RSA

Action and Research Centre

Safer Together

Policing a global city in 2020

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About the RSA

The RSA (Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce) believes that everyone should have the freedom and power to turn their ideas into reality – something we call the Power to Create. Through our research and 27,000-strong Fellowship, we seek to realise a society where creative power is distributed, where concentrations of power are confronted, and where creative values are nurtured. The RSA Action and Research Centre combines practical experimentation with rigorous research to achieve these goals.

About the Met

Today, the Metropolitan Police Service employs around 32,000 officers together with about 13,000 police staff and 2,600 Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). The Met is also being supported by more than 5,100 volunteer police officers in the Metropolitan Special Constabulary (MSC) and its Employer Supported Policing (ESP) programme.

About the authors

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Anthony leads our Development Team which includes design, international, behavioural change/social brain, organisational change, and the RSA's policy work and consultancy offer.

In his work on policy development, he focuses on a range of policy issues including the impact of new technology on the economy and society, reform to welfare and learning and skills, and reform to public services and a range of public institutions.

He previously directed the Independent Review of the Police Federation and has also worked with Google, the BBC, the BMA, the Education and Training Foundation, the Association of Colleges and the Metropolitan Police. He is the author of three books, most recently 'Left without a future? Social Justice in anxious times' and has written a number of very high impact policy and research reports such as the "Fear and Hope Project Report", "Democratic Stress, the Populist Signal, and the Extremist Threat" and "In the Black Labour".

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Jonathan is Associate Director for Public Services and Communities at the RSA. He has undertaken impact evaluation for major national charities including Shelter, Carers Trust, Catch-22 and Refuge, and advised on impact measurement for the NHS and many community groups. With a background in urban planning and community development work, Jonathan's work explores how the built environment affects social and economic productivity.

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Brhmie was a researcher for the Independent Review of the Police Federation and for the influential RSA City Growth Commission. She continues to explore issues of institutional reform, economic inequality and labour market disadvantage while situated in the Public Services and Communities team. Previously, Brhmie worked at the Institute of Public Policy Research and at The Work Foundation.

Acknowledgments

Foreword

At the launch of the consultation for the Safer Together report in March, I encouraged our partners to come forward and contribute to this thought-leading work on the future of policing in our capital. The public safety of Londoners is the responsibility of us all, and I'm delighted and grateful that so many partners have given us the benefit of their perspective. Alongside the Met, individuals, communities, the public and private sector all have a role to play in public safety, and I want to thank the RSA for working tirelessly to produce this independent and, to my mind, realistic analysis of the challenges we are facing.

Safer Together acknowledges the scale of what the Met has already achieved, not just in terms of combating crime but also in making our organisation as efficient as possible at a time of shrinking budgets. It describes the 'acute pressure' facing the Met and recognises, rightly in my view, that this pressure risks undermining the safety of London.

I am proud of what we have already achieved, but know that there is more to do. Policing is at a crossroads and to achieve our shared goal of a thriving and safe global city, we need a new collaborative approach to public safety; a shared vision and mission for which we are all responsible, and a transparent process by which we can achieve these shared goals.

Safer Together offers a renewed approach to 'policing by consent' in a city that is both global and digital. It commits us all to achieving a collective impact – ensuring safety for all who are a part of this city's story. At this time of austerity, where the police are required to do even more with less and respond to increasingly complex and boundary-less threats, such a combined approach is even more vital.

I'm an optimist and I believe that we can transform the Met and the policing of London to enhance public safety in 2020. So I welcome the publication of this report and look forward to the conversation it will create about how, together, we secure a safe future for London.

Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe
Commissioner
Metropolitan Police Service

Executive summary

London faces its most difficult period of change in public services in living memory. Without a response that is imaginative, collective and focused, the quality of services is at risk of decline. In the context of policing, this means some additional risk to the safety, wellbeing and success of London, its residents and its many visitors. This outcome is not inevitable. With the Metropolitan Police working more closely with other public services, the voluntary and commercial sectors in new ways, and in collaboration with the public (including those who are unfortunate enough to be victims of crime or witnesses of it), risks can be mitigated and, indeed, London can be even safer. Public safety is critical to London's social and economic success.

In terms of scale, there is little doubt that the anticipated cuts make a different way of working in London more difficult. This report makes a case for critical changes in the way London organises its collective resources in order to keep everyone who lives, works and visits the city safe and secure. It is important that the Home Office and HM Treasury factor in considerations about how these changes can be supported when the final funding package for London's policing is agreed. The changes to policing in London proposed in this report would be necessary and desirable even without a lower level of funding for public services, however they are even more acute in the current context.

Our proposals cannot be implemented immediately. They are a roadmap towards 2020 for a different way of working between the public, private, and voluntary sectors and with all of London's communities. Many changes will have national and international implications as the Met's reach stretches well beyond London's boundaries in terms of where their investigations lead. The partnerships suggested taken together are a 'shared mission' for the management of London's safety and crime reduction. Despite the organisational challenge contained within this report, decisive and early steps can be taken by the Met and others to accept the direction of necessary changes.

The RSA was commissioned by the Metropolitan Police to provide an independent assessment of how the Met working collaboratively can best serve London into the next decade – and how London can better support the Met. Drawing on evidence gathered through an extensive engagement process, the proposals made by the RSA are designed to ensure the Met can best address acute, urgent and long-term challenges. The proposals contained within this report are designed to provoke a debate about how the Met can better work with others and vice versa.

The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), with its strategic responsibility for policing in London, holds the Met to account. This report is a contribution to the dialogue between London's oversight bodies (including at a national level) and operational policing as future strategy is under consideration. It does not prejudge those future discussions nor does it seek to provide a benchmark for them to be assessed against. It is a contribution based on extensive consultation both within and external to the Met.

The Met must foster trust among partners and legitimacy in the eyes of the public through a step change in transparency

The Met relies on other public services and on intelligence from citizens and communities to reduce crime and other risks to welfare. Safety and liberty are among the most valuable features of life in London – part of the success story of a thriving global metropolis. This should therefore be seen as a report for London, not just for the Met.

Our conclusion is that in the context of changes in London and changes in criminality, successfully minimising risk and harm will require the Met and its partners to share accountability much more fundamentally. The Met must foster trust among partners and legitimacy in the eyes of the public through a step change in transparency, allowing for a shared understanding of demands and decision-making regarding prioritisation of resources. To effectively deploy shrinking resources, the Met and its partners must engage in new collaborative initiatives. This in turn requires additional devolved powers so that London can govern its own systems for justice, probation and prisons.

Without public agencies, local authorities and London's communities sharing the burden through deep collaboration, there is a real risk that London's safety and security will be undermined. Even with such collaboration, the next decade will be amongst the most challenging in the Met's history. This acute pressure requires a different, more open conversation – across London and nationwide. Our goal is to help generate such a conversation with the analysis and proposals contained within this report. However, many of the changes advocated will be difficult to initiate in a context of resource crunch across all public services. The worst outcome is that public services dump cost and responsibility on one another in response to resource constraints. This will create unnecessary cost, duplication, gaps and overall reduce the effectiveness of the range of agencies, as well as the public itself, in keeping London and Londoners safe.

Together, the changes we advocate should be embodied in a shared mission, albeit informal in form, of public, private, and voluntary sectors working closely with London's communities. This shared mission – based on trust generated through common causes as London's public, voluntary, and private sectors work with the public – defines the purpose of the police, supports civil liberties, defines community responsibilities and that of other organisations and agencies. It commits partners to achieving collective impact – to ensure the safety of this vibrant global city and its people.

Listening to the Met, learning from London

The RSA was asked by the Met in summer 2014 to structure a special round of internal consultations. This 'Met Conversation' directly engaged over 500 of the most senior police in London over three days of workshops, covering a range of themes from technology to workplace culture. Following this, in early 2015, the Met asked the RSA to engage key partners around a refined range of consultation questions.

A wider stakeholder consultation was launched by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, in February 2015. We received written responses from 41 individuals and organisations and engaged with 35 further consultees and in focus groups and a number of one-to-one meetings. A research and case study bank was developed with advice from an academic reference group which included

19 leading academics in the crime, policing and public administration fields, ensuring our analysis and proposals respond to global experience, beyond the 32 boroughs.

Securing safety and liberty in a global powerhouse

Global connections increasingly influence and define London, fuelling both prosperity and inequality. Along with the quality of education available, the ability to live free from corruption and danger to life and property is an essential pre-condition for a mobile global workforce of highly-skilled workers which is a component of London's thriving success. In an era where knowledge-intensive sectors and industries increasingly provide the economic base for global cities, quality of life for residents becomes a more important component of the business environment. And many of the world's most vulnerable citizens strive to settle in London too, craving the peace, protection, economic opportunity and freedoms that the city can offer. Londoners – whether they have been here for generations, or are newly arrived – expect low crime rates and a high degree of personal and community safety.

As London's growth accelerates, it has done remarkable things, and has been at the forefront of innovation. The Met Police has been part of London's success story for 180 years. It has not always achieved the very high standards expected of it, especially when it comes to community relations and transparency. The institution is fully aware of this and has made significant strides, including rooting out corruption, reforming stop and search tactics, and widening recruitment to better reflect diverse communities. However, cultural change is always difficult and there is still more that the Met can do.

Alongside contending with a sometimes difficult legacy, the same scale of ambition evident in the cranes on the skyline, the achievement in schools, the buzz of new business districts, and the hubs of social innovation, needs to be felt in the work of the police alongside other public agencies, business and London's communities. While the past five years have been about focusing on necessary efficiency savings and crime reduction – both of which have been largely successful – the next decade demands that the Met, with others, changes many of its ways of working in addition to making painful choices about the service. The challenges are therefore both internal and external to the Met, and the response will be one of the key foundations of London's success and the quality of life for all its citizens.

Adapting to changing crime types and threats

Changes in technology, society and in the law make new crimes possible and redefine what is considered an illegal act. Attitudes are changing too. The implications of these shifts for policing are complex. 'The job', as it was, has not gone away; rather, layered on top, are issues to which productive responses require a new set of skills.

The police have a role which goes beyond crime-fighting to become first responders to a range of welfare concerns, where the safety of individuals might be compromised. Over 80 percent of calls to the police relate to non-crime related incidents, 42 percent of which were resolved over the phone. Many of the non-crime related incidents that the police do need

to respond in person to are not accounted for in statistics, also skewing perceptions of demand on police time. For example, the majority of 1m reported incidents of domestic abuse and 2.3m reported incidents relating to anti-social behaviour do not result in recorded crimes.[1]

Some crime types also consume far more resource than others. Many of the types of crimes which take up an increasing proportion of police time are intimately social or psychological (occurring within households and families), or remote, virtual and anonymous (executed by digital means). This contrasts with the traditional crimes (on property and in the public realm) which have historically shaped the Met's own organisational structures (such as management and training), and the public impression of what constitutes the bulk of police work. Where the balance is shifting and demand on resources considerable, there may have to be new ways of collectively policing shared spaces. For example, there is an active discussion about the cyber domain in terms of rights and responsibilities and whether there may even need to be a different level of contribution, for example, from the private sector.

The police need to be honest about the limitations they face. Not everything can be prioritised. It is not for the police alone to determine prioritisation. Its partners and the public itself need to be engaged. The quid pro quo is that this dialogue has to be based on the language of priorities. New demands on police – particularly when driven by media focus – may not warrant the resource and attention they receive just by virtue of their novelty. Sometimes new concerns, such as social media bullying, fall between individual, commercial and police responsibility. There has to be an honest and mature dialogue if increasingly limited police resources are to be deployed effectively. Some of this requires the Met to ensure directly and through others that the right information and guidance is placed in the hands of individuals, families and communities.

Like other forces, the Met struggles to comprehend fully the nature of demand for service.[2] Understanding demands is fundamental to improving effective response. In particular, this is true of incidents that fall between services, such as mental health and personal and public safety, where the Met is obligated to respond; this needs to be acknowledged in any discussion about the future of policing. It is clear that the evolution of policing is also being driven by the rise of complex crime that will require more of the Met's time, skill and resource unless the service, its partners and the public embrace a more preventative approach and focus on risk reduction. For example, in the case of mental health concerns, this requires frontline officers to be in a position to quickly assess and respond to risk. This in turn requires new ways of working and new skills.

Responding to context:
A shared mission and renewed purpose

Changes in London as a global metropolis, in the nature of crime types and threats, and in public sector finances, also challenge the inherited, historical relationship between the Met and the public. To avoid the

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1. College of Policing, "College of Policing Analysis: Estimating Demand on the Police Service," 2015, www.college.police.uk/About/Pages/Demand-Analysis-Report.aspx.
2. National Audit Office, "Financial Sustainability of Police Forces in England and Wales," 2015, www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Financial-sustainability-of-police-forces.pdf.

dangers of retrenchment or overstretch, London should lead the way in 'focused impact policing'. Focused impact policing broadly describes a force that deploys fewer resources, but is better connected, equipped and informed to achieve a higher overall impact.

It is our assessment that to become a focused impact police force requires not only changes in culture within the Met, but a redefined purpose for policing. Too often the refrain has been 'what should we stop doing?' In the Met's heart-of-hearts, however, despite such frustration, they know that they will always be London's frontline. The question is how, with others, that demand on the Met can be best managed.

The Met's role in the shared mission proposed here would be, in addition to its crime fighting and solving capability, to prevent crime and reduce harm from the perspective of justice by:

- Showing leadership to address systemic, structural, and contextual drivers of criminality (albeit whilst being clear about the role of others as well in this domain).
- Being part of the orchestration of early action and intervention which reduce risks, and implement effective strategies to reduce harm.
- Supporting the enforcement of justice where harm occurs, from the perspective of the victim.

To achieve impact on crime, reduction of risk to public safety and safeguarding of legitimacy of justice requires professional capability, information management, trust of the victim including more targeted responses to their needs and others close to them, and smart collaboration. Domestic abuse is illustrative of how effective 'core' policing to fight crime is best achieved through connected approaches which can only exist in a system involving partners with a shared mission. Several major societal dangers show parallels – including violent extremism, gang violence and organised crime.

Design principles and key proposals

To realise the value that can be created from a shared mission, we outline a number of proposed initiatives for the Met, its partners, and for London. These proposals are a basis for a different set of conversations, which should lead rapidly to a collective implementation plan. The proposals are organised against three design principles: an effective information ecosystem, impactful collaboration across agencies and partners, and the replenishment of trust.

Our evidence review found great examples of the Met engaging communities and other agencies to ensure London's safety. We were able to benefit from the honest insights of many inside and outside the Met who, whilst committed to the Met's goals, want to see some different approaches. By virtue of the fact that this process was even initiated, it is apparent that there is senior commitment within the Met to further developing details of a new shared mission for London.

The success of this mission will not be determined by the Met alone. We hope that the proposals we outline serve as an invitation for all involved in London's safety to organise collectively, adapting to limited resources, changing expectations, the opportunities and risks of new technologies, and the increasingly complex nature of crime. A new shared mission will respond to these challenges to ensure London continues to be a safe and well policed city to 2020 and beyond.

Key proposals include:

- The creation of a **Community Safety Index for London**, with accountability held across the public services, civil society and different levels of government.[3] This Index is the core of the shared mission which would also devolve power and responsibility to borough police officers to work with others. The Index would be supported by a London Policing Impact Unit (LPIU). This body would be an expanded and evolved version of MOPAC's current work through the Evidence and Insight Unit (inherited from the Met). The LPIU would catalyse a step change in data sharing, operational analysis, and knowledge development and sharing. The unit is based on bodies such as NICE in the health service which evaluates effectiveness. It would have a representative citizens' panel of 30 Londoners to mediate community and ethical dilemmas so it wouldn't be purely operational. The LPIU would be comprised of senior operational police and staff engaging with experts and other agencies including the College of Policing. It would drive evidence-based change throughout the Met and its partners.

- The development of a range of **collaborative approaches for collective impact**, such as co-location between emergency, health and local authority services and co-funding of backbone organisations with a focus on discrete issues. To support the adoption of early intervention and preventative approaches, we advocate devolution, from Central Government to London, of budgets and control over the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), courts, prisons and probation service.

- The renewal of the Met's **public engagement strategy** is proposed. This would include a system to help victim support become more personalised (where self-service, including for allocation of crime numbers could be possible). Victim support would be further enhanced through working with the voluntary sector. Evidence of 'what works' in wider community engagement strategies should be applied more consistently across London. Community groups and peer support should be augmented (eg through accreditation, information sharing and organisational support) to enhance support for victims and witnesses.

3. MOPAC have also committed to developing a Public Safety Index in the Police and Crime Plan 2013–2016.

1. London

Like all of the greatest global cities, London is in a state of constant change. Forecasting change for the future, from the perspective of 2015, is difficult. The soundest response is to recognise this uncertainty and plan for it. The next decade will see the Met operating in an era in which global connections are likely to increasingly influence and define London. London is in a period of growth which extends across the city: its population is increasing and businesses are seeking to expand.

Victorian London felt acutely the pressure of commerce, industry and population growth, and responded with invention: efforts to address public health challenges included data mapping and coordinated public investment; new technologies such as tunnelling allowed the city to transport people and waste; and new powerful institutions were created including municipal councils and the Met Police itself.

The current era of growth puts London in uncharted waters; in 2015, it was estimated that London's resident population was the highest it has ever been – over 8.6 million. In recent years, an increasing number of people are migrating to London from the rest of the UK, while a decreasing proportion of Londoners are moving out. Net international in-migration makes up this difference, but the major reason for population growth is simply births outnumbering deaths.

