Local government
National report
February 2007

Changing lanes
Evolving roles in road safety
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Summary

Improving road safety will always be a priority…

- Almost 3,000 people die each year on roads in England; a person is seriously injured every 20 minutes.
- Road traffic accidents cost the English economy nearly £8 billion a year.
- While Britain has better statistics than most countries, motorcyclists and young drivers are disproportionately at risk, as are child pedestrians, especially in deprived areas.
- Anti-social driving and speeding vehicles are key quality of life issues that also have a road safety dimension.

…but building on the success of the past will be difficult because it means persuading road users to behave more safely

- Casualties have been reducing for many reasons, including better vehicle design, improved emergency medical treatment, seat belt wearing, enforcement of drinking and driving laws and well-planned road engineering.
- Returns from engineering are diminishing, because many accident black spots and dangerous stretches of road have been improved.
- Human behaviour contributes to almost all accidents; road conditions and vehicle defects are involved in fewer than 20 per cent.
- People often hold mutually contradictory attitudes to road safety, which are different when they are driving, riding or walking, or if they live near a road.

Local authorities need to work closely with the Highways Agency, police, NHS, and fire and rescue services…

- Many local agencies engage in road safety work, and they have more impact when their efforts are well coordinated.
- The Local Government White Paper describes a place shaping role for local authorities, in which they take a lead in coordinating local activities.
The most effective approach is to achieve a balance across the three Es of road safety: **engineering; education, training and publicity (ETP); and enforcement.**

Local activities can helpfully reinforce national publicity campaigns.

**...to target at-risk users, as well as at-risk locations, and achieve value for money**

- Behaviours are unlikely to improve unless public agencies engage effectively with road users and communities to understand and change their underlying attitudes.
- Data need to be analysed for information about the behaviours that put different groups of people at risk, as well as where accidents happen.
- Approaches to education and enforcement need to be appropriate for the people who need to change; for example, firefighters may be best placed to work with disaffected teenagers.

**Local public bodies should work together better, both informally and in established partnerships, based on the framework in this report...**

- To analyse data better, including anonymised data from the NHS, and use it to target ETP and enforcement, as well as engineering.
- To target activity on specific groups of people and on where they live and work, as well as accident black spots.
- To engage with the public to improve people’s understanding and gain commitment, support and trust, with local councillors taking a lead in both their community representative and scrutiny roles.
- To make good use of all available local resources to reinforce messages, including teachers, police officers, firefighters and volunteers.
- To evaluate the effectiveness of local schemes, to guide future decisions about priorities for expenditure and the contributions of different partners.

**...and use the self-assessment tools provided by the Audit Commission on its website www.audit-commission.gov.uk/roadssafety**
A framework for improving road safety

Analysing data better

• To what extent does data analysis and intelligence allow you to target ETP on at-risk groups of road users?

• How does the analysis enable you to identify geographic areas where focused ETP and enforcement would be effective?

• How could local data and its analysis be made more useful? Are you getting data from the NHS? Do you share data with your neighbours, so you can analyse accidents and at-risk groups across boundaries?

Targeting action on locations and people

• How do you agree priorities with your local partners? How do you resolve disagreements?

• For each at-risk group, what combination of engineering, ETP and enforcement is most likely to influence their behaviours?

• How does your programme of local ETP and enforcement complement the national programme? How do the local campaigns reach the target groups that will not be influenced by national ones?

• How do you and your partners agree who should do what in ETP and enforcement campaigns?

• How well do engineering, ETP and enforcement reinforce each other? Is the balance of expenditure right?

• How do you ensure that adequate resources are available to relevant parties to make campaigns effective?
Engaging the public

• How do you engage with the community about road safety?
• How do you ensure that you and your partners do so in effective ways?

Evaluating value for money

• How do you analyse the impact of your activities?
• How is that analysis taken into account in future decisions about priorities and campaigns?
• How do you assess value for money? What would improve it?
• To whom do you account for your impact?
• How do you account for your actions to the public?
Recommendations

1. **Local authorities** should:
   - Review their progress against Department for Transport (DfT) casualty reduction targets, taking any action needed to achieve them and reporting clearly through local transport plan progress reports.
   - Review local arrangements for taking a strategic approach to road safety, bearing in mind the imminent changes to the funding of safety camera partnerships (SCPs) and the increasing role for local strategic partnerships (LSPs) highlighted in the Local Government White Paper 2006.
   - Work with partners to improve practice, based on the framework on pages 4 and 5, particularly targeting at-risk groups and localities, and building on existing relationships within SCPs.
   - Raise awareness among local secondary schools of road safety issues for pupils, and the resources available to them.
   - Ensure local councillors have information and other support to help them engage local people.

2. **Police forces** should:
   - Work in partnership with relevant local authorities to review arrangements for taking a strategic approach to road safety and improve practice, based on the framework on pages 4 and 5.
   - Improve the accuracy, completeness and timeliness of STATS 19 data, by applying the same management processes that are applied to crime data.

3. **Crime and disorder reduction partnerships (CDRPs)** should take account of road safety implications when consulting on and addressing community priorities, including anti-social vehicle use.

4. **NHS bodies** should provide aggregated data, analysis and intelligence to partners, so they can target their activities more effectively on the people most at risk, and on where they live and work.
5. Primary care trusts (PCTs) and fire and rescue services should work in partnership with relevant local authorities to improve practice, based on the framework on pages 4 and 5.

6. Central government can play a supporting role. It should:
   • Take a consistent approach across all departments when considering issues of road safety. For example, the DfT and the Home Office should use the same target for casualty reduction.
   • Develop a system so that knowledge from research into road safety is available locally, and easier to access.
Introduction

1. The suffering caused by traffic accidents means that road safety must always be a priority. Almost 3,000 people die each year in road traffic accidents (RTAs) in England, with at least 240,000 people injured, 25,000 of them seriously. One in every 200 deaths is on the roads, including a quarter of the deaths of men aged 15-24. During a lifetime, people have a one in 20 chance of serious injury; most know someone who has died on our roads.

2. Inevitably the financial costs of RTAs are high, too. It is estimated that, every year, they cost the NHS £470 million, and the economy as a whole a further £7.2 billion.

3. Although Britain has a low level of death and injury compared with most other European countries, there is no room for complacency. Most RTAs are avoidable and there are some particular groups of people who are at disproportionate risk, including child pedestrians, motorcyclists and young drivers.

4. Road safety needs to be considered as a key quality of life issue. Community safety can be undermined by anti-social driving and riding. The danger posed by speeding vehicles can deter older people from going out. If walking and cycling are perceived to be too risky, people are more inclined to use cars, affecting both their own health and the environment.

5. The progress to date in reducing road casualties has been the result of many improvements. Better vehicle design and emergency medical treatment, and lower rates of drinking and driving are among the key contributors. Local highway authorities have played a major part, alongside the Highways Agency, by improving road design and focusing on accident black spots. They have also contributed to ETP and enforcement, to change the behaviour of drivers, often working with the police.

6. Further progress can be expected in all these areas, but the challenge facing local public bodies is to magnify their combined effect across the three Es of road safety: engineering, ETP and enforcement. The scope for improvement from road engineering is reducing, so changing road users’ behaviour is essential to maintain progress. This means using both ETP and enforcement more effectively. The focus must shift from making the roads safer, to making people use them more safely and sustainably.
7 Success requires a change of attitude and behaviour among some public bodies, just as much as it requires a change in attitude and behaviour among some road users. Concerted action is needed by many agencies, including the Highways Agency, the police, fire and rescue services, schools, hospitals, PCTs and community groups. Local public bodies need to work much more closely with each other, to ensure public resources deliver best value for money.

8 The new powers being proposed for local authorities following the 2006 Local Government White Paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities* (Ref. 1) give them a particular responsibility to improve outcomes for people living in their areas and places a duty on many other public bodies to cooperate.

9 This report is intended to help local agencies work more effectively together to reduce the number of deaths and injuries on our roads. The recommendations are addressed both to local public bodies and to national government. To supplement it, we have developed a set of self-assessment tools which will shortly be available on the Audit Commission’s website at [www.audit-commission.gov.uk/roadsafety](http://www.audit-commission.gov.uk/roadsafety). The website also contains two reports commissioned for the study from TRL Ltd (formerly the Transport Research Laboratory) (Refs. 2 and 3) and extended case studies as set out in Table 1.

### Table 1

Case studies available in this report at Appendix 1 and on the Audit Commission website

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Source: Audit Commission
A complex challenge
Road safety in the wider context

10 Society needs transport that is convenient, efficient, clean and sustainable, as well as safe. Improving road safety is only one aspect of managing transport as a whole, and different road users will see it from their different perspectives. For example, many people feel vulnerable to assault on the highway or on public transport, especially when travelling alone.

11 The DfT’s integrated transport policy recognises this. Local transport plans (LTPs) submitted by highway authorities include safety as one of five priorities shared between central and local government, alongside congestion, accessibility, air quality and public transport. They address important quality of life issues such as health, liveability and the environment. It is often possible to address road safety as part of a package alongside other such issues, thereby attracting widespread interest and commitment.

