A Force for Good: Exploring the future of non-crime policing.

Daryl Evan Kenny

The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Criminal Justice of the University of Portsmouth

September 2016
Dedication

To all members of my family, my late parents Lawrence and Shirley, my wife Jacqueline and our children Sophie and Alexander.

Declaration

I confirm that, except where indicated through the proper use of citations and references, this is my own original work. Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

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Signed:

Daryl Kenny.

Date: 29.09.2016
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<td>ACPO</td>
<td>Association of Chief Police Officers</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASB</td>
<td>Anti-social Behaviour</td>
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<td>BTP</td>
<td>British Transport Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBRN</td>
<td>Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear</td>
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<td>CEPOL</td>
<td>Council of the European Police College</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMS2</td>
<td>Crime Management System 2</td>
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<td>CSEW</td>
<td>Crime Survey for England and Wales</td>
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<td>HMIC</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary</td>
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<td>IT</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
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<td>JESIP</td>
<td>Joint Emergency Services Interoperability Programme</td>
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<td>MASH</td>
<td>Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub</td>
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<td>NCALT</td>
<td>National Centre for Applied Learning Technologies</td>
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<td>National Police Chiefs’ Council</td>
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<td>National Police Improvement Agency</td>
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<td>NPM</td>
<td>New Public Management</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>ONS</td>
<td>Office for National Statistics</td>
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<td>OPCC</td>
<td>Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner</td>
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<td>PAF</td>
<td>Police Allocation Formula</td>
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<td>PCC</td>
<td>Police and Crime Commissioner</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCSO</td>
<td>Police Community Support Officer</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<tr>
<td>US/USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTC</td>
<td>Road Traffic Collisions</td>
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<td>STORM</td>
<td>System for Tasking and Operational Resource Management</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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ABSTRACT

Crime is promoted by the government as being the primary task of the police, yet such a focus marginalizes the extraordinary prominence and relevance of many non-crime policing activities.

This research highlights the breadth and complexity of those duties, filling a gap in the literature by exploring the possible future of non-crime policing.

The research draws on extensive literary sources and utilizes quantitative data covering eight years of public calls made to the Staffordshire Police. The research includes qualitative data obtained from thirteen semi-structured interviews with individuals who have extensive policing experience.

The research found that public demand for policing declined over the reviewed period, with staffing levels in Staffordshire dropping and government funding falling drastically. There were marked increases in ‘concern for safety’ incidents, ‘suicides’ and cases involving individuals suffering mental health crises.

The research explored policing from a historical perspective drawing on European and British history, ancient and modern, in order to help shine a light on prospective future developments.

The research suggested that policing is torn between those who feel that non-crime matters are important and those who think that policing should be largely crime-focused. Concerns were raised about the ongoing politicization of policing, the extended police hierarchy and the impact of neo-liberalism on non-crime demand.

Non-crime policing appears to be moving incrementally towards pluralization and privatisation, though it could also help initiate a more unified, internationalized policing service built around human rights. All futures remain open and it is up to all of us to decide what that future will ultimately be.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

No published research questions the fundamental mandate that the primary role of the police is to control crime (Manning, 2010, p. 133). This research not only seeks to address that gap, it also elaborates on the topic by attempting to answer the following question: What is the future of non-crime policing? If the primary role of the police is not to control crime then could it be simply a mechanism for social control, or is policing more than that? The term ‘non-crime’ generally refers to all those activities that the police undertake which are not directly related to any recorded crime. But as anyone involved in policing, or the study of policing, knows, such a term encompasses an extraordinarily broad range of tasks. In order to help tackle the question the research identified four key objectives:

1. To explore the relevance of non-crime policing.
2. To identify and explore the key factors impacting upon those activities.
3. To assess the public demand for non-crime policing within Staffordshire.
4. To analyse the views of police personnel on non-crime activities and other related matters.

The idea for this study sprung from the researcher’s own experiences and observations whilst undertaking front-line policing duties in Staffordshire, England. In the years following the financial crash of 2007/8 it became increasingly apparent that more people seemed to be calling the police in relation to concerns about someone’s safety or welfare. Worryingly, increasing numbers of people seemed to be killing themselves, attempting to kill themselves or letting the police know that they were thinking about killing themselves. Mental health related incidents appeared to grow in prominence and more and more people seemed to be having domestic problems. Whilst this was going on, the government was placing great emphasis upon the police undertaking a ‘tough on crime’ approach with repeated suggestions that police officers should once more become ‘real crime fighters’ (May 2010). On Tuesday 22nd May 2012, for instance, the then Home Secretary, Theresa May stated that:

‘...the core mission of the police is cutting crime. That is the priority; that is the focus; that is the aim’ (May, 2012).

As an operational officer, such a stance seemed to be starkly at odds with the realities of day-to-day policing. Even more surprising, the same rhetoric was being espoused by the Metropolitan
Police Commissioner, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, who repeatedly identified the police as being engaged in a ‘total war on crime’ (Brunetti, 2012).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), however, identified that policing involves dealing with a remarkably diverse range of tasks, many of which are not directed towards crime at all but rather the maintenance of peace and security (UNODC, 2012, p.1). The European Code of Police Ethics (2001, p. 1), for instance, identifies the first priority of the police as being to maintain ‘public tranquillity’. Other research from around the world suggests that ‘peace-keeping’, rather than law enforcement, is the primary police role (Morgan & Newburn, 1997, p. 82; Klockars, 2005, p. 592). Villiers (2010, p. 14) simply states that ‘the fundamental purpose of the police is to save people’s lives’.

So why do government officials and senior police officers strenuously attempt to ignore the deep breadth of policing activity by continually emphasizing crime? Why do so many policing texts similarly side-line non-crime policing duties? What status or value is attributed to non-crime policing activities? What are the public actually calling the police for? What do police practitioners think about their non-crime duties? Should the police be doing such work? Couldn’t these ‘other’ activities be outsourced to the private sector or to other agencies? What lessons, if any, can be gleaned from police history, or other great civilizations from the past? Could what has happened before act as a guide to the future? Are non-crime activities incompatible with the aims of the police to professionalize? What policing methods actually work, and what social, political and economic factors are likely to shape policing into the future? This research delves into highly topical, relevant questions that are impacting upon the professional police working environment today. The research takes a pragmatic approach, hoping to identify possible trajectories which all of us can have a hand in shaping.

**Thesis Structure**

Chapter one introduces the research, identifies the aim and objectives and provides an outline of the upcoming chapters.

Chapter two identifies the research setting (Staffordshire Police) and the methods used to collect and analyse all the collected data. It also outlines the ethical considerations taken in relation to researching within a police environment.
Chapter three explores the concept of non-crime policing. It identifies the relevance and importance of many non-crime functions and explores the practical and legal reasons why the police are used for so many non-crime matters. The chapter also explores the efforts and difficulties that have arisen when high-level working groups have sought to narrow the police role into ‘core’ and ‘ancillary’ tasks.

Chapter four extends the discussion into an exploration of the wider police role in society. It highlights the prevalence of police peace-keeping functions, and explores the advantages and disadvantages arising from their unique capacity to use situationally justified force. The chapter highlights the depth and breadth of policing as well as the ongoing importance of public trust, confidence and legitimacy.

Chapter five identifies the historical foundations of modern policing, exploring lessons that may be gleaned from previous eras that have enabled extraordinary social, political and economic advancement. This section critically considers the modern politicization of policing through the development of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs).

Chapters six and seven situate policing as it is today within a wider global political economy, examining discrepancies in the way the police are allocated funds. Chapter eight critically assesses some of the policing practices that have taken shape in modern societies.

Chapter nine identifies and assesses detailed quantitative data covering all calls made to the Staffordshire Police over an eight year period (2007-2014). It also looks at the total number of recorded crimes in each of those years and combines the two sets of data to paint a very different picture of policing than the one often portrayed by the government and the media.

Chapter ten identifies and assesses qualitative data derived from thirteen semi-structured interviews with individuals who have extensive experience in the field of policing.

Chapter eleven combines the emerging themes from the research and projects them forward into expanding and collapsing visions of policing futures encompassing professionalization, pluralization, privatisation and the narrowing of police functions towards the use of force.

The conclusion pulls together some of the key points from the research, defining futures which will be shaped not only by global political and economic powers but by the actions of individuals working together to make policing a force for good. Included within the conclusion are recommendations and reflections on the research process itself.
CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Methodology

This section outlines the methods used to undertake this research. It covers the research context, the literature used, research design methods, analysis of the data and ethical considerations.

This research, like any other, is limited and imperfect. Space and time requirements have necessitated the reduction of broad social, political and economic themes into more concise sections. The focus has been macro rather than micro. As Wakefield (2011, p. 81) states:

‘Criminological research considers crime and criminal justice topics in a broader context of political economy, social stratification, social capital or cultural change.’

In terms of context, it is worth stating that the researcher’s own political perspective tends towards left-realism. Within such a perspective the wider causes of harm and crime are perceived to stem from broad social, political and economic inequalities (Newburn, 2007, p. 264; Giddens, 2009, p. 950).

The research is also limited as the primary and secondary data has been drawn largely from one police force in England and Wales. The future of non-crime policing can therefore only be surmised through what is a somewhat localized study. It is also recognized that realistically this research is unlikely to lead to any real development in local policy. However, the combined aspects of the research shed light upon currently underrated but highly important areas of policing.

Staffordshire Police

This section briefly outlines the research setting from which much of the primary and secondary data was drawn. That setting was Staffordshire Police (SP).

Staffordshire was among the first of the new county police forces. It was established in 1842 and initially consisted of just 210 officers (Emsley, 2009, p. 74), over a quarter of which were
drafted in from Ireland (ibid, p. 103). The force went through a number of different name changes but since 1974 it has been called Staffordshire Police (Staffordshire County Council, 2016a, p. 1). Geographically, Staffordshire is one of the largest counties in England with an area of 1048 square miles. According to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), Staffordshire’s population is 1.1 million and its geography ranges from sparsely populated Moorlands, through the densely populated area of Stoke-on-Trent to the more rural, agricultural settings of Cannock Chase and South Staffordshire (HMIC, 2014a, p. 187-8).

The most recent history of SP is characterized by a sharp decline in its workforce numbers. Between 2010 and 2014, police officer strength fell by 23% (HMIC, 2014a, p. 188) with 240 police staff employees losing their job between 2010 and 2013 (HMIC, 2013a, p. 4). The cuts followed the ‘bail out’ of the banks after the financial collapse of 2007/8. Staffordshire Police receives marginally fewer calls from the public than most other forces, deals with fewer crimes per head of population, and undertakes fewer prosecutions than most other forces (HMIC, 2013a, p. 6). As of May 2016, SP had 3242 employees, 1683 police officers, 227 Police Community Support Officers and 1332 police staff (Staffordshire Police, 2016b, p. 1).

While making the budget cuts, forces were required to ensure that there would be no damage to the services provided to the public. In order to ensure this, HMIC was tasked to monitor ‘recorded crime rates’ and ‘victim’ satisfaction surveys within each force area (HMIC, 2013a, p. 4). As this research identifies, crime only constitutes around a fifth of all calls to the police so the mere measurement of crime would not have adequately captured any damage caused by the cuts. Neither would Home Office victim satisfaction surveys, which only require feedback from a randomized sample of individuals who have been on the receiving end of a house burglary, violent crime, vehicle crime or a hate incident (Police Accountability Board, 2016, p. 11).

Organizationally, the trajectory of change within SP has been towards centralization, co-location and the creation of an increasingly ‘flexible’ work-force (HMIC, 2014b, p. 12). More recently SP has been commissioning services from the private sector through the newly created Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner. SP has also been selling off some of its estate and pooling assets with the Staffordshire County Council. A private, profit-making company is now being used to manage the remaining assets with further co-location and asset stripping objectives planned for the future through a merger with the Staffordshire Fire and Rescue Service. Similarly, SP’s information technology (IT) services, including all communications, mobile data and information/intelligence systems have been outsourced to the private American corporation Boeing. Boeing won a £110 million contract to manage these services until 2025/6. It is within this
context that the research was undertaken and through which the majority of the literature was reviewed.

**Literature Review Methodology**

There are many studies which address the future of policing. Moreover, policing texts often conclude their subject with a look to the future. There is, however, a distinct gap in the literature regarding any work concerning the future of non-crime policing activities. Until recently, the term ‘non-crime’ in relation to policing was almost non-existent, yet the term has begun to spring up in several reports and articles covering broad assessments of police activity (Home Office, 2013, p. 1-4; National Debate Advisory Group, 2015; College of Policing, 2015a). Even though the words ‘non-crime’ or ‘noncrime’ rarely appear it is sufficient to note that a great deal of police activity involves matters that do not in fact involve crime.

Given the potential breadth of the topic it was necessary to establish a broad base of information pertaining to police activity that did not directly relate to crime. The process began with electronic searches of databases using Google, Google Scholar, and websites such as those for the Home Office, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), the Audit Commission, the College of Policing, *The Economist* newspaper, the National Audit Office and the Police Foundation. Principally the material drawn for the review was obtained from the National Police Library, the University of Portsmouth Library and via SCONUL access to the universities of Wolverhampton and Staffordshire. The review also included searches through this researcher’s own collection of over 6000 documents compiled over the last thirteen years of part-time study covering the fields of policing and international criminal justice.

Initial electronic searches involved the use of combinations of words in order to try and detect articles that contained such phrases as ‘non-crime’ and ‘no crime’, which led to no relevant hits. Searches for other relevant words such as ‘future’ AND ‘police’ led to numerous hits. It wasn’t until 2014 that the terms ‘non-crime’ or ‘noncrime’ began to surface more prominently within British literature¹. It first appeared in Britain in a number of government and academic reports in relation to the growing preponderance of vulnerability issues being tackled by the police. These references were, however, sporadic and none concentrated on non-crime as a

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¹ In the United States, Mastrofski (1983, cited by Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 24) specifically used the term ‘non-crime’ to classify a range of police activities.
central focus. This lack of apparent discussion or research into the non-crime areas of policing suggested that the subject was ripe for exploration.

Literature continued to be consulted throughout the research and involvement with a variety of academic and non-academic networks helped identify other relevant articles. The networks used for this research included: The Police Foundation, The Australian Institute of Police Management, the Centre for Crime and Justice and the British Society of Criminology. The literature review expanded as each category began to include ever more topics. The review identified the potential importance of historical perspectives and also the influence of political and economic factors. To help collate and organize all the growing strands of the research extensive use was made of the software programme NVivo. Eventually all of the information was collected into eleven categories and fifty-nine sub-categories.

Towards the end of the literature review five hypotheses began to emerge regarding potential answers to the research question, namely that:

- Non-crime policing activities would probably be reduced to the bare minimum.
- Community policing in its current form would all but vanish.
- Policing activities would increasingly be narrowed and directed towards crime-fighting.
- The police would gradually lose public support.
- A new form of automated, militarized and technically operated policing structure would probably emerge centred around the police monopoly on the legitimate use of force.

**Research Design**

Philosophically, the research was pragmatic in nature, that means that it sought to develop broad, practical solutions to potentially emerging problems. The approach to the research was inductive rather than deductive meaning that it involved assembling and developing knowledge rather than testing an original hypothesis. The research was also constructivist rather than positivist meaning that the police service was seen as a socially constructed phenomenon distinct from the natural world. This methodology ensured a broad, contextual, slant built around practical perceptions and beliefs, pointing towards information that may explain how the human world is operating (Hart, 1998, p. 85; Robson, 2002, p. 27).

The Project Proposal document that initiated the research led to the compilation of a theoretical overview being developed in conjunction with the literature review. The overview was
compiled initially using an on-line mind-mapping tool called ‘X-Mind’. Following the codification of the literature on NVivo, the mind-map was simplified into a concise one-page document which outlined the proposed headings and sub-headings for each chapter.

As the research was future directed it was felt necessary to take account of historical as well as contemporary economic and political influences. Although history rarely moves forward in a clearly positive way it can be helpful in identifying eras where positive expansion took place. The identified ‘golden ages’ of civilization that are explored in chapter five are linked with ideas and themes which the research indicates may be relevant to policing. The next section briefly explores the research methods utilized.

**Methods**

The terms ‘quantitative’, ‘qualitative’, and ‘mixed’ are used to describe different types of research methods (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007, p. 303). The emphasis in quantitative research is usually upon cause and effect relationships within numerical data. Qualitative research, by contrast, usually focuses upon perceptions and meanings within everyday processes (Carrington, 1998, cited by Schulenberg, 2007, p. 115).

The quantitative aspect of this research utilized secondary data from calls made to the SP control room between 01.01.2007 and 31.12.2014. The data was obtained from the SP command and control system called STORM (System for Tasking and Operational Resource Management). This system is used to log calls, allocate patrols and keep a record of all the actions associated with any particular incident. Upon closure, each incident is classified into a category/sub-category depending upon the type of incident that has taken place. It was these ‘closure codes’ that were examined for the quantitative aspects of this research. A second piece of software used by SP called the Crime Management System 2 (CMS2) was used to identify exactly how many crimes were reported to the SP during the same period.

The qualitative aspect of the research involved the use of semi-structured interviews with thirteen randomly selected volunteers. The use of semi-structured interviews was felt to be the most flexible way of gaining information from individuals undertaking constantly changing duties. It was also the most confidential and one which it is believed helped to elicit genuine responses rather ‘on message’ reiterations of force policies. Although a questionnaire or survey could also have been undertaken, the research encouraged wider speculation about issues rather than ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses.
The research utilized a ‘mixed methods’ approach, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative methods and combining them both to paint a pragmatic picture of all the retrieved data (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17).

**Negotiating Access**

Gaining access to data held by organizations can be particularly problematic but for insider-researchers access can be far less difficult. After having raised the subject with the Chief Constable, the researcher, who works for SP, prepared an outline of the study and identified the data required. Questions and assurances were gained regarding the ethical use and storage of any data through contact with the SP Information Security Officer. The researcher remained open to any amendments that may have been proposed but none were requested. The research was subsequently authorized by the Chief Constable, Mike Cunningham, and reaffirmed by the new Chief Constable, Jane Sawyers. It should be noted that the researcher received no adverse interference from anyone in the host organization. The interviewees who participated in the research were, for example, permitted to do so while on-duty.

**Piloting the research**

In order to investigate the benefits of pursuing the research, two pilot studies were undertaken. For the quantitative research, pilot data was obtained during February 2013. This data covered all incidents reported to SP between 01.01.2007 and 31.12.2012. Analysis of this data enabled the researcher to gauge the comparative relevance of non-crime activities in Staffordshire. This analysis identified that Concern for Safety/Welfare incidents took up a considerable and growing proportion of operational police work. The findings were so stark that the researcher reported the matter to the Chief Constable and SP immediately commenced a review of its own on the same topic. The Police and Crime Commissioner in Staffordshire subsequently obtained substantial media coverage and acknowledgment from the Home Office when Staffordshire’s own report into the prominence of Concern for Safety/Mental Health incidents was released (Ellis 2013). This localized work forced me to broaden the parameters of the research to cover non-crime policing more generally.

**Piloting of interviews**

Planning for the pilot qualitative interviews began in 2014. It involved an independent third party from Keele University approaching several individuals who may be interested in
participating. He forwarded a Participant Information sheet (see appendix 4) to several people unknown to the researcher and a covering letter. Two of these individuals subsequently contacted the researcher and pilot interviews were undertaken.

These interviews enabled the researcher to rehearse the use of a newly purchased digital recorder. They also proved to be very interesting and informative in their own right. Feedback from these interviews indicated that having sight of the questions in advance would have been helpful. For all subsequent interviews, individuals were forwarded a full set of all the questions to be covered. A third pilot interview was conducted using a computer software system called Skype, a system which enables real-time audio/video communications to be carried out over the internet. This third pilot interview proved to be equally successful and opened up alternatives should face-to-face interviews prove problematic for any future participants. As it was, Skype was only used once but its benefits were notable when considering the time, cost and travel considerations required for face-to-face interviews.

**Identifying potential participants**

Identifying the post-pilot participants necessitated the creation of a stratified sampling frame. This approach enabled a purposive sample of police personnel to be drawn up who would be able to provide informed commentary about the topics being discussed. The initial sample included individuals from every police rank in SP as well as individuals working within the Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner for Staffordshire.

In order to identify potential participants for these semi-structured interviews assistance was obtained (with the Chief Constable’s permission) from the SP Human Resources Department (HR). The SP HR Department subsequently supplied a list of 222 uniformed Constables and Sergeants who worked in the South of the County and who did not work at the same station or on the same work pattern as the researcher. The list was restricted to uniformed officers only because plain-clothed detectives do not ordinarily deal with non-crime incidents.

A second sample operating in all ranks above Sergeant as well as individuals from the Office of the Police and Crime Commissioner was also compiled. This contained 48 names. These two samples were then individually randomized and combined into one sample of 24 individuals. The samples were randomized using Microsoft Excel. The method used can be seen in the following YouTube clip: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8fU001P2II](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8fU001P2II). Due to changes in the Human
Resources list since its compilation four individuals in the final table were not suitable because they worked on either the same work pattern as the researcher or were no longer undertaking uniformed duties. The final, combined list identified 20 potential participants.

The interviewees

The study utilized individuals with a broad range of policing experience. Eleven of the interviewees were current or former police officers and two were senior police civilian executives. Ten of the participants had direct experience of working with SP. Three were from relevant external organizations, and eight had experience in senior police or civilian positions. The remaining five occupied positions in the Staffordshire Police in the ranks of Constable, Sergeant, Inspector, or Chief Inspector.

The invitations were sent out in two batches of ten. The first batch was sent out via an independent third party with an accompanying cover letter and a Participant Information Form. Despite a reminder being sent out, only one person replied positively. This disappointing return led to a slight change and the next batch was contacted directly by the researcher through the SP intranet. They too were provided with all relevant information together with a covering letter. From this second batch seven individuals responded positively. This meant that of the twenty invitations sent out eight people had agreed to participate. In order to improve this number a request was made from the researcher’s academic supervisor to the College of Policing. As a result of this request more participants made themselves available to be interviewed in London on two different dates.

