Rekindling British Policing



A 10-Point Plan for Revival

Richard Walton and Sophia Falkner Foreword by Sir Mark Rowley



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Contents

About the Authors	2
Acknowledgements	3
Foreword	5
Introduction	7
The future of policing	9
Policy Recommendations:	10
Executive Summary	11
Demands on policing	11
Crime Levels	12
A vision for re-kindling British Policing and law enforcement	12
Demands on the police service	15
Changes in Crime	19
Violent Crime	19
Drug offences	20
Changing nature of crime	22
A vision for re-kindling British Policing and law enforcement	23
Enforce laws relating to drug possession and drugs supply	28
The evidence for investing in neighbourhood policing	29
The concept of 'zero tolerance'	30
Collaboration between police and other agencies	30
Why neighbourhoods have been in decline	31
A new generation of neighbourhood / community policing teams	32
The case for merging the IOPC into the HMICFRS	35
Conclusions	42

Foreword

Sir Mark Rowley

In his first speech as Prime Minister in front of 10 Downing Street Boris Johnson made a statement of intent on the future of British policing:

"My job is to make your streets safer - and we are going to begin with another 20,000 police on the streets and we start recruiting forthwith".

In subsequent comments he, the new Home Secretary and other members of the new cabinet made clear their commitment to a dramatic shift in priority towards supporting policing and criminal justice. The key question now must be:

"How should the new money and 20000 officers be focused to deliver the greatest effect?"

This paper seeks to answer that question with far sighted recommendations that I believe will, if adopted, make the Prime Minister's intention a reality. It can assist the Home Office and the new government as they explore how best to implement such a radical policy shift across the country in just three years.

In my experience, the scale of public expectations are no longer focused solely on the classic 'public space' crimes that previously dominated policing. The operational challenge presented by a widening mission is now threefold:

- In public on the streets and in neighbourhoods, to tackle the rise of knife crime and other violence, often driven by drugs gangs and other organised crime networks whilst re-establishing community policing to address local concerns.
- In private to respond to the massive growth of sexual and other offences that are often targeted against the vulnerable and which are currently outstripping the capacity of the police and criminal justice system.
- Online in a new largely unregulated 'Wild West' internet, to respond to the new on-line crimes of identity theft, fraud, sexual grooming and terrorist conspiracies.

The unprecedented scale of the challenge arises, not only from massive resource cuts in recent years but also:

• The disempowerment of police both by the curtailing of police powers and also the bureaucratic stifling hands of IOPC and HMICFRS that dis-incentivise police use of powers. It is not right for officers to worry about, for example, back-covering paperwork to keep HMICFRS happy or the effect on their careers of either a complaint about stop and search, or, their pursuit of a fleeing offender that ends with his injury as he crashes.

- The failure of the Home Office, PCCs and policing to keep pace with the acceleration of modern technology or to exploit the innovation opportunities it presents.
- The fragmented governance of local policing failing to create a credible national resourcing and coordination for combating the regional, national and international threats presented by serious and organised crime. The exception is the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network which shows what can be achieved.
- The reduced contribution towards crime reduction of others within the criminal justice system and crime and disorder partners such as health and councils. Indeed, based on my experience of cross-Whitehall departmental collaboration it may take the personal intervention of the Prime Minister to get a rapid step change in the joint effect of agencies charged with prevention, detection, punishment and rehabilitation to dramatically reduce knife-crime and the associated problems.

It was perfectly reasonable at the start of the government's policy of austerity to expect policing to make efficiency savings but the cuts went too deep and lasted too long.

The injection of 20,000 additional officers will now create the momentum needed to turn this situation around. Police officer numbers do matter! This was obvious but has now been proven. But police officers also need to be better deployed, i.e. **supported by politicians empowered, focussed, equipped** and **organised** as this paper highlights.

I am not surprised that the paper concludes that the focus should now be on increasing support for police powers, technology innovation, reinvigorating community policing and strenghtening our capabilities to tackle national and regional serious and organised crime networks.

A National Policing Board should have a key role in focusing and prioritising the expectations of the police given the widening mission laid out above. Whilst I believe that a more fundamental review of policing structures will be required, the actions recommended here are a pragmatic first step to dealing with the urgent challenges facing policing.

Finally, a thought on the real practical challenges of growing the police service by 20,000 so quickly – on top of the thousands that retire or leave the service each year and who need replacing. National coordination of new measures to aid retention of experienced officers and also of a campaign that assists with advertising, logistics and extra resourcing of recruiting and training functions will be crucial. It will also be important to seize the opportunity that this uplift in police numbers presents to grow a service that is more reflective of the communities it protects and serves.

I commend this paper as a response to the Prime Minister's call to action.

Introduction

In a joint press statement with his newly appointed Home Secretary Priti Patel, Prime Minister Boris Johnson said:

"As I said on the steps of Downing Street this week, my job as Prime Minister is to make our streets safer. People want to see more officers in their neighbourhoods, protecting the public and cutting crime. I promised 20,000 extra officers and that recruitment will now start in earnest."

The statement announced the creation of a new national policing board to oversee the work, with the Home Office given responsibility for hitting the recruitment target.

Home Secretary Priti Patel said:

"Officers up and down the country put themselves in danger every day to keep us safe, they deserve our support. The rise we've seen in serious violence is deeply worrying. An additional 20,000 officers sends a clear message that we are committed to giving police the resources they need to tackle the scourge of crime. This is the start of a new relationship between the Government and the police working even more closely together to protect the public."

Simultaneously, the Government announced an urgent review into a pilot scheme which makes it simpler for officers to use stop and search powers on anyone suspected of carrying a weapon. It stated that Mr Johnson is a strong supporter of the tactic and is keen to see the pilot - which is currently in operation in seven forces - being rolled out across the country.

The Chair of the National Police Chiefs' Council Martin Hewitt QPM, responded to the Prime Minister's announcement by writing:

"This substantial growth in police officers will ease the pressure on our people and help us to reduce crime and improve outcomes for victims. It is also an incredible opportunity to accelerate our plans to increase diversity in policing."

"We will work closely with the College of Policing and the Government on the detail and practical implications of such a significant recruitment drive."²

This commitment from an in-coming Prime Minister represents a dramatic shift in policing policy following eight years of cuts to police budgets and police officer numbers which have been simultaneously accompanied by rising levels of serious and violent crime. It also comes in the immediate aftermath of warnings of a potential crisis in policing operational delivery from some of the most influential police professionals in the country.

Earlier this month (4th July 2019), Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of

https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/boris-johnson/ news/105577/recruitment-extra-20000; https:// www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-launches-police-recruitment-drive

https://news.npcc.police.uk/releases/npcc-chair-responds-to-government-announcement-on-police-recruitment

Constabulary Sir Thomas Winsor wrote in his 'State of Policing - Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2018'³ report:

"There are indications that some forces are straining under significant pressure as they try to meet growing complex and high-risk demand with weakened resources...

I believe that some profound and far-reaching aspects of police reform are called for. For these reforms to take place, leaders in central government, PCCs and chief constables will all need to make bold, long-term decisions. If they don't the windspeed of police reform will fall to a flutter, leaving the police service unable to meet the demands it faces. The inevitable legacy of such an approach would be unacceptable compromises in both the quality of service the police can offer the public and the level of public safety and security the police can uphold."

A day after the release of this report, in a letter to The Times⁴ (5^{th} July 2019) five former Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis (1993-2017) portrayed an even starker picture:

"Sir, The next prime minister will inherit the urgent task of restoring confidence in the police service, which has had its resources drained to dangerously low levels. The reduction of police and support staff by more than 30,000, the virtual destruction of neighbourhood policing and the inadvisable undermining of lawful police powers such as stop and search, have taken their toll. Common sense suggests that these factors have contributed to the feeling of lawlessness generated by knife murders and 'county lines' drugs..."

The police service is currently facing **five** major challenges that need addressing:

1 Increasing crime levels, greater demands and reduced budgets

Violent, knife, drug-related and other forms of criminality are on the rise and in some areas at the highest levels seen for many years. New online crimes of fraud, identity theft and child abuse have added new crime types to the traditional suite of acquisitive 'street based' crimes. Police budgets have been significantly reduced in the public sector following the introduction of a policy of austerity.

2 Neighbourhood decline

At the local level, people are worried about levels of crime and about a general decline in law and order. Through necessity, the police have reverted back to a reactive 'emergency response' based model which means that they 'respond, react and retreat' without ever resolving the underlying drivers of the criminality. Some crimes (drugs possession in particular) appear to have been de-criminalised in practice if not in law. Previously visible neighbourhood teams have shrunk or been disbanded, giving the impression that the police have given up the streets to the gangs, thieves and drug dealers.

- https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ news/news-feed/profound-and-far-reaching-policing-reform-urgently-needed/
- https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/comment/ times-letters-decline-in-support-for-labour-undercorbyn-gcftszvhf

3 National Security Threats

The threat from terrorism continues to be acute and was visibly magnified in 2017. The less visible threat of serious and organised crime is similarly increasing in scale and complexity, being both chronic and corrosive. The National Crime Agency (NCA) exposed a detailed understanding of these challenges at the National Strategic Assessment Public launch this year⁵. The increase in county lines (moving and supplying drugs across communities, regions of the UK and internationally), the scale of dark web established child abuse (2.88m users world-wide) and a minimum of 81,000 serious and organised criminals in the UK are facts that demand attention and action.

4 A disempowered workforce

Overbearing scrutiny by police complaints bodies such as the IPCC/IOPC has made police officers more cautious/risk averse, eroding effective law enforcement. In recent times, police officers have become reluctant to carry firearms, use stop and search powers or conduct chases of criminals for fear of the resulting reproach of the Independent Office of Police Conduct (IOPC) if something goes wrong. Policing is inherently risky, and officers need political and community support as well as the right laws and powers.