12 Relevant work takes place at every level of government, from European to neighbourhood.

- A number of government departments have a particular interest, especially the DfT and the Home Office, which have road casualty reduction targets; the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), which promotes child safety through its Every Child Matters programme; and the Department of Health (DH), which has a target to reduce deaths and injuries from accidents generally. National government has the resources to fund major campaigns aimed at addressing poor behaviour by road users, as well as programmes of research.

- Road safety is an important consideration for council development control departments, as well as for highway departments. Police, education, fire and rescue services, and health bodies all have particular contributions to make to road safety too.

- Individuals can be reached effectively at the local level, for example through schools and community services.

13 Road safety is an issue that generates enthusiasm and commitment from members of the public. Many volunteers provide training, for example in child pedestrian skills and safer

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1 Single tier and county councils are local highway authorities. In metropolitan borough areas, the Passenger Transport Executive is responsible for coordinating a local transport plan across the boroughs. In London, separate arrangements exist reflecting the special status of the Greater London Authority and Transport for London.
cycling, and are prepared to contribute in other ways. Overall, the challenge is to ensure that all of the different contributors operate well together, to create a safer road environment and safer user behaviour.

What the data tell us about casualties

14 Britain has one of the safest national road networks in the world. At 5.4 deaths per 100,000 population in 2004, England has a lower death rate from road accidents than most other countries. Of the European Union member states, only the Netherlands (4.9) and Sweden (5.3) were lower. Many other countries suffer more than twice this fatality rate.

15 However, pedestrians generally, and child pedestrians in particular, are at greater risk than in some European countries (Figure 1). Research by the DfT (Ref. 4) shows that those countries where child casualty rates are lowest also tend to have more speed reduction measures, crossings controlled by signals and ample outside play areas, as well as relatively fewer deprived areas.

16 Police statistics suggest that road casualties in England have been reducing since the mid-1960s. Further improvements have followed the publication in 2000 of the DfT strategy Tomorrow’s Roads: Safer for Everyone (Ref. 5). Against a baseline of the average of 1994-98 figures, there were three casualty reduction targets for England by 2010:

• 40 per cent reduction in the number of people killed or seriously injured (KSI) in road accidents;
• 50 per cent reduction in the number of children KSI; and
• 10 per cent reduction in the rate of slight injuries per vehicle kilometre.

17 In July 2002, these were enhanced by a target to ‘tackle the significantly higher incidence of child KSIs in disadvantaged communities’. The estimated injury rate for child pedestrians is four times higher in the most deprived ward than the least deprived (Ref. 6).

18 Using police data, a review of the strategy in 2004 (Ref. 7) showed good progress towards the targets. However, analysis of hospital admissions suggests that the number due to RTAs has remained relatively constant since the mid-1990s. (Refs. 8-10) The differences are under investigation by the DfT; possible changes in a number of factors may help to account for them, including NHS data coding practice, the assessment of injury severity by the police and a reluctance on the part of some casualties to report accidents to the police.
Figure 1
Fatal road accident rates, 2004

England’s safety record is relatively good overall, but only average for child pedestrians.

Road deaths per 100,000 population

Child (aged 0–14) pedestrian deaths per 100,000 population

Source: Department for Transport (Ref. 11)
Some sub-groups of road users continue to cause concern.

- **Motorcyclists** – there has been a small increase in motorcyclist KSIs, with the 2005 total 1 per cent higher than the baseline (Figure 2), although the rate per kilometre driven has decreased. By contrast, KSIs for car users, pedal cyclists and pedestrians all fell by almost 40 per cent over the same period.

- **Young drivers** – 20 per cent of all drivers involved in an accident are under 25 years old. The reduction in accident rates has not been as rapid for this group as for drivers generally. A quarter of all men who die by the age of 25 are killed in road accidents.

**Figure 2**

**Breakdown of KSIs by road user type**

There were more motorcyclist KSIs in 2005 than in the baseline period.

![Bar chart showing the breakdown of KSIs by road user type.](chart.png)

- Motorcyclists: +1%
- Pedal cyclists: -37%
- Car users: -37%
- Pedestrians: -39%
- Other road users: -39%

**Source:** Department for Transport (Ref. 11)
The statistics illuminate some important variations. For example, urban roads are more than twice as dangerous as rural roads per kilometre travelled. However, accidents on rural roads tend to be more serious, accounting for over 60 per cent of fatalities. Ninety-five per cent of pedestrian injuries occur on urban roads, with children being disproportionately at risk (22 per cent of KSI pedestrians are between 8 and 15 years old). Accidents on rural roads more often injure car occupants.

There will need to be a shift of emphasis if such local variations are to be addressed successfully. Although engineering schemes continue to make worthwhile contributions to reducing casualties, ETP and enforcement will become comparatively more important because:

- returns from engineering are starting to diminish, since many of the worst roads and accident black spots have been improved and a higher proportion of incidents now occur elsewhere; and
- aspects of the road environment, such as slippery surfaces, feature as a contributory cause in only 15 per cent of road accidents, while errors by drivers and riders contribute to at least two-thirds of accidents (Ref. 12).

Attitudes to road use

Changing road user behaviour is a challenge, but one that can be achieved with time and persistence. For example, most people now wear seat belts. However, public attitudes to road use are mixed and personal behaviours can be contradictory depending on the circumstances. While road safety is often a concern for residents, this is not necessarily reflected when the same people are themselves driving.

In a survey conducted for the Audit Commission’s Neighbourhood Crime and Anti-social Behaviour report (Ref. 13), around one-fifth of people identified speed and the volume of traffic among the issues that most need tackling, to improve the quality of life for residents. The British Social Attitudes Survey suggested that around three-quarters of people support 20mph speed restrictions in residential areas, including 72 per cent of drivers questioned (Ref. 14). However, only 43 per cent of drivers favour speed bumps, which can be necessary to enforce this popular, low speed limit.
This is symptomatic of the paradoxical views often expressed by road users. The risk of having an accident is the least pressing worry for British motorists; their top concern is traffic congestion, followed closely by financial cost (Ref. 15).

Road safety considerations are not necessarily reflected in how people choose to travel. One research project showed that concern about the risk of accidents did not affect the choices made by two-thirds of respondents about transport, and only one in ten avoided certain routes because of concern about accidents or crime (Ref. 16). Psychological experiments have shown that people generally consider themselves to have above average driving skill, by definition a misperception (Ref. 17).

Attitudes to risk and the law also vary, contributing to male drivers aged 17-20 being seven times more likely than male drivers generally to be involved in an accident (Ref. 18). The proportion of motorists exceeding the speed limit continues to be high on all types of road (Ref. 19). Respect for traffic laws is largely based on two factors: the safety rationale for a particular law, and the threat of penalties for breaking it (Ref. 20). Where the safety rationale is not obvious, otherwise law abiding drivers are more likely to ignore the law.

Police assessments at the scene suggest that fewer than 20 per cent of accidents are caused by road conditions or vehicle defects. The road user is the main contributor in most accidents (Ref. 12). This includes failing to look properly (32 per cent) and exceeding the speed limit or going too fast for the conditions (15 per cent). Most members of the public (82 per cent) support targeted speed enforcement using safety cameras (Ref. 21). Paradoxically, drivers who speed up either side of the enforcement area, or defy cameras altogether, tend to have a positive attitude towards the need for safety cameras, yet attempt to subvert their purpose through their own driving behaviour (Ref. 22).

Underlying these contributory factors is a range of lifestyle issues:

- Pressures at work could be implicated in many accidents: ‘it has been estimated that up to a third of all road traffic accidents involve somebody who is at work at the time’ (Ref. 23). A study conducted in 2001 revealed that 15 per cent of drivers admit to having felt themselves falling asleep at the wheel in the previous year (Ref. 17). Sleepy drivers are more likely to be young, male, high-mileage drivers, often still climbing the corporate ladder. Twenty-seven per cent of drivers in work feel they are always or occasionally under pressure from their employers to get to a destination on time.
The use of drink and drugs is also a factor in many collisions. Though widely regarded as unacceptable, surveys suggest that drinking and driving is still prevalent. Police statistics show a recent increase in the number of road deaths to which it contributes. Estimates for 2004 indicate that 17 per cent of road deaths occur when the driver is over the legal limit for alcohol (Ref. 11). Clearly, this remains an area of concern.

Using a hand-held mobile phone while driving has been an offence since December 2003. A study carried out shortly before the offence was introduced suggests that, though there is widespread acceptance that the practice is dangerous, there is scepticism among those who use hand-held phones that their own driving ability is impaired (Ref. 17). This again illustrates road users’ failure to acknowledge their own contribution to risk on the road.

Unsafe behaviour on the roads is not confined to car drivers. All road users can behave unsafely, from car passengers who won’t wear seat belts, to cyclists who ride while drunk and pedestrians who don’t look before they cross the road.

Implications for road safety

A number of consequences flow from the data and research into changing people’s behaviour:

- There are many public agencies that can contribute to improved road safety through the three Es of engineering, ETP and enforcement. Their efforts need to be well targeted, based on rigorous analysis of data about high-risk locations and user groups, and will be most effective if they are mutually reinforcing through effective coordination. This puts a premium on effective partnership working at a local level.

- The 2006 Local Government White Paper (Ref. 1) gives local authorities a particular responsibility for leading work to improve outcomes for local people. This gives them a key role in addressing road safety, through LSPs and local area agreements (LAAs).

