nodes and regional agent (cohesion coordinators, officers, and police) nodes. The police saw frequent levels of cooperation with the cohesion coordinators (mean score of 3.74, rank: 4th) and cohesion officers (mean score of 3.57, rank 7th). These results help explain the nature of the regional agent meta-cluster.

Cohesion coordinators and cohesion officers have a clear ‘cohesion team’ sub-cluster, with the coordinators serving as the bridge between the police and cohesion officers in the wider meta-cluster. The mean cooperation frequency of all relationships surveyed is 3.11 (*monthly cooperation*). In relation to the PCA determined meta-clusters, the mean score for

intra-cluster relationships is 3.72 (*weekly cooperation*), whereas the mean score for inter-cluster relationships is 2.92 (*monthly cooperation*). When breaking down intra-cluster mean scores, we can see that intra relationships between the regional agent member stakeholders (cohesion coordinators, cohesion officers and the police) have the highest cooperation frequency (3.98), followed closely by third sector (charities and community groups) intra relationships (3.93). Despite a higher average cooperation frequency for intra-cluster than inter-cluster relationships, one exception can be seen. The policy/ evidence intra mean score is lower than inter relationships seen between; (1) third sector-policy/evidence and (2) regional-policy/evidence. The inter meta-cluster relationship with highest cooperation frequency is between regional agents and policy/evidence (2.87).

Understanding that the MDS output shows a visualisation of cooperation space between cluster variables enables us to assume that the dimensions reflect particular characteristics about the nodes involved in the survey. A further examination of the plots in relation to the x and y axes shows clear distinctions between cluster variables. On the y-axis, nodes that take on a generalised multi-focus (academics, cohesion coordinators, cohesion officers, Welsh Government, and the police) approach in relation to differing protected characteristics dominate the higher end. Conversely nodes that take a one-focus approach (community groups and charities) dominate the lower end. The nature of how multi/ non-multi focus is defined is discussed later in this section. On the x-axis, organisations that include a network of different regional teams dominate the right side. This includes cohesion officers, cohesion coordinators and the police. Cohesion coordinators and officers operate in eight regions: West Gwent, East Gwent, Cardiff and the Vale, Cwm Taff, Swansea Bay, Mid and West, Northeast and Northwest. The police operate in four main regions: South Wales, North Wales, Dyfed Powys, and Gwent. However, within each of the four regions, there is further local division. Organisations that involve one centralised team, that can still work across two or more regions, occupy the right side. This is supported by descriptive statistics drawn from a question asking respondents to state which police regions they operate in. The output shows minimal cases of working across 'two or more' regions for; cohesion coordinators (0%), cohesion officers (12.5%), and the police (11.1%). Conversely, the output showed high levels of working across 'two or more regions' for cluster variables such as; the Welsh Government (100%), community groups (40%) and academics (75%), on the left side of the axis.

Regression Models:

Two sets of predictor variable were used in the regression models: (1) cluster characteristics and (2) cluster perceptions. Cluster characteristic predictors relate to node's self-reported instances of high levels of tension detection/ response / prevention, working across two or more regions and having a multi-focus (see multi-focus predictor). The cluster perception predictors were reflective of the PCA loadings and measured quality of cooperation of stakeholders. Both sets of predictors were regressed onto the dependent variables that were ascertained from the PCA loading for each model. Model 1 relates to cooperation frequency for the third sector meta-cluster (community groups and charities), Model 2 relates to cooperation frequency for the regional meta-cluster (the police, cohesion

coordinators and cohesion officers) and Model 3 relates to cooperation frequency for the policy and evidence meta-cluster (academics and the Welsh Government).

