

# A NEW MODE OF PROTECTION

Redesigning policing and public  
safety for the 21st century

## SUMMARY

THE  
POLICE  
FOUNDATION

The UK's policing think tank

Chaired by Sir Michael Barber,  
commissioned and conducted  
by the Police Foundation

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# A NEW MODE OF PROTECTION REDESIGNING POLICING AND PUBLIC SAFETY FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

THE FINAL REPORT OF THE  
STRATEGIC REVIEW OF POLICING  
IN ENGLAND AND WALES

SUMMARY  
MARCH 2022

## About the Strategic Review of Policing in England and Wales

Launched by the Police Foundation in September 2019, the Strategic Review of Policing in England and Wales set out to examine how crime, fear of crime and other threats to public safety are changing and assess the ability of the police to meet these challenges, as part of a wider strategic response. This far-reaching independent review, the first of its kind in many years, was chaired by Sir Michael Barber and guided by an Advisory Board of former senior police officers, politicians and leading academics. The overall aim of the Review was to set a long-term strategic vision for English and Welsh policing. This concluding report presents substantial recommendations for a modern police service capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st century.

More information about the Review can be found at:  
<https://www.policingreview.org.uk>

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**Deloitte.**



## About the Police Foundation

The Police Foundation is the only independent think tank focused exclusively on improving policing and developing knowledge and understanding of policing and crime reduction. Its mission is to generate evidence and develop ideas which deliver better policing and a safer society. It does this by producing trusted, impartial research and by working with the police and their partners to create change.

This report was written on behalf of the Strategic Review of Policing in England and Wales by Rick Muir, Andy Higgins, Ruth Halkon and Stephen Walcott with contributions from Sir Bill Jeffrey.

# SUMMARY

*“The time is come when, from the increase in its population, the enlargement of its resources, and the multiplying development of its energies, we may fairly pronounce that the country has outgrown her police institutions and that the cheapest and safest course will be found in the introduction of a new mode of protection.”*

Sir Robert Peel, 1828

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The world around policing is changing as radically as the world in which Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police in 1829. It is in that context that the Police Foundation established the Strategic Review of Policing in England and Wales, chaired by Sir Michael Barber. It is the first independent review of policing for many years and is intended to be as influential as the last Royal Commission on the Police in 1962. This final report from the Review is our attempt to describe what kind of police service we will need to address the challenges of the 21st century.

## PART I. THE CHALLENGE

### 2. PUBLIC SAFETY AND SECURITY IN THE 2020s AND 2030s

Traditional crime (all crime except fraud and cybercrime) has fallen by 75 per cent since 1995. However, these traditional forms of crime (burglary, car theft, low level assaults and so on) have been replaced by new forms of crime and harm. These have in turn been generated by three transformations.

#### The technological revolution

The technological revolution has created, via the internet, a whole new space in which crime and harm take place. This has transformed the composition of crime. For example, in the year to June 2021 53 per cent of all crime affecting people in England and Wales was just fraud and cybercrime. Despite this we have a largely analogue police service in a digital world. Just 0.6 per cent of frauds are recorded and just 0.1 per cent of frauds that take place result in a charge or summons.

#### Environmental crisis

Human activity is transforming the natural environment in a way that poses new risks to public safety. Global warming is leading to more frequent and more intense extreme weather events such as floods, droughts,

storms, heat waves and heavy rainfall. By 2050 climate change will force more than 143 million people in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America from their homes, with significant consequences for international migration. In the UK climate change is also generating an increase in political protest and the police increasingly find themselves having to manage the public order implications.

Another form of environmental change is the growing risk of global pandemics. Population growth and agricultural intensification increase the risk of viruses transferring from animals to humans. Poverty, increased population density and the ease of global travel also mean that such viruses can spread very rapidly. The experience of the coronavirus pandemic has shown how highly disruptive such events can be, with significant implications for policing and public safety.

#### Social change

We are living through a period of significant social change, characterised in part by the emergence of more complex social needs. For example, there was a 28 per cent increase in mental health related incidents between 2014 and 2018 across 26 forces. To provide another example, police devote around three million ‘investigation hours’ per year to missing persons reports, which is the equivalent of 1,562 full time police officers per year or the same number of police officers required to police the whole of North Yorkshire.

In recent years we have also seen growing demands for previously marginalised forms of violence, abuse and exploitation to be taken seriously by the criminal justice system. In particular, there has been increased reporting of male violence and sexual abuse against women and girls. For example, between 2016 and 2021 there was a 50 per cent increase in reported domestic abuse crime. Between 2013 and 2021 there was a 240 per cent increase in the numbers of rapes reported to the police.

Finally, new forms of social division and tension have emerged creating demands on those charged with keeping the peace. The number of protest events has risen steadily over the last decade, going from 83

in 2007 to 280 in 2016 and the number of protests involving confrontational tactics increased from seven in 2000 to 126 in 2019. The number of hate crimes reported to the police in England and Wales rose by 194 per cent between 2012/13 and 2018/19. Terrorism remains a serious threat and one that is made more complex by the rise of so-called 'lone actors'.

### Organised crime

Organised crime groups are profiting from each of these transformations, using more sophisticated technology to commit crimes and hide their gains, committing widespread environmental crime and exploiting vulnerable people with complex needs.

### Public security

How people experience crime and safety is important. If people feel unsafe then this is likely to have a major impact on their wellbeing. Before the pandemic there was an increase in those who thought crime was one of the biggest issues facing the country.