- Behaviours are unlikely to change unless public agencies engage effectively with road users and communities to understand and change their underlying attitudes. As local representatives, councillors can play a key role, particularly when decisions are politically contentious. In addition to formal decision-making responsibilities, they can act as ambassadors in their wards and fulfil a vital scrutiny function which goes wider than their local authority’s own activities.
• Achieving improvements efficiently will be ever more challenging as engineering produces diminishing returns and emphasis shifts towards ETP and enforcement, the impacts of which are more difficult to measure.

31 Chapter 3 addresses the contributions that different public bodies can make to improving road safety, both individually and in partnerships. Chapter 4 describes how the framework on pages 4 and 5 can help them decide priorities, develop solutions, agree who is best placed to take action and engage the public. Chapter 5 provides links to build capacity and knowledge.
Differing contributions

Central government

32 Central government sets the structure within which local agencies work on road safety. The DfT’s role includes:

• defining the ten-year strategy for England (Ref. 5) including the national targets for casualty reduction;
• through the local transport plan process, managing and monitoring transport schemes of all types carried out by highway authorities;
• setting standards and issuing guidance, for example the regulations governing safety cameras, and the procedure for reviewing speed limits;
• organising nationwide ETP campaigns, and making resources available to all agencies on its THINK! website, bringing economies of scale to bear on national issues; and
• researching problems, evaluating solutions and disseminating the findings.

33 The Home Office has signalled the importance of the police contribution to road casualty reduction in the national Roads Policing Strategy (Ref. 24) which was agreed with the DfT and the Association of Chief Police Officers. The Home Office also includes a measure of casualty reduction in the Police Performance Assessment Framework.

34 The DfES has signalled to schools the importance of road safety within the national curriculum and the Every Child Matters programme. It has funded school travel plan advisers to encourage schools to promote safer, more appropriate travel to and from school. The DH has set targets for accident reduction generally. The Department for Communities and Local Government oversees the contributions of the fire and rescue services, council development control sections and housing providers.

Many public bodies, better working in partnership

35 Joint working, through formal or informal partnerships, is important in road safety as it is in many other topics: councils and police forces are not the only local organisations aiming to reduce casualties on the roads (Figure 3, overleaf).

† National campaign run by the DfT to raise awareness of road safety.
Figure 3
Central and local contributions to road safety
Many different bodies aim to reduce casualties on the roads.

Source: Audit Commission

36 The Highways Agency is responsible, through its regional structure, for safety on motorways and trunk roads. Schools and colleges, fire and rescue services, health services and many other agencies can help to change road users’ attitudes and behaviour. Informal partnerships have been set up in some parts of the country to bring these agencies together more systematically, often across a county or police force area.

Local strategic partnerships
37 The Local Government White Paper (Ref. 1) proposes to strengthen LAAs to become the main delivery agreement between central government and a local area. All relevant government departments are party to this development.
Legislation is currently before Parliament to provide a statutory underpinning for the new model LAAs and to establish a formal framework for partnership working in LSPs, led by local authorities. It specifically names chief constables, police authorities, PCTs, fire and rescue services and the Highways Agency, among others, as partners. The proposed legislation includes:

- a duty on the local authority and named partners to cooperate with each other to agree targets in the LAA;
- a duty for relevant named partners to have regard to targets in the LAA; and
- a requirement for local authorities to consult and seek the participation of the named partners in producing a community strategy.

This should lead to greater clarity about local highway authority-level road safety strategies **(Case study 2).**

### Safety camera partnerships

SCPs are formally established partnerships which have operated within procedures laid down by the DfT. They are usually coterminous with police authority areas, and their members must include: local authorities; the police; the magistrates’ courts; and, where relevant, the Highways Agency. Other stakeholders such as health authorities may also be members. Their aim is to ‘prevent, detect and enforce speed and red [traffic] light offences’ and ‘encourage changed driver behaviour, through… approved programmes of work’ **(Ref. 25).** Many organise extensive publicity campaigns.

Until 31 March 2007, SCPs fund their activities from the fixed penalty income that the cameras generate, with any surplus going to HM Treasury. This arrangement is to cease from 2007/08; instead, councils will receive extra allocations totalling £110 million a year over four years. The aim is that cameras will be integrated into wider road safety activity. In many areas the existing SCP will be well placed to develop into a forum for wider cooperation by local agencies.

### Crime and disorder reduction partnerships

CDRPs are statutory partnerships with the police, local authorities, fire authorities and PCTs as core members. They are key to determining priorities for community policing. Anti-social use of vehicles (speeding, dangerous manoeuvres or riding on the pavement) can be seen as threatening by local people.
In some of our fieldwork visits, no link appeared to have been made between anti-social behaviour on the road (a CDRP matter) and road casualty reduction (a matter for the highway authority and the police). Standard surveys about perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour do not ask about use of vehicles. In 2003, a review of 376 CDRPs indicated that only 98 had prioritised road safety, of which 54 had set specific road safety crime reduction-related targets.

### The role of the local authority

The Road Traffic Act 1988 (Section 39) gives local authorities a duty to prepare and carry out a programme of measures designed to promote road safety. This will be complemented by the role described in the Local Government White Paper (Ref. 1) as a place-shaper, and their leading role in the LSP.

There have been variations in performance against casualty reduction targets across the country:

- Some councils have made such good progress towards the 2010 targets that they have adopted stretch targets as part of local public service agreements (LPSAs). Stretch targets can include both more demanding versions of those nationally set and targets set for specific road user groups. For example, in 2002, Hampshire County Council set a stretch target of 26 per cent reduction in KSIs by 2004 (more than half that required by 2010).
- A minority of councils have made slow progress towards the targets. In the 2006 Comprehensive Performance Assessment (CPA), all councils below the lower threshold for KSI casualty reduction were metropolitan district or unitary councils (Figure 4).

Councils also need to ensure that their own services work well together. Properly maintained roads are safer because the surfaces are better and the signs are easier to see. Road safety improvements and routine maintenance work need to be planned, scheduled and carried out together. These activities appeared to be well coordinated in all of the authorities visited for this study.

Road safety should also be considered before planning permission is granted for new developments. Parking and sightlines have safety implications, which may conflict with what an applicant wants. In the single tier authorities visited, planners and road safety colleagues appeared to have a good mutual understanding. However, the county councils visited suggested that development control officers in some district councils should be more alert to potential road safety issues.
Figure 4
KSI casualty reduction within CPA

In CPA for 2006, all councils below the lower threshold for KSI casualty reduction were metropolitan district or unitary councils.

Number of councils

Note: The 2006 CPA for single tier and county councils was partly based on an environment service block which contained relevant performance indicators and inspection scores. Two of the performance indicators were the percentage fall in KSI and slight casualties between 1994/98 and 2003/05. The Commission compared these with the rates needed to meet the target reductions by the year 2010. On this basis, each council was placed into one of three categories: below the lower threshold, intermediate, or above the upper threshold, for each indicator.

Source: Audit Commission analysis of DfT KSI casualty data
The role of the police

48 The police make a major contribution to casualty reduction through each of the three Es, and their work will be more effective if it is well coordinated with that of the local authority. The national Roads Policing Strategy (Ref. 24) sets out five objectives, which local police forces often manage together:

- denying criminals use of the roads by enforcing the law;
- reducing road casualties;
- tackling the threat of terrorism;
- reducing anti-social use of the roads; and
- enhancing public confidence and reassurance by patrolling the roads.

49 There is a national debate about whether the police give a high enough priority to roads policing and, within that, to casualty reduction (see for example Ref. 26).

- In some forces roads policing is largely a responsibility of routine patrol cars, which are also tasked to attend 999 calls and other incidents, without time recording by activity.
- Locally, some individual council officers and members express concern about police performance on road casualty reduction, and the level of resources going into enforcing the law on drinking and driving, dangerous driving and speed limits.

50 Disagreements about priorities matter, because enforcement and ETP will be most effective if they reinforce one another. A campaign or change in the level of penalty may bring home to drivers the dangers of using mobile phones at the wheel, but many will not comply if they believe that the law is not being enforced (Ref. 27).

51 It is difficult to be definitive about the level of police resources going into roads policing, let alone whether it should be more or less. There is some evidence that casualty reduction has been accorded a low priority; for example, the number of specialist roads policing officers fell by 16 per cent between 1999 and 2005. On the other hand, new approaches to roads policing can markedly increase its effectiveness; for example, the use of safety cameras has increased enforcement activity, and some forces target their activity in accordance with principles drawn from the national intelligence model (NIM).
The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) approach to roads policing is based on NIM principles using the national roads policing intelligence framework. Deployment is intelligence led, with analysts using a combination of casualty and crime data to prioritise patrols. The operational command unit and automatic number plate recognition teams are deployed through the tasking process in support of MPS priorities. Roads policing priorities are linked with organisational crime reduction by analysis that links casualty hotspots with their crime equivalents. This data is being used to determine deployments. (Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) baseline assessment of the Metropolitan Police Service.)

The national evidence does not highlight a particular concern about the effectiveness of roads policing. HMIC makes judgements on the standard of roads policing in its baseline assessment of each force. For 2005 these showed roads policing as excellent in 2 English forces, good in 32 and fair in 5. None was rated as poor.

