

Policing 2020



What kind of police service
do we want in 2020?

Edward Boyd

Edited by David Skelton



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About the Authors

Edward Boyd joined Policy Exchange's Crime and Justice Unit as a Research Fellow in January 2011. Prior to this he has worked for the National Policing Improvement Agency as a Strategy Advisor; the London School of Economics as a teacher on bargaining and negotiation; and as Product Manager of UK Listed Alternative Assets at the London Stock Exchange. He co-authored the Policy Exchange reports *Inside Job* (June 2011) and *Cost of the Cops* (September 2011) and is a regular commentator on current policing and criminal justice issues, appearing at conferences and on national broadcast outlets along with writing numerous articles for the print media.

David Skelton is Deputy Director and Head of Research at Policy Exchange. David has worked at the forefront of politics, policy development and public service reform for over a decade. He has also worked extensively in the private sector and with senior politicians and decision makers, with a focus on public sector reform. He has written regularly for a number of publications, including *The Guardian*, *New Statesman*, *Prospect*, *Platform 10*, *Left Foot Forward* and *ConservativeHome*, as well as appearing on BBC Radio and TV and Sky News. David's major policy interests include economic regeneration, spreading opportunity through education and re-engaging working class communities. David was born and brought up in Consett, County Durham.

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Policy Exchange's Crime & Justice Unit

Developing smart crime policies that are cost-effective, evidence-led, and credible with the public.

- Police reform – Our work explores how to make the police more effective, efficient and accountable in their core mission of preventing crime and disorder. We promote new innovations and modern working practices that can help the police cope with reduced funding and the growing complexity of today's security challenges. We were the first UK think-tank to advocate democratic police governance with elected Police and Crime Commissioners and we support moves to harness technology to aid the police, and workforce reform to create a more flexible and professional service.
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- Localism and transparency – We work to promote those innovative responses to crime that are owned and funded at a local level, instead of top-down, centralised initiatives. Our research explores new ways to open up the criminal justice system to new providers and to public scrutiny, to give victims and the public greater information and control and to challenge state monopolies. We have promoted transparency and new ways of opening up of data and highlighted promising local projects, including problem-solving courts, anti-gang schemes and community policing projects.

If you would like to find out more about our work, please contact:

Max Chambers

Head of Crime and Justice

Policy Exchange

Clutha House

10 Storey's Gate

London SW1P 3AY

Email: info@policyexchange.org.uk

Telephone: 020 7340 2650

Fax: 020 7222 5859 | www.policyexchange.org.uk

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Introduction

Since taking office in 2010, the Coalition government has set in motion the most wide-ranging police reforms in over fifty years. Changes have included restructuring the national landscape,¹ abolishing police authorities and introducing 41 directly-elected Police & Crime Commissioners, a fundamental review of police pay and conditions, and the scaling back of central performance management targets and the ring-fencing of Home Office grants. These reforms have coincided with a 20% reduction in central government funding for 2011-12 to 2014-15, due to the challenging fiscal environment. This financial pressure is unlikely to ease until 2020 at the earliest, which increases the need for innovative thinking in policing.

The choices that police forces make over how they respond to these changes and challenges – in particular the budget reductions – will play a significant part in determining how policing is structured and delivered in 2020 and beyond. Yet to date there has been very little public debate about what type of police service we need in 2020 to successfully serve the public in the fight against crime and disorder.

This paper aims to galvanise that debate. It is an attempt to encourage debate and forward thinking amongst policing decision makers by putting forward a view of what successful policing in 2020 may look like.

As we look forward however, it is vital to ensure that the Peelian Principles, upon which policing in England and Wales is based, are not lost as the police service evolves. Advanced by the former Home Secretary and Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, in the early 19th Century, the Peelian Principles have been upheld as the cornerstone of policing by Chief Constables, Home Secretaries and police leaders worldwide.

Our research is predicated on reinterpreting and reapplying the Peelian Principles for the needs of 2020 society. Combining this with recommendations from previous Policy Exchange research, we set out a vision for policing in eight years' time. In doing so, we do not seek to cover the vast complexity of delivering a successful police service, but rather concentrate on four themes that are central to the Peelian Principles and critical to get right in 2020: crime prevention; police responsiveness to local communities; the role of the public in fighting crime and disorder; and police partnerships.

This paper differs from most Policy Exchange research publications in that its core purpose is to spark a debate on what policing should look like in 2020, rather than make a series of recommendations for immediate change. The structure of this paper reflects this, and as a result each chapter is set out in two parts: first, we appraise how effectively policing in England and Wales is upholding the Peelian Principles for modern society; Second, we make a series of suggestions detailing what we believe needs to happen over the next eight years to ensure policing will be fit for purpose in 2020.

1 By abolishing the National Policing Improvement Agency and the Serious and Organised Crime Agency and forming the National Crime Agency

Peel's 'Nine Principles of Policing'

The former Home Secretary and Prime Minister in the early 19th Century, Sir Robert Peel, has had a number of policing principles attributed to him. While the Nine Principles were not penned by him directly, they were later surmised by police historians from some of the many speeches he made on policing and crime.

There are two themes within the Peelian Principles that we do not cover in this report: the use of force (principles four and six) and the need to refrain from usurping the powers of the judiciary (principle eight). They are areas that are undoubtedly worthy of discussion, and will be explored in future Policy Exchange work.

The Peelian Principles

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of the law.
4. To recognise always that the extent to which the cooperation of the public can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or restore order; and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.

8. To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the state, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
9. To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

Executive Summary

A vision for 2020

Faced with the most severe economic downturn in living memory and the ever present threat of crime, it is more important than ever for police forces to make the most of their limited resources in the fight against crime and disorder.

The Coalition government faces two familiar calls from criminal justice reformers: one argues for a tougher approach to crime, citing significant public support; whilst the other says that this approach is not effective at reducing reoffending, and argues for a more nuanced approach to crime. To break away from this two-dimensional paradigm the Coalition government needs to adopt policies and initiatives that are ‘smart on crime:’ cost-effective, evidenced-based and aligned with the public’s expectations.

The vision we set out in this paper is predicated on this ‘smart on crime’ approach to police reform. It is founded on the Peelian Principles and the analysis of other Policy Exchange research that argued, for example, for a more cost-effective police service,² an evidence-based approach to police procurement,³ and greater cooperation between the police and the Crown Prosecution Service.⁴

In our vision for 2020 we outline the fundamental importance of putting crime prevention at the heart of the police mission by creating a new cadre of frontline officers – Crime Prevention Officers – and equipping them with the technology and training necessary to excel in their role. We argue that policing should be delivered more locally and suggest how the public might be encouraged to play a full part, with Citizen Police Academies created to train and empower the public, in the fight against crime. Finally, we argue that this should all be delivered in 2020 by Police and Crime Commissioners who prioritise effective partnership working and have an unwaveringly outcome-oriented focus on reducing crime and disorder.

Chapter 1 – Preventing Crime and Disorder

In 2012:

- The prevention of crime and disorder is held up by all those engaged in policing as the fundamental mission of the police:
 - 89% of Chief Constables agree that “the prevention of crime and disorder is the most important activity police forces undertake.”⁵
 - 96% of aspiring officers on the Police’s High Potential Development Scheme agree that “the basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.”
 - 91% of the public in Great Britain believe that prevention should be the focus of the criminal justice system.
- Yet crime prevention is not treated as a resource priority (in 2002 just 1% of police resources were invested in crime prevention) and there is a desperate

2 Boyd E, et al, “Cost of the Cops: Manpower and deployment in policing,” Policy Exchange, 2011

3 Geoghegan R, “Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring,” Policy Exchange 2012

4 Sosa K, “In the Public Interest: Reforming the Crown Prosecution Service,” Policy Exchange, 2012 (due to be published shortly)

5 All views from Chief Constables come from a Policy Exchange questionnaire conducted in 2012 which was completed by 19 Chief Constables (or those approved by the Chief Constable to reply on their behalf) out of 42

need to shift resource from reacting to crime towards preventing it. Former Chief Inspector of Constabulary, Sir Denis O'Connor stated in September 2012: "No longer can the police operate as they have – in a predominantly reactive way that chases increasing demand for service."

- Neither is crime prevention prioritised in police training:
 - Despite 89% of Chief Constables believing that British Policing has a "strong cultural emphasis on the importance of preventing crime and disorder," only 16% were satisfied with the "attention given to the theory, research and practice of crime prevention in police training."
 - Avon and Somerset's Deputy Chief Constable, Rob Beckley, noted that the amount of time given over to crime prevention in training is "minimal" and commented that: "Problem solving training for neighbourhood officers is good, the training for integrated offender unit staff in preventative pathways is strong, however systematic training and sharing of good practice in respect of crime prevention among officers and staff is often non-existent or very narrow in focus."

By 2020:

- All officers who were previously in Neighbourhood Policing Teams or Safer Neighbourhood Teams (20,700 officers who will make up 15% of the total number of officers in 2012-13) should be recast as Crime Prevention Officers (CPOs). This will help shift policing culture and signal to both officers and the public, what these officers are there to do.
 - CPOs would be personally responsible for crime prevention in their area and held to account through monthly COMPSTAT meetings, chaired by their Basic Command Unit Commander, with each CPO ranked according to their success at increasing confidence and reducing crime.
 - CPOs would be expected to garner strong working relationships with police partners and build trusting relationships with local communities through working for many years in the same area.
 - CPO recruitment would be focused on finding people with exceptional problem solving and people skills and they would receive regular training via the College of Policing.
 - Officers should be able to rise to the rank of Inspector as CPOs to maximise the amount of time the best officers can spend on the frontline fighting crime, as this will enable them to build up strong relationships with local citizens over time and engender greater familiarity and trust. Success as a CPO should also be a key factor when considering promotion to the most senior police ranks.
 - They should be equipped with body cameras to provide them with more evidence of incidents and to protect them from false claims. This would also give CPOs greater protection to perform single patrolling which greatly improves police visibility, as recommended in the Policy Exchange paper *Cost of the Cops* in 2011.
- Police forces across England and Wales should set up 'innovation hubs' to further knowledge of what tactics and strategies are successful in the fight against crime and disorder.
 - They should link CPOs with academics, innovators and technological experts to work together and transform approaches to crime prevention.

- They should focus on identifying, testing and proving new tactics and technologies to improve the prevention effectiveness of CPOs through running robust experiments and trialling new technologies in the field and working with external experts to accredit and examine the results.

Chapter 2 – The Police are the Public

In 2012:

- Central to the Peelian Principles are that “the police are the public” who are “dependent on public approval” and must secure the public’s “willing cooperation.”
- Despite the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) by the Coalition government, the link between the police and the public is not fully restored. The average police force covers around 3,600 square kilometres and serves 1.3 million people: PCCs alone cannot make officers fully responsive to all local communities in such large areas.

By 2020:

- Police and Crime Commissioners should consider re-establishing Basic Command Units (BCUs) as the mechanism through which to deliver local policing.
 - Whilst BCU Commanders should be given the discretion to make day-to-day operational decisions and be in charge of implementing police force priorities, overall responsibility for priority setting in policing should remain with PCCs.
 - The local delivery of policing should not involve a replication of back office functions in BCUs, which should be held at police force level or in collaborations across multiple forces and government agencies.
 - BCUs could be made coterminous with local authorities to advance collaborative working, and the number of BCUs therefore increased from 151 to around 348.
 - A public voice should be introduced into the choosing of BCU Commanders. When BCU Commander positions become vacant, councillors should represent the public and decide, along with members of the police hierarchy, on a shortlist of potential BCU Commanders, with Chief Constables and PCCs taking the final decision.
- Police forces across England and Wales should introduce a Public Takes Charge Scheme, which would reach out to local residents in a ward area and invite them to join an on-line web platform and take part in quarterly meetings in the local area. Residents would be given 20% of local CPOs’ time to allocate to their local crime priorities.

Chapter 3 – The Public are the Police

In 2012:

- Successful policing requires the public’s cooperation and involvement as the police alone cannot win the fight against crime and disorder. The public, however, are not confident to intervene:
 - In a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange in 2012, the public

were asked whether, if a group of teenagers were drinking on a street near their home and were verbally abusing passers-by, they would intervene and ask them to stop. 64 per cent said they probably or definitely would not, whilst 27 per cent said they probably or definitely would.

- The poll also highlighted some differences across Great Britain. Those living in London were the least likely to say they would intervene (18% said they would) whilst those living in Scotland were the most likely to say they would intervene at 31%.
- The number of citizen's arrests has fallen by 87% from 14,047 in 2002 to just 1,816 in 2011-12 in the Metropolitan Police Force area. A Policy Exchange Freedom of Information request showed that citizen's arrests in the Met Police area have halved in two years from 3,755 in 2009-10 to 1,816 in 2011-12.
- More needs to be done to encourage the reporting of crime and relevant information:
 - In 2012 only 15 police forces allow crime to be reported online.
 - There are large swathes of crime and disorder that are not reported to the police. Around 9.5 million offences took place in 2011-12,⁶ yet just 4 million offences were reported to the police in the same year.⁷
 - This was also reflected in the opinion of Chief Constables:
 - 74% of Chief Constables thought the public could do more in terms of reporting crime and disorder to the police and 94% thought the public could provide more intelligence.
 - All Chief Constables who replied to our questionnaire agreed that "more support from people in high crime areas" would ensure the police were "more effective in our fight against crime in their neighbourhoods."

