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How 20,000 officers can transform UK policing
Policing 4.0

Contents

Foreword

Policing 4.0: How 20,000 officers can transform UK policing is the second of Deloitte's annual publications on the future of UK policing. Our first report, published in September 2018, outlined the radical shifts in society, technology and patterns of crime that the police must prepare for now. We shared examples of effective UK police practice and provided some tools to help leaders make the tough choices required to ensure that policing is ready for the future.

This year, our focus is a little different. The long-term future we expect for policing is broadly unchanged but the immediate context for UK policing is radically different from 12 months ago. Crime is now an even clearer priority for the government and has been promised a major injection of funding.

New investment can be a once in a generation opportunity for policing. And, in this context, we are asking – and helping to answer – policing's central question for the coming period. How can our police services take advantage of the new investment and build a police service that serves the public more effectively both today and in the future? We draw our answers from a new Deloitte survey of the public, workshops with police officers and staff, interviews and surveys with policing leaders, online engagement with the police workforce and Deloitte's experience working across policing in the UK and internationally.

This report highlights some of the emerging approaches in policing and other sectors that can help, provides ideas for system reform, and shares tools to help leaders make judgements on the right choices for their organisations and teams.

The period of austerity in policing provoked greater efficiency and innovation. Now, there are myriad opportunities to build on progress. Twenty thousand officers deployed even in traditional ways will improve public confidence and assist in tackling serious violence. Augmenting the reach of these 20,000 with new forms of online visibility and enhanced technology, richer data and digital investigation and crime prevention capabilities would have a transformational impact on public safety and confidence. This report highlights some of the emerging approaches in policing and other sectors that can help, provides ideas for system reform, and shares tools to help leaders make judgements on the right choices for their organisations and teams.

Overall, we are optimistic about the future of UK policing. Funding constraints in England, Wales and Northern Ireland have left the service under considerable strain but leaders there and in Scotland have developed new ways of working and a more rigorous approach to managing scarce resources. With additional funding, we believe leaders can build on these successes. And we hope they can draw on the information and ideas in this publication as they develop UK policing

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Executive summary

"We have digital dogs now", a police sergeant told us.[1] "One just found a phone buried in the garden of a serious sex offender."

Digital dogs are not a new piece of technological kit for policing. They are dogs that have been specially trained to locate hidden electronic devices – and are just one of the ways in which UK policing is evolving to meet the challenges of our technological age. As this report shows, policing has developed a panoply of new approaches to preventing and detecting crime, deploying technology that increases productivity and supporting its workforce.

Progress has been made against a challenging backdrop. Between 2009 and 2019, policing budgets in England and Wales fell by around 16 per cent in real terms at the same time as demands from the public increased in several areas.[2] Northern Ireland's budgets fell significantly. Scottish policing may largely have escaped cuts but has still experienced the challenges of major structural change. UK policing performance stood up surprisingly well for many years but the pressures eventually told.[3] After a spike in serious violence since 2015, crime is now the third highest public concern in England and Wales after Brexit and healthcare.[4] Police visibility in England and Wales has fallen.[5] And chief officers we spoke to reported that they had to make increasingly unpalatable decisions on which crimes could be given a full investigative response.

The UK government has now responded decisively, however. After small funding injections targeted at reducing serious violence in early 2019, the Chancellor's September 'spending round' promised an additional £750m investment in English and Welsh policing in 2020.[6] Further increases have been promised in future years as the government aims to deliver on the ambitious target to recruit 20,000 more officers over the next three years as well as invest in the wider justice system.

Our work finds that this injection of funding has made police leaders optimistic. Funding may now recover to 2009 levels by 2022 and leaders are confident that they have enhanced the efficiency of their organisations during the period of austerity. Yet there is some caution too. The proposed funding increase would still mean that officer numbers in England and Wales remain 9 per cent lower in per capita terms than ten years ago, given population growth.[7] There also remains (at the time of writing) some uncertainty regarding future policy decisions nationally, Brexit impacts, and shift in local political leadership. We expect as many as half of police and crime commissioners (PCCs) to be replaced after the May 2020 elections, as around a third of PCCs are not seeking re-election.

These uncertainties reflect the fact that policing has reached a new inflection point. **The policy and fiscal framework in England and Wales that was ushered in by the then home secretary, Theresa May, in 2010 and which held firm until she stepped down as prime minister in 2019 is now over.** Decisions by politicians and police leaders over the coming months in England and Wales – and parallel decisions in Scotland and Northern Ireland – will shape a new settlement and determine the effectiveness of UK policing for years to come.

There is now a vital opportunity to address historic challenges and prepare for the future. The trends of accelerating technological and societal change highlighted in this report have already created an environment that is very different to ten years ago (see Figure 1) – and there are gaps emerging in policing's ability to cope with change. None of the leaders we surveyed felt policing was yet well prepared for tackling technology-enabled crime (see page 20). There were also major concerns about policing's capacity to use technology effectively (see page 21). And there were concerns about policing's capacity to deliver a co-ordinated national, regional and local response to emerging threats (see page 21).

If these gaps are addressed, and policing avoids the temptation simply to rebuild the policing model of ten years ago, the prize is vast. We propose nine measures that could collectively help ensure that the addition of 20,000 officers transforms policing effectiveness today and in future.

There is now a vital opportunity to address historic challenges and prepare for the future.

Recommendations for UK government and the national policing board[i]
We take it as a given that even with increased resources, policing must be as clear as possible about its mission, aspirations and priorities and national investments must be guided by a clear view of what the public value and need. To ensure effective delivery on the mission, however, the government and the national policing board should:

1. **Continue to invest beyond the levels required to hire the additional 20,000 officers** in England and Wales and rebuild service strength in Northern Ireland. Investment in new officers will only support productivity when there is an appropriate balancing investment in:

   – Training and equipment (including technological enablement)

   – Functions that are essential to policing effectiveness but don't always require warranted officers (e.g. forensics and intelligence)

   – Downstream costs in the criminal justice system, and upstream preventative work.

The 2020 budget investment of £750 million for up to 6,000 officers, plus taser funding and increased criminal justice expenditure, appears to have provisioned for some of these investments for next year. However, Scotland's experience suggests that future budgetary pressures could create temptations to focus only on the 20,000 officer recruitment target.

2. **If the above is not possible due to changes in priorities or fiscal position, adjust timescales for increasing officer numbers.** Underinvesting in the right support staff, technical specialists and technology will result in policing being less productive and could drive some forces to reallocate frontline officers into less operational roles.

3. **Build new crime reduction capabilities that logically sit above the level of individual forces.** We believe there is a gap in national capabilities for preventing high volume, less serious crimes, particularly online crime (notably fraud) and traditional acquisitive crime. Local police forces lack many of the levers necessary for effective crime prevention (for example, engaging with industry on product security standards or liaising with banks to tackle illicit finance). The National Crime Agency (NCA), meanwhile, is oriented towards individual serious cases and organised threats, rather than cumulative system-wide crime harms – so cannot easily prioritise building the capabilities to prevent high volume, lower seriousness crime. This means opportunities are missed to prevent victimisation and to tackle serious violence and other government priorities.

4. **Provide increased stability of investment and stronger co-ordination around national technology-enabled transformation and specialist capability programmes.** Funding for critical programmes is still not provided on a multi-year basis, and this is slowing down the delivery of benefits to officers and staff. The multiplicity of governance arrangements for national programmes is also creating duplication of effort and increased workload for police forces. It seems inevitable that at some point an organisation will need to be assigned to house these ongoing long-term programmes and the capabilities needed to support them.

5. **Harness the Police Foundation Policing Review, announced in September 2019, to build solutions and consensus around overall police structures and governance.** Our research showed clear dysfunction in the governance of national and regional capabilities and critical programmes. This report raises some options for improvement but any solution involves trade-offs and will be contentious.

Underinvesting in the right support staff, technical specialists and technology will result in policing being less productive and could drive some forces to reallocate frontline officers into less operational roles.

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i Please note that these recommendations do not apply to Scotland or Northern Ireland where policing is a devolved matter but similar principles apply – for example on budget certainty and balanced investment in officers and staff/technology

Recommendations for local policing, including in devolved administrations

In the relatively decentralised UK policing system, political and operational leaders at force level will make many of the most critical choices shaping the future effectiveness of policing. We previously provided policing leaders with a framework to guide difficult prioritisation decisions nationally and locally (see Figure 2). We also recommended that policing uses new methods for understanding public priorities – including deliberative processes tested by the Police Foundation over the past year.[8] It remains critical that such tools are used by devolved assemblies, PCCs and chief officers to shape decisions about what is policed, where and how. This year, however, we identify four additional actions that can support local policing.

6. **Develop 'digital twins' of your organisation to develop more insight on where to invest new resources.** This can build on progress made in understanding demands on policing for Force Management Statements and will help organisations to anticipate and unblock organisational bottlenecks and capability gaps (see page 30).

7. **Refuse to compromise on quality or diversity in the upcoming recruitment drive, even if this means a delay in hitting targets.** With around 50,000 new recruits required to meet officer number targets, entrants over the next few years will be the backbone of the service for decades. We provide suggestions on how to capitalise on the workforce opportunity on page 35 of this report.

8. **Build on collective work relating to digital policing.** Contrary to the overall perception, several police forces in the UK and internationally are making huge strides towards becoming data-driven organisations, deploying advanced analytics and intelligent automation solutions ethically, embracing new national capabilities and managing ICT infrastructure efficiently and securely. The service direction of travel is now clearly set out in the national Digital, Data and Technology Strategy and we make recommendations for how to build on progress on pages 37-9.

9. **Anticipate and avoid 'change overload'.** Policing has delivered major changes in recent years but there is more to come. At a time when police HR, change and communications teams are already stretched by locally-led programmes, a set of national programmes (for recruitment, training and technology) are being implemented. They all offer potential productivity gains but also require new training and communications drives that will need to be carefully managed and sequenced to ensure the workforce is not confused and overwhelmed by changes.

These recommendations all directly support or complement the delivery of the Government's manifesto commitments on crime and policing. Some (for example on investment approaches) go very much with the grain of work already underway and will simply require ongoing focus. Others require new decisions or programmes of work nationally or locally.

All recommendations are, of course, intended to support the development of the next evolution of UK policing, Policing 4.0. Policing 4.0 is about building an ecosystem that harnesses clear thinking, data, person-centred design and cyber-physical systems to improve public safety and create public value. We believe that this year's changes in policing context provide an unparalleled opportunity to make Policing 4.0 a reality.

In the relatively decentralised UK policing system, political and operational leaders at force level will make many of the most critical choices shaping the future effectiveness of policing.
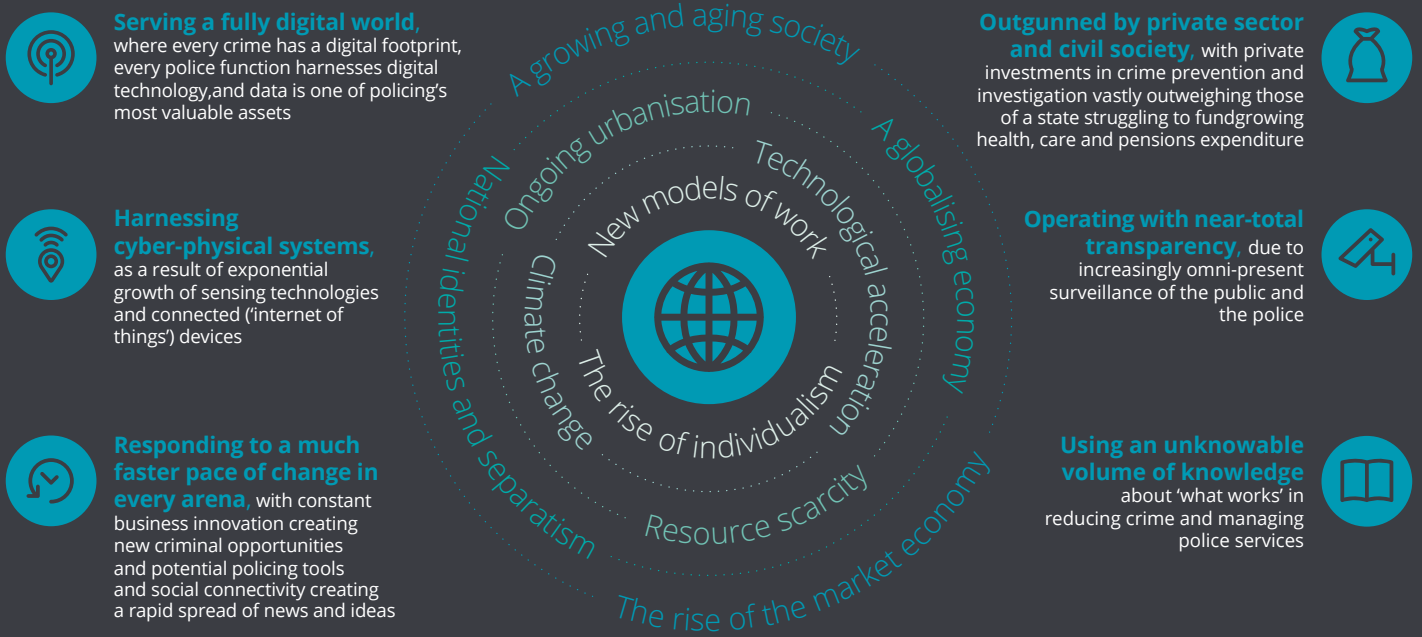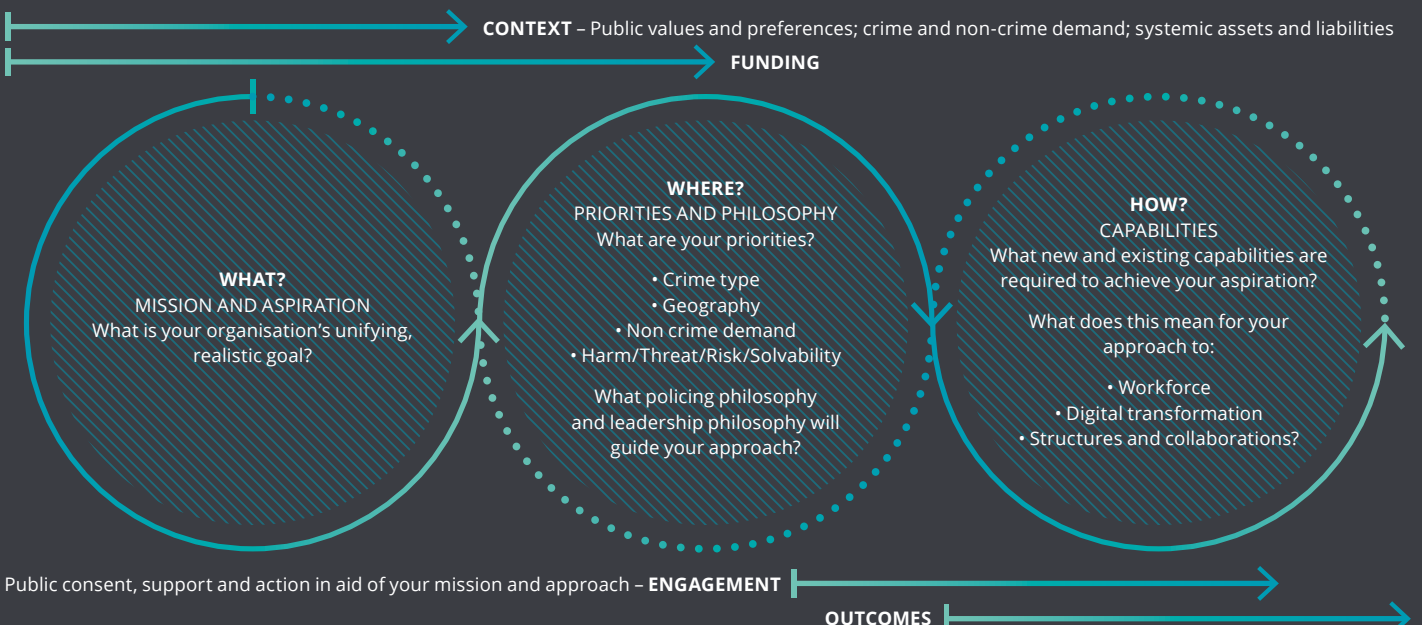
Figure 1. Six new realities for policing

Serving a fully digital world, where every crime has a digital footprint, every police function harnesses digital technology, and data is one of policing's most valuable assets

Harnessing cyber-physical systems, as a result of exponential growth of sensing technologies and connected ('internet of things') devices

Responding to a much faster pace of change in every arena, with constant business innovation creating new criminal opportunities and potential policing tools and social connectivity creating a rapid spread of news and ideas

Outgunned by private sector and civil society, with private investments in crime prevention and investigation vastly outweighing those of a state struggling to fund growing health, care and pensions expenditure

Operating with near-total transparency, due to increasingly omni-present surveillance of the public and the police

Using an unknowable volume of knowledge about 'what works' in reducing crime and managing police services

A growing and aging society
Ongoing urbanisation
National identities and separatism
Climate change
New models of work
The rise of individualism
Technological acceleration
A globalising economy
Resource scarcity
The rise of the market economy

Figure 2. Critical decisions for policing – a framework for strategic choices

CONTEXT – Public values and preferences; crime and non-crime demand; systemic assets and liabilities

FUNDING

WHAT?
MISSION AND ASPIRATION
What is your organisation's unifying, realistic goal?

WHERE?
PRIORITIES AND PHILOSOPHY
What are your priorities?