Interviews

In this research semi-structured interviews were utilized, with questions drawn from themes identified within the literature review. It was felt that semi-structured interviews would provide a suitably flexible framework from which questions could be asked about the various topics.

All of the subsequent interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis in person. The questions openly sought expanded responses; prompts were included in the list of questions that were given to interviewees in advance. All of the interviews were digitally recorded on a Zoom
H2N Handy Recorder and all were undertaken in the researchers own time. Each interviewee was sent the questions in advance together with a detailed Participant Information document (appendix 4).

All of the interviews required preparation in terms of arranging suitable times, dates and locations, as well as travelling to and from each place. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 2 hours. Most of the interviewees were very willing to talk at length when answering the questions and many indicated notable satisfaction with the process. All of the interviews were personally transcribed verbatim by the researcher and collated in a separate document totalling over 32,000 words. Whilst all the views of participants were recorded, some views were not utilized within the final research paper.

All participants were given absolute guarantees of their anonymity. Where comments or references were made that could identity any individual those comments were depersonalised, disguised or removed. Each interviewee was allocated a random number between 1 and 13 and the number they were allocated bears no relation to the order in which they were interviewed. The interviews themselves were treated as fairly formal occasions and the extracts produced in this text are the words of the person(s) being interviewed. Pragmatically, interviewee quotes were incorporated throughout the text in order to enable the thoughts and feelings of interviewees to be contrasted and compared with the literature. Where such quotes are used, the participant is identified by their number only.

Analysis

In a similar fashion to the literature topics that were raised in the quantitative and qualitative research were placed into categories for analysis. For the quantitative research the main categories and sub-categories were pre-defined by the incident closure codes of which there were 193.

In the qualitative research themes and ideas emerged under each topic which were then coded or classified under different headings. For instance, where the topic was Concern for Safety/Welfare incidents sub-categories emerged around such issues as ‘mental health’ or ‘suicide’. During the early stages of coding lots of sub-categories were created, but some were so similar to others that they were eventually combined. The development of the codes/sub-categories helped identify the key themes deemed most relevant by the interviewees. These coded sub-categories totalled 141. Table 2.1 (below) identifies the comparative number of sub-
categories collected under each of the eighteen topics covered in the interviews. It is notable that the Future involvement question (Q18) and Democratic involvement (Q17) contained the highest number of sub-categories.

Table 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Number of categories identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q18 Future Involvement</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q17 Democratic involvement</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q16 Firearms</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q15 Increased PCSO Powers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q14 Limiting to Powers only</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q13 Multi Agency</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q12 Higher Education</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q11 Important rank</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q10 Rank Structure</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9 Spending Cuts</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8 Privatisation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7 Increasing powers non-sworn</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6 Answerable to</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5 War on Crime</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 Functions of Police</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 Concern for Safety</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 Status or Value</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Non crime involvement</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 (below) lists the total number of words given in response to each question. It is notable that Questions 1, 10, 18 and 17 drew out the most information, though the number of codes/themes varied considerably.
Table 2.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Word Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q18 Future Involvement</td>
<td>2667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q17 Democratic involvement</td>
<td>2187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q16 Firearms</td>
<td>1802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q15 Increased PCSO Powers</td>
<td>1307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q14 Limiting to Powers only</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q13 Multi Agency</td>
<td>1780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q12 Higher Education</td>
<td>2120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q11 Important rank</td>
<td>1477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q10 Rank Structure</td>
<td>2468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9 Spending Cuts</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8 Privatisation</td>
<td>1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7 Increasing powers non-sworn</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6 Answerable to</td>
<td>1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5 War on Crime</td>
<td>1240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4 Functions of Police</td>
<td>1164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 Concern for Safety</td>
<td>2115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 Status or Value</td>
<td>1653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1 Non crime involvement</td>
<td>2932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of words used in responses to questions.

Ethical Issues

The research was concerned with the everyday demands being placed on a public policing organization. No aspect of the research was of a particularly sensitive nature. The call-centre data
was numerical and did not contain any personal information about any named individual or incident.

Each interviewee was approached privately and confidentially. Participants were identified using a randomized selection process and all of the interviews were conducted in private rooms. The pool of potential participants did not contain anyone who had direct supervisory, peer or subordinate responsibilities to or from the researcher. No participant was adversely affected by their involvement or non-involvement in the research.

Before being interviewed participants were provided with an information sheet and invited to complete a consent form (appendix 3). All contributors agreed to their comments being used for the research and no one withdrew permission at any time. There were no risks, burdens or reputational issues to either participants or the researcher. Information received from Staffordshire Police for this research was stored on encrypted USB sticks. One stick was used to store the original file and the second was used to hold the working data. The only personal data held in this research is the names of those individuals that participated in the semi-structured interviews. The anonymity of each participant has been assured and the number pertaining to each interviewee will not be divulged unless required to do so under circumstances outlined in the Code of Ethics. The research was carried out with the approval of the University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee.
CHAPTER THREE: NON-CRIME

Non-crime

Although the police are commonly described as being ‘crime-fighters’ they spend a considerable amount of their time carrying out a variety of social service functions (Kleinig, 1996, p. 23; Ericson, 2005, p. 233; Reiner, 2010, p. 19; Reiner, 2012a, p. 10). Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) stated in Taking Time for Crime (HMIC, 2012, p. 2) that frontline police officers spend an overwhelming majority of their time covering two main areas, ‘crime’, and ‘stop[ping] things that the public feel are dangerous or wrong and should cease immediately’. Of these two key strands only ‘crime’ is the subject of overt political emphasis and measurement. Even the title of the report, Taking Time for Crime (HMIC, 2012) emphasizes the reduction of the ‘other’ strand of policing into the periphery whilst emphasising ‘crime’ as the central, most important aspect of police work. This research questions that position and seeks to find answers about the future trajectory of this second element, an area of policing that this research refers to as non-crime policing.

Interviewee 13: If you look nationally, you almost have two camps, you’ve got a camp of Chief Officers who are saying...narrow policing to just doing crime things, and there’s another camp, I would call it the public service camp and that’s about how we can help people work together to lead better lives, live well and solve all those sorts of issues that matter to people. I think non-crime falls into the later. One view, the crime view, is narrow; it’s concerned with putting people’s doors in for, say, a drugs warrant. The other view broadens the picture of demand and asks the question: ‘How can we solve these demand problems together?’

Interviewee 8: Non-crime incidents need to be done, we can’t avoid them. It comes down to matters of safety... there will never be a way of not doing those types of incidents. There’s no way of avoiding it, it’s just part and parcel of what the police do.

Crime is promoted by the government as being the primary task of the police. Maintaining such an overt focus on ‘crime’ has had the tendency to marginalize the importance and relevance of other, non-crime police work. But if the police were to suddenly stop dealing with all the non-crime matters they are asked to undertake and only dealt with ‘crime’ then it is probable that the whole concept of policing by public consent would quickly erode. Although robust law
enforcement can lead to useful, temporary reductions in social harms, the persistent pursuit of crime-fighting objectives could eventually undermine the democratic legitimacy that policing depends upon (Myhill & Quinton, 2011, p. 11). Relentless enforcement of the law would probably end up fusing attitudes against the police, and no democratic society could survive in an environment where the public were viewed primarily as targets for law enforcers (Shumar, 1973, cited by Fagin, 1977, p. 16). Such an environment would lack compassion, tolerance and empathy and would probably lead to an escalating spiral of social disharmony and disorder. Contrary to the manufactured image of the police as crime-fighters, most uniformed police work consists of answering calls for help, restoring order and providing valuable social assistance (Reiner, 1992, p. 767). Most police officer contacts with the public are concerned with ‘peace-keeping’ (Banton, 1964), ‘order-maintenance’ (Ericson, 1982; Wilson, 1968) and a variety of other ‘social service’ activities (Punch & Naylor, 1973). Bittner (2005, p. 154) notes that if one looks at what the police actually do, one finds that law enforcement is something that most of them do with a frequency located somewhere between ‘virtually never and very rarely’.

Interviewee 8: I deal with more non-crime stuff than I do dealing with crime matters. It is such a massive part of what we do.

In Staffordshire, at the end of 2008, 80% of all calls to the police control room related to non-crime matters. By the end of 2014 that number had risen to 83%, meaning that crime constituted just 17% of all public demand on Staffordshire’s police resources. Importantly, it is these ‘other’ non-crime services that are the most prized and desired by the public. But what exactly are ‘non-crime’ incidents?

According to the Collins English Dictionary, ‘noncrime’ simply means ‘an incident that is not considered to be against the law’ (Collins, 2016). In terms of policing, there is no standard definition for ‘non-crime incidents’, however, it is clear that much of the police activity that results from non-crime calls relate largely to issues of vulnerability, public protection and safeguarding (National Debate Advisory Group, 2015, p. 16).

Interviewee 8: The public think we deal with crime. I don’t think they know about the other things that we deal with. I think they’d be surprised if they came along with us and saw exactly what we do on a daily basis.

A comprehensive study of police patrol work, conducted by Mastrofski (1983), examined 60 different neighbourhoods in America with observers accompanying police officers on all shifts.
Table 3.1 (below) shows the type of calls that Mastrofski (1983, cited by Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 24) specifically classified as being of a ‘non-crime’ nature.

**Table 3.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-crime matters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic regulation</td>
<td>Traffic law, accidents, traffic flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disputes</td>
<td>Arguments, disturbances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuisances</td>
<td>harassment, annoyance, [anti-social behaviour]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent persons</td>
<td>Drunks, missing persons, absconders, mental health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>Injured persons, attempted suicides, deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Directions, miscellaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information offer</td>
<td>Property, false alarms, complaints, compliments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General assistance</td>
<td>Animals, lost or damaged property, fire, emergencies, transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Internal procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone on arrival</td>
<td>Dispatched calls where parties to the problem had left the scene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 3.1 indicates, the police undertake a variety of activities involving all sorts of emergencies, nuisances, dispute settlements and an almost infinite range of social calming measures. In the excellent book *Policing as though People Matter*, Guyot (1991, p. 278) identifies a similar variety of activities that the police undertake in order to ‘assist people who are particularly vulnerable and who are unable to help themselves’. It is notable that many of these non-crime related problems can require great skill to resolve yet officers rarely receive any instruction, guidance or even recognition for their non-crime work (Bittner, 1990, p. 318).

Interviewee 1: In community meetings people aren’t really interested in crime, what matters to them are local issues and they become quite irritated with an emphasis on crime-reduction.

Far from being periphery, many of these non-crime activities provide excellent opportunities for officers to undertake integrative, socially rewarding, non-adversarial work which is often highly valued by members of the public (Manning, 1977, p. 349). For Sollund (2008, p. 30).
people are more likely to be pleased with the police response to non-crime incidents than they are to crime related events. This suggests that the ‘helping’ activities of the police generate far more rewarding, positive public encounters. Theoretically, if the police were to assume even greater responsibility for their non-crime activities it could markedly improve public approval ratings and help to enhance trust confidence and legitimacy (Manning, 2005, p. 212). So how prevalent is the demand for non-crime policing and how are such incidents classified?

Defining demand in Staffordshire

Interviewee 6: It’s important that we are in touch with the public and that we listen to them to see what they want from the police. We are here to serve the public not ourselves. I think that’s a fundamental function that we forget.

The total number of incidents recorded by Staffordshire Police between January 1st 2007 and 31st December 2014 was 2,494,495. Each of these incidents is recorded under one of nine pre-defined headings, each with its own sub-categories. Table 3.2 (below) displays the codes that are used by Staffordshire Police for each of these nine categories together with a brief description of what each category contains. The codes are broadly in line with the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) National Standard for Incident Recording (NPIA, 2011) which specifies four codes for non-crime incidents: ‘Public Safety/Welfare’, ‘Anti-Social Behaviour’ (ASB), ‘Transport’ and ‘Administration’. Incidents classified as a crime in Staffordshire fall into the ‘C’ category.

Table 3.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Alarms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Public Safety/Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Police Generated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Duplicate/Out of force</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Furthermore, these nine categories are broken down into 193 sub-categories, 141 of which relate to matters outside the ‘C’ category. Figure 3.1 (below) provides an overview of the total public demand in each of these nine categories over an eight year period between 01.01.2007 and 31.12.2014.

Figure 3.1

It can be seen in this representation that crime accounted for 23% of all calls during the entire reviewed period and that ‘Public Safety/Welfare’ incidents accounted for 21% of all calls. A significant number of incidents were classified as ‘Administration’ (16%) or as ‘ASB’ (14%). If one were to combine ‘Administration’ with ‘Duplicate’ incidents (both administrative) it would be the single biggest category. Importantly, the Figure identifies that 77% of all calls coming into the Staffordshire Police during that time were not classified as ‘Crime’.

Although call data provides an overall picture of incoming public demand, not all incidents initially classified as a crime turn out to be a crime. By calculating the actual number of crimes against the total number of calls it is possible to obtain an even clearer picture of the percentage of crime to non-crime incidents. In 2008, for instance, there were 85,751 recorded crimes in Staffordshire, which is 20% of all the calls received that year. In 2014, however, there were 59,404 recorded crimes, meaning that ‘crime’ constituted just 17% of all calls to the Staffordshire Police that year.
According to Bayley (2005, p. 142) up to 90% of all police activity stems from contacts initiated by members of the public. As Ross (2013, p. 335) notes, a significant proportion of these non-crime calls relate to low-level Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) nuisances such as noise and traffic complaints, neighbour disputes, annoying teenagers, littering and dog fouling. But the largest category of non-crime incidents is clearly ‘Public Safety/Welfare’.

The ‘Public Safety/Welfare’ category consists of a variety of incidents, including: ‘Abandoned Phone Calls’, ‘Absentees’, ‘Civil Disputes’, ‘Collapses’, ‘Industrial Accidents’, ‘Major Incidents’, ‘Missing Persons, ‘Mental Health’, ‘Concern for Safety/Welfare’ and ‘Sudden Deaths’. The largest percentage of calls in this category relate to ‘Concern for Safety/Welfare’ incidents. Such events are defined in the National Standard for Incident Recording (NPIA, 2011, p. 16) as relating to a ‘genuine and justifiable concern for a person’s welfare or well-being’. A significant and rising number of these calls relate directly to fears about an individual’s mental health, suggesting that fundamental provisions for the mentally impaired in society are under pressure and falttering (What do the police do, 2014, p. 24).

**Concerns for safety and mental health**

Interviewee 11: When I think of non-crime I think particularly of mental health, attempt suicides, concerns for safety. When I first started policing it was all about thief-taking but now you’ve got very little opportunity to go thief-taking because officers have to take on the demand of vulnerability and mental health.

Heightened police involvement with ‘Concern for Safety/Welfare’ and ‘Mental Health’ incidents can be traced back at least as far as the 1950s when the Conservative government of the day initiated deinstitutionalization programmes involving the release of long-stay mental health patients back into society (Stephens, 1994, p. 151-3). The idea underpinning these programmes revolved around the desirability of having psychiatric patients take more personal responsibility for their own lives (Bean, 2001, p. 3). This policy undoubtedly brought benefits to some patients but left many others in a much more vulnerable position. According to the Department of Health (1998, cited by Bean, 2001, p. 2-3) a small but significant minority of these released individuals soon began to create disturbances in public places, troubles which the police were inevitably called in to deal with.
Although the exact number of people with mental health needs who come into contact with the police is unmeasured (Bradley, 2009, p. 5), the Centre for Mental Health (2012, cited by ACPO, 2012, p. 10) estimates that at least 15% of police work involves dealing with people suffering from some form of mental impairment. The Metropolitan Police and Staffordshire Police have more recently estimated that up to 20% of their calls relate to mental health issues (Ellis, 2015, p. 1; Typical evidence, 2015, p. 14). In 2014, police officers in Staffordshire responded to 15,000 incidents involving people with mental health problems (Ellis, 2015, p. 1) and research undertaken by the College of Policing (2015a, p. 1) confirms that such incidents are increasing. The total number of people who have become subject of provisions under the Mental Health Act (1983) over the last five years has increased by 12% (Care Quality Commission, 2014, p. 2) and there has been a noticeable increase in the number of people committing suicide, including police officers.

Research suggests that there were about 5,000 more self-inflicted deaths in Europe and North America each year following the 2007 financial crash (Morris, 2013, p. 1). Official figures show that 4,331 people committed suicide in Britain during 2008 – a sharp rise of 246 on the previous year and a reversal of the general trend over the previous decade. In 2009, there were 4,304 suicides in Britain, and although the rate fell to 4,231 in 2010, it climbed again to 4,552 in 2011 (Morris, 2013, p. 3). In 2012 there were 5,981 suicides in the UK, and in England alone during 2013, 4,700 people killed themselves; a rise of 6% in just one year (Typical evidence, 2015, p. 15). Such findings echo increases in suicide rates during previous economic downturns (Morris, 2013, p. 3) and there are grounds to suspect that thousands of suicides may be linked to the financial crisis and the austerity measures undertaken in the UK (and elsewhere) since then. The police service was not immune to this sad trend and between 2009 and 2013 suicides by police officers almost doubled (The blue line, 2016, p. 17).

Some police officers feel that helping vulnerable people who may be on the brink of collapse is important and appropriate police work, but others feel that the police should only be undertaking activities connected with crime. As Murphy (1986, cited by Stephens, 1994, p. 155) found, many police officers feel that they are taking on too much and that policing has become over-burdened with an expanding array of ‘extra’ tasks. In times of austerity, Herrington (2014, p. 7) insists that the police service should no longer be viewed as such ‘universal fixers’.

Interviewee 11: Hospitals have been shut down that used to cater for mental health needs. From the police point of view, we are at the bottom and we can’t turn
anywhere else. We can’t ring somebody else up and say can you come and take this on. We are the last resort.

But many non-crime matters contain elements of potential confrontation and the police are often summoned by medical professionals to help them stabilize potentially hazardous situations. This issue is particularly relevant when it comes to police ‘Concern for Safety/Welfare’ and ‘Mental Health’ incidents. Using Section 136 of the Mental Health Act (1983), for example, officers can detain someone whom they believe may be suffering from mental disorder in a public place and are either a danger to themselves or others (Bean, 2001, p. 6). The Bradley Report (Bradley, 2009, p. 45) noted the large numbers of people being detained every year under the Mental Health Act (1983), in 2005/6 it was approximately 11,500 people. However, once a person has been detained under such an authority the police are often asked to remain with patients for extended periods of time, often as a direct result of staffing shortages within mental health facilities (Care Quality Commission, 2014, p. 3). As Stephens (1994, p. 156) found, and as Interviewee 10 noted (below), some officers dislike the amount of time they have to spend dealing with such issues.

Interviewee 10: Section 136 prisoners clog up the system and hold things up. 136 detentions are not seen as a good arrest and officers often view them like ‘I’m going to get stuck with this for a long time now’. Then they’ll hear on the radio that there’s a fight going on or a burglary or something else in progress that they can no longer respond to because they are dealing with this; a matter which isn’t a police matter and should go to another agency - I’m tied up with it and it’s frustrating.

One recently re-introduced solution to such problems is the use of ‘crisis intervention teams’, or ‘triage’ teams in which health care professionals work alongside police officers in order to assist those who may be suffering from mental health problems. The use of such professional partnerships has enabled decision-making processes to be pushed right forward to those operating in the field. Such endeavours provide a good example of a non-hierarchical multi-agency collaboration that is being used to directly resolve non-crime public safety concerns. The use of such teams are also reminiscent of changes made in the Ambulance Service from a model that was essentially concerned with medical transport (staffed by first aiders) to one in which highly trained paramedics can now make ‘on the spot’ decisions (HMIC, 2012, p. 16). This concept of deploying highly trained professionals directly into front-line positions provides a possible trajectory for future collaborative efforts more broadly.
Interviewee 6: When I joined the police 27 years ago, the cop culture in the parade room was ‘we’re not bloody social workers’. Well if you fast forward 27 years I genuinely think we are in that social care space, whatever that is, that is where we are.

Interviewee 5: I have a crime background; the majority of my service has been on the CID. It wasn’t until I moved back into uniform that I found out how much shit was coming into the police control rooms. This winter we had a 999 call saying ‘someone’s stolen my snow’ and another one asking if we could send someone around to change the batteries in their remote. Also, ‘we’ve had a power cut what am I going to do about the stuff in my freezer?’

Interviewee 2: What we are doing is largely social work and it’s a good thing. We are really social workers with powers.

Interviewee 3: The police are partly the victim of their own success because they operate 24/7 and a lot of other organizations just don’t do 24/7.

Although the police may view themselves as being crime fighters they predominantly function as ‘helpers’, ‘carers’, ‘mediators’ and ‘counsellors’ (Barb, 1970, cited by Fagin, 1977, p. 2). When other carers or helpers are unavailable it is often only the police that can respond. The public want this police availability (HMIC, 2010a, p. 3) because it helps to safeguard and protect the whole social body twenty-four hours a day, every day (Guyot, 1991, p. 268-9). This twenty-four hour availability of the police makes them, by default, the first responders to a wide variety of social problems. No one needs an appointment to see the police, and ‘they make house calls’ (Bittner, 1990, p. 282). Such a burden on policing may be unrealistic and it may be appropriate to consider expanding the 24/7 availability of other crucial social services. This does not mean that police availability in support of such services should be curtailed, but rather that such services should be made available within a collaborative multi-agency environment. The relevance and scope of policing activities such as these are enshrined in the United Nations (UN) Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (United Nations, 1979), which states that the police should provide:

‘…assistance to those members of the community who by reason of personal, economic, social or other emergencies are in need of immediate aid’ (United Nations, 1979).
The UN Code specifically mentions emergencies of all sorts but particularly those of a personal, economic or social nature.

**Human rights**

Interviewee 11: The basic principles of policing are in the oath.

The UN ‘*Code of Conduct for law Enforcement Officials*’ (United Nations, 1979) also requires police officers to respect and protect human dignity and to maintain and uphold the human rights of citizens regardless of whether a matter is criminal or not. This emphasis upon the police as a helping, safeguarding agency is also prevalent within the ‘*Council of Europe Declaration on the Police*’ (1979) which identifies the police as ‘protectors of human rights’ (Patten, 1999, p. 21). In the UK, international instruments covering human rights and codes of police conduct are rarely drawn upon or even referred to (Neyroud & Beckley, 2001, p. 54) but the prevalence of human rights is firmly rooted within the constables’ oath of office, which states:

‘I do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve the Queen in the office of constable, with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people; and that I will, to the best of my power, cause the peace to be kept and preserved and prevent all offences against people and property; and that while I continue to hold the said office I will, to the best of my skill and knowledge, discharge all the duties thereof faithfully according to law.’