Fear of becoming a victim of crime is lower than it was in the past but it is not experienced equally. Those on low incomes worry significantly more about crime than those on high incomes, reflecting real differences in their likelihood of becoming a victim. 13 per cent of women have high levels of worry about violent crime, compared to just 4 per cent of men. 22 per cent of Asian people and 21 per cent of Black people report high levels of worry about violent crime, compared to just 7 per cent of White people.

## 3. POLICE PERFORMANCE

How well is English and Welsh policing adapting to a world reshaped by technological, environmental, and social change? There are worrying signs of a deterioration in the performance of the police service.

Detection rates have almost halved in the last seven years: in the year to March 2021 only 9 per cent of all recorded police crime resulted in a charge or summons, compared to 17 per cent in 2014.

While there are multiple reasons for falling detection rates (for instance more stringent crime recording practices and the impact of austerity), it is worrying that more victims do not wish to proceed with cases, potentially reflecting frustration with lengthy investigations and court delays.

The proportion of crime victims (excluding fraud victims) who were 'very satisfied' with the police response declined from 42 per cent in 2014 to 32 per cent in

2020, while the proportion 'not satisfied' rose from 26 per cent to 34 per cent.

Between 2016 and 2020 the proportion of people who say they have confidence in their local police fell from 79 per cent to 74 per cent and the proportion saying they thought the police did a good or excellent job fell from 63 per cent to 55 per cent.

The time it takes the police to attend a 999 call has also been getting longer, rising by 32 per cent between 2010 and 2018 from nine minutes to 13 minutes on average.

### Three challenges

This analysis of the future public safety challenges and recent police performance leads us to the following three conclusions that shape the rest of the report:

- The police face a **capacity challenge**: such is the range and complexity of public safety demand there is no way that the police on their own are able to tackle it.
- The police face a **capability challenge**: it is not just that the police lack sufficient resources to tackle these challenges, but also that the police service lacks many of the capabilities required to do so.
- The police face an **organisational challenge**: the police service needs a different organisational platform so it can deliver the capabilities required to meet the challenges we have described.

## PART II. POLICING IN A SYSTEM

There is no feasible strategy that addresses the range, volume and complexity of the public safety challenges of the twenty first century through the work of the police alone. In this part of the report we propose a two-step solution to this challenge. First, we need to design a whole system response to public safety that goes way beyond the work of the police. Second, we need to be much clearer about the role of the police within that system.

### 4. THE PUBLIC SAFETY SYSTEM

The police should be seen as just one part of a wider societal response to crime and harm. What is required is a broad social response to crime and harm based upon a more explicit and institutionally anchored public safety system.

A **public safety system** is a system of actors and institutions whose aim is to promote safety and to **prevent** harm. Note its aim is different to that of the justice system, whose purpose is to secure the just treatment of offenders in the interests of society in general and victims in particular.

### The case for prevention

The general case for prevention makes intuitive sense. It is better to stop a bad thing from happening in the first place than to deal with the deleterious effects afterwards.

There is also a strong evidence base showing that preventative measures can reduce harm in a way that is superior to later interventions and achieves wider economic and social benefits. There is now strong evidence that the drop in traditional crime described above was driven mainly by preventative security measures rather than by the actions of the police or the courts.

Despite this far too little is currently done to prevent crime and wider harm. Most of the state's direct interventions to make the public safe are reactive rather than preventative in nature.

The key reason why so many opportunities are currently missed to prevent crime and harm is that we lack a systemic approach to prevention. No one owns the prevention task.

To address this, we make the following recommendations.

### Recommendations

1. The government should produce a cross-departmental Crime Prevention Strategy.
2. The government should establish a new Crime Prevention Agency, with responsibility for delivering the Crime Prevention Strategy, developing regulation and guidance, enforcing crime prevention duties, developing national and international partnerships and relationships in priority areas, communicating crime prevention advice to the public and horizon scanning to identify emerging threats.
3. There should be a new legal duty to prevent crime which would apply to all large private sector organisations, enforced by the Crime Prevention Agency.

4. The government should review local and regional government structures with the explicit aim of promoting increased public service collaboration to prevent complex social problems. Such a review should consider the benefits of a simplified local governance framework, place-based budgets, cross sector workforce development, integrated delivery models and how to improve data sharing locally.
5. The government should widen the remit of the Violence Reduction Units to cover a wide range of local crime types. These Crime Prevention Units should operate in every force area, led by a local Director of Crime Prevention appointed by the Police and Crime Commissioner. They should focus on crime types where prevention activity is best designed across a wider geographic area, such as modern slavery and county lines/serious violence. Community Safety Partnerships should go back to basics, focusing on volume crime and antisocial behaviour, and on those areas where the police and local authority relationship is critical.

### 5. THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

We now consider a further solution to the limits on police capacity: to clarify the police role so that they can focus on those tasks where their powers and competencies are most efficacious.

We are clear that the police are not just crime fighters: 83 per cent of calls to police Command and Control Centres do not result in a crime being recorded.

It is better to see the core role of the police as being to resolve conflict and maintain order. They perform this role because of their status as officers of the law with a monopoly on the legitimate use of force.