5 A policing model out-paced by technology

The police service has become burdened by major legacy information technology systems that cannot keep pace with recent transformative technologies. There is a need to accelerate technological innovation and adapt and experiment with new solutions that can make policing more effective.

The future of policing

A new policing strategy needs to address these five challenges by delivering a service that:

- Is well funded with substantially more police officers
- Enforces laws more rigorously to bring down crime
- Re-invigorates community / neighbourhood policing
- Is formally recognised as 3-tiered: nationally led, regionally coordinated and locally delivered
- Empowered by stronger political and legal support
- Is less burdened by oversight and scrutiny
- Is supported by the most innovative technology

The police service also needs a national policing infrastructure that enables these challenges to be tackled.

This paper strongly endorses the decision by the Prime Minister to respond to the decline of policing by announcing on his first day in office an uplift of police officer numbers by 20,000 over three years.

This is a radical proposal which will need to be matched by additional policy changes to ensure that this substantial uplift in police officer

 https://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/ news/181-000-uk-offenders-fuelling-chronic-andcorrosive-threat-from-serious-and-organised-crime numbers in such a short time period results in a commensurate and sustainable reduction in crime.

This paper sets out how this can be achieved, making ten recommendations for the Home Secretary which, if implemented, would not only re-kindle British policing but fire it up to help restore Britain's global reputation as the safest country on earth.

Policy Recommendations:

- 1. Use the National Policing Board to drive strategic changes to policing, strengthening law enforcement at local, regional and national levels.
- 2. Create a National Crime Analysis Unit to monitor crime trends and inform the delivery of a National Police Resource plan for the uplift of 20,000 police officers.
- 3. Co-ordinate a national recruitment process for the additional 20,000 officers in order to streamline and speed up the recruitment with new incentives offered to applicants.
- 4. Devise a new three-year Crime Fighting Strategy that focuses on reducing violent crime and laws relating to illegal drugs.
- 5. Launch a new Community Policing Strategy to re-kindle local problem-solving teams across the country.
- 6. Formally create and recognise a 3-tier structure (local, regional and national) that enables the right capabilities to operate at the right level, whilst retaining the valued visible and local operational delivery.
- 7. Streamline scrutiny and oversight of policing by merging the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) into Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) creating a single independent oversight body dealing with police performance, complaints and discipline.
- 8. Build on the success of the National Crime Agency (NCA) to create a network of national and regional capabilities to proactively tackle serious and organised crime, from drugs/firearm supply to fraud and child abuse
- 9. Create a new Police Technology Innovation Hub to enable the police service to embrace rapidly changing technologies.
- 10. Provide the police service with guidance on the investigation of historical crimes.

Executive Summary

Demands on policing

- There has been a 19% fall in real terms in expenditure on police services in England and Wales between 2010/11 and 2018/19 whilst police recorded crime over the same period has increased by 27%.⁶
- The size of the entire police workforce fell by 18% between March 2010 and March 2018 (from 244,497 to 199,752) with the number of police officers falling by 15%⁷. By 2016, there were fewer police officers in England and Wales than there were in the late 1900s.⁸ There has also been a substantial drop in the numbers of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and civilian staff.
- There has been an almost total collapse of neighbourhood policing teams across the country, resulting in proactive 'problem solving' teams being broken up at the local level.
- Oversight of and complaints investigations by the IOPC are failing and placing a heavy bureaucratic burden on policing despite substantial budget increases (119%) in this area since 2012.
- The long-standing national 43 police force model of small, medium and large forces all operating independently is not configured to address new regional and national crime challenges beyond the local level. This has resulted in too many organisational entities working separately from one another, creating built-in inefficiencies and waste.
- Police forces have had to deal with an increase in the reporting rates for certain crime types. For instance, reporting of rape has increased threefold since 2007/8 and in London allegations of sexual offences have doubled in the five years since 2012/13⁹.
- A continuous rise in the population as a result of demographic shifts and increasing levels of immigration have not been met with a proportionate increase in the size of the police workforce.
- Non-crime demands on policing are increasing, for instance, responding to incidents relating to mental health¹⁰.
- The creation of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) at force level has not been matched by strategic direction at national level resulting in crime strategies that are not integrated across the country.
- The police use of 'stop and search' is a useful element of a

- https://fullfact.org/crime/police-funding-englandand-wales/; Institute for Government Police Performance Tracker https://www.instituteforgovernment. org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2018/ police?gclid=CjOKCQjwvo_qBRDQARIsAE-bsH8t-PUZQAN7mgFWgUHTjTYKE17oeIFHoG5Wu6y-11/ZCOWNNXDU5X05saAmF2EALw_wcB
- Institute of Government Performance Tracker 2018. https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2018/police
- Disney R and Simpson P, Police Workforce and Funding in England and Wales, Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017. https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/9224
- Metropolitan Police Service 'Force Management Statement', page 5. https://www.met.police.uk/ SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/met/about-us/ met-force-management-statement-2018.pdf
- Metropolitan Police Service 'Force Management Statement', page 6. https://www.met. police.uk/SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/ met/about-us/met-force-management-statement-2018.pdf

multifaceted approach to addressing street level crime, but political and ethical considerations have impacted the extent to which these tactics can be used.

• An increase in the terrorism threat has resulted in funds, specialist detective and other resources being diverted away from an already overstretched police service.

Crime Levels

- The country has experienced drastic increases in violent crime over the last five years with the national homicide rate reaching a ten-year high in 2018.
- Knife crime offences have almost doubled since 2014 and are now at the highest rate since comparable records were first created in 2011.
- The emergence of 'County lines' drug supply networks, where gangs move and supply drugs within different areas has spread to now encompass all 43 police force areas.
- County line drug networks are linked with a range of crimes, including acts of violence, the exploitation of children and human trafficking.
- Law enforcement against drugs offences (possession, supply and trafficking) has reduced, resulting in some drugs offences being de-criminalised in practice if not in law.
- New technologies have contributed to the emergence of new internet-based crimes such as online fraud, identity theft and child sex offences which are having a serious impact on individuals and communities.
- As crime is no longer confined to the public domain, a flexible and innovative police service that can tackle online crimes alongside street crimes will be necessary to combat these new and growing threats.
- Terrorism is more prevalent with the threat from Islamist terrorism in particular having increased markedly over the past ten years.

A vision for re-kindling British Policing and law enforcement

- The Prime Minister's announcement of the recruitment of an additional 20,000 police officers is a catalyst for re-kindling British policing.
- The Home Secretary should use the newly created National Policing Board (sitting above the NPCC) to set clear national and regional priorities and streamline decision making for how the 20,000 uplift of police officers should be delivered to reduce crime.

- There is substantial evidence that effective neighbourhood community based police teams reduce crime and disorder. The vast majority of the uplift of 20,000 additional police officers should be used to restore community neighbourhood teams back to the levels of 2010.
- The recruitment of 20,000 additional police officers across England and Wales over the next three years will be logistically challenging owing to high employment levels currently and a recent decline in enquiries from potential applicants interested in joining the police.
- The Home Office should create a new independent National Crime Analysis Unit to report honestly and openly on the underlying causes of crime levels and without obfuscation.
- The less visible threats from Serious and Organised Crime (SOC) have increased substantially over the past ten years but funding to tackle these threats has not matched demand and there is now a growing capability and capacity gap in the agencies tasked with addressing SOC threats (National Crime Agency and Regional and Organised Crime Units).¹¹
- The NCA estimates that the cost to the UK economy from Serious and Organised Crime is £37billion a year and increasing. There are 4,542 Organised Crime Groups (OCGs) and over 181,000 people believed to be involved in SOC.
- An uplift of 20,000 police officers across the country needs to include a substantial uplift in capability to tackle serious and organised criminality at local and regional levels.
- An additional uplift in police officers within the regional and national tiers of policing should prioritise recruitment of police officers to the NCA and ROCUs whose funding and capacity is considerably less than the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network (NCTPN).
- The marked reduction in drugs enforcement needs to be reversed if crimes linked to drugs such as gang related violence and knife crimes are to be prevented and tackled.
- Overbearing and excessive scrutiny by external police complaints bodies such as the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), now the IOPC, have made police officers more cautious, eroding effective law enforcement.
- Two separate oversight bodies overseeing and scrutinising British policing practices places a heavy bureaucratic burden on individual forces and is extremely costly (the combined cost of both bodies is approximately £100m per year).
- Merging the IOPC into the HMICFRS to create a single independent oversight body (dealing with police performance, inspection, review, complaints investigation and discipline) would save substantial cost and reduce the bureaucratic burden on policing.
- The technological revolution is radically impacting and often outpacing policing, for instance, through the opportunities

 NSA 2019: Speech by Director General of the National Crime Agency Lynne Owens. https:// nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-we-are/publications/297-national-strategic-assessment-director-general-lynne-owens-speech/file presented by body worn cameras and digital media exploitation of phones and other media devices.

- Like the Department of Health, the Home Office should establish a Police Technology Innovation Hub in collaboration with private sector experts, venture capitalists and technologists who can help advocate change directly with the Home Secretary.
- There has been a proliferation of historical sex and other major crime allegations (including allegations relating to the troubles in Northern Ireland) which are notoriously difficult and expensive to investigate.
- Chief Constables have operational independence to make decisions on whether to start an investigation and whether they have sufficient resources to do so but the Home Secretary should issue guidance to Chief Constables to remind them to take account of Denning, J in R v Metropolitan Police Commissioner, ex parte Blackburn [1968] 2 All E.R. 319 when making their decision.

Demands on the police service

Changes in policing and police funding

Whilst links between crime, police officer numbers and demands on policing have been underestimated, other factors have compounded the pressures on policing. For instance, economic, political and cultural factors have affected the governance, operating powers and structure of police forces and their ability to combat crime.