The oath identifies that the police must serve the Queen in the office of constable. No mention is made of Parliament, the Home Secretary, a Chief Constable, a Police Authority, a Police and Crime Commissioner or a Mayor. The oath stresses the importance of individualized respect, fairness and impartiality, but crucially, it identifies three things that the police must do:

1. Uphold fundamental human rights,
2. cause the peace to be kept and preserved, and
3. prevent all offences against people and property.

By swearing to this oath, officers are presenting their personal commitment to act as the legal guardian of everyone’s (international?) human rights. This is an oath which theoretically means that a constable’s duty may not only transcend the boundaries of party politics, but of the nation.
state itself. Indeed the long-term, perhaps utopian, vision for non-crime policing could already be conceived and enshrined within such documents. But unfortunately, the international mood at present has become increasingly xenophobic and social, political and economic inequalities have increasingly undermined social cohesion (The new political divide, 2016, p. 7). Within such divided and increasingly unequal societies, efforts have been made to review what activities the police should or should not be undertaking. Efforts have and are continuously being made today to find ways of deconstructing policing into core and ancillary tasks, an exercise that has led to several official inquiries.

Core and ancillary tasks

Interviewee 10: A lot of our time is spent dealing with these [non-crime] matters and a few years ago you wouldn’t of thought nothing of it but now in the political climate and the financial climate people are asking what should we be doing and what shouldn’t we be doing?

Interviewee 4: I think that over the years the police have absorbed many issues which are really not necessarily police functions, but in the absence of other bodies to deal with them the police have inherited them and I think there is a good argument for analysing the role of the police service now and trying to re-focus on what are police issues and what are non-police issues.

Interviewee 2: The strength of the British police is that [their role] is not clearly defined and structured. The niche end of our work, crime, requires all sorts of intensive training and the other side, non-crime, is far more nebulous and difficult to define but is based around how the public view us. We don’t have a clearly defined set of principles that differentiate between what we must do and what we won’t do.

Defining what the police should or should not do is a highly problematic and potentially flawed endeavour. Several major inquiries have attempted the task and been largely unsuccessful, finding, again and again, that policing cannot be pigeon-holed into a narrow crime-fighting narrative. The impetus to categorize policing stems, in part, from the desire to cut costs and outsource ‘non-police functions’ to other agencies or the private sector. The inquiries that have been undertaken thus far have stemmed largely from Conservative efforts to define policing along lines set out in the White Paper on Police Reform (Home Office, 1993a). In that Paper the aims of policing were said to consist of:
1. Fighting and preventing crime
2. Upholding the law
3. Bringing to justice those who break the law
4. Providing protection, help and reassurance to the community
5. Providing good value for money.

Home Office (1993a, p. 2).

As Wright (2000, p. 173) has pointed out, these aims are not specific from point 2 onwards. The police do not generally uphold civil law for example, so point 2 should specify criminal law and point 4 covers activities that could be open to a multitude of interpretations, none of which are measured, so ascertaining their value for money would be highly speculative. By stressing the role of the police as being ‘crime fighters’ governments have sought to define their responsibilities solely within their own criminal justice policies.

In the same year as the White Paper, the Inquiry into Police Responsibilities and Rewards, [also known as the Sheehy Inquiry] (Home Office, 1993b) had the remit of examining the rank structure, remuneration and conditions of service for the police in England and Wales. Although robustly fought off by the police staff associations, the Sheehy Inquiry did recognize and refer to the wide range of responsibilities that were undertaken by the police (Home Office, 1993b, p. 2). The inquiry interestingly and specifically stated that the police role was not simply about ‘catching criminals’ but encompassed a much broader range of activities (Home Office, 1993b, p. 15).

In the same year, another Home Office inquiry was set up under the direction of a senior civil servant named Ingrid Posen. The final report, also known as the ‘Posen Inquiry’, was officially titled the Review into Police Core and Ancillary Tasks (Home Office, 1995). The purpose of the review was ‘to examine the services provided by the police, to make recommendations about the most cost-effective way of delivering core police services and to assess the scope for relinquishing ancillary tasks’ (Home Office, 1995, p. 1). Part of the review involved an attempt to identify a list of responsibilities which could be re-defined as either ‘core’ or ‘ancillary’ (Redshaw & Sanders, 1995, p. 57). The Review attempted to distinguish between ‘core’ tasks that needed to be carried out by sworn officers and ‘ancillary’ tasks which could be carried out by others (Waddington, 2006a, p. 15). The intention was to identify non-essential areas of policing that could be ‘hived-off’ to other agencies (Walker, 1996, p. 66). Although its premise is understandable, adverse comment was levelled at the Review for its support of the crime-fighting policing model and its
aims and efforts to privatize some areas of policing (ibid, p. 54). The Review concluded that there was little scope for the police to withdraw completely from large areas of their work and that if the police suddenly stopped doing non-crime work there would be a huge void left in the provision of emergency out-of-hours services that no other agency could possibly cope with. The final report highlighted the multi-faceted nature of police work and the complexity of many policing tasks (Wright, 2000, p. 169). Simply, and most tellingly, the report stated in its summary of findings, that:

‘Many functions of the police interact with one another in such a way that tasks which might seem peripheral to policing sometimes yield important dividends in terms of public support for the police or sources of information. When looked at collectively, such tasks could be the very essence of policing [emphasis added] (Home Office, 1995, p. 9).

Importantly, the Posen Inquiry ended up identifying just how important the non-crime areas of policing were to both the public and to the whole concept of policing by consent.

Around the same time as the final publication of the Posen Inquiry, an independent report commonly referred to as The Cassels Inquiry (Cassels, 1996) similarly examined the roles, responsibilities and rationalities of the public police. This inquiry firmly identified that the police role was primarily preventative in nature and that it was linked to the wider remit of ‘community safety’. Its recommendations were insightful and way ahead of its time. It recommended, for instance, that:

- Police areas should be coterminous with local authority boundaries.
- A national police crime agency should be set up.
- A national crime recording system should be established.
- Private security guards should be regulated.
- Lay persons should be brought in to inspect policing.
- That the use of police performance indicators was highly problematic.
- That the police should not be privatized.

(Cassels, 1996, p. 52-56).
The incumbent Conservative government of the day were unresponsive and unsupportive towards the recommendations made in the independent Cassells Inquiry and as a result it was largely dismissed, suggesting that its findings were contrary to those that were wanted at the time. The fact that its recommendations have since been largely recognized and adopted is significant. Most tellingly, the Posen Inquiry, the Sheehy Inquiry and the Cassells Inquiry all identified that the police should continue to offer a broad range of services to the public and that those services should not be restricted to law enforcement.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

The police role

Bittner (1974), Klockars (1985) and Brodeur (2010) all locate the core distinctiveness of policing not in what it accomplishes or what it intends to accomplish, but in its mandated capacity to use situationally justified force. Terpstra (2011, p. 3) suggests that every modern nation state maintains its legitimacy by having the perceived capacity to utilize force competently. Within a state, it is the police service that is perceived as being capable of employing greater amounts of force than any other prospective rival (Reiner, 2010, p. 32).

Although police officers are described as having a ‘legitimate monopoly’ on the use of force other individuals in society do use force as part of their role (e.g. prison officers, door staff and private security personnel), but unlike the police, such roles are not ‘equipped, entitled and required to deal with every exigency in which force may have to be used’ (Bittner, 1974, cited by Downes, Hobbs & Newburn, 2010, p. 8). The difference between other controlling roles and that of the police is that the police have a generalized authority to use force whenever and wherever it is needed (Brodeur, 2010, p. 113). Despite such authority, successful policing is largely determined by the non-use of their key distinctive feature, suggesting that policing itself embodies a largely symbolic function in society. When police personnel keep control of situations, minimize harm and fairly administer their duties without using force they are often considered to be operating at the very peak of their craft. Indeed it may be the non-use of their most distinctive feature that identifies policing as a force for good.

This non-use of their key feature may have led to problems within an environment that is now dominated by market-based (input and output) values. The non-use of force and the prevalence of non-crime incidents suggest that the police role in society cannot be reduced to a simplistic system of quantification. This research argues that policing must not revolve around crime fighting but around actions which seek to prevent harms occurring in the first place. When the police do use their core distinctive feature, something happens which can then be measured and it is interesting to note that a great deal of public attention is brought to bear when there are any misuses of force by the police. When force is used and is deemed to be excessive it can lead to major problems. In the early-to-mid 1980s a series of violent riots that occurred in London were triggered by police activities of a particularly forceful nature.
Scarman

The 1980s saw increasing disorder and division within society accompanied by rapidly growing crime rates (Stephens & Becker, 1994, p. 222). During 1981 serious rioting broke out in Brixton, South London, following a series of aggressive police enforcement campaigns (Benyon, 1984, p. 117). The subsequent examination of the riots by Lord Scarman criticized the Metropolitan Police for their forceful use of stop and search tactics. It was noted that the most serious rioting took place in those areas that had been subjected to the most intensive ‘hot spot’ policing activity (Wright, 2000, p. 54-7; Hough, 2007, p. 64).

Lord Scarman’s analysis also identified that the riots were pre-empted by a range of factors that were largely beyond police control (social deprivation, unemployment and urban decline) yet the report stressed that the riots were triggered by unjust policing practices (Scarman, 1981, p. 4-11; Benyon, 1984, p. 116; Wright, 2000, p. 53; Reiner, 2010, p. 245). The Report on the Brixton Disorders (Scarman, 1981) argued that public tranquillity should have been prioritized over law enforcement (Newburn & Reiner, 2012, p. 809; Chakrabarti, 2008, p. 368). Scarman (1981) also highlighted the importance of police peace-keeping functions and re-established the idea that policing should essentially be seen as a ‘service’ rather than as a ‘force’ (Savage, 2007, p. 45; Reiner, 2010, p. 35; Paterson & Pollock, 2011, p. 80). The report became a landmark in the history of British policing and led to the development of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984) (Wright, 2000, p. 48).

Analyses of the English riots that took place in 2011 resonated with similar accounts of unjustified police action accompanied by toxic police/state community relations (Jones, Newburn & Smith, 2012, p. 238). As Benyon (1984, p. 118) noted, rioting will continue to sporadically occur unless broader social inequalities are narrowed. For Fusco (1982, p. 1987), it is more important for police crime-fighting activities to be balanced against the real needs of local residents. In essence, the Scarman report emphasised that preventative, community based policing centred on ‘peacekeeping’ may be far more important than ideologies stressing the importance of crime reduction.

Peace-keeping

The English word *peace* derives from the Anglo-Saxon word *pas*, meaning ‘freedom from civil disorder’. Actions of a peace-keeping nature generally refer to those activities that assist in the reduction of violence and the development of greater social harmony (Webel & Johansen, 2012, p. 8). Increasing such harmony and maintaining public tranquillity is a central, and often
unrecognized and unmeasured role for the police. Interestingly, Banton (1964) and Skolnick (1966) often refer to police officers as being ‘peace officers’. Mark (1977, p. 25) and Chakrabarti (2008, p. 368) specifically conceive the primary objective of the police as being keepers of the peace. In the Constables oath, keeping the peace was named as the second of the three specific responsibilities for all holders of the office of Constable.

As Boulding (2012, p. 425) interestingly points out, the most peaceful societies in the world are those that place a high value upon building institutions and cultures that are nonaggressive, non-competitive and collaborative. Internationally, the Global Peace Index empirically gauges conflict, social safety, security and militarization in order to identify those environments that foster the highest levels of social harmony. Key factors determining the most peaceful societies include those that distribute resources equitably, provide open free-flows of information, have low levels of corruption, a high regard for human rights and a well-functioning government (Global Peace Index, 2013, p. 2). At present, the UK is ranked 47th in this index (Global Peace Index, 2016, p. 11) suggesting that there is considerable scope for developing a much greater range of peace-keeping initiatives within England and Wales. For Sollund (2008, p. 137) the most ‘socially oriented police officers tend to be more humane and humanistic in their approaches’. To improve peace-keeping, the controlling activities of the police need to be carefully matched by caring activities which are largely embodied within the non-crime incidents that constitute the vast bulk of police activity.

**Care and control, trust and confidence**

Caring may not only be a vital and essential aspect of British policing it may also be a means through which officers can legitimately and fairly carry out their controlling functions (Stephens & Becker, 1994, p. 227). Whilst policing should strive to be non-threatening, benevolent, kindly and compassionate it should also have the capacity to control, supervise and regulate those behaviours that are deemed harmful. The police need to be able to quickly activate and deactivate their controlling function whenever and wherever it is required. Neither the public nor the police should flinch from the realization that both care and control are integral to the development of trust and confidence in the police service (Stephens & Becker, 1994, p. 229).

Societies that become divided or adopt unnecessarily authoritarian positions tend to be characterized by distrust, whilst those societies that enjoy high levels of trust tend to be highly democratic (Jang, Joo & Jihong, 2010, p. 58). Like peace, trust tends to rise in societies that are
more equal (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009, p. 62; Dorling, 2010, p. 29) and fall in societies that are less equitable (Judd, 2010, p. 66). The European Social Survey (2011, p. 8) for instance indicates that residents of the Nordic countries exhibit heightened levels of comparative trust in their police and court systems. Using comparative data, Kaariainen (2008, p. 141) identified that the citizens of Finland, for instance, have higher levels of trust in their police than any other European country. People in Britain, by contrast, appear to be far less satisfied with their police and enjoy only a mid-range position in a group of 26 nations (Independent Police Commission, 2013, p. 40).

Trust in the police is closely linked to the concept of ‘confidence’, and according to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC, 2010a, p. 6) confidence in the British police has been rising since 2003. In sharp contrast to this, however, Jackson and Sunshine (2007, p. 218) and Brodeur (2010, p. 350) all indicate that over the past few decades public confidence in the British police has been falling dramatically; perhaps as a result of changes taking place within the social and political economy of British society.

Measurements of trust and confidence used by governments concentrate upon the actions of individuals rather than the social contexts within which they are operating. The most commonly cited reason for distrust in British policing relates to the attitude or behaviour of individual officers (Gleeson & Grace, 2007, cited by ESRC, 2010, p. 11). A series of scandals built around the manipulation of evidence in criminal cases severely undermined public trust in the British police during the 1970s (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007, p. 219). Research by Horowitz (2007, p. 9) found that the highest levels of trust in the police came from those who had had the least amount of police contact. In contrast to this, the more equal countries of Sweden and Finland enjoy higher rates of police and public contact whilst simultaneously enjoying higher levels of public satisfaction and trust (European Social Survey, 2011, p. 4). What could explain this?

Research has shown that being treated with dignity and respect and having due regard for the rights and status of individuals enhances feelings of trust, confidence and fairness (Myhill & Quinton, 2011, p. 6). Similarly, societies that treat people well tend to enjoy higher reciprocal relationships with their citizens. As Kaariainen (2008, p. 142-3) explains, public trust is centred upon beliefs or expectations around collectively agreed conceptions of the common good. In Britain, Robert Peel’s early reforms aimed to develop legitimacy for the police through the provision of service-related activities rather than through enforcement or controlling functions (Mark, 1977, p. 19-20). Such an idea has recently been re-emphasized in the United States where the President’s Task Force (2015, p. 2) has recommended that the police should proactively promote public trust in the police through positive non-enforcement activities. The same report
comes to the conclusion that ‘non-crime activities create far greater opportunities for more positive police interactions’ (ibid, p. 14). It could be suggested therefore that non-crime activities of a caring nature that minimize the use of force and keep the peace can help build greater trust, confidence and legitimacy for policing services. A similar view, espoused by Guyot (1991, p. 286) indicates that trust in the police can be fostered through a realization of collective goals built around supporting those who are most in need.

If officers treat individuals with respect, give them a ‘voice’ and remain impartial and transparent in their decision making then people will be more willing to cooperate and engage with them (President’s Task Force, 2015, p. 10). Although the individual conduct of officers may help build trust and confidence, it may well be that trust and confidence in the police reflects a more generalized belief in an entire system of governance (Kaariainen, 2008, p. 142-3). Such trust may arise most assuredly when the police are doing their utmost to cope with situations that require an emergency response.

**Emergency response**

The police are an emergency service and their response capability is almost exclusively delivered by uniformed front-line officers working on round-the-clock shifts. The emergency work undertaken by these officers is not led by priorities, aims or goals but by the immediate demands of a situation (Waddington, 2007a, p. 15). These front-line officers are the most visible, most vulnerable and most important resource in policing. They undertake the most dangerous and most heroic form of service delivery that the police provide. The impact of these front-line officers, some of whom are armed, can be immense (Mark, 1977, p. 11) and their role is most relevant and visible when they are dealing with emergency situations.

Many of the emergencies that the police respond to are of a non-crime nature (e.g. industrial accidents, natural disasters, attempt suicides, road, rail, air or marine incidents). Such emergencies can quickly absorb all available officers and a police service that falls short in this area may quickly undermine its own standing and reputation (Alderson, 1979, p. 41). According to HMIC (2010a), just over 5,000 officers (3.5% of the total workforce) are on ‘response duties’ across the entire country on any typical weekday morning. There is also a significant variation across forces in relation to this figure, the worst being 1.2% of the total number of warranted officers and the best being 8% (HMIC, 2010a, p. 15). As Loveday (2006, p. 114) and Bayley (1994, p. 45) have pointed out, there needs to be a certain amount of slack in police resourcing in order to accommodate sudden unpredictable demands, yet no one has ever determined how many
Police officers are needed to establish ‘operational resilience’. Alarmingly, there is no common understanding of the actual number of officers required to maintain or provide a safe level of policing (HMIC, 2015, p. 7; Loveday, 2015a, p. 2).

Although there may be grave uncertainty about the actual number of officers required to deliver ‘effective and efficient’ policing, there is little doubt that everything that a police force does should ultimately be directed towards supporting the front-line delivery of emergency policing services. New research by Vidal and Kirchmaier (2015) clearly contradicts earlier findings and identifies the advantages of quick police response times. Unfortunately, there have been noticeable declines in force response times for both emergency and priority calls (Page-Jones, 2013, p. 6). According to Hutton (2015, p. 38) police response times are now, on average, 30% slower than they were in 2010. This is problematic because behind every call for emergency assistance is either a victim or someone who needs urgent help (Guyot, 1991, p. 56).

**Victims**

From the perspective of the police, government and media, the detection of crime is often viewed as being the pinnacle of police work. What is lost in this perspective is full consideration for the immediate and ongoing needs of victims. Unfortunately, victims are almost always classified as being victims of crime, but many non-crime incidents can also leave victims in their wake.

Rinkevics and Landmane (2014, p. 9) have identified that victims of all incidents need to be provided with three things: safety, support and information. Emergency responders should firstly be able to act in such a way that safeguards and protects citizens from any further imminent harm. Secondly they should be able to provide immediate support to prevent suffering or any ongoing preventable harm. Lastly, the victim and any other supporting agency/organization should be provided with information that will assist them in securing longer-term solutions to whatever has taken place. What citizens should expect from the police therefore is safety, support and information (ibid, p. 11). To realize this there needs to be a robust front-line emergency response capability supported by an ability to quickly transfer any cases that require further assistance to other providers (both internal and external). To support the identification and quick transfer of immediate emergency safeguarding duties the police must be actively engaged with multi-agency partners. This necessitates a review of the purpose of policing.
The purpose of the police

In 2005, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir Ian Blair, identified the need for a national debate to articulate and demarcate the purpose of the police (ESRC, 2010, p. 1). Since then many have called for a Royal Commission to ascertain what the public want the police to do and to identify what the police actually do (Vaz, 2012, cited by Ross, 2012, p. 1). For Talbot (2000, p. 29) every organization must have a purpose which defines it and that if an organization then fails to meet that purpose the point of their existence can be questioned. The police, however, undertake a largely open-ended, unmeasurable and symbolic purpose.

The original mandate of the British police centred upon preventive patrol and the capacity to intervene in anything that was getting out of hand (Bittner, 1990, p. 36). McLaughlin (2001, p. 58) notes that the public turn to the police for such a broad range of tasks that there is scarcely any human predicament that could not conceivably contain some form of police involvement. The breadth and depth of this involvement is also identified by Bittner (1974, p. 30), who states that:

‘No human problem exists, or is imaginable, about which it could be said with finality that this certainly could not become the proper business of the police’.

Such a sentiment is strengthened by the findings from the Joint Consultative Committee (1990, p. 34) who referred to the ‘all-embracing’ nature of police duties. The Audit Commission (1990a, p. 3) similarly defined the police as a ‘catch-all emergency service’ who are required to deal with an unspecified range of problems. But as Bowling and Foster (2002, p. 985) have suggested, such a remit may be beyond the scope of any organization to conceivably deliver.

The Home Office (2011, p. 5), as has been discussed, have repeatedly tried to ‘cut back’ on ‘ancillary duties’ and focus the police remorselessly upon what they refer to as ‘core business’, cutting crime. This is despite the fact that most police activities contain extensive non-crime components (Hayes, 2013, p. 1). Some, like the current Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police (Hogan-Howe, 2015) and Hayes (2013, p. 1) argue that the police remit has become ‘too broad’, especially with regards to non-crime safety and welfare issues. Mirroring the withdrawal of the state from public provision, Hogan-Howe (2015, p. 22) suggests that the police service should not try to move upstream and prevent incidents occurring but should rather narrow their remit to that of protection and safety duties alone:
‘We want to focus our officers on minimizing the biggest dangers to the public...we need to arrive at a shared view of what the critical risks are, so [that] we can stimulate individual responsibility to manage the preventable crimes that offer the lowest risk to public safety’ (Hogan-Howe, 2015, p. 25).

In other words, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police wants to focus his resources on the ‘biggest dangers’ whilst the public are given greater individual responsibility to look after themselves. These comments highlight the Conservative ideology of neo-liberalism; the prevalence and impact of which will be discussed in upcoming chapters.