We therefore define the core role of the police as being **to promote public safety by maintaining order and upholding the law, which their unique powers enable them to do, and to carry out other activities which enable them to perform this core role legitimately, effectively and with minimum reliance on those powers.**

To perform this core role we see the police as having the following functions:

1. To respond to calls for help, repair harm and refer cases on to others who can provide support and prevent reoccurrence.
2. To safeguard vulnerable people who they come across in the course of their work.
3. To prevent crime and harm, either directly where their powers and skills are required or by referring cases, issues or problems on to others who can help.
4. To investigate crime, disrupt criminal activity and bring offenders to justice.
5. To provide victims of crime access to justice and support.
6. To offer community policing that is visible, responsive and works with the community and other public services to solve problems that are a concern for safety.

#### Recommendation

6. In order to clarify the police role within a changing and complex environment the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners, the National Police Chiefs' Council and the Home Office should agree a new police service Statement of Mission and Values.

## PART III. CAPABILITIES

The police service will require a number of systemic capabilities if it is to meet the challenges described above. We discuss each of these in turn.

### 6. LEGITIMACY

At the heart of the Peelian model of policing is the idea that the police can only successfully carry out their work with the support and cooperation of the public. While most people trust and have confidence in the police, there are reasons to be concerned about the health of police legitimacy:

- People from Black and Mixed ethnic groups, particularly those with Black Caribbean backgrounds, are much less likely than White people (and some other ethnic groups) to expect local police to treat them fairly, with respect, and to agree that police can be trusted.
- In recent years police actions have been contested to a degree that has particularly tested the strength of the relationship between the police and the public. Data from London shows a marked deterioration in Londoners' assessments of police

fairness and respectfulness, and their trust in police, from early 2020 onwards.

- When we look ahead to the environment in which police can reasonably expect to operate over coming decades, there are good reasons to believe that legitimacy will be both more challenging to sustain and more crucial to achieving public safety.

#### Recommendations

7. The Association of Police and Crime Commissioners, the National Police Chiefs' Council and the Home Office should make a first-principle commitment to policing with legitimacy. They should recognise that this is a crucial enabler of effective policing. This should be expressed as a central component of a revised Statement of Mission and Values. This commitment should be backed up by a national plan for improving police legitimacy. The other relevant recommendations set out in this report should form a part of that national plan.
8. Efforts to build and sustain police legitimacy need to be driven by better data and more sophisticated analytics. Better data should also be used to drive accountability and ensure legitimacy is prioritised when faced with competing imperatives. The Home Office should fund a substantial uplift in the Office for National Statistics' crime and policing public survey programme. As part of this a feasibility study should be carried out into the creation of a 'legitimacy index' (potentially combining inspection and survey-based inputs) to enable public scrutiny, performance monitoring and comparisons across time, area and between population groups.
9. The College of Policing should undertake a programme to improve the quality of police interactions with the public, drawing on the principles of procedural justice and the existing evidence-base about 'what works'. The programme should aim to both develop knowledge and have sufficient resources to deliver comprehensive officer and staff training and support widespread practice change. Training in interpersonal skills should be a minimum standard that all police forces are expected to meet.

10. As part of a commitment to inclusive public dialogue and opening the police up to regular and ongoing challenge, Police and Crime Commissioners and Mayors should invest in vehicles to promote public participation in decision-making, such as citizens juries and assemblies. Opinion surveys and elections every four years are not sufficient to promote the kind of ongoing dialogue that is required.

In order to understand the practical implications of prioritising legitimacy we looked at a number of areas of focus. Despite strong evidence that community policing is highly effective at improving public confidence in the police, neighbourhood policing has been cut back significantly since 2010. To address this we call for a strengthening of neighbourhood policing over the next decade.

### Recommendation

11. The Home Office should ask police forces to deliver a substantial uplift in neighbourhood policing, designed around the need to build and sustain police legitimacy, public confidence, and community resilience. This should involve deploying a significant proportion of the additional officers recruited since 2019 into neighbourhood policing. This provision should be:

- Concentrated where legitimacy is most challenged.
- Assessed against the objectives of improving legitimacy, confidence and resilience.
- Implemented in ways conducive to long-term local knowledge and relationship building.
- Accompanied by sufficient 'organisational transformation' to align wider police decision making with local insight, knowledge, and perspective.
- Designed with an emphasis on promoting local dialogue, deliberation, and to encourage broad-based public involvement in local problem definition, prioritisation and solving.

We believe that the ability to stop and search with reasonable suspicion is an important power that should be available to the police. However, we believe that the current pattern of police stop and search use is not justified. It represents a significant barrier to building trust and confidence, particularly among Black people who are disproportionately likely to be stopped and searched. We are particularly concerned about the use of Section 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which is used even more disproportionately against Black people and does not require an officer to have reasonable suspicion.

### Recommendations

12. The government's Serious Violence Strategy should be amended to reflect a three-strand commitment to 1. a preventative public health approach, 2. targeted law enforcement activity ('precision policing') and 3. an explicit commitment to legitimacy and working with communities. The last is lacking from current strategies and emphasises a shift to problem solving, partnership and prevention from 'blunt' street level deterrence and enforcement.
13. The College of Policing should issue mandatory guidance in relation to stop and search training. This would be based on the Best Use of Stop and Search Scheme. This should emphasise the importance of procedural justice and the need for searches to have strong grounds, including through being intelligence-led, and to align with wider police priorities. Where a drugs search leading to a 'find' and a charge of possession would otherwise be made, individuals should be consistently diverted toward a social intervention and away from the criminal justice system.
14. The Section 60 legislation should be changed to make clear that this is a power to be used only in extraordinary circumstances, where the police have intelligence that a significant outbreak of serious violence is likely to occur. The authorisation should be made by a chief officer. The grounds for the decision should be clearly communicated to the public and the impact on police-community relations considered.