Cluster Characteristics:

Despite being less predictive than cluster perceptions, variables within the cluster characteristic set emerged as having significant associations with cooperation frequency in all three models, holding all other factors constant. In the first model, relating to the third-sector meta-cluster (charities and community groups) three characteristics were found to have significant associations with cooperation frequency. Respondents who reported high levels of focus on preventative work in the CDN were likely to have a higher reported cooperation. Respondents who took on a multi-focus approach in the CDN were less likely to have high cooperation frequency. Finally, in relation to the third sector meta-cluster respondents that worked in two or more regions were more likely to report higher levels of cooperation. For the second model, relating to the policy and evidence meta-cluster (academics and Welsh Government), only one cluster characteristic factor emerged having a significant association to cooperation frequency. Respondents with high levels of tension detection in their work associated with having lower reported levels of cooperation frequency, although this association narrowly approached conventional levels of significance. In the third model, relating to the regional agent meta-cluster (cohesion coordinators, cohesion officers and the police), two cluster characteristics were found to have significant associations with cooperation frequency. Respondents who took on a multi-focus approach were more likely to have a higher reported cooperation frequency. However, this association also only just approached conventional levels of significance. Respondents who have received funding from the EU transition fund were found to have a significant positive association with cooperation frequency.

Cluster Perceptions:

Initially, 'cluster importance' was included in the regression models in the cluster perception set alongside quality of cooperation. However, high levels correlation causing issues of multicollinearity indicated that cooperation quality and cooperation importance were not independent from one another and therefore could not both be included in the analysis. Thereafter, cluster importance was removed from all three models, leaving cluster quality (of cooperation). This question was applied to seven separate items for each of the cluster groups. The scores given by respondents are therefore more subjective than those given for quantity of cooperation, due to no metric categories being provided. The respondents instead indicate their perceived levels of cooperation quality based on interactions with other nodes in the CDN. Reliability analyses were conducted in order to ensure that data reduction for the same meta-clusters (third sector, regional agent and policy/evidence) could be applied as three separate continuous predictor variables in the regression models.

Holding all other factors constant, significant associations were found between perceived quality of cooperation and cooperation frequency in all three models. In the first model,

relating to the third sector meta-cluster (community groups and charities), two cluster perception predictors were significantly associated with cooperation frequency. A positive association was found between cooperation frequency (model 1) and the third sector quality of cooperation scale. On the other hand, a negative association was found between cooperation frequency (model 1) and policy/ evidence cooperation quality. The second model, relating to the policy/ evidence meta-cluster (academics and Welsh Government), showed that a positive association exists between cooperation frequency and policy/ evidence quality of cooperation. Finally, the third model, relating to the regional agent meta-cluster, showed two significant associations. A positive association is observed between cooperation frequency and regional agent quality of cooperation. Conversely, a negative association was found between cooperation frequency and cooperation quality for the policy/evidence meta-cluster.

Table III: BCa bootstrap OLS regression predicting CDN network cooperation

	Third Sector Meta Cluster			Policy/ Evidence Meta Cluster			Regional Agent Meta Cluster		
	B	1 SE	b	B	2 SE	b	B	3 SE	b
<i>Cluster Characteristics</i>									
Detection	-0.47	0.29	-0.25	-0.54	0.30	-0.24*	0.05	0.15	0.02
Prevention	1.23	0.53	0.48***	-0.01	0.45	-0.00	-0.00	0.29	-0.00
Response	-0.13	0.44	-0.06	-0.06	0.42	-0.03	0.14	0.19	0.06
Multi-Focus	-0.93	0.27	-0.55***	0.10	0.30	0.05	0.26	0.15	0.13*
Multi-Region	0.62	0.19	0.38***	-0.03	0.30	-0.02	0.14	0.18	0.07
EU Transition Fund	0.05	0.33	0.03	0.13	0.33	0.06	0.34	0.17	0.14**
Government Based	0.25	0.29	0.13	0.47	0.30	0.20	0.10	0.14	0.04
<i>Cluster Perceptions</i>									
Regional Agents (Quality)	-0.02	0.16	0.15	-0.29	0.20	-0.30	0.79	0.10	0.77***
Third Sector (Quality)	0.58	0.11	0.68***	0.20	0.16	0.20	-0.02	0.06	-0.02
Policy/ Evidence Agents (Quality)	-0.30	0.09	-0.35***	0.60	0.14	0.61***	-0.17	0.07	-0.17**
Constant	0.25	0.21		-0.03	0.26		-0.43	0.20	
Model Fit									
Sig	0.00			0.02			0.00		
R ²	0.73			0.23			0.82		
n	59			59			59		