With the police service broadly recognized by academics as being an organisation that has an open-ended remit, the importance of engagement with other agencies becomes even-more crucial (ESRC, 2010, p. 21). It may now be the time to expand (rather than contract) policing into a highly trained, multi-disciplinary workforce that incorporates an unbounded remit within a ‘first responder’ multi-agency structure (HMIC, 2010a, p. 19). As the police are often the first and last line of defence (Manning, 2010, p. 18) they must be fully supported by other agencies whose job it is to assess and follow up on incidents that require more specific solutions. What the police and the government need to consider is what the public actually want the police to do and what methods are likely to attain the highest levels of success. To that end, we must look, first of all, into the past.
CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Lessons from the past

Many of the big questions being raised today about the future of policing were the subject of consideration by its earliest founders and although the world has changed considerably since then, reviewing previous decisions can be both informative and enlightening. This section highlights historical answers to some of today’s most topical police questions by reviewing them within the context of the three ‘models of policing’ as outlined by Brodeur (2010, p. 43).

Jean-Paul Brodeur in The Policing Web (Brodeur, 2010, p. 43) identifies three main ‘models’ of policing ² that have been instrumental in formulating our current policing landscape. In very broad terms, the earliest form of ‘modern’ policing evolved as an ideology within Prussia (Germany) during the 17th century. The model was intimately connected to a ruling system that was initially geared towards the creation of ‘good order’, ‘wellbeing’ and ‘welfare’ (Brodeur, 2010, p. 18; Knemeyer, 2011, p. 116). ‘Good order’ referring to conceptions of morality founded upon religious virtue (Axtmann, 2011, p. 134). In 1656, a treatise entitled ‘The German Prince State’ (Von Seckendorf, 1656, cited by Dubber, 2005, p. 93) identified the ‘police’ object as being ‘education’, ‘public economy’, ‘public order’, ‘peace’, ‘welfare’, and ‘morals’. For Dubber (2005, p. 93) the Prussian [German] model aimed to produce well-educated, welfare-minded citizens who were able to undertake ‘self-policing’. Hjellmo (1976, p. 7) noted that the Prussian model aimed to achieve this through education rather than enforcement. In 1787, Putter (cited by Hjellmo, 1976, p. 7) described the Prussian model of ‘police’ as one which should:

‘...carry into effect measures for the maintenance of public peace, safety and order and to safeguard the public or its individual members against impending dangers’ (Putter, 1787, cited by Hjellmo, 1976, p. 7).

² Caless and Tong (2015, p. 31) identify at least six ‘models’ of policing:

3. The Colonial Model e.g. Royal Irish Constabulary – armed.
4. Repressive Policing (KGB, Gestapo, Stasi).
5. Dispersed / Decentralised.
6. Transition model adopted by former Soviet-Bloc countries.
This description of policing seems remarkably familiar to any description of democratic policing today. What is particularly notable about this Prussian system is that it operated as an ideology running through government bureaucracies, so much so that ‘the police’ were indistinguishable in their own right. As there was no independent police organization that was distinct from government the Prussian ‘police’ changed as governments changed, and as Prussia began to model itself upon ancient Sparta (Bragg, 2009) the whole system moved towards a more surveillance-led, militaristic, nationalistic and eventually, fascist model (Badie & Birnbaum, 1983, p. 116; Axtmann, 2011, p. 151). Having no statutory independence, the joined-up, collaborative Prussian ‘police’ system was subsumed within a changing political landscape, morphing into a militarized structure similar to that being developed within France, where the gendarmerie or ‘armed people’ (Reith, 1943, p. 15) were being established as a national police force.

The French model of policing was distinct for its overt militarism and use of specialized non-uniformed intelligence gatherers. The first works on the French police were published between 1722 and 1729 by Nicholas de La Mare, who focused almost entirely upon the necessity for a militarized culture within policing and the maintenance of a sustained ‘autocratic order’ (Brodeur, 2010, p. 18). According to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) in its Core Business report (HMIC, 2014c, p. 4) this French model was used strictly as an instrument of political control. English observers of the day admired its efficiency but recoiled from its intrusive activities and its overtly militarized structure (Emsley, 2009, p. 33). Instead of mirroring the French, planners in Britain worked to develop a model that stressed quiet coercion, public consent, and the individualized authority and autonomy of sworn Constables. Whilst the Prussian and French models were closely linked to the government, the Constables in the British model operated as independent legal officials and it this third model of policing, the British model, that has now become the ideological foundation for many policing services around the world.

There was enormous public hostility towards the development of the London police in 1829 (Bayley, 2011, p. 92). To overcome opposition from a variety of sources the British model was portrayed as being one which would be non-threatening and geared towards broad community needs (Newburn & Reiner, 2012, p. 828). A leading advocate and the subsequent creator of the British model was Sir Robert Peel (1788 – 1850). Despite a privileged upbringing and patronage Peel steadfastly undertook a variety of worthwhile, deeply humane and compassionate causes including the repeal of the Corn Laws (which had artificially elevated food prices) and the creation of the first ‘modern’ police force in Britain, the Metropolitan Police.
Sir Robert Peel’s model of policing sought to formalize the Office of Constable and use it as a means of tackling ‘all matters relating to the disturbance of public peace’ (Reith, 1938, p. 248). In July 1829, Peel appointed two civilian commissioners to take charge of the ‘new police’, following nomination by the Duke of Wellington (Reith, 1943, p. 33). The commissioners in question were Colonel Charles Rowan, formerly of the Light Brigade, and Richard Mayne, a barrister. Both were drafted in from Ireland and appointed as ‘magistrates without bench duties’ (ibid, p. 39). They were given the use of a private house, - 4, Whitehall Place, London - at the back of which was a yard that was used to store building materials. In the yard was a sign that bore the simple phrase ‘Scotland’; the yard becoming synonymous with British policing ever since (ibid, p. 42).

Between July and September 1829 the first recruits to the British police were interviewed and examined (Reith, 1943, p. 43). All of the individuals that began working for the commissioners went straight into the police as ‘direct entrants’ and into one of only four specified ranks: constable, sergeant, inspector or superintendent. Following these first ‘direct entrants’, Sir Robert Peel determined that all subsequent promotions within policing ‘were to be made from the ranks below that of a vacant post’ (ibid, p. 37). Despite this ruling the commissioners were bombarded with issues of patronage over the first few years of the force’s operation. Titled individuals wrote to the commissioners supporting a variety of relatives, friends or associates for favoured entry into more senior police positions; dozens of famous or titled aristocrats were among the recipients of the commissioners’ polite refusals (ibid, p. 51-3). This conduct by Peel and the commissioners suggests a heightened level of integrity, equality and impartiality that followed the setting up of the new organization.

Yet there was a good deal of initial resentment to the new police, partly because those living in the policed areas had to pay a police rate (a tax covering police services) but also because wealthy classes resented the prospect of the police interfering in what they regarded as their right and privilege to be independent of the ‘petty interference by any instrument of law’ (Reith, 1943, p. 51). Some London parishes even found themselves with less police protection and there were shoals of petitions demanding the disbandment of the police (Reith, 1940, p. 73; Emsley, 2007, p. 238). But by May 1830, just eight months after its inception, the force had more than trebled in size from 1,000 to 3,300 men (Emsley, 2009, p. 39). Demands for disbandment began to be replaced by appeals from other parishes for similar services (Reith, 1940, p. 73) and in 1856 the County and Borough Police Act made it obligatory for counties and boroughs to create new police
services within their localities (Emsley, 2007, p. 237). So what type of duties were these new officers asked to undertake?

Contrary to popular belief, the investigation of crime was a belated, secondary consideration for the new police (Emsley, 2009, p. 63). To help manage demand officers were given wide discretion as to how they should proceed with any incident (Emsley, 2009, p. 118). As the officers were readily available any time of the day or night they quickly accumulated responsibility for a whole range of assorted duties (Reith, 1940, p. 70). These duties included from the outset assisting vulnerable people suffering from mental illness; helping to find missing people; preventing cruelty to animals and enforcing safety laws within workplaces (ibid, p. 71). As the police expanded they were asked to undertake localised licence controls, inspect dilapidated buildings, help provide relief to the destitute, supervise weights and measures, collect taxes, remove road obstructions, deliver post and undertake a multitude of other responsibilities which were often unrelated to disturbances of the peace (Reith, 1943, p. 257). The commissioners were left with the difficult task of clarifying which jobs the police should or should not undertake. They based their decisions not on whether something was a crime or not but on whether the matter was directly related to public order or the protection of life. Furthermore, they took into account whether any such duties ‘would interfere with the police ideal of providing a just and impartial service to the public’ (Reith, 1940, p. 71). The commissioners efforts to contain the police remit and thereby manage the growing demand for police services was constrained, however, by the refusal of the government to establish a national police force.

Reith (1956, p. 257, 266) points out that Sir Charles Rowan wanted the ‘new police’ to operate nationally and the first Royal Commission on Constabulary Forces (Leferve, Rowan, & Chadwick, 1839) notably recommended that a national police force should be set up with control shared by the commissioners of the London Police and a country-wide system of local Justices. The Commission noted in its findings that the financial ‘savings from such a venture would be considerable’ (Leferve et al. 1839, p. 5). However, the recommendation of the Royal Commission was opposed by the Whig government of the day and a national police force was not established (Reith, 1943, p. 256-7). It is interesting to note that if the Royal Commission’s recommendation had been endorsed there may well have been a marked reduction in the number of tasks being undertaken by the police. As Reith (1943, p. 257-8) notes, the creation of a national police force would have compelled the government to define police responsibilities more tightly. As it turned out, local needs led to an expansion of the police role as there was little in the way of localized services prior to the arrival of the new forces. The need for safety and security preceded the need
for organized social services, so with few other services in place the police became the default, all-
purpose regulatory body and became more closely aligned to politicians and local dignitaries than
they did to the courts. The decision of the government to ignore the key recommendation of the
Royal Commission may have led to a host of problems that reverberate to this day, and which are
still clearly visible in the current 43 police force structure. At least the policing that was
established, however, was available to all, because the earliest forms of modern policing were not
government-controlled at all - they were purely private ventures.

In terms of privatizing various aspects of policing it is worth noting that there were at least
two police forces which were privately run which were operating before the arrival of the ‘new
police’. Furthermore there were ‘upwards of 500 private or voluntary associations for self-
protection’ operating in different parts of the country (Leferve et al., 1839, p. 3). Peel’s police
were not the first to be paid to wear uniforms or to operate around the clock (Lentz & Chaires,
2007, p. 75). The Marine Police, for example, were formed in 1798 as a private, profit-making
enterprise which in 1800 was taken over by the government and rebranded as the Thames River
Police (Paterson & Pollock, 2011, p. 24). Following a similar path, the Bow Street Runners received
statutory recognition in 1792 and from then until 1829 became a state-funded police agency (ibid,
p. 25). It was the government’s decision of the day not to allow the development of private
policing but to ensure that the services that were delivered were overseen by civilian justices,
funded through local taxation and made available to everyone. In order to guide the conduct of all
of these new public officers Sir Robert Peel is said to have established nine principles, which the
Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO, 2012, p. 1) later described as being ‘at the very heart of
British policing’.

Interviewee 1: Peels Principles are as relevant today as they always were,
nothing’s changed really. When Mrs May says ‘you’re job is to reduce crime,
period...’ she’s wrong.

‘Peel’s Principles’ as they have become known, were not developed by Peel himself.
Building upon the research by Lenz and Chaires (2007) the author suggests that Peel’s Principles
were compiled not in the 1950s as has been suggested but were published at least in the early
1940s by Charles Reith (1886 to 1957).

The Principles draw together key strands of information from historical police documents
and personal letters that were apparently painstakingly examined by Reith and subsequently
published in his book British Police and the Democratic Ideal (Reith, 1943, p. 3). The Principles are
devoid of crime-fighting rhetoric and display a deep appreciation for anti-oppressive ideals (Williams, 2003, p. 104). They refer to the importance of selfless public duty, the attainment of peaceful resolutions and the relevance of public consent and support (Jackson, Bradford, Hough Myhill, Quinton, & Tyler, 2012, p. 1052). Nowhere in the Principles is the Office of Constable referred to and although the first Principle is partly attributed to Peel, the remaining eight are credited more to the combined works and letters of Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne (Reith, 1956, cited by Lenz & Chaires, 2007, p. 73-4). The Principles are set out below:

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

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

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

4. To recognise always that the extent to which the cooperation of the public can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.

5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or restore order; and to use only the minimum degree
of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.

8. To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the state, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.

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

As Charles Reith explained in his *New Study of Police History* (Reith, 1956, p. 265), the Principles refer to an approach to policing that is based not on the inculcation of fear but on the broad recognition of the importance of public co-operation.

It is interesting to note that the original Prussian model, which was created with such a humane remit, disappeared under the changing vagaries of political control. The more militarized, surveillance-driven French model was a state-run entity which ended up being engulfed by the French Revolution (1789 to 1799). In Britain, the founders of the new police specifically sought to align their organization to the public through the more stable foundations of the law and the courts, but their efforts were in vain. All three models of policing became subject to direct political control and the future of non-crime policing will depend largely upon what political ideology remains dominant.

**Politics and policing**

Interviewee 4: There is a political agenda underpinning things.
The term ‘democracy’ originated in ancient Greece and literally means ‘the rule of the people’ or ‘rule of the citizen body’. Sung (2006, p. 351) defines democracy as involving ‘the rights of citizens to participate meaningfully in political processes’, whilst Ober (2008, p. 15) sees ‘democracy’ as:

‘...a socio-political system featuring relatively soft forms of cultural persuasion that accommodate a broad range of ideas and involve enhanced levels of social information.’

The essential component of democracy is its thrust towards equality through the attainment of rights (Roberts, 2010, p. 6). By attaining agreed rights, societies become less violent, less corrupt and more stable (Bok, 2010, p. 61; Wright, 2010, p. 281; Cortright, 2012, p. 129). But despite the apparent benefits of democracy, membership of political parties in Britain has been falling since the 1970s. According to Caless and Tong (2015, p. 103) there is a widespread mistrust of politicians and the perception that decision-making processes are being carried out by a relatively small number of wealthy elites (Reiner, 2013, p. 175-188; Hutton, 2015, p. 213). Since 2005 global political rights and civil liberties have been continually weakened as democracies have slid further and further towards autocracy (What’s gone wrong, 2014, p. 48). Elections have begun to be viewed as merely ‘the best that money can buy’ (Palast, 2004, quoted by Reiner, 2011, p. 311) and Habermas (1962, cited by Buckingham, Burnham, Hill, King, Marenbon, & Weeks, 2011, p. 306-7) suggests that democracy has become so consumerized that educated and informed debate has been replaced by celebrity competition and gossip.

According to the Eurobarometer survey, voters in Britain are now the second-worst informed of any electorate in Europe (Bagehot, 2015, p. 38). Electoral results paint an equally disturbing picture, in 2015, for instance, the UK Independence Party received one seat for 13% of the votes whilst the Scottish National Party obtained 56 seats for a 5% share (The house is falling, 2015, p. 30). Such a political malaise is likely to impact sharply on policing, particularly through the currently dominant political window of neo-liberalism (sometimes called neo-conservatism in the US or ‘free market economics’). But before we project political ideologies forward, we should examine the roots of the most successful political form that currently exists, democracy.

**Lessons from an earlier past**

For a period of approximately six generations (508 to 322 B.C.), and intermittently thereafter, Athens was ruled entirely by its own citizen body (Ober, 2008, p. 85-6). No other city-
state in Greece became as rich, as resilient, or as diverse. It’s highly developed participatory institutions enabled unparalleled growth in science, medicine, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics, arts and drama. In contrast to the non-democratic city state of Sparta, Athens proved that a participatory and deliberative democracy could flourish within a competitive and fast-changing environment (ibid, p. xiii). The exceptional performance of Athenian democracy is invariably attributed to its capacity for harnessing the ‘dispersed knowledge’ of its citizens (ibid, p. xiii).

In contrast to theorists who suggest that hierarchies provide the greatest capacity for coordination, the de-centralized structures that operated in Classical Athens enabled broad social learning, full cooperation and extraordinary levels of innovation (Ober, 2008, p. 172). Instead of the modern tendency for institutions to be highly conservative and resistant to change (Fukuyama, 2014, p. 9), Athenian practices pushed away the rigidities associated with conformist hierarchies and created institutions founded upon accountability, transparency and legitimized dissent (Ober, 2008, p. 266-7). In essence, the Athenians got rid of their hierarchies and created a social pyramid that was ‘shallow and flat-topped’ (Miles, 2010, p. 112). Interestingly, they considered hierarchies to be prohibitively expensive, stifled innovation and pigeon-holed people into places or positions that restricted their contributions and personal development (Roberts, 2010, p. 6). In Athens all citizens were deemed to be similarly capable and as individuals and small groups they devised rules through which direct communal participation could take place within a variety of primary institutions (ibid, p. 36). All public offices were rotated and deemed to be ‘transferable’ (Ober, 2008, p. 273). Each ‘office’ had clear, simple rules that were open to continual review (ibid, p. 212). The Athenians were able to develop multi-competent citizens, many of whom could become ‘leaders of the moment’ in whatever field of endeavour was specifically required (ibid, p. 170-9). Knowledge and authority was not confined within an elite group. Athenians were inclusive and their society was unusually crime-free. There were occasional house-breaks and cloak thefts as well as some violent crime, but it was a remarkably non-violent society (ibid, p. 256).

Athens did not have an organized police force in the modern sense, but neither did it have prisons or political parties. There were individuals that protected the food supply, called ‘grain guardians’, but the main social control mechanisms were rather like the Prussian police model, in that they were built around education and ‘self-policing’ in line with well-publicized rules of conduct (Ober, 2008, p. 256). Athenians believed that the very height of social achievement was the attainment of ‘Eunomia’ (good order) (Miles, 2010, p. 113). Their means of ‘keeping the
peace’ was supported through the provision of a basic social welfare system which buffered citizens against certain forms of hardship. As a result, Athenian society did much better over the long run than their less compassionate neighbours (Ober, 2008, p. 256-7). Their whole system appears to have been remarkably joined-up, communitarian and collaborative, except in two important areas. This included their use of non-citizens for slave labour and the barring of women from politics (Miles, 2010, p. 141). Athens, like many states, identified exploitative practices such as slavery as being ‘efficient’. In England, slavery was legal until 1833, and all adult males (over 30) could not vote until 1918, whilst women weren’t allowed to vote until 1929 (Fukuyama, 2014, p. 424-6). What was crucial about Athenian democracy was that it expanded the political space to include each individual citizen (Miles, 2010, p. 110) and it is this idea that forms the central ideology underpinning human rights and the development of democratic policing.

**Democratic policing**

The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2005, p. 1) suggests that police services must be accountable to three separate entities: the law, the government, and the people. The National Debate Advisory Group (2015, p. 16) strips this tri-partite accountability down to its core and insists that if the police are to become truly democratic they must be re-configured to focus exclusively upon the needs of the community. On the face of it this seems acceptable, but Alderson (1979, p. vii), and more recently, Bayley and Shearing (2001, p. 24) argue that policing involves much more than merely meeting the needs of communities. They suggest that policing exists to strengthen and expand what they call ‘political space’. By ‘political space’ they mean the development of an inclusive democracy that incorporates the needs of not only the majority of citizens but the needs of minority citizens as well. Policing, unlike politics, cannot be confined to majority or minority views but must consider the needs of each individual and balance those needs with those of the whole community and not just those who share a majority view. To do this they must be guided by the law, not by party politics. At times, policing must be both democratic and non-democratic. Police officers should not always follow what the majority want but should seek to expand the rights of all citizens in order to increase peaceful democratic engagement. In Scandinavia and more briefly in Britain between the mid-1940s and late-1970s an equitable democratic structure re-emerged and led to another extraordinary phase of innovation and growth where trust in politics and in the British police service reached their zenith.
Lessons from a recent past

The period between 1944 and 1976 is commonly regarded as an economic ‘golden age’ (Robber barons, 2015, p. 49). During that time Britain’s public policy was dominated by a social democratic model of governance referred to as the ‘post-war consensus’ (Kavanagh, 2011, p. 1). This model served to establish and build high levels of equality and justice for all Britain’s citizens (Reiner, 2011, p. 313) and led to the broadening of social, political and economic rights as well as a welfare state and a national health service (Garland, 2001, p. 87). During that period there were also notably high electoral turnouts (Berman, 2006, cited by Loader & Sparks, 2012, p. 2) and massive public support for the ‘bobby-on-the-beat’.

Britain was not alone in undertaking this social democratic path and the Scandinavian nations enjoyed a virtual absence of cyclical economic fluctuations throughout the entire period (Hilson, 2008, p. 66). In Sweden, the Social Democratic Party had an unbroken run of 44 years in office (1932 to 1976) making it the most successful political party in the history of western democracy (ibid, p. 41). Order and security were considered necessary public goods (Loader & Sparks, 2012, p. 29) and the police were seen as operating at the forefront of social care and control arrangements (ibid, p. 26). During the 1970s, however, the post-war consensus came under increasing pressure due to sharp upswings in oil prices following the Arab-Israeli War (1973 to 1974) (Gamble, 1981, cited by Savage, 2007, p. 84). The economic basis upon which public services had been enhanced began to splinter as governments began to adopt neo-liberal policies which effectively reduced public expenditure (Savage, 2007, p. 85). For Reiner (2010, p. 110) the subsequent displacement of this post war consensus left profound after-effects which are still impacting upon policing today.

Following the 1979 election victory in Britain for the Conservative Party the post-war consensus was broken. Trade unions were forced to operate within a tighter remit and the police became actively involved in controlling rather than facilitating democratic rights. Utilities, air and transport networks were privatized and neo-liberalism arose to smother the democratic advances that had been made (Kavanagh, 2011, p. 3-7). The nurturing environment required for representative politics deteriorated and electoral turnouts tumbled (Fox, 2015, p. 191). The newly deregulated economic markets grew during the 1980s and 1990s and the financial sector expanded rapidly in London. Despite a marked increase in economic fluctuations few people predicted the massive financial crash of 2007/8 when banks became beneficiaries of a massive public bail-out (Reiner, 2012b, p. 146). Reviewing pan-European solutions to this crisis, Heise and Lierse (2011, p. 511) identify the predominance of neo-liberal strategies in this downfall.
conclude that if such strategies carry on there will be a ‘continued dumping of public service provision as administrations...seek to divest themselves of responsibility’. One of the recent means by which government responsibility has continued to be dumped, and one which will likely impact upon the future of non-crime policing is the creation of Police and Crime Commissioners.