• Crime type
• Geography
• Non crime demand
• Harm/Threat/Risk/Solvability

What policing philosophy and leadership philosophy will guide your approach?

HOW?
CAPABILITIES
What new and existing capabilities are required to achieve your aspiration?

What does this mean for your approach to:

• Workforce
• Digital transformation
• Structures and collaborations?

Public consent, support and action in aid of your mission and approach – **ENGAGEMENT**

OUTCOMES

About this report

This report draws on significant research and engagement with UK policing conducted between late July and the end of September 2019 (see panel).

Its purpose is to support UK police leaders at all levels to imagine and deliver the future of policing, by:

- helping to make sense of the major recent and impending changes that will affect the future of policing

- providing tools and frameworks to support difficult decisions on police priorities and where to invest to deliver on them

- highlighting areas where new police capabilities need to be developed – and the new approaches to managing the workforce, deploying technology, and reshaping structures and collaborative models that can support their creation

- inspiring leaders with examples of interesting and/or proven approaches from their colleagues in other forces and other sectors.

We structure this report by focusing first on recent changes, then future trends, then on an assessment of police readiness for immediate and long-term challenges. We provide perspectives and recommendations on how policing can address current challenges and prepare for the future, and highlight the difficult choices policing leaders face. Finally, we note the approaches that pioneers in policing and other sectors are using to become more effective and put forward our ideas for addressing issues that risk holding back the service.

Our research method

Interviews
- Chief officers from 13 forces
- 3 PCCs
- 8 national policing leaders
- 2 independent experts

UK Police survey
- Chief officers in 12 forces

Workshop
- Cross-policing workshop with 50 officers and staff of various levels of seniority

State of the State data
- Public survey on key issues
- Public sector workforce online engagement

Literature review
- See bibliography

UK statistics
- Budget, crime, workforce, performance

Deloitte experience
- UK policing
- International
- Other sectors

A new and volatile context

Increased divergence and fiscal constraints

In *Policing 4.0 2018*, we set out in detail the major trends that have been affecting UK policing in the past decade.[9] The most obvious shift has, of course, been in funding. But a less remarked on change is increased divergence. Devolution of policing to Scotland and, more gradually, Northern Ireland since 1998 has brought far **greater variation between nations**. And since 2010, there has been **increased divergence within England and Wales** too, as a result of:

• the introduction of directly elected PCCs in 2011, who have held greater sway on funding, priorities and specific decisions than the police authorities that preceded them

• a major overall reduction in the central police grant, which has increased police forces' reliance on their local tax base

• variation in the levels of reduction in central police grants across forces, due to funding formula rules.

In 2020, it is increasingly difficult to talk about UK policing as a single entity. UK policing still undoubtedly has considerable shared culture and history. Staff still regularly (though decreasingly) move between areas and nations, sharing ideas along the way. But **differences are growing in terms of funding, workforce mix, and policy.**

In terms of funding across nations, Scottish expenditure on policing and workforce numbers have been stable over the past ten years. In England and Wales (where policing is not devolved), there has been a real terms funding reduction of around 18 per cent and a 16 per cent reduction in the workforce (See Figure 3). Northern Ireland, a country with a very different and demanding policing context, experienced significant cuts, with an eight per cent drop in officer numbers since 2010.[10]

Figure 3. Police workforce composition in England and Wales, 2009-2019 (headcount in thousands)
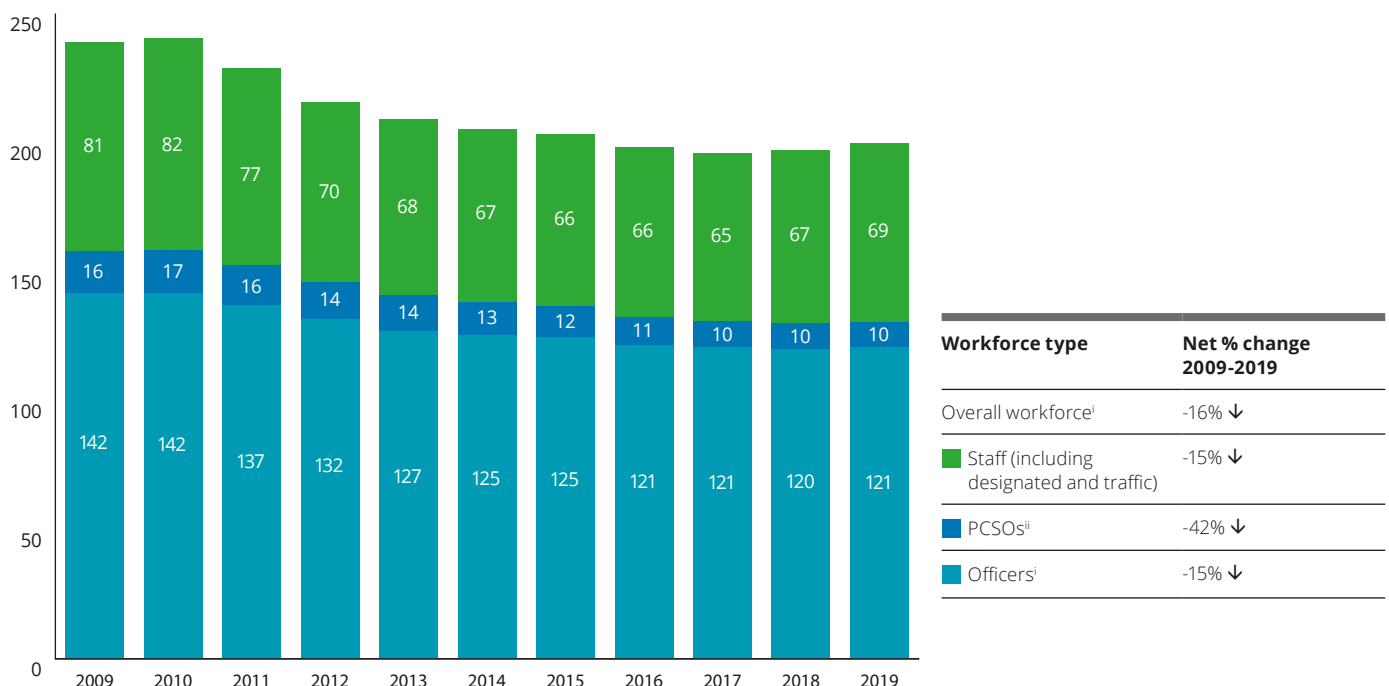
Workforce type	Net % change 2009-2019
Overall workforce[i]	-16% ↓
Staff (including designated and traffic)	-15% ↓
PCSOs[ii]	-42% ↓
Officers[i]	-15% ↓

Source: Home Office, Police Workforce: England and Wales, Table S1, plus author's analysis, 18 July 2019
Notes: i. Excludes British Transport Police and secondments out to central services
ii. Police Community Support Officers

**Per capita police funding varies significantly** by nation and region (see Figure 4). As national grants in England and Wales have reduced, the relative importance of local taxation has increased. Forces with strong local tax bases, a historically higher precept and PCCs more willing to raise the precept have been shielded from the full force of reductions in central grants.[11]

Workforce mix also now varies significantly across forces (see Figure 5). All forces received ring-fenced funding to hire Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) after they were introduced by David Blunkett, the then home secretary, in 2002 to increase visibility and boost neighbourhood engagement. But when prescriptions were removed forces differed widely in their views on to what degree PCSOs had been helpful. Norfolk, for example, ended their use entirely but they still account for eight per cent of the workforce in Cleveland and Staffordshire.

Similarly, some forces have been much keener than others to use non-warranted officers in roles such as intelligence or fraud investigation, and there have been differing views on the right balance of investment between frontline officers and the technological and administrative support that can boost their productivity. Seventy-five per cent of the Metropolitan Police Service workforce are police officers compared to just 48 per cent in Avon and Somerset. It is worth noting that forces such as Cleveland and Lincolnshire have outsourced a large number of support roles, while the majority of forces have not.

**Figure 4. Officers per 100,000 by UK geography, 2019[12]**
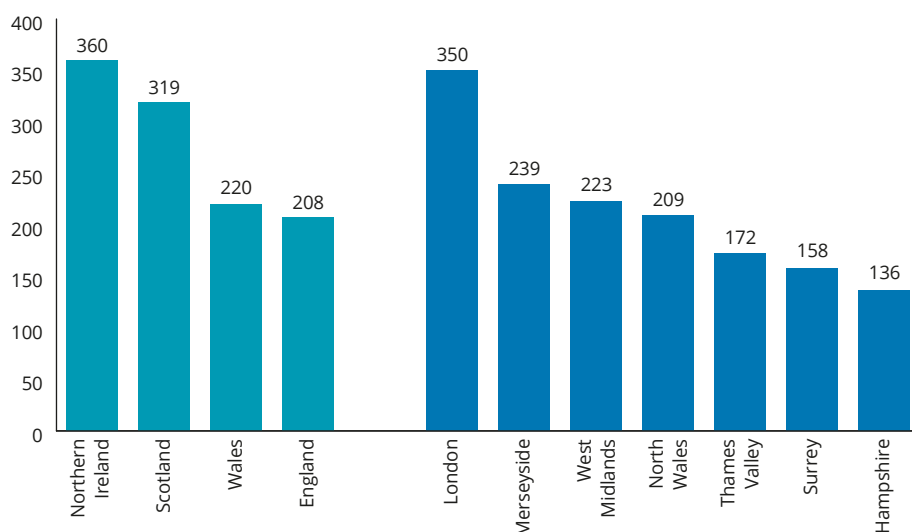
Source: Author's analysis based on ONS and police workforce data drawn from. G. Allen and Y. Zayed, *Briefing Paper Number 00634: Police Service Strength,* House of Commons Library, 31 July 2019
Note: London aggregates Metropolitan Police and City of London Police Service figures but excludes central agencies based in London such as the NCA

Our interviews this year made clear that there are also **differences in priorities across geographies**. There was a general divide between rural and urban forces in terms of the crime problems they were seeking to tackle. But we found important – though smaller – differences in the choices PCCs and chief constables were making in terms of policing priorities and operational strategy across all forces – which we discuss further on pages 24-7.

Forces with strong local tax bases, a historically higher precept and PCCs more willing to raise the precept have been shielded from the full force of reductions in central grants.

Figure 5. Workforce mix by force area, 2019 (% of workforce by type)
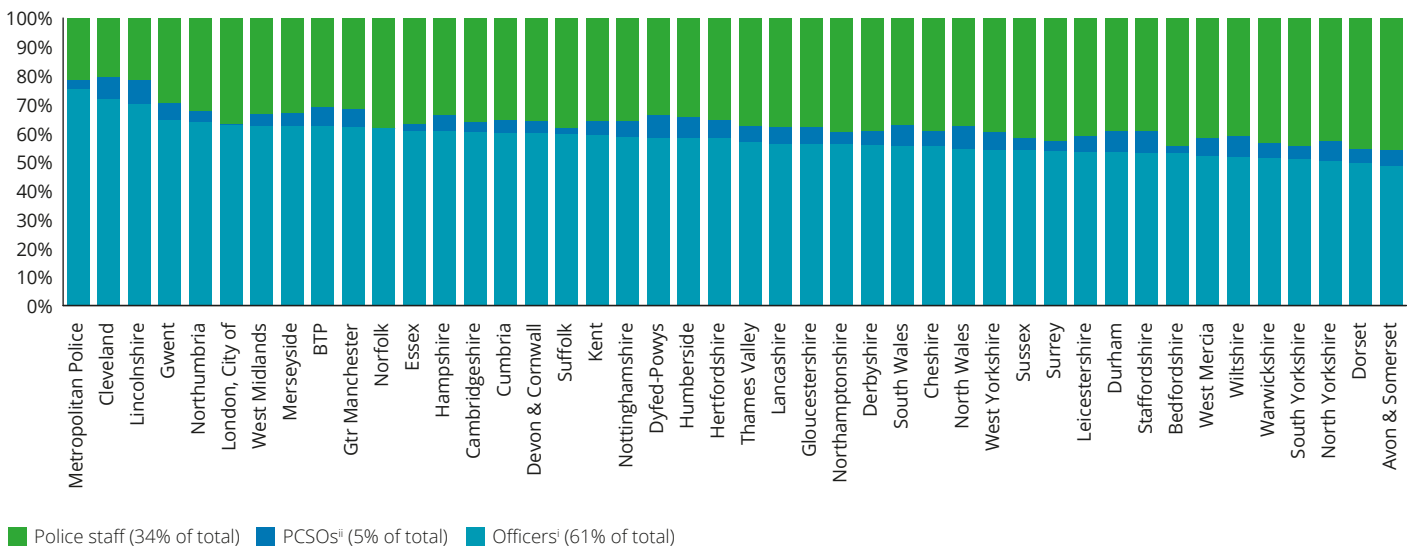
Police staff (34% of total) PCSOs[ii] (5% of total) Officers[i] (61% of total)

Source: Home Office, Police Workforce: England and Wales, Table S1, plus author's analysis, 18 July 2019
Notes: Headcount data. i. Excludes British Transport Police and secondments out to central services ii. Police Community Support Officers

Evolving patterns of crime and demand
The big changes in patterns of demand are more consistent across forces. As we reported last year, all areas are still grappling with the same fundamental long-term shift that has required policing to span three spheres:

1. **The public sphere:** In the decades leading up to the 1980s, policing was largely concerned with maintaining public order and dealing with crimes in public or against property.

2. **The private sphere:** From the 1980s onwards, public pressure mounted for policing to tackle increasingly seriously crimes in the private sphere, particularly previously unnoticed or neglected sexual and violent crimes against women and children.

3. **The virtual sphere:** Since the 2000s, the police have inevitably been pulled into the digital world as concerns grow about internet-enabled bullying, abuse, fraud and theft, and much other crime has become in some way digitally enabled.

This growth in the police mission has contributed to policing being increasingly stretched despite long-term falls in volumes of traditional crimes such as burglary and theft. In the last year increased reporting of private sphere crimes has continued unabated, driving a heavy workload given the complex investigations required by both current and historic cases.

Sex offender registers are adding new individuals to monitor at a faster rate than they are removing them.[ii] And while online crime has arguably not yet met the response it merits, it is still absorbing increasing amounts of police time. Last year there were 3.24 million fraud offences, mostly perpetrated remotely, creating billions of pounds of harm to society.[13]

ii Ford, R., 'Number of registered sex offenders jumps by 80 per cent in ten years', The Times, October 27 2017. Note that the sexual offenders register is the list of those subject to community supervision because of past sexual offending. Those who have received sentences of over 30 months are subject to lifetime supervision, while those who have a sentence of 6-30 months are monitored for 10 years, and under six months for seven. Sexual offences covered are not limited to children or contact sexual offending.

In addition, there has been a widely reported and troubling resurgence in serious violence. Since 2015, serious violence recorded by the police has risen dramatically – particularly in England and Wales – and this does not appear to be solely a consequence of improved police recording.[14] The trend is still relatively short-term, and not universal. Homicide in Scotland and Northern Ireland has, for example, remained largely similar.[15] But there is an emerging international trend towards increased serious violence. And this means that the approach of moving police resources away from public sphere crimes and towards private and virtual domains as traditional crime fell may no longer be tenable.

Another source of strain highlighted in Policing 4.0 relates to policing's role as the 'service of last resort'. For example, the police report increased demands relating to mental health crises, car accidents and protecting the vulnerable, such as those missing from care homes.[16] A by-product of automation, increased efficiency in public service delivery, and reduced local spending across public services is a reduction in the number of guardians of public spaces other than the police. Without bus conductors and with fewer park wardens, for example, issues that might previously have been prevented or resolved now lead to police call outs.[17]

Increasingly difficult choices

A key theme of this year's interviews was the fact that shrinking resources and an expanding mission have required leaders to make difficult – sometimes impossible – choices about what to prioritise. The truth is that policing has never been able to provide a full investigative response to all crimes and it has always had to make choices about whether to invest in pursuing criminals or preventing crime. As one leader told us, "We currently prioritise in all sorts of ways, both on threat, risk, harm, vulnerability [to determine levels of investigative response] but also for example by only examining two digital devices per household [for certain crimes]. Even with additional resources we will need to decide on investment in prevention, safeguarding, reassurance patrolling, response and investigation."[18]

The difference during our summer and autumn 2019 interviews was that UK policing leaders were feeling increasingly uncomfortable with the fact that they were only able to provide initial investigations (assessing likelihoods of reaching a successful conclusion) for increasingly serious crimes. And they saw more clearly the consequences of tricky trade-offs. Doing all aspects of policing well with historic resourcing levels could feel like trying to get a single bedsheet to cover a double bed – the moment one area is covered a gap emerges elsewhere.

One chief officer said, "I've protected neighbourhood policing, but suffered on investigation, response and proactivity, and cyber and fraud".[19] A PCC said, "The force's Crime Management Centre is doing remote resolution and 'screening out' [deciding which cases cannot be fully investigated], which is uncomfortable but it's the world we are in with current resources."[20]

Many police forces have received criticism for investigating only the most serious crimes and risks and neglecting some higher volume crimes and types of engagement that the general population value. The alternative of failing to prevent or investigate as many serious offences was, however, also unappetising – and a clear finding from this year's interviews is that policing is getting much more rigorous and sophisticated in the way it approaches prioritisation. As one chief officer said, "My people were going to fall over if they couldn't make calls and prioritise the important."[21]

…shrinking resources and an expanding mission have required leaders to make difficult – sometimes impossible – choices about what to prioritise.