We are living in a digital age and we must consider the implications of this change for police legitimacy and public trust. It is unhelpful that public debate around police use of technology tends to be polarised between critics on the one side and the police acting as proponents on the other. It would be better for the police to subject proposed data and technology initiatives to independent scrutiny.

### Recommendation

15. The Association of Police and Crime Commissioners and the National Police Chiefs' Council should establish an independent National Commission for Police Technology Ethics to consider and advise on proposals for new technology projects. Police forces and law enforcement agencies should work with the Centre on a voluntary basis, but a public register of all police technology projects should be kept, indicating each project's referral/approval status.

The work of the Commission should be informed by 1. a standing Citizens Panel on police use of technology, and 2. a programme of research, commissioned by the College of Policing, to better understand how police personnel make technologically augmented decisions.

The Commission should work with the College of Policing to develop guidance around the proportionate use of intrusive technologies. This should be based on the principle of minimal intrusion, with an ability to escalate as circumstances demand.

Nothing is more corrosive of public trust in the police than unethical, illegal and immoral conduct by police officers. To address this, we make a number of recommendations aimed at improving the misconduct system and promoting a wider culture of integrity in policing.

### Recommendations

16. The Home Office should review the use of independent chairs of police misconduct hearings. Such a review should identify whether the recent reforms have made it harder to secure the dismissal of officers found guilty of misconduct.

17. The College of Policing should instigate a programme of work to ensure that the Code of Ethics is deeply embedded into police training, decision making and professional practice. This should include:

- Ensuring that the principles set out in the Code of Ethics are core components of all leadership development programmes in policing.
- Ensuring that 'ethical health checks' are a standard part of police officer professional development.
- Ensuring that reflective practice is used systematically to promote discussion of the implications of the Code of Ethics for police decision making.

18. The College of Policing should ensure that police leadership development programmes are informed by the principles of organisational justice. These programmes should promote a model of police leadership that understands and seeks to address the causes of perceived unfairness within the workforce.

19. The Home Office should bring forward legislation to introduce an organisational duty of candour for police forces.

Finally, having a more diverse workforce and one that is more representative of society is a key building block of police legitimacy. At the current rate of progress it will take another 20 years for England and Wales to achieve a representative workforce in terms of gender. At current rates it will take another 58 years (until 2079) for policing to achieve a workforce that is representative of England and Wales in terms of ethnicity (using the projected Black and Minority Ethnic population in 2050).

### Recommendation

20. The government should develop a plan to improve workforce diversity, setting targets for female and ethnic minority recruitment for each police force. In order to facilitate this the government should legislate to allow police forces to introduce time limited positive discrimination policies until such time as these targets are achieved.



## 7. SKILLS AND TECHNOLOGY

Police officers and staff need the skills and technological tools to enable them to perform their roles successfully in the face of radically changing demand.

### Future skills

The future skills requirement can be broken down into three categories:

- **Relational skills** required to manage complexity, respond to vulnerability, de-escalate social tension, and build and sustain public trust and confidence.
- **Investigatory skills** required to investigate increasingly complex areas of crime;
- **Digital skills** to operate effectively in a digital environment.

Turning to relational skills first, while very many police officers have excellent people skills, current police training does not sufficiently emphasise communication and interpersonal skills.

### Recommendation

21. The College of Policing should review the National Police Curriculum to increase focus on relational skills covering themes such as conflict management, co-production, cultural competency, victim care, mental health, trauma and neurodiversity awareness. Officers should refresh these relational skills annually alongside officer safety training. They should be made part of a mandatory professional minimum standard regulated by the College of Policing.

There is a national shortage of detectives. In 2021 there were 6,851 fewer PIP 2 accredited investigators in post than was required. These gaps are not being dealt with through the current Uplift Programme.

### Recommendations

22. A pay supplement should be introduced to make detective roles a more attractive career choice for police officers.
23. All forces should introduce direct entry detective programmes.

There is a pressing need to improve digital skills and knowledge across the whole police workforce, both for generalist officers and for specialists.

### Recommendations

24. Police forces, regional units and the National Crime Agency should develop standing arrangements with private sector companies so that they can call in staff with high level digital and financial expertise to work on investigations under police direction.
25. Digital intelligence and investigation training should be incorporated into minimum professional standards regulated by the College of Policing.
26. The College of Policing should strengthen career pathways for allied policing professions in areas such as data analysis/science, digital forensics and financial investigation.
27. A national police workforce planning unit should be established within the College of Policing to project future demand, monitor current and future skill gaps and coordinate a national response. The College should have the power to require local forces to address emerging capability gaps and to cooperate with national recruitment and learning and development initiatives.

### Technology

Policing is an information business and yet too often police technology is outdated and cumbersome, causing frustration to the officers and staff who use it, and letting down the public who get a poorer service as a result. In 70 percent of forces less than half of officers are satisfied with their current IT provision. The Police National Computer is 48 years old and will soon be running on unsupportable technology.

### Recommendations

28. The government should increase investment to enable a significant upgrade of police IT over the course of the next two spending reviews.
29. English and Welsh policing needs a common set of information and communications technology (ICT) standards' to be applied across the country. These should be developed nationally and then mandated for adoption by the College of Policing, which would be given powers to direct Chief Constables in relation to IT.