**Politics rules policing**

The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 enabled the election of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) in November 2012. Elected PCCs would, in the words of the then Police Minister, Nick Herbert, ‘swap the bureaucratic control of the police for democratic accountability’ which would ‘benefit police and public alike’ (Committee on Standards in Public Life, 2014, p. 1). On average, fewer than 15% of voters turned up to pick their local PCCs - breaking UK records for election apathy (Missing a beat, 2014, p. 30). The highest recorded turnout was 19.8% in the Northamptonshire Police area and the lowest turnout was in Staffordshire with just 11.6% (House of Commons, 2012, p. 10). The candidates for these police roles were mostly from political parties. Labour fielded more female candidates than any other party (Ibid, p. 8) and the Conservatives spent considerably more money than anyone else. Interestingly, Labour won 4.5% more of the total votes but the Conservatives ended up winning three more police areas due to the voting system that was utilized. Sixteen Conservative candidates were elected; thirteen Labour and twelve Independents’. Eight of the 41 elected PCCs were former police officers (House of Commons, 2012, p. 5-8) and only six were women, it is notable that none were from a visible ethnic minority. Interestingly, of those voters that did turn up, a considerable number spoiled their ballot papers, suggesting significant disenchantment with the whole idea of politicians being involved in policing (Fridman, 2012, p. 1; Neyroud, 2012, p. 16-17). In 2016, only 3 of the 40 commissioners elected were independent, suggesting an even greater encroachment of party politics into the realm of policing.

Policing has become increasingly politicized and with elected Mayors likely to replace many PCCs in the future we are likely to see a growth in public funds being re-chanelled towards the creation of new public offices. The PCC/Mayoral monopoly on the distribution of public money will facilitate a much quicker and smoother transfer of funds into private hands. In a move that may precede the full arrival of Mayors, the UK government is also seeking to enlarge the PCC role to include the commissioning of fire and rescue services. This may lead to the further expansion of the PCC hierarchy and the creation of yet more unelected positions, with the loss of locally elected councillors on Fire Authorities.
The creation of PCCs has already meant that many towns and villages who had councillors on Police Authorities have now lost their local voice to a much bigger ‘localism’ that can now be controlled and governed centrally. Although the stated aim of PCCs was to increase localism, it has merely removed hundreds of locally elected councillors and replaced them with a more centralized, distant structure. Britain already has the most centralized government in Europe (All politics is local, 2015, p. 30) and the advent of PCCs strengthens rather than weakens that arrangement. Importantly, the arrival of PCCs severed links with the courts through the loss of independent Magistrates that sat on Police Authorities. With so many PCCs aligned to political parties, policing suddenly became more, not less, political. It is also highly questionable whether PCCs should be in-charge of officers whose remit is to be a-political, independent and impartially accountable to the law.

The Athenians created de-centralized, non-hierarchical environments that encouraged and legitimized dissent. They established ways in which they could successfully harness the dispersed knowledge of all their citizens. The Athenians and the architects of the post-war consensus ensured that populations were protected by social welfare structures that sheltered them against misfortune. Looking at the past, at these two ‘golden ages’, and at the early Prussian model of policing it is worthwhile noting that today only 24 countries are classified as full democracies, their inhabitants constituting just 12.5% of the world’s population (Democracy Index, 2014). Those democratic structures are being buffeted by capitalism and globalization, which together with the politicization processes outlined above are likely to deeply affect the future of non-crime policing.
CHAPTER SIX: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Changing boundaries

Central to debates about the changing nature of the contemporary developed world is the idea that the nation state is being undermined by a combination of globalizing and localizing forces (Newburn, 2007, p. 320). Giddens (2009, p. 1120) describes ‘globalization’ as the growing interdependence between different peoples, regions and countries as social and economic relationships stretch worldwide. Held (2000, p. 42) describes globalization as ‘the progressive enmeshment of human communities with each other’, often through advancing communication and travel technologies. Although many states are reacting against these processes by applying increasingly rigid control measures and strengthening their borders (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young, 2008, p. 76), Bobbit (2002) suggests that globalization will incrementally diminish the role of the nation state and increase the prominence of market-based economies.

The main beneficiaries of globalization are not geographically bounded state agencies but free-wheeling international corporations. Capital and big business have embraced opportunities to expand and have internationalized to such an extent that they can substantially evade the authority of national governments (Bakan, 2005, p. 25). Capital has scoured the world to seek out the cheapest, non-unionized, de-regulated labour markets as a way to maximize profits (Harvey, 2010, p. 16). Within advanced economies, the flight of capital has led to unemployment, wage-repression and a shift towards less secure employment and rising levels of poverty and inequality (Reiner, 2011, p. 321).

The police are not immune to these forces and they too have been confronted by continual upheaval and fragmentation (Independent Police Commission, 2013, p. 25). Policing has become increasingly complex with resources stretched into new areas such as cybercrime, human trafficking and numerous non-crime issues arising from increased vulnerability and insecurity. At the same time, police forces have been pressurized to attain ever greater levels of ‘efficiency’ and ‘effectiveness’ in line with the new economic environment (Waddington, 1999a, p. 243). Europol and Interpol extend policing beyond national boundaries and internally police forces are trimming down, outsourcing to the private sector and fragmenting the workforce into an increasing array of non-sworn police positions. Globalization and free-market forces are changing the way policing is being organized and run. Caless and Tong (2015, p. 4) and Reiner (2010, 2011, 2013) amongst others insist that ‘neo-liberalism’ is the cause.
Economic forces

Lukes (2007, p. 165) states that ‘neo-liberalism’ (also referred to as ‘free-market economics’) is characterized by:

- the private ownership of assets,
- minimal redistribution,
- efficiency, and,
- the maximization of personal profit.

Neo-liberalism is concerned with ‘self-reliance’, ‘free markets’ and ‘minimal state provision’. Its advocates suggest that state run services such as the police are too expensive and inefficient (Morgan & Newburn, 1997, p. 137). They argue for reductions in state services based upon the generalized premise that ‘others’ have become too dependent upon the ‘nanny state’ (Wood & Kempa, 2005, p. 295). Reiner (2011, p. 189-90; & 2010, p. xiii) lists a range of issues arising from this ideology including: higher risk of violence, rising inequality, long-term unemployment, social exclusion, consumerism, punitiveness and selfishness. Teh (2009, p. 4) notes the reaction to neo-liberalism as involving a sharp move to the political right and a feeling that everyone is now stepping backwards, retrenching and waiting for the ‘neo-liberal storm to pass’. For Webley (2015, p. 42), the main problem with neo-liberalism is that it ignores ‘shared human environments’, viewing people as merely economic instruments to be exploited. Operating within such an uncaring environment, the likelihood is that public demand for non-crime policing services will grow and there will probably be increased, conflicting efforts, to channel policing towards a purely crime-fighting narrative.

According to Jones and Novak (2009, p. 102), we should never expect any state under the ideology of neo-liberalism to be a vehicle for humane and respectful social welfare. As Hall, Winlow and Ancrum (2008, p. 29) note, society has become less stable, more competitive and increasingly devoid of community cohesion. Citizens have become subjected to a broadening network of administrative controls and surveillance (Finlayson, 2005, p. 7). Since 1973, inequality in take-home pay has increased more in the UK than anywhere else except the United States (Judt, 2010, p. 14). The UK now has the largest variation in living standards in Europe and there are persistent gaps between the life chances of people from different backgrounds (Cabinet Office, 2008, p. 2; Webley, 2015, p. 29-30). In Britain, real wages have fallen for seven consecutive years, and are 6.9% below their 2007 level. Britain is also experiencing its longest period of pay stagnation since records began in 1855 (What recovery, 2014, p. 32). Many families have simply
elected to preserve their lifestyle by depleting their meagre savings and taking on more debt (Bok, 2010, p. 111).

In stark contrast to this, thousands of wealthy families in Britain are using tax fiddles to squirrel away roughly £13 trillion in tax havens and undeclared assets around the world (Ross, 2013, p. 101). Many of these people criticize welfare scroungers whilst simultaneously siphoning off money which could be used to help build and support schools, hospitals and security infrastructures (ibid). So how is the neo-liberal environment effecting the funding of Britain’s policing services?

**Funding the police**

There are four main sources of funding from central government to the public police. Two are from the Home Office and two are from the Department for Communities and Local Government and the Welsh Assembly (Home Office, 2013, p. 1). Funds are currently distributed to the police in England and Wales through the Police Allocation Formula (PAF). This formula sets out ‘everything that the police do’ into eleven categories (Home Office, 2013, p. 1-4). Seven of these categories relate specifically to types of crime and receive 60% of all central government funding. The other four categories, which receive the remaining 40% of national expenditure, are those which provide:

- reassurance to the public,
- assistance with or reduction of road traffic accidents,
- assistance with non-crime incidents,
- ‘special events’, such as protest marches or football matches

(Home Office, 2013, p. 2-3).

In line with government objectives to reduce the deficit, central government funding to these eleven categories fell 25% (£2.3 billion) during 2010-2016 (National Audit Office. 2015, p. 6). Furthermore, police funding has increasingly been localized, meaning that wealthier areas receive more police funding than poorer areas – an odd development, because much of the crime that the police deal with strongly correlates with levels of poverty (Kirchmaier, 2016, p. 16). With forces spending most of their money on wages (80%) the majority of ‘savings’ have been achieved through internal reorganisations; freezes on recruitment; reduced procurement, police staff redundancies and the closure and selling off of numerous police stations and buildings (National Audit Office. 2015, p. 22). According to HMIC (2013a, p. 5) Staffordshire Police made 60%
(£19.4m) of the total savings required by March 2015 in the first two years of the spending review (2010-12) through a recruitment freeze; a requirement for all police officers to retire when they had completed their full pensionable service of 30 years, and a voluntary severance package that led to many officers leaving the force prematurely with a lump-sum pay-out (HMIC, 2013a, p. 5). As a result of these measures Staffordshire became one of only two forces that lost 21% of its total police officer strength – the joint highest loss of police numbers in England and Wales (National Audit Office. 2015, p. 22). Possibly as a result of these activities Staffordshire Police was left with the joint second lowest level of financial reserves in England and Wales (National Audit Office. 2015, p. 41).

Because the PAF directs 60% of its funds to ‘crime’ and only 40% to non-crime, the police service has been increasingly squeezed as crime has fallen and non-crime activities have risen in comparison. If the police wanted to generate more funds they would simply have to record more crime, or actively seek out the many crimes that go unreported. However, for a force to be ‘successful’, Chief Officers must ‘cut crime’. As the PAF allocates 60% of funds to crime, non-crime activities are being subjected to incrementally increasing financial pressures. In essence forces are paid more to deal with crime. Although this ‘squeeze’ may strengthen the currency (Harari, 2011, p. 201-9; Mason, 2015, p. 10-22) it also squeezes the most vulnerable people in society as well as the services seeking to help them. It defines, in microcosm, the withdrawing limit of the state’s responsibilities towards its citizens. Policing operates at this edge, and has to deal with the consequences.

Despite such reductions police forces are still expected to provide the same (or improved) levels of service to the public. The ways in which ‘levels of service’ are measured, however, are through a review of recorded crime statistics and victim satisfaction surveys (HMIC, 2013a, p. 4). Such an examination led to HMIC (2013a, p. 4) noting that over the first two years of the spending review recorded crime (excluding fraud) fell by 16%, thereby suggesting that the financial cuts were appropriate and in line with ‘public demand’. However, between 2012 and 2014, 78% of public demand for policing related to non-crime matters with only 22% of calls relating to crime (National Audit Office. 2015, p. 27). It may be disproportionate and inappropriate to direct 60% of public funds to just 22% of police activity, especially as the remaining 78% of calls relate to some of the most desperate, vulnerable people in society.
CHAPTER SEVEN: NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The shape of the state

Fukuyama (2014, p. 23) defines a ‘nation state’ as a ‘hierarchical, centralized organization that holds a monopoly on legitimate force over a defined territory’. One of the tragic aspects of the human condition is that violence has been so integral to the creation of nation states. As Pinker (2011, p. 69) explains, nations emerged from stratified theocracies in which elites secured economic privilege through high levels of absolutism and cruelty. Political theorists from Thucydides to Thomas Hobbes and Max Weber all claimed that the use or threat of force has been the central source and measure of all political power (Brunk, 2012, p. 20). Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), for instance, believed that all forms of social cooperation and trust were only possible if a strong leader could punish with violence those who refused to cooperate (ibid). However, for Arendt (1970, cited by Brunk, 2012, p. 20):

Violence may be an efficient means of exercising destructive power, but it is an extremely inefficient and often ineffective way of exercising constructive power.

Principled thinkers, such as Socrates, Jesus, and the Buddha defined power in broader, more general terms as involving the ability to organize people into cooperative enterprises. When power is defined as cooperation it leaves open the question of its relationship with violence (Brunk, 2012, p. 20). Hence the need for policing services to be geared towards maintaining and developing cooperative relationships with and between citizens. Cooperative enterprises grounded within a human rights framework being the default option. Yet no political order has ever permanently eliminated violence and all still rely, to some extent on the ability to deploy force. In the contemporary world, that ability to deploy force is largely concentrated within military and police institutions (Aas, 2007, p. 132).

The police and the state

Sheptycki (2000, cited by Manning 2010, p. 47) and Waddington (2003a, p. 13) identify that the police operate as the symbolic guardians of state power. But more than that, the police also seek to safeguard and protect citizens against abuses by the state. The police occupy a middle
position between the state and its citizens, safeguarding both through their role as autonomous, impartial protectors of human rights. Such a stance realigns the police service away from its burgeoning connection with party politics and back towards an independence more aligned to the rule of law and the courts.

Hoghugi and Speigh (1998, cited by Bowling, 2007, p. 21) as well as Blumstein (2007, p. 2) suggest that good policing and good statehood can be judged by the same criteria as that of good parenting. Good parents provide caring and supportive environments that improve the wellbeing of their charges. Bad parenting, on the other hand, tends to be uncaring, punitive and motivated by selfishness. At present, in Britain and elsewhere, states are divesting themselves of their paternalistic responsibilities and are embracing the selfish tenets of neo-liberalism. The so-called ‘responsible’ processes associated with neo-liberalism have led to a steadily declining supply of public services (Jones & Novak, 2009, p. 100). In policing the neo-liberal ‘modernization’ agenda has been called New Public Management.

**New Public Management**

New Public Management (NPM) embodies a vision of public sector organizations achieving ‘business efficiency’ through the use of authoritarian, commerce-based, centralized control (Waddington, 2003b, p. 12; Wright, 2002, p. 165). Over the last three decades, successive governments in Britain have adopted NPM solutions to establish ‘value for money’ directives within policing. The changes brought by NPM have included severe budgetary cuts, the application of private-sector management methods, civilianization and the introduction of competitive target and performance measurements (Hough, 2007, p. 66). To intensify these ‘efficiencies’ governments have increasingly externalized or outsourced some of their previous public sector responsibilities (Jones, 2012, p. 746). Within policing, NPM led to heightened ‘managerialism’, linked to the statistical measurement of ‘performance’ (Walker, 1996, p. 64; Manning, 2008, p. 285). Rather than drawing inspiration from the ethos of selfless public service, ‘managerialism’ stressed competition and control within a competitive competency-based performance framework (Manning, 2008, p. 285). For Punch (2007, p. 14) these business-oriented approaches failed to take account of the multi-faceted nature of the policing role and the professional autonomy that is a central requirement for all holders of the office of constable.

It wasn’t until 2010 that the burgeoning array of police crime-fighting objectives was replaced by one single target, revolving entirely around ‘cutting crime’ (Jackson & Bradford, 2010,
This one objective, however, completely ignores the 83% of calls made by the public that are concerned with non-crime matters (Muir, 2015a, p. 2). Although the coalition government’s ‘Policing in the 21st Century’ (Home Office, 2010, p. 3) gave lip service to Robert Peel’s preventative focus, efforts were re-doubled to cut crime through so-called ‘common sense’ policing geared solely towards crime reduction. As a variety of commentators have suggested, non-crime policing activities became the subject of ‘sustained political assault’ (Punch, 2007, p. 14) as the state sought to divest itself of wider responsibilities linked to tackling the root causes of crime (Garland, 1996, p. 467; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001, p. 4; Box, 2003, p. 273). Police efforts were re-directed away from the highest areas of public demand towards the one centralized target – cutting crime.

**Crime**

There are no definitions that accurately explain what ‘crime’ is; though it is invariably described as being socially constructed and changeable over time and place (Vogel, 2007, p. 51). Due to the difficulties of precisely defining ‘crime’, Hillyard and Tombs (2008, p. 14) suggest that the term should be exchanged with the much broader concept of ‘harm’. Although the currently dominant political ideology directs policing towards crime, the public continually request police assistance for a whole range of non-crime issues (ESRC, 2010, p. 13; Bayley, 1994, p. 17). The Crime Surveys of England and Wales (CSEW) repeatedly identify that only about 44% of personal crimes ever get reported to the police (Ross, 2013, p. 114). On average, CSEW surveys reveal that approximately 8 million crimes occur every year yet only 3 million are ever recorded by the police (ibid, p. 121). Although five million personal crimes go unreported to the police each year, the government emphasis is not to identify these unreported incidents but to cut the number of crimes that are currently being reported still further. If the police really wanted to improve their funding (60% of police funding is linked to reported crime statistics) then all they would need to do is identify more of those 5 million unreported incidents.

But surveys also identify that only about 3 in every 100 of those crimes that are reported ever result in an offender being convicted or cautioned (Home Office, 1991, p. 9; Hough & Tilley, 1998, p. 1; Reiner, 2011, p. 285). When it comes to obtaining a prosecution or a conviction, moreover, it is the public not the police who remain the crucial element in whether or not a crime will be solved (Coleman & Norris, 2000, p. 123-4; Reiner, 2000 p. 170). The interactions between the police and the public are vital and many of the non-crime matters reported to the police help establish and maintain that link. What is foremost in the mind of citizens, however, is the prevention of incidents in the first place.
Prevention

Preventative approaches, rather than those geared towards apprehension and detection provided the foundational basis upon which British policing methods were established (HMIC, 2014c, p. 4). The Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis (Colquhoun, 1795, cited by Garland, 1996, p. 464) for instance, talks exclusively about the prevention of crime and the reduction of criminal opportunities. Prevention was also the focus of the opening remarks in the ‘New Police Instructions’ (1829, cited by Lentz & Chaires, 2007, p. 77):

‘It should be understood at the outset, that the object to be obtained is the prevention of crime. To this great end every effort of the police is to be directed.’

Yet states and governments operating within neo-liberal environments have a problem with preventative activities – they are impossible to measure.

Interviewee 1: We do policing a disservice by not measuring these non-crime activities.

The inability to undertake a business-like cost/benefits analysis for unquantifiable, preventative approaches has led to the creation of an increasingly fragmenting array of public services. In the police, NPM precipitated the establishment of lower-paid, less empowered Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) as a means of reconciling publicly popular, but unmeasurable, activities. Such moves were supported by commentators like Marrin (2005, p. 17) who described preventative police work as a ‘monstrous waste of time, money and resources’, further suggesting that the police should concentrate solely upon measurable enforcement activities.

Within the contemporary political environment, this measurable, enforcement-focused policing approach is still espoused as the way forward. As the then Home Secretary, Theresa May, stated in her speech at the Conservative Party Conference in 2011:

‘I’ve been clear from the beginning that the test of the effectiveness of the police, the sole objective against which they will be judged, the way in which communities should be able to hold them to account, is their success in cutting crime. I haven’t asked the police to be social workers, I haven’t set them any performance indicators, and I haven’t given them a thirty point plan, I’ve told them to cut crime’ (May, 2011, cited by Jones, Newburn & Smith, 2012, p. 229).

Such sentiments are far removed from the foundational aspects of the British policing model. As Guyot (1991, p. 64) explains, police organizations should not move towards a more enforcement-
focused approach but should seek ways of achieving the most humane and human policing services possible. Yet recent governments have consistently tried to narrow the focus of policing away from preventive approaches towards enforcement.

Interviewee 6: I think policing has been over-simplified by the Home Secretary when she says the job of the police is to cut crime, it’s much more than that.

Interviewee 12: There’s a really important distinction that needs to be made between crime and non-crime and it doesn’t help when Theresa May says that the police are just about reducing crime.

As well as trying to hive-off ‘non-essential’ tasks, Western states have repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, tried to escalate the crime-cutting rhetoric to the level of warfare. So-called ‘wars’ have been waged on crime, drugs and terrorism under the belief that a whole range of social problems can simply be tackled through the use of brute force (Brent & Kraska, 2013, p. 373-4). These ‘war on crime’ approaches seem to ignore the fact that any semblance of real warfare against a country’s own civilian population would trigger massive civil disobedience and unrest (Aas, 2007, p. 64), such as those that occurred in Brixton and elsewhere in the early-to-mid 1980s and again in London and Birmingham during the summer of 2011.

Although common sense suggests that aggressive controls can prevent some forms of harm, it is notable that other repressive practices in the criminal justice system such as ‘boot-camps’, ‘scared straight’ regimes, and ‘short, sharp, shock’ penalties, have been shown to increase rather than reduce recidivism (Ross, 2013, p. 242). Research suggests that 80% of crime reduction in the UK between 2000 and 2010 came about as a result of economic factors rather than as a result of aggressive enforcement tactics (Reiner, 2011, p. 422). Work by Bayley (1994, p. 10), Chambliss (2003, p. 250), Nellis (2005, p. 42) and the Policy Exchange (2011, p. 13) have identified that the best predictors of crime are unemployment, low income, low educational attainment, age, gender and living within a dysfunctional environment. A politics aimed at tackling these issues must look away from a simplified, individualized, version of crime-fighting and consider more holistic approaches.