Always a commercial capital, vast swathes of the old city have been repurposed to accommodate new activities. Economic dynamism today, in sectors such as finance, advanced business services, digital technology, media, and creative industries, increasingly relies on firms and workers being in close proximity to one another.

While much of the late 20th century saw a drastic and challenging restructuring of London's economy – with volatile unemployment – in the 21st century inner London has ascended to become the most economically productive region in Europe (Figure 1).

London's ability to make money is increasingly dependent on the talents of people from around the world. Two million London residents hold a non-UK passport.[4] The London Business Survey estimates 44,000 businesses (nearly 10 percent of total) are foreign-owned.

However, the nature of that growth is also increasingly complex and uneven. For example, consider cultural diversity as expressed through language and religion. Among the eight boroughs with the highest proportion of non-white residents, six are in outer London. Inequality

The current era of growth puts London in uncharted waters; in 2015, it was estimated that London's resident population was the highest it has ever been – over 8.6 million

4. Office for National Statistics, "International Migrants in England and Wales 2011," no. December (2012): 1–26, www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290335.pdf.

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– in many dimensions – has risen, and continues to rise. This is often evident in sharp relief at highly local scales – a legacy of piecemeal housing development and redevelopment as well as rising property prices taking asset owners with them and leaving others behind. Islington, for example, is home to a high proportion of high-wage jobs, and yet has a higher rate of children growing up in workless households than anywhere else in England. It is no longer appropriate to use the term 'inner city' as shorthand for multiple aspects of deprivation.

Figure 1: GDP per capita in European regions
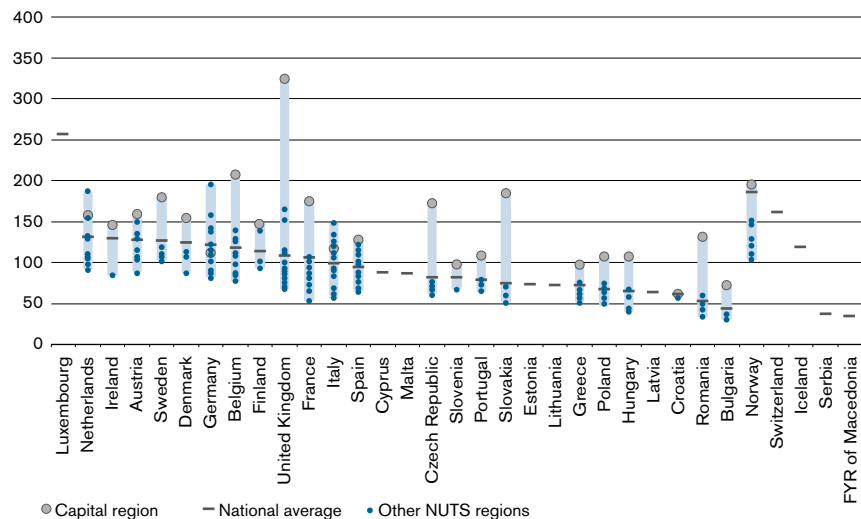
100 = European average GDP per capita. (NUTS2 Geography).
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/GDP_at_regional_level#
Source_data_for_figures_and_maps_.28MS_Excel.29.

And London is not just about Londoners. The population of the city swells to over 10 million on a typical weekday.[5] London's commuter footprint now extends across much of the south of England. In 42 local authorities outside London, more than one in 10 working residents travels to London daily.[6] A typical weeknight sees 340,000 overnight visitors (80 percent international), and in a typical weekday the city hosts a million day trippers.

Impacts are acutely felt in central London, obviously. With major tourist attractions and over 700,000 jobs based in Westminster, the borough hosts a million people every weekday: more than quadrupling compared to the night-time (resident) population.

5. London Datastore, "Daytime Population, Borough," accessed October 6, 2015, http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/daytime-population-borough.
6. "Commuting Patterns in the UK, 2011," 2014, www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/origin-destination-statistics-on-migration--workplace-and-students-for-local-authorities-in-the-united-kingdom/sum---commuting-patterns-in-the-uk--2011.html.

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Often underplayed in the story of London's contemporary success is the role of public safety. It is notable that London's crime rate has moved broadly in line with its ability to attract and retain residents and businesses.

Across the UK, recorded crimes of violence against the person quadrupled between 1950 and 1965. Organised crime became endemic in many London neighbourhoods, and street gangs prompted the first worries of 'juvenile delinquency'. Racially-motivated riots swept Notting Hill for five nights in 1958. Alongside increasing immigration, and despite the 'baby boom', London's population declined by 500,000 during this period.

Today, many of the world's most affluent individuals choose to enjoy their wealth in London, and invest in London with the reassurance that corruption is rare and the legal process is world-class. Many of the world's most vulnerable citizens strive to settle in London too, craving the peace, protection, economic opportunity and freedoms that the city can offer.

The premium on security is evident in many of the world's less safe countries. For example, as crime has risen in many of Mexico's cities, along with endemic narcotic trafficking in several states, affluent Mexican families have been targeted for kidnapping and burglary. This has prompted rising property values and a surge in development in Mérida – a safe city hundreds of miles from the worst concentrations of violence. Developers and city leaders in Mérida are building an economic development strategy based on attracting skilled and talented middle-class Mexicans. This example reinforces the understanding that London's attractiveness as a place of business and residency is about *relative* safety, as well as absolute safety. London competes with other cities offering a safe and secure business environment, public realm and personal safety.

London is ranked 18th in the Economist's Safe Cities Index 2015 of 50 global cities; behind Stockholm, Amsterdam and Zurich but ahead of all French, German and Italian cities.[7] But as a global city, London ranked behind the leading cities of Asia-Pacific (Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong and Sydney) and North America (Toronto, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles). Breaking down these figures, London ranked 12th globally in personal safety – the aspect of the index most connected to policing and the prevention of harm.

The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index has over the last six years shown a marked improvement of the performance of the UK in three key areas of business concern: the ability to compete free from the costs of crime and violence, from the disruption of terrorism, and from corruption and organised crime. Given this is based on a survey of senior executives, with rankings composed for 144 countries, it is likely that the performance of the Met is instrumental in these scores. Police in the UK are consistently viewed as reliable (see Figures 2 and 3).

7. The Economist Intelligence Unit, "The Safe Cities Index 2015," 2015, 39, http://safecities. economist.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/EIU_Safe_Cities_Index_2015_white_paper-1.pdf.

Figure 2: Perception of UK competitiveness: police and crime factors
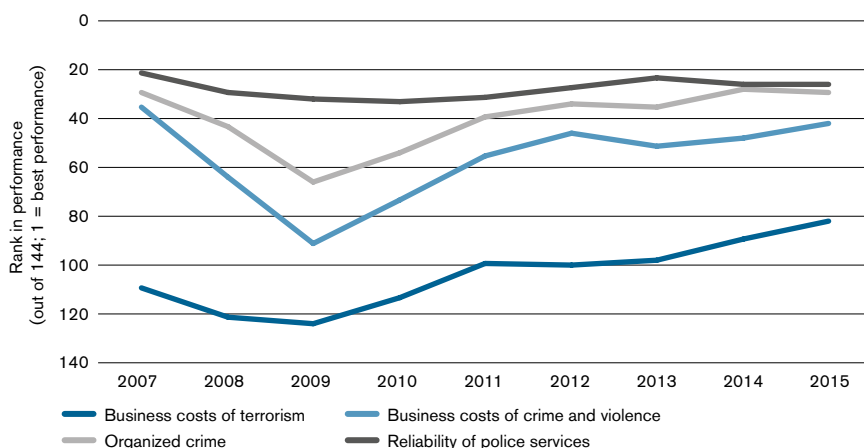
Source: The World Economic Forum Executive Opinion Survey, 2015.

Figure 3: Ranking of countries based on overall competitiveness and business costs of crime and violence
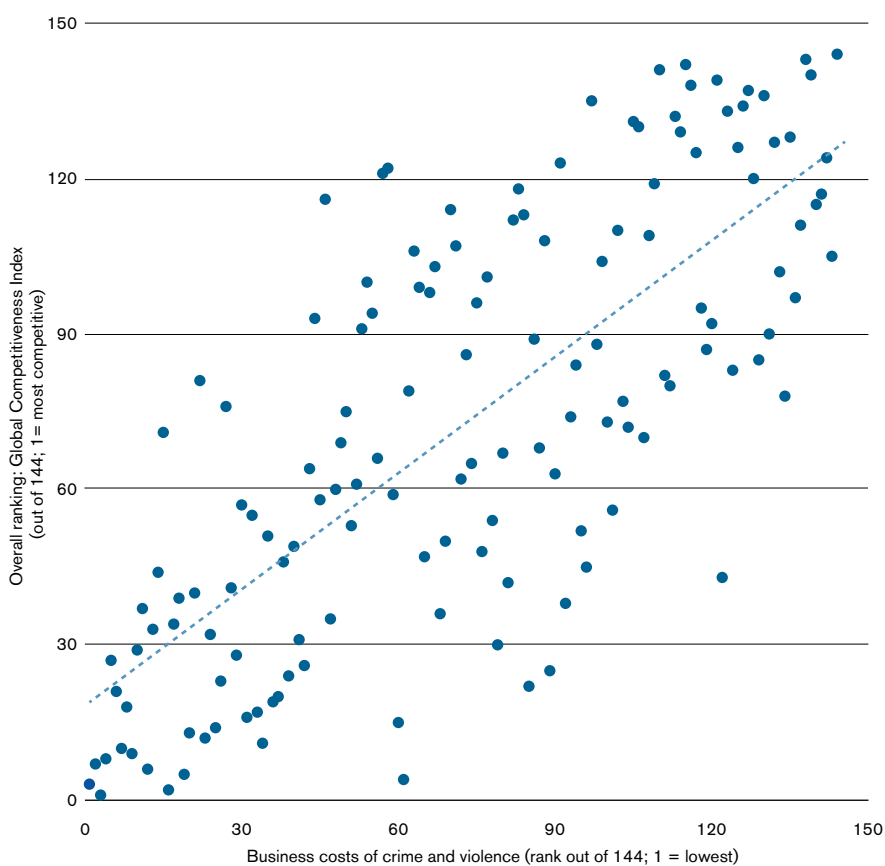
Source: The World Economic Forum Executive Opinion Survey, 2015.

Along with the quality of education available, the ability to live free from corruption and danger to life and property is a driver of preference among an increasingly mobile global workforce of highly-skilled workers. In an era where knowledge-intensive sectors and industries increasingly

provide the economic base for global cities, quality of life for residents becomes a more important component of the business environment.

As London has grown, it has done remarkable things and been at the forefront of innovation.

So far, in the 21st century, London has coordinated across public and private sectors to redevelop entire neighbourhoods of former industry in order to provide housing, shops and offices, and built a new park to host the Olympic Games. The Congestion Charge to reduce traffic congestion has proved successful.

To keep up with 100,000 new residents each year – double the growth rate anticipated at the beginning of the century – London raised new taxes and has finished digging Crossrail tunnels across the city. The tube will start 24-hour operation on weekends. Transport for London is taking control of more rail franchises within the city.

Where the strains of growth are physical, the solutions are often tangible and, subsequently, it's easier to lobby for action, investment.

As well as investment, London has been home to innovation in the way the city manages key services where the public shares a concern with the performance of those services. From 2003, London Challenge contributed to dramatic improvement in London's schools, focusing on workforce leadership, professional development and data-driven analysis of performance. Since 2011, three London boroughs have pooled budgets and management of the operation of key public services including child safeguarding and adult social care (this arrangement has survived a change in leadership of Hammersmith and Fulham).

Promisingly, as the next few years beckon systematic reforms as well as efficiency savings, London is also a world leader in social innovation; it has cultivated social investment markets, bringing new sources of financial capital to achieve social outcomes and deliver savings for the state. A groundswell of social enterprises address challenges from social isolation to unemployment through approaches which harness the power of community networks and peer support.

In policing, strains felt as a result of changing demand and shrinking budgets are, by definition, visible only to a smaller proportion who interact with the police. Compared to the affordability of housing, or congestion in the transport network, the imperative for change is less clear in the public imagination, but equally urgent.

The Met Police have for 180 years been part of London's success story. They have provided stability through challenging pressures in London's history, but are continually challenged themselves to adequately respond to an increasing complex city. Now with a new governance structure in place, MOPAC and the Met have a strong but developing relationship in ensuring the safety of London. This opens up new relationships and accountabilities between the public, its representatives and the police which should continue to be a creative dialogue.

Looking forward, the same scale of ambition evident in the cranes on the skyline, the achievement in schools, the buzz of new business districts, and the hubs of social innovation, needs to be channelled to coordinating the work of the police alongside other public services, and London's businesses and communities, to secure the safety of the world's leading global metropolis in the 2020s.

The Met Police have for 180 years been part of London's success story. They have provided stability through challenging pressures in London's history

2. Changing crime types, threats and responses

Changes in technology, society and in the law make new crimes possible and redefine what is considered an illegal act. There are interactions between all these elements.

Advances in automotive technology have been a prime deterrent for stealing cars, while the prevalence of mobile phone ownership creates a new valuable target. Communication over the internet offers a novel arena in which to undertake ancient crimes such as fraud and harassment.

Naturally, legislation has a large impact too. For example, anti-social behaviour orders represented a new type of offence, introduced in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, alongside 'hate crimes' as a new category of criminal offence.

Attitudes are changing too. Domestic abuse is increasingly and rightly recognised in a criminal light. Sexual offences are one of the fastest growing categories recorded, although many police forces are confident that this is being driven by a higher proportion of crimes being reported.

The implications of these shifts for policing is complex. 'The job', as it was, has not gone away; rather, layered on top, are issues to which productive responses require a new set of skills. Some crime types also consume far more resource than others. Many of the types of crimes which take up an increasing proportion of police time are intimately social (occurring within households and families), or remote, virtual and anonymous (executed by digital means). This contrasts with traditional crimes (on property and in the public realm) which have historically shaped the Met's own organisational structures (such as management and training), and the public impression of what constitutes the bulk of police work.

Our social norms and expectations drive demand for a police response. The big risk is that the police become increasing reactive as new demands emerge. We don't know what new challenges and behaviours lie around the corner. There is a risk that we place new and onerous demands on police time without ever really having had a proper public dialogue.

There needs to be an acknowledgement of the shifting nature of demand and pressure on police time. This requires more police openness and transparency but there must also be an insistence on a mature public discussion. For example, the Met could publish a methodology for prioritisation. Where resources are limited there will always be prioritisation and it is not indicative of a mature relationship between the Met, its partners and the public if this process is not transparent. With greater

Levels of recorded crime, including violent crime, have been falling year-on-year in London, in most other major UK cities, and in many comparable capital cities around the world

openness and transparency the police and public can come closer in appreciating the areas which warrant greatest focus.

Both the police and public need to participate in an open dialogue about choices that are made. None of this would absolve the police of their responsibility to bring perpetrators of crime to justice – and, indeed, the police would not accept this process if it did.

The majority of the public, as evidenced in recent polling[8], understand police priorities as preventing crime and responding to immediate danger, alongside specialised police work to investigate violent, serious (and news-worthy) crimes. Indeed, crime statistics reflect this. Almost 80 percent of crimes recorded in London (547,554 out of 698,729 in 2013–14) relate to robbery, theft, drug offences, public order offences, criminal damage and arson.

Overall, crime figures have been falling in England and Wales since 1995, but several crime types that are growing in prevalence are particularly costly. Dealing with rape accounted for 6 percent of police costs in 2003–4 compared to 12 percent in 2013–14).[9] Police forces across the UK face a similar dilemma: how to prioritise the allocation of resources as different demands rise (eg sexual offences) and fall (automotive theft), in an era of constrained and reduced spending. This challenge is acute in London, due to the city's diversity, inequality, global connections and pace of growth. Like other forces, the Met struggles to fully comprehend the nature of demand for service[10], which is fundamental in improving effective response. However, it is clear that the evolution of policing is being driven by the rise of complex crime that will require more of the Met's time, skill and resource unless the service embraces a more preventative approach and focuses on risk reduction.

Proposal
A risk assessment based on the severity of the crime, risk of further danger to people and property and likelihood of apprehension of the perpetrator could be published as a prioritisation methodology. A special category would be created for police corruption and malpractice as this relates to trust and legitimacy in the police. This published risk score could then be a basis for public discussion on the Met's resource priorities.

Understanding growing demand in the context of falling crime
In aggregate, criminal activity peaked 20 years ago and has subsequently declined.[11] Levels of recorded crime, including violent crime, have been falling year-on-year in London, in most other major UK cities, and in many comparable capital cities around the world.

However, crime statistics are not a reflection of an officer's full workload. According to the College of Policing's analysis of demand on the police service, not all types of work undertaken by officers feature in reports of crime, and therefore are not taken into account when assessing

8. Stephen Greenhalgh and Blair Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service," 2014, www.no-offence.org/pdfs/69.pdf.

9. College of Policing, "College of Policing Analysis: Estimating Demand on the Police Service."

10. National Audit Office, "Financial Sustainability of Police Forces in England and Wales."

11. However, this does not take into account the changing nature of crime and how much more complex it has become in the past two decades.

demand using police recorded crime data.[12] The College also notes that counts of crime fail to show the varying levels of resource required to deal with different crimes. This could be because individuals experiencing the same type of crime may be impacted differently, thus requiring very different responses from the service, or it could be that the type of crime consumes more resource than others – rape, for example.