The contribution of other public bodies

Highways Agency

The Highways Agency manages motorways and trunk roads. Good liaison with highway authorities is important because their networks interlink, and people use national roads for local journeys. They have to work together on schemes for junctions and roundabouts where the networks join, and need to establish shared priorities.

The Highways Agency brings a number of strengths to joint road safety work: recognising the value of partnership working, having a strong focus on road users, patrolling the network, and commissioning research and development.

The DfT assesses road safety performance on all roads in each area, including both trunk roads managed by the Highways Agency and local authority roads. This encourages joint working between councils and the Agency and, on the whole, relationships were good in the authorities visited.

HMIC baseline assessment reports are published on the web at http://inspectorates.homeoffice.gov.uk/hmic/inspect_reports1/baseline-assessments.html/ho-forces/
Schools and colleges

56 Road safety should be an issue for all schools and colleges as part of the Stay Safe outcome specified in the Every Child Matters programme.

57 Primary schools and school children are generally receptive to pedestrian training, in-car safety issues such as wearing seat belts, and cycling proficiency. Getting road safety messages into secondary schools and colleges is more of a challenge. Older pupils are less receptive, and there is pressure on their curriculum. The challenge is an important one in view of the high casualty rates among older teenagers and novice car drivers. Schools need to involve other agencies, such as firefighters and hospital staff, who may be respected by teenagers and whose personal experience gives them credibility on the issue.

Fire and rescue services

58 Fire and rescue services now place great emphasis on promoting safety. The first competence required of UK firefighters is to ‘inform and educate your community to improve awareness of safety matters’ (Ref. 28). Many fire and rescue services are keen to bring this expertise and experience to helping reduce road casualties. They can draw on the direct experience of attending road crashes to extricate occupants from vehicles.

59 They also bring expertise in working with hard-to-reach groups, such as teenagers and residents of deprived estates. Many fire and rescue services are particularly keen to work with schools, and can find the time to do it well. The Cleveland Fire Brigade visited all the Hartlepool junior schools within one year, something that most other agencies would find very difficult to resource.

NHS

60 In 1999 the DH set a target for 2010 to reduce the death rate from accidents by at least a fifth and the rate of serious injury from all accidents by at least a tenth. Children were one

I School travel plans are important (see paragraph 125).

II The government’s approach to the well-being of children and young people from birth to age 19 – building on the Children Act 2004.

III Saving Lives: Our Healthier Nation not only aimed to improve the health of everyone, but in particular aimed to improve the health of the worst off in society. The report acknowledged the importance of social, economic and environmental factors in poor health (Ref. 29). Monitoring by the DH has shown that deprived areas continued to have the highest child road casualty rates in 2003 (Ref. 30).
of the key groups targeted. In addition to treating people who are injured, NHS bodies can contribute to road casualty reduction by helping to set local strategies, by working with clients and by sharing information.

61 The NHS collects information about road traffic casualties through hospitals (both accident and emergency (A&E) attendances and hospital admissions) and ambulance trusts. It records information on where casualties live as well as the nature of their injuries. Data on individual patients can be difficult to use because researchers must gain patients’ consent. However, aggregating and analysing data within the NHS, without breaching individuals’ confidentiality, enables health managers to bring a distinctive contribution to a joint casualty reduction strategy, potentially enabling partnerships to combine ETP on road safety with that on other health-related matters.

62 While there is general agreement that NHS preventive work should be important, the opportunities to contribute to an area-based strategy may receive a low priority. In practice, resources tend to be concentrated on national issues such as heart disease and obesity. Positive examples found by the study team were often driven by a particular enthusiast for road safety, working in isolation. For example, community-based staff such as health visitors may encourage parents and their young children to use seat belts, child seats and cycle helmets correctly.

63 One ambulance trust offered training facilities for first responders, which can reduce loss of life and disablement at the scene of an accident. This was an exception: in other fieldwork, it was difficult to identify changes to services resulting from NHS bodies’ contributions to LAAs or other strategy documents, raising questions about their level of engagement. This is in line with recent Healthcare Commission and Audit Commission findings on preventing unintentional injuries to children.1

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1 In February 2007, the Healthcare Commission and Audit Commission published Better Safe Than Sorry, concerning unintentional injury to children, which corroborates our findings (Ref. 31). Other than for RTAs, neither local authorities nor the health service showed evidence of systematic approaches, adequate resources or meaningful data sharing in addressing unintentional injury.
Sure Start

64 Like community-based NHS staff, Sure Start workers have many opportunities to communicate safety messages, through displays at centres and clinics, or when visiting families in their homes.

65 Sure Start in Hartlepool has responded to evidence of safety risks to children by producing booklets illustrating common situations where children are in danger, and giving guidance on how to keep children safe. The small amount of text has been translated into the principal foreign languages spoken in the area, and local photographs illustrate scenarios to bring home graphically the dangers in the community.

Beyond the statutory sector

66 Outside the statutory sector, a wide range of organisations can help to reduce road casualties. For example:

- Community-based projects can include road safety in other activities, for instance addressing risky driving and riding alongside training for disadvantaged young people in motor vehicle maintenance.

- Housing associations have helped to redesign the roads on estates to reduce the potential for high-speed riding and driving. They also have the potential to identify and respond to anti-social behaviour by residents.

67 Employers and their fleet managers can reduce risks to employees driving in work time. Putting in systems to identify employees at above average risk of a crash can save money in insurance premiums and repair bills, as well as being of benefit to staff. As a health and safety issue, employers should ensure that employees have time to make work journeys without speeding.

68 Councils should consider employers as an audience for ETP campaigns. These could include campaigns to encourage employers to use new technology and different ways of working to reduce the need for staff to travel, saving time and reducing the impact on the environment, as well as reducing the risk of traffic accidents. Councils can show leadership by addressing occupational road risk within their own workforces.
Resources

69 Other than money spent by the national Highways Agency on trunk roads, the main resources dedicated to local road safety work lie within highway authorities. Approximately £130 million is spent on specific road safety engineering schemes every year.\(^1\) Road safety is also one element in more general engineering schemes, including maintenance, construction and other infrastructure projects, costing an estimated £500 million. Local highway authorities spend approximately £30-35 million on ETP.

70 An extra £110 million will be available from 2007/08 associated with changes in SCP funding, but almost as much as this will be spent in 2006/07 on enforcement by cameras, and it is therefore not new money. It will be available to local authorities who may choose how to use it in the future. Most of it is likely to be used to maintain camera enforcement systems.

71 Individual councils vary widely in how much they spend on road safety. They spend from around 50p to £10 per head per year on engineering, and much less on ETP: between 10p and £2.50 per head (Figure 5, overleaf).

72 There is no apparent relationship between levels of expenditure on engineering and ETP, suggesting little consistency in the approaches taken by different councils. This may be appropriate if they target expenditure to address local issues associated with accident rates. However, at the highway authority level, analysis of data over ten years appears to show no correlation between the outcomes achieved and the resources expended on engineering and ETP, either separately or together. This is likely to reflect the fact that outcomes are the result of complex interactions:

• Casualties are also reduced by multi-purpose highway improvements. Councils spend over four times as much on these schemes as on pure road safety improvements and do not account separately for the different purposes.

• This calculation does not take account of factors outside the control of individual highway authorities, such as safety cameras, police enforcement, vehicle design and national ETP campaigns. These are likely to have a greater impact on overall casualty figures than the specifically targeted engineering that consumes by far the largest part of a highway authority’s expenditure.

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\(^1\) These expenditure figures on engineering and ETP are based on the DfT’s annual Investment Monitoring Return from local authorities. The figures are grossed up to allow for non-response.
Figure 5
Spend on dedicated road safety activities

There is wide variation in the amount spent on road safety activities among councils of all types, and no clear relationship between engineering and ETP.

**Education, training and publicity**
spend per head of population (£)

Source: Audit Commission analysis of DfT Investment Monitoring Returns. Data are for 2004/05 and are based on returns from 68 per cent of county councils, 42 per cent of London boroughs, 56 per cent of metropolitan districts and 76 per cent of unitary councils.

Several of the road safety sections visited had expanded over the last five to ten years. Some had won external sources of funding for specific pieces of work: from the NHS for cycling and child pedestrian training; from the LPSA in support of stretch targets associated with motorcycling; from Neighbourhood Renewal Funds; or in one case, from Europe.
For other agencies, road safety is largely one, often modest, element in other activity. Teacher time is allocated within primary schools, since road safety is part of the national curriculum, but not separately identifiable. It is equally hard to identify the resources contributed by other organisations, including the police, fire and the NHS, because they tend not to account for expenditure on road safety separately from other activities.

Value for money

There are two approaches to deciding whether a particular council’s spending provides good value for money: to assess economic rates of return and to compare data with others.

Individual road engineering schemes are, in part, justified by a notional rate of return, based on research and leading to values published by the DfT. For accidents involving injuries, this has four main elements:

- the cost to the NHS of treating casualties (valued at £470 million);
- damage to property (about £500 million);
- the value of lost output, such as loss of earnings (£2.2 billion); and
- a figure for willingness to pay to avoid individuals’ pain, grief and suffering (£7.8 billion). This element for pain, grief and suffering has the greatest effect on the calculations, though it is inevitably subjective.