Police forces have had to deal with an increase in the reporting rates for certain crime types. For instance, reporting of rape has increased threefold since 2007/8, domestic abuse-related crimes have increased 23% year on year and in London allegations of sexual offences have doubled in the five years since 2012/13.¹² The investigation of these crimes requires specialist handling and often a multi-layered approach which is cost and time intensive. Even non-crime related demands on the police are rising, for instance, the Metropolitan Police Service have had to deal with 165 calls per day relating to mental health problems.¹³

The current socio-political environment has also created new challenges for police forces. New forms of mass illegal protest, such as the Extinction Rebellion protests in July 2019, are increasing the demands on limited resources. Furthermore, they are exposing weaknesses in legislation relating to the policing of political protests, which prevent the police carrying out their jobs efficiently and effectively.¹⁴ The United Kingdom's exit from the European Union (EU) ('Brexit') has placed additional demands on some forces which are having to make extensive preparations and contingency plans.

Furthermore, a continuous rise in the population as a result of demographic shifts and increasing levels of immigration have not been met with a proportionate increase in the size of the police workforce.¹⁵ The number of officers per 100,000 of the population has fallen over the last decade, from 266 in 2009 to 214 in 2019.¹⁶ With populations set to rise further, it is critical that the police workforce grows in line with the population. The Prime Minister's plans to recruit 20,000 police officers will boost this ratio to 248 officers per 100,000 of the population (using ONS population estimates for England and Wales).¹⁷ However, this is an overestimation as this does not take into account population growth since 2018 and over the 3 year implementation period, nor does it restore it to 2009 levels.

The key determinant in this reduction in the ratio of officers to the general population has been austerity, which has been one of the greatest challenges to policing over the last decade. It has resulted in a real-term

- 12. Domestic abuse in England and Wales: year ending March 2018, Office for National Statistics, 22 November 2018. Available at: www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/ domesticabuseinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2018 ; Metropolitan Police Service 'Force Management Statement', page 5. https://www.met. police.uk/SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/met/ about-us/met-force-management-statement-2018. pdf
- Metropolitan Police Service 'Force Management Statement', page 5. https://www.met.police.uk/ SysSiteAssets/media/downloads/met/about-us/ met-force-management-statement-2018.pdf
- See recommendations in Policy Exchange paper 'Extremism Rebellion – A Review of Ideology and Tactics' available at https://policyexchange.org.uk/ publication/extremism-rebellion/
- 15. https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/britainsdemographicchallengeweb.pdf
- Police workforce, England and Wales, 2013-2019; Police Service Strength, England and Wales, 2009-2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/ police-workforce-england-and-wales#data-tables
- https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates

reduction in police funding of 19% since 2010/11 with significant consequences for the absolute number of police officers (Figure 1), and on the structure of policing in England and Wales.¹⁸ There has also been a substantial drop in the numbers of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and civilian staff (Figure 2).





Figure 2: Indexed trends in the number of police officers, police staff and PCSO's since 2009, years ending March, England and Wales.²⁰



- https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf , page 25
- Police workforce, England and Wales, 2013-2019; Police Service Strength, England and Wales, 2009-2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/ police-workforce-england-and-wales#data-tables
- Police workforce, England and Wales, 2013-2019; Police Service Strength, England and Wales, 2009-2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/ police-workforce-england-and-wales#data-tables.

In response to the fall in the size of the police workforce, there has been an

almost total collapse of neighbourhood policing teams across the country, resulting in proactive 'problem solving' teams being broken up at the local level. As preventative measures for crime have declined, there has been a commensurate increase in resources having to be allocated to 'response' or 'reactive policing' as more crimes have been committed (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Changes in the size of the Neighbourhood Policing and Incident (Response) Management teams and the total number of recorded crime (excluding fraud), 2016-2019, years ending March, England and Wales.²¹



The problems created by increasing demands on police services combined with budget cuts are exacerbated by the structure of the national police network of forces. For example, the long-standing national 43 police force structure of small, medium and large forces all operating independently has resulted in a dysfunctional model of policing with too many organisational entities working separately from one another, creating built-in inefficiencies and waste.

Compounding this, the Home Office decision in 2016 to devolve all responsibility for setting crime strategies and overseeing operational police delivery to Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) at force level has led to a lack of over-arching national strategic direction, resulting in incoherent crime strategies that are not integrated across the country.

Overbearing and excessive scrutiny perceived by senior police leaders as driven by various political agendas, and a highly bureaucratic Independent Office of Police Complaints (IOPC)²² have been encouraged by Ministers who have also supported substantial budget increases for the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) / Independent Office of Police Conduct (IOPC) over the period with few positive outcomes. Demands

^{21.} Police workforce, England and Wales, 2016-2019. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/police-workforce-england-and-wales#data-tables

formerly the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) (2003-2018), the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) (1985-2003) and the Police Complaints Board (1977-1985)

emanating from lengthy Public Inquiries such as the Independent Inquiry into Child Sex Abuse and the Under-Cover Policing Inquiry (UCPI) have also placed further pressure on an already overstretched policing service.

There is generally a mismatch between police funding and public expectations of the police service, which has created unrealistic expectations, tensions regarding police methods and a deterioration of the relationship between the government and the police.²³ Previous Home Secretaries have underestimated the direct relationship between numbers of police officers and levels of crime and mistrusted the way that police have used their powers, evident in the debate over stop and search.²⁴

Stop and search is primarily used to detect drugs, weapons or stolen property and has been cited as an important tool in fighting violent crime. However, as Figure 8 illustrates, there has been a large reduction in the use of stop and search due to arguments over the fairness of the process, with statistics supporting allegations that minorities were being disproportionately targeted and the practice negatively impacting community ties.

While we have seen a significant reduction in the use of stop and search, this has been accompanied by an increase in the arrest rate. Therefore, while it is evidently a useful element of a multifaceted approach to fight street level crime, political and ethical considerations have impacted the extent to which such tactics can be used.

Figure 4: Number of stop and searches and subsequent arrest rate, 2001 – 2018, England and Wales. 2001-2009 does not include BTP, therefore do not directly compare to following period.²⁵



- https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf , pages 25-26
- https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/ mar/04/no-link-between-knife-and-police-cutssays-theresa-may; https://www.politicshome.com/ news/uk/home-affairs/policing/news/102293/ pressure-mounts-theresa-may-top-police-chief-rejects-claim
- Stop and search statistics data tables: police powers and procedures. https://www.gov.uk/government/ statistics/police-powers-and-procedures-englandand-wales-year-ending-31-march-2017
- https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/ documents/2019-05/issues_index_may2019_v1_ public.pdf

General public perception regarding the importance of fighting crime has also shifted over the last decade. 'Crime, Order and Anti-Social Behaviour' are regarded as the public's third most important concern (alongside Brexit and healthcare), having risen year on year since 2016.²⁶ It is therefore crucial for the new government to prioritise fighting crime, not just by increasing resources, but by adapting the institutional framework governing the police, to create a well-equipped, efficient crime fighting police service.

Changes in Crime

The newly appointed Home Secretary Priti Patel is faced with serious national challenges relating to rising levels of crime.

Violent Crime

The country has experienced drastic increases in violent crime over the last five years with the national homicide rate reaching a ten-year high in 2018 (Figure 5).²⁷ These are also the crimes that are least susceptible to changes in recording practices and according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) reflect a true shift in general crime trends.²⁸

Figure 5: Indexed trends in police recorded violence with injury, homicide and robbery, years ending March, England and Wales.²⁹



Within the homicide and violent crime rates, there has been an upwards trend in knife crime, which despite a dip in the number of offences in 2014 (23,945 offences), has now almost doubled, with offences climbing to 43,516 for the year ending March 2019. This is the highest rate so far since comparable records were first created in 2011 (Figure 6).³⁰

- 27. There were 732 homicides recorded in England and Wales in the year to March 2018, the highest in more than a decade. https://www.ons.gov.uk/ peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/ articles/homicideinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2018#main-points
- 28. Although surveys have been used as evidence of falling crime in the UK, these do not include all crimes such as homicide and drug possession and particularly with regards to violent crime, is not as robust as police recorded data. https://www.ons.gov.uk/ peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/ bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/june2017#overview-of-crime
- Police recorded crime Police Force Area open data tables, year ending March 2013 onwards; Police recorded crime Police Force Area open data tables, year ending March 2008 to year ending March 2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/ police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables
- 30. There were 285 homicides in the year to March 2018 where the method of killing was by a knife or sharp instrument, the highest number since the Home Office Homicide Index began in 1946. https:// www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/ crimeandjustice/articles/homicideinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2018#main-points



Figure 6: Number of offences involving a knife or sharp instrument, years ending March, England and Wales.³¹

A marked increase in gang related crime appears to be a key component of these changes over the last decade³² ³³. The type of victims and change in nature of crime supports this claim. The key demographics driving this increase in violent crime, in particular homicide, are male victims, between the ages of 16 and 34. Furthermore, bespoke Home Office analysis highlighted an increase in drug related homicides, from 50% to 57% between 2014/15 and 2016/17.³⁴

Drug offences

Although the quantity of drugs consumed in England and Wales has reportedly decreased, the unofficial de-criminalisation of some drug offences since 2013 has happened against a background of increasing levels of violent crime, illustrated above. Figure 3 (below) highlights that the decrease in the number of police recorded drug offences is not proportionate to the decrease in reported drug consumption by those aged 16 to 59. This is especially true of cannabis. Although usage of the drug has remained fairly constant over the last decade, there has been a 70% reduction in the number of cautions issued for cannabis possession over the same period (Figure 7).

Against these changes, the emergence of 'County lines' drug supply networks, where gangs move and supply drugs within different areas of the UK, expanding their reach using mobile phones to facilitate operations, has spread to now encompass all 43 police force areas.³⁵ County line drug networks are linked with a range of crimes, including acts of violence, the exploitation of children and human trafficking. An absence of law enforcement against drugs networks is a contributory factor to the rising levels of homicide, violent crime, in particular, knife-enabled crime.