By 2020:

- The public should be able to report crime and relevant information via text, email and social media and be able to send in pictures and videos of crimes or relevant information. Privately developed applications should be commissioned by the police and integrated into police IT systems to make it easier and simpler for the public to report.
- Police forces should encourage and incentivise an increase in the employment of Special Constables and Volunteers through recruiting not just based on organisational need but also on factors such as what potential Specials' passions are, what their skill set is, and where they live.
- Police Foundations should be set up to financially bolster forces by generating local philanthropy. The majority of funds should be used to further knowledge of what works to prevent crime and disorder.
- Citizen Police Academies should be set up to generate a more participative policing model and to engage with the public on policing and crime. Through educating the public on police activity, as well as on their own role in preventing crime and disorder, the police should be better supported by an active citizenry as a result.
 - In a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange (2012) the public were asked how interested they would be in attending a free evening course put on by an Academy if one was put on near them. A third of the public in England and Wales (36%) said they would be interested, whilst

6 Crime Survey for England and Wales 2011-12, Office of National Statistics, 2012

7 Police Recorded Crime 2011-12, Office of National Statistics, 2012

59% were not interested. Eight% said they would be extremely interested. If even half of those who said they were extremely interested in attending did so, that would be around 1.8 million people attending an Academy in England and Wales, making a big difference to public safety.

Chapter 4 – Policing Partnerships

In 2012:

- The successful prevention of crime and disorder requires the police to work effectively in partnership with others, especially at a time of protracted austerity.
- Policy Exchange asked Chief Constables for their view of police partners in our questionnaire:
 - Regarding state partners, Chief Constables were most impressed with the support they received from local authorities (84% of Chief Constables were satisfied with the level of support they provided), probation services (74% were satisfied) and drug treatment agencies (63% were satisfied).
 - Yet there was considerable discontent with mental health providers and state care and children’s homes: only 11% of Chief Constables were satisfied with the support they provided.
 - Satisfaction for private partners was highest for large event organisers (84% were satisfied), licensed premises (74% were satisfied) and telecommunication companies (68% were satisfied).
 - Satisfaction was the lowest for private care and children’s homes (only 16% were satisfied) and financial institutions (26% were satisfied).
- The last decade, under both Labour and Coalition administrations, has seen extensive use of private businesses to help deliver back and middle office services for the police.
 - There are currently around 46 collaboration projects involving the private sector (34 of these are exclusively with the private sector).⁸ They include back office functions such as IT and finance, and middle office functions such as custody and call handling.
 - The rationale has generally been that such partnerships are beneficial where they help forces to reduce the cost – whilst maintaining or increasing the quality – of back and middle office functions, freeing more officers to take up frontline roles.
 - With the tight financial circumstances unlikely to loosen over the next decade, PCCs will need to consider all possible options – including working with private businesses – in order to stay within budget and maximise the number of officers on the frontline.

By 2020:

- Police and Crime Commissioners should be strong and effective advocates for their police forces.
 - They should use their powerful media and political clout to encourage police partners who fail to uphold their responsibilities, and to persuade them to raise their game.
 - They should have strong working relationships with industry, businesses

⁸ Note that this excludes projects initiated or developed since November 2011

and the third sector as part of their role in commissioning services. They should pool funding and run innovation competitions to identify new technologies and strategies for reducing crime.

- The narrative regarding private sector involvement in policing needs to change from one dominated by discussions over inputs into one focused on outcomes, with a strong understanding of what structures and partnerships provide the most effective and efficient means of delivering the best possible police service to the public.
- As shown in a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange in 2012, the public in England and Wales support independent organisations, such as private businesses and social enterprises, to play a role in policing, if it means that police officers will be freed to perform other duties:
 - 73% of the public support private businesses and social enterprises supporting the police on administrative functions, 71% support involvement to help develop IT systems, 56% for answering calls from the public, and half (49%) for processing evidence and guarding crime scenes (48%).
- What structures are most appropriate will depend on the nature of the services being contracted out, and PCCs need to make sure any deal secures the best outcome for the public.
- Police forces should consider introducing an element of employee ownership into the delivery of back and middle office functions. This will increase productivity by increasing staff motivation, thereby reducing the current relatively high level of sickness absence (estimated by an HMIC snapshot to be as high as 13 days per year among police staff in 2010).
- Moreover, in 2020, these partnerships should not only work to provide a better police service for the public, they should also be free to bid for contracts that have been traditionally awarded to the private sector, such as providing the security for large public events.
 - Any profit from these arrangements should be reinvested back into the partnerships and forces to further equip them in the fight against crime.
 - Before any such contracts are arranged, forces would need to prove they had the necessary resilience to cope with emergency situations, such as wide-spread rioting, and public emergencies should always receive preferential status in any resource decision.

1

Preventing Crime and Disorder

1.1 Introduction

“To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.”

“To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.”

Sir Robert Peel’s first and last Peelian Principles

The prevention of crime and disorder is a mission that goes far beyond the remit of police forces and it is incumbent upon every individual, community and organisation – both state and private – to play their part. However, the police will always play the central role and are rightly held to account by the public for the level of crime and disorder in their communities.

There are a number of things we know the police can do to reduce crime.

Foremost amongst them are maintaining a visible police presence,⁹ especially in high crime ‘hot spots.’¹⁰ The Policy Exchange paper, *Cost of the Cops* argued for workforce changes that would maximise visibility and the number of officers on the frontline. We also know that the majority of crime is committed by a relatively few number of people whom the police can focus on. In 2004 the UK Home Office analysed offending data from 1953 to 1978 and found the following:¹¹

“In England and Wales, with a combined population of over 52 million, just 100,000 people are estimated to commit half of all crime. In fact, just 5,000 offenders commit almost one in every ten crimes.”

More recently it was found that last year more than 275,000 offences were committed by individuals with at least 11 previous convictions.¹²

The importance of crime prevention has been recognised by Home Secretaries, from Sir Robert Peel to Theresa May¹³, and Police Chiefs across the ages.¹⁴ The joint first Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Richard Mayne stated in 1829 that “the primary object of an efficient police is the prevention of crime.”¹⁵

This view is shared by current Chief Constables, 89% of whom agreed that “the prevention of crime and disorder is the most important activity police forces undertake.”¹⁶ The officers on the Police Service’s High Potential Development Scheme¹⁷ concur, with 96% agreeing that “the basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.”¹⁸

9 For example, see Draca M, et al, “Panic on the Streets of London: Police, Crime and the July 2005 Terror Attacks,” Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2008

10 For example see Braga A, et al, “Hot spots policing effects on crime,” Campbell Systematic Reviews, The Campbell Collaborations, 2012

11 Prime J, et al, “Criminal careers of those born between 1953 and 1978.” Home Office, 2001

12 www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/9633729/Hard-core-of-repeat-offenders-commit-quarter-of-a-million-crimes-a-year.html

13 Theresa May stated upon becoming Home Secretary in 2010 that the police’s role was to “... cut crime. No more, and no less.” (www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/theresa-may-sp-NPC)

14 For a recent example, The Thames Valley Chief Constable Sara Thornton recently stated: “Cutting crime is Thames Valley Police’s most important responsibility.” (www.thamesvalley.police.uk/newsevents-news-item.htm?id=214992)

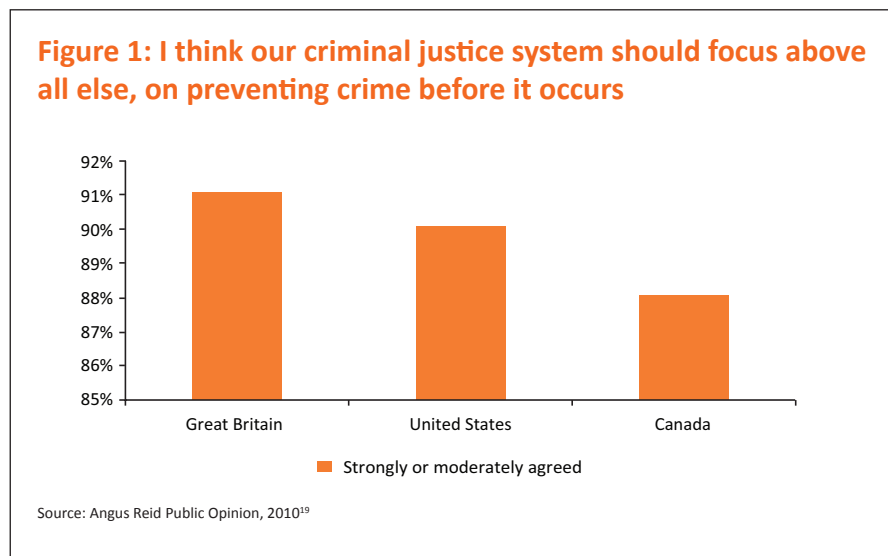
15 www.met.police.uk/history/definition.htm

16 Policy Exchange questionnaire, 2012

17 The High Potential Development Scheme is a five year police training programme designed to equip future police leaders (see www.npia.police.uk/en/8563.htm)

18 Boyd E, et al, “Policing in 2020: A summary of discussions on the future of policing,” Policy Exchange, 2011

Crucially, the public are also in favour of a preventative approach to crime: 91% believe that prevention should be the focus of the criminal justice system.



Yet despite strong declarations from all parties that the prevention of crime and disorder should be at the heart of policing and the criminal justice system, the reality on the ground does not match up to this.

1.2 Are we focused enough on crime prevention in 2012?

Resource Spend

The police will always have an important role to play as a reactive emergency service, responding to calls for help from the public. Yet, even allowing for this, not enough resources are dedicated to what should be the primary mission of policing.

In 1993 around 1% of police officers were specifically assigned to crime prevention work.²⁰ The Audit Commission report at the time concluded that “in too many forces crime prevention is a relatively low-status, poorly resourced activity.”²¹ In 2002, resources focused on crime prevention still only commanded around 1% of police budgets.²² Today little has changed, crime prevention is not treated as a resource priority and there is a desperate need to shift resources from reacting to crime towards preventing it. Former Chief Inspector of Constabulary, Sir Denis O’Connor, stated in September 2012:

“No longer can the police operate as they have – in a predominantly reactive way that chases increasing demand for service. This is especially true in these times of austerity where more is needed from less.”²³

Training and Culture

“Perhaps the greatest challenge in achieving success with [crime prevention] relates to the need for leaders to change the culture and mentality of police employees.”
Chief Lanier of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington D.C.²⁴

19 From Welsch B and Farrington D, “The Oxford Handbook of Crime Prevention,” Oxford University Press, 2012

20 “Helping with Enquires: Tackling Crime Effectively,” Audit Commission, 1993

21 Ibid

22 Activity Based Costing Data for 2002, from the National Policing Improvement Agency, via a Freedom of Information Request in 2011

23 www.publicfinance.co.uk/news/2012/09/police-must-focus-on-crime-prevention-as-cuts-kick-in/

24 Chief Lanier C, “Policing Our Nation’s Capital Using 21st Century Principles,” Metropolitan Police Department, Washington D.C., 2012

The amount of money we spend on crime prevention means little if that money is not well spent. Police officers need to be well trained in crime prevention and embedded in a culture that supports them to prioritise prevention. Those methods evidenced for preventing crime – such as hot spot policing²⁵ – should form a clear part of police training, and expectations for all officers.

Yet in 2012, the training and culture of crime prevention is far removed from what it needs to be. Despite 89% of Chief Constables believing that British policing has a “strong cultural emphasis on the importance of preventing crime and disorder,” only 16% said they were satisfied with the “attention given to the theory, research and practice of crime prevention in police training.”²⁶ Only one out of 190 modules constables receive in their initial training is on crime prevention.²⁷

“Only one out of 190 modules constables receive in their initial training is on crime prevention”

Avon and Somerset’s Deputy Chief Constable, Rob Beckley, suggested that policing is “more culturally equipped to deal with the crisis surrounding crime rather than the causes” leading to little attention being given to crime prevention. He notes that in Avon and Somerset the amount of time given over to crime prevention in training is “minimal,” commenting that:

“Problem solving training for neighbourhood officers is good, the training for integrated offender unit staff in preventative pathways is strong, however **systematic training and sharing of good practice in respect of crime prevention among officers and staff is often non-existent or very narrow in focus.**” (Emphasis added).

If the police are to successfully meet the challenges they will face in 2020, and provide a cost effective service to the public, they will need a more preventative policing model and a renewed focus on the prevention of crime and disorder.

1.3 A vision for 2020: refocusing policing around prevention

In this section we outline a vision to refocus the police around crime prevention through the creation of Crime Prevention Officers and Innovation Hubs that develop and test new ways of preventing crime and disorder.

Crime Prevention Officers

By 2020 all those who were previously part of Neighbourhood Policing Teams or Safer Neighbourhood Teams should be recast as Crime Prevention Officers (CPOs).²⁸ This accounts for 20,700 officers in 2012-13 (15% of total officer numbers) and will help shift policing culture and signal to both officers and the public, what these officers are there to do.

The role would expand upon the work of Neighbourhood Policing Teams and Safer Neighbourhood Teams,²⁹ with CPOs given greater autonomy and responsibility than their predecessors. They would be personally responsible for crime prevention in their area and held to account by their Basic Command Unit Commander through monthly COMPSTAT³⁰ meetings, with each CPO ranked according to their success at increasing confidence and reducing crime in their area, which would be recorded through police recorded statistics and crime

25 For example see Braga A, et al, “Hot spots policing effects on crime,” Campbell Systematic Reviews, The Campbell Collaborations, 2012

26 Policy Exchange questionnaire, 2012

27 “Taking time for crime: A study of how police officers prevent crime in the field,” HMIC, 2012

28 Note that this excludes Police Community Support Officers

29 Whilst specific job descriptions differ across police forces, neighbourhood officers are usually those assigned to a particular neighbourhood/ community in which they conduct patrols and engage with the local community (for example, see www.leics.police.uk/careers/1_police_officer/15_neighbourhood_officer/)

30 ‘COMPSTAT’ is short for ‘Comparative Statistics’ and is a data-driven performance management system that was first employed by New York Police Department in 1994. It was based on four principles: accurate and timely information; identifying the most effective tactics for specific problems; rapid, focused deployment of resources to implement those tactics; and relentless follow-up and assessment to learn what happened and make adjustments. (for more details, see: classweb.gmu.edu/WAC/adjguide/examples/ProfEg1.pdf)

surveys. They would be expected to garner strong working relationships with relevant police partners and build trusting relationships with the public in their area through working for many years on the same beat.