Note: Significant at: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$ and *** $p < 0.01$

Sub-Model Analysis:

Before examining individual variables in relation to the dependent variables, a sub-factor analysis can shed light on which set of variables (cluster characteristics and cluster perceptions) can best predict variance within each model. Thereafter, this study utilises the adjusted R² metric for sub-model analysis. For the third sector meta model (model 1), cluster characteristic predictors accounted for 2 percent (R² .02) of variance, with cluster perceptions accounting for 46 percent (R² .46) of variance. In the policy/ evidence meta-cluster (model 2), cluster characteristic predictors accounted for 2.5 percent (R² .025) of

variance, with cluster perceptions accounting for 30 percent ($R^2 .30$) of variance. Finally, in the regional agent meta-cluster (model 3), cluster characteristics accounted for 43 percent ($R^2 .43$) with cluster perceptions accounting for 76 percent ($R^2 .76$) of variance. To summarise, the sub-model analyses in all three models suggest that cluster perceptions are more predictive of cooperation frequency than cluster characteristics. Within both sets of predictors, a contrasting range of individual variables were found to be significantly associated with cooperation frequency in all three models.

Discussion:

In support of H_1 , this paper has shown clear evidence of nodal governance being implemented for cohesion delivery in Wales (Shearing, 2001). Although the MDS and PCA procedures are helpful in both confirming all stakeholder groups play a part in cohesion delivery and providing insights as to which partners cluster with one another, they say little about why this is the case, and how collaboration is not being maximised. Thereafter, using open question output to build on the quantitative findings is important in defining what kind of nodal governance exists, and what can be adapted to improve it. MDS and comparative rankings indicate the Welsh Governments are central nodes to the network, exhibiting high levels of cooperation frequency. Lending further evidence to H_1 , other stakeholder groups all alluded to the idea that the Welsh Government are primarily responsible for 'agenda setting' and giving steer to network priorities. Although it is common for policy actors to be responsible for strategy direction in multi-agency partnerships (Betts, 2002), the way in which actors above, below and beyond the state are incorporated can alter significantly. The Welsh Government provided an overview for the CDN 'Community Cohesion Programme':

"The Welsh Government takes a multi-agency approach to community cohesion in Wales. Whilst we fund the delivery of the Community Cohesion Programme, our policy is achieved through partnership working with many agencies, including the police, local authorities and the third sector. Cooperation and joint delivery is essential in ensuring that cohesion is considered and promoted in a strategic way across all levels of Wales and directly within communities, as well as monitoring and addressing tensions."-

Welsh Government unified response

The cohesion agenda shows clear intentions to incorporate a multitude of actors in order to give way to a multi-agency approach (Burris, 2004). Further to this, the comments made in relation to communities resonate with the 'partnership' step of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of engagement. The partnership step suggests a degree of citizen power, in which community groups can veto or promote meaningful network and agenda propositions that take significant effect on the overall strategy employed. While this is the apparent intention

of the programme, the quantitative output indicates that community groups are not as central to the network as perhaps intended. One respondent suggested that there is currently not enough community participation in the network:

“I think that there is more we could all be doing (for community engagement), partnership working is essential. It is so important that we have a good relationship with the public, so cohesion work is vital in all communities. We need to be able to know what is going on in the community to effectively police it. The Senedd will inevitably link in with HQ staff rather than divisions”-

Police hate crime officer

The respondent explains that many issues and tensions within communities can be understood and visible, if frequent and effective contact is in place. They suggest this is ascertained by creating good relationships, with strong rapport. They go on to suggest that policy makers perhaps prioritise HQ staff over specific divisions. They indicate that taking on a more centralised approach can have an adverse impact on tension monitoring within communities due to less direct public consultations. This resonates with findings made by Thomas (2010), in which state agencies, such as the police, exhibited ‘turf expansion’ that diminished the involvement and achievement of objectives of other stakeholders such as local authorities and community groups. This sentiment is further reinforced from a community group respondent:

I’m sure other communities have had a lot of joy with the Welsh Government and other partners, but sometimes we feel a little left in the dark. I haven’t even heard of “cohesion officers”- **Community group respondent 8**