Using data on finance and outcomes to make comparisons between individual councils is also difficult, partly for the reasons above and partly because many factors associated with local variation affect the unit cost of casualty reduction. For example:

- Rural authorities, with their long, high-speed roads and narrow lanes, have different cost structures from urban authorities that have local concentrations of pedestrian and vehicle accidents.
- Authorities with a strong history of casualty reduction work are now faced with a residue of more difficult high-cost solutions.
- Accident rates tend to be higher in deprived areas.

These estimates are for England, 2004. They exclude damage-only accidents, which cause costs estimated at about £4 billion. (Based on figures in Ref. 32.)
In addition, authorities that are in financial difficulties or face tightening budgets will have less scope to spend on road safety. The end of supported borrowing has made some authorities more cautious about accepting capital funding.

For some proposals, engineers can estimate the likely reduction in casualties, based on experience of similar projects. If no low-cost approach is expected to have an impact, this provides a basis for justifying high-cost solutions. However, casualty numbers are small: for example, a £330,000 traffic lights installation at one particularly dangerous junction in 2003 was expected to reduce average casualties from three per year to one per year; no casualties have occurred to date. Evaluation of whole programmes of schemes often demonstrates the high rates of return more clearly (Case study 5).

All local agencies interested in road safety should seek to get best value for the resources they individually commit, whether explicitly to road safety or as a by-product of other activities. This means coordinating efforts between them to target the resources on places and people where they are likely to have the greatest effect, and taking advantage of as many opportunities to influence behaviour as possible. It also means developing local evaluation programmes that assess what is achieved; for example, West Midlands Casualty Reduction Partnership has demonstrated how effective targeted publicity campaigns have been (Web case study N).
Developing efficient and effective solutions

Making partnership the natural way to work

81 The main issue identified in this report is the need to shift emphasis from targeting accident black spots and dangerous stretches of road, to influencing the behaviours of all road users. This will be best achieved through coordinated activity by all the agencies involved, working at local, regional or national level as appropriate.

82 Such an approach can work well. For example, New Zealand introduced multi-agency road safety action plans (RSAPs) in 2002 for local government areas. RSAPs addressed the problem that engineering, education and enforcement activities had often been uncoordinated. Police and local authorities review the RSAP each year under strategic headings such as speed, alcohol and use of restraints, and report upwards on activity and progress. At quarterly meetings they share information on each of the three Es of road safety. New Zealand’s road casualty reduction record has improved significantly since the introduction of the RSAP process.1

83 While there is general recognition of an increasing need to work in partnerships, there are practical reasons why councils and other local agencies find working together difficult. Many organisations have an interest in road safety, and the larger a partnership the more difficult it is to coordinate. A police force area often covers three or more highway authorities and a similar number of PCTs. Representatives from organisations where road safety is more of a core activity tend to dictate the agenda. Variable attendance at meetings by less prominent partners reflects the extent of their commitment and exaggerates this imbalance.

84 Our research suggests that most local agencies could work more effectively in partnership with others. Each has different strengths, opportunities and resources. Some agencies have a unique role in road safety; for instance, only the police can stop a driver suspected of illegal behaviour. With regard to ETP, by contrast, various agencies can potentially be involved; for example, schools, health visitors, police and firefighters have all promoted safe fitting and use of car child seats and restraints. Unmanaged, an unhelpful

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1 See Ref. 3 for more on international examples of road safety good practice.
feeling of rivalry over who leads the work can emerge. At present, a few enthusiasts can be vital for taking the work forward; this is not the best way to approach such an important issue when it needs a concerted shift in direction.

85 It is better to develop an agreed approach, with roles clearly defined through effective partnership working. Partners across North Yorkshire agreed a protocol enabling different agencies to deploy speed warning signs (Web case study C). Road safety partnerships need not necessarily be formal to be effective, since their task is to share information and agree priorities rather than manage large programmes.

86 Partnerships should take a strategic approach to road safety, recognising that resources need to be targeted on people at risk as well as locations, and that those people may not live or work locally. Local authorities should take the lead in ensuring that partners focus on, and contribute to, better outcomes for local areas, as described in the 2006 Local Government White Paper (Ref. 1).

87 This study has identified many different ways in which a variety of partnerships have been working together to improve road safety. The most advanced are beginning to act more strategically, recognising the need to work in a different way to reflect the shifting focus. The challenge is for all engaged in road safety to develop a systematic approach that suits their local circumstances. Even in the best places, this is very much work in progress, so they should review their achievements with their partners against the framework on pages 4 and 5 of this report, which has been developed from the best practices identified in our fieldwork (for example Case study 1).

88 A strategic approach needs to build on local circumstances and existing relationships; so, rather than prescribe solutions, the remainder of this chapter explores the issues partnerships will need to take into account. It does not question whether the right level of resources is put into road safety, but rather whether those which are available, either explicitly or as a by-product of other work, are used to best effect.

**Funding**

89 The shift in emphasis from engineering to ETP and enforcement implies a shift in resources. Because so much more is spent on engineering than ETP, a relatively small redistribution of money from engineering would be a proportionately large increase for ETP. This may be difficult to do because most engineering expenditure is capital, and
most ETP is revenue. It may also be hard to justify in a business case; there is an accepted way of predicting the costs and benefits of engineering, and it is possible to monitor the reduction in accidents that results. It is much more difficult to identify cause and effect for ETP because the impact is neither as immediate nor as geographically concentrated. As a result, there is no generally accepted paradigm for making such a business case.

90 However, much of what needs to be done will not cost extra money. For example, teachers can reinforce a national or local campaign about seat belt wearing by children as part of their normal work; firefighters and police officers can stress the same message on school visits and at open days; and other staff, such as crossing wardens, classroom assistants and caretakers, can be encouraged to spread the word whenever they see a child being dropped off at school who isn’t wearing one. Such an approach works better when the police also decide to follow up the campaign with enforcement action.

91 Existing partnerships do not usually discuss funding or how budgets might be shared across agencies. Isolated transfers of funds do take place: for example, a highway authority might pay for police overtime to improve enforcement, or invest in police equipment such as automatic number plate recognition; and a PCT may contribute to child pedestrian training. Occasional arrangements such as these tend not to lead to systematic transfers or pooling of funds, though staff and training facilities are more readily shared.

92 Nor is any account taken locally of the financial consequences of road accidents. Fewer casualties mean less demand on NHS trusts, social services departments and the emergency services. DfT guidance values ambulance attendance and hospital treatment of a severely injured casualty at £12,806, and police costs of a fatality at £1,607 (Ref. 32). Council or central government funds may be used to bring about the reduction. An explicit acknowledgement of these costs and benefits would help to make the business case for agencies to share resources and invest the relatively modest time and effort necessary for working more effectively across local areas.

Analysing data better

93 The starting point for success is a clear understanding of what is going on locally, and how it could be addressed. There are two main sources of data: police STATS 19 forms, which are completed for every reported accident involving casualties; and (potentially) NHS data from A&E departments, hospital admissions and ambulance trusts.
To date, most analysis has focused on using police data to target the locations where engineering would have the greatest impact. This needs to evolve, so it still identifies where engineering will have a cost-effective outcome, but also reveals the groups and localities, often residential, for ETP and enforcement. The same analysis should be used by all relevant local agencies, to help them agree what needs to be achieved, how it could be done and who is best placed to do it.

There are two main problems with the available data:

- its quality (accuracy, completeness and timeliness); and
- its significance, since there are relatively low numbers of serious accidents and injuries in smaller highway authority areas each year.

STATS 19 data is shared with the highway authority and the DfT. There are a number of problems that can limit its value in analysis, including incomplete or inaccurate fields and difficulty assessing severity of injury. Residential information is not always recorded, even though it is important for analysis. Some police forces supply councils with validated collision data for analysis within two months, but others take much longer, limiting the ability to respond quickly to local people’s concerns.

In the longer term, the DfT is developing new technology that will enable police officers to enter the data electronically, or on a form that can be scanned directly into the computer. Meanwhile, police forces should improve the quality of the data, and therefore its usefulness, by adapting the management approaches that have improved crime recording in recent years (Ref. 33).

NHS data on accident casualties is very different from what the police collect. For example, NHS systems include some casualties which are not reported to the police, and they are more likely to record where people live. Using reports from the two sources can give insights into the sort of journeys and situations in which collisions occur locally. This should be part of an approach whereby different agencies pool not only numerical and geographical information, but also more subjective intelligence such as feedback from police patrols or from forums of road users. These can illuminate different aspects of underlying problems. For example, a report by Cheshire and Merseyside Trauma and Injury Intelligence Group (Ref. 34):

- maps areas of residence of RTA casualties attending A&E; and
• shows admission rates to hospital for residents of each local authority in Cheshire and Merseyside, including car occupants and cyclists, groups that are known to be under-represented in police statistics.

99 The lack of information about where drivers and casualties live is part of a broader problem: the data available from police STATS 19 returns are more helpful for engineering than for ETP and enforcement. Targeting these depends on knowing what types of drivers crashed because they were tired, or using a mobile phone, and which casualties were not wearing seat belts.

100 This sort of information is difficult to establish after a crash, and it is expensive if collected specially. Surveys of specific aspects of unsafe behaviour, such as speeding or seat belt wearing, may be needed (Web case study K describes how these were used in North Yorkshire). Analysis of child accidents can show whether more children are seriously injured as car passengers or on the roads. This may differ between rural and urban areas, or between affluent and deprived areas, and be used to balance priorities between local campaigns on proper use of child seats, as opposed to child pedestrian training.