As Dame Elish Angiolini set out in her independent review into the investigation and prosecution of rape in London, not only is rape as a crime itself 'unique', but it presents investigators and prosecutors with unique challenges.[13] The review raises the point that the variety and complexity of rape cases often far exceeds the difficulties encountered in investigating other offences, including the most serious, such as homicide. It is thus particularly challenging that there has been a marked increase in reported rapes in recent years, albeit a welcome challenge if there has been a shift in the likelihood of rapes being reported. Rapes recorded by the Metropolitan Police as a whole increased from 3,079 in 2005–06 to 5,179 in 2013–14, which is a rise of 68 percent. The number of rape and penetrative offences dealt with by the Met's specialised Sapphire investigation team rose 2,192 in 2009–10 to 4,083 – a rise of 86 percent. While the majority of rape cases are passed onto the Sapphire team, there is still a role for most officers in effectively responding to initial reporting of rape, as well as in reducing offences through proactive tactics.

The College of Policing concluded that demand could be understood as comprising two components. Public demand takes into account the traditional view of demand as reactive and mainly covers calls for service or incidents to which the police respond. Conversely, protective demand takes into account more proactive work which the police are increasingly required to undertake, mainly involving safeguarding the public (particularly vulnerable groups, such as children). A consideration of data on calls for service indicates that public demand limits the extent to which the service can respond to protective demand. As many as 83 percent of calls to the police relate to non-crime related incidents, 42 percent of which were resolved over the phone.

Many of the non-crime related incidents to which the police do need to respond in person are not accounted for in statistics, also skewing perceptions of demand on police time. For example, the majority of one million reported incidents of domestic abuse and 2.3m reported incidents relating to anti-social behaviour do not result in recorded crimes.[14]

Analysis of data from different forces suggests that incidents relating to mental health are also increasingly reported. The Met estimates that 15–20 percent of incidents are linked to mental health, and account for at least 20 percent of police time. In 2014 the police were required under Section 136 of the Mental Health Act 1983 to assist in 17,000 detentions of individuals who appeared to suffer mental disorder to places of safety

The Met estimates that 15–20 percent of incidents are linked to mental health, and account for at least 20 percent of police time

12. College of Policing, "College of Policing Analysis: Estimating Demand on the Police Service."

13. Rt Hon, Dame Elish, and Angiolini Dbe, "Report of the Independent Review into The Investigation and Prosecution of Rape in London," 2015, www.cps.gov.uk/publications/equality/vaw/dame_elish_angiolini_rape_review_2015.pdf.

14. However, domestic violence accounts for one-third of recorded assaults with injury. HMIC, "Everyone's Business : Improving the Police Response to Domestic Abuse," 2014.

(normally a hospital).[15] Such incidents often take six to eight hours of police time (in part, to access health records[16]). In three quarters of cases police provide transport.[17] This figure is up from 12,000 similar incidents in 2010.

In 2014, an additional 6,000 Section 136 detentions involved the use of police cells as the designated place of safety despite guidance that police custody should only be used in exceptional circumstances; HMIC estimated that the average length of custody was over 10 hours. Extended detentions often relate to lack of capacity in health services and mental health services; according to the House of Commons Health Committee,[18] "demand for mental health services for children and adolescents appears to be rising as many Clinical Commissioning Groups report have frozen or cut their budgets".

Overall, 22 percent of police responses relate to actual crime being committed.[19] While the public must play a role in reducing this sort of demand, other services are also relying on the police to respond to non-crime related incidents. The police are often, legitimately, requested to attend interventions by other services, which create efficiencies in those services; this varies from enforcing planning laws, building regulations and environmental health regulations to investigation of benefits violations alongside housing association officers.

> The London borough of Newham has a law enforcement team which makes fuller use of available powers to local authorities, and they work with a dedicated policing team of 40 Met officers, funded by Newham, who provide support and compliance for these council officers. Law Enforcement Officers have worked on innovative schemes such as landlord licensing, and improved the efficiency of other officers such as noise enforcement or trading standards officers. More evidence is needed on the knock-on impact on subsequent investigations by the police and Crown Prosecution Service, to assess the systematic efficiency.

Concern has been expressed by the College of Policing that preventive, problem solving activity is not captured in traditional performance management data, but given that it can reduce crime and public initiated demand on the police, capacity should be ensured for this sort of 'discretionary' activity.

As certain complex crimes become a growing challenge for the Metropolitan Police, demand for the service should be managed more proactively.

15. Victor Adebowale, "The Independent Commission on Mental Health and Policing Report," 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/10_05_13_report.pdf.

16. HMIC. et al., "A Criminal Use of Police Cells," 2013, www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/publications/a-criminal-use-of-police-cells/.

17. College of Policing, "College of Policing Analysis: Estimating Demand on the Police Service."

18. House of Commons Health Committee, "Children's and Adolescents' Mental Health and CAMHS" (London, 2014).

19. National Audit Office, "Financial Sustainability of Police Forces in England and Wales."

From reactive crime-fighting to proactive early intervention and risk reduction

The following section provides examples of how the police service could improve risk reduction to mitigate the demand from certain crime types and threats.

Terrorism

Although organised violent campaigns with political motivations have operated in London for over 40 years, their threat is potentially greater now that global communications have lowered barriers to coordination and mutual support between individuals, intent on harm, from around the world. Platforms for networking accelerate the spread of publicity, fundraising, and efforts to communicate and plan attacks.[20] There are new opportunities for lone or small groups of terrorists beyond (though often linked at the fringes) more formal terrorist networks. The corresponding response of police and security agencies is significant. International police coordination is now rising exponentially – in 2004 Interpol issued 1,924 'red notices' for arrest; in 2014 it issued 10,718. But efforts to coordinate across police forces internationally are multiplied in difficulty by the lack of common standards in rules of law, judicial procedures and in rules of prosecution and admissibility of evidence.[21]

Management of these threats relies in part on gathering intelligence, and undertaking surveillance to monitor activity. This kind of activity has been termed 'high policing' (named after the *haute police*, a French political police force in the 17th century).[22] High policing targets 'macrocrimes' that threaten society in general, rather than 'microcrimes' which affect individuals specifically.

Often, activities to thwart planned acts of terrorism are largely invisible to the public. Counter-terrorism tactics include covert and undercover police operations. Secrecy of operations creates challenges for police agencies in their legitimacy and credibility[23]; potentially eroding the trust that police need (including the fulfilment of 'low policing' of traditional crime and public order).

The compatibility of high policing and low policing activities is challenging for an organisation, because high policing tends to demand a top-down command structure, and changes the orientation of police duties from servicing to controlling the population.[24] By contrast, low policing activities are often successful when police have invested in strong relationships with people in local communities. Community policing can, in this regard, be seen as a complementary 'force multiplier' in activities such as counter-terrorism, rather than a competing set of priorities.

20. Cabinet Office, "The UK Cyber Security Strategy Protecting and Promoting the UK in a Digital World," 2011.

21. Frederic Lemieux, *International Police Cooperation: Emerging Issues, Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2013).

22. Jean-Paul Brodeur, "High Policing and Low Policing: Remarks about the Policing of Political Activities," *Social Problems*, 1983.

23. Tom Williamson, *The Handbook of Knowledge-Based Policing: Current Conceptions and Future Directions*, *The Handbook of Knowledge-Based Policing: Current Conceptions and Future Directions* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008).

24. David H. Bayley and David Weisburd, "Cops and Spooks: The Role of Police in Counterterrorism," in *To Protect and To Serve: Policing in an Age of Terrorism* (Springer New York, 2009), 81–99.

Policing by consent is not just acceptance by the public of what the police are doing, it implies ability to shape activity as well as having regard for the nature of police public encounters.[25]

Cyber-dependent crime

An important challenge for the Met and other UK forces might be appropriately termed the 'delocalisation' of crime. There are parallels, domestically, with the challenges more commonly identified with networked globalisation. Traditional crimes have taken on new dimensions; for example, fraud being conducted via online financial transactions. This means that the victim and the perpetrator are not necessarily (and often not) located in the same police force area. This holds for an increasing number of personal crimes such as harassment, as well as anonymous financial crimes.

In tackling emerging crimes such as online fraud, it is clear that police forces need to invest in preventative efforts and in mustering the resources of partners (such as banks, online retailers and online marketplace platforms) who share an interest in prevention and often hold the necessary intelligence to bring about enforcement. MOPAC funded a pilot in early 2015, due to continue for the remainder of the year, to make victims of economic crime feel safer and reduce the likelihood of becoming a repeat victim.[26]

In the UK, fraud cases are allocated by the National Fraud Investigation Bureau to the force with jurisdiction for the location of a suspect with a case they deem viable to investigate. For London, this means the Met received 23,000 cases in 2014 – almost one-third of the national total – but many victims in these cases are located across the UK and beyond.

The successful investigation and prosecution of online fraud faces a number of challenges. Firstly, criminals use masked identities to hide digital communications from surveillance. Secondly, there is an 'aggregated threshold' effect. Digital technologies allow for immense economies of scale through cloning and automation. One individual might simultaneously defraud hundreds of victims, while the value of each transaction remains relatively small. Victims are therefore less likely to invest time in seeking the fraud redressed, and police staff are hard pressed to justify prioritisation of any single investigation. Though informal and reciprocal cooperation will always be paramount, the challenge of the wide dispersal of victims is compounded by a lack of any formal agreements in place to coordinate investigation across forces, and incompatible databases across (and within) police forces for sharing records for investigations.

Notably, the MOPAC pilot has involved all three territorial police forces in London (City of London and British Transport Police, alongside the Met) and Age UK, the Fraud Advisory Panel, Victim Support and the Chief Executive of the Police and Crime Commissioners.

An important challenge for the Met and other UK forces might be appropriately termed the 'delocalisation' of crime

25. Jonathan Jackson et al., "Why Do People Comply with the Law?," *British Journal of Criminology* 52, no. 6 (2012): 1051–71, doi:10.1093/bjc/azs032.

26. Action Fraud, "Law Enforcement Agencies Review the First Ever Economic Crime Victim Care Unit at City of London Police Event," accessed October 6, 2015, www.actionfraud.police.uk/news/law-enforcement-agencies-review-the-first-ever-economic-crime-victim-care-unit-at-city-of-london-police-event-apr15.

Responding to adaptive challenges

In light of these fundamental changes in the operating environment of the police, evidence on effective practice points to two shifts in approach. Firstly, there has been a shift from assuming that applying the law is enough to deter criminals[27] to actively **reducing risk through public education and early intervention**. Secondly, there has been a shift towards **collaborative approaches and strategic partnerships** to support individuals, moving away from the informal handover thresholds at which policing intersects with the work of other public services.

Each of these shifts has the potential to be supported by new working practices which make the most of advances in technology, and which help officers and staff engage with the adaptive challenges that characterise the increasing complexity and diversity of interactions with the public – including victims, witnesses, perpetrators and vulnerable individuals.

Support for these shifts can take many forms. Initiatives, such as the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction hosted at the College of Policing, provide authoritative collation of evidence on effective approaches. Their first review, concerning crime reduction, set a strong foundation for UK police forces in highlighting the links between these agendas:

> Crime is highly concentrated: the evidence shows that most of it is associated with only a small proportion of places, victims and offenders. Focusing action on crime and anti-social behaviour hotspots, repeat victims, and prolific or high volume offenders is, therefore, an effective way to allocate resources for crime reduction. Understanding what is causing high volume offending or problems in hotspots and coming up with specific solutions – often in partnership with others – allows the police to drive down crime. As well as preventing crime and deterring offenders, the way the police treat individuals and communities day-to-day in any encounter (and, historically, over time) can also make a difference to crime. By treating people equally, making decisions fairly, explaining them, and being respectful, the police can encourage people to cooperate with them and not break the law.[28]

In their daily work, the police encounter situations which require highly complex 'sense-making'; since they often act in fast-moving circumstances that are 'suffused with dynamic complexity'.[29] In short, the police are continually under pressure to review their operating procedures in order to drive fairer decisions and positive outcomes.

This is relevant both to minute-by-minute high pressure situations (the adaptive challenges *within* everyday working practice); and relevant

27. Bayley and Weisburd, "Cops and Spooks: The Role of Police in Counterterrorism."
28. What Works Centre for Crime Reduction, "What Is the Best Thing the Police Can Do to Reduce Crime?," accessed October 6, 2015, http://whatworks.college.police.uk/Research/overview/Pages/best.aspx.
29. I. Colville, a. Pye, and M. Carter, "Organizing to Counter Terrorism: Sensemaking amidst Dynamic Complexity," *Human Relations* 66, no. 9 (2013): 1201–23, http://hum.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0018726712468912.

in how the police operate *across* competing priorities: the collaboration, partnerships, and managerial 'tasking' required to provide flexible responses to long-term needs and demands.

The following chapter considers scenarios that characterise the choices the Met faces, so as to rise to the challenge presented by the shifting landscape of crime and potential responses.

3. London policing and community safety scenarios 2020

Faced with the changing pattern of crime and wider demands on the police, the dynamically changing picture within London, and very tight resource availability, it is important to consider a range of possible 2020 scenarios. Below we outline three possible broad pathways: retrenchment, overstretch and focused impact. Given significant resource constraints and the complexity of growing areas of demand for police action, retrenchment and overstretch are very real risks. Overstretch projects the current operating model forward while retrenchment outlines a pulling back of police support in a wide variety of 'non-core' areas. Focused impact is more painstaking and the significant organisational and external barriers and blockages to achieving it should not be underestimated.

Retrenchment

> "Forces must guard against a vicious circle of less preventative activity, more reactive policing responses and increasing demand."[30]
> **HMIC**

In this scenario:

- The Met increasingly focuses its resources on 'core' functions alone, ie responding to and investigating crime and immanent risk of crime.
- The crime rate remains on a downward trajectory in the short term at least.
- Resources are tightly managed.
- However, it may struggle to meet public expectations and relationships with key partners in the public, commercial and voluntary sectors remain somewhat distant.
- Its legitimacy becomes more difficult to sustain as it becomes a more distant partner and pure crime-fighting force.
- Its ability to meet safety concerns through early upstream intervention is undermined as it misses out on key sources of engagement, knowledge and learning.

30. HMIC, "State of Policing: Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014," accessed September 30, 2015, www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/wp-content/uploads/state-of-policing-13-14.pdf.

- Officer morale is challenged by strict and narrow prioritisation.
- The outcome could be a service under strain in its internal and external legitimacy despite the fact that it manages resources efficiently.

Overstretch

- Faced with resource constraints, the Met continues to try to answer every demand, but in an inefficient manner, eg it deploys people and resources to situations without properly assessing the need, demand and risk.
- It doesn't use its resources in a knowledge-based fashion and knowledge is not properly captured and applied.
- Its resources are thinly spread, investigations take longer, and problems are reactively managed rather than resolved through impactful early intervention and collaboration (despite best endeavours).
- The Met may start to lack transparency, clarity and be seen as 'not following through' by partners and the public.
- Its ineffectiveness might start to undermine its legitimacy and that would make its ability to manage London's safety more fraught.
- It is a 'jack of all trades' service and inefficiencies become systematic. It is defined by mission creep.
- Its resources might become thinly spread and it only works at its best when crises catalyse a reactive mode.

Focused impact

- It deploys fewer resources on the front-line but where resources are deployed, officers are well-tooled, well-informed, and well-connected.
- Knowledge of impact underpins all activity.
- Each area of service is clearly outlined within a police network of connected delivery (Cowper, 2007) and accountability.
- The partnerships that the Met is engaged in both locally and at a London-wide level are defined by shared objectives, shared information, shared analysis and coordinated operations.
- Resources are pooled where possible to maximise return on investment.
- It provides the public with the tools and information they need to improve their safety, it supports others to help ensure a safe city, and it works with others to leverage the core services that the Met can provide.
- There is an active dialogue between the police, its partners and the public about where resources should be devoted and priorities set, albeit whilst accepting the Met's responsibilities to bring perpetrators of crime to justice.
- It uses technology highly effectively to help inform its officers and the public – whether through social media or through case management.

- Prevention and early intervention is the norm and good practice is applied across the force and with other partners.
- A range of specialist skills – often provided by non-officers working with warranted officers – sit within the force and shorter term deployments complement the traditional force structure.
- Overall, the Met is smaller than it is currently in 2015, but it is more connected, focused and has a higher overall impact in any given context.

The remainder of the report maps out three design principles for the Metropolitan Police which, crucially, must be shared with its partners and the public. A design principle is an essential feature of a system, product or process that is required if a desired solution is to be achieved. The design principles here are aimed at securing the 'focused impact' scenario.

To that end, there should be an early test of collective commitment. If community safety is a shared endeavor then there is a strong argument for a common mission to pool resources, capabilities, devolve responsibility and focus on common objectives. And this sense of mission lies behind our first key proposal:

Key proposal

There should be a London-wide Community Safety Index co-owned by the Mayor's office and by boroughs, criminal justice partners (including the courts and probation services) and key NHS bodies too. A component of the Index must include crime statistics, but other domains will cover wider, more subjective measures such as satisfaction with neighbourhood safety. This index will be made public to progress shared accountability and transparency across public services and civil society.

Partners: Mayor's Office, MOPAC, London boroughs, The Courts, and the NHS

This index will require expert design by policy, statistical and social research experts such as the National Centre for Social Research or a leading market research company. It also requires multi-agency buy-in and pooled investment. The suggestion is that MOPAC, the Met, the Association of London councils and the Mayor work together to secure such multi-agency buy-in. The design of the index would then be procured by MOPAC once these commitments are secured. The aim should be to pilot the index in a small number of neighbourhoods before deployment across London and adoption of targeted metrics by 2017.