Comments from these respondents, coupled with the results output, indicate that some of the issues found by Thomas (2010) in the PVE also exist in the CDN. Moreover, this indicates that at present the CDN’s ladder of engagement is less located in a ‘degree of citizen power’, but instead in a ‘degree of tokenism’ (Arnstein, 1969: 217). More specifically, the current involvement of community groups reflects the step of ‘placation’ in which citizens are given limited degrees of influence. Although current community involvement may not be as significant as intended in the cohesion programme outline, this could perhaps be attributed to the relatively recent development of the community engagement specific roles, such as the cohesion teams. Although the cohesion teams and community groups did not load into the same clusters, some evidence suggest that in time, when their roles are more developed, they will further integrate communities into the CDN. Respondents indicated that cohesion officers were an important group to help involve communities within the network:

Cohesion Officers are on the ground within communities and act as a bridge between their organisations and communities- **Police policy officer**

The extracts indicate that the coordinator's role acts as a bridge between CDN organisations and communities, and the officer's role is predominately 'on the ground' working directly with communities. This finding indicates that the CDN differs from the PVE. Thomas (2010) found that the police overreach into local authority responsibilities and hinder their ability to interact with community groups. However, in the case of the CDN, evidence from clustering and the extract above indicate that the police regard local authority departments such as the cohesion teams as a valuable part of the network, that can act as a strategic bridge to link the overall key agendas, devised by the Welsh Government (Betts, 2002). Therefore, inter meta-cluster relationships between community groups and regional agents are integral in helping to integrate community groups into the CDN 'inner circle' thus linking over-arching policies and agendas with those most effected by them. With this in mind, it is clear that as these relationships are strengthened a notable shift from the current state of placation to the initially intended degree of citizen power could take place. A reason for community groups being more likely to interact with cohesion teams was suggested by a charity respondent:

Our experience of working with community groups is that they feel more comfortable plugging into specialised roles (cohesion teams) than other partners - **Charity volunteer**

These extracts provide evidence that specialised roles, designed to address specific issues within communities, are more effective and engaging, perhaps because they are less formal. Although the involvement of the cohesion team shows clear benefits to the network, further extracts show reasons why they are not as central to the cooperation space as other nodes such as the Welsh Government.

"I didn't know cohesion coordinators and officers existed unless they are in touch through a different title"- *Charity director*

"I am not used to this term 'Cohesion Coordinators' / 'Officers' on an equal footing with such established groups as the police and WG"- *Community group respondent 5*

It is evident that many other stakeholders see the value in both cohesion roles. However, many partners do not interact with either cohesion, or in many cases are unaware of their existence. The second extract suggests that the coordinators and officers aren't put onto 'equal footing' within the CDN as other cluster groups such as the Welsh Government and the police. Furthermore, the cohesion team's feedback and cooperation data indicate a high quality of cooperation with other stakeholders in the network. This provides strong evidence that the cohesion teams could be very effective in serving as a gateway for community groups to enter the CDN, resulting in citizens operating with a degree of power in community justice. However, many communities that may benefit from their input are unaware of the cohesion team's existence. This highlights significant gaps in the network. Cases of community groups being unaware of these roles can perhaps be attributed to the length of time officers have been in post. Descriptive statistics show that none of the cohesion officer respondents have been in post for over two years. The majority of cohesion officer respondents have been in post between 3 and 12 months (87.5%, n=7), with the remaining respondents having been in post between 1 and 2 years (12.5%, n=1). Therefore,

we advise careful consideration for cohesion roles as they are further developed, recognised and established, in order to bridge the gap between traditional agencies and communities. In doing this, the network can ensure a meaningful and non-tokenistic involvement of communities, whom cohesion delivery concerns the most.