101 In the case of the police, NHS, secondary schools and the fire and rescue service, the main issue is to target the available time to those activities that will have greatest impact. Operating within a partnership, they will be able to gain new insight from sharing their analyses. The police must also recognise their responsibility to improve the necessary data, and the NHS should contribute additional data or analysis, possibly requiring more precise definitions, to ensure the best local picture can be developed.

102 Because the number of accidents in one highway authority area may typically be small, it can be difficult to detect trends or demonstrate success at that level. Analysis at a sub-regional level, possibly through arrangements associated with SCPs, would enable partnerships to identify trends and take a broader, area-based perspective that reflects the mobility of the subject matter.

103 This may also be the right scale for evaluating progress, based on changes in the data and intelligence over time, but potentially also on research commissioned specifically for the purpose. Pooling data and analytical resources at a sub-regional level should also be more economical and effective, since it means a concentration of the available skill and experience. For example, Transport for London (TfL) analyses data for the whole of the capital, making it available to road safety practitioners throughout London (Web case study D).
Targeting action

Locations

104 All the councils visited were using location data to analyse accident patterns and target engineering expenditure. Data about the circumstances, particularly about the weather, time of day and loss of control of the vehicle, are important for targeting effective remedies, such as anti-skid surfacing. Most authorities check for whole routes or areas with abnormally high casualty rates, as well as clusters of accidents. Indeed one small council is finding that it has dealt with nearly all the individual accident black spots. Analysis of the data showed that relatively high numbers of accidents were occurring at ‘give way’ junctions across the whole area. Reducing these through better road junction layout and signage is now being given a high priority.

105 The ability to think imaginatively when analysing data is important to understand the interaction between locations and people. For example, in Leeds, analysis of accident locations led the road safety team to suggest that students were likely to be at high risk, and to use the university newsletter and other media to target the student population better.

106 Location data is useful to a wide variety of other stakeholders too, including ward councillors, council staff responsible for smaller areas, parish councils and neighbourhood groups. It can help all of them to contribute to safer roads and casualty reductions. Leeds City Council produces two reports each year that are circulated to stakeholders, describing Sites for Concern and Lengths for Concern (Web case study J).

People

107 Dangerous behaviour is often a national problem, and national-level analysis highlights these high-risk groups, such as motorcyclists or child pedestrians. Whereas dangerous locations can be identified and targeted for engineering work at a local level, it is more difficult, but not impossible, to use data to target ETP on specific local problems.

108 Data showing where the casualties, especially drivers, live could be particularly useful, but STATS 19 forms are often poorly completed, and the NHS generally does not fill the gap. Many councils therefore do not have data that gives this local perspective.
109 Road safety sections should review how ETP is targeted locally:

- Information on the place of residence of those involved in accidents ought to be used. Postcode data can be used to focus publicity campaigns and attendance at community events, for example, to help tackle the high risks associated with deprived areas and particular socio-economic groups. Analysing data at a sub-regional level can help identify trends for this purpose.

- Much road safety work with children is done at primary age or earlier, yet pedestrian casualty rates peak among 12 to 15 year olds. Road safety officers need to ensure that the early teenage challenge is being addressed, for example using the DfT’s THINK! materials.

110 Detailed local analysis is needed to identify actions that will address distinctive local problems. For example, TfL identified that motorcyclists injured in London are more likely to be commuters than the leisure riders at risk in many rural areas. Such findings have been used in the BikeSafe London courses and to target advertising awareness campaigns.

111 Geographical diversity within a police force area, such as Devon and Cornwall, can be turned to an advantage. For example, rural councils and urban councils in the same area can coordinate their approaches. The rural councils can address risks on roads where motorcyclists are injured in crashes while riding for pleasure and, at the same time, the urban councils can reinforce the message in the communities where the motorcyclists live.

Engaging the public

112 As the focus of safety work shifts towards changing road users’ behaviour, it will be increasingly important to win the hearts and minds of members of the public. This is not easy, but continuing success in reducing casualties will be increasingly dependent on engaging the public to:

- use local knowledge in the design of road improvements and ETP campaigns;
- influence specific groups of road users whose behaviour or attitudes put them at high risk of causing or suffering injury;
- enable the community to be part of the solution; and
- help to shape overall priorities and programmes, not least to help build public commitment to the necessary changes.
Local residents naturally make connections between road safety and other quality of life issues. Councils themselves can promote safety on the road successfully alongside other issues, for example Plymouth City Council’s involvement in setting up a Home Zone (Web case study F).

Using local knowledge

Residents, visitors, traders and employers all have important insights into the safety of the road network, including, for example, the routes that pedestrians choose and why. Such information can help when planning engineering schemes and ETP campaigns. It is also important to consult local people to gain acceptance for proposals; on occasion, schemes such as traffic calming measures have had to be removed where public opposition made them politically unsustainable.

Some groups articulate their views loudly, whereas others need to be drawn out. Individuals often hold contradictory attitudes, as discussed in Chapter 2. Inconsistencies like these mean that road safety work by councils is difficult, time-consuming and often generates controversy. Councils need to ensure that sufficient resources are in place and that officers and consultants involved in public meetings have the necessary interpersonal skills as well as the scientific and technical competence.

Road safety teams need to review the skills and experience that they possess. Officers mention a number of key lessons:

- manage people’s expectations – present the public with viable alternatives that the authority is sure it can afford;
- be alert to wider effects that the options will have – talk to people informally in the local garage or pub; and
- be clear about providing feedback – everyone knows that it is important but it can easily get squeezed out.

Some types of road users are at particularly high risk of accident, such as pedal cyclists and motorcyclists. Some councils set up forums for groups like these. This can be an effective way of addressing specific hazards that they face, provided that the forums are an integral part of the priority setting process.

Guidance on consultations is available, for example, in the Audit Commission’s Connecting with Users and Citizens (Ref. 35) and Listen Up! (Ref. 36) reports.
Influencing specific groups of road users

118 Unsafe behaviour on the part of road users is a complex phenomenon which needs to be understood and challenged. The very word ‘accident’ could be taken to imply that no one need feel responsible. Even if people are aware of the risks they run personally, they often feel comfortable doing so since they think they can get away with it, and influencing their behaviour is particularly difficult.

119 There is widespread public support for reducing traffic speeds, and good evidence that doing so would at least reduce the severity of injuries. Even so, initiatives to reduce speeds, particularly safety cameras, can attract vocal criticism from some motorists who feel their excessive speed is quite safe.

120 Councils can help to lead public opinion by being proactive with local media. Though they can do little to challenge negative coverage in the national media (for example, of safety cameras), councils and SCPs have shown that they can work with local newspapers and television (Case study 3). There is wider support within the community for safety cameras than is sometimes realised.

121 It is also important to use the most appropriate ways of influencing behaviour.

• Cleveland Fire Brigade works with young people referred by courts and social services.

• People in deprived areas and some ethnic minorities suffer above average accident rates. Councils have found some of these groups hard to reach in the past; doing so requires innovative approaches, as when the London Borough of Tower Hamlets helped to set up a cycling group at a centre for Bengali women (Web case study G).

• The Commission’s recent report about migrant workers, Crossing Borders, shows how some police forces and councils are helping foreign nationals understand the Highway Code and British traffic laws better (Ref. 37).

The local community as part of the solution

122 Members of the public can be keen to be engaged in road safety work. Making the community part of the solution is ambitious, but potentially rewarding. For instance, some councils have trained residents to monitor traffic speeds through villages.
The study team met a number of residents who had become involved with traffic and road safety issues, either because the council was setting up a Home Zone (Web case study F) or simply because they were concerned about the streets where they lived. Their personal enthusiasm had led to involvement in an ongoing group within the community.

Of course, tensions and differences of opinion can exist within the community, or between local people and the council, but on occasion the work of such a group can be to everyone’s advantage. Councils visited for this study described situations in which they had helped constructive relationships to emerge by:

- offering some early tangible results which would encourage more people to get involved;
- facilitating media coverage of local campaigns; and
- providing funding for meetings and publicity in less affluent areas.

Schools can also help by working on school travel plans, which aim to encourage safe and sustainable travel to school. A good travel plan draws on the views of pupils, parents and people living nearby. They can raise awareness of other transport modes, such as cycling or walking to school, as well as road safety issues across a whole local area.

**Shaping priorities**

Elected councillors combine the important roles of listening to public concerns and making decisions on council priorities. The Local Government White Paper (Ref. 1) proposes strengthening the role of councillors, such as in response to formal community calls for action.

At community level, speeding traffic and parking problems feature heavily in local constituency postbags. A councillor can work alongside a police officer and a council officer to make a very effective team at a public meeting on a road safety issue. Long term, councils also need to build people’s confidence so that they are more receptive to messages about changing their own behaviour on the road.

As citizens, people have a right to express their views of road safety problems and what the priorities for action should be. Councils have to respond to representations from local people and organisations, even though they may be driven by particular considerations. Some councils have set up road safety forums for this purpose, but these risk being over-influenced by activists for one particular cause and disengagement by the majority.
129 Councils often have to respond to the challenge of whether improvements must wait until someone is killed or injured before anything is done. Hard evidence can be very helpful, especially to elected members, in making the case for council priorities being primarily based on casualty data.