The city of Rotterdam has such an index combining local factors such as quality of the local environment and health of the local economy with subjective factors such as satisfaction with the neighbourhood in terms of safety, feelings of security, and overall environment.[31] It is area based and requires a common action plan with the objective of increasing the safety of each area over time. It relies on cooperation between the police

31. Rotterdam City Council, www.rotterdam.nl/Directie%20Veilig/PDF/VJAPengels%20 2010-2014.pdf.

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and others. The most important aspect of the index is that a number of agencies and communities themselves are aware of it and feel a sense of involvement in achieving the goal of greater community safety. A similar initiative for London could create a mobilising cause – each agency and the public themselves could be given a greater sense of the part they can play in making their neighbourhood safer. It would also empower borough-based police leaders to search for greater collective responsibility with others to improve community safety.

There are three core elements to the Rotterdam approach that flows from the index:

- An area-oriented approach focuses on the specific needs and problems of each area.
- A 'phenomenon-oriented' approach which looks at specific problems such as night-time violence, domestic violence, or mental health concern and devises conjoined strategies of prevention and response.
- A person-oriented approach which focuses on the needs and challenges of high risk individuals.

The design principles in this report adopt similar approaches but there needs to be the top-level metric to work towards and that is why the index is a cornerstone of a different approach to community safety in London.

The index is the measurement tool for the Rotterdam programme. A target of a '7+' (in the index) overall has been met. The index targets run over four years. Every area is required to score a minimum of '6' and at least retain that position over a four year period. Members of the community are expected to have at least a 70 percent community safety sentiment with a city-wide target of 80 percent.

This type of collective approach and the need to push towards a focused impact scenario raises the question of the modern purpose of the police. We consider this before laying out the three design principles – an information ecosystem, shared impact, and trust and confidence – necessary to make the focused impact scenario a reality.

4. Purpose

"The first phase of [Met reform] was all about form, not function. It created new structures; it did not change the culture. It reassigned some personnel; it did not redefine the mission… now we are entering a second phase of police reform which must be about function, not form… A function – or mission – that is getting pulled and probed and tested every day by budget reductions, high public expectations, and new patterns of crime."[32]
Greenhalgh and Gibbs

"The Met should be centred on the MASH (Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub) model – it should share more information with its partners. It should focus on neighbourhood policing, which will be both leaner and more knowledgeable. It will form stronger partnerships with industry. And it will base its decisions on data from local authorities, and organisations in health, housing, third sector, social care, education, and the private sector. It will use apps effectively. Currently Met brings together people through partnerships, but their information is not synced – they need to merge their efforts so as to save time. It will be victim-witness centric."
Business consultee

Changes in London as a booming global metropolis, in the nature of crime types and threats, and in public sector finances, also challenge the inherited, historical relationship between the Met and the public.

It is our assessment that to become a 'focused impact' police force requires not only changes in culture within the Met, but a redefined purpose for policing. We propose a new shared mission between London – its communities, businesses and public services – and the Met.

The Met's role in the shared mission proposed here would be, in addition to its crime fighting and solving capability, to prevent crime and reduce harm from the perspective of justice by:

- Showing leadership to address systemic, structural, and contextual drivers of criminality (albeit whilst being clear about the role of others in this domain).
- Being part of the orchestration of early action and intervention which reduce risks, and implement effective strategies to reduce harm.
- Supporting the enforcement of justice where harm occurs, from the perspective of the victim.

32. Greenhalgh and Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service." p. 5–6.

To illustrate this transformation as an ongoing process, at the end of this chapter we use the example of the evolution of the role of the police in addressing domestic abuse.

Establishing a shared and connected mission

Democratic institutions collectively decide on the resources the public wishes to allocate to policing and community safety. It is the role of the police, with requisite democratic and legal scrutiny, to maximise community safety and uphold the law effectively within resources made available. There has to be prioritisation, linked to capability and resources.

In this regard, the police are no different to the armed forces. Periodically, a Strategic Defence Review is undertaken by the Ministry of Defence in an effort to ensure that resources are matched to operational need and strategic priority. Defence of the homeland is fundamental, but beyond that, the UK has a number of global security objectives it pursues in partnership with other armed forces, governments, NGOs and local actors to reduce threats. These allies connect their activities under a shared mission.

The Met is effectively in a phase of strategic review currently. Its capabilities depend on mutual support and a common mission shared with others. That requires it to seek new alliances and develop existing ones.

Police responsibilities are sometimes separated into 'core' and 'auxiliary'. Core is responding to and investigating crime – dealing mostly with victims, witnesses, suspects and perpetrators. Auxiliary activities cover the work the police do to ensure community safety and minimise harm and risk of harm to the individual. This work engages the public and civil society. As outlined in previous chapters, the police rely on auxiliary work in order to prevent crimes being committed, and thus manage the demand on their own resources – reducing the pressure felt by the core activities.

Auxiliary activity requires a connected and shared approach. The police use their capabilities to spot risk, deploy legitimate authority, and pool information in ways that enable more acute problems to be averted. Many others also have responsibility for reducing risk and harm, through sharing information and taking action themselves: for example the owner of a licensed premises, a mental health nurse, a corporate IT manager, a victim support group leader, or a school teacher. Having a shared and connected mission supports effective 'core' policing. For example, intelligence around extremist involvement and activity may be a precursor to a threat of violence. Getting an early warning from a community group, a school or youth worker can both help identify threats and, if intervention is early, de-escalate risk.

The most important relationship for the police is with the public itself. The British model of policing is based on consent which places transparency, trust and accountability at the centre of law enforcement legitimacy. As trust is developed, more open relationships can be sustained which can ensure a greater degree of mutual respect, underpinning public order and enabling a flow of critical information into and out from the police.

The focused impact scenario outlined above rests very deliberately on the British model of policing whereby trust, community safety, and crime prevention and reduction are tautly bound together.

The most important relationship for the police is with the public itself. The British model of policing is based on consent which places transparency, trust and accountability at the centre of law enforcement legitimacy

To provide assurances between the Met and partners, we propose a shared mission which makes explicit the expectations, roles and responsibilities under a shared mission to ensure the safety, security and civil liberties of all who live, work and visit London.

Transforming police purpose: the case of domestic abuse

Domestic abuse is a complex and sensitive issue. Emotional abuse and physical harm take place within an abusive regime of control. Other crimes of abuse include blackmail, harassment, kidnapping, threats to kill, and a range of sexual offences. Domestic abuse exemplifies the kind of public safety issue where 'complexities benefit from effective collaborative responses between multiple agencies as well as co-production of safety approaches.'[33]

Taking a historical perspective, how the police have involved themselves in domestic abuse highlights how the implicit purpose of the police can and should change.

In previous generations, many victims have reported that they were denied requests for police assistance because their accusations were within a 'domestic' environment.[34] Implicitly, the police often limited their jurisdiction to the front door of the home, and acts of domestic harm were not seen as risk to the public at large. The autonomy of the 'head of household' was the civil liberty given paramount status.

Civil law in the 1990s, was amended to afford greater protection for individuals in domestic settings, including in the Family Law Act 1996 and the Protection from Harrassment Act 1997. Measures include restraining orders, non-molestation orders, non-harrassment orders and occupation orders to exclude individuals from a family home.

'Graded response' approaches piloted in the UK in the 1990s have shown some success, been adopted overseas and have spread slowly among UK forces. Most notably, the Killingbeck pilot in 1996 aimed to reduce repeat victimisation through a three-tiered programme of operational interventions. It was driven by data analysis; the tiers corresponded to the number of times the West Yorkshire Police attended the offender in the past year. Success was partly dependent on the extent to which the force could rapidly access data from other forces about previous contact, in the case of households where the members recently moved to the area.

Together these changes point to more effective fulfilment of the shared societal goals of reducing risk and supporting justice in cases of domestic abuse. But the Met itself recognises that achieving sustainable long-term impact relies on coordinated action from different corners of society. In our consultation workshops with senior police officers, many referred to the historic success of increasing public safety in relation to traffic accidents. This was achieved through a combination of education (eg public information on dangers of drink-driving), engineering (eg traffic calming schemes; car airbags) and enforcement (eg seat belt laws; speed cameras). When prompted as to which aspect of public safety should be prioritised in the coming decade, one room of officers instantly and unanimously came to consensus:

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33. Geoff Coliandris and Colin Rogers, "Policing Domestic Abuse Effectively: A Blueprint for Success?," *Australasian Policing* 5, no. 2: 2, accessed September 30, 2015, http://search. informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=855777659495824;res=IELHSS.

34. Caroline McGee, *Childhood Experiences of Domestic Violence* (Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2000), https://books.google.com/books?id=AYlGFvUSdOoC&pgis=1.

"violence against women and girls" – while recognising that neither enforcement nor education alone would be sufficient to substantially reduce risk.

There is a way to go. HMIC's recent inspection of the domestic abuse response from UK police forces was unequivocal:

> The overall police response to victims of domestic abuse is not good enough… Domestic abuse is a priority on paper but, in the majority of forces, not in practice. This stated intent is not translating into operational reality in most forces.[35]

HMIC has encouraged police forces to target and manage their perpetrator population in a way that is now common practice in tackling other sorts of crime. This includes deployment of response officers and neighbourhood policing teams, using intelligence analysts to support disruptive tactics, deploying covert resources to collect intelligence, and learning successfully – as an organisation and across forces – from failures and successes.

The police could strengthen their role in reducing risk and harm of domestic abuse through better collating and sharing information, both internally and in partnership with other agencies. Reducing domestic abuse requires long-term systems leadership, making the most of the comparative advantages offered by different partnering agencies.

Information flows within and between forces – the 'core' response

In cases of domestic abuse, officers often have little or no information about the victim or the perpetrator when they arrive at the scene. Outdated information technology and poor force information systems are preventing vital information about victims and perpetrators from being placed quickly in the hands of frontline officers.[36]

HMIC notes that, "the quality of the service that a victim receives is entirely dependent on the empathy, understanding and commitment of the individual attending." Yet, when HMIC assessed training for police, largely reliant on e-learning, it found that there was a failure to build understanding and proactive engagement among officers. For example, few officers are made aware of how to use feedback from victims to successfully help plan appropriate services and capture their own experiences of successful interventions for use by others in the force.

HMIC found, in reviewing 600 cases of actual bodily harm (ie visible injuries), photography was used in only half of the cases; 30 percent of investigations failed to adequately record detailed description of the scene or the injuries of the victims. Bringing justice into domestic settings requires the police to be proactive. As HMIC put it, "The police service needs to build the case for the victim, not expect the victim to build the case for the police."

Information flows between partners – the 'auxiliary' response

Preventative work most often requires skills and information beyond that available to the police – for example, doing more to work with other agencies to find the right 'non-crisis' moments to provide effective support.

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35. HMIC, "Everyone's Business : Improving the Police Response to Domestic Abuse."
36. Ibid.

Professional capability, information management, trust of the victim and others close to them, and smart collaboration should be intrinsic to police work

Crawford distinguishes between multi-agency working and inter-agency working which suggests a deeper level of interpenetration.[37] As Coliandris and Rogers elaborate:

> … no single agency has the capacity or capability to address its multi-faceted challenges. Further, by its very nature, DA appears to overlap other pressing social problems including: mental ill health; homelessness; and child maltreatment (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009). As Sparrow (2008) observes, such problems tend to 'straddle' programmatic and jurisdictional boundaries. Barriers to effective multi-agency working tend to centre on: communication; information-sharing; mission, values or power conflicts; funding, personnel, management and resourcing issues (Mulroney, 2003). Flawed multi-agency arrangements clearly hold important consequences for service users.[38]

Successful inter-agency working recognises that police may not be the best service to provide continuity of care, leading to long-term crime prevention. Some evidence exists (in Canada, quoted in a rapid assessment compiled by the N8 Research Partnership), that a 'second responder' programme (whereby an alleged perpetrator is contacted by a support agency other than the police) reduced recidivism significantly one to two years after the 'first response' from the police.

Standing Together Against Domestic Violence (STADV)

There is good practice in the London environment where the police work in partnership with the charity, Standing Together Against Domestic Violence.

In London, flagship work of STADV has been in Hammersmith and Fulham (and the partnership operates in a number of London boroughs). MARACs (Multi-Agency Risk Assessment conferences) have been part of the response to domestic abuse in the UK since 2006, and are now held every three weeks. They discuss around 275 cases a year. These cases have been assessed (using the DASH risk assessment model) to be at high risk of murder or serious harm. While the DASH risk assessment could be more effectively applied (as comprehensively evidenced and outlined by HMIC), there has been improvement in reducing further risk to victims.[39] Data has shown that nationally around 60 percent of clients report no further violence after their cases are discussed at MARAC (this is due to the safety planning linked to risk and professional support). In Hammersmith and Fulham, this figure is 75 percent. Furthermore, for every £1 spent on MARAC at least £6 is saved from the public purse.[40]

This Hammersmith and Fulham domestic abuse case study demonstrates how the police are a foundational partner with others such as voluntary groups and other public agencies for systems leadership to address harm and criminal acts of harm, as well as strengthen efforts at risk reduction.

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37. A Crawford, "Community Safety and the Quest for Security: Holding Back the Dynamics of Social Exclusion," *Policy Studies* 19, no. 3/4 (1998): 237–53, doi:10.1080/01442879808423759.

38. Coliandris, G. and Rogers, C., "Policing Domestic Abuse Effectively: A Blueprint for Success?", *Australasian Policing: A Journal of Professional Practice and Research*, 5(2): 3-7 (2013).

39. HMIC, "Everyone's Business : Improving the Police Response to Domestic Abuse."

40. "Hammersmith and Fulham Domestic Violence and Abuse Strategy 2012–15," accessed September 30, 2015, www.standingtogether.org.uk/fileadmin/user_upload/standingUpload/CCR/HF__VAW_Strategy_2.pdf.

Professional capability, information management, trust of the victim and others close to them, and smart collaboration should be intrinsic to police work. Domestic abuse is illustrative of how effective 'core' policing to fight crime is best achieved through connected approaches which can only exist in a system involving partners with a shared mission. Several major societal dangers show parallels – including violent extremism, gang violence and organised crime.

To achieve this redefined purpose in the modern London context across the range of complex demands as described in the previous section, we suggest three design principles for the Met and the full range of its partners: an information eco-system; impactful collaboration; and trust replenishment. Together the proposals designed to achieve these goals comprise a new shared mission for a safer London.

5. Design principles for effective criminal justice and community safety in London 2020

A recent authoritative study into 'what works' in policing given resource constraints proposed the following four pronged model:

> (i) Be targeted on high crime micro-locations; (ii) Focus on connected problems rather than individual incidents and involve local communities in identifying, prioritising and addressing them; (iii) Engage actively with communities and harness the resources of other agencies to deliver an integrated approach to reducing crime; (iv) Be aware of central importance of legitimacy.[41]
> **Police Foundation**

This matches very closely the evidence we gathered in the consultation and have reviewed from elsewhere. In order to achieve the above goals within the Police Foundation model, the Met will need the right organisational leadership, culture and infrastructure and this is outlined in the next chapter. This chapter reviews how the Met, its partners, and the London public can establish the right relationships to work towards a common purpose. Three design principles are reviewed in turn: cultivating an information eco-system; developing stronger collaboration; and enhancing trust and legitimacy.

Design principle one: cultivate a stronger information ecosystem within the Met and with others

Since the CompStat system was established by New York Police Department as a performance and operational tool, information about crime, arrests, police activity, public order risk, gang activity and much else besides have been central to the policing toolkit. In London, data and information is shared with other agencies and the public. MOPAC's publicly available crime dashboard provides an overview of crimes in London down to the borough level. This data is blended with public health and economic data in the online London Data Store.

41. The Police Foundation, "Policing and Crime Reduction: The Evidence and Its Implications for Practice," 2013, www.police-foundation.org.uk/uploads/holding/projects/policing_and_crime_reduction.pdf. p. 4.

Considered within this report is the range of information about activities, people, networks, and neighbourhoods that comes about through conventional police activity and the activities of other public services and members of the public. There is a wider debate about access to private data as part of the surveillance but that is beyond the scope of this report.

Beyond publicly available data, Capita defined data on three levels in response to our consultation:

"Open – Allow multi-agency access to systems but control and monitor access to protect against security breaches and misuse.

Closed – Only permit multi-agency specialists access to sensitive or restricted information for dissemination as appropriate.

Anonymised – Do not give multi-agency staff access to personal identifiers and move to a probability based operational research model."

This points to a difficult set of protocols and relationships, with legal and ethical considerations. Data gathering, organisational analysis, and sharing is an incredibly powerful tool but it requires working through a complex environment – especially in a multi-agency setting. Parameters are necessary but often these can be used as barriers when more can be done to open out and share data more effectively.[42]

Take the example of a young person who is becoming associated with a known gang. That young person will leave clues in all sorts of settings. Their behaviour at school may change or they may have stopped attending a local youth facility abruptly. They may have had to seek medical help for injuries sustained in a low level confrontation. They may have had contact with neighbourhood police on a number of occasions. There may be no evidence of criminal activity but left unchecked it could develop in that way. However, each of the agencies involved only has a sliver of the picture. If these information sources coalesce the picture will become clearer. An early intervention can take place and that in itself might generate useful information about wider networks, risks and threats.