Alongside, current difficulties to fully integrate communities into cohesion delivery, issues of overall CDN agendas lacking a cohesive framework were suggested in the open output:

“WG needs to have a greater visibility and transparency over its leadership and strategy and coordinate a range of statutory and non-statutory bodies and community groups-

Police policy officer

Past studies have shown that when utilising a pluralised approach, complications arising from differences in organizational cultures and structures mean that collaboration, communication, and transparency are key principles required from corresponding agencies in order to facilitate effective working partnerships (Kean and Hamilton, 2004). However, many respondents suggest that the network lacks a cohesive agenda for all stakeholders to follow as a result of minimal clarity. This reflects Zedner’s (2007) criticisms of an expansive and potentially intrusive state. Although in this case state objectives are not actively overshadowing other sector priorities, the lack of a clear agenda perhaps hinders how effectively they can be addressed. It is therefore recommended by the respondents that a clearer ‘vision’ and ‘definition’ of community cohesion should be provided within the policy realm by the Welsh Government to all current stakeholders (Betts, 2002). Implementing a more cohesive agenda, could likewise aid in improving community participation, as one cohesion coordinator suggests:

““there also needs to be a clearer vision and definition of community cohesion. Welsh Government needs to have a greater visibility and transparency over its leadership and strategy, they should coordinate a range of bodies and community groups. They should be acting as the main points of contact for cohesion projects, raising awareness and collaboration between all groups”-Cohesion coordinator 5

Furthermore, if a reimagined and more cohesive agenda could be implemented by the Welsh Government, other partners suggest this could ‘improve cooperation’, ‘reduce duplication faults’ and provide an opportunity to better integrate communities into the overall framework at a local level.

Results from the PCA and MDS analysis gave evidence to support that stakeholder clustering exists in the CDN. In total, three main stakeholder clusters were found: (1) regional agents, (2) third sector agents and (3) policy/ evidence agents. No stakeholder group was entirely alienated from the network, with all loading into a meta-cluster. The dimensions provided on the plot (figure III) gave an insight into why some of these clusters formed. Two main attributes that were associated with the plot axes and were therefore attributed to stakeholder clustering: (1) agency regionality and (2) multi-focus prioritisation. Multi-

regionality refers to partners that have duplicate roles in various regions in order to provide local coverage. The regional agents cluster involved all stakeholder groups that operate under multi-regionality. Open questions supported this, with respondents indicating that they find cooperation easier with partners in their local area:

“I personally find the cohesion teams helpful for my work because they assist with the day to day local issues”- **Police hate crime officer**

Moreover, the usage of localised teams to address more specific issues is clearly beneficial. That being said, some issues were identified between regional partners. The two lowest ranking intra meta-cluster relationships are seen between the police and cohesion coordinators (variance: 0.79, rank: 7th) / officers (variance: 1.13, rank: 9th). Potential reasons for this were given in open questions by members of the cohesion team:

“Often some hate incidents that don’t fall above the hate crime threshold aren’t shared with us by the police, we always try and pass on as much information as possible to them”- **Cohesion coordinator 1**

This indicates a collaboration gap in the network, resulting, in part, from non-reciprocal communication. This is consistent with ideas put forward by Cheminais (2009) that multi-agency partnerships can be weakened by a poor culture of information sharing, resulting in a drop in cooperation frequency. Although regional stakeholders such as the police and the cohesion teams suggest the existence of localised partners can be highly beneficial, issues such as information sharing can still arise. This is perhaps a product of a lack of clarity in the overall multi-agency agenda set by the Welsh Government. We therefore suggest that when re-considering the CDN framework, indicators for stakeholders of what, how and when to share information with other partners could reduce duplication faults common to multi-agency networks (Cheminais, 2009) and therefore enhance cooperation and productivity.

Multi-focus prioritisation can likewise be attributed to stakeholder clustering. Both regional-agent and policy/ evidence clusters take on a multi-focus approach. Conversely, the third sector cluster (community groups and charities) nodes tend to focus on only one protected characteristic cluster. This was reflected in the open question output:

“For us, unless it’s a major or criminal issue we tend to only really interact with charities. because they have a greater focus on issues that matter to us”- **Community group respondent 2**

Indeed, descriptive statistics, likewise showed that third sector stakeholder groups were predominately made up of single-focus nodes. These findings resonate with Suhr’s (2005) suggestion that stakeholder groups with agenda commonalities and homogenised focus areas are more likely to cluster in multi-agency partnerships. Although, this may be true, it perhaps can lead to alienation of particular groups, particularly within communities and

may also be a source of lower community participation in the CDN. The only stakeholder group that exhibits lower cooperation in the CDN is Academics. However, this may not necessarily be negative, a closer examination of open output and the policy/evidence meta cluster loadings can help further explain the role they play in community justice networks.