Strategies aimed at reducing crime must begin with reductions in poverty, discrimination, injustice, and urban/social decay. McLaughlin and Muncie (2001, p. 1) suggest that practical improvements in housing and educational opportunities are essential as part of a combined package aimed at strengthening civil society. In tackling the causes of crime politicians and all
social agencies must aim to improve the quality of life for all citizens as part of a collective and collaborative vision of a shared future.

In an environment where states are in a process of withdrawing from public provision this alternative is unlikely to materialize in any meaningful way in the short-medium term. What is more likely to occur, in the short term, is a retraction towards hierarchical, centralized, militarized forms of governance. Over the medium to long term, NPM practices and their ilk will try to achieve efficiencies through demand reduction strategies, the externalization of costs, outsourcing, downsizing and privatization. For practical policing this is likely to mean an increased use of a variety of enforcement-focused policing methods which ultimately fail to address the root causes of harm.
CHAPTER EIGHT: LOCAL PERSPECTIVES

Police methods

Although policing has historically been concerned with prevention, the main thrust of policing more recently has been towards apprehension (HMIC, 2014c, p. 4). This is despite the fact that apprehending and processing offenders is nearly always more costly than prevention activities (Home Office, 1991, p. 1; Plant & Scott, 2009, p. 27). Although numerous politicians have tried to reduce crime through harsher sentencing policies (The curious case, 2013, p. 9) it is not possible to ‘fix’ the crime problem by merely putting more people in jail (Colwell & Huth, 2010, p. 101). The main way to reduce incidents is through prevention (Neocleous, 2000, p. 711). But when the police assume responsibility for prevention their remit expands into a social, multi-agency realm. Within an environment of austerity and a responsibilization ethos police personnel are being increasingly withdrawn from preventative functions and concentrated into reactive apprehension and detection roles - activities which statistically the police are not very good at.

Crime investigation is often thought of as being the epitome of policing excellence (Manning, 2010, p. 107). Novels, television shows and movies continuously depict police detectives as heroic crime-fighting sleuths (Bayley, 1994, p. 56; Brodeur, 2010, p. 79) yet the reality is quite different. Most crimes that are brought to justice are done through the actions and cooperation of members of the public (Casey, 2008, p. 4). The public are responsible for between 83 and 85 percent of all criminal detections (Coleman & Norris, 2000, p. 124). The single most important determinant of whether a case will be solved is the information that the victim supplies to the first police officer who attends the incident; usually a uniformed front-line officer (Bowling & Foster, 2002, p. 1000; Brodeur, 2010, p. 89; Reiner, 2011, p. 152). Furthermore, a significant number of offences that are reported to the police are ‘self-detecting’ – meaning that the identity of the offender is already known (Loveday, 1996, p. 93; McLaughlin, 2001, p. 60). Of the relatively small number of crimes that are actually reported to the police the vast majority are never ‘cleared up’ (Mark, 1977, p. 44; Alderson, 1979, p. 114; Bayley, 1994, p. 27; Downes, Hobbs & Newburn, 2010, p. 11).

Only a tiny proportion of offenders are caught, and even fewer are brought to trial (Waddington & Wright, 2010, p. 22). Of all offences measured by the Crime Survey of England and Wales, approximately 2% result in the conviction of an offender and just 1% lead to a caution (Reiner, 2011, p. 285). This may not be a result of any particular police failing but it indicates that
the apprehension and detection rates are neither ‘efficient’ nor ‘effective’. By concentrating upon apprehension and detection activities the police become almost entirely reactive. Criminal investigation itself is a reactive process, and detectives and forensic specialists rarely undertake any form of preventative activity (Bayley, 1994, p. 26). By withdrawing from preventative approaches and increasing their emphasis upon cutting-crime the police will be forced to confront their own lack of success in their (purportedly) ‘core-activity’ of catching criminals.

If the neo-liberal/NPM path continues to be followed we will see reductions in public sector resourcing and a corresponding rise in partnerships with private (profit-making) providers. To retain public trust preventative policing will need to be re-thought as part of a wider multi-agency public service programme. But even with much greater co-operation from multi-agency partners the squeeze of neo-liberalism may continue to constrict policing towards its core function: the potential use of situationally justified force. Such a regression can be seen in the adoption of largely unsuccessful crime-focused policing methods and the steady withdrawal of the most successful preventative approaches.

The most important police services are undertaken by front-line personnel (National Debate Advisory Group, 2015, p. 6). HMIC (2013a, p. 8) defines ‘the front line’ as: ‘those who are in everyday contact with the public and who directly intervene to keep people safe and enforce the law’. According to the Operational Policing Review (Joint Consultative Committee, 1990, p. 8) emergency response officers undertake the majority of front-line functions. The duties both they and neighbourhood officers undertake have been described by Mark (1977, p. 11) as ‘the most dangerous and heroic’; by Manning (1977, p. 348) as ‘the most tiring and depressing’; and by Schafer, Buerger, Myers, Jensen, and Levin (2012, p. 7) as ‘the riskiest’ in terms of decision-making. The following sections briefly explore some of the more recent deployment tactics that these front-line officers have been asked to undertake.

‘Community policing’ is a strategy which emphasises increased engagement and cooperation between the police and the public (Emsley, 2007, p. 242). As a police strategy it spread worldwide as a form of enlightened police practice (Waddington, 1999a, p. 207). The Patten Report (1999), the Independent Police Commission (2013, p. 50) and ACPO (2013, p. 3) have all identified community policing as being a central building block for an effective and legitimate policing service. The public too, have repeatedly indicated that they want visible, approachable, ‘local’ officers (Dijk, Hoogewoning & Punch, 2015, p. 193). But as populations have become more mobile, so too have the police and front-line officers are now much more likely to be in cars (Emsley, 2007, p, 242). With the advent of neo-liberal/NPM approaches community

‘CompStat’ focuses largely upon crime control through saturation policing (Manning, 2010, p. 165). Although it provides a strong thread of accountability for measurable police performance in relation to crime, it also emphasizes traditional command and control hierarchies (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 144). For Eterno and Silverman (2015, p. 19) and MacVean and Neyroud (2012, p. 64-6), CompStat is at its worst when it is used as a top-down, heavy-handed, number-crunching system that fails to recognize broader community needs. Although some activities undertaken through CompStat were concerned with ‘quality of life’ matters, the focus was on quality of life offences which tilted any social service functioning towards crime control (Sparrow, 2016, p. 97-8). Another tactic drawn from the US which signifies continued withdrawal from non-crime (preventative) policing activities is ‘Zero-Tolerance’ policing.

Zero-Tolerance policing involves blitzing areas in the hope that police omnipresence will deter offenders whilst reassuring law-abiding citizens (Reiner, 2011, p. 178). Many police officials and researchers are critical of Zero-Tolerance approaches (Plant & Scott, 2009, p. 35) because they are seen as a regression to methods which exacerbate police brutality, discrimination and public alienation (Reiner, 2010, p. 156). For Roberg, Novak and Cordner (2008, p. 104), Zero-Tolerance tactics cause unnecessary and unreasonable harm to citizens. In the wake of the Scarman report, such approaches did not garner much support from the police in Britain (Jones & Newburn, 2007, p. 142).

Neither did another American idea; ‘Broken Windows’, which similarly concentrates officers into targeted areas and then encourages them to undertake robust enforcement tactics against even minor infractions (Patterson & Pollock, 2011, p. 13). Identically, ‘hot-spot’ policing revolves around the simplistic hierarchical delegation of front-line staff to potentially problematic areas (Rosenbaum, 2006, cited by Manning, 2010, p. 172). For Manning (2010, p. 173), ‘hot-spot’ policing is yet another tactic that fits neatly into the police view of the world where everything that looks like a nail simply gets hammered. Furthermore, the police tend to create hot spots simply by policing them. A more developed and evidence-based derivative of hot-spot policing,
called problem-oriented policing, looks more holistically at such social issues and attempts to create links between local residents, the police and a range of other helping agencies.

Extensive research has highlighted the success of ‘problem-oriented policing’ (Centre for Problem-Oriented Policing, 2016) and reviews have continued to confirm the ongoing relevance of its founder, Herman Goldstein’s, ideas (Neyroud, 2011; Taylor, Koper, & Woods, 2011). For Reiner (2011, p. 181) and Greene (2000, p. 299) problem-oriented policing (POP) enables quality interactions to take place between police officers, citizens and partner agencies. Such an approach enables officers to undertake problem-solving processes which generate much needed public trust and support for policing organizations. POP also enables police personnel to act as facilitators for a wide range of multi-agency support mechanisms (Lilley & Hinduja, 2006, p. 489). POP is the most successful form of policing activity and is the one which most resembles the ideals and principles espoused by Robert Peel, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne.

‘CompStat’, ‘Zero-Tolerance’, ‘Broken Windows’ and ‘hot-spot’ policing are all essentially modifications of a simplistic ‘point and go’ crime-fighting approach. Such tactics do not require the re-thinking of any standard operational procedure or embody any sort of substantial organizational change (Manning, 2010, p. 155). They revolve around the hierarchical idea of putting ‘cops on dots’ (Greene, 2015, p. 15); methodologies which tend to ignore the wider social issues and concentrate upon the generation of statistical performance data (Waddington, 2004, p. 15).

**Measuring police performance**

Most policing activity is unquantifiable and does not appear in any published statistics (Joint Consultative Committee, 1990, Sec. 2, p. ix). As Caless (2011, p. 5) notes, the police role is too complex and wide-ranging to be accurately captured through quantitative assessments. Downes, Hobbs and Newburn (2010, p. 18) suggest that the police should be judged more by the quality of their interactions than by their quantifiable results. Unfortunately, most management practices tend to devalue anything that cannot be counted (Majer, 2013, p. 3), but the fact that something cannot be counted does not mean that it is any less valuable (Talbot, 2000, p. 95). As Waddington (2007b, p. 15), Hough (2007, p. 66) and Caless (2011, p. 98) point out, policing is a people-based activity which cannot be centred upon numerical target-setting.

It is unfortunate that in a field so full of human experience, complexity and ambiguity that the government and the police service have seized upon the statistical measurement of crime as
the primary indicator of policing success (Manning, 1977, p. 18; Guyot, 1991, p. 58; Loveday, 1996, p. 75; Savage, 2007, p. 83; Newburn & Reiner, 2012, p. 811). Such a focus has merely served to alter the style of policing away from prevention towards enforcement (Joint Consultative Committee, 1990, p. 5; Faulkner, 2007, p. 53; Skogan, 2013, p. 16). This has led to increasing pressures on officers to ‘deliver’ on targets and as a result many police statistics were ‘bent and fiddled’ to improve detection and performance figures (Young, 1991, cited by Wright, 2002, p. 94; HMIC, 2014d, p. 17; Dijk et al., 2015, p. 71).

There’s always the danger that performance regimes may create unwanted behaviours (Territorial accounts, 2012, p. 15) and there have been numerous occasions where the police have rigged crime data in their favour (Reiner, 2011, p. 282). The Maxwell Conflait case, the ‘Guildford Four’, the ‘Maguire Seven’, the ‘Birmingham Six’ and the Carl Bridgewater case all impacted negatively upon public perceptions of the police (Wright, 2002, p. 96). For Reiner (2010, p. 24), the police should be judged more by the quality of their engagement and interactions than by their results. To achieve excellence the police must be seen as professional problem-solvers and skilled facilitators (Hirst, 1989, p. 175) yet the highly stratified command and control culture of the police may be undermining such an objective.

Leadership

‘Leadership’ is a complex research area and across all sectors there is ambiguity over what the term means or which ‘styles’ of leadership tend to be the most effective (Campbell & Kodz, 2011, p. 3). Two types of leadership that are regularly referred to in the police literature are ‘transformational’ and ‘transactional’ approaches. Transformational leaders are described as being inspirational vision setters that offer intellectual stimulation whilst appealing to the moral values of recipients (ibid, p. 3). Such leaders are said to provide emotional support, develop trust and encourage more open, respectful, communication (Drodge & Murphy, 2002, p. 201). In contrast to this, transactional leaders are said to rely more upon rewards and punishment and tend to have fewer positive impacts on staff and services (Campbell & Kodz, 2011, p. 3-4). Neyroud (2011, p. 39) notes that despite the desirability of the transformational style there is still an ‘uncomfortable marriage’ that exists in policing between transformational approaches and the more common transactional demands of some policing operations. It may well be that despite the generally accepted benefits of transformational leadership there is something within the police milieu that favours the cruder transactional style.
There is little consensus on what actually constitutes good police leadership (Caless, 2011; Campbell & Kodz, 2011). Neyroud (2011) found no measurable evidence of which police leadership styles actually ‘worked’. For the Audit Commission (1990b, p. 26), the management/leadership style of the police service was said to be fundamentally rooted in ‘professionalism’. Talbot (2000, p. 12) suggests that such professionalism can only be achieved by building an environment that fosters autonomy, accountability and responsibility. He suggests a broadly transformational or ‘shared-leadership’ approach in which individuals are empowered, trusted and involved in learning and decision-making processes.

In an assessment reminiscent of Classical Athenian ideals, Herrington and Colvin (2015, p. 3) point out that more collective approaches heighten organizational performance, particularly in relation to complex issues. Although such an approach flies in the face of traditional police hierarchies, the complexities of modern societies necessitate a more collaborative response rather than one built around the inclinations of a single leader (ibid, p. 2). In rapidly changing environments there is a need to identify innovative, alternative strategies that have not formed part of the frameworks and status quo arrangements that have enabled many leaders to attain their positions (ibid, p. 4). Using a more collective approach shifts attention away from hierarchical status structures (College of Policing, 2015c, p. 6) towards a flatter, more equitable, problem-solving environment which is far more likely to yield better results (Wang et al., 2014, cited by Herrington & Colvin, 2015, p. 9). For Wuestewald (2006, p. 1), the way ahead is clearly signposted within the ‘shared leadership’ approach. In such a method, leadership and decision-making derive strength from collective expertise rather than from positions of authority. For Ober (2008, p. 174-5), leadership should not depend upon the mere presence of established leaders but upon the capability of the organizations themselves to shift focus onto those that ‘know’. In essence this is reverting to the Classical Athenian model which espoused ‘leaders of the moment’. At present, however, a culture of highly stratified obedience permeates policing which may be stifling the full realization of the organization to achieve its collective capabilities.

The modern day police service is still modelled along hierarchical, pyramidal lines with police officers and police staff unduly separated in a variety of ways. The organizational structure still consists of a broad, flat base of Constables which quickly tapers upward through nine to eleven tiers. The tall narrow structure means that 80% of officers and staff remain on the first rung of the hierarchy for their entire career (Bayley, 1994, p. 61-64; College of Policing, 2015c, p. 32).

In terms of police officer supervision, the greatest responsibilities fall upon those operating at the rank of Sergeant (Audit Commission, 1991, cited by Bayley, 1994, p. 61). For those who
manage to climb up the hierarchical ladder there is considerably more status; fewer decisions to make and less people to directly line manage (Bayley, 1994, p. 72). Such structures place a premium on obedience (Elliot, 2004, p. 55). Yet the prolonged impact of habitual tiered subservience may undermine higher organizational goals which seek to utilize the skills, knowledge, creativity and enthusiasm of staff (Villiers & Adlam, 2004, p. 50). The emphasis placed upon obedience, loyalty and being ‘on message’ within a conformist structure may simply act as a barrier to the wider professionalization of the police service (Kleinig, 2004, p. 79).

Key academic commentators such as Manning (2008) and Bayley (1994) are highly sceptical of police management arrangements and practices. Manning (2008, p. 288) for instance, notes that police cultures tend to reinforce negative/punitive behaviours rather than supportive and empowering ones. Bayley (1994, p 64) similarly points out that:

‘...police organizations treat their personnel like children, ordering them about without explanation, requiring them to ask permission when exercising the slightest initiative, and punishing them for petty infractions in order to set an example’.

Bayley (1994, p. 64-6) goes on to say that such hierarchical structures ‘poison organizational environments’. They also have a tendency to regulate, in fine detail, the behaviour of individuals who are otherwise required to make extremely important decisions in circumstances that are often tense, uncertain and rapidly evolving. There is something deeply disturbing about these observations and as Dyer (2004, p. 137) notes, everything that makes us human makes us reject existences that are of such an ‘ant-like’ nature. What can be done?

Truly professional organizations put their highest-status individuals into tackling the most crucial, hands-on, front-line work. For example, professors, doctors and lawyers operating in universities, hospitals and law firms tend to have administrators undertaking those functions that do not require their professional expertise (Bayley, 1994, p. 158). There may be a strong case for concentrating the most skilled staff right at the leading edge of policing and civilianizing managerial and other tasks to personnel who do not require police powers. At present a culture and network of obedience and subservience permeates policing and it is highly questionable whether such practices support the development of a truly professional police service. Police officers should not be viewed as servants, either internally or externally; nothing is expected from servants other than compliance and conformity (O’Donovan, 2015, p. 124). Police officers are not servants they are independent legal officials whose duties are primarily undertaken on the frontline.
CHAPTER NINE: PUBLIC DEMAND

What do the public want?

The purpose of this section is to explore the breadth and depth of public demand, historically and then through the analysis of data obtained covering all calls to the Staffordshire Police made during 2007-2014.

According to ACPO (2012, p. 8), the police in England and Wales received just under 10 million calls from the public between April 2011 and March 2012. This enormous demand for police assistance determines almost entirely what the police actually do. In 1952, Del Pesco (quoted by Banton, 1964, p. 160) found that 26% of calls to the police were requests for information. He also found that almost 50% of calls did not involve matters of a ‘police nature’. Two years later, Gourley (1954, cited by Banton, 1964, p. 160) estimated that up to 90% of police business was not strictly concerned with crime. In 1972 Punch and Naylor (1973, p. 358-361) examined calls from the public to the police over a two-week period. Their research identified that 59% of calls could be determined as ‘a service request’ and that 41% related to law enforcement activity. In 1983, Webster (cited by Loveday, 1996, p. 96) concluded that less than 18% of police time was spent on crime and that the police essentially acted as ‘guardians of public safety’.

In 1988, Shapland and Vagg (cited by Wright, 2002, p. 4) identified that dealing with ‘potential crime’ amounted to 53% of police work; ‘social disorder’ 20%; ‘information and service’ 18%; and ‘traffic’ 8%. Even the Home Office (1993a, p. 1-4) acknowledged that whilst the main job of the police was to ‘catch criminals’, only 18% of calls to the police were actually about crime and only about 40% of police time was actually spent dealing with crime. In 2012, Crank, Irlbeck, Murray and Sundermeier (Crank et al. 2012, p. 113), who support the view that policing should be about crime-fighting, similarly found that the public demand much more from the police than simply law-enforcement. As Patterson and Pollock (2011, p. 148) state, ‘the public are the most significant determinants of what the police actually do on a day-to-day basis’ and they suggest, like Flanagan (2008, p. 7) that it is only through honest engagement with the public that the police service can know exactly what its true targets and priorities should be.

Interviewee 4: At community meetings I never, ever had serious crime raised as an issue by members of the public – never. Invariably, the issues that were raised were
noise, nuisance, harassment, litter, dogs fouling the footpath. They were social and quality of life issues that were the driving factors.

The police spend a considerable portion of their time answering calls from the public (Brodeur, 2010, p. 137) and it is of little surprise that in 2015, 83% of a front-line uniformed officer’s work was found to be focused largely upon non-crime incidents (Learning to produce, 2015, p. 16). The Dyfed Powys police, for example, noted a 29% increase in non-crime incidents involving the mentally ill between 2008 and 2013. Such a finding supports the contention that the helping mechanisms in society are wavering and that the police service is increasingly becoming the first and last resort for those in need of help (What do the police do, 2014, p. 24).

According to Bayley (2005, p. 142) up to 90% of police activity stems from contact initiated by members of the public; a statistic which supports the view that police activity should be particularly responsive to priorities identified by communities (Home Office, 1993a, p. 31; Myhill & Quinton, 2010, p. 273). The vast majority of community directed police activity concerns low-level nuisances such as noise and traffic complaints, neighbour disputes, annoying teenagers, littering and dog fouling (Ross, 2013, p. 335). To help cope with such issues the public continue to request more visible police patrols (Independent Police Commission, 2013, p. 37). Indeed public opinion on the topic of ‘the best use of police time’ is that officers should be present and visible on the streets (HMIC, 2014c, p. 69) undertaking community-oriented activities (Joint Consultative Committee, 1990, p. 8). However, it is not just what the police do that is of concern to the public. The way they go about their duties is even more important.

According to Foster and Jones (2010, p. 395) the public want the police to be responsive, reassuring and approachable. They also want to be treated respectfully and fairly, with matters explained to them in a friendly way (Myhill & Quinton, 2011, p. 3). The public treat helpfulness, fairness, politeness, speedy response and attentiveness as at least as important as any police law enforcement activity (MacVean & Neyroud, 2012, p. 141). Research by Hinds (2008, p. 55-7) suggests that people rate citizen-initiated contacts with the police far higher than police-initiated contacts. The public therefore have a fairly distanced approach to the police but one which is deeply influenced by the actual conduct of officers towards them.

**Public demand in Staffordshire**

Figure 9.1 (below) charts the number of calls received each year in each of the nine categories identified in Table 3.2 (page 31) between 2007 and 2014. It is interesting to note that
Crime and Anti-Social Behaviour can be seen to drop dramatically over the reviewed period, whilst calls relating to Public Safety/Welfare sustain notable increases. From 2010 onwards, Public Safety and Welfare incidents take over numerical prominence from crime. Alarms, Transport and Duplicate/Out of Force incidents decline over the whole review period. The police generate hardly any activity themselves; the Police Generated category is comparatively tiny. The Domestic incident category came into existence during 2007 and 2008 and is now forming a sizeable portion of calls to the police. Administration activities remain noticeably prominent throughout.