Their shift patterns should be designed around when crime is most likely to occur on their beat, meaning CPOs would spend the majority of their time working evenings and nights and on the weekend, reversing previous trends of having more officers visible on Monday morning than on Saturday evening.³¹

Competition to become a CPO in 2020 should be high and it should be widely regarded as one of the most challenging and rewarding jobs in policing. Recruitment should be focused around finding people with exceptional problem solving and people skills³² and they should receive regular training through the College of Policing to ensure their knowledge and skills are up-to-date for this challenging role.

The best officers should be able to remain CPOs for up to a decade, as this will enable them to build strong relationships with local citizens over time and engender greater familiarity and trust. To facilitate this, in 2020, a CPO should be able to rise to the rank of Inspector (gaining managerial responsibilities for CPOs in neighbouring areas) and the extra demands of their role should be reflected in their pay. Furthermore, police officers should be unlikely to be promoted to the most senior ranks within in policing if they haven't been a CPO and demonstrated excellence at crime prevention. Any direct entry scheme into policing should include a posting as a CPO as part of their induction and training.

CPOs should be better trained and technologically supported than current neighbourhood officers are. Whilst this might cost more initially, where CPOs are successful at preventing crime, police forces will be able to scale back their reactive police functions, resulting in an overall reduction in police costs.

Given the extra costs of greater training and technological support, using CPOs' time effectively is crucial to their affordability. They should therefore be supported such that activities that do not require their expertise, experience, or warranted powers – such as taking witness statements and licencing visits – should be carried out by support staff.

Technological support for Crime Prevention Officers

CPOs should be supported by the latest technologies in 2020 to enable them to fulfil their role to the best of their ability. Given the rate at which technology has been advancing over the past few decades it is difficult to predict with any great precision the type of software and hardware that might be available in 2020 to support policing, and how cost effective it will be to purchase.

Yet regardless of what is available and affordable in 2020 we do know that in order to take advantage of the latest technologies in policing, police forces will need procurement frameworks that are flexible, cost-effective and designed around what works best for the police.

In our 2012 paper, *Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring*,³³ we analysed the nature of the Electronic Monitoring (EM) market and outlined principles for sound procurement. Whilst these were identified in the context of the EM market, they can be applied more broadly to police procurement and should be central to the police procurement landscape in 2020.

31 In 2012 an average of 14.2% of officers were visible and available at 0900 Monday, compared with just 9.4% at 0030 Saturday (see www.hmic.gov.uk/media/policing-in-austerity-one-year-on.pdf)

32 Which should be demonstrated through both previous experience and psychometric tests

33 Geoghegan R, "Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring," Policy Exchange 2012

Firstly, it is important that there is sufficient competition in police procurement to drive innovation and creativity in markets. Secondly, there needs to be greater local input and control over procurement decisions. Local control will help ensure that the technology procured is suitable for the requirements for each force area, as well as for the officers that would make use of the technology. PCCs in 2020 should be able to opt into national frameworks,³⁴ but it should only be done if it offers suitable flexibility, quality and cost-effectiveness. Thirdly, those officers that use the technology should be given a greater say in the procurement of future technology, as they provide a vital feedback loop regarding the usability and effectiveness of technologies. Finally, we need to recognise the speed of technological innovation by procuring shorter, more flexible contracts.³⁵ By applying these principles CPOs in 2020 should be well supported with the latest technologies.

Foremost amongst the needs of CPOs are likely to be access to relevant data and information, and PCCs should ensure that they have access to a wealth of real-time data to aid them in their fight against crime, such as:

- What crimes occurred where, split down by crime type, and the day and hour offences happened;
- Predictive software identifying what crimes are most likely to be committed where and when, as well as relevant intelligence – such as potential suspects and underlying causes – to provide context; and
- The location of ex-offenders monitored via GPS tags and whether they were in the area where recent crimes took place, as outlined in the Policy Exchange report *Future of Corrections*.³⁶

PCCs should also seek to identify technologies that will minimise CPOs abstraction³⁷ from the frontline. For instance, when needed to give evidence in court, CPOs in 2020 should be able, in all but the most serious cases, to do so virtually via a mobile device without the need to attend court. When required to make an arrest, CPOs should be able to complete the ‘paperwork’ only once, again on a mobile device and on the beat, and hand over the arrested person to a response officer who comes with transportation to take them to custody and process the arrest on their behalf. This will enable forces to significantly increase the visibility of their officers and provide greater reassurance to the public.

PCCs also should consider equipping CPOs in 2020 with body cameras to provide them with more evidence of incidents and to protect them from false claims.³⁸ This would also give CPOs greater protection to perform single patrolling which greatly improves police visibility. This policy was recommended in the Policy Exchange paper *Cost of the Cops* in 2011.³⁹

Finally, PCCs should also look into the development of real-time crime centres. As analysed in the Policy Exchange paper *Future of Corrections* these centres, which are already established in cities such as Philadelphia and New York, seek to capitalise on CCTV and other available data to enable a fast-time police response to emerging crime patterns and street crimes in progress.⁴⁰ This data could be made available to CPOs via their mobile device, ensuring that every opportunity to positively engage suspects can be seized.

34 For a summary of current national procurement frameworks see www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmpubacc/129/12907.htm

35 Geoghegan R, “Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring,” Policy Exchange 2012

36 *Ibid*

37 In policing ‘abstraction’ of frontline officers refers to the time they spend off of the frontline doing other activities such as attending court and doing paperwork

38 This is currently being trialled by the Metropolitan Police Service in Sutton (see “Unison urges public to ‘vote against privatisation’ in PCC elections,” *Police Professional*, October 2012)

39 Boyd E, et al, “Cost of the Cops: Manpower and deployment in policing,” Policy Exchange, 2011

40 Geoghegan R, “Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring,” Policy Exchange 2012

A day in the life of a Crime Prevention Officer in 2020

Constable Natasha Greeny is a CPO in Bringforn. She has been well trained at what is effective in preventing crime and disorder and has been specifically chosen for the role because of her excellence in problem solving and relationship building. She begins her Friday night shift by using the mapping software on her tablet computer to plan her patrol.

Having worked out the priorities for the day she then identifies the best ways to tackle them. Her intensive theoretical and practical training in evidence based crime prevention methods (including hot spot and problem-oriented tactics) are augmented by a set of easy to digest one-page summaries available on relevant topics and recommended recent papers suggesting new innovations and methods.

Natasha has identified three priorities for the evening. Firstly, there has been a 30% spike in muggings over the last fortnight, around Bringforn High Street. When she arrives at the High Street she notices that whilst many of the roads have CCTV cameras, most are poorly lit at night making the images from the cameras unusable.⁴¹ She immediately sends a message to her liaison officer at the local council to request the broken streetlights are fixed as a matter of urgency. The request that is generated is visible to the public on both the police and council websites and is automatically updated on their social networking accounts.

Next she heads to a licensed premise near a residential area which has recently been generating a significant number of calls for anti-social behaviour and underage drinking at the weekend. Having warned the new bar owner the previous week for serving alcoholic drinks to minors she heads in to see if they have heeded her warnings. Identifying that they have not, she decides to use a Penalty Notice for Disorder (PND) and fine the License Holder the maximum £150, with payment taken electronically on the spot. The electronic PND is automatically flagged to the Police Licensing Unit and they consider whether to take action against the premises. She stays near the premise until midnight to prevent any anti-social behaviour.

Lastly, she heads to a high-crime residential street that has suffered a spate of burglaries over the last three days between midnight and 4 a.m. Given the significant evidence base for patrolling high-crime areas when those crimes are likely to occur,⁴² she spends the remainder of her shift patrolling this, and neighbouring streets. As this is a high-risk activity, she had decided she may need support and arranged for a back-up officer to assist her. When he arrives they patrol the street together. They notice two individuals they suspect of going equipped to commit burglary, and stop and search them on this basis. They find evidence of them having burgled a house previously that night and detain and arrest the individual.

41 This problem was identified by a Home Office research note back in 2005: "Although this system (CCTV) produced a reduction in crime, it operated by deterrence and had a poor capacity to detect crime at night." (see webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110220105210/rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hors292.pdf)

42 For example see Weisburd D and Braga A, "Hot Spots Policing as a Model for Police Innovation," Cambridge University Press, 2006 and Eck J, "Preventing Crime at Places," in Evidence-Based Crime Prevention, Routledge, 2002

43 For example by prominent policing academic, George Kelling (see washingtonexaminer.com/article/40777)

44 There is already some work going on between police forces and universities, such as that between Cardiff University and South Wales Police (see www.upsu.org.uk/about-upsu/)

Innovation Hubs

It has been argued that there is currently insufficient innovation and academic input into police forces in England and Wales.⁴³ By 2020 PCCs across England and Wales should have set up Innovation Hubs to further knowledge of what tactics and strategies are successful in the fight against crime. They should link CPOs with academics, innovators and technological experts to work together and transform approaches to crime prevention.⁴⁴

They should focus on identifying, testing and proving new tactics and technologies to improve the prevention effectiveness of CPOs through running robust experiments and trialling new technologies in the field, and working with external experts to accredit and examine the results.

A key strand of their work should be refining predictive policing models (already piloted by West Midlands Police, Greater Manchester Police and the Los Angeles Police Department amongst others) to create ever more effective methods of disrupting and preventing crime in 2020.

This proposal will be covered in more detail in a forthcoming Policy Exchange report on innovation within policing, due in 2013.

Can we predict and prevent crime before it happens?

The Los Angeles Police Department have been conducting an experiment to determine whether crime can be predicted. Led by Captain Sean Malinowski and delivered with the University of California, the predictive policing experiment is defined as: *“A place-based approach to crime analysis that utilizes algorithm-driven crime forecasts to inform decision-making to prevent crime.”*

In Los Angeles, when police officers are not responding to calls for assistance from the public they traditionally have ‘downtime’ when they choose where to patrol and use their gut instincts to decide where crime is most likely to take place.



Captain Malinowski gave a seminar on his predictive policing experiment at Policy Exchange in January 2012. To watch video footage of that seminar, along with Q&A and a response from Nick Gargan, Chief Executive of the NPIA, please visit <http://bit.ly/pxpredictivepolicing>

The randomised experiment in Foothills Division (which, at roughly 46 square miles with a population of around 180,000, is not dissimilar in size to a London borough) pits officers’ instincts against an algorithm that attempts to forecast crime. The algorithm uses the crime type and location of all crimes over the past three years to inform its predictions. For the experiment they are looking at just three

crime types: burglary, motor vehicle and grand theft auto. On average, there are a total of 50 crimes per week (2011) across all three crime types.

The theory goes that there are repeated patterns in crime that will be picked up by the data series, which could then inform where these crimes are likely to take place in the future. The algorithm then assigns officers to a 500 square foot box in their ‘downtime,’ with the hypothesis that they are more likely to be near to crime in this area than when relying purely on instincts. So far, around nine boxes have been visited by officers each day and the boxes are updated daily (the LAPD are hoping to make it update more regularly, to take into account different crime patterns during the day).

The final results for the experiment are not yet out, but the initial findings are encouraging. So far, the predictive policing model is between 8 and 16% more accurate than officers’ instincts at predicting crime. The result is a reduction in the crime rate of between 8 and 10% in the treatment areas (where officers are directed by the predictive policing model) relative to the control areas (those using their instincts).

2

The Police are the Public

2.1 Introduction

“To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.”

“To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of the law.”

“...the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.”

The second, third and seventh Peelian Principles

Central to the Peelian Principles are that “the police are the public” who are “dependent on public approval” and must secure the “willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of the law.”

It is difficult to disagree with these principles, and as a result they have been part of political rhetoric for centuries and accepted by the police as the bedrock of modern policing. Yet the political rhetoric is not matched by the reality on the ground and the true meaning of these principles, when they are understood in context, is far removed from their modern day interpretation.

The principles were introduced around the same time as a major shift in the nature of policing in England and Wales. Prior to 1829, policing was organised in a participatory manner, with ‘Parish Constables’ appointed from within their parishes to serve normally for just a year.⁴⁵ Led by the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 and later the Manchester Police Act of 1939, policing was fundamentally redesigned into a professional and bureaucratic structure.⁴⁶

This was a concern for some, who feared the close relationship between the police and the public would be broken. There were concerns that the ‘new’ police service was “deliberately divorced from the local community” with the public having “no say in its organisation or its deployment,” and that the new system was “constructed to make it difficult to complain about the conduct of individual officers.”⁴⁷

45 A.M.P, ‘The Old-Time Constable as Portrayed by the Dramatists,’ *Police Journal*, 1981

46 Emsley C, “Great British Bobby: A history of British policing from 1829 to the present,” 2009

47 (The comments were made in relation to the changes being made to the Metropolitan Police) Paley R, “An Imperfect, Inadequate and Wretched System?” *Policing London before Peel*, *Criminal Justice History*, 1989

The principles that Peel expounded around this time spoke to these concerns, and his suggestion that the police were “only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen” was likely spoken, at least in part, to calm fears over separation between the police and the public. Practical steps were taken to try to maintain that relationship by ensuring that officers who applied to police their own communities were preferred over those from elsewhere⁴⁸ and by requiring officers to live where they policed. These requirements are no longer in place.