The policy/ evidence meta-cluster had the highest PCA variance, indicating that overall cooperation is low. When examining individual cross-node relationships, we can see that although while both belonging to the same meta-cluster, the Welsh Government has higher cooperation frequencies with all other non-academic nodes. Therefore, the fact that Welsh Government and academics loaded into the same component lends evidence to the idea that the Welsh Government serve as a gateway for academics to enter the CDN. Although minimal academic cooperation could be problematic, open output questions indicate the contrary:

“Personally, I don't know if more face time is even needed with academics, so long as their research is relevant to us and helps give an evidence led approach” - **Charity director**

“I only really ever plug in through the Welsh Government who distribute my findings” -
University professor

The extracts allude to the idea that academics don't need to be as such a day-to-day feature of the CDN, but instead a tool for helping devise an evidence led approach. This indicates that their input is valuable but is not hinged on notions of cooperation and frequent participation. This idea is further supported by findings in the regression model, that indicate greater quality of cooperation between the policy/ evidence nodes and other partners (meta-clusters) was negatively associated with increased cooperation frequency. In other words, better input made by policy/ evidence nodes, results in a reduced necessity for cooperation with other stakeholders. Open output suggests this could be true for not only academics but also the Welsh Government:

We only get involved with some of these groups (Welsh government etc) when things go wrong. So I'm not sure if more is even always better. The overall goal for me would be to eradicate hate, so approaching them wouldn't even be necessary - **Charity executive director**

My role doesn't really have much direct contact with the WG. I'm not sure increasing it would even help too much- **Cohesion officer 3**

The relationship between cooperation quality and frequency was further tested amongst all stakeholder groups. Findings in the sub-model analyses for all three models supported H₃ and were consistent with findings from past research that show node perceptions are more predictive than any other sub-factor (Levi and Williams, 2013). However, unlike the policy/ evidence cluster, the association between cooperation frequency and quality was

positive in every other case, including internally between academics and the Welsh Government. This indicates that improved quality of communication and information sharing is an important consideration to make in enhancing network productivity.

Less evidence existed to support our final hypothesis that stakeholder role characteristics would predict cooperation frequency. Cluster characteristics included multi-focus, multi-region, government based, EU transition fund recipient and tension agendas (high focus: detection, prevention and response). First, cluster characteristics explained predicted cooperation less than cluster perceptions in all three model's sub factor analyses. This was particularly true in the findings for both the policy/ evidence and regional agent meta-clusters models. The policy/ evidence only had one association with tension detection and cooperation frequency that approached conventional levels of significance (<0.1). The regional agent cooperation frequency meta-cluster had no significant associations with any of the three tension agenda predictors. However, EU transition fund recipients were more likely to have high cooperation frequency with regional agents. Interestingly, the majority of funding recipients belong to the regional agent meta-cluster, particularly within the cohesion teams. This supports previous suggestions that shared agendas from funding can not only result in stakeholder clustering, but also increase cooperation frequency (Kean and Hamilton, 2004). More significant associations were found in the third sector cluster. Despite this, they still accounted for low levels of variance in the sub-model analysis. Only one tension agenda (prevention) was found to be positively associated with cooperation frequency in relation to third sector cooperation. This finding suggests that prevention-based agendas are important amongst third sector partners, and can lead to increased cooperation. Multi-focus agendas (in relation to protected characteristics) were extremely negatively associated with cooperation frequency with third sector partners. This reflects descriptive statistics that showed the only two stakeholder groups with low levels of multi-focus (as defined in the results section) belonged to the third sector meta-cluster (charities and community groups). This finding is therefore consistent with past multi-agency literature that indicates that differences in stakeholder agendas can reduce cooperation frequency (Cheminais, 2009). Moreover, although less evidence exists to suggest that node characteristics are significant predictors of cooperation frequency than cluster perceptions, some factors are found to have high associations. Another consideration is that other node characteristics may exist that were not studied in the models that may explain greater amounts of variance.