Growing strain

In 2018, Policing 4.0 showed a service that was working hard to minimise the impact of funding reductions on citizens' services. However, it also showed a **service under growing strain**, struggling to cope with the combination of increased demand, growing case complexity, and reduced funding. Its release coincided with mounting concern in the sector, expressed in Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of the Constabulary, Fire and Rescue Service's reports, a highly critical National Audit Office study, and the Home Affairs Select Committee's report on the Future of Policing. Collectively, these reports highlighted the difficult prioritisation choices forces were having to make, noting that several – though not all – forces were:

• deprioritising a growing number of crimes at an early stage, because they only felt able to provide a full investigative response to the most serious cases or when there was a reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution

• answering calls for service less promptly and arriving at the scene of emergencies in a less timely manner

• no longer providing a meaningful neighbourhood policing offer, due to resources being pulled into emergency response and investigation

• unable to offer adequate protection and emotional support to officers who face repeated trauma through their work

• failing in safeguarding responsibilities in relation to vulnerable victims, witnesses and suspects.

This year there is optimism that new funding will help to resolve some of these issues. However, issues were still present in many forces, and recent research from Deloitte and Institute for Government[22] shows that they have started to affect public confidence and outcomes. We note:
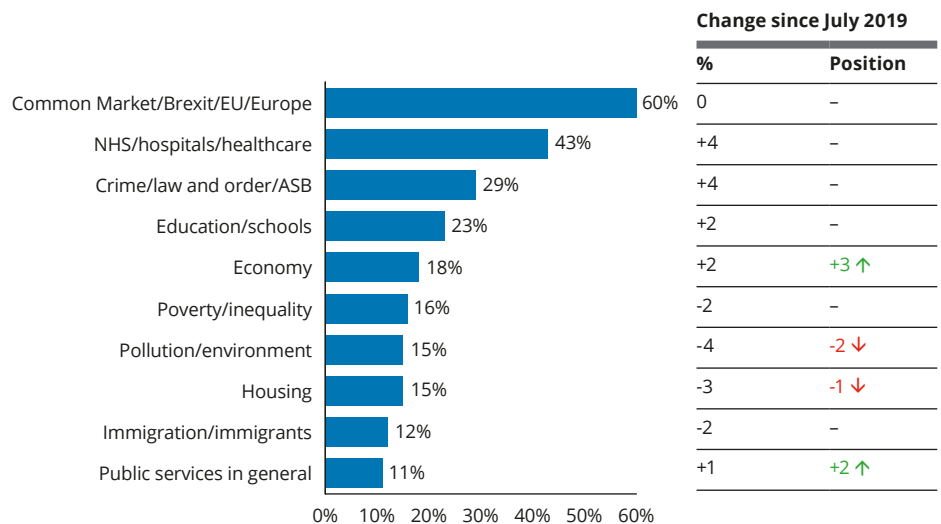
• **public concern about crime is growing.** Ipsos Mori's 'Issues Tracker' (August 2019, see Figure 6) shows that crime is an increasing public concern and now the third highest public concern in the UK after Europe/Brexit and the NHS. Deloitte's recent State of the State report showed that (as in 2018) policing was the third highest public priority for increased investment after the NHS and education.[23] The proportion wanting to prioritise policing as one of their top two or three investment areas fell from 38 per cent to 32 per cent, though this may reflect the fact that polling came after the prime minister promised to invest in 20,000 additional police officers.

• **public confidence in the police appears to have fallen, after many years remaining stable.** The proportion of the public rating the police as good or excellent in the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW) has fallen to 58 per cent in 2018/19, having fluctuated between 61 per cent and 63 per cent between 2011/12 and 2017/18.[24]

Figure 6. Public concerns, August 2019
Question: What do you see as the most/other important issues facing Britain today?

|	Value	Change since July 2019 %	Position
Common Market/Brexit/EU/Europe	60%	0	–
NHS/hospitals/healthcare	43%	+4	–
Crime/law and order/ASB	29%	+4	–
Education/schools	23%	+2	–
Economy	18%	+2	+3 ↑
Poverty/inequality	16%	-2	–
Pollution/environment	15%	-4	-2 ↓
Housing	15%	-3	-1 ↓
Immigration/immigrants	12%	-2	–
Public services in general	11%	+1	+2 ↑

Source: Ipsos Mori Issues Index
Base: 1,003 British adults 18+, 2-15 August 2019

- **some types of police visibility have fallen.** In 2018/19, just 16 per cent of respondents to the CSEW survey said that foot patrols were highly visible in their local area, less than half the 39 per cent recorded in 2009/10. Over the same period, the proportion of respondents reporting that they 'never' saw foot patrols increased from 27 per cent to 47 per cent.[25] Many forces have reduced visible patrols that previously provided reassurance in lower crime communities, in order to focus on the most vulnerable areas. However, these figures do not take into account the growing visibility (and effective communication) from the police through new online channels – and measures of visibility need to be updated to provide this broader view of visibility and understand the impact of visibility on confidence and legitimacy.

- **victim satisfaction is now falling.** Having held steady and even increased until 2013/14, satisfaction has been falling steadily since (Figure 7). In 2018/19 the overall proportion of victims who were 'very' or 'fairly' satisfied with police performance fell to 66 per cent down from a high of 74 per cent in 2013/14. This decrease in satisfaction has not been uniform across the different categories of crime. Victim satisfaction with police response to violent crime has actually increased slightly, from 72 per cent in March 2016 (when more detailed data first became available) to 74 per cent in March 2019. However, this has been more than offset by substantial decreases in victim satisfaction with police responses to theft offences and to criminal damage.[26] This disparity is interesting and may be a reflection of police prioritisation choices.

Figure 7. Percentage of victims who were satisfied with the police, 2010 to 2019
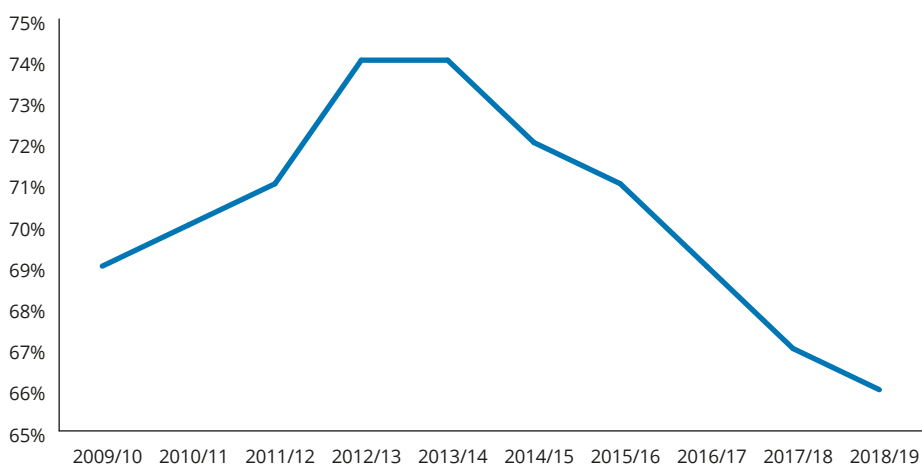
Source: Office for National Statistics, '*Crime in England and Wales: Supplementary tables*', Table S13

The past year saw increased attention on police weaknesses in tackling specific categories of crime – most notably fraud. A Police Foundation study highlighted that just 3 per cent of the (generally more serious) fraud offences reported to the police resulted in a charge and summons, reflecting the low priority generally given to fraud by policing.[27] There has been growing focus too on broader issues within a stretched criminal justice system, and the impact this has had on police effectiveness and legitimacy. Sir Thomas Winsor, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Fire & Rescue Services, highlighted a set of issues in his annual report on policing. Two of our chief officer interviewees suggested that "the criminal justice system is at the point of failure", highlighting long delays experienced both before securing charging decisions from the Crown Prosecution Service, challenges in securing court sitting time, and prison and probation services that could do little to address offending behaviour.[28]

A sudden shift in police funding and the English and Welsh policy context
Research for this report was conducted at a time of seismic change in the policing landscape in England and Wales. During the selection process for the Conservative Party leadership in July 2019, Boris Johnson signalled the high priority he attached to policing and promised an additional 20,000 officers for policing by 2021/2022. As prime minister he confirmed this pledge and the September 2019 spending round promised £750m in additional funding to support the recruitment of 6,000 officers in the coming year, plus £45 million funding to enable the immediate recruitment drive.[29] Officers were allocated to forces on 9th October 2019 as this report was being finalised. Officer allocations were based on the existing police funding formula.[30] No officers were initially allocated to national agencies such as the National Crime Agency, reflecting the political emphasis on increased policing visibility and a more robust investigative response for 'volume' crime.

New investment is being supplemented by some specific funds and grants for national priority issues, including:

- the establishment of a £25 million 'Safer Streets Fund', which will be subject to bids from PCCs and chief constables who wish to address crime hotspots

- a £20 million "package of actions" for "cracking down on county lines drugs gangs"

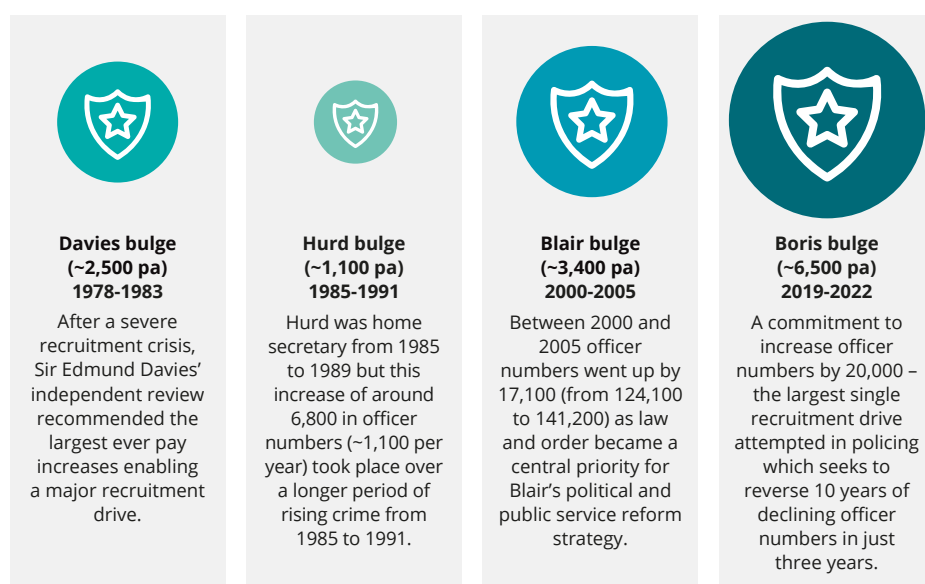- a £10 million fund to "increase the number of officers carrying a taser".

This major new investment comes in addition to smaller funding injections in 2018/19. During that year the government's central grant funding remained flat (in cash terms) but government permitted PCCs to raise council tax by up to £12 per household per year.[31] In 2019, the government also provided ad hoc grants of around £100 million to tackle the challenges of serious violence in 18 priority areas, identified on the basis of Home Office data on knife crime accident and emergency admissions. Around £65 million of this largely went to funding overtime, while the remainder went towards funding new 'Violence Reduction Units' (VRUs) tasked with tackling longer-term causes of violence and galvanising a 'whole systems approach' to serious violence.

The shift in policing's funding position came as a surprise to most police leaders. Last year, our survey found that nearly half of police leaders expected funding to stay the same or decrease in the next five years, and only one prescient leader expected police funding to increase a lot.[32] Interviewees naturally welcomed the new investment, but there was also a note of caution about the way in which funding decisions had been made over the past year. As one chief officer put it, "the funding framework changes from one month to the next… CSR [Comprehensive Spending Review], funding formula, 20,000 uplift… by the time you do the work on planning for the future…change comes along."[33]

Funding for Violence Reduction Units (VRUs) was seen by interviewees as a prime example of the inefficiencies that could be created by unexpected and short-term commitments. First, there was essentially a requirement to 'use or lose' VRU funds within a year, even though there was a lack of clarity on what VRUs aimed to achieve and the best approaches to organisation and staffing. Second, there was no long-term funding stream for what should be a long-term investment – creating unhelpful uncertainty over how to fund units (and indeed whether to prioritise them) when funding runs out. The pledge for 20,000 new officers is hugely welcomed by the service and provides increased certainty, but leaders are still concerned about their ability to make long-term commitments. A government spending review which would have set a two or three-year spending envelope was scheduled to take place in 2018 but has still not happened.

The scale of promised officer recruitment is vast. As shown in Figure 8 (overleaf), it is the largest and fastest ever attempted in England and Wales, and will return officer numbers to 2009 levels, which were then at an all-time high. Given current rates of officers leaving the service, policing needs to recruit around 50,000 new recruits to achieve the 20,000 increase. If common application success rates of around 1 in 10 were maintained, that would mean encouraging 500,000 applicants to apply for officer roles. In addition, the £750 million provision in this year's spending round provides funding for staff recruitment (as well as technology and equipment to support police effectiveness). This increases the scale and scope of the recruitment challenge, given challenges in recruiting and retaining particular specialist skills, for example relating to technology.

The scale of promised officer recruitment is vast… it is the largest and fastest ever attempted in England and Wales, and will return officer numbers to 2009 levels, which were then at an all-time high.

Figure 8. Officer recruitment drive in historical context

**Davies bulge
(~2,500 pa)
1978-1983**

After a severe recruitment crisis, Sir Edmund Davies' independent review recommended the largest ever pay increases enabling a major recruitment drive.

**Hurd bulge
(~1,100 pa)
1985-1991**

Hurd was home secretary from 1985 to 1989 but this increase of around 6,800 in officer numbers (~1,100 per year) took place over a longer period of rising crime from 1985 to 1991.

**Blair bulge
(~3,400 pa)
2000-2005**

Between 2000 and 2005 officer numbers went up by 17,100 (from 124,100 to 141,200) as law and order became a central priority for Blair's political and public service reform strategy.

**Boris bulge
(~6,500 pa)
2019-2022**

A commitment to increase officer numbers by 20,000 – the largest single recruitment drive attempted in policing which seeks to reverse 10 years of declining officer numbers in just three years.

Police recruitment takes place against the backdrop of a major shift in the approach to officer recruitment and initial training. Those without degrees will be able to apply for roles in policing but all will work towards degree level professional qualifications as part of their training. New recruits with degrees will need to undergo two years of training before being fully qualified, while those entering without degrees (via the apprenticeship route) will undergo three years of training. Officers already in the workforce will be given the opportunity to have their skills recognised and supplemented through the Police Education and Qualification Framework.

The recruitment drive has been accompanied by important shifts in tone and policy from the new prime minister, home secretary, and policing minister. Precise policy positions are not yet fixed in several areas but the main shifts observed by our interviewees were:

• **increased focus on crime and policing.** As one chief officer said, "What I'm seeing… that policing is on the top of the political agenda…"[34]

• **increased willingness to set priorities and direction nationally.** There is a strong expectation that new funding will come with increased direction over how resources are used. Signals of this include:

 – the creation of the new National Policing Board, to set the direction for policing

 – the creation of a national programme, with a national Senior Responsible Officer, to support officer uplift

 – the creation of ring-fenced grants tied to national priorities (crime types)

 – consideration of a new performance framework to track police performance.

Central direction runs counter to a more devolved approach to decision making that largely left PCCs and chief constables to set priorities. As one leader noted, "things were beginning to go in this direction already after a more hands off approach [from the Home Office]".[35] But as another said, "there has been a 180 degree shift in the balance of central versus local direction and control".[36] It is important to note that the Conservative manifesto did not envisage that central direction would diminish the importance of PCCs, promising only to "strengthen the accountability of elected PCCs and expand their role.[37]

• **renewed focus on more traditional crime and visibility.** Political messaging has emphasised the importance of providing greater visibility and tackling violence and 'traditional' crimes. A striking theme in this year's interviews was a recognition that the combination of austerity and a focus on the highest threat, harm and risk cases and situations had necessitated too great a neglect of higher volume, low to medium severity crimes such as burglary. As one chief constable put it, "traditional crime investigation had fallen off a cliff and I always felt there would be a reaction… maybe an overreaction"[38]

• **a more punitive focus for the criminal justice system:** There is a political commitment to increasing prison capacity, and new funding has been allocated to support the broader CJS to support effective prosecutions. A 'sentencing review' has been announced, tasked with identifying clear signalling of a desire for 'tougher' sentencing, and a sentencing review to assess options for this. The Conservative manifesto 2019 confirmed these shifts and also emphasised ongoing focus on online threats (creating a "New national cyber crime force"), improved victim support, and the creation of "a world class National Crime Laboratory."

Less radical shifts in devolved policing

Scotland and particularly Northern Ireland are influenced by these developments in England and Wales – not least because the Barnett Formula links funding approaches across the UK. Each country context is unique, however. Officer pledges in England and Wales are creating stronger pressure for increased officer numbers in Northern Ireland but the decision-making process and context there is deeply challenging. After the collapse of the power-sharing agreement and two and a half years without ministers, the UK government has taken over the task of setting Northern Ireland's departmental budgets. The UK government remains reluctant to make major policy changes in policing and elsewhere, however, partly for fear these will be perceived as going against the grain of the current constitutional settlement.[39] Brexit affects all nations but uncertainty related to Brexit is arguably felt more acutely in Northern Ireland than anywhere. Chief Constable Simon Byrne has warned that debates over trade, customs and border arrangements could create a backdrop that fuels sectarian sentiment. He has also flagged the need for significant additional resources to deal with increased demands at the border for most Brexit scenarios and the worrying rise in sectarian attacks, including on serving officers.[40]

As noted, Scotland's situation in terms of officer numbers is different to the rest of the UK. Scottish police officer numbers have been kept stable after a major uplift in 2008-2010, though sometimes at the cost of having to make significant savings in staff numbers and enabling technology to keep within expenditure limits. HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland (HMICS) reports on understaffing of critical support roles (for example in command and control) suggest that this may have created an imbalance. The Scottish experience might therefore provide a useful warning to the rest of the UK to consider overall service strength and productivity, and not just officer numbers.[41] The consensus view across UK police leadership is certainly that investments in new officers must be balanced with investment in people, equipment and technology. As one chief officer put it, "This [investment] can't just be about people, it's about the policing infrastructure… there is a whole array of policing infrastructure that shouldn't be confused with an uplift in police officers… for example… digital… forensics and air capability."[42] Another noted, "if the 20,000 isn't fully funded [i.e. supported by investments in staff roles and equipment] then you might be having officers coming into staff roles."[43] Several interviewees noted that appropriate buildings would also be important, citing the current difficulties in finding appropriate meeting rooms for one-to-one conversations (for example, line management meetings) and storing equipment for incoming officers.