- Crime in England and Wales: Police Force Area data tables, March 2019, Table P5. https://www.ons.gov. uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/policeforceareadatatables
- 'Ending Gang and Youth Violence: Annual Report 2013': HM Government. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/ uploads/attachment_data/file/278779/Ending-GangYouthViolence2013.pdf
- 33. Grimshaw R & Ford M. 'Young people, violence and knives - revisiting the evidence and policy discussions': Pages 9-10. Centre for Crime and Justice Studies, The Hadley Trust. https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/sites/crimeandjustice.org.uk/files/ Knife%20crime.%20November.pdf
- https://www.gov.uk/government/news/home-secretary-to-launch-serious-violence-strategy
- P.8, https://nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-weare/publications/173-national-strategic-assessment-of-serious-and-organised-crime-2018/file

Figure 7: Indexed trends in the total number of recorded drug offences, drug trafficking offences (sub-group of total drug offences) and reported drug consumption among those aged 16–59 since 2009, years ending March, England and Wales.³⁶



Figure 8: Number of cautions issued for the possession of cannabis as a Class B drug, England and Wales and the proportion of 16 to 59 year olds reporting use of cannabis in the last year.³⁷



Drugs are just one component of the threat posed by Serious and Organised Crime (SOC). According to the National Crime Agency, the volume and complexity of SOC is increasing. Estimates put the cost of SOC to the UK economy at £37 billion a year, although this figure, which is an underestimation of the total cost, cannot capture the harm inflicted on victims.³⁸

- 36. Police recorded crime Police Force Area open data tables, year ending March 2013 onwards; Police recorded crime Police Force Area open data tables, year ending March 2008 to year ending March 2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/ police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables
- 37. Criminal Justice System Statistics publication: Outcomes by Offence 2008 to 2018, England and Wales; Drug misuse: findings from the 2017 to 2018 CSEW. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/criminal-justice-system-statistics-quarterly-december-2018; https://www. gov.uk/government/statistics/drug-misusefindings-from-the-2017-to-2018-csew
- https://nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-weare/publications/173-national-strategic-assessment-of-serious-and-organised-crime-2018/file

Changing nature of crime

Crime is becoming more complex and placing new demands on investigations. Technology has contributed to the emergence of new internet-based crimes such as online fraud, identity theft and child sex offences. These are presenting new challenges for which the police are not yet equipped to deal with. For example, the anonymity of virtual currencies seriously impedes investigations into the online sale of contraband. Even when data can be accessed, the data received from mobile phones is doubling every 18 months. The ability to download and then sift through this data places significant demands on both resources and expertise. New technologies have also created a new phenomenon of 'mass disruption', for instance, the NHS was seriously affected by a ransomware attack in May 2017 and drones rendered Gatwick airport unusable for three days in December 2018. As crime is no longer confined to the public domain, a flexible and innovative police service that can tackle online crimes alongside street crimes will be necessary to combat these new and growing threats.

Another growing threat that has intensified over the last decade has been terrorism. The UK experienced five terrorist attacks in one year in 2017, four driven by Islamism and one by far-right extremism. Unprecedented public safety challenges have emerged, for instance, Wiltshire Constabulary and the National Counter Terrorism Police Network (NCTPN) had to respond to the attempted assassination of the Russian dissident Sergei Skripal using the chemical weapon Novichok. While there have been increases in the funding for the NCTPN, this has resulted in funds, specialist detective and other resources being diverted away from the already overstretched proactive and reactive police service crime fighting teams across the country.

A vision for re-kindling British Policing and law enforcement

The Prime Minister's announcement of the recruitment of an additional 20,000 police officers is a catalyst for re-kindling British policing.

The Home Office and senior police leadership now need to translate this pledge into a genuine reduction in crime. Delivering a fast reversal of existing crime trends will require urgent action but where within the mosaic of British policing will critical decisions relating to the uplift of 20,000 officers be made? How quickly can these additional police officers be recruited and where should they go to have maximum effect on crime levels?

As a minimum, the uplift in police officers should deliver the following:

- Stronger law enforcement to bring down crime levels
- High-impact community policing re-invigorated with a stronger focus
- A service that is nationally led, regionally co-ordinated whilst still being responsive to local communities

Effective policing must be supported by the most innovative technologies and police officers need to be empowered by stronger political and legal support.

The police service also needs a national policing infrastructure that enables these challenges to be tackled.

This paper sets out the ten most pressing actions that need to be taken and recommends a radical new 3-tier British Policing Model to achieve effective decision making leading to positive outcomes being achieved efficiently.

This model would deliver a nationally led, regionally co-ordinated and locally delivered police service, one that is based on the existing successful counter terrorism policing model³⁹ but one that results in an emboldened role for the National Crime Agency, based on their success to date despite their limited resources.

Individual police forces should be retained with their respective Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) overseeing local policing delivery, but the new National Policing Board should lead a new National Policing Strategy that streamlines functions that work best across regional or national boundaries whilst treating community policing as a specialist function in its own right. Critically, this board should scrutinise crime

^{39.} Counter Terrorism Policing is delivered across England and Wales by the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network that is led nationally by the Metropolitan Police Service, coordinated through regional Counter Terrorism Units (CTUs) or Counter Terrorism Intelligence Units (CTIUs) but delivered locally at individual force level.

trends across the country and be empowered to decide how and where the additional funds are spent to achieve the 20,000 uplift of police officers.

To achieve the desired reversal of increasing levels of crime, ten critical actions must be implemented urgently by the Home Secretary to fire up British policing, tackle criminality and restore the public's trust in the government's ability to keep them safe. These are now set out in order of priority:

1 Use the National Policing Board to drive strategic changes to policing, strengthening law enforcement at local, regional and national levels

The current National Police Chief's Council (NPCC) of 43 Chief Constables from 43 different forces is a board that governs strategic policy changes across England and Wales but is too cumbersome a body to deliver the rapid uplift in 20,000 police officers required to reduce crime. The Home Secretary should therefore use the newly created National Policing Board (sitting above the NPCC) to set clear national and regional priorities and streamline decision making for how the 20,000 uplift of police officers should be delivered to reduce crime.⁴⁰

This Board should give clear national strategic direction to the police service by holding senior police leaders accountable for reducing crime regionally. Senior Chief Constables should be appointed to this board (alongside the Director General of the National Crime Agency (NCA)) and empowered (by legislation if necessary) to oversee regions across England and Wales and establish regional crime fighting sub boards consisting of Chief Constables and Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) within their region. These Senior Chief Constables should be responsible for the allocation of funds emanating from the National Policing Board between the police forces in their region and be accountable to the Board for the delivery of outcomes emanating from the additional officers recruited.

The National Policing Board should allocate the additional funding to policing over the next three years in accordance with crime priorities identified by the Board and at national, regional and local force levels. It should appoint the Chair of the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) to be responsible and accountable to the Home Secretary for achieving the uplift in police officer numbers across the country through the development of a National Policing Resource Plan that matches the recruitment of police officers to demand.

National Policing Resource Plan & the 20,000 uplift in police officers

The National Policing Board should ensure that the National Policing Resource plan for the uplift of 20,000 officers prioritises the recruitment and deployment of new police officers to neighbourhood policing teams to deliver a newly re-invigorated community policing model.

It should also ensure that the plan takes a 'whole system' approach to the uplift in police officers ensuring that, alongside the posts for community policing, a proportion of posts (approximately 2-4,000) are allocated and

Leads should be appointed as follows: 1. National Chair of the National Police Chief's Council (NPCC)
 London (the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, also representing the Chiefs of BTP, MOD and CNC), 3. Head of the National Crime Agency (NCA),
 North West 5. Midlands 6. North East 7. South-East 8. Eastern 9. South-West 10. Wales 11. National lead for the College of Policing

recruited across the other two tiers of policing, the regional and national levels, including posts for the National Crime Agency and Regional and Organised Crime Units (ROCUs).

Achieving the 20,000 uplift in police officers

Local Policing uplift

Between March 2010 and March 2015, the number of police officers in England and Wales reduced by 16,542 and PCSOs by 4,547^{41.} A significant proportion of these police and PCSOs posts were cut from neighbourhood policing teams. It should be a presumption in the National Policing Resource Plan, that local police forces restore their community neighbourhood teams back to the levels of 2010. This equates to approximately 16-18,000 officers (80%) of the additional 20,000 officers being recruited for local policing.

Regional and national policing uplift

National and regional policing units have received varying degrees of budget increases over the last five years. The threat from terrorism has been growing in the past ten years but the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network (NCTPN) has benefitted from substantial increases in funding in order to build its capacity to address this threat. The less visible threats from Serious and Organised Crime (SOC) have also increased substantially but funding to tackle these threats has not matched demand and there is now a growing capability and capacity gap in the agencies tasked with addressing SOC threats (National Crime Agency and Regional and Organised Crime Units).⁴²

Figure 9: Combined total funding of the National Crime Agency / Regional Crime Units compared to the total funding of the National Counter Terrorism Policing Network.



 Funding for community policing, 3 Nov 2017. House of Commons Debate Pack Number CDP-2017-0212. https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CDP-2017-0212

42. NSA 2019: Speech by Director General of the National Crime Agency Lynne Owens. https:// nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-we-are/publications/297-national-strategic-assessment-director-general-lynne-owens-speech/file policing should therefore prioritise recruitment of police officers to the NCA and ROCUs whose funding (and capacity) is considerably less than that allocated to counter terrorist policing. 2-4,000 of the 20,000 additional officers should therefore be allocated to the NCA and to ROCUs to bridge the gap between rising levels of serious and organised crime and the capabilities of the NCA and ROCUs to tackle this challenge.