30. The Home Office must prioritise the modernisation of the Police National Computer and the Police National Database. The major national police databases should be housed within the College of Policing.

## 8. LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Police officers and staff need to continually develop and refresh their skills and knowledge to serve the public effectively. However, between 2011/12 and 2017/18, 33 forces reduced their budgeted spending on training in real terms by a greater percentage than their overall reduction in spending. 40 per cent of police officers say they had not received necessary training to do their job well. The quality of the learning and development provided for officers and staff needs to be considerably improved. We also need to take steps to ensure a culture of professional development is inculcated.

### Recommendations

31. The Home Office should establish a Learning and Development Fund that would be used by the College of Policing to fund police learning and development. In order to receive funding police forces would have to demonstrate that their training programmes meet standards set by the College.
32. There should be a minimum set of hours per year reserved for each officer's learning and development. This will be a national minimum standard that the College of Policing will require police forces to fulfil.
33. The Home Office should introduce a Licence to Practise for police officers, administered by the College of Policing. The Licence to Practise ought to be renewed every five years, subject to an officer demonstrating professional development through achieving relevant qualifications, passing an interview or presenting a portfolio of activities and achievements. Any police officer who fails this assessment could receive further support including mentoring. After successive failures they would have their licence removed and would no longer be able to practise as a police officer.

Policing should make greater use of research evidence, scientific methods, and systematically acquired knowledge to improve the effectiveness of its activities.

### Recommendations

34. The police service should further promote evidence-based practice:
  - The College of Policing should make better use of mobile technology to make targeted evidence-based practice guidance available to frontline operational personnel.
  - More police forces should establish Evidence Based Policing Units to carry out research, spread knowledge and promote an evidence and knowledge based culture.
  - The College of Policing should expand and accelerate its programme for generating evidence-based practice guidelines.
  - The College of Policing should set mandatory national minimum standards in guideline areas that are high risk, where the public expect consistency and where the evidence base is strong.
  - Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) should introduce a grading for guideline compliance into the HMICFRS PEEL police force inspection regime.

## 9. WELLBEING

Having a healthy and motivated workforce should be seen as a strategic capability for policing. Between 2010/11 and 2015/16 the number of officers on long-term sick leave for physical and mental health reasons increased by 14 per cent and the number of those off sick for psychological illness alone increased by 35 per cent. 48 per cent of police officers say they have low personal morale, compared to 29 per cent of army soldiers. 64 per cent of officers and 55 per cent of staff had experienced post traumatic stress symptoms.

### Recommendations

35. All police officers and staff should be provided with ongoing clinical support throughout their careers. In practical terms this means an annual (physical and mental) health check and appropriate ongoing occupational health support.

36. The College of Policing should develop national standards to address unresolved trauma. This should include the use of regular debriefing sessions. Training in mental resilience should become a core part of both initial police training and continuing professional development (CPD). In addition, frontline supervisors should be trained to recognise signs of trauma and support those who are struggling.

## 10. LEADERSHIP

Effective leadership at all levels is a critical condition for enabling policing to meet the public safety demands of the future. There are very many excellent leaders at all levels of the police service, but everyone in a leadership role, whatever their rank, deserves the support and development to be the best they can be.

### Recommendations

37. The College of Policing should establish a Police Leadership Centre which would have the following responsibilities:

- To promote the learning and development of police leaders at all levels, from Sergeants to Chief Constables.
- To provide structured support to promote the wellbeing of police leaders.
- To directly fund police leadership training and professional development throughout the system.
- To ensure that the learning and development opportunities for police leaders meet national standards.
- To focus in its first two years on a development programme for police Sergeants, considerably strengthening the support Sergeants receive and increasing the learning time available to them.
- To build on the international reputation of British policing by offering courses for police leaders overseas. The fees from these courses would be reinvested to support the work of the Police Leadership Centre.

38. The College of Policing should review police leadership selection processes and should explore whether greater national regulation and oversight of these processes would improve fairness, transparency and competition.

39. The appointment process for Chief Constables should be reformed to increase competition for these vital posts. While the Police and Crime Commissioner should continue to make the appointment, they should do so from a short list of candidates drawn up by a national Senior Appointments Board constituted from among the relevant national bodies. That Board would have a responsibility, working with the College of Policing to actively identify suitable applicants.

## PART IV. ORGANISATION

### 11. STRUCTURE

#### Appraising the current structure

The main benefit of the existing 43 force structure is that it provides a strong local dimension in our policing system. This is important for three reasons:

- Visible, engaged and responsive local policing is critical for improving public confidence in the police.
- We need local police leaders to have the autonomy to work much more collaboratively with other local public services to tackle complex public safety problems.
- A strong local dimension in policing structure also creates the space for innovation.

However, the existing structure has five significant faults which need to be addressed:

- The 43 force structure struggles to deal with the rising forms of crime that cross force and national borders.
- The model does not support the development of effective specialist capabilities, which have high fixed costs, do not always require a local presence and benefit from concentration of expertise. A more consistent approach to high-risk areas of policing would also contribute to improved public confidence.