2.2 How close are the police to the public in 2012?

Upon entering office, the Home Secretary, Theresa May, called for a “shift in power and control away from government back to people and communities.”⁴⁹ In government there was a recognition that “the ongoing centralisation of the police has left the service disconnected from the communities they are there to serve.”⁵⁰

Key to the government’s plan to change this was the replacement of Police Authorities with Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs), individuals directly elected by the people to hold the police to account and ensure they focus on the public’s priorities. This idea was introduced by Policy Exchange in *Going Local: Who should run Britain’s police?*⁵¹ in 2003 and PCCs were elected into office for the first time on 15th November 2012.

Yet whilst this is a step in the right direction, it does not fully restore the link between the police and the public. On average, PCCs are in charge of a police force area of 3,600 square kilometres and 1.3 million people.⁵² Therefore, PCCs alone cannot make frontline officers fully responsive to each local community. Neither does the reform incentivise frontline officers to build up the relationships that inspire deep trust and confidence in the police by remaining on the beat in one community for a number of years.

Key to a strong link between the police and the public is the police understanding and dealing with the public’s key concerns. 65% of the public believe that PCCs will ensure the police focus on crimes that are of greatest public concern.⁵³ A 2012 poll commissioned by Policy Exchange showed that the public believe anti-social behaviour is the most important priority for incoming PCCs.

Whilst police performance in tackling anti-social behaviour (ASB) has improved slightly over the last two years and the proportion of those who have called the police to report ASB who feel it is a problem in their area has declined from 63% in 2010 to 59% in 2012, there is still much work to be done. A third (34%) of those who call the police to report ASB say it affects them daily, leading almost half to take steps such as avoiding certain areas (47%) or not going out at night (45%).⁵⁴

There is also a lack of effective communication on how ASB is being tackled, with 59% of those who called the police to report ASB not feeling well informed about how it was being tackled.⁵⁵

To return to Peel’s vision that the police are “only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to [police] duties” and to ensure that officers are truly responsive to the needs of local communities, there are a number of structural changes that need to be made by 2020.

48 Apart from in the Metropolitan Police

49 Home Secretary, Theresa May July 2010 (see www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/consultations/policing-21st-century/policing-21st-full-pdf?view=Binary)

50 Ibid

51 Loveday B and Reid A, “Going Local: Who should run Britain’s police?”, Policy Exchange, 2003

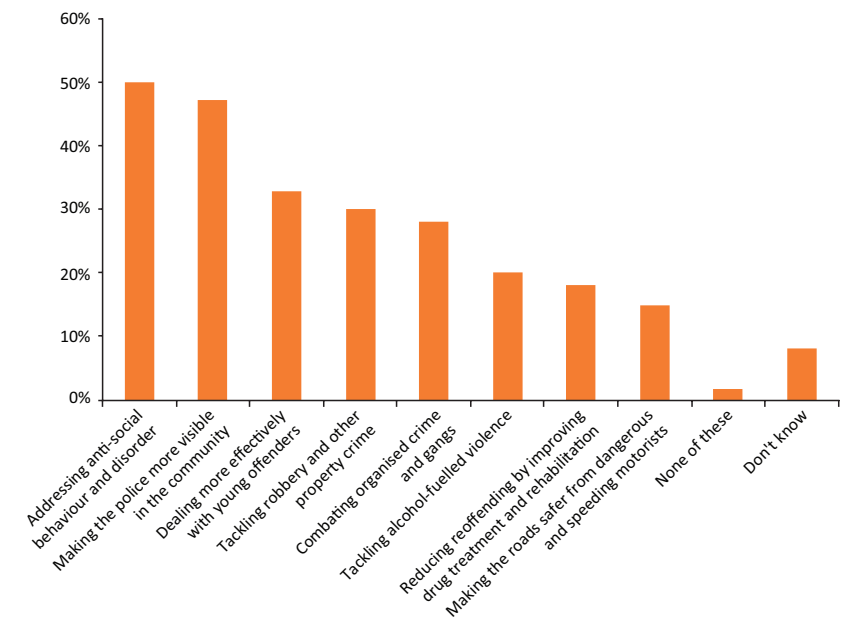
52 Calculated from Police Actual Statistics, CIPFA, 2010 and Value for Money Profiles, HMIC, 2012

53 www.bsa-29.natcen.ac.uk/read-the-report/constitutional-reform/views-on-the-government%E2%80%99s-reforms.aspx

54 Policing Anti-Social Behaviour – the Public Perspective: Wage 2,” Ipsos MORI (for HMIC), 2012

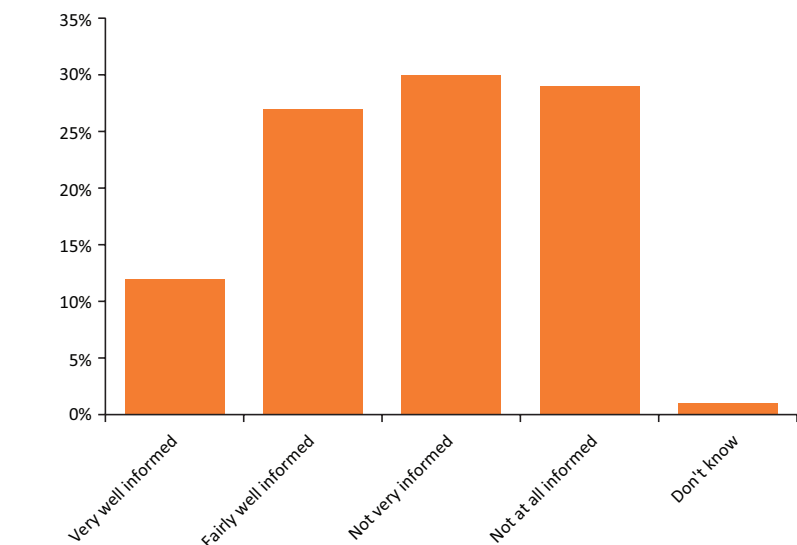
55 Including respondents who replied that they were ‘not very well informed’ and ‘not at all informed’

Figure 2: What do you think should be the most important crime priorities for a newly-elected Police & Crime Commissioner in your area? (Please tick up to three)



Source: YouGov Poll, 2012

Figure 3: How well informed do you feel about what is being done by local public services to tackle anti-social behaviour in your area? Would you say you feel...?



Source: Ipsos Mori poll for HMIC, 2012

2.3 A vision for 2020: reconnecting the police to the public

In this section we outline some elements of the 2020 policing landscape that would serve to reconnect the police to the public. There are three key recommendations: a return to Basic Command Units (BCUs) as the delivery mechanism for local policing, a public voice in the choosing of BCU Commanders, and the introduction of a Public Takes Charge Scheme.

A return to Basic Command Units

By 2020 Police and Crime Commissioners should look to re-establish Basic Command Units (BCUs) as the mechanism through which to deliver local policing. Greater ownership of local policing at BCU level would mean that the police in 2020 are far more responsive to the variety of policing demands and needs from local communities.

This would involve a shift in decision making and responsibility from Chief Constables to Basic Command Units for some operational decisions. Yet whilst BCU Commanders should be given the discretion to make day-to-day operational decisions and be in charge of implementing local police force priorities, overall responsibility for priority setting in policing should remain with PCCs in 2020.

BCU Commanders should therefore apportion the resources at their disposal in-line with the priorities set out by the Police and Crime Commissioner in their force's Police & Crime Plan. BCU Commanders should be held to account for using their resources effectively in the pursuit of those priorities and should, for example, be responsible for minimising overtime expenditure and managing shift patterns.⁵⁶

A return to BCUs as the delivery mechanism for local policing should not involve a replication of back office functions (such as Human Resource and Procurement Units) in BCUs, which should be held at police force level or in collaborations across multiple forces and government agencies. Whilst the replication of back office functions at the local level was a typical feature of BCUs in the past, such a step would be unlikely to yield any significant benefits to the delivery of local policing and would not be cost-effective or appropriate for policing in 2020.

Previous research has shown that "the organisational characteristics which facilitate police work in one context may hamper it in another."⁵⁷ By giving BCU Commanders the decision making responsibilities for local policing in their area, there would be a far more personalised response to the particular crime problems in each BCU. This is important as crime varies significantly across BCUs, for example: in 2011-12, 'violence against the person offences'⁵⁸ ranged from 59.4 per thousand population in the City of London BCU to just 4.9 in Wokingham BCU; and 'burglary dwelling'⁵⁹ offences ranged from 12.4 per thousand in Haringey BCU to just 0.9 in Powys BCU.⁶⁰ Local decision making would also particularly benefit those living in police forces that have both significant urban and rural populations because of the very different problems large urban environments have compared with smaller municipalities.

Furthermore, research shows that the delivery of policing in smaller units can be more cost-effective with evidence showing a "clear negative relationship between scale efficiency and size" in policing.⁶¹ This relationship was also analysed and demonstrated in the Policy Exchange paper *Size Isn't Everything* in 2006.⁶²

56 The problem of large overtime expenditure was identified in Geoghegan R, "Police Overtime Expenditure," Policy Exchange, 2011

57 Whitaker G, et al, "Basic Issues in Police Performance," National Institute of Justice, 1982

58 Which includes a range of offences such as Murder, Harassment, Common Assault, Actual Bodily Harm, Grievous Bodily Harm, and Possession of Offensive Weapon (with intent)

59 Which includes theft and attempted theft from a building/premises (that is fit for habitation) where access is not authorised. Damage to buildings/premises that appears to have been caused by a person attempting to enter to commit a burglary is also counted as burglary

60 "Crime Statistics: Recorded crime tables 2011-12," Office for National Statistics, 2012

61 Drake, L and Simper, R, "Police Efficiency in Offences Cleared: An Analysis of English 'Basic Command Units,'" International Review of Law and Economic, 2005

62 Loveday B, "Size Isn't Everything: Restructuring Policing in England and Wales," Policy Exchange, 2006

63 Loveday B, "Basic Command Units (BCUs) and local authorities: Future mechanisms of police accountability and service delivery," International Journal of Police Science and Management, 2006

64 Loveday B, "Size Isn't Everything: Restructuring Policing in England and Wales," Policy Exchange, 2006

65 Loveday, B and McClory, J, "Fitting the bill: Local policing for the 21st century," Policy Exchange, 2007

66 "Submission to the Social Justice and Regeneration Committee Restructuring of Constabulary – Democratic Structures," Police Superintendents' Association of England and Wales, 2006 (www.assemblywales.org/N00000000000000000000042879.pdf)

67 O'Connor D, "Closing the Gap: A review of the 'Fitness for Purpose' of the current structures of policing in England and Wales," HMIC, 2005

68 Loveday B and McClory J, "Fitting the bill: Local policing for the 21st century," Policy Exchange, 2007

69 Population estimates have been taken from "Table P07 2011 Census: Number of usual residents living in households and communal establishments, local authorities in England and Wales," Office for National Statistics, March 2011. Area estimates are from CIPFA 'Police Actuals' 2010. The number of BCUs is from the publication: "Taking the time for crime: a study of how police officers prevent crime in the field," HMIC, 2012

70 Population estimates have been taken from "Table P07 2011 Census: Number of usual residents living in households and communal establishments, local authorities in England and Wales," Office for National Statistics, March 2011. Area estimates are from CIPFA 'Police Actuals' 2010. The number of BCUs is from the publication: "Taking the time for crime: a study of how police officers prevent crime in the field," HMIC, 2012

71 Loveday B, "Size Isn't Everything: Restructuring Policing in England and Wales," Policy Exchange, 2006

72 Chambers M, "Partners in Crime: Democratic Accountability and the Future of Local Policing," Policy Exchange, 2009

The History of Basic Command Units

Originating in the 1990s, BCUs were seen as the "future building blocks of police forces."⁶³ They were designed as the delivery mechanism for local policing and were responsible for:⁶⁴

- Providing effective response to emergencies and calls for service
- Combating local crime and extremism
- Investigating crimes to bring offenders to justice
- Working to reduce crime and improve community safety in partnership with other agencies
- Supporting neighbourhood policing

Yet they were continually undermined by their ever increasing size which disconnected them from the localities they served and undermined their role as a local delivery mechanism. Initially there were meant to be enough BCUs such that each one had between 150 and 200 police officers. By the late 1990s that ideal number had been shifted to between 250 and 350 officers, and by 2001 some had over 400 officers (one even had 1,000).⁶⁵ In 2004 there were 320 BCUs.⁶⁶

In 2005, there was another push for BCUs to remain a central part of the policing landscape, when HMIC described them yet again as "critical building blocks" designed to "deliver the vast bulk of everyday policing services."⁶⁷ Yet by May 2007 there were just 228 BCUs, which had an average of 426 officers and 157 civilian staff serving roughly 230,000 people.⁶⁸

By 2012 there has been yet further separation between the delivery of local policing and local communities as the size of BCUs has continued to expand, such that there are now just 151 BCUs in England and Wales serving an average of 371,000 people across 1,000 square kilometres.⁶⁹

By 2012 there has been yet further separation between the delivery of local policing and local communities as the size of BCUs has continued to expand, such that there are now just 151 BCUs in England and Wales serving an average of 371,000 people across 1,000 square kilometres.⁷⁰

To ensure that BCUs do not continually grow in size and become removed from local communities, they should be organised geographically and made coterminous with local authority boundaries. This will also give them the added advantage of more effective partnership working.⁷¹ This was previously advanced as a recommendation in the Policy Exchange paper *Partners in Crime: Democratic Accountability and the Future of Local Policing*.⁷² For some police forces with relatively small and coterminous local authorities it may make sense for BCUs to cover two local authority areas, and this would need to be considered by Police and Crime Commissioners.

Taking the assumption however that PCCs do choose to create one BCU for each local authority area, there would be around 348 BCUs in 2020 with

an average size equal to that of a local authority. This would mean that they would serve an average of 172,000 people⁷³ across 443 square kilometres.⁷⁴

BCU Commander Selection

Greater ownership of local policing at a BCU level in 2020 should be coupled with the introduction of a public voice when choosing each BCU Commander. In doing so it is important to protect the fifth Peelian Principle and ensure that BCU Commanders “seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law.”