Limitations:

While this paper has provided some initial evidence of patterns in the Welsh CDN, limiting aspects of the research design must be considered when evaluating the results. Upon reflection three central limitations were identified. First, is the use of a centralised Welsh Government stakeholder group. Although this could not be changed, as it was Welsh Government policy to give a unified response, it is important to understand that even within the community justice and equality branches, the Welsh Government is a multi-layered and complex partner, which involves a number of factions. Thereafter, only providing one unified group for the Welsh Government could prove problematic, because other stakeholder groups could have significantly different cooperation experiences with various factions within the Welsh Government. Second, the paucity associated with using survey based open questions is restrictive and doesn't afford the researcher opportunities to

further explore dynamics within the network with follow up questions. This could be considered in follow up studies, with longer format qualitative elements, giving way to a mixed methods approach. Perhaps the most effective way of examining inter-agency relationships could involve a focus group exercise featuring members of all stakeholder groups. The final limitation relates to the use of non-metric perceptions in the cooperation Likert-scale questions. We acknowledge that factors such as responder demographics, agency norms and differing opinions of how workplaces and partnerships should work can hold significant effect over how participants choose to respond on the scales. Indeed, these biases could be the subject of study in future research, with findings shedding light on further dynamics within the network.

Conclusions:

This paper has provided an exploratory account of the multi-agency partnership responsible for cohesion delivery in Wales. Although overall prevalence is not suggested due to a non-probability sampling method, initial evidence is given for inter-relationships between key CDN stakeholders. The mapping of the CDN is possible using MDS procedures. The visualisations reflect further information shown in PCA component loadings, and rank tables. By cross-examining all available information, the researchers were able to effectively identify the locations of gaps and bottlenecks in the CDN. Further insights into the reasons for these gaps and bottlenecks were obtained through qualitative accounts obtained from participating stakeholders. One reoccurring factor is the lack of a coherent and cohesive plan for all partners to follow. This was found to weaken coordination, perhaps, causing cooperation faults, such as duplication gaps and poor information sharing. Additionally, evidence shows the potential existence of a tokenistic involvement of community groups in the CDN. This more reflects Arnstein's (1969) steps of placation and consultation, rather than the apparently desired levels of meaningful engagement set out by policy partners. Evidence from the asymmetric quality of cooperation variance scores shows that non-reciprocated cooperation has a higher prevalence in inter meta-cluster relationships than intra meta cluster relationships. However, in some cases intra relationships experience high levels of variance due to factors such as poor information sharing. This results in sub-clusters, as seen in the regional agent's cluster, that can result in alienation of partners such as the cohesion coordinators. This however cannot be attributed to notions of turf expansion as seen in other networks (Thomas, 2010) but instead a lack of clarity between partners in the network. In fact, evidence suggests that turf expansion and empire building are far less evident between the police and local authority cohesion teams than in other networks such as PVE, with police stakeholders suggesting that cohesion teams are integral for bridging communities with the wider network. Community groups that have interacted with cohesion teams further supported this in the free-text fields. However, this effect has been minimised by many communities being unaware of the cohesion teams, thus reducing the extent of citizen engagement. This perhaps alludes to the idea that the degree of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969) could naturally be enhanced in time as more community groups become aware of the cohesion team's existence. Gateway dynamics were likewise seen in the relationship shared between the outlier group - academics and the most central node in the inner circle- the Welsh Government. To summarise, this paper provides evidence of the cooperation space in the CDN and indicate how and why some gaps exist.

Although many issues, such as stakeholders being unaware of other agencies existence, duplication faults and poor information sharing exist, and can broadly be attributed to (1) the absence of a clear universal agenda shared between all partners including communities and (2) the relatively short amount of time some roles have been in place. This paper recommends that partners, both within the CDN and similar networks, should be aware of the issues detailed, and be in open discussion when moving forward to curtail and minimise further development.

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