- It is inefficient, because organising specialist and support functions at a higher level would generate economies of scale and reduced duplication. There are indications from the experience of Police Scotland that hundreds of millions of pounds could be saved.
- The existing approach of bottom-up voluntary collaborative arrangements has created a patchwork of ad hoc arrangements that lack a stable foundation.
- Policing lacks a strong strategic centre, which leads to a lack of a clear strategy to meet future challenges, weaknesses in addressing under performance and an inability to ensure policing has the people it needs to perform the tasks set for it. It also means that there is no national platform for delivering core capabilities, including for example forensics, about which we make a recommendation below.
- The local level, currently organised into the 43 forces, should focus on the delivery of local police services: 24/7 response, local crime investigation, neighbourhood policing, safeguarding and offender management.
- A large number of other functions and capabilities would be organised at the regional level. These include serious and organised crime related capabilities and uniformed specialisms (dogs, horses, public order etc). They also include both operational support functions such as forensics and contact management, and business support functions such as procurement and HR.
- The national level would focus on serious and organised crime, counter-terrorism, system stewardship functions (strategy, performance management and human capital development) and the delivery of some high specialist capabilities such as air support and the national IT databases.

### Recommendation

40. The Home Office should establish a national forensic science service. This would not necessarily replace existing private providers but would incorporate most in-house provision currently provided by forces. This would put forensic science services on a stable and secure footing. The new service would:

- Carry out national procurement of forensics services where these would benefit from being commissioned once on behalf of the whole service.
- Ensure a consistent approach was taken to meeting international quality standards.
- Carry out horizon scanning and research and development to ensure that forensics capability can keep pace with technological and scientific innovation.
- Provide for a concentration of specialism at the centre, as well as ensuring that expertise and learning is shared more effectively.

One option would be to house this service within the National Crime Agency, with a regional delivery structure.

### A reallocation of functions

The analysis above strongly suggests a reallocation of capabilities and functions to different geographic levels would improve efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy. We propose that:

Note we do not set out here a defined number of regions, as this is an area where some flexibility and adaptation to local circumstances is required. We also acknowledge that local forces may need to retain a proactive investigation capability to deal with more locally contained serious and organised crime groups.

The reallocation of functions would largely not affect the Metropolitan Police Service as it already operates as a regional force.

### Structural implications

In this report we review a number of options for reform in light of the reallocation of functions we propose. We conclude that the status quo (voluntary collaborations) will not achieve the pace and scale of change required. We think that the alternatives of a smaller number of regional police forces or a single national police force would endanger the local link described above.

For the reasons we conclude that there are two desirable structural solutions:

- The 43 forces remain to provide the local link but Regional Police Units are established by statute to deliver most specialist, operational support and business support functions. These would be accountable to regional boards of Chief Constables and Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCS).
- The 43 forces remain and Regional Police Support Units are established to deliver specialist, operational support and business support functions, apart from the regional-level investigation of serious and organised

crime. These would be established by statute and would be accountable to regional boards of Chief Constables and PCCs. Serious and organised crime specialist capabilities would be brigaded into regional units of the National Crime Agency, creating a national serious and organised crime network comparable to that which exists for counter terrorism policing.

We conclude that the latter approach has the considerable advantages of providing clearer governance and a stronger national model for delivering serious and organised crime capabilities.

We do not rule out future amalgamations of local forces and we acknowledge that the current number of forces and their boundaries are somewhat arbitrary. However, we are more concerned with where capabilities should sit rather than the question of how many local forces there should be.

## Recommendations

41. The National Crime Agency (NCA) should be given control of regional serious and organised crime assets. Regional NCA units would host serious and organised crime capability at the regional level, plus specialist economic crime teams including expanded regional fraud investigation teams. These units would be 100 per cent centrally funded through the NCA and would be accountable to the Director General of the NCA for delivery. As an existing regional force, the Metropolitan Police Service would continue to host its own serious and organised crime capabilities.

42. The government should legislate to mandate the creation of Regional Police Support Units. These would host most specialist capabilities outside of serious and organised crime, alongside operational and business support functions for forces. These units would be funded by pooling local force budgets and a significant proportion of the savings made would be reinvested in local policing. The units should be accountable to regional boards made up of the local Chief Constables and Police and Crime Commissioners. Local police forces would focus on delivering local policing: neighbourhood policing, 24/7 response, local crime investigation, safeguarding and offender management.

## The national landscape

The current national landscape is highly fragmented with a number of organisations performing these system stewardship and delivery roles. It is far from ideal to have such a cluttered landscape as this risks poor coordination, inefficient duplication, confused ownership and gaps emerging between institutions. If possible, we should seek to rationalise this landscape.

In order for the centre to perform an effective system stewardship role it requires a number of strategic capabilities some of which are currently lacking. These capabilities include: setting the overall strategic direction for policing; horizon scanning, national data analytics; and workforce planning.

National policing improvement functions are also fragmented among a number of existing organisations. There is a strong case for having a consolidated national home for police improvement, which would clarify strategic direction and could host the necessary powers to make things happen.

## Recommendation

43. The national policing landscape should be rationalised in the following way:

- The Home Secretary should set the national strategic direction for the service, working in partnership with the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners and the National Police Chiefs' Council through the National Policing Board.
- This strategic role of ministers would be supported by a new Crime and Policing Strategy Unit within the Home Office which would develop the evidence base to inform the national strategy, monitor performance across the system and horizon scan to ensure the system is always thinking ahead.
- There should be three main delivery organisations at the centre: the Crime Prevention Agency, the National Crime Agency and the College of Policing.
- The National Crime Agency should remain focused on serious and organised crime, but should take on more of a role in tackling large scale online scams particularly where these are international in character. It would also be a possible home for other national crime related functions such as a new national forensic science service.