The idea of involving the public in choosing their BCU Commander is not new. It was first put forward in England and Wales by the Police Superintendents’ Association in 2006, when they called for a greater level of democratic legitimacy in BCUs, stating in their submission to the Home Office on the Police and Criminal Justice Bill 2006:⁷⁵ “We would like to see a joint responsibility resting on both the elected representatives and the BCU Commander to ensure that all of the communities served by a BCU are given an effective voice... **We would also support elected representatives being involved in the selection and appointment of BCU Commanders.** We would envisage such a process being achieved by a consensus between Chief Officers and elected representatives.” (Emphasis added).

Who do the public want?

The city of Denver has a population of around 600,000 and covers 155 square miles. Its Police Department is made up of six divisions and is led by Chief White. Upon being appointed in December 2011, Chief White announced a number of big changes, including how each of his six divisional commanders would be chosen.

Driven by a desire to ensure that the commanders were continually aware of the public’s views and priorities, Chief White asked each of the 13 city councillors to pick one person from their district to be on an initial selection committee. Some council members participated themselves and others selected a representative from an active community group in their area.

This selection committee – which also included the two deputy chiefs – then picked twelve potential applicants from a list of all those who applied and were eligible for the six divisional commander posts.

The list of twelve preferred candidates was then given to Chief White and Denver’s Manager of Safety, Alex Martinez, who chose which six candidates got the jobs.

Chief White explained why he introduced the change:

“The community are the police and the police are the community. [It was] an opportunity to provide community members with a voice in the leadership of the Denver Police Department. It was just as critical to demonstrate to our officers that citizens play a key role in the success of our mission and that we are responsible to our community in preventing crime and keeping Denver a great city.”⁷⁶

The principle of locally elected members having a say in the process is something that the Police Superintendents’ Association still support in 2012. The President of the Association stated that:

73 Population estimates have been taken from “Table P07 2011 Census: Number of usual residents living in households and communal establishments, local authorities in England and Wales,” Office for National Statistics, March 2011 and projected for 2020 using “Table A1-3, Principal projection - England & Wales summary, 2010-based,” Office for National Statistics, October 2011

74 “Standard Area Measurements,” Office for National Statistics, December 2010 (measured using ‘total extent’ measurements which include all tracts of inland water, including estuaries contained within statutory boundaries)

75 “Submission to the Social Justice and Regeneration Committee Restructuring of Constabulary – Democratic Structures,” Police Superintendents’ Association of England and Wales, 2006 (www.assemblywales.org/N0000000000000000042879.pdf)

76 Information from direct correspondence with Chief White’s office in 2012

“While the ultimate responsibility for the appointment of such officers remains with the Chief Constable, the principle of local elected members being able to contribute in the process remains valid.”

The idea has also been tested and implemented recently in Denver, Colorado.

Councillors responsible for the area each BCU covers should represent the public in choosing their BCU Commander in 2020.

When a position becomes vacant they, and relevant members of the police hierarchy, should choose a shortlist of BCU Commanders out of the applicant pool. The Chief Constable and the PCC (or their representatives) should then make the final decision from the shortlist. This will enable the inclusion of public opinion without too onerous an administrative burden being placed upon the police or the public in the process.

The Public Takes Charge Scheme

From November 2012, Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) will set the police’s priorities on behalf of the public. This is an important step forward in ensuring that the police are focused on the priorities of the public. As we expressed earlier, however, this has its limitations primarily because police forces cover such vast areas and numbers of people.

To give the public a greater say in the setting of priorities in their local communities, by 2020, PCCs should introduce the Public Takes Charge Scheme. The idea is based on a pilot introduced recently in Rotterdam, Holland.

Project ‘Buurt Bestuurt’: Neighbourhood Takes Charge

The police force in Rotterdam, Holland has taken a novel approach to advancing local control of policing priorities. In 2009 the Rotterdam police set about not only to reduce crime, but also to *“grow trust in police and other partners in public safety”* and *“improve the communication between professionals and citizens.”*

They initiated ‘Buurt Betuurt’ (which translates to ‘Neighbourhood Takes Charge’). Forming a committee made up of members of the public and those involved in local public safety, they together agreed the top three priorities for the area and divided up 200 police hours and 200 local government hours over three months to tackle those problems. They went further than simply identifying the problems, however, and involved the public in deciding how the problems would be solved, messaged them with updates about the committee’s activities, and then reviewed afterwards how well the tactics worked in tackling the identified problems.

For each three month period the project dealt with areas of around three to four streets. When the three months were over, the project – and the allocated hours – would shift its attention to another location. The meetings between neighbourhood officers and the local public often continued after the project had moved to another location, but without the specific allocation of police time.

Whilst there hasn’t yet been an independent evaluation, the initial results are promising. An internal evaluation showed a 26% increase in trust in the police and greater information sharing by the public.⁷⁷

77 Data and quotes from Rotterdam Police, 2012

The Public Takes Charge Scheme should take the principles of Project Buurt Bestuurt and reapply them for society in England and Wales in 2020. Each Scheme should reach out to local residents in a ward area through social media and advertisements in local shops and pubs and invite them to join an online web platform and to take part in quarterly meetings in the local area.

Led by a local CPO, these quarterly meetings would enable CPOs to articulate how they are fighting crime in the local area and communicate to the group what part they can play in that fight. Attendees would have the opportunity to ask questions of the CPO, and to review potential crime priorities for the coming quarter.

Subsequent to these meetings all local residents at the meeting and any others who have just joined up to the web platform would be given a week to decide how local CPOs should spend 20% of their time, through answering a series of online multiple choice questions, which will have been worked out at the previous meeting.⁷⁸ To inform the public's decision making, police IT systems should be set up to automatically upload data on local policing to the platforms, such as crime levels, types and frequency. Whilst the work should be led by the police, the model should encourage greater support through by local residents such as via greater reporting of crime and information.

Furthermore, this data should be made more widely available in line with recommendations made in the Policy Exchange paper *A Right to Data: Fulfilling the promise of open public data in the UK*.⁷⁹ The paper argued that the government should enshrine a right to public data in legislation, with responsibility resting with each public agency to release relevant data. This data should also be combined with crime maps.

The Scheme should serve to bring the police closer to understanding the public they serve in 2020, as well as give the public greater appreciation for the often difficult work the police do. Officers should also benefit from an increase in relevant information sharing as a result of stronger links with the local community.

“Led by a local CPO, these quarterly meetings would enable CPOs to articulate how they are fighting crime in the local area and communicate to the group what part they can play in that fight”

78 All those who request to join the platform would need to be approved by the police to ensure they lived in the local area and did not have a criminal record

79 Yiu C, “A Right to Data: Fulfilling the promise of open public data in the UK,” Policy Exchange, 2012

3

The Public are the Police

3.1 Introduction

Successful policing requires the public's cooperation and involvement, as the police cannot win the fight against crime and disorder alone. Chapter Two outlined the responsibility of the police to build close ties with the public. This must be matched by a commitment from the public to play their part. In this chapter we explore what the following Peelian Principle should mean for the public in 2020:

"...the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence."

In applying this principle we focus on the public's role in reporting crime and relevant information and in being proactively engaged in the prevention and disruption of crime and disorder.

3.2 Are the public playing their part in 2012?

Public involvement

When she became Home Secretary, Theresa May, stated that *"we need to generate an environment in which people are able to have the confidence to intervene. The more we are able to generate that confidence, the more people will feel confident about intervening with kids on the street corner."*⁸⁰

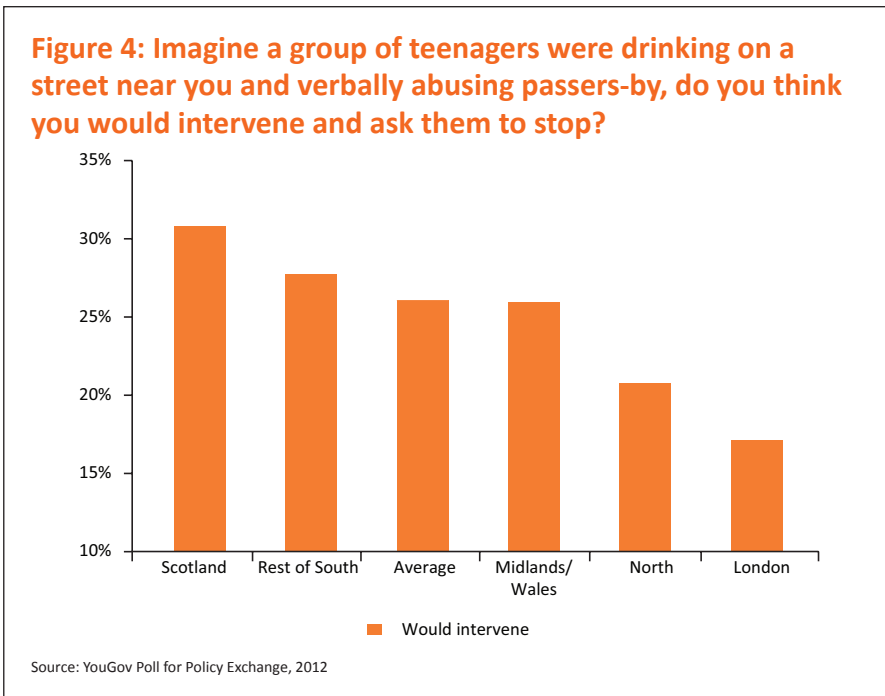
The public, however, are not confident enough to intervene. A 2006 poll of European societies showed that the British were the least likely to intervene to disrupt anti-social behaviour or criminal activity.⁸¹ When asked whether they would challenge a group of 14-year-old boys vandalising a bus shelter, 62% of British respondents said they probably or definitely would not.⁸²

Little has changed. In a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange in 2012 the Great British public were asked whether, if a group of teenagers were drinking on a street near their home and were verbally abusing passers-by, they would intervene and ask them to stop. 64% said they probably or definitely would not, whilst 27% said they probably or definitely would.

80 www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/7726640/Step-in-to-tackle-yobs-says-new-Home-Secretary-Theresa-May.html

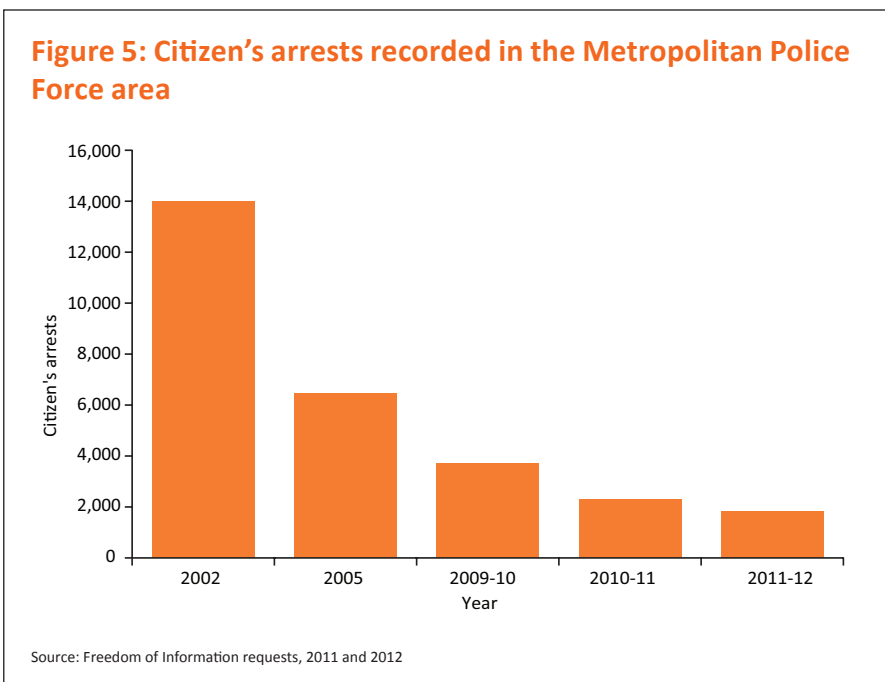
81 "Anti-Social Behaviour Across Europe," ADT Europe, 2006

82 Of the six European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain) polled the Germans were the most likely to intervene with 64% saying they probably or definitely would challenge the boys



The poll also highlighted some differences across Great Britain. Those living in London were the least likely to say they would intervene (18% said they would) whilst those living in Scotland were the most likely to say they would intervene (31% said they would).

The difference between those saying they would intervene in the North of England and London is the same size as the difference between men (31% said they would) and women (22% said they would).



Furthermore, over the past decade the number of citizen's arrests has fallen by 87% from 14,047⁸³ in 2002 to just 1,816 in 2011-12 in the Metropolitan Police

83 www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8966738/Citizens-arrests-plummet-due-to-walk-on-by-culture.html

Force area.⁸⁴ A Policy Exchange Freedom of Information request has shown that the number of citizen’s arrests has halved in the last two years alone.

Despite interesting work happening in some police forces to increase community participation,⁸⁵ much still needs to be done to ensure the public are confident to intervene to prevent crime and disorder successfully.