Ongoing uncertainties in the policing context

Striking across all UK nations is the ongoing uncertainty around policing, which creates significant challenges for planning. One PCC even told us diplomatically, 'you're very brave to write this in such a period of volatility – by the date you publish it, things will probably be entirely different".[44]

A major uncertainty throughout the research phase for this work was how funding would be allocated – particularly whether national policing would receive additional officers. The decision to use the funding formula to determine force level allocation (and to exclude the National Crime Agency from the first year's allocations) has resolved this uncertainty for the first year of the uplift programme (accounting for 6,000 of 20,000 additional officers). However, there remains a question about how funding will be allocated in future years and there have been renewed calls to examine the fairness of the police funding formula. John Apter, Chair of the Police Federation, has said "we now have the actual number of officers each local force will increase by in the next year. These figures have been based on the current funding formula models and, while this method is not perfect, I accept it is the only solution available to deliver the numbers quickly in year one. We now need to ensure that the formula is revisited for future years to ensure a fairer allocation of officers across all forces."[45]

The key unresolved areas of uncertainty now relate to:

- **levels of total investment supporting the 20,000 officer increase.** While the political commitment to officer numbers provides significant reassurance regarding funding and allows recruitment planning for officers, the lack of a spending review setting a long-term funding envelope makes it very difficult to plan recruitment for non-warranted roles and technology investments

- **how the remaining investment will be split across policing.** At the time of writing, there has been a clear signal that national agencies (particularly the NCA) will receive a proportion of future funding but the level of this funding is still unknown. Equally, it is unclear if and how the allocation mechanism will change – not least because recent attempts to revise the funding formula have faltered due to disagreements about potential solutions

- **how pension rulings will affect policing.** In June 2019, the Supreme Court ruled that changes to pension arrangements for fire services and the judiciary made in 2015 were discriminatory as they were based on age. With similar changes made in policing, it is likely that compensation will need to be made, but there are ongoing discussions and negotiations across sectors regarding how compensation will be approached and funded. An analyst has estimated the cost of compensation to taxpayers as being around £4bn per year, a sum that could have longer-term fiscal implications.[46]

- **local political leadership.** At the time of writing, nearly a third of PCCs are not expected to seek re-election in the May 2020 elections. The political context creates significant uncertainty regarding electoral outcomes, but it is still reasonable to assume that other PCCs will be replaced by political opponents. Some PCCs we interviewed remained concerned about securing a significant electoral turnout in those areas where few local elections are scheduled to take place simultaneously. One chief raised the possibility of single-issue or even extremist candidates, noting that such an outcome would inevitably "lead to legal challenge". [47]

- **levels of change or disruption that will accompany Brexit**, with the ongoing possibility of a 'hard' exit, a 'deal' or even a new decision to remain in the EU.

These uncertainties place unusual and extraordinary pressures on police leaders. They necessitate both a willingness to anticipate and plan based on likely developments, taking calculated risks – and an adaptive approach to leadership, building reactive capacity and organisational resilience to policy and contextual change. Yet policing leaders are increasingly optimistic about the near-term future, as are the public. Deloitte's State of the State report showed that while still far from optimistic, the proportion of police who think policing will improve in the coming years has improved for the first time in over a decade (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Public views on the prospect of improved local policing
Question: Thinking about the way your area is policed over the next few years do you expect it to…?

August 2019

- Get much better
- Get better
- Stay the same
- Get worse
- Get much worse
- Don't know

18%, 8%, 2%, 2%, 29%, 42%

**March 2002 – August 2019**

Worse 36%
Better 20%
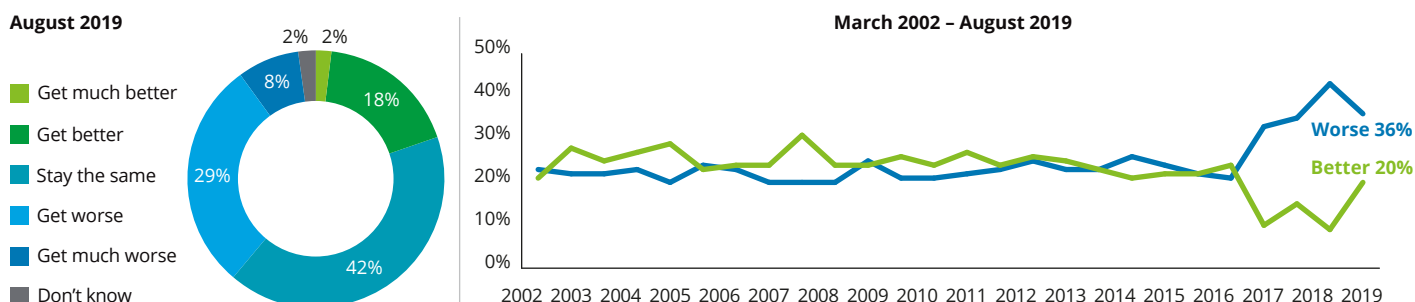
Source: Ipsos Mori Survey on behalf of Deloitte LLP for State of the State 2019
Base: c.1360 GB adults

A view of the future

Our 2018 *Policing 4.0* report set out the key trends that will shape the world the police are policing in 15 years' time. Summarised in Figure 1 on page 5 of this document, these have not changed in the past year but remain seismic. We still also expect cyclical events to recur. Recession, 'moral panics', controversy and large-scale public disorder – will all feature at some point in the coming years. As shown in Figure 10, the UK has experienced a recession on average once every 12 years in the post-war era,[iii] a riot every 5 to 10 years, and a police legitimacy controversy (with or without police wrongdoing) at least every decade.[iv]

Figure 10. Recurring and cyclical events with policing impacts
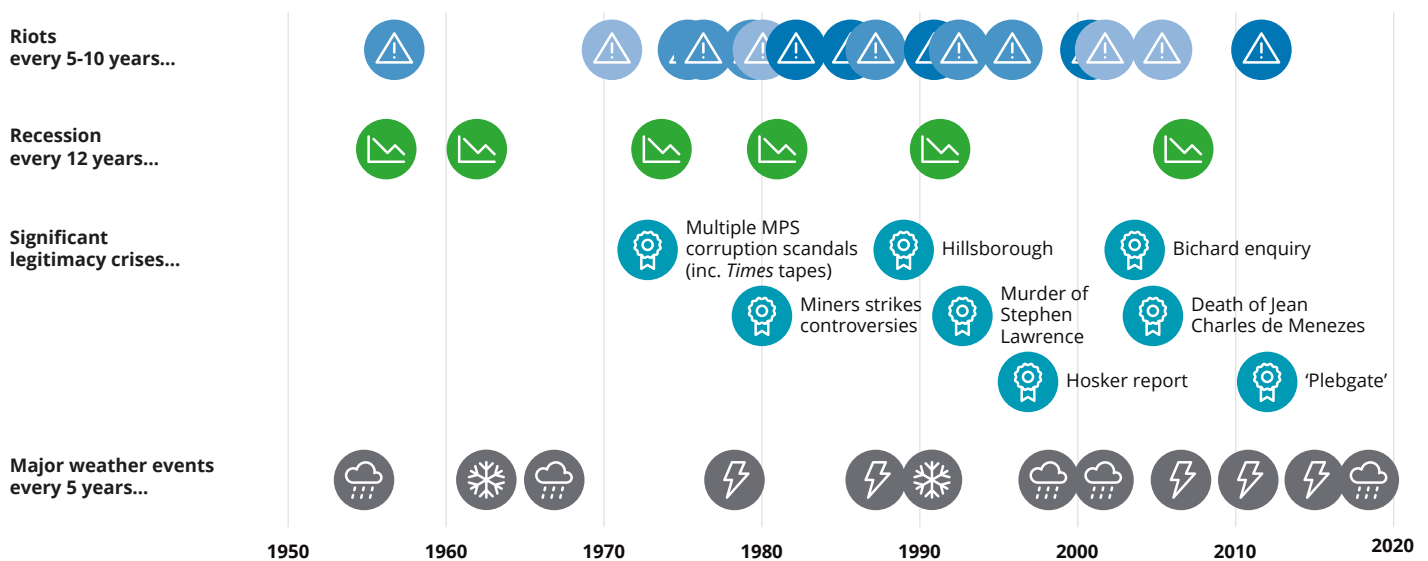
Source: Deloitte analysis and Tom Gash unpublished research on riots and weather patterns

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iii 1956, 1961, 1973-5, 1980-1, 1990-1, 2008-9 (1945-2018 = 73 years; 73/6 = 12.2)

iv In the last 25 years, policing controversies include Stephen Lawrence (1993), Bichard Inquiry (2003), Menezes 2005-7) Hillsborough (1989-2017), 'Plebgate' (2012), the undercover policing enquiry (2015-); Riot data taken from Tom Gash analysis of weather patterns and riots (unpublished)

As highlighted in the Policing Digital, Data and Technology Strategy, technology is still the major driving force for change, with the 'arms race' between those who commit crime and those seeking to prevent it accelerating over time. Virtually any technology can be used for good or ill, and the perennial challenge for law enforcement is to anticipate and respond effectively to new threats. This year, for example, advances in physics have led to miniaturised, lighter alternatives to established lenses ("metalenses"), which could unlock further miniaturisation of mobile phones, computers and other electronic devices.[48]

In a policing context, these could be harder to detect when used for illicit purposes but they also provide opportunities for more effective covert surveillance. This year has also seen theoretical work beginning on the creation of "DNA data storage", a long-term effort to create DNA-based, low energy alternatives to computer hard drives, with huge potential capacity.[49]

In this year's Deloitte Tech Trends report, we noted three particularly important technological developments for the coming years:

Technology is still the major driving force for change, with the 'arms race' between those who commit crime and those seeking to prevent it accelerating over time.

"Three newer trends – digital reality, cognitive technologies, and blockchain – are growing rapidly in importance. In the last several issues of Tech Trends, we discussed how virtual reality and augmented reality are redefining the fundamental ways humans interact with their surroundings, with data, and with each other. We tracked blockchain's meteoric rise from Bitcoin enabler to purveyor of trust. And as cognitive technologies such as machine learning, robotic process automation, natural language processing, neural nets, and AI moved from fledgling siloed capabilities to tenets of strategy, we have explored their profound potential for business and society. These three trends are poised to become as familiar and impactful as cloud, analytics, and digital experience are today."[50]
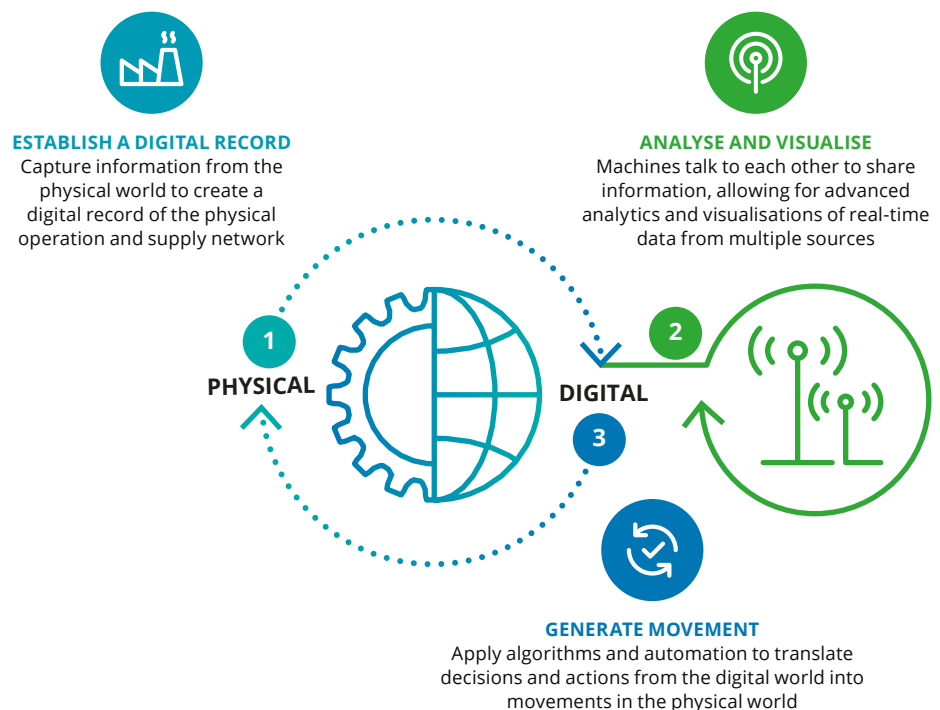
Deloitte Tech Trends 2019

As we enter the period described as the Fourth Industrial Revolution, or Industry 4.0, we still expect to see exponential growth in big data, sensing technologies, cyber-physical systems and analytic techniques that will blur boundaries between the physical and digital world, and create hyper-connectivity. As shown in Figure 11, in cyber-physical systems:

- real world experience is translated into data through sensing technologies, smart devices, and more traditional tools

- this data is processed using advanced analytics to estimate the real-world action required

- estimates of optimal next steps guide action in the physical world, not just by advising human decision-makers but by automatically directing action by internet-enabled devices

- feedback loops are formed as consequences of automated activity are constantly re-evaluated and actions revised.[v]

We provide considerable additional information on future trends affecting policing in our Policing 4.0 2018 report.

Figure 11. Physical-to-digital-to-physical loop and related technologies

ESTABLISH A DIGITAL RECORD
Capture information from the physical world to create a digital record of the physical operation and supply network

ANALYSE AND VISUALISE
Machines talk to each other to share information, allowing for advanced analytics and visualisations of real-time data from multiple sources

PHYSICAL

DIGITAL

GENERATE MOVEMENT
Apply algorithms and automation to translate decisions and actions from the digital world into movements in the physical world

Source: Center for Integrated Research

As we enter the period described as the Fourth Industrial Revolution, or Industry 4.0, we still expect to see exponential growth in big data, sensing technologies, cyber-physical systems and analytic techniques that will blur boundaries between the physical and digital world, and create hyper-connectivity.

v https://www2.deloitte.com/insights/us/en/focus/industry-4-0/overview.html

Police readiness

## Readiness for crime challenges

Our survey of police readiness for key crime challenges is revealing. It shows that leaders feel less well prepared to reduce the harms of online and private sphere crimes than traditional street crime and terrorism (see Figure 12).

Police leaders were most concerned about their capacity to deal with technology-enabled crime, with interviews showing that these concerns related to:

• challenges in building technological tools and acquiring (and retaining) staff with these in-demand skills

• difficulties in responding to boundaryless crimes within the geographically based police structures that currently exist

• a recognition that policing's capability in these areas is already lagging, in part due to the relatively low political importance that has been attached to tackling those crimes that are most often digitally enabled (such as fraud)

• the growing proportion of offences where technology is a critical enabler in committing crimes or evading detection

• limited force-level ability to influence and regulate the online environment given the increasing power of global internet platforms not domiciled in the UK

• major problems dealing with existing volumes of digital evidence, let alone the increased volumes growing each year.

Figure 12. Police readiness for crime challenges
(1-10 rating, with 10 being completely ready and 0 not at all ready)
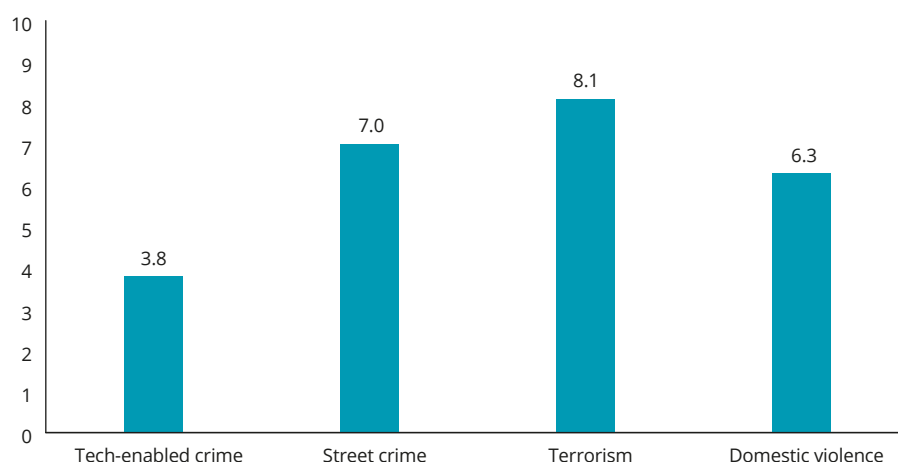
Source: Deloitte August-Sept 2019 survey of 12 chief officers in UK territorial policing (responses). Figures show the average (mean) of all responses.