2 Create a National Crime Analysis Unit to monitor crime trends and inform the delivery of a National Police Resource plan on behalf of the National Policing Board

Working with the Centre for Crime and Justice at the Office for National Statistics, the Home Office should create a new independent National Crime Analysis Unit that reports on crime trends as directed by the new National Policing Board. Analysts should provide regular updates on the drivers of crime across the country and monitor the delivery of a National Police Resource Plan to achieve the increase in police officer numbers in the next three years.

Too often in the past, Ministers have massaged crime figures and used crime statistics selectively. An independent National Crime Analysis Unit should report honestly and openly on crime levels and without obfuscation. It should provide detailed analysis about the drivers for increases in crime and issue regular reports into the public domain in the same way as economic figures are regularly presented by the Bank of England. It should also give its own objective analysis on the National Crime Survey.

3 Co-ordinate a national recruitment process for the additional 20,000 officers in order to streamline and speed up the recruitment with new incentives offered to applicants

The recruitment of 20,000 additional police officers across England and Wales over the next three years will be logistically challenging owing to high employment levels currently and a recent decline in enquiries from potential applicants interested in joining the police.

To address this challenge, the Home office should consider:

- Co-ordinating recruitment across the country in order to:
 - Streamline the process, preventing 43 forces from each setting slightly different entry criteria.
 - Ensure that the 20,000 uplift in officers is rolled-out effectively.
 - Ensure that supply of new recruits meets demand.
- Funding a national advertising campaign to attract suitable applicants
- Incentivising police officer recruitment by offering variable housing provision / or housing allowances for new police officer applicants in areas of the country where housing is expensive.

Police housing – recruiting and retaining the neighbourhood officers we need

To address the 'pricing out' of officers from local housing markets and to strengthen the connections of officers with the communities they serve, key-worker (and especially police) housing should be re-examined.

Offering dedicated housing for police officers is a way of attracting the increased numbers needed to effectively protect some of the most challenged neighbourhoods. House prices and rents, particularly in London and the South East, are holding back recruitment and harming retention. By offering dedicated housing, the Government can boost its recruitment drive and ensure officers are able to develop a better connection with local communities.

Crisis in recruitment

A shortage of affordable housing in London and the South East is holding back recruitment. Despite the acknowledged value of local knowledge in neighbourhood policing (and the ability to respond to emergency situations, such as large scale public order disruption or terrorism), it was announced at the end of 2018 that non-Londoners would be able to apply to join the Met.⁴³ This represented a reversal of a decision of 2014 that stipulated that people joining the force had to have lived in London for three out of the previous six years – a move post the 2011 riots designed to ensure the force looked more like the community it served.

Forces outside of London are also struggling to recruit and retain officers due to high living costs.⁴⁴ In early 2019, the Chief Constable of Thames Valley said 'We're losing quite a few to Devon and Cornwall...there's not a lot I can do to compete with quality of life type issues and housing costs'.⁴⁵ Nor is recruitment just a problem in the south east: West Yorkshire, Merseyside and Warwickshire also missed recruitment targets in 2019.

Why is London and the South East particularly hit?

Police remuneration is agreed nationally which prevents it reflecting differing circumstances within local labour markets and holds down police pay in high cost areas. The London weighting received by Metropolitan police officers does not adequately compensate for this variation. ⁴⁶

Using housing provision to retain officers and incentivise new applicants

A wider national review should be conducted by the new National Policing Board to examine housing and other quality of life obstacles to recruitment and retention.

The interpretation of S106 requirements for affordable housing should be expanded to allow police housing to count towards meeting this requirement. If necessary, S106 should be amended by the Government to allow police housing to count towards meeting the affordable housing requirements. Many of the properties in the new developments should be earmarked for police officers and advertised to them on the Police intranet prior to being made available to the general public.

In London - the Met/MOPAC should review providing ten year low interest loans to Met Police officers to help meet the cost of the add-on fees

- Met Police opens applications to people living outside London, Metro, 1 Nov 2018 https://metro. co.uk/2018/11/01/metropolitan-police-opens-applications-to-people-living-outside-london-8096013/
- Police crisis as cops quit in huge numbers, Express, 18 Feb 2019 https://www.express.co.uk/news/ uk/1089004/police-crisis-cops-quit-huge-numbers
- Police recruitment crisis: chief Constable 'cannot compete' with rival forces, Oxford Mail, 1 March 2019 https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/16057683.police-recruitment-crisis-chief-constable-cannot-compete-with-rival-forces/
- 46. Commuter Cops Helping our police to live in the city they serve, Policy Exchange 2016 https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ commuter-cops-august-16-1.pdf; Met police staff feel they are second-class citizens in an increasingly "two-tier" workforce https://www.mayorwatch. co.uk/met-police-staff-feel-they-are-second-classcitizens-in-an-increasingly-two-tier-workforce/

to purchasing a property such as stamp duty and legal fees etc. It should also review match-funding for savings made towards a deposit.⁴⁷

4 Devise a new three-year Crime Fighting Strategy that focuses on reducing violent crime and laws relating to illegal drugs

National Crime Fighting Strategy

A new over-arching National Crime Fighting Strategy (merging the Serious and Organised Crime Strategy, Violent Crime Strategy and Drug Strategy) should focus on addressing the key crime challenges that the country is facing, again at national, regional and force levels.

The strategy should be overseen by the National Policing Board that should review and update the National Policing Requirement⁴⁸ and focus on reducing violent crime, including homicide, knife and gang related crimes, robbery and drug related crimes.

Enforce laws relating to drug possession and drugs supply

Successive governments have explored de-criminalising or legalising the possession of drugs (cannabis in particular) and explored the prospect of treating drugs as a public health challenge rather than a law enforcement issue.⁴⁹ Yet, all reviews have concluded that government policy should not de-criminalise drugs because of the harm caused to individuals and communities⁵⁰. Cannabis is also no longer the relatively harmless drug it once was with the more concentrated varieties (e.g. skunk) more prevalent and as harmful as Class A drugs such as cocaine and heroin.

Police cuts have meant that the enforcement of drugs offences in recent years has markedly reduced giving the impression that drugs offences have been de-criminalised in practice if not in law. A drop in recorded drug offences is evidence of lower levels of police drug enforcement rather than a reduction in drug usage. For instance, drugs seizures have dropped 40% since 2010.⁵¹

This marked reduction in drugs enforcement needs to be reversed if crimes linked to drugs such as gang related violence are to be prevented and tackled. Ministers and the new National Policing Board should send a clear message to the police service and to the public that drug offences of all kinds will be enforced as a matter of priority alongside the increase in police officer numbers.

5 Launch a new Community Policing Strategy to re-kindle hiimpact local policing

To ensure the uplift of 20,000 police officers has the desired effect of making the country's streets safer, a renewed, ringfenced approach to community policing must be the priority.

The National Policing Board should oversee the rollout of a new high impact Community Policing Model with ring-fenced funding which

- 47. https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/commuter-cops-august-16-1.pdf
- https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/ file/417116/The_Strategic_Policing_Requirement. pdf
- 49. Drugs Policy Debate Pack Number CDP 2018/0227, 22 Oct 2018. https://www. google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s& source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwjOyu-HuvvjjAhUUUBUIHSSICJMQFjAAegQI-ARAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fresearchbriefings. files.parliament.uk%2F6cuments%2F-CDP-2018-0227%2FCDP-2018-0227.pdf&usg=AOvVaw3vAXXST2OpymrKUgRh_2ff
- 'Cannabis The case against legalisation'. December 2018. The Centre for Social Justice. https:// www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/core/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/CSJJ6711-Cannabis-Report-181207-WEB.pdf
- 51. Restoring Order and Rebuilding Communities: The Need for a New National Crime Plan, 12.7.19. https://institute.global/insight/renewing-centre/restoring-order-and-rebuilding-communities

should draw on the latest evidence and build-on previous approaches to neighbourhood policing policy. An investment of 20,000 police officers needs to transform local policing alongside regional and national capabilities dealing with new complex threats.

Community policing now needs to be highly connected, responsive and effective. It needs to build on the best problem-solving techniques whilst being far more:

- impactive on local crime problems such as the criminality of gangs causing street violence
- connected to communities in order to provide better intelligence to help defeat organised crime and terrorism
- responsive to the rising concerns of communities about crime and disorder.

There is also an opportunity for digital tools such as ELUCD that is being used widely in the USA to rapidly accelerate community responsiveness.

The evidence for investing in neighbourhood policing

In simple terms neighbourhood policing is a dedicated police 'presence' within communities with police teams serving and known by the community they serve. This contrasts to emergency response officers based elsewhere who only visit an area when responding to an incident or emergency.

The concept of neighbourhood (or community) policing has evolved and responded to changing socio-economic conditions but several important themes remain consistent.

The presence of dedicated officers in a local 'place' allows them to build up their knowledge of an area and gather better intelligence of local issues and individuals most likely to be involved in crime, either as perpetrators or victims. Such intelligence is important both for preventing and responding to crime effectively. By getting to know local people, officers are able to better identify the issues of most importance to the local community – both through their own observations and by listening to residents. This process helps build trust as officers are seen to be working on behalf of the community. This might include resolving local crimes such as fly-tipping or criminal damage. By resolving so-called 'broken windows' issues, officers gain the support of communities which can assist them when addressing more serious criminality. When more serious criminality such as knife crime takes place, investigating officers who enjoy the support and trust of residents can more easily gather information.⁵²

The 'broken windows' approach has also been shown to reduce the likelihood of crime. By creating an orderly, visibly law-abiding environment, research shows people are less likely to commit crime. Conversely, if local crimes and disorder are left unchallenged then an uncivil environment is created in which more serious criminality is likely to occur.⁵³ Even if tackling local crime and disorder does not reduce more serious criminality,

52. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/

a. Heather MacDonald, May 16, 2019

there exists a moral imperative that all communities deserve the protection of the law and people in neighbourhoods should not be expected to endure high-levels of crimes and anti-social behaviour.