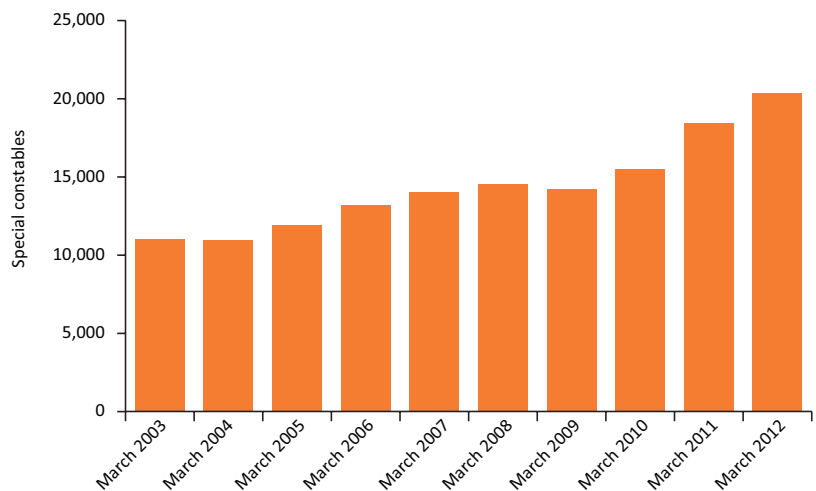
“Despite interesting work happening in some police forces to increase community participation, much still needs to be done to ensure the public are confident to intervene to prevent crime and disorder successfully”

Encouragingly there has been a significant increase in people wanting to serve alongside police officers, with the number of people volunteering as Special Constables⁸⁶ almost doubling over the last decade from 11,000 in 2003 to more than 20,000 in 2012. The last two years

alone have seen an increase of 31%.⁸⁷

However, this encouragement needs to be tempered as the recent decision of many police forces to hire regular constables only from those already serving as Special Constables will explain a significant proportion of the increase.

Figure 6: Special Constable numbers



Source: Police Service Strength, Home Office

84 In response to a Freedom of Information request by Policy Exchange only the Metropolitan police replied to say how many citizens arrests were performed in their area. All other forces declined to reply to the request citing either cost restrictions or because they did not hold any relevant information

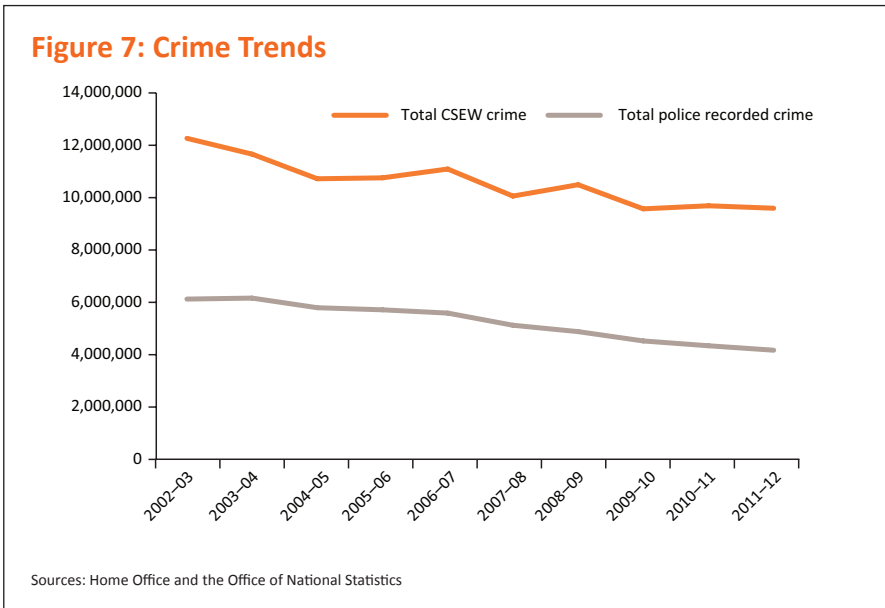
85 For example as has been happening in South Wales Police over the past few years through their partnership with Cardiff University (see www.upsi.org.uk/about-upsi)

86 Unpaid volunteers who give up at least 16 hours a month doing regular police officer duties

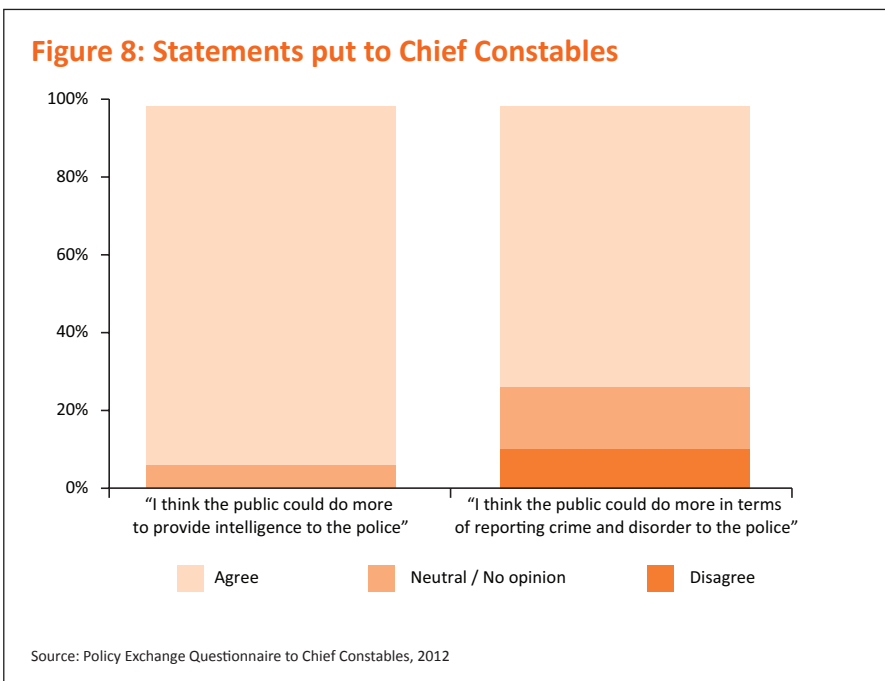
87 Police Service Strength, Home Office 2003 to 2012

Reporting of crime and relevant information

Arguably, an even more important role for the public to play is reporting crime and relevant information to the police. There is much crime and disorder that the police do not know about or deal with. This is best demonstrated by the difference between the crime captured by the Crime Survey for England and Wales and the crime that is captured by the Police Recorded Crime statistics. In 2011-12 the Crime Survey for England and Wales reported 9.5 million offences; the Police Recorded Crime registered 4 million offences for the same year.



The public have a crucial role in closing that gap. This is an opinion that is reflected by Chief Constables who are keen for the public to report more crime and intelligence to the police.



74% of the Chief Constables⁸⁸ who replied to our questionnaire thought the public could do more in terms of reporting crime and disorder to the police and 94% thought the public could provide more intelligence. Furthermore, every Chief Constable who replied believed that if they “received more support from people in high crime areas [they] would be more effective in [their] fight against crime in their neighbourhoods.” These views beg further questions that are out of the scope of this paper, but which we will look into in future Policy Exchange publications.

88 Or their nominees

For success in the fight against crime in the future – especially as budgets are likely to continue to be stretched – police forces will need the support of an active citizenry who have the knowledge and the confidence to safely intervene in criminal activity and the motivation to report crime and relevant information to the police.

3.3 A vision for 2020: reigniting the public’s role in policing

In this section we detail some elements of the policing landscape in 2020 that are needed to encourage and enable the public to play their part in preventing crime and disorder. There are three main areas: the use of technology to increase reporting, encouraging greater public involvement in maintaining public safety, and the creation of Citizen Police Academies.

Technologically enabled reporting

By 2020, the police’s fight against crime and disorder should be ably supported by more public reporting of crime and relevant information. Some of this will arise naturally through the strong links that CPOs will develop with their local communities in 2020 via working the same communities for many years.

More still needs to be done though, and PCCs will need to work with innovators to develop more user-friendly ways of reporting to the police.⁸⁹ Advances in this area should help reduce the frictional cost of reporting by making it quicker, easier and simpler to do. In 2020 the public should be able to report crime and relevant information to the police via text, email and social media. They should be able to send in pictures and videos of crimes or relevant information and the police should be able to use it effectively. This will likely lead to a greater quantity of crime reports and relevant information, and enable the public to report crimes in progress more subtly than through calling the police.⁹⁰

Furthermore, privately developed applications (such as the simple example below) need to be commissioned by the police and integrated into police IT systems to greatly reduce the effort and risk to the public of reporting crime and disorder.

Figure 9: Crime Reporter 2020



89 Only 15 police forces in 2012 allow crime to be reported online (HMIC presentation, 2012)

90 Data security in the use of any applications or other delivery mechanisms for crime or information reports would be of paramount importance

The above is an example of the interface of an application that could be used to report more crime to the police via a mobile device in 2020. In this example the public would be able to report when they believe they have witnessed anti-social behaviour (ASB), low-level crime or serious crime as and when they witness it. When used, the application would feed the crime type, location and telephone number of the phone it was reported on instantly to the nearest CPO. If it is a serious crime it should also be reported directly to the nearest police control room for an immediate response car to be sent.

If there was a need for the police to contact the public, such as if a witness statement was required, applications should facilitate this through a condition of use being a 'willingness to be contacted by the police.'

To prevent a large number of false reports, devices that repeatedly provide misinformation should be barred from using approved crime applications, with the option of dialling 999 still an option for those who are banned from using such applications.

Greater public involvement

By 2020, more should be done to encourage local communities to have representatives volunteering to help ensure public safety in their neighbourhood. This should be supported in policing with volunteering opportunities that are tailored around the interests and skills of the volunteer, and not just the organisation they are volunteering for.

The public should be able to get involved either directly as Special Volunteers or Constables, or through any number of social enterprises that seek to contribute towards public safety.

Special Volunteers and Constables

In 2020 the role of Special Constable should have expanded to include Special Volunteers, with both being treated equally by police forces. Whilst most police forces currently do have volunteers, they are often not held in the same regard as Special Constables or given the same level of training. This should change by 2020, with both being seen as 'Specials' and the only separation being that the work of Special Constables requires the warranted powers of a Constable, whilst the tasks expected of Special Volunteers do not.

Specials Case Studies from 2020

Investment Manager **Rowena Banks** became a **Special Volunteer** in 2018. Wanting to make a positive difference to the industry she is passionate about, Rowena became a Special working with the National Crime Agency in order to help fight banking fraud. With specialist knowledge of banking systems and regulations, Rowena works with the police on weekends and evenings to build relationships with the banks and helps design protocols to prevent fraudulent transactions.

Youth Worker **Barry Martoch** has always been passionate about the town of Harberrry, where he lives and grew up. Keen to use his skills to benefit Harberrry, **Barry became a Special Constable** three years ago to work with the police to combat Harberrry's growing gang problem by using his local knowledge to inform the police's strategy for combatting gang-related crime.

“The number of Specials should be expanded from the current total of 20,000.”

The number of Specials should be expanded from the current total of 20,000. This should be enabled through adopting a new approach to Specials’ recruitment in 2020. Rather than primarily being assigned to generic policing duties (as currently is largely the case) the use of Specials should be more focused around what an individual can and wants to bring to a police force. To this end, police forces in 2020 should recruit Specials not just based on organisational need but also on factors such as what Specials’ passions are, what their skill set is, and where they live. A result of this will be far more Specials performing specialist functions from combating e-crime to mounted patrol at football games, in communities they care deeply about.

Social Enterprises

The emergence of social enterprises such as Streetwatch⁹¹ and Street Pastors⁹² in the 2000s and Neighbourhood Watch in the early 1980s have provided the public with an easily accessible means of contributing towards public safety in their communities. Participation in Neighbourhood Watch Schemes alone has increased significantly over recent years, with some suggesting increased participation of up to 30% between 2009 and 2011 alone.⁹³

Street Pastors

Set up by Reverend Les Issac, Street Pastors work with the police to care for their communities by patrolling the night-time economy. Starting in 2003 with just 18 unpaid volunteers in Brixton, Street Pastors has grown to 10,000 volunteers working in 250 locations around England and Wales in 2012. They have received some high level support, with Prime Minister David Cameron amongst their fans:

“It’s absolutely fantastic the job the street pastors are doing... What we need is more people out in the community supporting the police, who can’t do the job of beating antisocial behaviour on their own.”⁹³

Street Pastors see their role as three-fold: to care for people, to listen to them, and to help them (Rev Issac impresses that they are strictly not there to moralise). The group performs a range of functions, from patrolling the streets to keep the public safe to practical needs such as helping ensure those leaving clubs inebriated find their way home rather than into trouble.

Their rapid growth to 10,000 volunteers over the last nine years is impressive and has outstripped the expansion in Special Constables, who grew by 9,300 over that period.⁹⁴ However, where Specials are required to do a minimum of 16 hours a month, Street Pastors are required only to do one shift of 10pm to 4am per month and becoming a Special requires far more rigorous training.

Many more such social enterprises should be encouraged and established by 2020, and the police (and others with a role in public safety) should seek greater support from these organisations across a wide range of functions, including (but not limited to):

91 www.street-watch.org.uk

92 www.streetpastors.co.uk

93 According to data collected by insurance company GoCompare (see www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/personalfinance/consumertips/8366156/Third-more-people-join-Neighbourhood-Watch.html)

94 www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2059652/Street-pastors-help-young-revellers-on-their-way.html

95 Police Service Strength, Home Office

- Patrolling the streets and providing relevant information to the police
- Working with the police to develop entrepreneurship programmes to provide an alternative to gang members
- Running football training sessions for children in high-crime neighbourhoods in an attempt to divert them from getting involved in criminal enterprises

Those social enterprises that prove their effectiveness in creating reductions in crime and disorder should become (at least) part funded through local Police Foundations (see below) or through PCCs.

The emergence of these social enterprises should mean that police forces in 2020 are able to step back from performing roles such as youth work or running diversionary activities which, whilst potentially having an effect in reducing crime, have never been considered by the public to be part of the police's core role.⁹⁶

Police Foundations

In 2020 a significant number of police forces should be bolstered financially by a network of Police Foundations that foster giving at a local level. They should be encouraged off the back of the success of Police Foundations in the USA (see below) and Community Foundations in the UK⁹⁷ and build upon the importance the public has always placed on policing and police services.⁹⁸ Philanthropy should be encouraged by government, and funds could be raised through yearly benefit dinners and digital giving programmes. That the Foundations would be local would further encourage donations as philanthropists (from high net worth individuals to the less affluent, keen to play their part) will be able to see the benefits of their investments impact the area in which they live in 2020.