Domestic violence was an area on which in general police leaders were highly focused. The challenge in this area was felt to be to maintain and build on recent progress in responding to domestic abuse and creating specialist support for victims of domestic violence. However, one chief officer noted there was still an urgent need to identify "perpetrator programmes" that were proven to prevent future offending by domestic assault suspects and offenders, as well as the need for societal action to change expectations in relationships.[51]

Readiness for management challenges

Leaders' own perception is that policing has made significant progress in developing its management and leadership capabilities in recent years. Most policing organisations have clear plans to develop their capability and effectiveness, and are constantly striving for improvement. However, leaders still reported several areas where they felt policing as a whole was not well prepared for future organisational challenges (see Figure 13).

Police leaders were most concerned about their capacity to deal with technology-enabled crime.

Figure 13. Readiness for leadership and management challenges
(1-10 rating, with 10 being completely ready and 0 not at all ready)
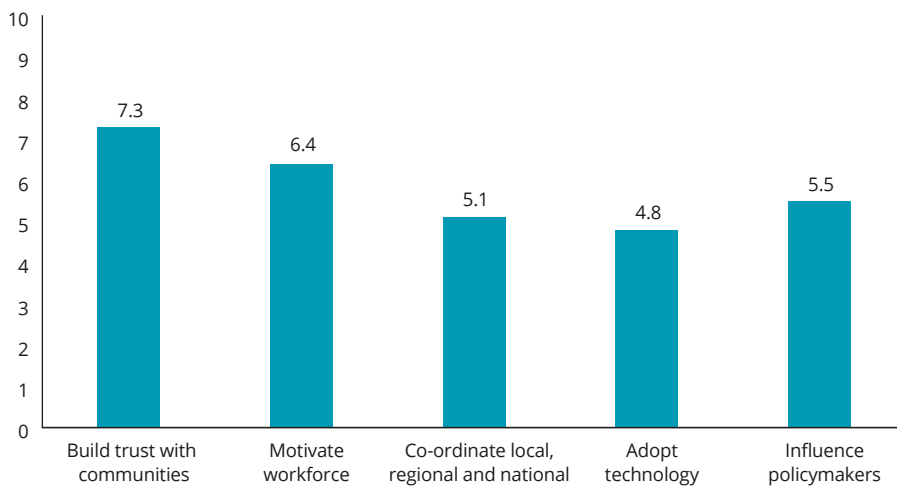
Source: Deloitte August-Sept 2019 survey of 12 chief officers in UK territorial policing (responses).
Figures show the average (mean) of all responses.

An area of perceived strength was readiness for building trust with communities. We were struck by the significant effort policing organisations make to engage the public, with all forces sampled doing significant work.

An area of perceived strength was readiness for building trust with communities. We were struck by the significant effort policing organisations make to engage the public, with all forces sampled doing significant work (see Figure 14). One PCC described the process of engagement that supported the creation of the police and crime plan for the area as involving "14 focus groups across the county, surveys, capture of information from people spoken to and online channels".[52] PCCs and chief officers recognised, however, the significant challenges involved in engaging some groups and the need to be far better attuned to specific concerns from some communities – and ensuring representativeness of the police workforce through the coming recruitment drive, discussed later.

Figure 14. Which of the following methods has your force used to understand public priorities and preferences?
(% of forces surveyed using different engagement techniques)
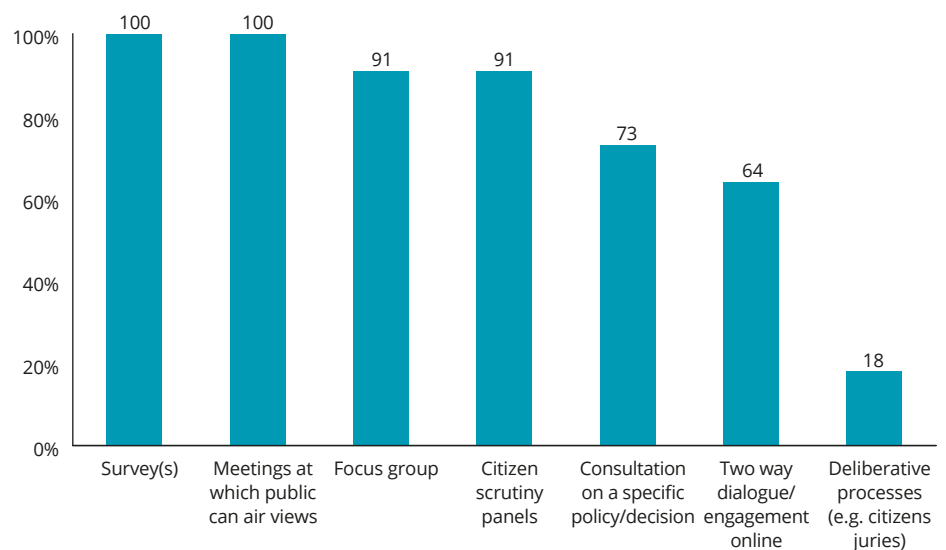
Source: Deloitte August-Sept 2019 survey of 12 chief officers in UK territorial policing (responses)
Note: Methods of online engagement included webchats (both general and on specific topics), Rax and Rave, Twitter and Facebook events/ campaigns; online survey and Q&A sessions.

There was also still relatively little use of 'deliberative processes': managed processes that bring members of the public together with practitioners and experts to debate questions such as how the police should prioritise. The Police Foundation has, however, been trialling a deliberative approach in a number of forces. Their work suggests that the public will give very different views on police priorities after deliberation than when asked about their preferences in surveys.[53]

Leaders were concerned about two management capabilities in particular: technology adoption and coordination across policing geographies. Both issues have been highlighted repeatedly by National Audit Office (NAO) reports and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) inspections. We note, however, that there was a wide variation in confidence regarding technology adoption. Avon and Somerset stood out as an example of an organisation that had embraced the opportunity to become a data-driven organisation (Figure 15). Other forces stood out for their trials of robotic process automation both to improve the efficiency of basic administrative processes and enable better assessment of risk and resource targeting. The West Midlands has worked hard to build ethical considerations into its use of technology, with an expert ethics panel scrutinising all trials of robotic process automation and applied analytics.[54] These efforts create a strong starting point for delivering on the Government's manifesto commitment to "empower police to safely use" these technologies "within a strict legal framework.[55]

Overall, however, there was a strong consensus – echoing a recent review by CoPaCC[56] - that policing's core systems and digital development projects were still not as advanced in policing as they could be, and that legacy technologies in many forces were inhibiting productivity and effectiveness. As well as reporting problems accessing desktop and fit-for-purpose mobile devices, only 42 per cent of respondents to the CoPaCC survey of nearly 4,000 officers and staff thought the core systems they relied on were easy to use, and only 50 per cent believe the information held on police systems they use could be relied upon.[57] This can create huge challenges for further digital transformation. Forces where past technology initiatives have not delivered value, and staff are using workarounds to overcome technology limitations, will find it harder to develop the continual improvement approaches from which other forces are beginning to see dividends.

The challenges of providing a co-ordinated national, regional and local response to crime and public safety issues were a strong recurring theme across our interviews. As one national police leader put it, "The lines on a map that delineate police forces should not act as barriers to intelligence and collaboration but in too many respects they do."[58]

Leaders were concerned about two management capabilities in particular: technology adoption and coordination across policing geographies.

Our perception was that there were four related but distinct concerns in this area:

1. Difficulties in delivering national programmes effectively (for example, for technology, national forensics, or other specialist capabilities) within current police governance structures and delivery models. Issues here included:

   – difficulties in getting a stable, long-term requirement from policing – with leaders of major national programmes reporting significant and frequent changes in the service specification being sought by individual forces

   – lack of funding stability for national programmes, with many long-term programmes, including for critical core technology upgrades, still being funded only on an annual basis. As one chief officer and national programme leader explained, "one of the goals [of my programme] is to build a very small capability of 20 people but... I still don't know whether there is any funding beyond 31st March next year... and I'm recruiting at risk."[59] Some national programmes are also funded on the basis of contributions from forces requiring a complex sign-up and funding commitment process. As one national programme lead put it, "when you end the programme funding and you reach out to forces and need to convince 86 people to invest in doing the bleeding obvious." [60]

   – decision-making processes, which in England and Wales often created 86 or more veto players (the chiefs and PCCs of individual forces). In addition, governance models vary significantly across closely-related national programmes, and we heard reports of some duplications of effort and lack of co-ordination as a result.

2. Ongoing gaps in interoperability of databases, information sharing and trusted access to systems across forces. National programmes that will at least partially address these gaps – including the National Enabling Programme and the Emergency Services Network programme – are in progress but not yet fully implemented.

3. Challenges in developing and maintaining collaborative service arrangements across forces. In last year's report, we noticed the vulnerability of building and maintaining cross-force collaborations. Since then, the plan to merge Dorset and Devon and Cornwall Police has collapsed and Warwickshire and West Mercia's collaboration covering ICT, HR and specialist firearms and canine units is being acrimoniously disbanded after five years. Several cross-force collaborations appear to be relatively robust and to deliver significant benefits to those involved. But these break-ups have again raised concerns about the fragility of agreements.

4. Capacity and capability gaps related to specific crime types. Several chief officers referred to their difficulties investigating online fraud at a force level, finding it difficult to escalate any but the very highest threat cases to specialist national support.

Figure 15. Case study of Avon and Somerset Constabulary's journey towards becoming a data-driven organisation

Avon and Somerset police has been rapidly creating, trialling and improving easy-to-use apps that provide insights to support decisions at all levels of the organisation. Drawing information from legacy systems, sometimes in near real-time, the apps provide data and analysis to officers and staff in formats that are easy to interpret and relevant to core elements of work and decision-making.

For example:

- sergeants and supervisors at all levels can track the caseloads being carried by any team member, the complexity of these cases, their stop and search activity (and any potential disproportionality within it), sickness and training information, for example. This allows better load balancing within teams, and identification of any areas where support (or recognition) is needed

- neighbourhood teams can plan movement patterns, problem-solving and community engagement work – drawing on information such as the volume (and types) of crime reports associated with particular locations in their patch, relevant outstanding warrants, and individuals under supervision

- the force lead for stop and search can identify levels of activity and identify any indicators of under or over-use or disproportionality.

Use of tools is monitored to ensure user engagement is understood and maximised. New apps and features are constantly being developed using a small (3-4 person) agile development team. This team encourages and responds to requests from those in the organisation who are seeking better information for their decision-making in an accessible format. Rather than apps being owned by the development team, relevant managers are responsible for supporting adoption and highlighting potential improvements, ensuring tools remain user and needs-led.
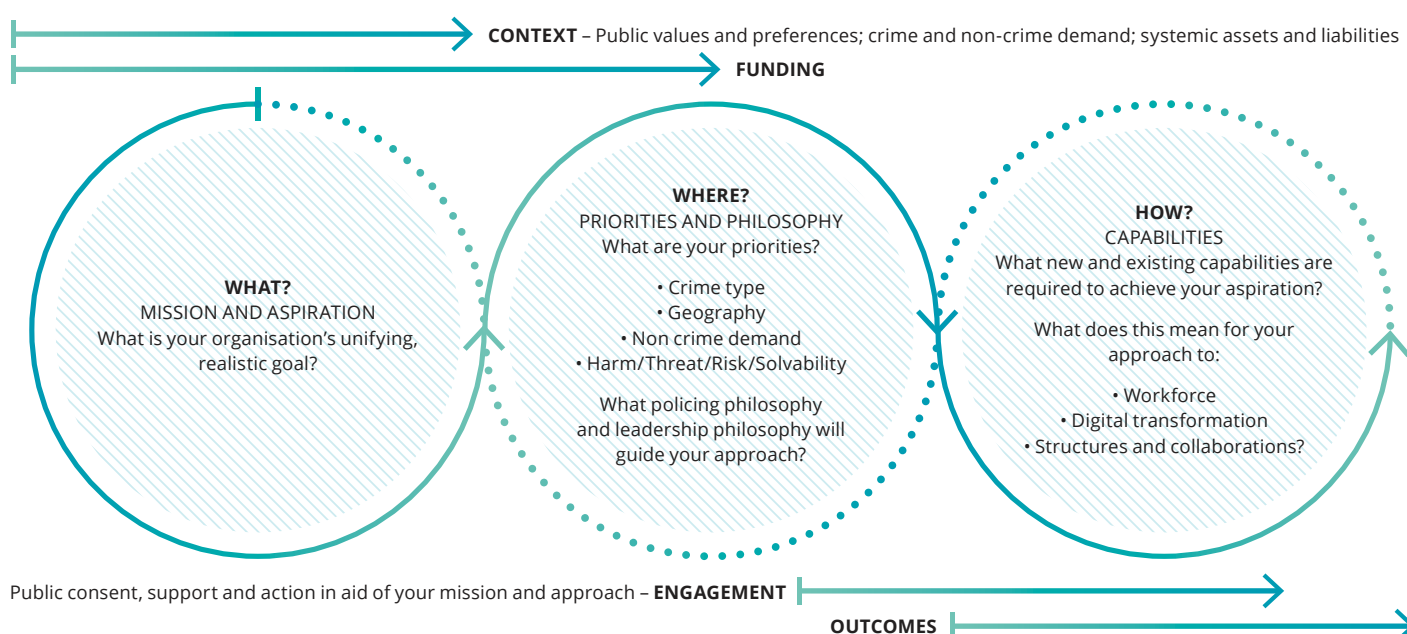
To date, the most significant challenges have been around data quality from existing systems, but the team has built ways to drive up data quality on an ongoing basis – for example, by highlighting to first-line managers when team members are incorrectly entering crime reports or other information into critical core systems. Avon and Somerset are now leading on set up of a Data Science and Innovation Centre to act as a catalyst for data science and innovation across local public services in the area.

...rapidly creating, trialling and improving easy-to-use apps that provide insights to support decisions at all levels of the organisation.

Policing 4.0 decision framework

In Policing 4.0, we shared a framework that aimed to support strategic decision-making for policing organisations, along with commentary on the considerations and trade-offs involved in key areas of decision-making (see Figure 16). The framework's fundamental purpose is to help policing to better define and deliver on its mission and aspiration, and then ensure that priorities, organisational policing and management philosophies, and organisational capabilities are built to support delivery of the aspiration. Last year's report still stands as the best place for guidance to support using the framework, but in this year's report we add a set of new observations relating to how developments in the past year create new opportunities to strengthen policing for the future. As reflected in our framework, shifts in context and funding will fundamentally affect choices about what is policed, where and how.

Figure 16. The Deloitte strategic decision framework

CONTEXT – Public values and preferences; crime and non-crime demand; systemic assets and liabilities

FUNDING

WHAT?
MISSION AND ASPIRATION
What is your organisation's unifying, realistic goal?

WHERE?
PRIORITIES AND PHILOSOPHY
What are your priorities?

• Crime type
• Geography
• Non crime demand
• Harm/Threat/Risk/Solvability

What policing philosophy and leadership philosophy will guide your approach?

HOW?
CAPABILITIES
What new and existing capabilities are required to achieve your aspiration?

What does this mean for your approach to:

• Workforce
• Digital transformation
• Structures and collaborations?

Public consent, support and action in aid of your mission and approach – **ENGAGEMENT**

OUTCOMES

In the section below, we reflect on the shifting considerations for national government, PCCs and chief constables as they set mission, aspiration and priorities for policing. However, we do not make recommendations here as they are fundamentally political choices and answers will vary depending on the organisation in question. Then we consider the new capabilities policing must build to capitalise on new investments. In this area, we point to actions and recommendations that we believe will allow police forces to make their investments internationally.

Mission and priorities for 21st century policing

The debate about the appropriate mission for policing organisations remains as pertinent today as last year, and policing organisations must make the same key choices when setting their mission and aspiration (see Figure 17).

As noted above, however, what has changed in the past year is that national government is demonstrating a much greater desire to shape and direct the missions and priorities of police forces. Previously, PCCs were given a high degree of freedom to shape local mission and goals. But there is now a clear steer towards increased police visibility and a more 'traditional' crime-focused remit (rather than broader vulnerability). And it is clear that police forces will be expected in some way to demonstrate 'results' for the new investments made.