- The College of Policing should be expanded to become the single home for all national policing improvement functions including learning and development, professional standards, developing the evidence base, IT and national procurement. It would also host a national workforce planning function and a data analytics function. The College would have powers to direct Chief Constables in relation to national minimum professional standards, workforce planning and common standards in relation to IT.

## 12. GOVERNANCE

The fundamental building blocks of the police governance system remain sound. These are:

- The office of Constable: this provides the basis for a model of policing in which constables enforce the law impartially “without fear or favour” and in which they have the discretion to make judgments, subject to law, regulation and guidance.
- The operational independence of Chief Constables: chief officers should make operational decisions, free from political interference, but they should always be accountable for those decisions afterwards.
- The tripartite system: policy making power within policing is shared between the Home Secretary, Chief Constables and Police and Crime Commissioners.

### Police and Crime Commissioners

We believe that local police accountability and governance should continue to be performed by Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) and directly elected Mayors. Since their introduction PCCs (and Mayors) have sharpened the accountability of Chief Constables and helped to anchor policing around the concerns of local people. The alternative of returning to a Police Authority arrangement holds little appeal. We also consider that in principle there is a case for PCCs playing more of a role in the wider criminal justice system, particularly in areas such as youth justice and probation.

However, we have concerns about the PCC’s absolute power to dismiss the Chief Constable and below we set out a number of measures to improve the PCC (and mayoral) system of police governance.

## Recommendations

44. The Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) should retain the power to dismiss the Chief Constable, but this should be subject to a confirmatory vote of the Police and Crime Panel, requiring a majority of the total membership. The Panel may ask HMICFRS for a review of the PCC’s decision prior to that confirmatory vote.

45. The Home Secretary should put legislation before parliament to introduce recall referenda for PCCs. The possibility of a recall referendum would be triggered where the Police and Crime Panel has voted by a two thirds majority to express no confidence in the PCC on the following grounds:

- Where the PCC has been sentenced to a custodial prison sentence.
- Where the PCC has been found following an investigation by the Independent Office for Police Conduct to have breached the Nolan Principles on Standards in Public Life.

Following such a vote by the panel there would then be a recall referendum where 10 per cent of the local electorate sign a petition to support one.

46. Where a police force area is coterminous with the jurisdiction of a directly elected Mayor, the Mayor should automatically become the Police and Crime Commissioner for that area. The government should also seek where possible to promote coterminosity between police force areas and the jurisdictional boundaries of city-regional or regional Mayors.

47. The government should consider extending the remit of Police and Crime Commissioners (and their mayoral equivalents) to include greater commissioning of wider criminal justice services, particularly youth custody and probation services.

## The Home Secretary

The Home Secretary should play a leading role in strengthening the strategic centre in policing.

### Recommendation

48. The Home Secretary should use her powers to put in place a stronger strategic centre in policing. In particular, she should:

- Through the National Policing Board set out a five-year national strategy for policing.
- Develop the Strategic Policing Requirement into a much more detailed document setting out the nature of the capabilities the government expects regional and local police organisations to put in place to tackle terrorism and serious and organised crime, including fraud.
- Legislate to mandate Police and Crime Commissioners to collaborate in Regional Police Support Units that would provide specialist and support functions for local forces.

## HMICFRS

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) plays a critical role in ensuring that police performance is measured and assessed transparently. The PEEL process is well structured and the clarity with which outcomes are presented on its website contribute significantly to the transparency of policing and its accountability to the public.

There are two areas where we think change ought to be considered. First, HMICFRS should be clearer as to how it is inspecting against standards set by the College of Policing. Second, there is a need for more systemic lesson learning from HMICFRS inspections with the other national stakeholders (see Recommendation 49).

## The Independent Office for Police Conduct

We welcome the progress made by the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) in seeking to conclude investigations more speedily and this progress needs to continue. We also welcome its shift away from a 'blame' focus and to more of a 'learning focus'. We think that more could be done to ensure that the lessons learned from IOPC investigations are considered at a strategic level in the police service. In addition, the IOPC ought to work with the College of Policing to discuss how learning points from its investigations can get into the hands of police officers so to inform everyday practice.

## Recommendations

49. The national policing bodies should establish a regular forum to share learning from Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) investigations and HMICFRS inspections and agree actions to ensure that learning is taken forward.
50. The IOPC should work with the College of Policing to look at how lessons learned through IOPC investigations can be turned into learning points and put into the hands of frontline police officers.

## The College of Policing

Above we set out an expanded role for the College of Policing as the single home for national policing improvement functions. To perform its function effectively the College should possess powers in three areas (see Recommendation 43).

First, the College's powers to issue 'codes of practice' should be strengthened so that it can (with the support of the Home Secretary) issue binding regulations, mandating compliance with a basket of national minimum professional standards.

Second, the College would be given new powers to require compliance with common IT standards across policing, so as to ensure interoperability and much more effective sharing of police data.

Third, the College should have powers to require police forces to cooperate with national recruitment, educational and learning and development programmes and to address emerging skills gaps.

## The national system of police governance

One of the most significant problems with the existing system of police governance is that it lacks formal mechanisms for making collective decisions. The legal entities in the system are the 43 Chief Constables and the 43 Police and Crime Commissioners or Mayors. Each of these is a 'corporation sole' and cannot be bound by any collective decision of the others.

The result is a system which, for the purposes of making national decisions, moves at the speed of the slowest passenger. To address this we considered establishing a new legally binding decision-making system, but we concluded that this might not be necessary. Instead we recommend that the Home Secretary should be more proactive in using her powers to ensure decisions are made in the national interest.