American Police Foundations

In July 1970 the Ford Foundation – led by its President McGeorge Bundy – established the (\$30 million) Police Development Fund. The Fund was soon renamed the Police Foundation with a mission to *“help the police be more effective in doing their job, whether it be deterring robberies, intervening in potentially injurious family disputes, or working to improve relationships between the police and the communities they serve.”*

The prevalence of foundations spread quickly across the USA through further support from other philanthropic organisations⁹⁹ such that there were soon *“notable police foundations representing major police departments across the United States.”*¹⁰⁰

The Police Foundation has funded significant research projects since 1970 that brought new fresh thinking on, for example, community policing.¹⁰¹

How Police Foundation resources are spent in England and Wales should vary depending on the needs of the local community and the police in 2020. However, the majority of funds should be used to conduct experiments to further knowledge of what works in policing, with a strong emphasis on finding new, effective ways of preventing crime and disorder. To achieve this, Foundations should partner with Innovation Hubs (see Chapter One) which link together police forces with academic institutions and others to further knowledge of what works to prevent crime and disorder.

96 For example see www.moriireland.com/researchpublications/publications/1409/Police-Federation-of-England-and-WalesPolicing-Priorities.aspx

97 By March 2012 £309m was endowed to Community Foundations in the UK, including almost 5,000 major donors, over 23,000 smaller donors (see www.communityfoundations.org.uk/)

98 For example see www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2937/Boris-vs-Ken.aspx and www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/2944/EconomistIpsos-MORI-April-2012-Issues-Index.aspx

99 For example the Police Executive Research Forum (www.policeforum.org/library/subject-to-debate/2010/Debate_Dec2010_web.pdf)

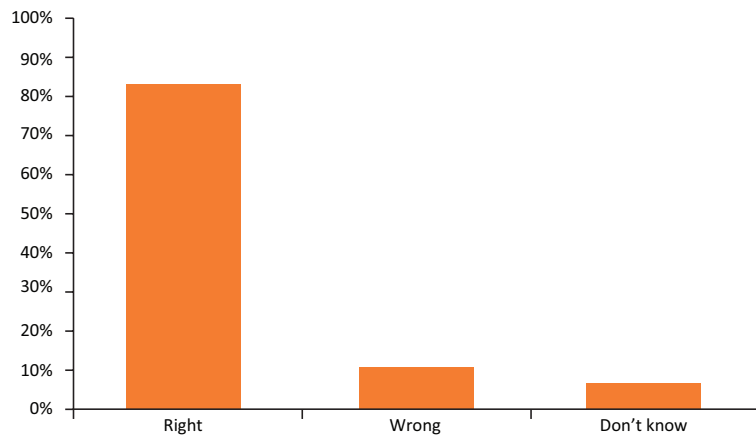
100 www.policefoundationofcoloradosprings.com/about

101 See www.policefoundation.org

Citizen Police Academies

The public successfully intervening to prevent and disrupt criminal activity is a relatively rare thing. Yet the public are comfortable with the idea that they could, and perhaps should, intervene in some cases. This was best demonstrated by the public’s reaction to the riots in August 2011, when the public clearly showed their support for the many citizens who intervened to protect their communities, streets and places of worship.¹⁰²

Figure 10: During the recent unrest, there were reports of local residents in some areas coming together in an effort to stop rioters. Do you generally believe such action is right or wrong?



Source: YouGov Poll, 2011

The public instinct that they have a role to play in preventing and disrupting crime and disorder should be capitalised on by 2020 through the creation of Citizen Police Academies. The Academies should be funded by PCCs and used as a means through which to reduce police demand. They should be based on the successful Citizen Police Academies in the USA,¹⁰³ which inform and educate the public on police activities, and on a first-aid model approach to combating crime and anti-social behaviour, as first advanced by the Royal Society of Arts.¹⁰⁴

They should aim to develop a more participative policing model by finding ways of involving those beyond the police in the conduct of policing, and by fostering informed and empowered citizens.

Their core focus should be training the public on how and when to intervene. The public should be trained in combating anti-social behaviour and performing citizen’s arrests through a combination of online training modules and face-to-face courses. They should be delivered by a combination of third sector organisations with policing expertise, as well as by police forces themselves.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, these Academies should give the public an insight into the role of the police in 2020 through activities such as:

- Organising ride-alongs with a response officers
- The opportunity to spend a shift with a Crime Prevention Officer
- An inside look into how criminal investigations are undertaken

102 cdn.yougov.com/today_uk_import/yg-archives-pol-itnchannel4-riotsandlooting-120811.pdf

103 For evidence of the impact of American Citizen Police Academies see Aryani A, et al, “The citizen police academy: Success through community partnerships,” The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 2000 and Brewster, J et al, “Effectiveness of citizen police academies in changing the attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of citizen participants,” American Journal of Criminal Justice, 2005

104 Rogers B, “First Aid Approaches to managing Anti-Social Behaviour: From concept to policy,” RSA, 2012

105 As suggested by the Ben Rogers in his work with the RSA quoted above

This will help educate the public on what the police do and why they do it the way they do, as well as giving the public a greater understanding of the competing pressures faced by police officers.

In a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange in 2012 the public were asked how interested they would be in attending a free evening course put on by an Academy if one was put on near them. A third of the public in England and Wales (36%) said they would be interested, whilst 59% were not interested. Eight% said they would be extremely interested in attending. If even half of those who said they were extremely interested in attending did so, that would still be around 1.8 million people attending an Academy in England and Wales, making a big difference to public safety.

4

Policing Partnerships

4.1 Introduction

To successfully prevent crime and disorder requires the police to work effectively in partnership with others. When conducting preliminary research for this project we asked the officers on the Police High Potential Development Scheme¹⁰⁶ what tenth Peelian Principle they might add to the nine, if any. Whilst the responses were varied, a significant number reflected on the need to work more effectively with others to deliver policing. For example, one officer said:

“The police should work efficiently with partners in all arenas as appropriate to the problem or issue they are engaged in resolving – be that public, private or voluntary sectors.”

In this chapter we investigate what this new principle could mean for policing in 2020. Specifically we look at the role Police and Crime Commissioners will play in ensuring effective working relationships with police partners and what place private businesses and the voluntary sector might have in helping to deliver police services.¹⁰⁷

4.2 How effective are police partnerships in 2012?

The wider police family¹⁰⁸

Policy Exchange conducted a questionnaire for this paper in 2012, which asked Chief Constables¹⁰⁹ for their views about the level of support they received from the wider police family.¹¹⁰

Regarding state partners, the Chief Constables who responded were most impressed with the support they received from local authorities (84% were satisfied with the level of support they provided)¹¹¹, probation services (74% were satisfied) and drug treatment agencies (63% were satisfied).

There was significant discontent, however, with mental health providers and state care and children’s homes, with only 11% being satisfied with the support these partners provided.

Regarding private partners, Chief Constables were most impressed with the support they received from large event organisers (84% agreed that they were satisfied with the level of support they provided), licensed premises (74% agreed) and telecommunication companies (68% agreed).

106 www.npia.police.uk/en/8563.htm

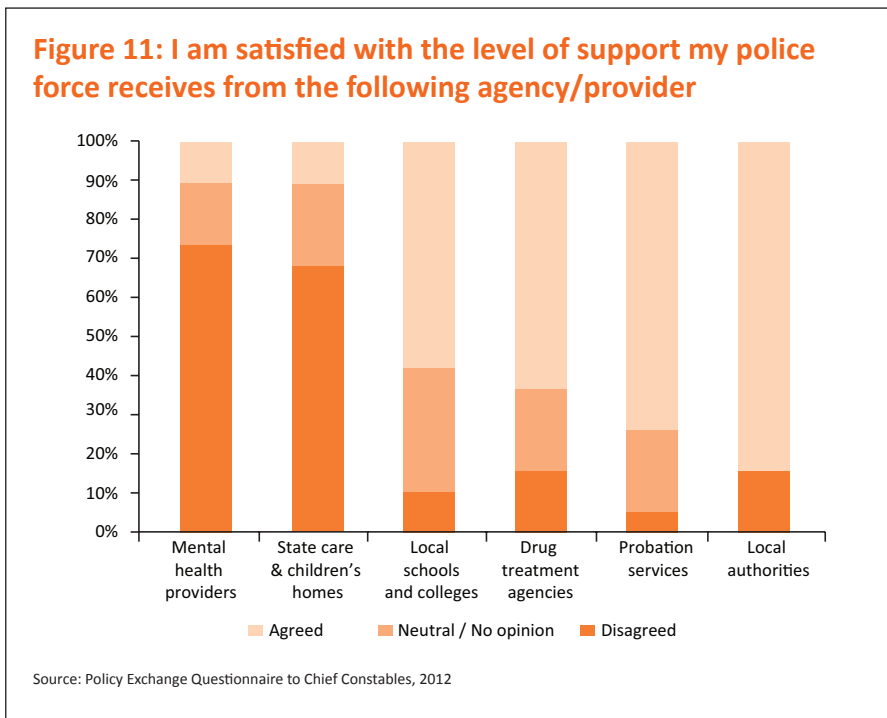
107 Other partnership arrangements, such as those between police forces, are out of the scope of this paper

108 By ‘wider police family’ we refer in this chapter to other government agencies and private businesses whose role in some way contributes to the prevention of crime and disorder or assists the police in their work

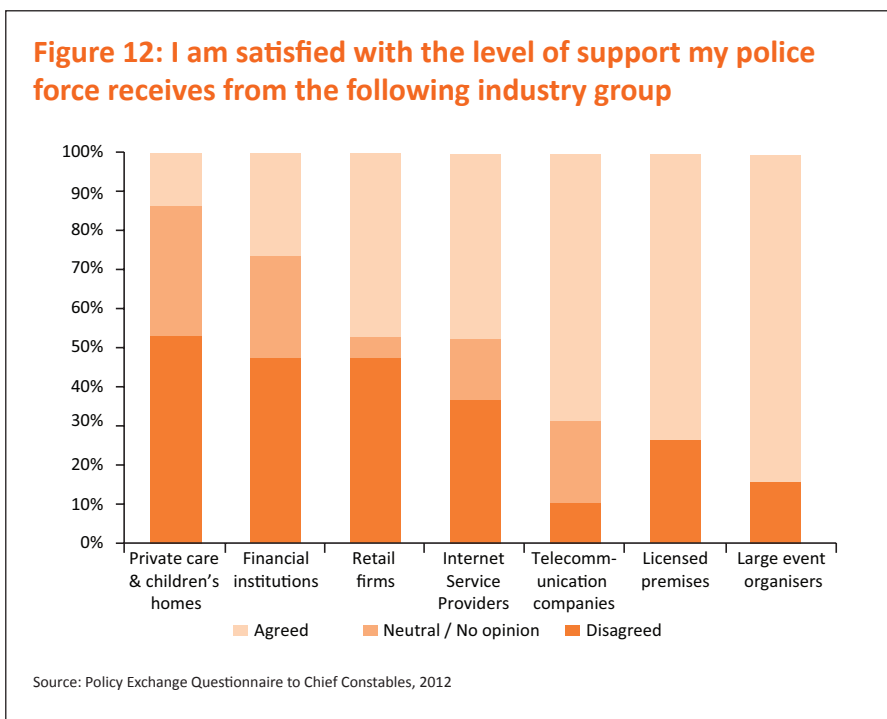
109 In a few cases Chief Constables nominated someone in their force to fill out the questionnaire on their behalf. In total we received a reply from 19 police forces out of 42

110 The private sector partners we asked Chief Constables about were: private care & children’s homes, financial institutions, retail firms, internet service providers, licensed premises, large event organisers and telecommunication companies. The public sector partners we asked about were: mental health providers, state care & children’s homes, local schools and colleges, drug treatment agencies, probation services and local authorities

111 Note that ‘agreed’ includes both the answer ‘strongly agree’ and ‘somewhat agree’



Yet satisfaction was the lowest for private care and children's homes (only 16 per cent were satisfied) and financial institutions (26% were satisfied).



These views raise further questions about why it is that Chief Constables are discontent with the support received by some of their partners, and will be investigated in future Policy Exchange research.

Where there is discontent from Chief Constables towards their partners it is not without merit. Part of the nature of being an emergency service means there is

a perennial danger that the police have others' responsibilities thrust upon them. Those who partner with the police know that, because police forces provide a 24/7 service that is free at the point of access, it is likely the police will pick up duties these other partners fail to do. This is particularly pertinent during a time of austerity. One Deputy Chief Constable commented:

“As austerity begins to bite, we are already seeing some or other public organisations withdrawing and leaving gaps in service which presumably they expect to be filled by the police.”¹¹²

Furthermore, 67% of Chief Constables believe that “preventing crime and disorder from occurring cannot be the prime responsibility of police forces, as it is affected by too many other factors outside of police control.”

For success in the fight against crime and disorder, police forces in 2020 will need more effective support from police partners to help prevent crime and support them in maintaining law and order.

The police and the private sector

Under both Labour and Coalition administrations, the last decade has seen extensive use of private businesses to help deliver back and middle office services for police forces across England and Wales.