130 Elected members have to decide where public concerns should figure within the council’s policy and funding priorities. It may be appropriate to fund low-cost solutions out of a budget for responding to localised community priorities, even when the data do not show there is a particular risk. These might involve simple changes to the position of a bus stop or to parking restrictions (Web case study L describes examples from the London Boroughs of Croydon and of Tower Hamlets). Although road safety tends not to cause major differences between political parties, some questions are controversial and need political processes to resolve them. Questions like these have benefited from the scrutiny process (Case study 4).

131 Some councils encourage alternatives to car transport; this gives a special impetus to their road safety work, since encouraging cycling and walking can depend on people feeling safer when using these transport modes.
Applying the framework on pages 4 and 5 of this report will require local agencies to build the capacity that will enable them to target the people most at risk of accidents and to change their behaviours. This includes developing the necessary analytical skills and developing ways to influence different groups of people.

Support for professionals in using evidence-based approaches and in innovating comes from two main sources:

- Regional peer networks, supported by the DfT and the professional bodies, the County Surveyors’ Society and Local Authority Road Safety Officers’ Association, help spread notable and innovative practice. They also support regional or sub-regional collaboration, including joint campaign planning and data sharing and analysis.

- A substantial amount of research takes place each year into improving road safety. But the findings are not easy to access systematically; there is no equivalent to the electronic databases available to the medical profession (such as www.cochrane.org). Although regional networks and training events help to disseminate best practice, internet access to information could be improved.

The shift in emphasis presents local authorities and their partners with a challenge, one that may require them to be innovative. The Audit Commission will publish a study on how they can create the conditions in which innovation can thrive in spring 2007.

The main website, www.audit-commission.gov.uk, also includes useful lessons about partnerships in its previous publications, with further research ongoing. Topics include:

- sharing information and knowledge to improve communication;
- deciding on priorities and managing performance; and
- funding and financial management.

See for example, Governing Partnerships (Ref. 38).
The Audit Commission website www.audit-commission.gov.uk/roadsafety provides links to more detailed information, including bespoke local self-assessment tools, for:

- local authority councillors;
- local authority officers;
- police forces;
- CDRPs;
- fire and rescue services; and
- NHS bodies.
Appendix 1
Case studies

Case study 1
York and North Yorkshire Road Safety Partnership

The number of KSIs in York and North Yorkshire has reduced over recent years at a rate that is ahead of the national average. However, in line with the national picture, fatalities have reduced at a much slower rate than seriously injured casualties. A multi-agency road safety partnership was formed in November 2004 to try to address this trend, adopting the government’s targets on all KSIs and slight injuries, and a stretch target of 60 per cent reduction for child KSIs. The partnership, 95 Alive, has adopted a vision:

A new Road Safety Partnership will make the roads in York and North Yorkshire safer by the end of 2010. One in three lives will be saved and 95 people will be alive that otherwise may have been killed on our roads.

Many different partners adopted this vision at its launch in November 2004, including: CDRPs; PCTs; Government Office for Yorkshire and the Humber; Highways Agency; North York Moors and Yorkshire Dales National Parks; North Yorkshire Fire and Rescue; North Yorkshire Police; and ambulance services.

A baseline for the 95 Alive Strategy was established through a literature and best practice review; partner policy review; proposed road hierarchy; and analysis of accident data. An action plan has been produced for the partners to work together to address issues in the short, medium and long term.

Benefits of the partnership include:

• a calendar of events detailing all future road safety initiatives;
• a standard model for considering interventions, to make the most of different contributions and ensure coordination;
• a local focus in CDRPs for both county-wide and localised safety issues;
• a better understanding of NHS costs, since the PCT is involved;
• vehicle-activated signs that can be operated by fire and rescue officers on behalf of the highway authority and the police;
• collaboration with the national park authorities to ensure that changes to the roads take account of the impact on the environment;
• better joint working by all the emergency services to improve their responses to accidents; and
• coterminosity between the local authorities, North Yorkshire County Council and York City Council, and other agencies such as North Yorkshire Police.

Some of the priorities and interventions from the 95 Alive Strategy have been included in CDRP strategies, with the remainder promoted through the County Council.

North Yorkshire Police has announced that road fatalities fell from 85 in 2005 to 68 in 2006. Between 2004 and 2005, KSIs fell by 3.6 per cent, and slightly injured casualties by 11 per cent, sustaining the substantial downward trends of recent years.

Case study 2

Joint working on road safety: the LAA in Tower Hamlets

The Community Plan for the Tower Hamlets LSP, setting out a vision for the future to 2010, was launched in May 2001 following extensive consultation with key stakeholders and the community. The Tower Hamlets Partnership is responsible for harnessing the joint efforts of residents, the council, police, the health service, public services, voluntary and community groups, faith communities and businesses to improve the quality of life for local people.

The Partnership has entered into an LAA with the Government Office for London which is aligned with the priorities identified in the Community Plan. Under the Living Safely component, improved road safety has been identified as a key target area, with a stretch performance indicator through the second round of LPSAs. The table below summarises the key linkages across these elements for road safety within Tower Hamlets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Plan</th>
<th>LAA</th>
<th>LPSA</th>
<th>Target area</th>
<th>Primary indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A better place for living safely (1 of 5 themes)</td>
<td>Safer and stronger communities (1 of 5 priorities)</td>
<td>Making our neighbourhoods more liveable (1 of 6 improvement priorities)</td>
<td>Improved road safety (1 of 12 target areas)</td>
<td>Number of adults and children killed or seriously injured on roads (1 of 42 primary indicators)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The LAA and Community Plan provide the foundation for the council Strategic Plan in delivering these priorities. Similarly, other statutory services providers, such as the police and the PCT, have aligned their service delivery priorities with the Community Plan and LAA priorities.

In this way, the multi-agency partnership has adopted key priorities following thorough consultation, and all partners are now working towards them. The overall objective filters down into directorate plans, team plans and targets for individual team members. There is a thread linking the activities of those responsible for delivering improvements on the ground to the overall aims for the borough as a whole. Those working in road safety have been motivated by having it as a key priority, and having a stretch target.

Case study 3
Cleveland Safety Camera Partnership’s relationship with the media and community

The Cleveland Safety Camera Partnership was formed in April 2000, between Cleveland Police, Cleveland Magistrates, and Hartlepool, Redcar and Cleveland, Stockton and Middlesbrough borough councils. At that time there was a strong anti-camera lobby in the media, and the SCP has had to make particular efforts to convince the local media and the general public of their worthiness.

At the same time, communities often perceive there is a local speed problem and ask for speed cameras. The SCP office manager monitors actual speeds and, based on them, deploys mobile cameras. Fifteen per cent of total camera time is allocated to address issues of community perception.

The SCP has promoted a positive image of safety cameras through publicity, using a dedicated advertising agency. Initiatives have included:

1. *In Any Other Form – A Hero* is a leaflet presenting the hospital costs of treating a serious casualty from an RTA. The total cost is compared with what else this could buy at a local hospital. Included is a quote from the head of a local A&E unit, endorsing cameras for reducing accidents and releasing resources for other healthcare.

2. A DVD, *GOTCHA*, on the dangers of speeding and how to avoid fines and getting caught on camera. This has been distributed to the public using a specially hired truck – over three nights, 10,000 copies were handed out. Focus groups have been
used for detailed evaluation of the impact of the DVDs. Around half the participants said that the DVD had a significant impact on them: it would affect their attitude to speeding to some degree, and also their future driving habits. Personal stories in the DVD were particularly effective with the older group. Total costs were: £31,000 for production, £19,000 for promotional activity and £36,000 for the DVD copies.

3. The SCP carried out surveys in 2002, 2004 and 2005. These gauged the media through which the public knew about anti-speeding campaigns and their responses to this advertising. In 2005, 42 per cent of respondents (8 percentage points more than in 2004) stated that the advertising campaign had made them more favourable towards safety cameras.

This last statistic is symptomatic of the gradual shift in opinion to a more positive view of safety cameras since the inception of the partnership. The local paper in Hartlepool is now very supportive and 78 per cent of the public in Hartlepool support safety cameras. Indeed, over five years, the partnership is estimated to have saved over 500 collisions on the camera-monitored roads.

Case study 4
The role of councillors – scrutiny inquiry into 20mph speed limit zones outside schools within Hartlepool Borough Council

In August 2005, a meeting of the South Neighbourhood Consultative Forum of Hartlepool Borough Council referred the issue of 20mph zones outside schools to the Council’s Scrutiny Coordinating Committee because of concerns over vehicle speeds and child safety. The Neighbourhood Services Scrutiny Forum was asked to complete an inquiry within three months, with the aim of establishing the appropriateness of enforcement of 20mph zones outside schools.

The investigation revealed that there had been six child pedestrian casualties outside schools in Hartlepool over the past three years. There was no written policy on the procedure for dealing with 20mph zones outside schools; rather, schools were selected on a case-by-case basis. The inquiry also concluded that 20mph zones should be self-enforcing by means of signs and traffic calming methods and therefore would not be practicable for all schools.