Prioritisation debates

Most in policing see increased investment as an opportunity to reinvest in either neighbourhood policing or more robust investigation of crimes such as burglary, theft and shoplifting, or both. However, our interviews suggested there might still be considerable debate about the right set of priorities for police forces – and indeed the relative national and local role in determining them. The key choices on priorities discussed in detail last year are shown in Figure 18. One PCC's assessment was that, "If left to their own devices, police chiefs would probably prioritise around THRIVE [threat, harm, risk, investigation opportunities, vulnerability of victim(s), engagement level required to resolve the issue] but it's not clear that this is what the public and politicians want".[61] Another PCC pointed out that "there may be some differences of view on use of the 20,000 between ministers and PCCs".[62]

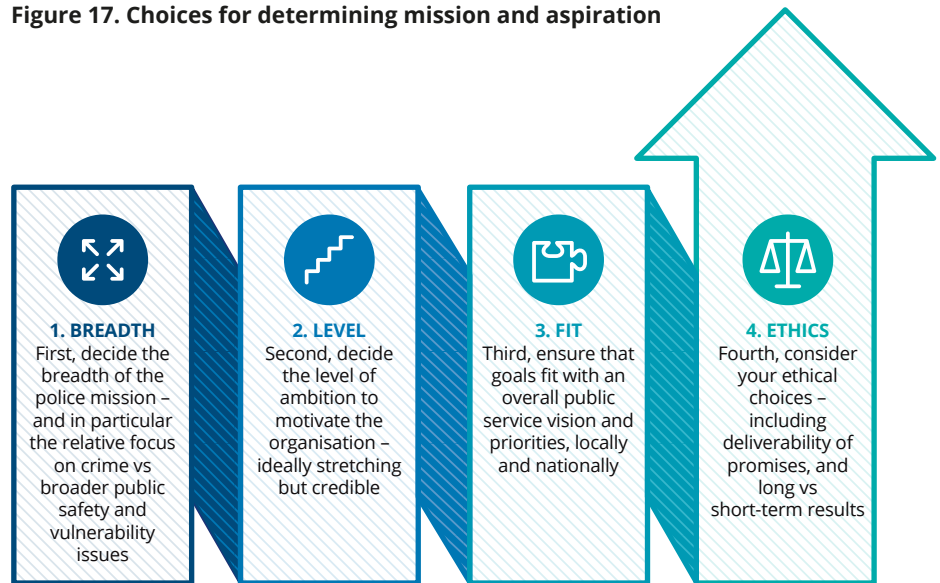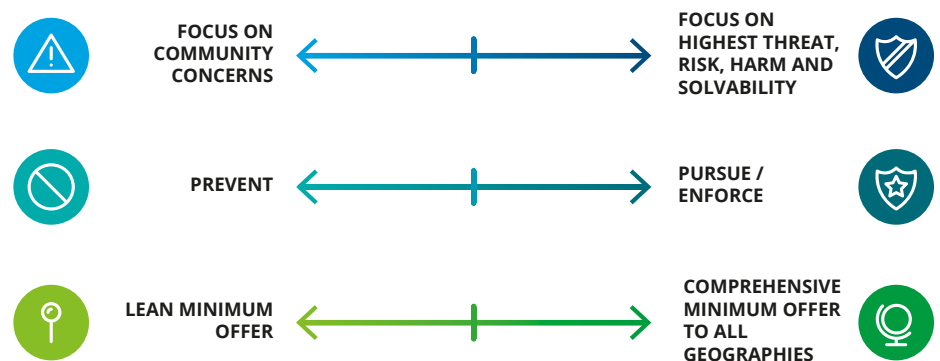**Figure 17. Choices for determining mission and aspiration**

1. BREADTH
First, decide the breadth of the police mission – and in particular the relative focus on crime vs broader public safety and vulnerability issues

2. LEVEL
Second, decide the level of ambition to motivate the organisation – ideally stretching but credible

3. FIT
Third, ensure that goals fit with an overall public service vision and priorities, locally and nationally

4. ETHICS
Fourth, consider your ethical choices – including deliverability of promises, and long vs short-term results

Figure 18. Choices on prioritisation and policing philosophy

FOCUS ON COMMUNITY CONCERNS ←→ FOCUS ON HIGHEST THREAT, RISK, HARM AND SOLVABILITY

PREVENT ←→ PURSUE / ENFORCE

LEAN MINIMUM OFFER ←→ COMPREHENSIVE MINIMUM OFFER TO ALL GEOGRAPHIES

The spectrums on this figure indicate key choices, while recognising that decisions are not binary

These tensions may emerge more clearly as Police and Crime Commissioners start to shape their manifestos in advance of the 2020 elections – and operational policing leaders may find themselves being pulled in differing directions by national and local strategy.

The temptation for policing organisations may be to fudge the priority-setting process and hope that all expectations will be satisfied. As noted last year, however, we favour a harder-edged conversation that makes clear what can be delivered with differing levels of investment, based on robust evidence and some of the tools we discuss on page 29. We also believe that it is important to understand the consequences of prioritisation decisions in human and case-specific terms. Even with additional investments, some tough choices will be required about the relative importance attached to, for example, visible community engagement, investigative outcomes on volume crime, and proactive or preventative work around gangs or sexual violence. As one chief officer put it, "if there is an explicit political steer, then police leaders will need to be clear about the consequences: what is not being done as a result." [63]

The need for clarity also requires leadership teams to build alignment across their organisations. In September we led a workshop with around 50 conference delegates from the Excellence in Policing Conference. Participants identified that their organisations were currently making very different choices relating to the key decisions highlighted in Figure 18 – and that they did not always agree with the current prioritisation choices within their organisations. There were very diverse views about the desired direction of travel, with the exception of choices relating to prevention. Here, there was an overwhelming desire for policing to prioritise prevention further.

Even with additional investments, some tough choices will be required about the relative importance attached to, for example, visible community engagement, investigative outcomes on volume crime and proactive and preventative work.

The targets debate

We note that targets or even priority measures, if imposed, will not be universally popular. Some police leaders welcome the introduction of a clearer national direction and steer on priorities. Others are more wary. "[Force x] don't set targets, so we won't be setting any targets for the force; we have metrics to report on but we'll do the right thing and get good outcomes and then we'll explain the outcomes as they turn out; we don't want to be target-driven because it didn't work before." [64]

The lessons of the period of top down targets from around 2000 to 2008 are in fact mixed. On the one hand, there were significant problems with targets being gamed, and some perverse behaviour. The 2004-2008 Offences Brought to Justice (OBTJ) public service agreement (PSA) created a clear, perverse incentive to pursue less serious crime and to use formal sanctions (often out of court disposals) for less serious and juvenile offences that would previously have been dealt with informally. As Her Majesty's Inspectorate of the Constabulary reported, "In one-third of the cases [reviewed] the disposal selected did not meet the standards set out in the existing national and force guidelines [...] we found obvious examples of unexplained and unchallenged overuse." [65] On the other hand, the balance of evidence is still that a well-designed performance management regime can be an important enabler of improvement across public services. [66]

New capabilities for the future

The importance of building capabilities, not just numbers

Last year we wrote, "Once aspirations and priorities are clear, the question is how to build the capabilities that support success. This requires a wide range of choices relating to workforce (size, skills, reward etc.), processes, structures and collaborations, technologies, and other management systems. Too often in policing, attention is focused solely on officer numbers and proportions of the workforce assigned to different tasks – ignoring the importance of other factors that affect productivity. After all, in the 15th century, nearly sixty percent of the English labour market had to work in agriculture to meet the country's food needs, but by 1900, when England still produced most of its own food, this was down to 15 per cent and today, when it still produces over half its own food, it is nearer one per cent.[vi]"

Despite this, recent political commitments across parties have focused heavily on police officer numbers. Officer numbers are a publicly understood shorthand for operational resources and politicians want to reassure the public that the additional resources won't simply create inefficiency. Investment now provides an opportunity to shift the public debate, however. One option is to build the conversation about 'total service strength' or, if necessary, some narrower category of 'operational policing strength' that can reflect the fact that a growing proportion of highly operational, crime-fighting roles are now performed by specialists (for example in cyber or fraud investigations) who neither have nor need warranted powers.

Focus on inputs as success measures will still be problematic, of course. Last year we reported on the rise of the "new bot workforce". Automation is increasingly capable of performing many tasks more cheaply and accurately than humans and it would be foolish to create disincentives to develop solutions in this area. Technology more broadly will also be increasingly important to police productivity – though over time we should also be seeking to reduce the cost of providing officers with software and hardware that supports their productivity.

> The right mix of officers, staff and supporting infrastructure for policing is constantly evolving.

The right mix of officers, staff and supporting infrastructure for policing is constantly evolving. Given this, we believe the most important step for maximising the impact of the 20,000 officers will be to ensure that investments in officers are balanced by appropriate investments in staff and technological support (see recommendations below). There are already clear signals that this is the government's intention, including through their commitment to create a new national cyber crime force. Yet shifts in the fiscal or political situation could see pressures to narrow focus on to officer numbers alone. This has happened to a degree in Scotland where the fiscal outlook worsened after their surge in officer numbers. As one chief officer said, "We are in a pickle as a service if the 20,000 officers doesn't come with a balancing investment in other areas… I really don't know how we would do that".[67]

👍 **Recommendation: Continue to invest additional resources beyond that required to hire the additional 20,000 officers in England and Wales and to rebuild service strength in Northern Ireland.**

Investment in new officers in all nations will only support productivity when there is an appropriate balancing investment in:

- training and equipment (including technological enablement)
- functions that are essential to policing effectiveness but don't always require warranted officers (e.g. forensics and intelligence)

- downstream costs in the criminal justice system, and upstream preventative work.

It is evident that the mix of officers, staff and technology required by each force will vary depending on their very different starting positions on staff mix, technological maturity and favoured approaches to building capabilities.

👍 **Recommendation: If this is not possible due to changes in priorities or fiscal position, adjust officer uplift timescales.**

As highlighted above, the existing workforce mix varies very widely across the country, which creates a strong case for allowing as much local freedom to shape the workforce according to need as possible.

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vi M. Roser, Our World in Data, drawing on Allen, Economic Structure and Agricultural Productivity in Europe, 2000 and World Bank: https://ourworldindata.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/ourworldindata_share-working-in-agriculture-since-1300.png and Agriculture in the United Kingdom 2017 https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/agriculture-in-the-united-kingdom-2017

Priority capabilities for policing now and in future

Last year we drew attention to five traditional policing capabilities: public contact; emergency response; local and specialist investigation; safeguarding; and detention and prosecution. But we also highlighted the need to evolve and augment these with the capabilities that are increasingly important given long-term societal and technological trends. The shifts we believe are needed and that some forces are already beginning to make are:

- moving from 'public contact' – which can often treat each encounter with a victim, witness or suspect afresh – towards sophisticated **citizen relationship management capabilities and relational and influencing capabilities**. This will both improve service levels and help to mobilise the vast crime prevention and crime-fighting capabilities that lie increasingly in businesses and communities. Such a development still requires police to be exceptional interpersonal communicators but also requires more proactive relationship management and development and use of far deeper contextual information to ensure each interaction is managed to optimum effect.

- moving from traditional "resource deployment" approaches towards sophisticated **workforce relationship management capabilities**. These can support better matching of tasks to aptitude, workforce development, effectiveness, well-being, and situational awareness – and will require major improvements in knowledge and change management

- augmenting traditional investigation capabilities with deep and broad **digital investigation capabilities**. As well as reactive digital investigation, policing needs more developed sensing, noticing and regulatory capabilities to identify new criminal methods, networks, and system vulnerabilities in order to develop pre-emptive responses to crime.

- supplementing experience-based and evidence-based decision making with **data management and analytic capabilities**. These can support better decision-making in all operational and non operational policing roles, including in some case through learning algorithms and robotic process automation.

Of these capability needs, the most recognised by the sector are digital investigation and data and analytic capabilities. Every single senior leader we spoke to mentioned digital capabilities and digital investigation as a critical capability and capacity issue. Earlier this year HMICFRS reported "long delays in retrieving evidence from digital devices. In some cases, there was a 12-month backlog." Several chief officers linked digital capability gaps with the need to make better use of data. "Our big gaps are digital capabilities and data literacy", said one.[68]

Leaders also often mentioned the importance of influencing public sector partners more effectively, particular to reduce demands on policing. As one chief officer noted, "40 or 50 per cent of public calls for help are better dealt with by local agencies outside of the police… They've shrunk away because they've come under pressure. I think policing needs to be less willing to step into fill the gaps, and influence what they do…But we also need to recognise where we could be doing more to deal with demand that is wrongly coming to them."[69]

Developing these capabilities will take time and the right sequencing of changes and investments will vary by police force. However, we suggest three ways to support the development of these capabilities which we consider urgent for the coming year. First, developing more sophisticated tools to guide investments. Second, building stronger crime prevention capabilities at a national level. Third, improving change capabilities.

Of these capability needs, the most recognised by the sector are digital investigation and data and analytic capabilities. Every single senior leader we spoke to mentioned digital capabilities and digital investigation as a critical capability and capacity issue.

More sophisticated tools to guide new investments

Last year, we highlighted that different policing organisations would want to invest more heavily in different areas, depending on their mission and priorities – and the demand and financial context they found themselves in. What we did not emphasise, however, was that deciding where and how to invest in policing is itself an analytic capability that needs to be developed – and this is arguably more relevant now, in a period of investment, than it has been for the past years.

Police forces have started to build this capability through the process of creating force management statements (FMS). FMSs identify current and future demand and the organisation's approach to the workforce and other assets that will allow them to meet that demand.[70] To build on the principles and insights behind FMS, we recommend that policing organisations emulate and build on the example of the National Crime Agency by starting to develop 'digital twin' techniques (see Figure 19).

Digital twin techniques allow policing organisations to exploit their organisational data to create 'virtual replicas' of their business. They enable the rapid testing of the impact of different investments and help ensure that any investments do not accidentally create bottlenecks in core policing processes, including investigations, public contact, and prevention work. At a national level, similar principles can be used in order to support choices. For example, these techniques can expose the benefits and trade-offs involved in investing an additional million pounds on counter-terrorism versus serious organised crime or local policing investments; or can help to understand the requirements for police officers versus supporting staff and technology.

There is, of course, also a need to take a whole systems perspective on resource allocation, looking beyond policing. This means, firstly, ensuring that bottlenecks in the Crown Prosecution Service and other areas of the system are relieved. As one chief officer put it, "we can't get anything prosecuted promptly at the moment".[71] But it also means building system-wide capabilities. Several interviewees pointed to the challenge of processing the vast and growing volumes of digital information now associated with any investigation. But this is not just a policing challenge. All elements of the criminal justice system would benefit from improved capability to sift and identify relevant case information, and a cross-criminal justice system investment would be by far the most efficient way to develop the shared protocols, analytic and automation tools required to address this issue.

Recommendation: Develop 'digital twins' of your organisation to develop insight on where to invest new resources for best effect.

This will allow you to anticipate and unblock organisational bottlenecks and capability gaps.

...deciding where and how to invest in policing is itself an analytic capability that needs to be developed – and this is arguably more relevant now, in a period of investment, than it has been for the past years.

Figure 19. The journey to digital twins for policing

Digital twins' sound new but their origins can be traced back to at least 1970. That year, an oxygen tank exploded on Apollo 13 hundreds of thousands of miles from earth in an event that would certainly have killed everyone on board but for a vital element of NASA's planning. Back at headquarters, NASA had developed a mirrored system which replicated the physical machinery and environment they were out of contact with. Using this, HQ staff developed and tested the solutions that saved the three astronauts' lives – and secured the continuance of the US space programme.

NASA wasn't strictly using a digital twin as many aspects were physical replicas. But in efforts to save costs NASA went digital during the 1990s – and the world joined in. By the 2000s, digital twin versions of jet engines and gas turbines were tracking wear and tear on the machinery, maximising operational efficiency and predicting when these machines needed maintenance. By 2010s, companies were starting to create digital twins of complex processes – and using these to optimise real-time delivery of goods. And recently organisations have been creating digital twins at the enterprise level – in other words, digital twins that mirror the operation of entire organisations.

Models are becoming increasingly sophisticated and have shifted from reactive, supporting quick awareness of problems and identifying fixes, to predictive, allowing organisations to anticipate problems and model different solution scenarios. In response to the so-called 'Monday Madness' which stranded London commuters in 2018, Network Rail built its own digital twin. Sensors and geolocation data provide real-time information on train locations, signalling, and weather. These and humans track and log emerging issues/changes in track availability, queues and so forth. And as soon as a problem arises, the network can now run a range of scenarios to test optimal reactions to different types of disruption – reducing knock on impacts on passengers by making the best possible adjustments to routes, timetabling and so forth.

Policing processes have queues, delays and bottlenecks, just like logistics and rail operators. After a busy period, for example, officers notice queues in the custody suite. There are less visible but equally problematic bottlenecks relating to shortages of digital forensics (which can delay investigations) or, on a system-wide level, insufficient prosecutors driving risk averse charging behaviour by the Crown Prosecution Service. Similarly, resource constraints at the 'front end' of policing can lead police to miss important opportunities to help the public, for example when shortages of call handlers lead to dropped calls.

The NCA have done some groundbreaking work to create a digital map of their organisation and the demands they must respond to. It isn't yet built on real-time data and takes a more 'top-down' view of demand and productivity – so it is not strictly a 'digital twin'. It also makes limited use of sensing and other technologies that can automate detection of process bottlenecks and other organisational resourcing issues that require attention. Yet it is still powerful, allowing the NCA to say with significant accuracy what outputs they will produce (in terms of increased prosecutions and prevention) when they invest in different aspects of their organisation. And it provides visualisation that can support management decision-making, even for those who are less familiar with the model's technical detail (see Figure 20). This kind of capability is vital when it comes to deploying the 20,000 officers entering policing over the next three years to best effect.