**Figure 9.1**

![Calls to Staffordshire Police 2007 - 2014](image)

Figure 9.2 (below) shows the comparative percentages of calls coming into the Staffordshire Police control room during 2008 in each of the nine categories. It is notable that in 2008, 29% of all calls were classified as Crime and 17% were classified as Public Safety/Welfare. Over subsequent years this alters dramatically.
Figure 9.2

Percentage of Calls to Staffordshire Police by Category - 2008

Figure 9.3 (below) shows that by 2010, just two years later, Crime incidents had dropped by 8%; ASB had dropped by 4%; Domestic incidents had increased by 6% and Public Safety/Welfare incidents had expanded by 4%. Administrative activities had risen by 1% and Transport, Alarms, Duplicate and Police Generated calls remained at roughly the same level.

Figure 9.3

Figure 9.4 (below) shows that by 2012, Crime and ASB incidents had dropped a further 2% and 3% respectively; Public Safety/Welfare incidents had increased by 4% and Administration had increased to 17% of all calls.

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By 2014 (Figure 9.5 – below) Crime had fallen a further 1%, meaning that it now constituted just 18% of all calls to the police. Public Safety and Welfare fell 1% meaning that it now formed 24% of all calls. Domestics, Transport and Duplicate/Out of force calls increased 1% and Administration fell to 16% of all calls.

Despite all these increases and decreases in the nine categories, the overall trend with regards to the total number of incidents being reported to Staffordshire Police fell from 350,629 in 2007 to 280,399 in 2014. This is a fall of 70,230 over an eight year period or 20% (see Figure 9.6 (below)).
Figure 9.6

Figure 9.7 (below) shows the continual drop in the actual number of crimes recorded by Staffordshire Police between 2008 and 2014, a decline of 30.7%. By comparison, non-crime incidents declined from 245038 in 2007 to 229733 in 2014, a drop of just 6.2%.

Figure 9.7

Figures 9.8 and 9.9 (below) shows the quite considerable drop in the number of non-crime calls relating to Alarms and Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) incidents over the same period.

Figure 9.8
In contrast to this decline in calls, Figure 9.10 shows an increase of 22% in public demand for all non-crime Public Safety and Welfare incidents.

Figure 9.10

Figure 9.11 (below) shows the rise in recorded levels of Domestic incidents. These incidents became the subject of new legislation (Serious Crime Act 2015), enhanced recording practices, enforcement and structured support processes over the reviewed period. Such changes indicate
the beginnings of a search within policing to ascertain the genuine causes underpinning both criminal and non-criminal activity. These incidents have led to a re-focusing of attention towards the plight of victims and the identification of behaviours and contextual characteristics which may heighten levels of risk. This emphasis upon ‘context’ is moving policing towards a more informed, professional style of policing that involves multi-agency engagement and problem-solving. There is considerable scope to expand examinations into the social context in which incidents occur.

Interviewee 9: There are 22,000 domestic incidents a year in Staffordshire that get reported and 33% of those are repeats of which 14,000 are non-crime. So that’s quite a big percentage.

Figure 9.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Calls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>19843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>21874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>20791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>20638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>20763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>21925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-crime ‘Concern for Safety’ incidents are broken down into two categories (‘Adult’ and ‘Child’). Figure 9.12 (below) shows the sudden increase in ‘Concern for Safety’ incidents, particularly in relation to adults around the time of the financial crisis, the subsequent recession and the cuts to public services. During the reviewed period increasing numbers of adults in Staffordshire began to call the police with regards to a ‘genuine and justifiable concern for a person’s welfare or well-being’, specifically involving ‘those who have deliberately self-harmed’ (NPIA, 2011, p. 19).
The comparative prevalence of ‘Concern for Safety’ incidents can be seen within a larger pie chart covering the whole of the Public Safety and Welfare category (the largest category from 2010 onwards). Figure 9.13 (below) identifies that in 2008, 25% of all calls within the Public Safety and Welfare category were for Concern for Safety (Adult) incidents and 6% were for Concerns for Safety (Child) incidents. It is notable that if the categories centred on ‘suspicion’ are all combined they amount to 39% of calls in this category. This suggests that there is a high public demand for the police to respond to public ‘suspicions’ that don’t actually materialize into a crime.
It is also notable that the category Abandoned Phone Calls’ accounted for 5% of demand during 2008. The National Standard for Incident Recording (2011, p. 16) classifies ‘Abandoned Calls’ as:

‘...a call [that] has been made deliberately to the police and has subsequently been abandoned without an explanation or a call has been made without the caller speaking to the operator/call-taker...’

Figure 9.14 (below) shows that by the end of 2014, 9256 callers to Staffordshire Police abandoned their call without giving any explanation or without even speaking to a human operator or call-taker. This was a rise of 9% over a six year period in the number of people who simply gave up calling the police. By 2014, Concern for Safety (Adult) incidents increased to 26% of all calls whilst Concern for Safety (Child) incidents remained at 6%.
Transport Matters

There were 278,612 Transport related incidents during 2007-2014. There were 601 recorded vehicle pursuits; 76,661 damage only road traffic collisions (RTCs); 361 fatal RTCs; 712 serious RTCs; 16,602 RTCs with slight injury; 4,376 rail, air or marine incidents; 140,408 disruptions to the highway; 38,697 traffic offences and 194 miscellaneous traffic matters. As almost all transport related matters are not classified as ‘crime’, they do not come under the ‘crime’ category. The number of transport related incidents declined over the reviewed period in all categories except ‘Highway Disruption or Hazard’, which increased from 16,281 incidents in 2007 to 17,822 incidents in 2014. This means that there were, on average, 48.8 Highway Disruptions or Hazard calls every day during 2014, slightly higher than that years Concern for Safety (Adult) category which was 17,309 incidents averaging out to 47.4 incidents per day. Figures 9.15, 9.16 and 9.17 show the dropping trend in transport related matters for Damage Only RTCs, Serious Injury RTCs and Slight Injury RTCs.
Figure 9.15

![Graph showing RTC DAMAGE ONLY from 2007 to 2014]

- No. of Road Traffic Collisions
- RTD DAMAGE ONLY
- Values: 10693, 10513, 10078, 9380, 8664, 8740, 9132, 9461

No. of Road Traffic (Damage) Collisions

Figure 9.16

![Graph showing RTC SERIOUS INJURY from 2007 to 2014]

- No. of Incidents
- RTC SERIOUS INJURY
- Values: 128, 122, 89, 76, 82, 64, 75, 76

No. of Incidents by Year

Figure 9.17

![Graph showing RTC SLIGHT INJURY from 2007 to 2014]

- No. of Incidents
- RTC SLIGHT INJURY

No. of Incidents by Year
Figure 9.18 (below) shows the marked increase from 2008 onwards of Highway Disruption/Hazard incidents. This single category of incident now constitutes the third highest single area of public demand on policing resources. It is an area that is ripe for outsourcing to the Highways Agency.

Figure 9.18

Four of the interviewees made unsolicited comments on the prevalence of traffic-related matters.

Interviewee 5: We get a lot of transportation issues but the Highways Agency now deal with some of them.

Interviewee 12: It’s like the Highways Agency driving around, well at some point they’re going to get a drunk driver, a theft or whatever and they are confronted by the limits of their authority.

Interviewee 4: There are a lot of issues that don’t need to be police matters, traffic for instance. I rarely, if ever, see police vehicles on the motorway – the Highways Agency could take over all traffic matters, their vehicles patrol it regularly. Local Authorities could be made responsible for ensuring the free flow of traffic and road safety matters on local roads. Greater use could be made of the Highways Agency, give them enforcement powers, get them to deal with accidents.
Figure 9.19 (below) displays the fall in the number of recorded traffic offences.

Figure 9.19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>5821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>6410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>5452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>4699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>4383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>4290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>3857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>3785</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anti-Social Behaviour

Interviewee 5: We went down this line of ASB (Anti-Social Behaviour) and we went to all these calls where kids were playing snowballs in the street. Is that a police job?

Interviewee 9: If we don’t deal with anti-social behaviour it can escalate into criminal damage, acts of violence or robberies. The consequences of not dealing with non-crime are great.

For HMIC (2010b, p. 2-5) there is a lack of understanding by the police about the harm that Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) incidents can cause. The suffering of victims in several high profile cases has served to re-emphasize the potential importance of such tasks within the police role. During the review period there were 350,676 reported ASB incidents in Staffordshire. That amounts to approximately 120 ASB incidents a day. Figure 9.20 (below) highlights the ‘top ten’ in terms of numerical demand on police resources in any single sub-category. It is notable that the public called the police to deal with ‘ASB Rowdy and Inconsiderate’ behaviour 229,272 times over the eight year period of this review, averaging out to 78.5 incidents per day. The Figure also identifies just how prevalent ‘Administration’ tasks were, and how many ‘Highway Disruptions’ and ‘Concern for Safety’ (Adult) incidents occurred. It is notable, that the first classified crime incident does not appear until ‘Theft Other’, in tenth place; the category ‘Domestic Abuse-Partner/Ex Partner’ refers to non-crime domestic-related incidents only.
There are twenty sub-categories of ASB incidents and there was a decline in public demand in all but four of them over the reviewed period. Figure 9.21 (below) lists all of the ASB sub-categories and comparative public demand during 2007 to 2014 (inclusive).
The four sub-categories of ASB incidents that increased over the reviewed period were ‘ASB Substance Misuse, Paraphernalia, Litter and Neighbour Disputes (Figures 9.22 and 9.23 - below).
All other ASB incidents declined (with fluctuations), for example, ‘ASB-Street Drinking’ (Figure 9.24); ‘Abandoned/Nuisance Vehicles’ (Figure 9.25) and the four types of ‘Noise Nuisance’ (Figure 9.26) all below:

Figure 9.24
At present a considerable portion of police time is spent dealing with purely administrative tasks. Staffordshire Police have thirty-nine sub-categories for ‘Administration’ incidents, including twelve ‘No-Crime’ categories. The principle Administration areas are displayed in Figure 9.27 (below) which shows the comparative number of Administration incidents during 2008-2014.
As identified in Figure 9.20, ‘Admin-Other Information’ accounted for 176,630 incidents over the reviewed period, a rate of 60.48 calls per day. Administrative tasks increased over the reviewed period by 2%. Figure 9.28 (below) captures the increase in the biggest Administration sub-category ‘Admin-Other Information. Complaints against the police also increased over the reviewed period as displayed in Figure 9.29 (below).
According to Casey (2008, p. 20), it is inappropriate for empowered holders of the Office of Constable to be undertaking administrative duties when the public want a police service that is visible, approachable and able to respond quickly to incidents. Despite this, Brodeur (2010, p. 161) identifies that front-line police officers spend at least 40% of their time in police stations, whilst detectives and senior police officers spend considerably more time than that in meetings or doing other administrative tasks. One key driver for all this bureaucracy is the attitude that has developed towards risk, with police personnel adopting a ‘just in case’ mentality, leading to enormous over-recording and duplication.

Interviewee 6: We have, at times, total risk aversion both inside and outside the service and it is leading to a hugely disproportionate use of police time.

Interviewee 5: There is a risk aversion that makes people think if I don’t pull all the stops out then someone is going to come and hammer me.
As a state-funded bureaucracy, the police use repetitive routines as a means of maintaining a system for monitoring organizational performance (Manning, 2009, p. 453). Despite numerous proclamations regarding a ‘war on paperwork’, the volume of administrative tasks has increased. HMIC (2014c, p. 124) recently reported that they had found no evidence during their inspections of any specific bureaucracy reduction programme being undertaken by any police force in England and Wales. In a hierarchical, risk-averse, culture the tendency appears to be to increase bureaucracy rather than to reduce it, even at a time when overall demand is falling and staffing levels have been drastically reduced. The impact on the workforce of this increased administrative activity may be partly responsible for the apparent rise in work-related stress (NHS, 2012).

**Admin - No Crime**

Within the Administration category there are eleven sub-categories of specifically named ‘No-Crime’ incidents. Figure 9.30 (below) identifies the comparative number of these incidents over the reviewed period. They refer to matters that were initially recorded as a crime but were subsequently found not to be a crime. As can be seen, there were thousands of these incidents, particularly during 2011 and 2012.

**Figure 9.30**
As well as identifying the ‘top ten’ numerical public demand on Staffordshire Police (See Figure 9.20) it is worth briefly considering those incidents that have the lowest level of demand. Figure 9.31 (below) displays the ‘bottom ten’ incidents in terms of the numerical demand on police resources.

**Figure 9.31**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Incident</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THEFT OF ATM</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAJOR INCIDENT</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HATE INCIDENT - AGE</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INVALID MINOR CRIME E-MAIL</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORCED MARRIAGE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALICIOUS COMMUNICATIONS</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRODUCT CONTAMINATION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERRORISM / CBRN (NOT HAZMAT)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is notable that there has been one reported Terrorism/Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear (CBRN) incident over the eight year period of this review. This is one out 2,494,495 recorded incidents. The terrorism threat level during the reviewed period fluctuated between ‘substantial’ and ‘severe’, indicating an attack was either a strong possibility or was highly likely. Statistically, however, the threat from terrorism is minuscule.
CHAPTER TEN: POLICE VIEWS

What do the police want?

This section summarizes the responses given by interviewees to the below eighteen questions.

1. What do you think about police involvement in non-crime matters?

Seven interviewees thought positively about the police dealing with non-crime incidents. They commented on how non-crime matters enabled officers to deal with incidents that were important to the public and which would help build public support for policing. Two suggested that it was more important to look at ‘harm’ or ‘risk’ rather than through a crime/non-crime perspective, and that the police should work more constructively with partner agencies. In contrast to this six interviewees thought that most non-crime activities were often trivial in nature and unnecessarily time-consuming. They felt that non-crime events took them away from their core business of crime and that the non-crime ‘problem’ had only arisen because other agencies were not playing their part.

The responses suggest that policing is torn between those who feel that non-crime matters are important and should be tackled through multi-agency partnerships, and those who think that policing should be largely crime-focused and non-crime activities outsourced to others. The second view narrows the police role down to that of a crime-fighting narrative while possibly opening the door for downsizing activities and the privatization of non-crime policing functions.

2. What status or value is attributed to non-crime policing activities?

In response to this question three interviewees stated that non-crime jobs were considered to be of much lower value and status than crime-related incidents. Four interviews made reference to the macho, crime-focused orientation of much police work and that recognition was often given to those who dealt with serious crimes or who undertook more crime-focused operations. It was noted that those who dealt positively with non-crime matters were rarely, if ever, given any recognition. The seriousness of some non-crime incidents was directly referred to by only one participant. For almost all interviewees, crime-related activities were seen as enjoying particularly high status within policing whilst those engaged in community-based or partnership-based work were often under-valued. Blame was again directed towards other agencies that were
seen to be failing in their responsibilities to deal appropriately with some non-crime matters. Comment was made that the police were filling the gaps being left by other providers and that budget cuts were partly to blame. Seven interviewees indicated that non-crime policing was not given the status it deserved and three suggested that community-based policing, undertaken in partnership with other agencies was the pinnacle of policing excellence.

*These responses suggest that non-crime matters do not receive the attention or acknowledgment they deserve. Other agencies and the government were blamed for perceived increases in non-crime involvement by some interviewees whilst others emphasized the importance and relevance of a more community-based approach.*

3. **What do you think the police involvement should be, if any, with regards to ‘concern for safety’ incidents?**

In answer to this question two interviewees suggested that it was because the police were available 24/7 that they were being utilized for such a wide variety of incidents. Five of the interviewees expressed concerns that austerity measures had impacted deeply on mental health and local authority budgets and that as a result the police were now picking up the pieces. In contrast to this, seven of the interviewees strongly felt that the police should be involved in dealing with ‘concern for safety’ incidents. Four commented on the lack of training and expertise that the police brought to such incidents. Two suggested that the police often over-reacted to ‘missing persons’ and ‘concern for safety’ incidents to avoid blame if something went wrong. For one interviewee the most important thing was to think about the person who needed help and about how the police could work constructively with other agencies to provide the support needed.

*The responses to this question again suggest conflicting views about what the police perceive their role to be in society. Some interviewees suggested that even ‘Concern for Safety’ incidents were not a police matter. The apparent failures of other agencies were again highlighted alongside recognition of the need for more specialized knowledge. Only a slight majority indicated the relevance and importance of the police role in saving lives.*

4. **What do you think are the most important functions of the police?**

This question led to a broad range of responses, suggesting that there was no single unifying conception of the police role. The most popular answer involved five interviewees stating
that crime prevention was uppermost. Only four of the thirteen interviewees stated that the most important function of the police was to save life. One interviewee felt that the police were primarily peace-keepers; another felt that investigation of all types of incidents (crime and non-crime) was the most important, and another identified 24/7 emergency response as being the single most essential police activity. None of the interviewees identified ‘administration’, ‘ASB’, ‘transport’ or ‘management/leadership’ as being the most important despite the huge amount of time, money and energy spent on them.

The responses again suggest a strange numerical over-concentration on crime, even superseding that of saving life. It was also apparent, however, that there was a palpable understanding of the very broad nature of policing and the importance of front-line responders. No functions relating to rank, management, process or administration were mentioned.

5. In your day-to-day police duties do you feel that you are engaged in a ‘war on crime’?

In response to this question, one interviewee did think they were engaged, to some extent, in a ‘war on crime’, however ten interviewees said they weren’t. Two felt that the ‘war on crime’ idea was a rhetorical statement utilized for wholly political purposes. Two others felt that describing police activity as a ‘war’ placed the police in a pitched battle against their own communities, adding that the term inappropriately linked policing within a militarizing framework. One interviewee highlighted the temptation for some police leaders to utilize ‘tough’ approaches but noted that such a style only worked for short periods.

These responses indicate a distinct dislike of the ‘war on crime’ approach, even for those who had stated that crime was the most important function of the police.

6. Who do you think police officers police should ultimately be answerable to?

In response to this question nine of the interviewees identified that the police were ultimately answerable to ‘the public’ or ‘the community’. Four interviewees pointed out that accountability was actually multi-dimensional and two felt that ultimately the police were accountable to the law alone. Five interviewees drew attention to the role of the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC), one of whom was very positive about the role, one was uncertain and three were worried about what they saw as the increasing politicization of policing and the loss of independence.
The responses to this question indicate a strong belief that the police should be accountable to the public. Interviewees expressed doubts about the political accountability associated with PCCs with two suggesting the ongoing relevance of accountability to the public through the courts.

7. What do you think about the increasing involvement of non-sworn staff in policing?

This question led to a range of well-argued opinions. Four interviewees were very positive about trying to find the right ‘workforce mix’. One pointed to the increasing complexity of policing and the need to bring in more specialist staff. Five interviewees thought the use of non-sworn staff freed-up officers from tasks that didn’t require police powers. Five of the interviewees, however, suggested that an increase would undermine the ability of the police to deploy sufficiently empowered staff to some incidents, thereby weakening police effectiveness and potentially undermining the role of the Chief Constable.

Interviewee 1: PCSOs don’t have the power to deal with things they are likely to encounter; to me that’s nonsensical. It’s far better having more highly trained, well-equipped resources that you can deploy in a range of different circumstances.

Four interviewees were concerned about the cost-saving motivations underpinning the increased use of non-sworn staff. Reference was made to the poorer conditions of employment given to such staff, the limited nature of their duties and the narrow scope for any personal/professional development.

Interviewee 10: PCSOs come in and do the same thing every day. There’s no career structure and there’s nowhere to go in the PCSO world; the jobs the job.

Two interviewees described the increasing use of non-sworn staff as a clear step towards the outsourcing and privatization of more police functions.

Interviewee 1: If you look at most local councils you’ll see that they are rapidly losing staff. They are now contracting in people to provide core services on reduced employment contracts; the role of the permanent staff being to manage those contracts.

Interviewee 7: I think this is going down the road of privatization with private security companies taking over. This is all part of the Friedman [neo-liberal] plan where you
are running things in the private sector at the expense of the public. The issue here is not the public interest but profitability, or ‘affordability’.

Four interviewees put forward ideas or suggestions on improvements. One knew about the changes that had taken place in Australia and New Zealand with regards to the transferability of the Office of Constable and thought that the UK should trial such a concept. Two thought that the Highways Agency could take over all motorway policing and only one interviewee thought that PCSOs should be given more powers and responsibilities.

The responses indicate a generalized concern about an increasingly fragmenting police service being filled with narrow, compartmentalized jobs with less secure working conditions and development prospects. Only one participant considered the potential future empowerment and development of the PCSO role.

8. What do you think about out-sourcing non-crime police duties to private companies?

Four of the interviewees were generally positive about out-sourcing police duties to private companies. Two made the point that there would have to be a clearly justified business case for doing so and two others supported the idea only if it ‘freed up’ officers for front-line work. Seven interviewees, however, thought that out-sourcing to the private sector would be problematic even though six acknowledged that the involvement of private security staff in custody suites appeared to be working.

The problems highlighted by several interviewees revolved around public services being undertaken by for-profit companies. It was felt that private contractors would be less accountable to the public and that the staff would probably have very limited training. It was also noted that the public sector was not designed to have all its costs ‘squeezed out’ and that commitments to shareholders should not take precedence over the needs of the public. Another felt that although privatization may initially provide some cost-savings the process itself would probably increase bureaucracy, and de-stabilize departmental relationships.

Interviewee 3: A very dystopian view would be that in the future the only people who would get police protection would be those willing to pay for it.
The responses again indicate a generalized concern and sharp distaste for the out-sourcing and privatization of public services.

9. What do you think about the spending cuts being made in policing?

Three interviewees felt that the spending cuts were justified, had ‘sharpened’ policing and that the public hadn’t suffered as a result of the cuts. Six of the interviewees, however, felt that the cuts had adversely affected the police service.

Interviewee 3: Police numbers have gone down drastically.

Interviewee 5: We are struggling for resources.

Interviewee 11: They’ve cut us to the bone.

Interviewee 7: Appalling. I view the huge reduction in officer numbers with dismay.

Interviewees also commented on the increased work-load pressures and the subsequent rise of so-called ‘well-being’ programmes. Some thought the cuts had led to an unsustainable model of reactive policing and that political pressures would have been applied to anyone who hadn’t said the cuts were ‘working’.

Three interviewees noted that other agencies had been cut more heavily and that their demands had been off-set onto the police. Three other contributors noted how the cuts had coincided with the creation of PCCs and the stopping of force amalgamations, which, it was said, would have led to much greater cost-savings.