Community or 'Neighbourhood' policing has been clearly linked with reductions in crime. A police force that knows and is trusted by the community can more effectively prevent crime and address the underlying causes. Dedicated 'beat' police officers who address local crimes of concern to local people are more likely to receive intelligence that can prevent more serious offending. By allowing local crimes to go unchecked, by contrast, an environment is created where more serious criminality becomes more likely.

Substantial reductions in community policing across England and Wales have taken place in recent years while street crime, including knife-related offences have increased substantially. This paring-back has resulted from twin pressures: a reduction in police funding and a substantial increase in police responsibilities. Internet and cyber-crime; terrorism; domestic abuse; modern slavery; historic allegations; hate speech crime – all have been assigned to the police as priority issues over the last decade.

The concept of 'zero tolerance'

Upholding the law and refusing to tolerate local crimes and disorder means that action should be taken wherever such behaviour is encountered. This may involve taking action against a perpetrator and/or taking steps to resolve the issue – be it graffiti, begging, shop lifting or anti-social behaviour. What is not meant by zero-tolerance, however, is that every infraction should result in a custodial sentence or pursuing the maximum possible criminal sanction.⁵⁴ The use of civil procedures or other mechanisms may suffice. Instead, neighbourhood officers can engage in problem-solving work. Evidence shows that the most important aspects of any response is that it should be swift and certain.⁵⁵

Collaboration between police and other agencies

It is important that community police officers work closely with other services and community organisations to maximise the chances of prevention and long-term crime reduction. This can mean, for example, working with youth groups and closely liaising with organisations addressing homelessness, begging and providing addiction treatment. This can help 'nib in the bud' those in danger of embarking on criminal careers or people with an addiction and/or who sleep rough, who often become repeat offenders – from anti-social behaviour to shoplifting.

The roll-out of Neighbourhood Policing coincided with a rise in public confidence in the police, as is made clear by the table below.⁵⁶

^{54.} Kelling, https://www.city-journal.org/community-policing

Swift and Certain: A new paradigm for criminal justice

 Policy Exchange, 2014 https://policyexchange.org. uk/publication/swift-and-certain-a-new-paradigmfor-criminal-justice/

http://policeauthority.org/metropolitan/committees/sop/2011/0616/09/index.html

MPS	Public Attitude Survey %				Q4
	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Confidence in local policing	56	56	66	62	66
Police understand local issues	61	64	68	66	71
Police deal with local issues	60	62	65	64	68
Feeling informed	47	51	66	63	66
Worry about ASB	36	40	39	25	25

Source: http://policeauthority.org/metropolitan/committees/sop/2011/0616/09/ index.html

Why neighbourhoods have been in decline

Increasing burdens on police time, particularly in the context of austerity, have seen police resources stretched. Neighbourhood policing expanded significantly until 2010 when it was pared back as budgets were reduced and resources redeployed to support a vital emergency response function and address new crime challenges. Without officers based in communities, there has been a reduction in local law enforcement and consequently many crimes now go unchallenged. Begging, open drug use, criminal damage and other offences are now more visible and have contributed to a rise in incivility that has made many communities feel less safe. In this context, violent crime has risen and is now a major public concern.

With budgets tight, officers have been redeployed to address changes in crime, other priorities assigned to them by Parliament or in response to the activities of pressure groups. Modern slavery and the tackling of domestic abuse are now higher priorities, often requiring extensive investigative work. The internet has also been increasingly used to defraud people or to carry out the sex exploitation of children – again challenges requiring expertise and time-consuming investigation. Finally, pressure from activist groups has seen the police respond to incidents of hate incidents and the investigation of alleged historical crimes of those long dead.

As the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service herself has said:

'My officers are very busy, they are very stretched...We can't go on increasing the scale of the mission, unless we are given more resources, or the public is prepared for us to do some things not very well.⁵⁷'

Sarah Thornton, the former head of the National Police Chiefs' Council, was more specific, highlighting the investigation of misogynistic hate crime incidents as 'desirable - but the simple fact is there are too many desirable and deserving issues.' She continued:

'I want us to solve more burglaries and bear down on violence before we make more records of incidents that are not crimes.⁵⁸'

 Daily Telegraph, 2.11.18. https://www.telegraph. co.uk/news/2018/11/02/police-need-focus-violent-crime-not-hate-crime-says-uks-top/

^{58.} BBC News. 1.11.18. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/ uk-46053069

So as pressure has increased, officers have been redeployed out of neighbourhoods, initially from areas of low crime and then even from areas with higher levels of crime.⁵⁹

A new generation of neighbourhood / community policing teams

Learning from the success of Neighbourhood Policing, drawing on the lessons from the Local Policing Model's embrace of technology, and examining the evolution of community policing in other countries such as the United States, the new National Policing Board should oversee the rollout out of a new national Community Policing Strategy.

6 Create a new 3-tier national police force structure whilst retaining local forces and PCCs

Writing in his annual review of the state of policing in July 2019, Sir Tom Winsor said:

"There needs to be reform of national, regional and local arrangements. In too many respects, the lines on the map created by the current 43 force structure act as barriers to the exchange of intelligence, to co-operation and to true efficiency and effectiveness. There is a pressing need to develop an effective and efficient single system of law enforcement, with clear local, regional and national components. For the police to develop such a system, there are options for voluntary or compulsory reform; the case for the latter is becoming increasingly strong".

The report also stated:

"Previous efforts by the Home Office to fix the limitations in the funding formula were postponed four years ago. This is unfinished business. The inequalities in police funding should not be allowed to continue".

"Annual funding settlements are the norm for the police. But such short-term settlements are incompatible with efficient and effective long-term planning".⁶⁰

Reform of the 43 police force structure has been discussed extensively within the field of policing over the past thirty years. Yet, the case for reform of policing structures has been significantly strengthened as crime challenges have transgressed police force areas and are becoming increasingly regional, national and international.

The modern structure of policing is ineffective and inefficient at the national and regional levels, with perhaps the notable exception being the National Counter Terrorism Network. Under this arrangement, counter terrorism policing strategy, policy and operations are nationally led (by the Metropolitan Police Service), regionally co-ordinated but delivered locally at the force level.

 https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf , page 27

^{59.} Http://policeauthority.org/metropolitan/downloads/scrutinites/snscrutiny.pdf



Figure 10: Structure of the National Counter Terrorism Network

There is a much less well developed regional network within the specialist area of combatting Serious and Organised Crime. The National Crime Agency undertakes an annual Strategic Assessment, but operational delivery is less well joined up by individual Regional Organised Crime Units (ROCUs) operating to different governance arrangements across the country. At the regional level, the infrastructure for tackling crime is poorly constructed because of a wide variety of models and accountability structures and most police leaders consider the present force arrangement to actually be an impediment to operational effectiveness and efficiency.

Successive governments have avoided changing the 43 police force model as their focus has been on improving police performance at the local level and because of legitimate concerns that a major re-structuring of policing might distract forces away from their core role of tackling crime. Yet, it is possible to retain local police forces accountable to local Police and Crime Commissioners (potentially even the current 43 force structure) whilst creating the institutional framework to deal with regional and national crime challenges.

A proportion of the national uplift in police officer numbers should, therefore, go to the regional and national levels to fight organised crime, county lines and other regional crime challenges but this must be done with a common governance framework and standardised operational practices across the country.

It is recommended that the National Policing Board commission the Director General of the National Crime Agency and the Chair of the National Police Chiefs' Council to design a new 3-tier policing structure including a governance framework, minimum standards and a new funding formula. An independent expert panel led by a former senior police leader should be established to assist with the design of a new national 3-tier policing structure.

7 Streamline scrutiny and oversight of policing by merging the IOPC into the HMICFRS creating a single independent oversight body dealing with police performance, complaints and discipline

There are currently two independent oversight bodies for British Policing, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) that assesses the effectiveness and efficiency of police forces and fire and rescue services through inspections and the Independent Officer of Police Complaints (IOPC) that oversees and investigates complaints against police. Both deal with different aspects of the monitoring of police force performance, complaints, discipline and promote and independently publish best practice and organisational learning.

Two separate oversight bodies overseeing and scrutinising British policing practices places a heavy bureaucratic burden on individual forces and is extremely costly (the combined cost of both bodies is approximately $\pounds 100m$ per year⁶¹). Overbearing and excessive scrutiny by external police complaints bodies such as the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), now the IOPC, have also made police officers more cautious, eroding effective law enforcement. In recent times, police officers have become reluctant to carry firearms, use stop and search or conduct chases of criminals for fear of the resulting reproach of the IOPC if something goes wrong. Policing is inherently risky, and police officers are seeking a greater degree of political and community support to police with confidence as well as the right laws and powers.

There is evidence too that the IOPC is failing to perform against its own targets⁶² (despite a 17% decrease in complaints against police from the public between 2017/18 and 2018/19 and despite having closed 82% of the outstanding investigations (538 cases) it inherited from the IPCC in its first year). ⁶³ The police service (and arguably the public) has lost confidence in the ability of the IOPC (like its predecessors the PCB, PCC and IPCC) to oversee complaints investigations ethically, competently and swiftly and the IOPC has itself been subject to 869 formally recorded complaints since inception⁶⁴.