Figure 20. Stylised example of one of the visualisations that identifies bottlenecks in case progressions
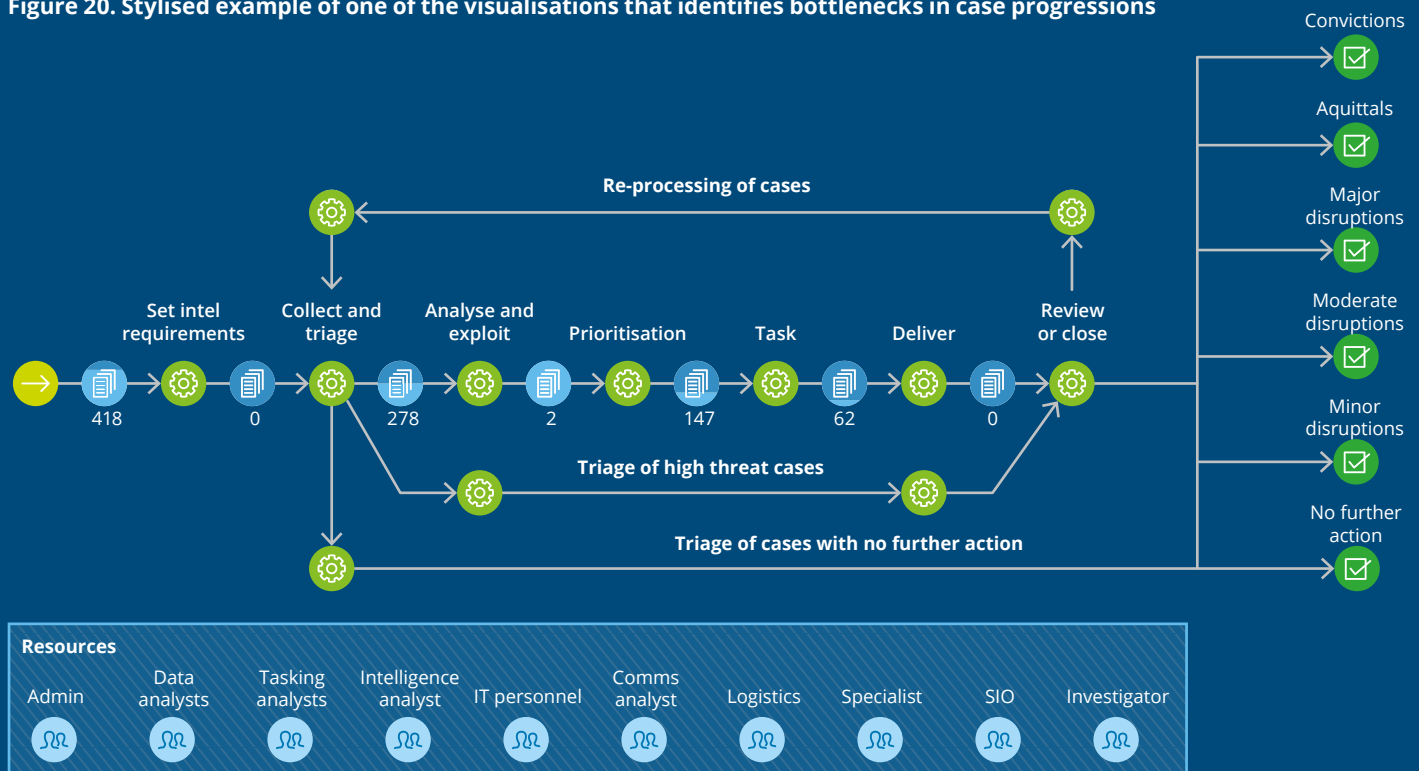
Avon and Somerset Police don't yet have this kind of organisational model. However, they have done high quality work to build a near real-time information system on individual officer workloads, productivity, availability and so forth (see Figure 15). In our view, this means UK policing is very close to building its own sophisticated digital twin to rival those deployed in other sectors. Combining the kind of bottom-up data Avon and Somerset has generated with the system modelling of the NCA will create a dynamic analytical capability to support effectiveness.

Find out more about digital twins at https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/insights/focus/signals-for-strategists/understanding-digital-twin-technology.html.

Stronger crime prevention capabilities

Crime prevention is in no way a new policing capability but we highlight it because we believe a significant gap is emerging in UK policing – specifically a gap in the system's capacity to generate and implement system-wide preventative interventions to reduce high-volume, lower seriousness crimes.

The gap has emerged because while local forces care about tackling volume crime through preventative approaches, they lack many of the most critical levers for crime prevention in modern society. In particular, local forces (with one or two exceptions) lack:

- the influence and experience of encouraging businesses to change their approaches to product design and security in ways that can reduce opportunities for crime

- the digital investigation skills required to prevent and detect borderless crimes such as online fraud

- the ability to harness and co-produce online crime prevention capabilities with industries such as banking. Many industries are investing vast and growing sums tackling problems such as illicit finance, but information, intelligence and capability sharing that would improve industry and policing success are still immature.

The NCA, meanwhile, has strong emerging capabilities for tackling borderless crime and does have the necessary clout to engage industry, but does not have a remit for prevention beyond the most serious levels of organised crime. Its remit is also most focused on individuals and groups, rather than system-wide vulnerabilities.

The current solution to this gap is the system of national policing leads. A chief officer is assigned as the 'national lead' on crime prevention and additional national leads are in place to guide national efforts on specific crime types (both preventative and responsive). But these senior officers have other full-time roles in their home forces and the support they get in their national roles is typically skeletal and short-term due to the lack of meaningful funding streams.

A truly powerful national crime prevention capability would require a long-term, interdisciplinary approach and a team with the specialist skills and policing experience required to:

- identify emerging and upcoming crime issues, including:

  – vulnerable products and services – for example, items being stolen more regularly from homes or people, or internet-enabled devices with poor security that create system vulnerabilities

  – new criminal ways of working – for example, emerging patterns of perpetrating specific types of fraud or vehicle crime [allowing an appropriate problem-solving response such as targeting those selling crime-facilitating goods or services]

- engage productively with industry through a mixture of existing and new, formal and informal structures to enable and incentivise improvements in the security of products and services. This would often include building information and intelligence-sharing systems.

- communicate directly and indirectly with the public to support behaviour change that reduces crime risks (communicating with would-be perpetrators, and potential victims)

- rapidly identify and spread effective local crime prevention practice across police services.

One area in which there is a huge opportunity to more effectively prevent crime is financial crime. Deloitte and the Institute of International Finance's 2019 publication *The global framework for fighting financial crime* makes clear that intensive work is still required to combat complex international fraud and money-laundering practices. Only by sharing data currently dispersed across public and private sector bodies in multiple jurisdictions, harnessing new detection technologies and reforming the existing international and UK regulatory frameworks can this multi-billion pound problem be tackled effectively.[72]

...we believe a significant gap is emerging in UK policing – specifically a gap in the system's capacity to generate and implement system-wide preventative interventions to reduce high-volume, lower seriousness crimes.

We are not sure where this capability would sit within current police structures but it could be of significant value. Most of the major falls in crime in recent decades are attributable to broader societal action to reduce easy criminal opportunities. In a recent speech at the Excellence in Policing Conference, Martin Hewitt, chair of the National Police Chiefs Council, highlighted two powerful examples.[73] First, the Metropolitan Police Service's success in "reducing moped thefts by 60 per cent" by working with the moped industry and moped drivers to make mopeds harder to steal. Second, the more historical example of 'cash in transit' robberies in the 1980s. Here, the industry made changes to improve security. Measures included the uses of glue and trackers to ensure that ill-gotten gains were easily traceable, and more counterintuitive measures such as the move to single crewing to increase levels of driver attention. Even more dramatic, of course, was the shift away from cash and towards virtual payments systems. Criminological research shows that reducing crime using these kinds of collaborative problem-solving techniques does not simply result in criminals seeking out new opportunities elsewhere.[74] Indeed some 'situational crime prevention' approaches have been shown to produce 'diffusion of benefits'.[75]

The value of this type of investment now is that it will create much more impact from the 20,000 incoming officers. By reducing the volume of crime officers needed to investigate, prevention allows better service to (fewer) victims and allows more proactive work, creating a virtuous cycle.

> 👍 **Recommendation: Build new crime reduction capabilities that logically sit above the level of individual forces.**

Improved change capabilities

Policing has delivered major changes over the past years, not least to reduce expenditure by 20% or more in real terms. However, policing now faces a period of equally significant, if different changes. Many police forces have been undertaking significant internal restructuring and change programmes but on top of this we now have a set of major national programmes that will have impacts on officers and staff. The national recruitment drive will have implications for those who will supervise incoming probationers, as well as creating a significant additional workload for recruitment and training staff. National technology programmes which are beginning to deliver products and services for use in forces will all create training requirements. As one chief officer put it, "just on digital elements there are 15 programmes landing on England and Wales. It's all very good… but cost, training when they land and how they land is all a very moveable feast."[76]

We identify the need for improved co-ordination of national technology programmes below but locally there should be a clear effort to ensure that change is appropriately sequenced and communicated to all staff. Local forces should feel able to demand a clear and co-ordinated picture of the local changes that need to follow from national programmes, so that they can plan resourcing and communication accordingly. The risk without this is that the benefits of national investments are diluted, and staff become disillusioned with changes that appear to be ad hoc rather than coherent and connected.

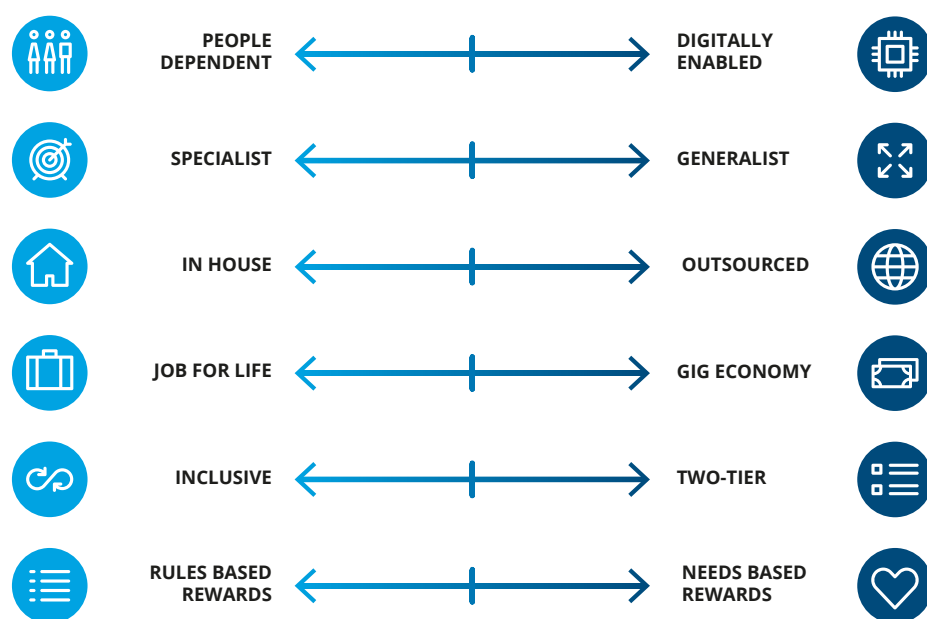> 👍 **Recommendation: Anticipate and avoid 'change overload'.**
>
> At a time when police HR, change and communications team are already stretched by locally-led programmes, a set of nationally-led programmes (for recruitment, training and technology) are starting to 'land'. They all offer potential productivity gains but also require new training and communications drives that will need to be carefully managed and sequenced to ensure the workforce is not confused and overwhelmed by changes. The most sophisticated approaches to managing this would include tailored communication with individuals to ensure they receive only the information that is most relevant to their role.

A. Building a workforce for the future

Last year, we highlighted the key choices that policing will need to make to build its workforce for the future. These are summarised in Figure 21 and remain highly relevant to police forces. Recent announcements on officer numbers have set clear directions of travel for many key choices but there remains some room for manoeuvre.

Figure 21. Key workforce choices for policing organisations

PEOPLE DEPENDENT	←→	DIGITALLY ENABLED
SPECIALIST	←→	GENERALIST
IN HOUSE	←→	OUTSOURCED
JOB FOR LIFE	←→	GIG ECONOMY
INCLUSIVE	←→	TWO-TIER
RULES BASED REWARDS	←→	NEEDS BASED REWARDS

The spectrums on this figure indicate key choices, while recognising that decisions are not binary

The national recruitment programme creates a once in a generation opportunity to build a workforce that is more diverse, and more appropriately skilled for the future. As one chief officer put it, "we can't see bigger as a success; this is all about the skills and the nature of our workforce, and it's about our existing workforce too – I want them to feel bolstered and excited."[77]

Policing will have to recruit and develop staff in new ways if it is to achieve this. The traditional officer recruitment and training route is for new recruits to complete initial training, then serve in response roles initially before moving to neighbourhood, investigative or specialist roles. But with around 50,000 new recruits such an approach is simply unworkable: all response officers would end up being new in service and this would create unacceptable risks to the public and require those who currently enjoy their response roles to move into other positions.

There are two alternative models. The Police Now programme recruits high potential graduates and takes a different approach to training, but also places officers in neighbourhood teams initially, rather than response. Direct entry detective programmes, as trialled in the Met, bring officers into investigation roles immediately with an alternative training emphasis. Scaling up programmes like these and building on them will be essential to ensure new recruits can have the best immediate impact. And there is also the opportunity to build additional and more tailored specialist development pathways to meet key skills needs. Interviewees highlighted several ideas, including accelerated recruitment for existing police staff and specials, specialist digital investigation pathways and a more flexible and porous transition between officer and staff roles. As one chief officer put it, "we need lots of different front doors… not two separate chunks of the organisation… and more moving across between the two."[78]

As one chief officer put it, "we can't see bigger as a success; this is all about the skills and the nature of our workforce, and it's about our existing workforce too – I want them to feel bolstered and excited."

Interviewees naturally saw an opportunity to improve diversity through the upcoming recruitment drive, and in doing so bolster police representativeness and legitimacy with the public. Different forces face very different diversity challenges, however. For example, the Metropolitan Police Service has been performing well on recruiting a more ethnically diverse workforce but has found it harder to maintain gender balance. The forces neighbouring London, meanwhile, have done much better on recruiting women. There is clearly an opportunity to collaborate to achieve the best balance across the country and, in doing so, to learn from Wales where forces are already collaborating on their approach to officer recruitment and selection processes. There, a shared web platform provides a clearer offer to new recruits. The case for a more similarly co-ordinated infrastructure for recruitment and development in England is strong as there is currently significant and unnecessary duplication, for example in the commissioning of multiple advertising and outreach campaigns with broadly similar messaging. Targeting less represented groups and those with different skills and backgrounds will also be much more achievable at scale, building on national efforts to understand the barriers to recruiting specific under-represented groups and collaborating with relevant national representative organisations.

The opportunity to bring in new skills, including a more digitally literate cohort, in the coming years is considerable. But development and training will be critical too. As one chief officer said, "When I was training I was equipped to search people, premises, houses, take evidence and process that evidence – nowadays they need to be able to search mobile phones, digital footprints... it can't be a specialism, we have to think of it as a mainstream, and then have specialist capability on top, right up to the level of GCHQ [Government Communications Headquarters] and intelligence services."[79] Another chief officer proposed much more "investment in people" throughout police careers, including by providing all personnel with significant time for ongoing development and learning. The Police Education and Qualification Framework will see significant developments in the core policing curriculum and creates opportunities to address perceived challenges – but the overriding sense was that one of the most important ways to support the effectiveness of new recruits would be better management and supervision. There have been recent increases in spans of control for sergeants (Figure 22) and there are also well-documented challenges around supervision and for building development-oriented management.

One recent inspectorate report noted, "We are continuing to see some forces with poor supervision of investigations. Six of the twelve forces we inspected in this group must improve in this area...".[80] The same report noted, "Too many forces don't have fair and effective processes for managing people's performance. Six of the nine forces we inspected in this group need to improve in this area. Without these processes, these forces can't be confident that they can fully develop their workforce, or fairly identify talented individuals."[81] This suggests an urgent need to provide additional training and support to supervisors, providing appropriate time for them to develop their skills and mentoring and management for new recruits. But policing will also need to promote more people to supervise new recruits, building a strong pipeline of supervisors for the coming years.

Figure 21. Frontline supervision (constables per sergeant)
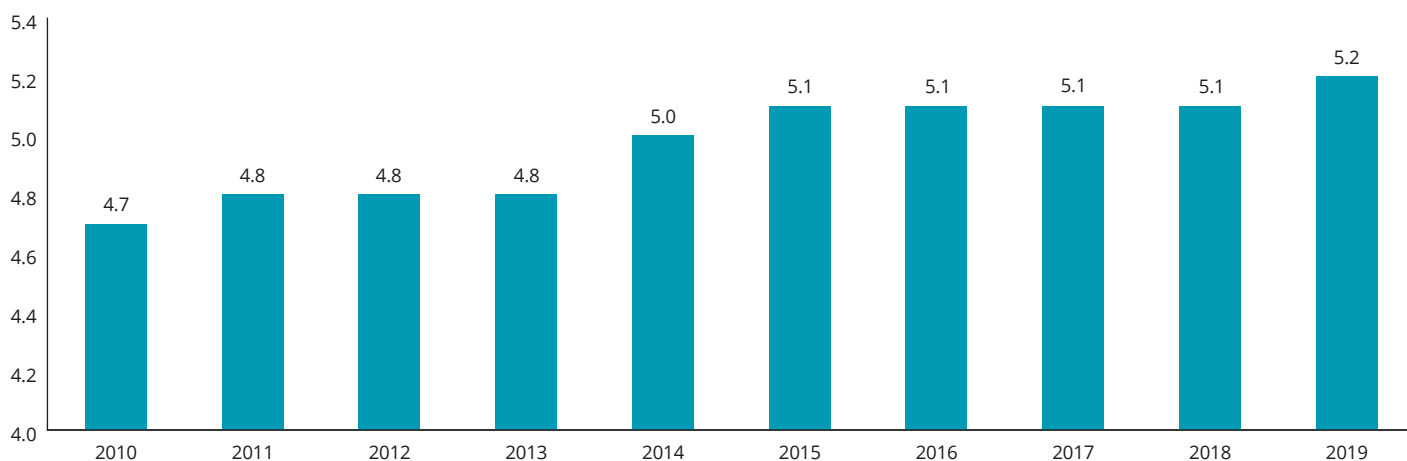
Source: Home Office, Police Workforce: England and Wales, Table S1, plus author's analysis, 18 July 2019

One national leader noted, "The danger with setting targets for new cops is that you bring in the wrong people and of course they are harder to get rid of once they're in."[82] This raises questions about the current terms and conditions for police officers and whether the workforce is sufficiently flexible – but it also highlights a key challenge for the coming period. Recruitment has to bring the right people into policing, but the job is less attractive financially than ten years ago. Due to a restructuring of payscales and less than real terms pay inflation until last year, entry pay in 2018 was 16 per cent lower in real terms than in 2010. National leadership will need to be open to the possibility that pay may need to be looked at if the number of quality applicants is not sufficient and other opportunities to improve recruitment have been exhausted. But it will also need to recognise that compromising on quality or diversity will store up long-term productivity problems (see recommendation right).