### 13. FUNDING

Given the strong local and national interests in policing there is a good rationale for retaining a funding system that contains a blend of national and local funding streams.

However, there are a number of problems with the existing system:

- The current funding formula for the Police Grant is an inadequate reflection of the real relative needs of individual forces.
- The ad hoc nature of the Regional Organised Crime Units' (ROCU) funding is a major barrier to ROCUs operating effectively.
- The current funding system is complex and short term providing a poor basis for longer term business planning at force level.
- There is a case for the government using the funding system more proactively to ensure national priorities are addressed.
- There is a case for exploring the feasibility of a government grant specifically directed at cross-agency work to prevent and reduce crime.

#### Recommendations

51. The funding of local police forces should continue to be a mixture of central and local contributions. Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) and Mayors should have greater discretion to raise further revenues for policing via the precept.

52. The government should design and win support for a fairer and more intelligent system for allocating Police Grant between forces. Such a system would be based on up-to-date data, revised annually, and (consistent with this Review) with a focus on the social factors influencing policing demand as well as crime levels. It would take account of Inspectorate perceptions and findings bearing on the capabilities and financial resilience of individual forces (a source which has become markedly richer in recent years), and of government priorities. It would aim to secure acceptable minimum levels of service in all parts of the country, and be robust enough to avoid or at least mitigate the marked disparities in outcomes which the combination of a mechanistic formula and the exercise of local discretion produced during the period of austerity.

53. To avoid the kind of protracted negotiation over essentially voluntary arrangements which has bedevilled the Regional Organised Crime Units, the National Crime Agency regional units should be 100 per cent government funded.

54. In any redesign of the police grant formula, the government should have regard to the need to give PCCs and Chief Constables good notice of changes, to enable well-informed business planning.

55. A number of earmarked national funds should be established to ensure that the priorities identified in this report are protected. These funds would be:

- A Serious and Organised Crime Fund: all funding dedicated to tackling serious and organised crime, including the funding for the National Crime Agency and its regional units.
- A Counter Terrorism Fund: all funding dedicated to tackling terrorism.
- A Crime Prevention Fund: all funding dedicated to crime prevention activity, including the funding for the Crime Prevention Agency and the funding for local Crime Prevention Units.
- A Learning and Development Fund: most funding for police learning and development would be channelled through this fund and disseminated by the College of Policing, which would commission learning and development from police bodies.
- A Technology Fund: to ensure adequate funding for national technology programmes.

56. We would encourage the development of a more consistent and integrated approach to local government structures in England and Wales. Under such an approach, we would recommend a more detailed examination of the idea of a specific government grant to support cross-agency work to prevent and reduce crime.



## The resource and public value implications of this Review

This Strategic Review has been charitably funded and carried out with the assistance of a small team of Police Foundation staff. Without the resources of a government department it has not been possible for us to fully cost all of our recommendations. But it is possible to outline, with a degree of confidence, their implications for the resources devoted to policing and public safety.

The timeframe within which we have cast our recommendations is intentionally long, and extends beyond a single expenditure planning period. Some recommendations, we believe, are urgent, and where that is the case we have said so. But elsewhere our purpose has been to set a long term direction and argue for a shift in focus over the next decade.

To deliver our recommendations additional resources would be required in the following areas:

- To create the new Crime Prevention Agency and a Crime Prevention Fund.
- To strengthen neighbourhood policing, although we see this as being delivered mainly through the existing additional 20,000 officers.
- To provide higher quality learning and development programmes, such as through the new Leadership Centre and minimum CPD hours for each officer and staff member.
- To deliver improved clinical and occupational health support for police officers.
- To create a larger budget for the National Crime Agency so that it is better able to build up national and regional capability to tackle serious and organised crime.
- To deliver much needed investment in police IT.

We have also set out areas where significant savings could be made. In particular, doing much more procurement nationally would deliver economies of scale in areas like uniform, vehicles and equipment. Most significantly, forming mandated Regional Police Support Units would reduce duplication across local forces in relation to specialist capabilities and support functions.

Overall, we consider that the recommendations in this report would generate public value in the following ways:

- They would clarify the overall goals of policing within a wider public safety system and align the work of the police more closely to an assessment of future challenges.
- They would deliver a more efficient use of police resources in particular through the reallocation of functions.
- They would achieve greater public involvement in policing through a revived neighbourhood policing model and greater use of participatory engagement methods by local police.
- They would strengthen the ability of the service to plan for the long term.
- They would prevent more crime, leading to less harm to victims and a safer society.

## 14. CONCLUSION

Policing is at a critical juncture. If it does not embrace reform it will likely be overwhelmed by the scale and complexity of the demands coming down the track. But if we take the necessary decisions now the prize will be great: to develop the conditions in which people can live freely and safely in the 21st century and to renew for our age the promise of the Peelian model, a form of policing that serves rather than oppresses the people and that can continue to be an example to the world of the art of reconciling order with liberty.



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STRATEGIC  
REVIEW  
OF POLICING  
IN ENGLAND AND WALES

The world around policing is changing as radically as the world in which Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police in 1829. It is in that context that the Police Foundation established the Strategic Review of Policing in England and Wales, chaired by Sir Michael Barber. It is the first independent review of policing for many years and is intended to be as influential as the last Royal Commission on the Police in 1962. This final report from the Review is our attempt to describe what kind of police service we will need to address the challenges of the 21st century.

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