Sometimes local information is sufficient (professionals talk to one another all the time), but what about if we want to understand the range of triggers associated with young people becoming involved in early stage gang related activity? This is where data aggregation, across time, is essential. Collecting sound data is essential, sharing it in the right way (subject to ethical and legal considerations) is vital, and establishing systems and the right professional approach is the final component of focused impact.

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42. Some barriers include: a) the ICO rules around data can only be used for the purpose for which is was collected; (b) Human Rights Act interpretations; (c) Learning from previous data security breaches from various agencies; (d) Confusion around when the data was collated when consistency is demanded; (e) National security or VIP information being revealed unintentionally through 'mosaic style' attacks; (f) The liability of an agency acting on information collected by another agency from a dubious source.

Information gathering and analysis

There is a general concern about the way in which police forces gather, record and handle data. The following is from HMIC State of Policing Report:[43]

> "Even when crimes are recorded, too many are removed or cancelled as recorded crimes for no good reason." [NB. refers to all police forces]

Similar issues have been noted in London directly:

> "Observations of a basic Command Unit in London… showed that a significant proportion of intelligence submissions were never entered on the system."[44]

We have heard similar things during the course of this consultation and the quality of local police intelligence briefings has been subject to particular criticism from key partners. The sophistication of use of police data has been questioned. There is a cultural point here. The point about data is not simply a technocratic one. Seemingly purposeless form-filling would have little useful impact. The proposals here are for a pervasively different attitude to information and data. Police officers should understand the value of relevance, accuracy, analysis and utility of data.

Moreover, data analysis will not provide a shortcut to sound judgement in a complex environment. By way of a purely hypothetical example, there could be evidence that stop and search has a positive correlation with crime prevention. However, discussion around the wider impact of the approach could, again hypothetically, be negative in that it undermines the legitimacy of the police within certain communities. Would the judgement be to increase its use or not? Would the fact that the victims of crime could be concentrated in a particular community mean that the Metropolitan Police was justified in adopting greater levels of stop and search? These dilemmas require sound police judgement above and beyond what the data may suggest. Data and analysis inform policing judgements but do not supersede them.

> "If the decision to only have a centralised intelligence team remains in place, that team must become significantly more responsive to local data demands. One possibility would be to identify borough or area liaison officers to manage requests and provide local MPs and partners in an area with a single point of contact."
> **Local authority consultee**

In a public awareness and prevention setting, data not simply on broad categories of crimes reported but how they happened might alert people to a number of risks. If there was a spate of incidents involving theft of purses from unsecured bags on the tube, or burglaries through unlocked rear windows, or fraud caused by a failure to update PCs with the latest

43. HMIC, "State of Policing: Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014." p. 84.

44. Innes M. and C Roberts, "Policing, Situational Intelligence and the Information Environment: A Report to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary." (Cardiff, 2011).

software, these can attract both police attention and serve as a basis to demonstrate the risks to the public.

Flows of data are becoming a torrent. Ensuring the Met is organisationally ready not only to handle the torrent, but to harness its energy to thrive is a strategic necessity. This requires deployment of big data analytical techniques which will increasingly utilise developments in artificial intelligence to, for example, identify suspects in an automated fashion instead of more manual techniques currently adopted. There are, of course, ethical considerations surrounding such techniques also and the public will need to be engaged as these techniques are deployed if they are to be legitimate.

The public themselves are increasingly eyes and ears, providing surveillance of social order. An app by Witness Confident captures witness material that could have very high utility for police investigations and risk analysis, albeit with the right safeguards in place so that people avoid danger.[45]

Recently, there have been a series of incidents in the United States involving police brutality that have been caught on smartphone cameras and spread across the globe. This has further exacerbated community tensions with the police in many US cities. In London, the police are experimenting with body-worn cameras.

These incidents in the US show that the public is, if anything, ahead of the police. The beating of Rodney King in 1991 was caught by someone who just happened to have a video camera in his apartment; nowadays more sophisticated recording technology rests with almost every individual.

Instead of resisting these changes, they can be turned to police advantage. Officers must have access to rapid information and be ready to take evidence of a range of types from witness statements to geo-tagged photographic and video evidence. Whilst application of technology does seem to be an issue, an even bigger one is professional ethos. The tools that are available are relatively easy to use so the biggest challenge is not professional development, it's application.

Once the technology and supportive infrastructure is in place, the big leap required in understanding for all front-line officers to capture, record and use data accurately will require a concerted effort for consistent adoption across the Met.

Processing and analysing this torrent of data is beyond the capability of individual officers. Big data analysis techniques will be required. Social media analysis can be used to understand networks and linkages in new ways and revealing ways that can develop a picture of associations and risk. Fortunately, London is the leading centre of tech – including fintech which is based on just this sort of approach – in Europe.[46]

As has already been referenced, cataloguing data will be automated and smart analytics will process data the police receive. The development of artificial intelligence is progressing at pace. The Metropolitan Police will not be able to develop without the help of this expertise. Much as

The public themselves are increasingly eyes and ears, providing surveillance of social order

45. Witness Confident, "Self Evident App," accessed October 6, 2015, www.witnessconfident.org/self-evident-app.

46. City AM, "London Is Home to Europe's Hottest Fintech Startups as 24 of the FinTech50 Come from the Capital," accessed October 6, 2015, www.cityam.com/208497/europe-s-hottest-fintech-startups-are-london.

Social media is already becoming a good tool of communication between the police and the public and, especially where there are major incidents, it is a key channel

the NHS is seeking to use its data for public good, the same approach could be adopted by the Met by combining its data with others. There would have to be clarity about how and why information was being used and to what end. If it is seen as 'spying' then it may meet public resistance. If the public can see instead that it's about focusing resources, understanding patterns of crime, ensuring that evidence is of a high standard then it becomes easier to build public support for information-empowered policing.

Increasingly, communications technology that enables the tracking of flows of people and social media are becoming part of the infrastructure of 'smart cities'. Social media is already becoming a good tool of communication between the police and the public and, especially where there are major incidents, it is a key channel.

Furthermore, 'demand' for policing is not static. As one business consultee pointed out:

> "Currently the policing model is territorial, based on London boroughs; which is not the most effective solution. Wandsworth 'loses' 60,730 people per day to work elsewhere (20 percent of its population); Tower Hamlets 'gains' 114,381 people (a 41 percent increase.[47]). One million Oyster card journeys are made in London between 7am and 10am. Yet police support does not follow those served, it does not 'commute' across London, unlike the inhabitants. Indeed the police station in Wandsworth is only open Monday to Friday from 9 to 5, when a fifth of its population is out of the borough."

Smart city technology is about using aggregated Transport for London or mobile phone provider data to get a better sense of the flows of the city. This underlines a reason why London's policing model may need more flexibility. Developing consent for this with partners such as local authorities is essential.

Sharing information

In the last sub-section we concentrated on outlining the importance of improving the volume, quality and analysis of Met collated or accessed data. Here we outline the importance of combining data sets and analysing patterns to condition responses in a connected and shared community safety setting.

Numerous comments were made about the degree to which quality information was shared and acted upon between agencies in London. The Police Foundation has noted the weakness of current multi-agency information sharing across police forces in England and Wales and with their partners:

47. Office for National Statistics, "Where Do We Commute to? Commuting Patterns in the United Kingdom, 2011 Census," accessed October 6, 2015, www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/HTMLDocs/dvc193/; Wikipedia, "List of London Boroughs," accessed October 6, 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_London_boroughs.

Safer Together: Policing a global city in 2020

"The effective integration of multi-agency information and interventions also remains one of the weakest elements in the implementation of a problem-solving approach."[48]

And in our consultation a number of comments were made in a similar vein:

"Lots of positives such as MASH but some uncertainty about what goes on behind it in the Met. Is data shared properly and are there resources for people to follow through? The police are more anxious about data protection than local authorities."

"We already share information and work well together in respect of those known to be involved in criminal activity, but we could go one step further to make this approach more preventative than reactive."

"One of the main challenges to partnership working is the sharing of information and resources, and ensuring a robust evaluation to assess evidence-based performance."

"An example of where information sharing has worked well in the past was during the Olympic period in 2012 where information flowed into and out of the Borough Olympic Command Centres (BOCCs) and the Borough Group Support Units (BGSUs) via Situation Reports and ad hoc communications, which collectively formed Common Recognised Information Pictures (CRIPs). The routes through which information flowed were clearly understood by all concerned."
Local authority consultees – various

This has also been commented upon by London's Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and his Principal Advisor:

"'Data-sharing' for the police often amounts to the police telling partners to give them their data."[49]

A lack of trust may explain the reluctance to share information and intelligence and this applies both ways – from the Met to local authorities, health partners and others and vice versa. The key proposal we made for London's public bodies to sign up to monitoring and tracking a community safety index should be matched by a commitment to contribute to the pooling of data. In the policing and community safety setting this could be a partnership between MOPAC, the Met, and other significant public bodies. It would build on the London Data Store that is currently developing the sophisticated use of data in London.
However, there would also need to be levels of data and analysis that were not public to enable even stronger crime analytics to be undertaken. There is a need for an even more sophisticated data, intelligence

48. The Police Foundation, "Policing and Crime Reduction: The Evidence and Its Implications for Practice." p. 20.
49. Greenhalgh and Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service." p. 49.

and analysis hub; it would require the porting in of data analysis and interpretation skills and technologies from external organisations in the academic, NGO and commercial worlds. For example, the Open Data Institute has significant capability and has previously worked with the London Fire Brigade.

The Met is leading National Policing Data Standards, although for multi-agency working this may need to feed into a higher level standards body. However, waiting for national standards may create a lag and there may be many areas where more can be done within the scope of various laws and regulations governing data sharing and handling. This would be the benefit of a multi-agency hub tasked with opening up and aggregating data. The Mayor's office seems to be the most appropriate place for such an initiative and, indeed, the GLA already gathers a range of data for its London Data Store. The proposal here widens that remit to encompass different types of data including closed and anonymised data as a resource.

This aggregation of open, closed and anonymised data would enable an even more sophisticated analysis as a support for focused impact policing. We propose that the Evidence and Insight Unit which was transferred from the Met to MOPAC should be evolved and developed further. We refer to this as the London Policing Impact Unit. It could have a role as the analytics engine for London's safety and crime reduction. To fulfil that role, it would need even greater access to academic and operational expertise and its remit would need to extend to an expectation that the Met would implement the evidenced best practice of potential impact.

Key proposal

The Met should commit to being a 'Total Information Organisation' involving:

- Greater granularity in data collection.
- High quality data collection should be a key aspect of the core skills of every officer and they should be managed and appraised on that basis.
- All existing protocols and procedures for information sharing; risk assessment and management should be adhered to (as recommended in the Adebowale report with regards to mental health).
- Named information liaison staff should link with key partners – especially local boroughs – to improve the quality of information and intelligence provided to partners in the form of reports (on crime patterns etc).
- The Mayor, NHS and boroughs should also commit to a London-wide strategy to manage information gathering, collating, sharing and analysis; tackling barriers that are not legally or operationally required.
- Construction of a comprehensive data and analysis hub shared across public services. Common data platforms and protocols combined with data-bridging technologies could be available to a range of collective services with partners. This can't be managed by the Met alone – the Mayor's office would seem to be the best location.

Partners: The Mayor's Office, MOPAC, the Met, the NHS, and boroughs

This of course raises the question of what will be done with this gathered information. It is necessary, as a Total Information Organisation, to systematically analyse impact, assess what works and create a culture of managed experimentation. Again, this occurs currently, but is fragmented and often isolated. Here we advocate a more systematic approach to organisational learning and institutional innovation to underpin it. Our third key proposal is as follows:

Key proposal

A London Policing Impact Unit would be established as a MOPAC, Met, and expert-academic partnership:

- The unit would be located in MOPAC and evolved from currently capabilities and would have multi-agency governance with a Board comprising of representatives nominated by MOPAC, the Met, and the College of Police. It could be supported by the Police Knowledge Fund and certainly needs sufficient resource.
- Operational knowledge, academic knowledge and knowledge from other police forces and bodies would flow in, and constant piloting would be led by this unit, with knowledge captured and evaluated. There would be secondment opportunities. It would be empirical and experimental as well as evaluative.
- This impact unit would suggest local models of neighbourhood partnership and policing that can work (taking a cue from the approach taken in the NHS Forward View).
- It would constantly evaluate how the Met was implementing the latest knowledge in partnership with others. These evaluations would be published.
- The LPIU would have a 'citizens' panel' of thirty or so representative selected members to help inform community and ethical decisions.

Partners: MOPAC, The Met, the College of Police, academic institutions

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This is an approach that has been pursued in a partnership between Cardiff University and South Wales Police, which has been funded by the College of Policing and Cardiff University.[50] The unit described above would be more directly linked to multi-agency governance and operational policing in London. It would supplement the growing body of 'what works' knowledge and contribute to developing such knowledge further.

In conceiving of the London Policing Impact Unit, we have sought to identify key efficiency and efficacy institutions with the NHS. The National Institute for Clinical and Health Excellence (NICE) assesses the value for money of health interventions for the NHS. Recently, NICE has augmented its work with a Citizens Council to provide the body "with a public perspective on overarching moral and ethical issues that NICE has to take account of when producing guidance".[51] We are recommending a similar element to the LPIU. The Medicines and Healthcare Regulatory Agency assesses safety and effectiveness of drugs and medical devices.

50. Cardiff University, "UPSI Secures Grant to Advance Policing Research," accessed October 6, 2015, www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/upsi-secures-grant-to-advance-policing-research-27773.

51. National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, "Citizens Council" (NICE), accessed October 6, 2015, www.nice.org.uk/get-involved/citizens-council.

NHS England itself recommends systemic forms and structures that can meet a range of local needs. The London Policing Impact Unit would seek to embody all of the principles: efficiency, efficacy, operational approaches, systemic reforms. It would be the leading voice, albeit working in close partnership, for policing excellence in London.

Design principle two: impactful collaboration

"Police have been too willing to accept ownership of problems that actually require partners."[52]

"The police do not have sole responsibility for preventing and reducing crime and anti-social behaviour; statutory bodies and non-statutory bodies (such as community and voluntary sector organisations and charities) have important parts to play. To be effective, the police need to work with these other bodies to prevent crime and anti-social behavior and reduce the likelihood of offenders re-offending."[53]

In our view this understates the scale of the challenge. The police, statutory and non-statutory bodies need to work towards common goals acting as individual players within a coordinated and common system. The public should be allies and participants in this mission rather than simply the recipients or beneficiaries of the service or system.

There is much that is informal in the sets of relationships that police have across London's landscape. The question is whether more formality in many of those relationships can contribute to a safer city. Some evidence from elsewhere suggests that it could. We have seen the case of Rotterdam that has pursued collective multi-agency goals with some success. We give an example below from Memphis that has similarly formalised collective working through a collective impact approach.

There is a significant risk that many of these collaborative ways of working will consume time and energy and, therefore, undermine trust and, consequently, impact. Where there is not a willingness to work in new genuinely collaborative ways then there is little point consuming organisational time and energy for all partners involved. In a tight funding environment across public services, there can also be willingness but little ability to follow-through. This will be a barrier. However, an openness to explore more formal ways of collaborative working can increase the impact of any investment that agencies spend on keeping people and the community safe. Therefore, Met senior leadership should focus on encouraging openness, supporting patience through a transition period in which the returns on investment of police time may not be clear.

Below we explain collective impact before exploring the specific relationships that can be leveraged further between the Met and others.

Met senior leadership should focus on encouraging openness, supporting patience through a transition period in which the returns on investment of police time may not be clear

52. Professor George Kelling, quoted in Greenhaulgh and Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service." p. 33.

53. HMIC, "State of Policing: Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014." p. 37.

Collective impact

> "The police have a lead role, but also rely on other agencies; the trend to cost-sharing will be a major trend in future years."[54]
> **Greenhalgh and Gibbs**

In 2011, John Kania and Mark Kramer, explained a technique of collaborative working termed collective impact that had been trialled in a number of US cities. Collective impact is an approach with five key features as opposed to a blueprint. Collective impact can operate at a neighbourhood, borough or city-wide level depending on the nature of the initiative's goal. The five key elements of this approach are as follows:[55]

1. **A common agenda.** This is a shared analysis of the problem between agencies and a joint approach to confronting it underpinned by agreed actions. It goes beyond partnership in this regard which can focus on exchange of information rather than common action.

2. **Shared measurement systems.** This is why the data collection and sharing outlined in the previous section is so important.

3. **Mutually reinforcing activities.** It is important that each partner plays to their strengths. For example, community groups could be best placed to engage people in the initiative, the police may have an understanding of the nature of the challenge and can lend the initiative authority, and a voluntary group may be placed to support hard to reach people or those with complex needs. A housing association may understand the nature of the specific problems that its tenants are facing and be in a position to engage with them with appropriate authority and sensitivity. A local authority may have access to wider intelligence about a particular problem and have the means to provide the right support at critical moments or understand the wider impacts of the issue.

4. **Continuous communication**. A collective impact initiative requires a sense of mutual learning and open exchange. As Kania and Kramer put it: "Developing trust among nonprofits, corporations, and government agencies is a monumental challenge. Participants need several years of regular meetings to build up enough experience with each other to recognise and appreciate the common motivation behind their different efforts."

5. **A backbone organisation.** This is an essential element of the infrastructure of support for successful collective impact initiatives. There needs to be a degree of formality and permanence if the initiative is not to flounder and this requires some (but not a huge amount) of dedicated staff support. This is where the co-funding that Greenhalgh and Gibbs have suggested might come into useful effect.