The IOPC should be merged into the HMICFRS to create a single

- 61. IOPC Annual report and Statement of accounts 2018/19, page 91. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/ attachment_data/file/820239/IOPC-Annual-Report-2018-19.pdf and 'State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2018, page 184. https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov. uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf
- IOPC Outcomes Dashboard YTD June 2019. https:// www.policeconduct.gov.uk/sites/default/files/ Documents/Who-we-are/accountability-performance/outcomes-framework/outcomes_framework_IOPC_latest.pdf
- 63. IOPC Annual report and statement of account 2018/19, Page 14. https://www.policeconduct.gov. uk/sites/default/files/Documents/Who-we-are/ accountability-performance/IOPC_annual_report_ and_accounts_2018-19.pdf
- IOPC Annual report and statement of account 2018/19, Page 27. https://www.policeconduct.gov. uk/sites/default/files/Documents/Who-we-are/ accountability-performance/IOPC_annual_report_ and_accounts_2018-19.pdf

independent oversight body dealing with police performance, inspection, review, complaints investigation and discipline. This merger would result in substantial savings from rationalising two oversight bodies into one whilst simultaneously reducing overly bureaucratic oversight, improving the efficiency of the police complaints system and streamlining organisational learning. Alongside this reform, the new body should undertake a full consultation of policing to explore ways in which officers can be re-empowered to undertake their duties without fear of unfair judgement in hindsight.

It is important that all scrutiny and oversight of policing and complaints investigation continues to be carried out independently of both government and policing although this should not preclude the appointment of a senior (or former senior) Chief Constable to head up a newly merged body. The substantial savings made from such a merger should be reinvested into frontline policing.

The case for merging the IOPC into the HMICFRS

Overlapping functions

When considering organisational structure, form should always follow function and there is overlap between the functions of the IOPC and HMICFRS.

According to the College of Policing:

"The College of Policing, HMICFRS and the IOPC have complementary statutory purposes with slightly different powers and areas of focus".⁶⁵

The IOPC describes its mission (purpose) as:

"To improve public confidence in policing by ensuring the police are accountable for their actions and lessons are learnt",

whilst the HMICFRS describes its purpose as:

"to promote improvements in policing and fire and rescue services to make everyone safer".

The IOPC oversees the police complaints system and investigates the most serious incidents and complaints, but police forces continue to deal with the majority of complaints against police officers and police staff themselves (but must refer the most serious cases to the IOPC). The lessons and outcomes from IOPC's work is intended to influence future policing.

HMICFRS also has a role in discipline and complaints. When inspecting a police force, Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) must ensure that they are informed about all complaints and misconduct matters relating to that force.⁶⁶ They also deal with 'super-complaints'⁶⁷ alongside the College of Policing and the IOPC, who collectively decide what (if anything) needs to happen as a result of a super-complaint.

HMICFRS deals with misconduct proceedings for chief constables and other senior officers above the rank of chief superintendent. HMCIC or

https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ police-forces/working-with-others/college-policing-ipcc/

^{66.} Section 15(1), Police Reform Act 2002

^{67.} The Policing and Crime Act 2017 established a new system of police super-complaints. The system considers complaints that "a feature, or combination of features, of policing in England and Wales by one or more than one police force is, or appears to be, significantly harming the interests of the public". Only bodies designated by the Home Secretary can make a super-complaint. In June 2018, 16 bodies were designated.

a deputy, will sit on the panel for misconduct meetings and misconduct hearings.⁶⁸ For all chief officer ranks (including chief constables), HMCIC, or a nominated deputy will also sit on any police appeals tribunal.⁶⁹

Because of the overlap of functions between the College of Policing, HMICFRS and IOPC a concordat was published in 2017/8 between the three organisations to ensure that the three organisations 'work constructively and effectively together'.⁷⁰ The concordat notes that this will only happen through:

- regular consultation on areas of mutual interest
- the sharing of information and analysis
- ensuring that data collection and inspection regimes for forces minimise unnecessary bureaucracy
- promote clarity
- develop effective relationship between the three organisations

Outcomes from the HMICFRS and IOPC

Both the IOPC and the HMICFRS produce reports making recommendations for improving policing practices. The IOPC produces national guidance whilst the HMICFRS produces force and thematic inspection reports with national recommendations for improvement. There is often overlap between recommendations made by HMICFRS and guidance issued by the IOPC. For instance, the HMICFRS regularly inspects police custody suites jointly with Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons and offers guidance on improving police practice in custody suites to avoid deaths and injuries whilst the IOPC published in January of this year its report "Guidance to the Police Service on Achieving Best Evidence in Death and Serious Injury Matters".⁷¹

The HMICFRS also produces force level inspection reports and thematic inspection reports that assess and make graded judgements about whether forces operate fairly, ethically and within the law, including how forces treat both the people it services and its workforce.

IOPC Performance

The IOPC, like its predecessor the IPCC, is ill-equipped to investigate complex investigations and make sound judgements in a reasonable time frame.⁷²

For instance, it recently acknowledged delays in the high profile Operation Midland, the police investigation into allegations made by Carl Beech against a number of prominent public figures.⁷³ It was also heavily criticised in March this year for taking ten years to conclude an investigation into the conduct of five police officers following the death of a man in 2008.⁷⁴ The IOPC / IPOC have also spent approximately £50m since 2014/15 overseeing the elements of the Hillsborough Public Inquiry that relate to the actions of South Yorkshire Police, the most notable outcome to date being a jury failing to reach a verdict against the former Chief Superintendent David Duckenfield.

In the three years prior to October 2018, the IOPC (or its predecessor

- 68. Police (Conduct) Regulations 2012 (SI 2012/2632), regulation 26
- 69. Police Act 1996, Schedule 6, paragraph 1
- 70. Concordat between the College of Policing, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services and the Independent Office of Police Conduct'. College of Policing. https://www. justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/ uploads/concordat-between-hmicfrs-college-of-policing-and-iopc.pdf
- 71. Between March 2018 and the end of April 2019, HMICFRS published 11 reports after unannounced inspections of police custody suites across England and Wales. https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov. uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf page 110
- https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-45048304 ; https://www.policeprofessional. com/news/iopc-asks-for-co-operation-to-make-ahuge-difference-to-investigation-delays/
- https://www.policeconduct.gov.uk/news/ iopc-statement-relation-our-investigation-related-operation-midland
- 74. https://www.polfed.org/news-media/latest-news/2019/a-decade-long-investigation-is-totally-unacceptable/

IPCC) directed 19 police forces to conduct 48 independent disciplinary panels for 'gross misconduct' allegations. In 33 (68.75%) of these cases, gross misconduct was not subsequently proved.⁷⁵

The IOPC 'Outcomes Dashboard' for the year to 2019 currently shows that it is failing to achieve all five of its top priorities to improve the police complaints system, performance having deteriorated in three priorities since 2018. In only 10% of death or serious injury case, were reviews undertaken within 30 working days (against a target of 75%). It resolved 62% of non-recorded or appeal cases within 25 working days (against a target of 80%). The percentage of independent investigations completed within 12 months has declined to 74% against a target of 80% and the percentage of non-recording, discontinuance and disapplication appeals completed within 25 days has deteriorated to 62% against a target of 80%.

Financial Cost of HMICFRS and IOPC

Funding for the IPCC/IOPC increased from £31,788m in 2012/13 to £75,374m in 2017/18, an increase of 119 %.⁷⁶ Between 2012/13 and 2018/19 HMICFRS funding increased from £13.3m in 2012/13 to £23.1 in 2017/18, an increase of 73.7%.

Figure 11: Expenditure trends for the IPCC (now IOPC) and HMICFRS since 2012.⁷⁷



8 Re-invigorate proactive regional crime fighting teams to tackle serious and organised criminality including drug supply

The 2019 National Strategic Assessment of Serious and Organised Crime compiled by the National Crime Agency (NCA) is the most comprehensive intelligence-based assessment of Serious and Organised Crime threats across the country ever undertaken. It estimates that the cost to the UK economy from SOC is £37billion a year and increasing and states that

- https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/48-policemisconduct-cases-lead-to-just-five-dismissals-8pwzfj06g
- 76. See IPCC and IOPC Annual Reports for years 2012/13,2013/14, 2014/15, 2015/16, 2016/2017, 2017,18, 2018/19
- 77. IPCC Annual report and statement of accounts, 2016/17, p.61 https://assets.publishing.service.gov. uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/684429/Annual_Report_27_02_18_ web.pdf IOPC Annual report and statement of accounts, 2018/19, p.82. https://assets.publishing. service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/820239/IOPC-Annual-Report-2018-19.pdf

there were 4,542 Organised Crime Groups (OCGs) and over 181,000 people believed to be involved in serious and organised crime in the UK as at June 2018. 78

An uplift of 20,000 police officers across the country must include an uplift in capability to tackle serious and organised criminality at local and regional levels. The NCA has become highly effective at identifying and analysing high harm criminality across the country but unless there are well resourced crime fighting teams to convert this intelligence into judicial outcomes through law enforcement activity, there is little point in the NCA undertaking its work so scrupulously.

In August 2015, the NCA published a 'Commitment to Working in Partnership with UK Operational Partners.'⁷⁹ This set out the demarcation between the NCA and UK operational police partners to counter a mistaken view within policing that the NCA would lead all national and international serious and organised crime operations. This line of demarcation remains a point of contention largely due to limited resources in the NCA and similarly limited resources in Regional Organised Crime Units (ROCUs). A wealth of intelligence on serious and organised criminals does not therefore always translate into operational activity and judicial outcomes owing to the scale of criminality and the capacity of the law enforcement agencies levelled against it.

The NCA leads a national tasking and strategic governance process (NSTCG) that is well supported by the police and other law enforcement agencies, but it remains under-developed. According to a recent inspection report by HMICFRS, there is still 'confusion' about the referral of matters to the NCA by Regional Organised Crime Units (ROCUs).

Police forces and regional crime fighting units need to be better led and co-ordinated across the country with more seamless collaboration with the National Crime Agency in order to tackle serious criminality more effectively. There also needs to be better accountability for SOC operational activity both regionally and nationally. Overall, the conversion of intelligence assessment into operational outcomes on serious and organised criminality across the country is less well developed than similar arrangements in counter-terrorism run by the National Counter-Terrorism Police Network and MI5, the UK's domestic security service.