The rationale has generally been that such partnerships are beneficial where they help forces to reduce the cost – whilst maintaining or increasing the quality – of back and middle office functions, freeing more officers to take up frontline roles. The Chief Constable of West Midlands Police, Chris Sims, described his reasons for considering a partnership with the private sector earlier this year:

“We believe that many of the routine and repetitive jobs currently carried out by police officers or police staff might potentially be done better or at less cost by the private sector, freeing up police officers to carry out frontline duties.”¹¹³

There are around 46 collaboration projects involving the private sector (34 of these are exclusively with the private sector).¹¹⁴ They include back office functions such as IT and finance, and middle office functions such as custody, call handling, intelligence and fraud.¹¹⁵ The three most significant contracts over the past few years, in terms of size, are included in the box below.

Table 1: Police partnerships with private businesses

Police Force(s)	Private Company	What services were included in the contracts	Type
Avon & Somerset	SouthWest One (IBM own 75%) ¹¹⁶	Finance, HR, Strategic Procurement, Property & Facilities Management, Enquiry Offices, Technology Services	Joint venture
Cleveland Police	Steria ¹¹⁷	Control room, ¹¹⁸ community justice, back-office functions (including HR, payroll and finance), criminal case files and the force's Operational Planning Unit	Shared service partnership
Lincolnshire	G4S ¹¹⁹	Build a 'state of the art' police station, administrative and operational services, including HR, IT, fleet management, custody services & firearms licensing	Outsourcing

112 Policy Exchange questionnaire comment, 2012

113 www.surreypa.gov.uk/2012/03/west-midlands-and-surrey-police-hold-conference-for-potential-private-sector-partners/

114 Note that this excludes projects initiated or developed since November 2011

115 “Increasing efficiency in the police service,” HMIC, 2012

116 www.southwestone.co.uk/welcome/about-us/our-partners/avon-and-somerset-police/

117 www.steria.com/uk/fileadmin/assets/yourBusiness/homelandSecurity/files/00277.pdf

118 Cleveland police have remained in charge of command activities and major incident response (see www.steria.com/uk/fileadmin/assets/yourBusiness/homelandSecurity/files/00477.pdf)

119 www.g4s.uk.com/en-GB/Media%20Centre/News/2012/02/21/Lincolnshire%20Police%20partnership/

A contract was proposed between West Midlands and Surrey Constabulary that was due to be worth around £1.5 billion over seven years.¹²⁰ It included a vast range of potential activities from investigating crimes to managing high risk individuals, yet had a “clear intention that visible patrols and powers of arrest would remain the responsibility of warranted police officers.”¹²¹

This contract proposal has however since been dropped by both parties due to opposition from the newly elected Police and Crime Commissioners.¹²²

Yet the current tight financial circumstances are unlikely to loosen over the next decade and PCCs will need to consider all the available options in order to deliver a successful policing service to the public. The options will include greater civilianisation (something argued for in the Policy Exchange paper *Cost of the Cops*, in 2011) and more extensive partnerships with private businesses to stay within budget whilst continuing to maximise the number of officers on the frontline fighting crime and disorder.

“In 2020 Police and Crime Commissioners should be strong and effective advocates for their police force.”

4.3 A vision for 2020: partnerships that put the public first

In this section we set out a vision for 2020 where policing partnerships are structured to put the public first, looking at the role of PCCs to act as their police force’s advocate and partnerships with the private sector.

PCCs as police advocates

In 2020 Police and Crime Commissioners should be strong and effective advocates for their police force. Until now there has been significant dissatisfaction from police forces towards those supporting them in the fight against crime and disorder. This has particularly been the case with regard to care and children’s homes and mental health providers, as we highlighted earlier.

This state of affairs should be transformed by PCCs, who in 2020 should use their powerful media and political clout to put pressure on police partners to uphold their responsibilities, rather than leaving them to the police. Furthermore, the remit of PCCs should be expanded such that they hold the Probation Service to account, as well as the police, in 2020. This will give them a far bigger role in offender management, which we advocated for in the Policy Exchange paper *Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring*.¹²³ It will enable them to deal more holistically with problems of crime and disorder and join together disparate parts of the criminal justice system.

One of the additional benefits of this wider role and influence across the criminal justice system will be an increased influence on other police partners.

This influence should make a significant, practical difference in all areas that have significant impact on crime and police demand. For example, PCCs in 2020 should put pressure on children’s care homes to imbed measures to minimise the number of the children under their care who go missing. They may even want to look to put pressure on Ofsted to hold them to a higher standard on these measures.¹²⁴ This would reduce unnecessary costs being placed on the police¹²⁵ and other emergency services.¹²⁶ PCCs in 2020 should also seek to reduce the police demand caused by mental health agencies who are often not available at times of high demand, such as over the weekend.

120 www.guardian.co.uk/uk/interactive/2012/mar/02/contract-note-bidders-police-services

121 www.surreypa.gov.uk/2012/03/west-midlands-and-surrey-police-hold-conference-for-potential-private-sector-partners/

122 See www.computerworlduk.com/#ixzz29BJCf7 and www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-birmingham-20442968

123 Geoghegan R, “Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring,” Policy Exchange 2012

124 In 2010-11 at least 190,000 people went missing from care in England and Wales, and 21% of those went missing from care homes (see www.npia.police.uk/en/docs/Missing_Persons_Data_and_Analysis_2010-11.pdf)

125 Every time someone goes missing it costs the police an average of around £1,000 (Identified cost as part of Lancashire Police’s Mountains to Molehills Project, 2004)

126 It is estimated that in Sheffield Primary Care Trust 25% of admissions from care homes were avoidable in 2008-9 (see www.healthymambitions.co.uk/Uploads/BetterForLess/BfL_CareHomes.pdf)

By 2020 PCCs should have developed strong working relationships with industry groups, businesses and third sector organisations as part of their role in commissioning services from outside their police force. They should pool funding with other PCCs and run innovation competitions to identify new technologies and strategies for reducing crime. Out of this we should expect a number of new innovations that deal with crimes such as the theft of personal items.¹²⁷ They should also build on previous successes to further reduce car crime and eradicate online and card transaction losses.¹²⁸

A mature market for police services

By 2020 a mature market for police services needs to have developed. The current narrative is dominated by discussions over inputs, and in particular whether or not private businesses have a role to play in the delivery of police services. By 2020 this needs to have matured into a discussion on outcomes and a focus on what structures provide the most effective and efficient methods of delivering the best possible police service to the public. This will require PCCs to engage openly with difficult decisions such as whether to employ a greater proportion of civilians (as proposed in the Policy Exchange paper *Cost of the Cops*)¹²⁹ or whether to forge partnerships with private businesses.

This focus on outcomes is especially important given that tight financial conditions are likely to continue up until 2020. Without an outcome orientated approach there is a real danger that PCCs will make decisions over whether to use private businesses not on the basis of what is best for the public, but rather on the basis of a preconceived ideology. If they focus on outcomes, then in 2020 PCCs should work with private businesses when doing so gives them the best chance to deliver the best possible service to the public, within their budget constraints.

Those who successfully partner (this includes both those who do not partner with private businesses at all and those who develop unsuccessful partnerships with private businesses) will have the benefit of bringing in new specialisms, expertise, skills and insights to help deliver a more effective and efficient service for the public, generating both cash and time savings for forces to reinvest into frontline policing.

As shown in a YouGov poll commissioned by Policy Exchange in 2012, the public in England and Wales support independent organisations, such as private businesses and social enterprises, to play a role in policing, if it means that police officers will be freed to perform other duties.

Three quarters (73%) of the public support independent organisations, such as private businesses and social enterprises, supporting the police on administrative functions (such as human resources, data inputting and accounts). Furthermore, 71% support involvement to help develop IT systems, 56% for answering calls from the public, and half (49%) for processing evidence and guarding crime scenes (48%).

There has been greater public concern however for private businesses to play a role in delivering frontline services, leading to some businesses and Chief Constables both stating that they see no role for private businesses in delivering frontline services.¹³⁰

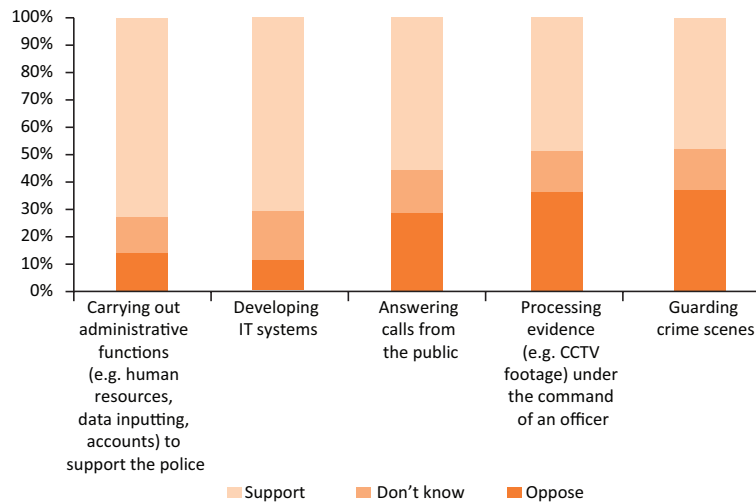
127 For information on current research on this topic see www.designcouncil.org.uk/Documents/Documents/OurWork/Crime/DOC_hot_products.pdf

128 Innovations in the car manufacturing industry have contributed towards a 65% reduction in vehicle theft between 1995 and 2010 and innovations such as Chip and Pin is contributed towards reductions in transaction losses on the UK high street by 55% between 2004 and 2008 (see www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmhaff/242/242i.pdf)

129 Boyd E, et al, "Cost of the Cops: Manpower and deployment in policing," Policy Exchange, 2011

130 For example, see www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmhaff/1899/12032201.htm and www.policeraacle.com/news/Police+Finance/2012/Mar/08/No-Arrests-Says-Private-Firm_45866.html

Figure 13: Would you support or oppose the police working with independent organisations (such as private businesses and social enterprises) to carry out the following roles and free uniformed police officers for other duties?



Source: YouGov poll for Policy Exchange, 2012

Police and Crime Commissioners will need to take these views into account when considering what role private businesses should play in achieving the best outcomes for the public. Unless public opinion changes and becomes more comfortable with the idea of private businesses delivering frontline services over the next eight years, it is unlikely there will be a large role for private businesses in this area in 2020.

The structure of police partnerships

In 2020 careful consideration should be given to the structures employed by police forces when partnering with private businesses. There will need to be a broad range of partnership arrangements, from pure outsourcing deals to business partnering arrangements.

Table 2: Partnership Types

Business Partnering	Outsourcing
Working with a “partner” in the delivery of a service	Contracting out of a business function to a supplier
Supports a transformational approach	Sole responsibility is transferred to the supplier
Can be as a customer / supplier relationship	Risk borne by supplier
Responsibilities likely to be shared with partner	Often for technology / customer contact functions (IT / telephony)
Risks retained or shared	

Source: “Increasing the efficiency in the Police Service,” HMIC, 2012

What structure is most appropriate will depend on the nature of the services being contracted out, and PCCs will need to make sure that any deal they agree secures the best deal for the public.

Police forces should consider introducing an element of employee ownership into the delivery of back and middle office functions. The key benefit of this would be a greater level of productivity by increasing staff motivation¹³¹ and thereby reducing the current relatively high level of sickness absence in this area of policing (police staff sick leave was estimated to be as high as 13 days per year by an HMIC snapshot).¹³²

Moreover, in 2020, these partnerships should not only work to provide a better police service for the public, they should also be free to bid for contracts that were traditionally awarded to the private sector, such as providing the security for large public events.

This approach has already proved successful for Cleveland Fire Brigade who in 2012 set up a Community Interest Company – Cleveland Fire Brigade Risk Management Services CIC – and won its first private sector contract to provide 24-hour emergency cover to a plastics manufacturer, INEOS Nitriles. This deal has enabled them to generate profit that has been poured back into paying for new community-based education programmes.¹³³

A similar approach to policing in 2020 would enable police forces to develop significant lines of profit, all of which should be reinvested back into the partnerships and police forces to further equip them in the fight against crime. Before any such contracts were arranged, police forces would need to prove they had the necessary resilience to cope with emergency situations, such as widespread rioting, and public emergencies should always receive preferential status in any resource decision.

131 For examples of mutuals leading to increased productivity see, for example, mutuals.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/central-surrey-health and mutuals.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/seqol

132 Boyd E, et al, "Cost of the Cops: Manpower and deployment in policing," Policy Exchange, 2011

133 www.clevelandfire.gov.uk/2012/07/cleveland-fire-brigade-wins-ground-breaking-new-contract-that-will-help-keep-community-safe

Conclusion

In setting out a vision for what policing could look like in 2020, this paper has drawn upon both the Peelian Principles and the analysis of previous Policy Exchange reports, such as that which argued for a more cost-effective use of police officers,¹³⁴ an evidence-based approach to police procurement.¹³⁵ We have argued for police reform to be ‘smart on crime’ through the adoption of cost-effective, evidence-based policies that are aligned with the public’s expectations. Through these lenses we have advocated for the following themes to be a central part of the policing landscape in 2020:

“The proposals set out in this paper will inform future crime and justice research at Policy Exchange.”

- A relentless focus on the prevention of crime and disorder
- Policing to be delivered locally
- The public to be encouraged to play a full part in the fight against crime
- Outcome-oriented PCCs who are fully engaged with their policing partners

The proposals set out in this paper will inform future crime and justice research at Policy Exchange. We will be engaging with Police and Crime Commissioners, and other police leaders, over the coming months as we develop the themes contained within this research. Our hope is that many of the ideas in this paper will be developed and become reality by 2020 and thereby ensure that policing is fit for purpose to serve the public and cut crime and disorder.

134 Boyd E, et al, “Cost of the Cops: Manpower and deployment in policing,” Policy Exchange, 2011

135 Geoghegan R, “Future of Corrections: Exploring the use of electronic monitoring,” Policy Exchange 2012



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Policy Exchange
Clutha House
10 Storey's Gate
London SW1P 3AY

www.policyexchange.org.uk