54. Greenhalgh and Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service." p. 46.

55. John Kania and Mark Kramer, "Collective Impact," *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Winter 2011 (2011): 36–41.

One large-scale collective impact example with significant relevance for London is the Memphis based initiative, Operation Community Safety.[56] The initiative was established as part of a wider regeneration plan, Memphis Fast Forward. It was established by the Shelby County Mayor, the Memphis Mayor, the Shelby County District Attorney General and the United States Attorney. This demonstrates that it had strong political backing from multiple agencies and it also had private sector backing. Memphis has out-performed US and state averages on reductions of property crime (but, it should be noted, still faces challenges of violent crime which has fallen less rapidly, albeit showing a significant reduction of 22.8 percent between 2006 and 2011).[57]

Operation Community Safety is constructed around 26 collective initiatives. One strategy, for example, aims to reduce violence in the home. This focuses on strengthening laws against repeat offenders, expanding legal, housing and counselling support to repeat victims, and increasing awareness of child abuse and neglect. Named partners range from the District Attorney General, local family safety centres, the police, the Memphis Area Women's Council, a range of advocacy and support groups, and medical services.

Other areas of structured involvement include: reduction of gang and drug crime; reducing blight, problem properties and crime in apartment complexes; reducing repeat offending; and reducing youth violence. All the strategies rest on the expansion of data driven policing which is seen as a key component of the areas in which there was success in the first five years of operation. And a partnership has been formed with the University of Memphis Center for Community Criminology and Research (C3R) to "obtain crime trend analysis, research, federal grant writing and management to support its crime-reduction initiative."

London has a much larger population and a greater number of day and short-stay commuters/visitors than Memphis and there are many more actors in the community safety field. However, there will be areas of London where initiatives can be developed along collective impact lines, perhaps on a borough or group of boroughs basis. London-wide initiatives could be formed around reducing the cost of emergency services to the tax payer through common procurement, co-location, and joint-technology investment. The Met and its partners should establish where there might be the opportunity to forge formal collaborative arrangements around specific, measurable initiatives. Capturing the learning from a number of pilots, even at an early stage, with the support of one or a number of academic partners could then be used to spread the approach elsewhere. This would all be supported by the London Policing Impact Unit recommended in the previous section.

56. Operation: Safe Community, "Memphis Shelby Crime Commission Overview," accessed October 6, 2015, http://operationsafecommunity.org/overview.

57. W Richard Janikowski, "Operation: Safe Community Report Summary – Crime Rate Trend Comparison of Memphis and Selected Peer Cities 2006–2013," 2013.

> **Key proposal**
>
> Establish a range of collective impact initiatives:
>
> - The Met and MOPAC should assess where there is scope for a range of collective impact initiatives based on the willingness of other agencies and London's communities to be involved with this new approach. A series of mapping exercises would highlight fragmented structures which inhibit efficient coordination; and enable identification of gaps in provision as well as overlapping responsibilities. (Our proposals for health and public health, below, include this mapping).
> - A series of guidelines could be established, perhaps with outside partners, for example, from the academic community, for application in the individual initiatives.
> - Early stage learning from a number of pilots should be captured and applied. For example, building on the work done with Standing Together Against Domestic Violence, further borough based collective impact initiatives could be established.
> - The evaluation of collective impact initiatives could, in time, be undertaken by the London Policing Impact Unit proposed above.
> - Co-commissioning options should be explored for 'backbone organisations', ie permanent support staff, to support collective impact working groups focusing on discrete issues.
> - Some of these initiatives, for example on mental health or combating gang-related crime, might involve a much greater degree of co-location with other services such as the NHS or local authority services (eg Youth Offending Teams or Drugs and Alcohol Action Teams).
> - A London-wide initiative could involve a feasibility study into co-location of emergency services with shared service arrangements to properly capture efficiencies. This should be complete by 2020.
>
> **Partners: Depending on the specific initiative, it would involve a broad range of partners in the public, voluntary, commercial sectors as well as community groups and representatives**

Collaboration with local authorities

"The willing is there but the reality is that we run the community safety partnership and the police come along but don't drive it or feed into the agenda."

"They introduced an impact zone. It worked okay, but we weren't informed and we could have helped them in the process and made it much better. We could have foreseen some of the problems and coordinated it with some of our resources. It's an example of great operational ability but limited strategic capability."

"The Met should be honest about what impact the resource reductions, whatever they are, will have, so that it sets the context for the difficult decisions that will then need to be made."

"The narrative has been about local policing… but the reality has been centralisation of resources and the re-badging of staff as being neighbourhood policing resources that are in reality not deployed on neighbourhood policing."

"It is perhaps understandable that the Met has to reconfigure resources and is not able to dedicate staff to neighbourhood policing in the way that it had in the past but it is disingenuous to present changes as if they are an improvement to neighbourhood presence and engagement."

"Our local police's commitment to safeguarding, the Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub, integrated offender management and the youth offending team means that we have joint working and information sharing approaches that are making a real difference. But as important as these approaches are, the Met should not forget the importance of continuing a visible police presence – this will always be a critical part of what the public see as a preventative approach to policing."

Local authority consultees – various

The work on Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs, offender management and youth offending teams continually has been cited as evidence of strong collective working

There is little doubt that there is some excellent partnership work currently undertaken between the Metropolitan Police and its local authority partners. The work on Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs, offender management and youth offending teams continually has been cited as evidence of strong collective working. However, as the above quotes show there is also some significant concern about:

- The commitment of the Met in some places to engage fully with local bodies.
- The degree of transparency about the resources that the Met devotes to some areas.
- The way in which the Met consults about new initiatives or changes to its policing approach – often too late in the day.
- The degree of communication between Met local, specialist units, and local authorities.
- And, of course, visibility of policing presence.

A key aspect of the evidence provided to us by local authorities is that they are not unrealistic about the resource constraints that police are under and will be increasingly under. Local authorities themselves have been through enormous changes and severe cuts. Their concern is more that changes are done in a consultative way, with options appraised and complete transparency about how resources were deployed and with what impact. For example, resource deployment might need to recognise the fact that London is a city that changes shape population-wise throughout the day.

Boroughs want to have a clear borough-based local policing leader, ie the borough Commander, and some stability in terms of local personnel. But other than that they know that rationalisation will take place and resources have to be flexibly deployed. They hanker for an 'honest, grown-up conversation'.

Many cases of good collaborative working were presented and have been identified previously. For example, the Safer Sutton Partnership Service (SSPS) has had some success. SSPS is a joint police/council service comprising:

- Police Safer Neighbourhood Teams (18 ward-based teams x 6 officers)
- Drugs and Alcohol Action team
- Council Community Safety staff (domestic violence, ASB etc)
- Crime Prevention Design Advisors
- Safer Parks Teams
- Emergency Planning
- Management of the public CCTV system
- Media and communications unit
- Safer Schools
- Volunteers
- Volunteer Cadet Corps
- Mental Health Liaison
- Management Information Unit

These services are all brought together under a single line manager, directly accountable to the Council Chief Executive and the Borough Commander and are responsible for all of the longer term community safety problem solving and building community confidence in Sutton.

SSPS was established in 2004 with the direct involvement of Lord Tope (as the then Metropolitan Police Authority Link Member and local Lead Councillor for Community Safety) and Sir (now Lord) John Stevens as Metropolitan Police Commissioner. It bears a striking resemblance in form and structure to the Memphis initiative outlined above.

SSPS manages multi-agency liaison and problem solving and acts as the main interface between Safer Sutton Partnership Board (the statutory Community Safety Partnership and Drug and Alcohol Action Team body) and participant agencies. Key to its work are the joint problem solving structures and processes through which public priorities are addressed.

Working closely with academia on practical application of research, intelligence (through Neighbourhood Security Interviews work with Professor Martin Innes of Cardiff University) is used as a key neighbourhood level driver for needs analysis and priority setting.

The lead local authority, Sutton, identified the following benefits from the approach:

- Greater public accountability for services
- Demonstrable financial efficiencies
- Holistic budget management of diverse funding streams
- Evidenced improvements in effectiveness
- Cohesive policy setting
- Direct lines of management accountability
- Enhanced community confidence
- Greater sense of shared ownership for community safety issues.

From 2004–05 to 2010–11 fear of crime fell across all major crime types, fear of anti-social behaviour fell by 40 percent, there was a 27 percent reduction in violence against the person, 67 percent reduction in criminal damage, 70 percent reduction in theft of motor vehicles and £750,000 of cashable efficiencies from 2006–07 to 2013–14.

Co-funding of services forms a key component of the initiative. The council disbanded its own Parks Police and commissioned two Safer Parks teams from the Met. It also commissioned the Met to monitor the council CCTV system. This is embedded in the local Police Control Room allowing a fast time response, without need for intermediary. The system offers on average 50 evidential enquiries per month and was instrumental in the apprehension within minutes of the 'Halloween hat' murderers as well as Sutton's acclaimed response to the public disorder during August 2011.

Elsewhere, similar co-funding has occurred. For example, Hackney borough council has invested significantly in an Integrated Gangs Unit to pool resources with the Met and other partners.[58] There are many other examples of collaborative working. So the goal with respect to local authorities is to ensure that the best becomes the norm wherever possible. The proposals below are designed to achieve that.

Proposal
Any sensitive resource redeployment that may impact efficacy should only be undertaken following consultations to fully identify risks, identify alternatives, and explore collaborative opportunities.

Collaboration with the NHS
Again the the plea from consultees here was for greater consistency of approach across London. A lack of consistency in responding to domestic abuse in London was pointed out by a voluntary sector consultee. It was matched with a call for a better partnership between the Met, local authorities and the NHS to ensure greater consistency of frontline responses and follow-up (eg through engaging with the voluntary sector). The NHS and the police have access to information that could precipitate early intervention.

There is some concern about the touchpoints between the NHS and the police with some worries expressed about the lack of a clear protocol for ensuring that GPs and health service administrators have a defined contact within the NHS. This was articulated as follows:

> "It would be enormously helpful to have a liaison officer for London to assist with criminal investigations and the wide range of other reasons for interaction with the Met."
> **NHS consultee**

There is a sense that the informal links with the police at a local level (eg with GPs) has frayed. For example, we heard a case of a GP who had a patient whose family had gone to Syria and feared their involvement with ISIS or similar. However, the GP didn't want to call 101 as they felt they

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58. Greenhalgh and Gibbs, "The Police Mission in the Twenty-First Century: Rebalancing the Role of the First Public Service."

may lose control of the process – an informal conversation with a known specialist or local trusted officer could have dispensed the appropriate advice. The NHS itself has gone through significant change and, indeed, fragmentation over recent years. So there is a sense here of two services changing simultaneously and gaps emerging. There were examples of specialist resources in the police, for example with regards to health in criminal justice settings, being redeployed without consultation with the key NHS representative involved.

Mental health is a particularly acute area; 18 percent of people in the capital are living with a mental health problem; 25 percent of people taken into custody have a pre-diagnosed mental health problem or present with suicidal or self-harming behaviour. A significant minority of Met officers have daily encounters with victims, witnesses and suspects who have mental health concerns; 15–20 percent of incidents are linked to mental health and mental health issues account for 20 percent of police time.[59]

Police are often the public service with the exposure to early-warning signals for a mental health issue and so a key agency in early intervention

Lord Adebowale identified twelve concerns on mental health and policing in London ranging from failures of central comms command to problems of inter-agency learning and failures in operational learning.[60] Police are often the public service with the exposure to early-warning signals for a mental health issue and so a key agency in early intervention. There are a number of initiatives underway, not least the East London mental health triage pilot. The Adebowale report identified the need for:

"More joint training; better relationships on the ground [between approved mental health professionals] and the police; better information sharing and communication… the need for strategic as well as operational expertise on the ground; greater involvement of safer neighbourhood teams; and the need for better awareness of mental health issues."

The challenges for the NHS itself are just as significant. The East London NHS Foundation Trust has established a 15 bed triage facility at Newham University Hospital that assesses the needs of those admitted with mental health concerns quickly with rapid attendance by mental health professionals to assist the police, victims and detainees was noted in the Adebowale report. Therefore, when the system pulls together as it has in East London, the patient's needs are better met and service resources are deployed efficiently and effectively.

Proposal

The Metropolitan Police, NHS trusts, NHS England, the Office of London Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs) should consider formulating a comprehensive plan for how the police and the NHS can work effectively together in London. All NHS Trusts (including Mental Health Trusts), NHS England and the Office of London CCGs could sign up to the London community safety index recommended earlier in this report. However, before that an analysis of the touchpoints, inefficiencies, and gaps in provision should be undertaken to ensure that the police and the NHS locally and beyond are working more closely together.

59. Adebowale, "The Independent Commission on Mental Health and Policing Report." p. 11.
60. Ibid. p. 16.

Out of this analysis, a London wide multi-agency compact between health and police services from early intervention to emergency treatment is needed involving pooling of expertise, systems, funding and knowledge.

Collaboration with the criminal justice system

The average offence to completion time in London is 167 days which is 13 days more than the national average.[61] Not only this, but inordinate amounts of time and cost are created by a lack of a streamlined approach in terms of sharing evidence, ensuring the absence of last minute delays and creating a clear and reassuring process for victims and witnesses.

This is not simply about efficiency, it is about ensuring that victims are supported in a stressful situation. It is particularly an issue with vulnerable victims and witnesses. Support for victims and witnesses will be covered in the section on trust and engagement later in this report, but the way in which the police, prosecution service and courts operate together (whilst safeguarding critical lines of independence) to help victims, witnesses and, indeed, suspects is important. Support from voluntary sector support groups and referral to them is crucial.

As Baroness Newlove's report pointed out:

"Cases were cited where rape victims, having waited six months to go to court and who have been supported in preparing for their court visit, are then told at the last minute that the case had been adjourned whilst the defence gather more information or issues with incomplete case files are resolved. The same is also said of the general level of information and updates given by court services on the progress and delays in courts."

"*No prior contact from anybody before the court date. I had to call the police and court myself for an update and to find out what was going on.*"
Victim[62]

Criminal justice as an end-to-end multi-agency process needs a reappraisal. This is a responsibility for the Ministry of Justice, the Crown Prosecution Service, the courts, voluntary groups and the police. The Newlove report lays down a formidable set of challenges that require a collective response.

In addition the policing budget, the current Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime has called for the devolution of the £700m criminal justice budget (covering courts, CPS, probation and prisons) so the London's Mayor has oversight and commissioning responsibility for end-to-end criminal justice:

"With budgetary control and oversight of the whole system, London could ensure all services collaborate and integrate at a local level, investing in joint IT platforms and shared premises to yield major back office savings and lower estate costs. Such a system works in New York and it

61. MOPAC, "Annual Report 2013/2014" (London, 2014), www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/MOPAC Annual Report 2013_14.pdf.

62. Helen Newlove, "Review of Victim Services in London," accessed September 30, 2015, www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Review of victim services in London.pdf.

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would improve scrutiny, allow for more co-commissioning and the joint investment needed to speed up the system and grip prolific offenders. The alternative is to continue with business as usual, at huge cost to taxpayers, not to mention victims."[63]

Devolution of the criminal justice budget to London would give the GLA the autonomy to allocate criminal justice resources through a network of partners and service providers including local authorities, voluntary sector partnerships, and neighbourhood police themselves. This will accelerate the ability to provide an effective programme of interventions including restorative justice approaches and rehabilitation initiatives. This opens the possibility of attracting new sources of investment and developing neighbourhood-based community justice through centres such as those demonstrated in Red Hook in New York.

Proposal
Work with other funders [and partners eg Victim Support, Rape Crisis] to develop a robust and consistent outcomes framework which measures and monitors how victims are coping and recovering in London (as per Newlove[64]). This should form one component of the Community Safety Index proposed above.

Proposal
Improve the way that victim data is recorded and shared across the criminal justice system including with victims (as per Newlove recommendation 10).

Proposal
The end-to-end oversight and commissioning of criminal justice in London should be devolved to London's Mayor as has been suggested by the Mayor and Deputy Mayor. The Mayor will endeavor to devolve resources to borough and neighbourhood levels wherever possible and appropriate.

Collaboration with business small and large
In the course of our consultation we heard from a variety of businesses and community groups who saw the possibility for an enhanced set of relationships between the police and business. Based on these observations and other considerations we propose a series of mutually beneficial relationships between the police and an array of businesses:

- Business Crime Reduction Partnerships (such as Safer WestEnd) where the Met and groups of businesses work together to reduce crime in a given area should be expanded in scope and number. Where a robust plan and support is in place, there may be the possibility of greater co-funding of partnerships assuming they have been shown to be effective. Insurance companies and local authorities as well as businesses may be able to provide some support in this regard.

63. Reform, "New Frontiers of Criminal Justice Reform," no. March (2015), www.reform.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/New-Frontiers-of-criminal-justice-reform_6.pdf.
64. Newlove, "Review of Victim Services in London."

- Further investment can be made in developing the skills and information flows between the police and private security attached to businesses and licensed premises setting. The Met Police have already started to share intelligence with security managers and door staff to help identify and manage repeat offenders. Again, this could be something, if the training and response was of high value, that could be co-funded. Open engagement with the police should always be a key consideration when it comes to the licensing of premises.

- In the field of financial services, much activity is undertaken by financial institutions themselves to protect their customers from theft and fraud. This is to be welcomed. Where there are new techniques of fraud, it is important that the police inform the public about how they can be protected. The police and financial services should continue to cooperate to ensure the public has the right protection and the right information.