A proportion of the uplift of 20,000 police officers should be allocated to the Head of the National Crime Agency, a member of the National Policing Board. As the uplift in police officers begins to happen, the NCA and ROCUs should be allocated additional experienced officers to expand their teams. This should be matched with a re-focus of the Strategic Priorities of the National Crime Agency to ensure that the disruption of drugs markets is a higher priority.

The SOC Board should oversee the enforcement of serious criminality across each region, report outcomes to both the National Policing Board and to their Senior regional Chief Constables and allocate additional police officers to regional crime fighting teams according to demands identified by the National Crime Analysis Unit.

 ^{&#}x27;National Strategic Assessment of Serious and Organised Crime 2019'. National Crime Agency. https://nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/who-weare/publications/296-national-strategic-assessment-of-serious-organised-crime-2019/file

^{79.} The NCA Commitment to Working in Partnership with UK Operational Partners', National Crime Agency. August 2015. https://nationalcrimeagency. gov.uk/who-we-are/publications/33-the-nca-commitment-to-working-in-partnership-with-operational-partners/file

9 The Home Office should create a new Police Technology Innovation Hub to enable the police service to embrace rapidly changing technologies

The technological revolution is radically impacting and often outpacing policing, for instance, through the opportunities presented by body worn cameras and digital media exploitation of phones and other media devices.

Commenting on the technological challenges facing British policing, the HMICFRS said in his annual report:

"it will be impossible for the police and prosecutors to achieve prompt and true justice without highly effective technological methods to acquire and analyse the large quantities of data now available in criminal cases. As long as the police persist in using 20th-century methods to try to cope with 21st-century technology and ways of life, they will continue to fall further and further behind, and the quality of justice will exponentially diminish. Justice delayed is justice denied; the denials of justice".⁸⁰

Policing needs to keep abreast of technological changes, harnessing opportunities whilst complying with regulations and standards relating to retention and privacy. For instance, as mobile devices become increasingly complex with ever-expanding memory size, demands on digital media forensic services are likely to overwhelm capability, an area that will require significant investment in research and development in the future alongside collaboration with the private sector.

Recent debate has explored the potential uses of facial recognition and other Artificial Intelligence (AI) innovations that could benefit the prevention or detection of crime in the future.

Like the Department of Health, the Home Office should establish a Police Technology Innovation Hub in collaboration with private sector experts, venture capitalists and technologists who can help advocate change directly with the Home Secretary. A Senior Chief Constable should be appointed to Chair this hub and report on new opportunities such as artificial intelligence and facial recognition to the National Policing Board.

Past reforms intended to spur police-focused innovation and encourage the take-up of new technologies across police forces has not delivered. The ICT Company remains underpowered and the Home Office has too often relied on large incumbents to access cutting-edge innovation. The result is that there is today a focus on large and slow infrastructure and system replacement programs with only a limited market of large home-grown police-tech companies. Consequently, neither officers nor the public benefit from what the latest technologies have to offer. The police need to benefit urgently from the technology revolution that is transforming other sectors.

To address these problems, the Home Office needs to foster an environment - both physical and financial - where the police can rapidly pilot and scale cutting-edge technologies. Much as the NHS has given rise to a whole sector of health-tech innovators so UK law enforcement ought to encourage a slew of 'policetech' companies - and actively help them

 https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018.pdf page 33 scale their solutions.

A new Police Technology Innovation Hub should procure a cross-force facility that can support start-ups and innovators developing solutions that law enforcement needs. It should resist the temptation to rely on the ICT company or indeed even large integrators to undertake this. Real change will only come from harnessing the sort of accelerators and incubators that have helped drive change in fintech and healthtech.

The Home Office should allocate more additional central funding for police to pilot new technologies in the mould of the Cabinet Office's GovTech Catalyst Fund;

Common standards for tech should be promulgated for innovators so they don't have to prove their products over and over again with each force.

10 The Home Office should provide police forces with guidance for the investigation of historical crimes

There has been a proliferation of historical sex^{81, 82} and other major crime allegations (including allegations relating to the troubles in Northern Ireland) which are notoriously difficult and expensive to investigate.⁸³ Many of the historical sex crime allegations were made after the police investigation into Jimmy Saville and the creation of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, established to examine how the country's institutions handled their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse.

The suspects in many of these investigations are already deceased and in 2016 the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) issued guidance to police chief constables stating that:

"since deceased persons cannot be prosecuted, the Crown Prosecution Service will not make a charging decision in respect of a suspect who is deceased. This applies in all cases where the suspect is deceased, including cases in which the police made a referral to the CPS for a charging decision prior to the suspect's death. The CPS will also not make a hypothetical charging decision".⁸⁴

Chief Constables have operational independence to make decisions on whether to start an investigation and whether they have sufficient resources to investigate. Faced with increasing levels of serious and violent crime levels from living victims, the Home Secretary should issue guidance to Chief Constables considering investigating historical allegations.

This guidance should remind senior police officers of the case of Denning, J in R v Metropolitan Police Commissioner, ex parte Blackburn [1968] 2 All E.R. 319⁸⁵ when Lord Denning said:

⁴Although the chief officers of police are answerable to the law, there are many fields in which they have a discretion with which the law will not interfere. For instance, it is for the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, or the chief constable, as the case may be, to decide in any particular case whether inquiries should be pursued, or whether an arrest should be made, or a prosecution brought. It must be for him to decide on the disposition of his force and the

- 'Met explains why it investigated Lord Bramall over child abuse allegations'; 20 Jan 2016. https:// www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/20/ metropolitan-police-lord-edwin-bramall-offer-explain-abuse-inquiry-operation-midland
- 'Operation Conifer: No government action over Ted Heath sex abuse probe'; 11 Oct 2018. https://www. bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-45824503
- 'Senior officer says Stakeknife investigation 'might not have been possible' before now'; 18.4.2017. https://www.irishnews.com/news/northernirelandnews/2017/04/18/news/senior-officer-saysstakeknife-investigation-might-not-have-been-possible-before-now-999542/
- https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/ may/13/cps-reminds-police-that-dead-cannot-beprosecuted-over-past-child-abuse
- https://swarb.co.uk/regina-v-commissioner-of-police-of-the-metropolis-ex-parte-blackburn-ca-1968/

concentration of his resources on any particular crime or area. No court can or should give him direction on such a matter. He can also make policy decisions and give effect to them, as, for instance, was often done when prosecutions were not brought for attempted suicide.

...and

'No Minister of the Crown can tell him that he must, or must not, keep observation on this place or that; or that he must, or must not, prosecute this man or that one. Nor can any police authority tell him so. The responsibility for law enforcement is on him. He is answerable to the law and to the law alone.'

The guidance should advise that for historical investigations where the prime suspect is dead, there should be a presumption of not expending resources to these allegations unless there are other serious reasons in the public interest for conducting an investigation. It should also remind senior police officers that allegations against prominent public figures may be more likely to be false, vexatious or politically motivated owing to the media attention that can be generated from making these allegations.

Conclusions

This paper has set out a radical ten-point plan of action to re-kindle British policing, reduce crime levels and restore Britain's reputation as the safest country in the world.

It is a response to the announcement by Prime Minister Boris Johnson on his first day in office that the government will fund an additional 20,000 police officers over the next three years.

Police spending in England and Wales is currently just 2 percent⁸⁶ of public expenditure yet arguably the most vital public service of all. Without public safety and security, the wider fabric of society is compromised.

Rising levels of violent crime and a national belief that significant reductions in police force budgets and the number of police officers has resulted in a loss of control of the streets to violent criminals, means that urgent action is required.

This action needs to start with the new National Policing Board leading strategic changes to policing at local, regional and national levels. Senior Chief Constables should be appointed to oversee an ambitious roll-out of 20,000 officers across the country and the creation of a new National Crime Analysis Unit to provide the analysis to efficiently allocate police resources to where demand is greatest.

The recruitment of 20,000 additional police officers will be logistically challenging. The Home Office should therefore streamline and speed up the recruitment of these officers by centralising co-ordination of the recruitment process with new incentives offered to applicants.

A new high impact Community Policing Strategy is a priority with dedicated 'ring-fenced' community policing teams rolled out to tackle local crime challenges in communities.

A new National Crime Fighting Strategy should re-invigorate regional crime fighting teams to tackle serious and organised crime, in particular, those engaged in supplying controlled drugs.

The Home Secretary should formally recognise and support a new 3-tier policing structure to address the inefficiencies built into the current 43 force structure that is often dysfunctional and an impediment to effective policing across the country. Senior police leaders have been calling for a more streamlined structure that better suits modern policing and delivers efficiencies from regional collaboration. The Director General of the NCA and Chair of the NPCC should be commissioned to recommend a new 3 Tier networked structure for policing with the appointment of Senior Chief Constables to the National Policing Board to provide national leadership, regional coordination whilst retaining local delivery at force level. They

 https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/ wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-2018-double-page.pdf, page 25 should be supported by an independent panel of former police leaders.

Scrutiny and oversight of day to day policing needs to be streamlined and made less bureaucratic, empowering police officers to do their job without fear or favour and without needing to be risk averse for fear of being criticised (in hindsight) for taking the wrong decision. The current police complaints procedures place a heavy burden on forces that have to divert resources away from front line duties to service the needs of two separate oversight bodies. Merging the two independent oversight bodies (IOPC and HMICFRS) dealing with different aspects of force inspection, complaints and discipline would streamline processes whilst reducing bureaucracy and cost.

The Home Office should create a new Police Technology Innovation Hub to enable the police service is equipped to embrace rapidly changing technologies.

Finally, the Home Office should provide police forces with Guidance for the Investigation of Historical Crimes or those where the suspect(s) are deceased. Over the past few years, substantial police resources have been spent investigating historical crimes to limited effect. There should be a presumption that historical crimes will not be investigated unless there are strong public interest grounds for doing so and there is a realistic possibility of a successful prosecution.



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