The inquiry found that the public had grown increasingly frustrated at the apparent lack of concern for road safety issues surrounding a number of schools in Hartlepool. Members agreed that funding should be sought to introduce 20mph zones and other appropriate traffic calming measures at all appropriate schools throughout Hartlepool.
The Scrutiny Forum made a number of recommendations to the cabinet, in its final report presented in February 2006. Principally this concerned producing a policy on 20mph zones following consultation with the public and partners. Other recommendations included undertaking a number of 20mph zone pilot schemes outside schools and providing a progress report within six months.

The cabinet accepted all of the Scrutiny Forum’s findings. In March 2006, Hartlepool Borough Council announced a 20mph speed limit zone to be introduced outside a school funded by the North Neighbourhood Consultative Forum’s minor works budget. Costing £9,500, the works include erecting speed limit signs and installing speed cushions.

By adopting the scrutiny approach, the Council recognised that establishing 20mph zones outside schools is a local political choice, and not one that would objectively be funded in the mainstream capital budget based on casualty figures alone. The scrutiny process gave the issue political support and justification for expenditure from the minor works budget.

**Case study 5**

**Monitoring and evaluating road safety engineering – five programmes of work in Hampshire County Council**

Hampshire County Council has provisionally identified £13.5 million for casualty reduction-focused engineering programmes in order to meet road safety targets to 2010 in both its LTP and second LPSA. The capital funding will continue to be focused on locations where there are likely to be high rates of return in anticipated casualty savings – principally low-cost remedial sites and a carriageway surface treatment programme. These two programmes sit within a wider portfolio of five complementary programmes of road safety capital investment, listed in the table opposite. Each programme has dedicated resources and is individually monitored and evaluated by the Council.

The five separate programmes mean that it can target identified areas of concern, responding to emerging accident trends. The Council has undertaken research before proposing each of the programmes and has monitored and evaluated the individual strands. The complementary programmes have combined to produce impressive rates of return and casualty reductions over a sustained period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Work covered</th>
<th>Inputs and outcomes</th>
<th>Additional information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low cost</strong></td>
<td>Schemes &lt;£50k</td>
<td>Between 1988 and 2002, 760 schemes at a total cost of £9.465m. Estimated 2,448 accidents saved at these locations. Annual rates of return from 1,500% to &gt;2,500%.</td>
<td>Generally, schemes are consulted upon and delivered in the same year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High cost</strong></td>
<td>Schemes £50k to £400k</td>
<td>Five schemes implemented in 2000/01 totalling £1.148m and saving an estimated 29 casualties. (2000/01 is most recent example with three years monitoring before and after.)</td>
<td>Only used once potential low-cost solutions are exhausted as it can involve a protracted process of consultation and implementation. Rates of return often lower than for lower value schemes. Detailed monitoring of schemes from 1993.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casualty reduction programme audit</strong></td>
<td>Maintenance of existing low-cost schemes</td>
<td>£250k. Estimated annual savings of 66 personal injury accidents or £3.8m.</td>
<td>Ensures continued effectiveness of existing (ie previously implemented) safety-led schemes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Casualty reduction partnership</strong></td>
<td>Investigates fatal and some potential fatal accident sites for potential engineering improvements</td>
<td>Partnership formed in April 2003. No further fatal accidents at sites investigated since 2003. In 2005, there were 45 sites, 44 were visited and 30 measures implemented.</td>
<td>Casuality reduction partnership members from the County Council, police and relevant district council visit the site within 30 days of the serious accident. Monitoring of site for five years following completion of measures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carriageway surface treatment programme</strong></td>
<td>Replace, re-texture or lay anti-skid to road surface</td>
<td>Predicted savings from 18 schemes undertaken in 2003 are 97 accidents over three years; a calculated rate of return of 1,500%.</td>
<td>2003 study identified 49% of KSI accidents involved skidding. Priority is given to high injury accident levels where skid resistance tests show poor carriageway skidding resistance within otherwise structurally sound carriageway.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

Methodology

The study was conducted under Section 33 of the Audit Commission Act 1998. Section 33 places a duty on the Commission to undertake studies to support recommendations aimed at improving the economy, efficiency and effectiveness of council services. Our report draws on five principal sources of evidence:

- Desk-based reviews of road safety literature, policy and strategies at a national and local level.
- Statistical analysis of data, including investment monitoring returns to the DfT concerning council spend on road safety, and published casualty figures based on STATS 19 data.
- Fieldwork visits to eight areas focusing on how local agencies use data, engage with communities and make decisions on road safety. At each visit we conducted interviews with council officers and members, and the police. The visits also included interviews with: fire and rescue, health representatives, teachers, CDRPs, SCPs, government office staff, and representatives of the local community.
- Interviews with a range of national stakeholders.
- TRL Ltd was commissioned to produce two reports: a Review of Road Safety Good Practice in English Local Authorities and a Review of International Road Safety Good Practice (Refs. 2 and 3). These are available on the Audit Commission website, www.audit-commission.gov.uk/roadsafety.

Geoffrey Rendle and Tim Aldridge from the Audit Commission undertook the research for this study. Andy Walford was the Project Director. An external advisory group assisted with developing the research framework and the findings. The Commission thanks all those who were involved (listed in Appendix 3). However, the views expressed in this report are those of the Commission alone.
Appendix 3

Organisations involved in the study

Stakeholders interviewed
AA Motoring Trust
BRAKE
British Motorcyclists’ Federation
Chief Fire Officers’ Association
Highways Agency
Living Streets
RAC Foundation
Road Haulage Association
TRL Ltd
Transport for London

Fieldwork sites:
(including contact with police forces serving these areas)
London Borough of Croydon
Hampshire County Council
Hartlepool Borough Council
Leeds City Council
North Yorkshire County Council
Plymouth City Council
London Borough of Tower Hamlets
Wolverhampton City Council

Advisory Group
Louisa Bagshaw, Department for Transport
Ian Bell, Association of Chief Police Officers
Geoffrey Biddulph, Home Office
Kevin Clinton, Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents
David Clark, National Audit Office
John Couch, Technical Advisory Group
Simon Ettinghausen, Local Authority Road Safety Officers’ Association
Rob Gifford, Parliamentary Advisory Council for Transport Safety
Brian Goodwin, County Surveyors’ Society
Cllr Frank Rosamond, Mid Devon District Council
Rita Tucker, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary
Heather Ward, University College London
Cllr Richard Williams, Southampton City Council
Glossary of terms

A&E
Accident and emergency department

CDRP
Crime and disorder reduction partnerships were created (376 in total) after the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour in every council area. The Act requires local agencies to work together, and states that councils and the police have the prime responsibility to reduce and prevent crime.

CPA
Comprehensive Performance Assessment, introduced by the Audit Commission in 2002, measures how well councils are delivering services to the public and reduces overall regulatory burden.

DfES
Department for Education and Skills

DfT
Department for Transport

DH
Department of Health

ETP
Education, training and publicity element of road safety casualty reduction efforts.

HMIC
Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary

Home Zone
Home Zones aim to foster a sense of identity for selected neighbourhoods by creating safe areas for children to play and by providing equal right of access to shared space among all road users.

KSI
Killed or seriously injured casualty. As defined by STATS 19, the severity of an accident is classified according to the severity of the most severely injured casualty:
• a fatal injury is one where a casualty dies within 30 days of the accident;
• a serious injury is defined, for the purposes of STATS 19 recording, as a casualty with one or more of the following injuries:
  – fracture;
  – internal injury;
  – severe cuts;
  – crushing;
  – burns;
  – concussion;
  – shock requiring hospital treatment;
  – detention in hospital as an inpatient; and
  – injuries to casualties who die 30 or more days after the accident from injuries sustained in the accident.

LAA
A local area agreement is a three-year agreement, based on local Sustainable Community Strategies, that sets out the priorities for a local area. The agreement is made between central government, represented by the government office, and a local area, represented by the lead local authority and other key partners through local strategic partnerships.

LPSA
A local public service agreement is a voluntary agreement negotiated between a local authority and the government. The overall aim of LPSAs is to improve the delivery of local public services by focusing on targeted outcomes with support from government.

LSP
A local strategic partnership is a single non-statutory, multi-agency body that matches a council’s boundary. LSPs aim to bring together locally, representatives of public, private, community and voluntary sectors.

LTP
A local transport plan is produced and maintained by most local transport authorities (county councils, unitary authorities and partnerships in metropolitan areas) in England (not London), as required by the Transport Act 2000. LTPs set out the authority’s local transport strategies and policies, and an implementation programme over a five-year period.

MPS
Metropolitan Police Service
NIM
The National Intelligence Model is a policing framework that ensures that information is fully researched, developed and analysed to inform senior police managers by:

• providing strategic direction;
• informing tactical resourcing decisions for operational policing; and
• assisting in the management of risk.

The framework applies to most policing activities.

PCT
Primary care trust

RSAP
Road safety action plan (New Zealand)

RTA
Road traffic accident

SCP
Safety camera partnership

Slight injury
A slight injury is defined as a minor cut, bruising, a sprain or a strain.

STATS 19
Form used by the police to record details of road traffic accidents.

TfL
Transport for London

THINK!
National campaign run by the Department for Transport to raise awareness of road safety.
References


28 National Joint Council for Local Authority Fire and Rescue Services, *Fire and Rescue Service Rolemaps*, National Joint Council for Local Authority Fire and Rescue Services, 2005.


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The Improvement Network is a user-friendly website, helping councils and others involved in improving local public services.

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