- There are issues with how the Met procures and applies products and services from the commercial sector. We heard examples of successful pilots, especially of technology, where organisational priorities shifted and so there was no follow through. Often bespoke products and services are ordered when there are better value off-the-shelf solutions. Contracts need to have greater flexibility to adapt to rapidly changing technology (for example, the iPhone has only been with us for eight years).

- The balance of risk and responsibility between technology platforms, their users and the police is in flux. There is the need for much greater clarity about who is responsible for what (for example, when does online behaviour on social media platforms move into the criminal sphere?). The providers of major social platforms benefit from good online behaviour as do the police and the users of the services. The police have an enforcement and education role and so do the platforms themselves. Users have personal responsibility and can help point to poor behaviour in others. A better public mapping and clarification of all these responsibilities would help the public better navigate this relatively new domain.

The relationship between the police and the commercial sector is critical in keeping London safe

The broader point here is that the relationship between the police and the commercial sector is critical in keeping London safe. The best outcomes arise from active engagement between the police and the services we use whether those services are recreational, technological or financial services. Where products are not properly adapted to prevent crime there is a direct need for engagement. Indeed, on products such as smartphones this type of engagement takes place. There will be occasions when companies act lethargically or ignore police advice. In those circumstances, it is right that the police raise their concerns clearly in public. However, it is better for the police, companies and the public if issues are resolved before they reach this point.

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Design principle three: enhancing trust and legitimacy

MOPAC see four key drivers of confidence in policing: public engagement, public perception of whether the police treat people fairly, public perception of effective policing and the public perception of their concern about anti-social behaviour. MOPAC states: "Providing a visible policing presence is a component of the 'effectiveness driver', but not its sole measure of effectiveness".[65] The MOPAC public attitudes survey shows that it is *what* police do and *how* they do it that is more important than seeing officers on the street. Community engagement and problem solving are significant to public confidence, especially for local residents.

There is a tension between visibility and effectiveness. Resources could be deployed extensively on visibility but in times of acute scarcity this diverts resources away from where they could be more effectively deployed to deal with and prevent crime and address public safety concerns. This tension should be acknowledged in public debate about policing London. Efficient models of police deployment should not disengage from a series of targeted, proactive, strategic and operational engagements with Londoners.

At the strategic level, the community liaison mechanisms under the Safer Neighbourhoods Board process established through MOPAC should be fully supported by the Met. Community representatives should be properly empowered through their relationships with the police as has been pioneered in Haringey following the 2011 riots. Moreover, capacity should be further developed by the police within various community organisations to help leverage impact on reducing crime and risk of harm. Voluntary groups, especially those engaged in supporting victims and witnesses, also need to be supported in developing their capacity.

This is not an alternative to the police handling the relationship with victims and witnesses with compassion, empathy, and responsiveness, but it is a vital supplement to police direct engagement. This is the operational challenge. The process of policing, its effectiveness, perceived fairness, and respectfulness is a vital component of legitimacy. With legitimacy comes more effective policing: citizens are more respectful of law enforcement, they are more cooperative (and this matters when it comes to countering severe threats such as terrorism and investigating almost all criminal activity), and they are more engaged in helping the collective work of community safety. It takes a great deal for trust and legitimacy to be continually replenished. Just a few bad examples can tarnish the legitimacy of police, especially with regards to particular communities or particularly vulnerable people who are at the harsh end of perceived and real injustice or insensitivity.

A police service that, with the support of others, works relentlessly to replenish trust and legitimacy aims to meet targeted and personalised needs. Trust and legitimacy in this model, the traditional British Model of Policing, are not something seen as an onerous additional responsibility. They empower the police as well as the public. Our consultation shows significant endeavour and some degree of success in this regard but some considerable distance to travel also.

65. MOPAC, "Annual Report 2013/2014"; MOPAC, "Review of the Transition to the Local Policing Model" (London, 2015). p. 6.

Past surveys have revealed that satisfaction levels with the police tend to decline after victims and witnesses come into contact with the service. The Met should strive to measure success through improving satisfaction levels once contact is made. For example, they could implement a similar strategy to the NHS with their Making Every Contact Count campaign. This campaign encourages all NHS staff who come into contact with members of the public to have a productive conversation about health. The Metropolitan Police could use professional development of staff to ensure their interactions go beyond improved safety for victims, to share their wealth of knowledge on preventative practices. This could include sign-posting members of the public to partner agencies, and raising awareness among those they come into contact with – beyond the individuals who are formally involved with the police as victims, witnesses or suspects. In turn this could support outcomes and satisfaction. The Met should consider regular polling which includes qualitative measures which underpin satisfaction.

Below we suggest how trust and legitimacy can be strengthened.

Community involvement in London's safety
The importance of the Safer Neighbourhoods Boards (SNB) process, in which MOPAC invests £1m a year, has already been noted. Much more can be done at a borough level to highlight the work of these critical bodies and to ensure that there is proper and representative public engagement beyond a group of active members and community representatives. Some concern was expressed to us that, in some areas, the Met has withdrawn slightly from the process of engagement with community governance since the establishment of SNBs.

There is also a need for an active layer of engagement that is necessary. Some of this is supported by the work of Neighbourhood Watch schemes. We have articulated a need to go even further in some circumstances. The Community Safety Accreditation Scheme (CSAS) is a platform whereby 'local authorities, housing associations, local voluntary sector organisations, licensed private security firms, NHS trusts, charitable organisations and some companies in the leisure industry (such as those who act as stewards in sports stadia)' are accredited to help police in its work, including with some enforcement powers. If policing and community safety is to become a more shared, collective endeavour then this is precisely the approach that the police will need to adopt.

This could include community groups (who could be incorporated as a legal organisation for the purposes of the scheme). These groups would need to be stringently vetted. There is always a vigilantism risk but by extending this scheme, the risk could actually be reduced by careful expansion of CSAS. This was suggested to us with regards to particular communities, eg the Orthodox Jewish community, albeit with safeguards. Policing through this sort of partnership could help open channels of communication and develop trust. As one community consultee said:

> "Small amounts of engagement can save a lot of time in the future. Most of the crimes solved have been with the support of the community."
> **Community consultee**

London is not a static city so engaging on the basis of place is not always the most effective approach

Of course, London is not a static city so engaging on the basis of place is not always the most effective approach. Innovations such as the Neighbourhood Link scheme which provides text and email updates will need to be expanded considerably. If the police are to deploy their resources in a targeted fashion, constant communication by other means is critical. This is where the power of social media is so important.

However, these forms of communication cannot simply be 'broadcast'. There must be a two-way element to them albeit with acknowledged constraints of time and resource. Increasingly, police in London are showing 'personality' through engagement on social media and it is becoming an important means of ensuring the right messages are communicated as well as enlisting the power of the crowd, for example in searching for missing people. Targeted communications, including with vulnerable or at risk communities, can enhance understanding of both the police and citizen and ensure a greater openness to the dialogue. Social media used wisely enables the police to extend its reach and relationship building as long as it is seen as genuine engagement.

Of course, the issues that lie at the heart of tensions between the Met and London's citizens cannot be ignored. Deaths in custody (hence the importance of independent custody visitors), stop and search, engagement with communities following controversial incidents, the treatment of some victims by the Met, the relationship with protest organisers amongst many other things have all rightly drawn attention. Tensions undermine trust and legitimacy. For example, stop and search is still an enormous driver of tension despite its more limited application. The Met's StopIT campaign has reduced stop and search by half and doubled the arrest rate from stop and search.[66] As Miller et al have concluded: "Searches reduce the number of 'disruptable' crimes by just 0.2 percent".[67] The burden on community relations and legitimacy is intense. As MOPAC note:

> "The use of stop and search tactics continue to cause concern against some groups, and can be particularly damaging to communities' confidence in the police when they are conducted without due respect and civility."
> **MOPAC 2014**

A recent reflection on developments in policing in the US, in particular relationship to race, advocated police adopting a simultaneous strategy of 'strategic voice' and 'tactical agency'.[68] 'Strategic voice one' requires that police articulate their perspective on wider societal factors that are driving crime and risk of harm from truancy to lack of civic amenities. Community engagement in this sense becomes participation in public discussion. The authors note that 'strategic voice one' involves articulating that:

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66. MOPAC, "Annual Report 2013/2014."
67. The Police Foundation, "Policing and Crime Reduction: The Evidence and Its Implications for Practice." p. 12.
68. David H. Bayley, Michael Davis, and Ronald Davis, "Race and Policing: An Agenda for Action," *New Perspectives in Policing* June, no. 2015 (2015): 1–20.

"Effective crime prevention requires that all the resources of government
— welfare, education, health, sanitation, recreation, public transport
— be focused where criminality is concentrated. It requires whole-of-
government planning and implementation."

The community dialogue advocated in this section is not one-way.
'Strategic voice two' involves the police leaders explaining 'publicly and
repeatedly', what is involved in combining effective law enforcement with
liberty. This process of articulating the police voice as a means of generat-
ing a greater sense of procedural justice is as crucial as the police being
open to a sense of justice within London's communities. It is intrinsic to
policing by consent. 'Tactical agency' governs police behaviours as crucial
in generating a sense of legitimacy of procedural fairness.[69] It ranges
from explaining why particular actions are taken at any given time to
assessing how those who come into contact with the police feel they have
been treated. The key proposal we make here incorporates both 'strategic
voice' and the behaviours that contribute to constructive 'tactical agency'
in the range of police actions.

Key proposal

The Met should revisit its community engagement strategy as a critical
component of trust and legitimacy. Good community engagement increases
levels of trust over time (measured through surveys), empowers and involves
communities in their neighbourhood safety, and ensures a two way flow of
relevant information. This refreshed strategy would include:

- Clear guidance on a select range of community engagement techniques
  based on the best available evidence of 'what works' from within the Met.
  This would of course be supported by evidence of workable models from the
  London Policing Impact Unit once that is established.
- Further development of community groups through the Community Safety
  Accreditation Scheme.
- A deeper engagement with Safer Neighbourhoods Boards. The Met
  should work closely with MOPAC to explore how these can be widened
  and provided with even more targeted and relevant information. It might
  well be necessary to provide means for greater online engagement where
  necessary to supplement the good use of social media in many boroughs
  (eg the @MPSHackney Twitter account).

Supporting victims and witnesses

The 2014 Newlove report commissioned by MOPAC reviewed victim
services in London. It pointed out improvements in care for victims since
the launch of the Total Victim Care initiative in 2012. With regards to sup-
port from the Metropolitan Police, victim satisfaction has risen to above
70 percent in all London boroughs, and the gap in satisfaction between

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69. Anthony Bottoms and Justice Tankebe, "Criminology: Beyond Procedural Justice:
A Dialogic Approach To Legitimacy in Criminal Justice," *Journal of Criminal Law &
Criminology* 102, no. 1 (2012): 119–70, http://www.academia.edu/3033140/CRIMINOLOGY_
BEYOND_PROCEDURAL_JUSTICE_A_DIALOGIC_APPROACH_TO_LEGITIMACY_IN_
CRIMINAL_JUSTICE.

white and black and minority ethnic (BME) victims has narrowed to 5 percentage points.

In line with the information approach advocated in this report, it is important that recording of victim and witness characteristics is undertaken so that the support, especially that which vulnerable groups receive, can be understood, tracked and responded to. This is a key recommendation of the Newlove report. Current monitoring regimes do not routinely record additional key characteristics of the victim (eg disability, sexuality, and historical victimisation).

Moreover, the majority of victims do not routinely report crime as revealed by the Crime Survey for England and Wales.[70] Half of victims rate quality of support within the criminal justice system as 'average' despite very good work in many cases. As Newlove concludes:

> "The existence of good working relationships between services and the positive experiences of many victims of being supported through their journey of recovery should not be overlooked. However, the effectiveness and consistency of services varies across the capital."[71]

This underlines the point made in the previous section about support across the criminal justice system. Newlove was also concerned that changes in the profile of victims is not being matched by the provision of additional support.[72]

As one of our consultees pointed out:

> "There has been a shift in customer services in recent years away from a one-size-fits all model to an individual, tailored, customer centric approach. Some individuals require or desire different levels of support, recognising and supplying this will increase both satisfaction and efficiency."
> **Business consultee**

Targeted support can also improve individual wellbeing and safety

A greater degree of self-reporting is necessary, it was suggested during our stakeholder consultation. Sometimes a situation simply requires a crime to be recorded and a crime number to be issued. If a victim required a visit or follow-up, that could be requested. Equally, if a police officer on issuing a crime number felt a follow-up was necessary that could then be initiated. The traditional phone service would, of course, be available to those who did not feel comfortable with this process. Once a case is under investigation, a victim (and potentially witness) should be able to monitor its progress – a process that could be made easier with devolution of criminal justice institutions.

Targeted support can also improve individual wellbeing and safety. The London borough of Havering identifies the needs of its citizens based on the active engagement of high-need groups such as the vulnerable elderly. It is a good example of what is possible. The borough needed to save as much as £40m by 2014. The challenge of making significant budget savings was further complicated by the fact that council tax was already

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70. Newlove, "Review of Victim Services in London." p. 5.
71. Ibid. p. 49.
72. Ibid. p. i–iii.

relatively high compared with other boroughs and yet there were already low unit costs to run services. The council thus became concerned with the question of how to deliver services more efficiently while protecting those that really mattered to local people. It was decided that the council would move away from universal, prescribed services towards personalised services targeted at people who really need them, meaning that they would meet needs better *and* make the requisite savings. However, in order to fulfil this ambition there was a need for greater insight to enable the council to target its users more effectively.

Havering Council began developing a tool to target residents based on their characteristics and preferences. In 2011, the council built a bespoke segmentation using their own customer data sets and from the Primary Care Trust (the predecessor body to Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs)), as well as new data from Mosaic (a customer profiling tool designed by Experian). The council created 12 different segments, specific to the population of Havering, which allowed them to pinpoint at a household level the communication preferences of residents and which services they used and didn't use. This segmentation tool enables the council to "target the right services at the right people in the right way."

The tool was successfully put into practice through the council's consultation project, which was designed to ascertain the needs of residents aged over 65, and increase this group's awareness of services available to them. A key element of this approach was the use of volunteers to meet with high-needs residents face-to-face to ascertain how they could make better use of council services, the NHS and the benefits system. This was focused impact in action. The benefits to the police and others arising from early intervention (eg by installing the right assistive adaptations in a house to prevent a serious fall with the distress and costs associated with that) have not been calculated but they are likely to be significant.

Emerging HMIC guidance reinforces this approach:

> "Leaders within the police are working to shift the focus of officers and staff to what is causing most harm in communities. This means officers are being asked not just to look at offences presented to them, but also to respond to the impact on the individual needs of the victim, particularly when they are vulnerable."[73]

The work of improving support for victims and witnesses cannot be shouldered by the Met and MOPAC alone. In fact, there are many organisations that are much better placed to support both victims and witnesses, for example, Victim Support, Women's Aid, Age UK, or Rape Crisis. However, there is a need to support the capacity of a range of partners so that they can help the police in their efforts. London's capacity to prevent crime, care for witnesses/victims, and safeguard the vulnerable depend on this.

The Met (with MOPAC and others) needs to be strategic in developing the capability of others to prevent its resources being stretched. Helping public agencies such as schools and GPs provide the best

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73. HMIC, "State of Policing: Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014." p. 46.

advice and support is part of this mission. This approach to supporting the voluntary and public sectors can be widened into other fields such as crime prevention through further support of the work of groups such as Only Connect which attempts to prevent young people from ever becoming involved with crime, meaning that people don't become victims in the first place.

All of the proposals below are based on the same approach: put the infrastructure in place, do what is necessary to meet immediate needs, and support others to deliver specialist services that require more intense resource commitment.

A good analogy is the model of palliative care provided by hospices. Hospices are usually facilities run by independent charities, but are specialised to provide more specific support (end-of-life care) than available in hospitals. Local hospices may be part-funded by CCGs, but large national charities (such as Macmillan Cancer Care) may ensure standards for staffing, and make grants for capital infrastructure and capacity-building across a network of local sites. NHS frontline medical staff provide the majority of referrals to hospice services, with hospice care also delivered within hospitals and the homes of patients.

In this model, the Met supported by MOPAC and the national administration acts as a foundation for the best victim and witness support possible.

Proposal
'Total Victim Care' could be taken even further:

- *A fully integrated and individualised support structure should be built. Notwithstanding appropriate safeguards (eg data protection), all case history should be accessible to the victim online or via the 101 phoneline and this should be available to voluntary and public bodies who support individual victims or witnesses.*
- *As every victim/witness is different, the level of support they require varies. Self-reporting/needs assessment has a role to play for some victims. Care should be taken in Metropolitan Police processes to ascertain the level of support needed prior to resources being committed. Options for support should be given at an early stage to the individual with initial advice on what is the most suitable based on an understanding of the individual's needs.*
- *Peer groups of support for victims and witnesses through the voluntary sector should be encouraged by investing in infrastructure of information and referral to link this up but leave it to the voluntary sector and community groups to operate. This could form the basis of a 'victims and witnesses' platform accessible through met.police.uk that serves to ensure that experienced people are able to help others on a peer-to-peer basis.*

Restorative justice

> "The evidence in support of restorative justice is clear-cut. An extensive body of research shows it is one of the most effective and cheapest ways of reducing reoffending and increasing victim satisfaction, yet, as Alex Murray, a Superintendent in the West Midlands police, points out, restorative justice is 'perhaps the most over-evidenced and under-practised tactic.'"[74]

> "Trying to introduce Restorative justice into the Met has been an uphill struggle. Restorative justice is now embedded in Statutory Policy so it is a requirement and yet the Met remain very closed minded about it."
> **Voluntary sector consultee**

Research demonstrates that restorative justice provides an 85 percent victim satisfaction rate and a 14 percent reduction in the frequency of reoffending

The Ministry of Justice defines restorative justice as the process that brings those harmed by crime, and those responsible for the harm, into communication, enabling everyone affected by a particular incident to play a part in repairing the harm and finding a positive way forward.[75]

Research demonstrates that restorative justice provides an 85 percent victim satisfaction rate[76] and a 14 percent reduction in the frequency of reoffending.[77] It is a potentially much more important tool in London's community safety and crime reduction arsenal. This could be an area for cooperation between the Met and those who specialise in evidential restorative justice techniques.