Recommendation: Refuse to compromise on quality or diversity in the upcoming recruitment drive, even if this means a delay in hitting targets.

With up to 50,000 new recruits being required to meet officer number targets, entrants over the next few years will be the backbone of the service for decades.

One national leader noted, "The danger with setting targets for new cops is that you bring in the wrong people and of course they are harder to get rid of once they're in."

National leadership will need to be open to the possibility that pay may need to be looked at if the number of quality applicants is not sufficient and other opportunities to improve recruitment have been exhausted. But it will also need to recognise that compromising on quality or diversity will store up long-term productivity problems.

B. Digital transformation

As highlighted above, many policing organisations are harnessing digital ways of working to deliver better outcomes to the public. Most police forces have spent several years developing more effective ways of being visible to and engaging with communities online, using social media and platforms such as Next Door. Force control rooms have been seeking feedback on service satisfaction, with Hertfordshire's Echo system standing out for its ability to obtain both quantitative and qualitative feedback from the public quickly. And forces like Avon and Somerset are developing tools to ensure that officers and staff have the information they need at their fingertips, using a range of applications. True digital transformation has come about not just by introducing new technology, of course, but by introducing new processes and building acceptance of the agile, 'fail fast' approaches that underpin successful digital projects.[83]

Building on these developments and many more, the Policing Digital, Data and Technology Strategy describes an ambition for the service out to 2030. Naturally, having supported the development of the strategy, we fully endorse the direction it sets and its deliberate approach to tying advances in data and technology to operationally focused digital ambitions. In this report we are not seeking to repeat what is set out in the strategy. However, we do want to highlight the advantages of building on shared thinking and work in the sector, and the benefits that will come from a more coherent approach.

Capitalising on convergence in core policing systems

There are still challenges in creating digital transformation. Core systems are an area where officers in most forces still feel dissatisfied with functionality, integration with other systems, and complain about time to access, log and analyse vital information. Some forces still note significant 'lags' or 'outages' when systems freeze up and they lose half-written reports – and some forces are creating costly workarounds for issues they encounter. These challenges are often linked to deficiencies in the underlying infrastructure.

There is an array of legacy systems in policing, as in all mature industries. However, we continue to see convergence and regional rationalisation. There are now around two to four main suppliers for each of the core policing systems – for example, for case management, intelligence and custody, and command and control solutions – and this creates new opportunities. First, forces today tend to have slightly different versions of the same systems. By working together, they can align towards the best versions of the available systems, or a common development roadmap, reducing complexity for vendors and costs for them. Second, forces can now work collectively to incentivise their suppliers to improve these core systems, both in terms of end user functionality and an ability to maximise the benefits realised from investments made by the forces in other technologies, for example Identity Access Management and cloud based architectures. While the cost of making upgrades for a single small force might be disproportionate, scale makes it more viable and suppliers will also have to respond if they wish to maintain their UK market share – and extend internationally.

Just as there is convergence in core systems, there is increasing consensus that the frontline is best empowered through simple, easy-to-use apps. Some forces are using a common tool and interface to provide information and analysis in a more integrated way. Others are creating bespoke apps. With either approach – the former being preferable, in our view – there is now a growing ability to compare and learn which tools are most beneficial. As forces start to track which apps are most used and to deploy user-centred design and agile principles in continuous improvement efforts, the best approaches should spread. One chief officer summed up the rationale for this direction of travel. "Additional officers using crap technology and processes aren't that productive."[84]

In all organisations, including policing, there can be a tendency to want to start from scratch in developing new systems and applications – but we urge against this approach. Instead, forces should continue to share successes and take advantage of new sharing platforms, including the national Digital Policing Portfolio's library of intelligent automation case studies and its shared method for rapidly delivering new digital solutions across policing. Similarly, they can harness platforms offering enhanced information security developed by the National Enabling Programmes where a consensus has been built through evidence-based analysis, a bottom-up mandate from forces and frequent check points with a national Solution Design Authority and Security Working Group (which includes representation from local forces).

> ### Recommendation: Build on collective work relating to digital policing
>
> Contrary to the overall perception, several police forces in the UK and internationally are making huge strides towards becoming data-driven organisations, deploying advanced analytics and intelligent automation solutions ethically, embracing new national capabilities and managing ICT infrastructure efficiently and securely. The service direction of travel is now clearly set out in the national Digital, Data and Technology Strategy.

This sharing and copying includes the need to consider the ethical issues raised by technology adoption and automation in particular. Both South Wales and West Midlands Police (WMP) have invested significant time in developing appropriately skilled ethics boards. WMP has also commissioned a paper from the Alan Turing Institute's Data Ethics Group that is relevant to all forces considering the use of augmented and automated decision-making.[85]

It is this evidence of this shared thinking and behaviours that most excites us. It will allow the service to extend significantly beyond the cost and interoperability benefits of systems convergence. Adopting common design patterns and data standards will allow the sharing of data, information and intelligence – as exemplified by the National Enabling Programme's development of a cross-force data sharing platform. Enabled by mobility services, the cloud and a universally accepted security model, the service will have the flexibility and capability to build operationally critical tools and data-driven ways of working. The service will be better able to connect to citizens, across policing at all levels and internationally, and the wider public and private sectors. In our view, continuing to develop shared thinking and behaviours is the only way the service will enable citizens and officers to have access to the right information at the right time.

Strengthening local, regional and national change capabilities

Just as force level ICT is developing, national technology-enabled transformation programmes are creating new opportunities. There are now several national programmes to improve the digital capabilities and platforms available to policing, including:

- The Digital Policing Portfolio, which supports digital transformation through the delivery of a 'single online home' for public online contact with policing, enhancing digital skills of officers, building specialist digital investigation capabilities, sharing frontline mobility good practice etc.

- Emergency Services Network (which will replace the existing mobile communications service, Airwave, with enhanced mobile capabilities)

- The National Enabling Programmes, which is delivering new cyber capabilities, cloud-based collaboration and productivity tools, and identity and access management services to enable/improve the sharing of information securely

- The National Law Enforcement Data Programme (which aims to replace legacy data systems such as the Police National Computer and Police National Database)

- The Home Office Biometrics Programme, which will transform fingerprint and DNA capabilities

Individually and collectively, these new capabilities are important for workforce productivity, the service to the public and for unlocking effective collaboration with the broader public safety ecosystem across the public and private sectors.

They also, however, create a change requirement for those working in policing – the scale of which requires a greater level of realism from national and local leaders, as well as providers.

To make the most of these investments, the entire workforce will need to learn how to use these technologies and evolve existing ways of working to capitalise on their features and benefits. In practical terms, this creates some form of training requirement, a major communication effort to tell all staff about changes, and a period of adaptation during which (depending on design and usability) there may be additional time implications for common activities. Forces will also need to invest in integrating these technologies effectively with other systems in their organisation, creating a workload and change challenge on top of that posed by significant local change programmes.

As evidence of this challenge, it is common for national programmes to state that one of their biggest difficulties is the lack of local force or regional capability in areas such as requirements definition, business analysis, business change and project management. There is also a need for IT operating models to change to reflect an increasing move to cloud based technologies. Whilst some programmes are benefitting from regional reference groups to support deployment and the ongoing sharing of good practice, this is not yet a common feature of delivery. Given austerity, it is not a surprise that these local and regional change capabilities are depleted. But it is clear that for the aggregate benefit of national and local change to be delivered, a correction is required.

This challenge for forces is magnified by the fact that current interfaces with national programmes are inconsistent and fragmented. Chief officers we spoke to were clear that programmes would have benefits for them but they also reported uncertainty about timelines and difficulty communicating clearly what the changes would mean for their people. They were also concerned that changes might land on forces at the same time in ways that increased disruption and minimised the capacity of the organisation to adopt new technologies fully, making the most of their features and driving the intended behavioural change.

Nationally, this fragmentation also creates significant difficulties. Several programmes are highly innovative and have already experienced significant shifts in time, scope or budget. Currently, however, there is no process that takes a holistic view of the programme of technological change in policing – and this is essential for making tricky decisions about where to invest, how to adjust timelines and which features are most critical in each programme. Programmes also usually have separate governance and funding streams, and many of these funding streams are fragile, coming on an annual basis via whichever force happens to have taken the lead on supporting a programme. Different programmes create different temporary (and often duplicated) capabilities for user design, business analysis, technology architecture, business change and so forth. National programmes are also adopting different approaches to defining and realising benefits, which partly explains why the impact on local change capabilities has been underestimated.

> **Recommendation: Provide increased stability of investment and stronger co-ordination around national technology-enabled transformation and specialist capability programmes.**
>
> This requires in order of urgency:
>
> a. funding for critical long-term programmes to be provided on a multi-year basis
>
> b. consistent approaches to measuring and tracking benefits as efficiently and effectively as possible
>
> c. portfolio governance structures, including a clear decision process for prioritising investments across programmes and to support communication and sequencing of changes required at force level
>
> d. a means for local and/or regional leaders to determine the scale and level of flex required in their local change teams
>
> e. a logical approach to determining where the necessary and inevitable long-term capabilities sit across the Home Office, COP, NPCC and the Police ICT Company.

This lack of co-ordination risks perpetuating the same technology challenge that Deloitte has observed in all sectors. As Deloitte's 2019 Tech Trends report notes, "digital, analytics, and cloud… despite their ubiquity and proven value, these technologies' full potential remains largely untapped. Investments in them are often departmental and limited in scope. Likewise, in some companies, analytics, cloud, and digital initiatives are disjointed, even competing efforts."[86]

Given the scale of the digital transformation required in policing, it seems clear that the opportunities and challenges relating to national programmes and national-local technology co-ordination are not simply short-term. Current programmes will take time to deliver, technologies will require ongoing support after they 'go live' and new programmes will emerge to deliver on the National Digital, Data and Technology Strategy for policing after these are completed. Furthermore, the Evergreen and cloud-based nature of solutions being deployed will require appropriate long-term capabilities and operating models to be in place after programme completion.

This means that there is a clear long-term gap, and one that is not entirely resolved by the creation and evolution of the Police ICT Company to manage some national technology services after they have been created.

It seems inevitable that at some point an organisation will need to be assigned to house these ongoing long-term programmes and the capabilities needed to support them. Logic suggests that rather than creating something entirely new, the Home Office, College of Policing, NPCC and Police ICT Company could collectively provide the answer. However, the design principles and logic for what sits where would need to be agreed – as would appropriate involvement and governance roles for the Home Office and APCC. Regardless of relative ownership responsibilities, lessons should be learned from the troubled history of national bodies whose main role is to support technology-enabled improvements, both in policing and other sectors.[87] Local leaders must also continue to recognise the increased public value that they can deliver by pooling their sovereignty.

C. Building structures and collaborations that support effectiveness

Policing capabilities need to be supported by effective structures and governance arrangements. Our work did encounter several stable multi-force collaborations that are delivering benefits to all parties, and found some national programmes making good progress despite the constraints of complex governance and funding stability already highlighted.

However, we also saw equally clear examples of the instability of cross-force collaborations and recurrent challenges in delivering national programmes efficiently. Some issues – for example, funding stability – can be addressed without major structural change. We also repeat our observation from last year that the penalties for exiting collaborations appear to be too low: alternative contractual models are required which better reflect the costs and timescales involved in building and disentangling collaborative functions. As one chief officer put it, "With Section 22 collaborations [the basis under which most shared services are created] you only really have to give a year's notice to withdraw but it can create millions of cost for forces (small or big) to fill the gap. I'd like a longer commitment – when these breakdown they are five to ten year divorces really."[88]

Such changes, while necessary, may not be adequate to deal with the scale of challenges identified. Several chief officers and PCCs believe more fundamental changes may be required to strengthen policing's ability to take national decisions and deliver certain programmes and services above force level. As one chief officer said, "we need an alternative to the current model [of central decision-making and direction]. Pay gets 30 seconds [discussion] at [the National Police] Chiefs' Council. [X] is doing 3 jobs on top of his force role. The College is being asked to overstep and step in... We don't want anything on deployment centrally but need this on people, IT and specialist capability".[89] Several organisations, including the Police Superintendents Association, have publicly called for a clearer national direction and greater clarity and guidance from the Home Office on national policy questions.[90] The Association president, Paul Griffiths, noted, "I genuinely believe that there has never been a more critical time for our country's political leaders to start swinging the pendulum back [towards greater Home Office influence and leadership]... enabling them [the Home Office] to play a more significant role in providing coherence and consistency across policing."

We agree with these assessments. The challenge, however, is that while there is strong consensus that the current systems of national decision-making and delivery are failing in many areas, there is little consensus on alternative governance and structural solutions. Our interviewees were clear that the Home Office has been beginning to take a more directive role over the past year. The creation of the National Policing Board was seen as a signal of a desire for greater national co-ordination, as well as direction. Another signal has been the Home Office directing Warwickshire and West Mercia police to stay in their Alliance agreement for at least the next three months - in order to manage risks of an abrupt separation with major service disruption.[91]

The challenge... is that while there is strong consensus that the current systems of national decision-making and delivery are failing in many areas, there is little consensus on alternative governance and structural solutions.

But it is clear that the creation of the Policing Board and increased Home Office interest in directing police priorities does not yet resolve several vital questions, including:

- **who decides which decisions are to be made nationally?**

  – should this be the Home Office or National Policing Board and based on what legislation or authority?

  – what input, representation or voting mechanisms will be used, if any, to support high quality decisions and build support and compliance from chief constables, PCCs and national policing organisations (for example, the College of Policing or National Crime Agency)?

  – which policing decisions should be made nationally (and locally)?

- **who should commission national pieces of work from existing (and potentially new) policing organisations?**

  – which commissioning and funding mechanisms will be used?

  – how can appropriate co-ordination of programmes be achieved?

- **who should deliver or 'house' national programmes?** Existing national policing organisations, both operational and supportive, have developed capabilities to serve their current remit and are wary of mission drift. However, housing national programmes in host forces is also felt by many to be as unsatisfactory. As one chief officer put it, "None of these mini-capabilities we built have got a home.. people worry about things going to NCA for mission drift, and NCA are hardly arm's length from government so a bit reluctant to take capability because with it comes accountability, but nobody really likes the lead force hosting models... it's not a long-term solution."[92] This question is also relevant to our proposed new national crime prevention capability (Recommendation 3) – as it is not currently obvious to us in which organisation it would sit.

- **whether regional operational capabilities are derived from national or commissioned from local:** The regional tier of policing in England provides an appropriate scale for many policing functions – including specialised operational teams. The current accountability model, in general, is for local forces to, in effect, commission some services from a regional structure, but this has often led to some of the issues observed in relation to collaborations. An alternative approach, seen in counter-terrorism policing and judged to be effective, is for national leadership to receive funding and then commission and steer the regional approach.

Answers to these questions require significant technical work to determine the best approach. Policing organisations need to retain sufficient autonomy to operate effectively and be held to account but there should also be effective national co-ordination, with capabilities developed at an appropriate scale and geographic level. The questions are also fundamentally political, however, as choices will affect the relative power and influence of individuals and organisations. This suggests a considered process of engagement and technical work is required to find lasting solutions (see recommendation below). Any process should remember that there are no perfect structural solutions to the challenges highlighted, and that reforms that reduced central direction and programme funding/activity were introduced because of different perceived flaws within the pre-2010 approach.

> **Recommendation: Harness the Police Foundation Policing Review, announced in September 2019, to build solutions and consensus around overall police structures and governance.**
>
> Our research showed clear dysfunction in the governance of national and regional capabilities and critical programmes. This report raises some options for improvement but any solution involves trade-offs and will be contentious.
>
> Timings of the review (and resourcing) may not fit the urgency and pace required to reform national governance. If this is the case, supplementary work outside of the review may also be required – but it should be connected to this review process. And it will be sensible to make pragmatic changes to Section 22 arrangements noted above.

Conclusion

This is an exciting time for policing in the UK. As we hope is clear from this report, policing has not been standing still in the last year and is continuing to find new ways of working and responding to a rapidly changing societal context.

New investment now provides policing with a huge opportunity to tackle some of the major crime and safety challenges facing society and to prepare for the future. The issues that are of growing importance – dealing with vast volumes of digital evidence, new technological tools and threats, high levels of public expectation and scrutiny, and constantly evolving criminal methods – are not easy to solve.

But if government and policing leaders are prepared to make difficult choices about how to prioritise investments and can remain focused on building the capabilities policing needs for the future, then the public will reap the benefits. As those working in policing lead their organisations through turbulent times, we hope that this report provides some tools and insights that will help them in the times ahead.

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Endnotes

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6. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/spending-round-2019-document/spending-round-2019 Note that these figures reflect the Chancellor's speech and accompanying documentation but baselines against which increases are to be made have not been verified – in large part because the Treasury continue to fail to provide spreadsheets that split out departmental allocations to spend areas and programmes in a meaningful way. This was announced as a spending round rather than a spending review, as it was effectively a one year budget refresh rather than a longer term fiscal event.

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