The Restorative Justice Council advocates:

- Restorative justice to be made available to every victim and offender in London through a multi-agency delivery partnership.
- Restorative justice to be used as the default response to low level crime and antisocial behaviour to save money and cut crime.
- Restorative practice to be used to deal with police complaints across the force, following the recent pilot of this approach.[78]
- Greater Manchester Police (GMP) has significantly increased the use of restorative justice in the last few years. GMP estimates that on average a Level 1 restorative process takes one hour, while a warning takes almost five hours and a reprimand four hours. The use of restorative justice at GMP was estimated to have saved £700,000 over a 12 month period in a 2010 evaluation.[79]

74. Jonathan Sharples, "Evidence for the Frontline: A Report for the Alliance for Useful Evidence," no. June (2013), www.alliance4usefulevidence.org/assets/EVIDENCE-FOR-THE-FRONTLINE-FINAL-5-June-2013.pdf. p. 20.

75. Ministry of Justice, "Restorative Justice Action Plan for the Criminal Justice System for the Period To March 2018," 2014, www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/375581/restorative-justice-action-plan-2014.pdf.

76. J Shapland et al., "Restorative Justice: The Views of Victims and Offenders," 2007, www.restorativejusticescotland.org.uk/Restorative-Justice.pdf.

77. J Shapland et al., "Does Restorative Justice Affect Reconviction?: The Fourth Report from the Evaluation of Three Schemes," 2008, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http:/www.justice.gov.uk/restorative-justice-report_06-08.pdf.

78. Garry Shewan, "A Business Case for Restorative Justice," 2010, www.restorativejustice.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/files/The_business_case_for_restorative_justice_and_policing.pdf.

79. Garry Coglan, "Restorative Justice and Policing Informaiton Pack," 2014, www.rjc.org.uk/sites/default/files/resources/files/Restorative justice and policing.pdf.

These recommendations should be given serious consideration as part of the Met's evidence-based approach to reducing crime and increasing community safety.

Proposal

There should be more sophisticated use of out of court disposal systems including an expansion of restorative justice in partnership with others such as Restorative Justice Council, Youth Offending Teams and the London Community Rehabilitation Company. This work should also be evaluated by the London Policing Impact Unit. Given that for every £1 spent on restorative justice, it is estimated £8 is saved for the criminal justice system this could be an opportunity for a social impact bond based on payment for success backed by the Ministry of Justice and Home Office.

6. A major organisational challenge

In the previous section of this report, we concentrated on how the Metropolitan Police can work with others to fulfil its purpose. At the core of this report is a triple challenge: for the Metropolitan Police to work differently with others, for key partners especially in the public sector to share responsibility for keeping London safe to a greater extent, and for London's public to become more active participants in London's safety. This section focuses more exclusively on the Metropolitan Police itself. Through our work engaging directly with the Met and speaking to those it works with and serves, a number of challenges have emerged. In order to become the type of organisation mapped out in earlier sections of this report these changes, many of them cultural in nature, will be needed.

This is a continuous process, not an event. As an important appendix to the independent review into Barclays' bank business practices (the Salz Review) states, absolutely correctly in our view:

> "The goal should be to change the tangible things about what the service does for customers and how people will do their work; gradually, this will change the culture. Fundamentally changing how we work (beliefs, behaviours, structures and systems) is the more challenging part and takes time."[80]

Inevitably, this raises the question of leadership. The Met is an organisation with a workforce in the region of 50,000. Leaders are distributed throughout the organisation (and not all of them will be in recognised leadership positions). The mechanisms it has recently innovated to bring its senior leaders together periodically is an essential organisational innovation. Distributing the load of organisational change is an important task. As the College of Policing noted in its recent Leadership Review:

> "Policing at its best is based on knowledge allied to professional judgement, not on hierarchy wedded to procedure and practice."[81]

80. Anthony Salz, "Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices," 2013, www.home.barclays/content/dam/barclayspublic/documents/news/875-269-salz-review-04-2013.pdf.
81. College of Policing, "Leadership Review: Interim Report" 2015, www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Development/Promotion/the-leadership-review/Documents/CoP_Leadership_Review_Interim_report.pdf p. 14.

In a more information-driven, connected organisation, knowledge and professional judgement can be more distributed unless traditional hierarchy prevents it from being so. Policing is a hierarchical structure because there are times when it has to act with very clear lines of sight and an organisational unity, for example following a major incident where members of the public are placed in severe danger or even worse. But this is not necessarily the default position or, at least, what is required at all times.

Cultural theory identifies three types of association that can both enable and constrain organisational change: hierarchy, solidarity, and individualism.[82] The RSA's chief executive, Matthew Taylor, explains this theory of change in the following fashion:

> "First, change can be pursued using hierarchical, individualistic or solidaristic means; second, often the most effective solutions find some way of combining these sources of power (if they are not combined they will often undermine good intentions); and third, that this is always difficult; such solutions are contextually contingent and 'clumsy' because the three forms of power are inherently in tension with each other (indeed their power partly derives from their critique of each other)."

According to Charles Leadbeater, the most dynamic organisations can be understood as 'creative communities with a cause'. FC Barcelona, Pixar, Pratham (the world's leading educational social enterprise), and Cambridge University's Laboratory of Molecular Biology are all disparate examples of highly innovative organisations, but all had visionary leaders in common who were able to mobilise creative communities around a sense of mission and purpose. These creative communities were able to thrive because they neatly encapsulated and combined benign individualism, hierarchy and solidarity.

The public sector in general is usually stronger on 'hierarchy' and 'solidarity' with less emphasis on 'individualism'. This may sound like a good thing. It is, however, problematic in a number of ways. Firstly, organisations that are dominated by hierarchy can become frozen by management targets, initiatives and a compliance culture. An organisation that is solidaristic excels at cooperation but this cooperation can often become closed and collusive. Finally, without a counter-balancing individualism, which means creativity and initiative rather than self-serving behaviour, an organisation struggles to adapt to new circumstances with innovative solutions. Information flows can be curtailed and individuals demotivated as they feel their voice, no matter how authoritative, is silenced. At their very worst, organisations that are dominated by hierarchy and solidarity are closed, demotivating, collusive, secretive, driven by tradition rather than innovation and open analysis, and face a constant adaptation and legitimacy deficit.

During the course of this consultation, we heard descriptions of what one consultee described as 'police culture', 'Met culture' and 'business culture'. 'Police culture' is mainly solidaristic, it is defined by a 'canteen

Cultural theory identifies three types of association that can both enable and constrain organisational change: hierarchy, solidarity, and individualism

82. The RSA, "Falling in Love with the 'c' Word," accessed October 6, 2015, www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/matthew-taylor-blog/2013/09/falling-in-love-with-the-c-word/.

culture' and is important for team building and mutual support. However, it can become 'us and them' and we have seen in some police forces how it can become driven by secrecy and protectionism. Traditional 'Met culture' was described to us as police culture writ large. It is hierarchical in structure but is, in fact, fragmented, with historical tensions creating a degree of suspicion and disunity. It means that the 'One Met' vision, so important to achieving organisational goals, doesn't quite fulfil its potential.

Finally, the 'business culture' often reflects these 'police' and 'Met' tensions. Decisions about technology and procurement can become stuck and the freedom to innovate undermined. Often decisions are taken by one leader and then completely reversed once that leader is moved elsewhere, which happens far too frequently. This harms the ability of the organisation to take long-term decisions and to build the relationships necessary to achieving the vision of policing recommended here.

The College of Policing has recommended:

"Reducing hierarchy and bureaucracy by adopting flatter structures and increasing the span of command was something frequently mentioned by external leaders."[83]

To achieve such a flattening requires leaders who are comfortable operating in such an environment. The challenge is for leaders to pursue a clear purpose to inspire an organisational transformation from closed and rigid forms of hierarchy and solidarity to an organisation where:

- Solidarity is shared outside as well as within the organisation (hence our proposals on collaborative approaches towards collective impact).
- The hierarchy is flatter and conveys a sense of collective purpose. It has clear lines of commands and sets clear standards and expectations but does not over-burden the organisation with protocols that debilitate individual initiative.
- Individual problem solving is encouraged, albeit shared with others as needed, and an internal culture of initiative is cherished, albeit within the context of an organisation that at times of public risk has to assume a clear operational protocol. It aims to give its workforce the tools and knowledge they need to be creative in resolving knotty issues with others.

Peter Senge, Hal Hamilton and John Kania see the core of leadership in a complex system as enabling others within the system to adapt. They quote Ronald Heifertz on adaptive leadership:

"As Ronald Heifetz has shown in his work on adaptive leadership, these leaders shift the conditions through which others—especially those who have a problem—can learn collectively to make progress against it."[84]

83. College of Policing, "Leadership Review: Interim Report".
84. Peter Senge, Hal Hamilton, and John Kania, "The Dawn of System Leadership," *Stanford Social Innovation Review* 13, no. 1 (2015): 26–33, http://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_dawn_of_system_leadership.

This is adaptive, systemic change (oriented around social situations) rather than technical change (oriented around 'fixing' problems with definite solutions). For this, leaders require the ability to see the whole system rather than isolated elements of it. It requires the ability to develop trust over time through deep and empathetic learning. It requires a shift from reactive problem solving to a collaboratively created different future as explored in the previous sections. Such leadership is capable of operating with the long view in mind (closing the gap between rapid technological change and slow institutional development). To become leaders of this degree of sophistication will require greater learning from other settings, including many of the partners we have mentioned throughout this report.

For developing such leaders we propose the following:

Proposal

More varied continuous professional development including placement within partner organisations – public and private – and vice versa. A leaders' exchange programme could be established linked to collaborative projects. In return, the Met should be more open to expertise and leadership from outside. Medium-term (two to five years) civilian contracts in specialist areas such as mental health, cyber-security, and business management should become far more common and, most importantly, these staff should be treated as equals within the Met organisation.

And we also propose:

Proposal

Systems leadership (ie where multiple agencies and interests share a common problem) should be recognised as a key leadership capability. A programme of development that identifies and develops those who have demonstrated a capability to operate and lead in a systems context. That programme should be provided by a top-class outside partner such as one of the many high quality business and public administration schools in and around London.

The Met currently has a programme 'Leading for London' which touches on some of these approaches. The proposal above is aimed at those who are on track to become superintendents or above. It should be an introduction to the latest thinking in public and policing reform, management and leadership and would be a post-graduate level.

Met leaders should focus on three core organisational change factors when it comes to its people:

- The importance of **greater continuity** in roles to establish longer term perspectives and relationship formation both outside the organisation and inside.
- A more **diverse organisation** (in terms of personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, disability etc *and* in terms of personal traits, knowledge and skillset). The 'Londoners first' recruitment

policy[85] is helpful in this regard and the second-language require-ment pilot is also an interesting innovation.[86]

- Increasing **unity of status and regard** within the Met: this includes between ranks, between officers and staff, and between functions (especially borough-based versus specialist units).

These factors are essential to completing the journey towards 'One Met' in our view. The importance of greater continuity was expressed by a number of local, voluntary, community and public partners throughout the consultation. It was a very strong theme.

The importance of greater diversity is clearly understood by the current leadership of the Met and, indeed, their inability to have all the necessary recruitment tools at their disposal to improve the Met's diver-sity is a frustration. The College of Policing also notes:

> "External leaders… supported the notion that multiple entry points could enhance diversity of thinking and offer benefits to a whole organisation."

And the issue came up on a number of occasions in our consultation. For example:

> "The culture and lack of diversity on some specialist teams in the Met is concerning."
> **Local authority consultee**

Privileged policing powers are necessary but they are an underpinning to modern policing rather than its totality

By reducing internal divides there can be a better unity of purpose. Many of the proposals in this report rely on specialist skills. Others require significant outside support whether it is deploying advanced analytics, putting in place the right technology platforms, or evaluating impact. The position of police constable is a privileged and important one. That is not weakened by a more open organisation; in fact, it is strengthened. Privileged policing powers are necessary but they are an un-derpinning to modern policing rather than its totality. There is no reason why a flexible, modern, outcome-driven, collaborative organisation can't exist whilst the primacy of the British model of policing is safeguarded and, indeed, enhanced in its impact.

The three factors – continuity, diversity and unity – outlined above are captured in the following proposals.

Proposal
Minimum tenure (in normal circumstances) for neighbourhood and borough officers should be introduced. The same should be considered in roles that are dependent on significant collaboration with external partners.

85. London City Hall, "Commissioner and Mayor Announce Met Police to Recruit Exclusively from London Residents," accessed October 6, 2015, www.london.gov.uk/media/mayor-press-releases/2014/07/commissioner-and-mayor-announce-met-police-to-recruit.

86. The Guardian, "Budding Police Constables Must Speak Second Language in Met Pilot Scheme," accessed October 6, 2015, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/20/police-constables-second-language-metropolitan-pilot-scheme.

Proposal

Met training and recruitment programmes should be shifted to an arms-length body potentially run by a partner such as a leading recruitment agency to reduce the chances of current cultures being reinforced. This body would be tasked with meeting the leadership, skills, diversity and cultural objectives of this report. It would manage the programme of external exchange and recruitment of officers/staff with specialist skills for shorter placements.

Proposal

The distinction between officers and staff at every level has to be broken down. This means challenging some traditional police attitudes firmly. Staff should be seen as equals at every level of the organisation and status and grades should reflect this.

Finally, there is the issue of a 'business culture' where decisions can get stuck in the process and can default to short termism. Much work is underway to make the right decisions with regards to procurement processes, technological investment and new headquarter facilities. It is important that these changes are made with the type of organisation outlined in this vision in mind.

It is also important that major investments are made with 'passive provision' for adapted future operations engineered in. Cost savings made on the capital front can be redeployed to support some of the organisational and human infrastructure recommended both in this and the previous section. As a number of consultees have remarked, there are cost savings to be made through shared services (eg back office functions) and across police forces (eg common marketing literature with tips on keeping personal property safe). It also appears very difficult to get an understanding currently of how resources are devoted to which activities against a range of outcomes within the Met. That makes resource deployment more difficult to understand, prioritise and communicate to partners.

Proposal

An all-London public multi-agency technology strategy is desperately needed. This would also explore the scope for co-location of services at London-wide level (ie with London Ambulance Service and London Fire Brigade) but also scope for local co-location. This should be led by the Mayor in partnership with the relevant bodies.

Concluding comments

Enduring since the founding principles of the Met laid down in 1829, a safe metropolis is one where the public have mutual responsibilities alongside police officers. Today, London's renaissance as a growing global metropolis depends on being safer together, developing strong and broad consensus to support the Met to become a focused impact organisation.

Taken together, our proposals seek to recognise that it is only through London – its many communities, businesses and public bodies – adopting a collaborative approach that the city will be able to secure its collective safety. Moving swiftly, and making the investment necessary

for this transition, should become a priority for all Londoners, including the next Mayor.

Safer Together is designed to provoke debate within the Met and beyond it. Our hope and expectation is that where the Met endeavours to follow the course of action outlined here others will provide it with the support and encouragement it needs. And we hope that London comes together around a new strategy to ensure and enhance community safety further. Policing is a common endeavour. We are safer together.

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Appendix

Stakeholder engagement

The following is a list of organisations that we engaged with through a process of consultation through written submissions, one-to-one interviews and/or participation in focus groups. We are deliberately choosing to identify organisations only rather than, or in addition to, individuals because we want to protect the anonymity of all those who generously contributed to our consultation as well as focus on the substance of the responses as opposed to drawing attention to particular individuals.

We thank everyone sincerely for taking the time to contribute to the consultation.

Accenture
Age UK
Barking, Havering and Redbridge Trust
British Transport Police Safer Neighbourhood Board
Camden Safer Neighbourhood Board
Canary Wharf Group
Capita
CBI
Federation of Small Businesses
G4S
Hackney Council
Havering Community Safety Partnership
Havering Safer Neighbourhood Board
Hillingdon Safer Neighbourhood Board
Lambeth Council
Lewisham Safer Neighbourhood Board
London & Partners
London Assembly Police and Crime Committee
London Borough of Sutton
London Communities Policing Partnership
London Councils
London First
London Safeguarding Children Board
London Stop and Search Community Monitoring Network
Missing People
MOPAC
NHS (Health in the Justice System – London Region)
NHS England Medical Directors for London
NHS Mental Health Network
Northgate Information Services
Only Connect
Redbridge Community Safety Department
Restorative Engagement Forum
Restorative Justice Council
Revolving Doors

SafeLives (previously CAADA)
South West London Neighbourhood Watch
Telefonica O2
The Office of London CCGs
Vodafone
Wandsworth Council
Westminster City Council
William Collis
Witness Confident
Youth Justice Board for England and Wales

Academic reference group

The following individuals accepted our invitation to review and comment on draft materials. The views expressed herein are those of the RSA, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the academic reference group.

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