Two other issues associated with the budget cuts were raised: firstly the increasing impact of complex historical crimes (mostly sexual assaults) and the concern that no one had ever worked out just how many officers were actually needed to successfully police an area.

Three solutions were put forward, firstly, to clarify the function(s) of the police, secondly to look for ways of reducing demand, and thirdly, to find ways in which the police could quickly transfer jobs to other agencies or providers.

The responses generally indicate dissatisfaction with the withdrawal of funds from public services. Reference was made to increasing personal and organizational strain accompanied by efforts to reduce public demand or pass demand onto others.
10. What do you think about the current police rank structure?

One interviewee had no problems at all with the current rank structure, but seven stated clearly that there were too many layers.

Interviewee 6: We need to flatten the number of ranks. The sooner we rationalize the command structure the better.

Three interviewees mentioned direct entry and all were positive about it, especially direct entry into the most senior positions. One drew attention to the importance of role rather than rank, emphasising the relevance of specialists and how they were often key decision-makers. Two interviewees vigorously supported scrapping the whole rank structure entirely.

Interviewee 1: It’s divisive, it’s hierarchical, it’s maintaining command and control, its suppressing innovation, it’s stifling, truly stifling and it makes me really cross. Unfortunately, most people working for the police just keep their head down, say very little and all that intellectual ability is just suppressed. It does not operate like that in other organizations. I think there is a very unhealthy culture within policing. It’s a small-brained organization, where power is vested at the top and everything goes up to the top and comes all the way back down again.

Five interviewees offered suggestions; one thought that any layers should be constructed around what was actually needed. Two others thought that senior officers (Superintendent and above) occupying positions in Personnel or Corporate Services should be replaced by non-sworn staff. Two interviewees argued that there was no need for all the checking and double-checking which merely gave those higher up the chain of command something to do.

One interviewee highlighted the relevance and importance of a more shared-leadership approach.

Interviewee 13: I think we are still operating in a world which is closed. People wait to be told what to do because of the rank structure. We operate in hierarchical ‘silos’ in which each Superintendent or Chief Superintendent has their own business and it’s about their power base and their area of control.

*The responses clearly indicate a marked dissatisfaction with the current police rank structure.*
11. Which police rank(s), if any, do you think are the most important?

In response to this question four interviewees indicated that there was only one really important position in policing, that of the Office of Constable. Six interviewees felt that the rank of Sergeant was by far the most important.

Interviewee 6: Sergeant, without a doubt, the Sergeant has the most impact on the workforce.

Interviewee 9: The Sergeants are the drivers of front line delivery. The 24/7 response Sergeants, they are your key role.

Interviewee 5: PCs, Sergeants and Inspectors they get the f...... job done. You look at some of the Superintendents, they aren’t cops they are administrators. They wouldn’t get their hands dirty if they had to because they wouldn’t know what to do anyway.

One felt that both the Chief Constable and the Constable ranks had the most relevance; another thought the whole rank structure should be scrapped and another thought that it was all about the person or role rather than the rank.

The responses clearly indicate that the most important supervisory rank is Sergeant and the most important role is that of the Office of Constable.

12. What place, if any, do you think higher education should have in policing?

Two interviewees indicated that higher education was not important. Another interviewee suggested that police officers should reflect the educational attainment levels of the community around them in order to encourage greater integration. Seven other interviewees, however, felt that higher educational attainment was relevant and should play a key part in the future professionalization of the police service. Professional accreditation was endorsed by several contributors and there was a call for more educational opportunities to be made available for all police personnel.

The responses were clearly supportive of a more educationally developed, professionalized police service.
13. What do you think of the concept of multi-agency teams?

Eight interviewees were very positive about multi-agency collaboration. Three stated that the boundaries between organizations were already beginning to break down and that multi-agency work would shape the future of policing. One interviewee suggested that there should be more information about what partnerships were currently running and what they could do. Two others suggested the development of multi-agency call centres and control rooms. Several identified potential resistance within policing to multi-agency teams though this wasn’t generally reflected within the participants for this research.

Interviewee 1: There’s a constant churn in policing and partner agencies get fed up with the lack of consistency as ambitious officer’s flit from one post to another. Loyalty has to be upward within a command and control structure so it makes partnerships challenging for the police. Structurally it’s all wrong in policing.

Three others expressed dismay at what they thought would ultimately be a dilution of policing services.

Interviewee 10: I can see the benefits of multi-agency work, but we are losing our identity as the police are becoming this ‘mush’.

The responses to this question suggest strong support for increased multi-agency engagement.

14. Should sworn police officers be confined to only those activities that may require the legitimate use of police powers?

None of the interviewees thought that policing should be confined to only those activities requiring the use of police powers. It was stated that if officers were purely assigned to enforcement functions then the police would ultimately lose public legitimacy. It was stated that lots of sworn officers rarely used their powers but that it would be ridiculous for sworn officers to be occupying positions in which they were never likely to use their powers.

Four participants offered solutions or suggestions for the future of policing. Firstly, it was stated that policing should be re-operationalized – meaning that too many officers were now undertaking an expanding array of bureaucratic procedures. Secondly, that positions that didn’t
require police powers should be civilianized. Thirdly, that partner agencies should be given more powers to undertake some activities themselves. For instance, the suggestion was put forward that ambulance crews should be given powers to enter premises to save lives instead of having to ‘call the cops’ each time to force entry. Lastly, it was felt that there should be a wider focus upon outcomes rather than costs.

The responses indicate unanimous support for the police to undertake activities that reach beyond the scope of their legal powers.

15. What do you think about PCSOs being given increased powers, including the power of arrest?

Five interviewees thought that PCSOs should be given more powers or be given the full list of powers that could be ascribed to them. It was felt that increasing PCSO powers would benefit front-line policing.

Interviewee 13: There is an awful lot they can do, but what policing has done so far is limit what they can do down to about 2 tenths of what they can do. We treat them like people who can’t think and who must be told what to do.

Three interviewees pointed out that if PCSOs were given powers of arrest, they would simply be cheaper police officers and their activities would probably become much more confrontational. One interviewee suggested that a more confrontational role would probably reduce the richer mix of people undertaking PCSO duties and encourage ‘a certain sort’ of person to apply for PCSO positions.

The responses again suggest a desire to increase PCSO powers in order to alleviate the pressures upon sworn staff. Any downsides associated with such a development went largely unconsidered.

16. Should all British police officers be trained (not necessarily equipped) in the use of firearms?
Eight interviewees felt that all British police officers did not need to be trained in the use of firearms. They suggested that authorized firearms capability was either currently sufficient or in the process of necessary expansion following the terrorist attacks in Europe. Although it was recognized that the training of all officers would probably increase operational resilience, it was suggested that at this time it would not be proportionate to the perceived threat level [currently on ‘severe’]. It was also pointed out that such an endeavour would be very costly and may send out a negative message to the public.

In sharp contrast to this view, five interviewees were supportive of universal firearms capability with two suggesting that the arming of the British police was inevitable over the longer-term and would be incrementally phased-in. Four suggested that all front-line police officers should be given the choice to become equipped with Tasers.

17. **What do you think about increasing democratic involvement within the police organization?**

When asked this question, interviewee 8 was incredulous:

> What, you mean Bobbies having a say in what happens? [Laughs].

Another interviewee felt that changing the tone within policing to one which was more democratic would take a long time. Three contributors put this down to the command and control hierarchy which was said to stifle two-way communication.

Interviewee 13: We hide behind the fallacy of hierarchy...we do need to have lines of command but the times when they are needed are few and far between.

Interviewee 12: People in more junior ranks who are very capable are wholly disempowered. People with rank will assume they have the knowledge base and they haven’t. But they are taught to just go through regardless and not draw on the best of the people around them.

Interviewee 6: Our cop culture is command and control and we aren’t really honest enough to challenge upwards and say ‘I disagree’ with this or that.
Two interviewees were particularly positive about developing greater democracy within policing with one suggesting senior officers should reintegrate, or be promoted into, front line positions, thereby mirroring the recent changes in Sweden. Three suggested that so many tasks were now being driven by tick-box processes that it was undermining innovation and stifling the creative energies of staff.

During the interviews nine participants raised the topic of Police and Crime Commissioners. One was positive about PCCs, stating that they had improved transparency, another hadn’t made their mind-up, and seven had negative impressions of the PCC role. Causes for disaffection revolved mainly around increased politicization, a mushrooming bureaucracy around the PCC and a worrying consolidation of power into just one person.

Interviewee 4: I feel uncomfortable about the political aspect of the PCC; they said it was going to be a-political but that’s not how it turned out. There is a danger that a concentration on politics will push the police away from the law. During the miners’ strike, for example, we were used as a political sledge hammer to crush the unions.

Two interviewees thought that the previous Police Authorities had been preferable:

Interviewee 7: The Police Authority was made up of elected councillors and magistrates. A member of the Police Authority was attached to every local policing Inspector and they had to go out and meet local residents.

Interviewee 10: There was a cross-spectrum of political positions in the Police Authorities, now it’s just one person.

One indicated that localized democratic structures would continue to disappear and be replaced by a single elected Mayor. These individuals would be given access to substantial public funds and would act as a contractor for public services.

Interviewee 7: He or she will then award contracts to private enterprises that will run the services. The PCC is a precursor to this.

*In response to this question six participants expressed positive sentiments about increasing democracy within police organizations but four highlighted the barriers to democratic ideals within a system infused with a command and control mentality.*
18. What do you think is the likely future of police involvement in non-crime incidents?

In terms of response rate, the final question drew the greatest response from participants. Three interviewees stated that policing probably wouldn’t change much and that the police would still be ‘running around ragged’ (Interviewee 10). Two others stated that policing would change at an increasing rate and that officers would probably be backed into a corner unless their role was more clearly defined. Another suggested that as mental health professionals had been used constructively to reduce some police demand other strategies were likely to be trialled and that the police service would increasingly have to say ‘no’ to some requests for service.

Interviewee 4 suggested that PCSOs, Coroners Officers, the Highways Agency, Local Authorities and private security firms could productively expand their activities into front-line policing roles. Three were critical of police leaders’ lack of apparent cohesion; lack of visibility and over-reliance on one-way communication technologies. Six interviewees felt that there would be a much more ‘joined-up’ multi-agency approach in the future and that this would involve the further fragmentation of policing and an increase in ‘direct entry’ routes into various police roles.

Three interviewees thought that broader factors such as inequality, climate change, cyber-crime and political influence would become increasingly relevant. It was felt that police resources would be squeezed out of non-crime incidents, despite the high public demand, and that future police leaders would increasingly become pawns in regional/national political structures.

The responses to this question were again largely constructed around coping strategies in order to deal with public demand. Views expressed about the future tended to be bleak except for those that involved cooperative multi-agency engagement. No one suggested that the police should become more involved in dealing with non-crime incidents except as part of a multi-agency approach.

The next chapter builds on the research undertaken thus far by exploring the potential professionalization, pluralization and privatization of policing through literary and interview analysis. The themes identified may impact upon the whole future of policing, both crime and non-crime, if only to narrow the focus towards policing’s core capacity: the ability to utilize non-negotiable force wherever and whenever it is needed.
CHAPTER ELEVEN: EXPLORING HORIZONS

Professionalizing the police

For Lumb (1994, p.1), professionalization is ‘the ultimate goal of policing’, and for Bittner (1990, p. 160) it is a ‘non-deferrable necessity’. Brown (1974, p. 118) points out that:

‘If the police are to be effective in a society characterized by conflicting values and interests they must be able to function in a role that transcends that of the layman’.

According to Johnson (1972, p. 23), Macdonald (1995, p. 3), Kleinig (1996, p. 28-40) and Carlan and Lewis (2009, p. 372), the most commonly described traits of a profession are:

1. A theoretical knowledge base
2. Extended education and training certification
3. A code of conduct
4. Self-regulation
5. Altruistic service
6. Professional autonomy

Policing already hits some criteria that transcend that of the layman due largely to the independence and discretionary authority given to all holders of the Office of Constable (Cioccarelli, 2003, p. 33; College of Policing, 2015c, p. 33). However, such authority is not earned in policing, unlike nursing, teaching or social work, when a police officer is out of employment he or she is merely an ex-police officer (Bittner, 1990, p. 158).

Although policing now has a professional body, the College of Policing, [which is not a university] and a code of ethics, there is little in the way of institutionalized training that would enable officers to gain a professionally accredited licence to practice (Caless, 2011, p. 221; Hogan-Howe, 2015, p. 23). As constables are holders of Crown offices their accreditation would need to be authorized by an institution holding a Royal Charter. It is interesting that the College of Policing does not at present have the Royal prefix suggesting that accreditation, if it ever arrives, could be merely out-sourced to the private sector, further disempowering the state apparatus.
Although the police often speak of themselves as being in a profession, their workaday atmosphere is decidedly unprofessional. For Bayley (1994, p. 66), two aspects of day-to-day policing are particularly noticeable:

‘Firstly, policing is a directed occupation in which workers are continually monitored to determine if they are doing what they are supposed to be doing, secondly, they are largely regulated by time-clocks and hourly wage rates.’

The current trend for ‘micro-management’ and ‘intrusive supervision’ further undermines the professional aspirations of the service. The flattening of the current hierarchy would engender greater professional autonomy. As the Independent Police Commission (2013, p. 111) remarked:

‘...self-motivated, self-regulated professionals should require less supervision, fewer bureaucratic checking systems and be able to exercise discretion efficiently and effectively within a defined system of professional ethics’.

Although the Sheehy Inquiry (Home Office, 1993b, p. 18) found that the police rank structure did help to provide coordination and reference points for legislative controls, it questioned the necessity of having nine to eleven hierarchical tiers for such purposes. Few successful organisations, whose service delivery is based on employee discretion, depend so heavily upon hierarchical structures (Hirst, 1989, p. 173). The world has moved on from the tiered, class-ridden societies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Emsley, 2007, p. 238). Legislative changes around rank could be easily made and only a small number of emergencies actually require supervisory leadership and coordination (Routes to the top, 2013, p. 22).

Interviewee 12: There are some functions that go with rank statutorily and organizationally that are just madness. You know, Superintendents doing stuff that, quite frankly, a good Inspector or a good Sergeant could do. For example, Sergeants could give authority for someone to stay in custody over 24 hours. All you need to do is equip people with the right judgement, skills, and accredit them to make those decisions; they don’t need a rank to do it. I think a lot of the ways we are configured are just bizarre in terms of organizational accountability, if we could sort that out we could reduce burdens at every level.
When operational emergencies do arise the police do not activate a nine tier structure, they set up a three-tier system, with individuals operating as either ‘gold’, ‘silver’ or ‘bronze’ commanders. Importantly, this system is specifically constructed around role not rank. It is the individuals skill-set that becomes important rather than what position they hold in the hierarchy.

Although policing is structured as a hierarchy in many ways it isn’t because almost all operational decisions are made on the street by front-line officers without any tiered involvement (Bittner, 1990, p. 143). With appropriate training and accreditation, any role within policing could be undertaken by anyone with no need for a rank structure at all. Individuals with the skills and accredited abilities to undertake specific tasks could be deployed for each specific incident. Individuals operating within such a structure could have pay scales that matched their current accreditation and availability for deployment with increased payments during unsocial hours. Such a model bears remarkable similarity to the ‘leaders of the moment’ concept developed in Classical Athens. There is also some similarity to the embedded social welfare system of the earliest modern ‘police’ structure in Prussia. The ideal is that flexible, knowledgeable, accredited professionals should be working collaboratively on the front line for the benefit of society.

Interviewee 6: I think we’ve got too many layers. I think we need to flatten the number of ranks we have...You shouldn’t need to go through every rank. I think we’ve got too many ranks, too many levels.

Interviewee 1: I would break the rank structure completely. I would change the hierarchy. Maybe keep the Office of Constable. I’ve seen much bigger organizations operate in a much more interactive and effective way than policing with far fewer levels. Organizations with fewer levels and greater interaction are more democratic. The notion that the more senior you are the bigger your office has gone, that’s dead. You know people are hot-desking, they’re interacting remotely; it’s far more engaged, and dynamic. Until you bring in people from outside, you’ll end up preserving what we’ve always had and what we’ve had is not fit for the future demands of policing.

Interviewee 12: What we are in danger of doing is looking at it as just a simplistic issue of stripping out ranks when what we need is a fairly complex, thought-through framework to take its place...You see unfortunately with ranks, people judge their success on whether they’ve been promoted far too heavily. Actually, we all know that there are many PCs, Sergeant’s and Inspectors who are actually brighter and
more astute than some of the Chief Officers and there’s something about recognizing, rewarding, shaping the organization to use those people’s skills without necessarily saying the only way you can do that is through promotion.

For Schafer et al. (2012, p. 15) and the College of Policing (2015b, p. 14), rank structures can increase the potential for miscommunication and create unnecessary layers of bureaucracy.

Interviewee 12: Checking and testing goes on layer after layer and to a certain extent we ought to have a professional approach and trust the staff. We don’t need to check and test as much as we do.

As the Sheehy Inquiry perceptively noticed, ‘there has been a tendency in the police service to create unnecessary intermediary positions and then populate them’ (Home Office, 1993b, p. 31). For interviewee 6, the reason for this is that the police ‘try to off-set risk through layers of command’.

Interviewee 5: They tried this before...with Sheehy and we got rid of Chief Inspectors and Chief Superintendents. But then we had higher range Superintendents, and the higher range Superintendents were in charge; they just altered the name.

Unfortunately, typical police departments are obsessed with rank and career advancement (Banton, 1964, p. 107; Bittner, 1990, p. 25). Patronage, nepotism and cloning play a strong part in the provision of promotional opportunities (Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 69) and the promotional processes themselves are largely a series of oral questions set around a range of competencies. Those seeking promotion often memorize examples to set-piece questions and then embellish the examples in order to ‘hit’ all the assessed behaviours (Bad forms, 2014, p. 21) a practice which is clearly unethical.

In hierarchies, people quickly learn to become followers (Miles, 2010, p. 15; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009, p. 250), a process which erodes democracy, inhibits innovation and undermines the development of autonomous professional performance (Bayley, 1994, p. 67; Loveday & McClory, 2007, p. 28). For Dijk et al. (2015, p. 163) the hierarchy has become an obstacle to change and has created a working culture built around control rather than trust. It is a ‘relic from another era’ (Fahy (2015a, p. 21).

Interviewee 9: We are a very transactional organization; we need to be more transformational to move forward. Having the right leaders in the right place with
the right skills to bring people on a journey is far more important than having a rank structure.

Cognitive psychologist Steven Pinker (2011, p. 630) describes such hierarchies as a form of tribalism within which individuals orientate themselves towards sweeping opinions and values such as those connected with patriotism, nationalism, militarism or toughness on crime. Moving away from such orientations could help deflate aggressive/competitive tendencies that occur within hierarchies and replace them with more collaborative, co-operative behaviours.

The Hillsborough Independent Panel (2012, p. 23) provides a graphic example of internal hierarchical power operating within a fear ridden police environment. It described how 116 of the 164 statements provided by police witnesses were amended to remove or alter comments that were deemed unfavourable to South Yorkshire Police or its senior officers. Such actions confirm that significant amounts of energy are channelled into securing organizational hierarchies (Roberts, 2010, p. 5; Majer, 2013, p. 7). A hidden network of relationships and influences also exist in policing that put organizational needs ahead of the needs of the public (Bittner, 1990, p. 158; Schafer et al., 2012, p. 15; Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 13).

Interviewee 2: Policing is constructed on relationships, a cohort of senior officers who know each other and who can call on each other at a very emotive level. The difficulty with this is that as a concept (1) it’s very difficult to define, (2) it’s difficult to cost, and (3) it creates a culture that is very difficult to break.

The medical profession by contrast, has a relatively shallow hierarchy that seeks to place skilled professionals (paramedics and doctors) directly on the front line as independent operatives. Both the Police Executive Research Forum (2011, p. 40) and the College of Policing (2015c, p. 22) have highlighted how flatter hierarchies can not only increase levels of communication, but facilitate innovation, decision-making and accountability as well. Flatter hierarchies may also encourage group decision-making, increased responsiveness to social change (College of Policing, 2015b, p. 16; Dijk et al., 2015, p. 140) and be more cost-effective (Fahy, 2015b, p. 17).

Professionalism is concerned with more than mere knowledge acquisition, it is concerned with how individuals think, feel and conduct themselves (Heslop, 2010, p. 10). The skills that are required of police officers transcend hierarchical arrangements (Routes to the top, 2013, p. 22). Long gone are the days when graduate entrants to the police had to either resign or put their education into cold storage (Banton, 1964, p. 266). Today, graduates explore new possibilities for
advancing police practice rather than merely accepting things as they are (College of Policing, 2015b, p. 10; Police Executive Research Forum, 2011, p. 44).

Interviewee 12: I think we are wedded to hierarchy and wedded to reward through ranks and I think we should remove that sort of thing. But, people are very familiar with ranks, comfortable with it, they understand it, I’m a bit torn...the evidence isn’t clear. I don’t think the way we are organized at the moment is right.

Kleinig (1996, p. 39) indicates that ‘self-regulation’ arrives where professional individuals believe that they are in the best position to pass judgement on the quality of their own services. For policing, this trait of professionalism is problematic and vividly undermined by a litany of highly publicized transgressions and police failures (e.g. the Brixton riots, the murder of Stephen Lawrence, the Hillsborough disaster, etc.). Such events have led to increasing external oversight and bureaucratic accountability. At present the police are only partially self-regulating and while they do deal with some serious matters internally, they have also become highly bureaucratized (Johnson, 1972, p. 54; Manning, 2005, p. 204; Casey, 2008).

With a lack of professional autonomy (exacerbated by an extended hierarchy), a vicarious rather than earned authority, the lack of higher educational/certification requirements, little in the way of a knowledge base, and a lack of self-regulation, policing is more of a craft than a profession. Strengthening this contention is the difficulty of standardizing professional knowledge over such a broad range of potential activities requiring police involvement (Waddington, 1999a, p. 234; Manning, 2010, p. 153). As Brodeur (2010, p. 124) puts it, ‘policing is not a tidy object of knowledge but a sprawling field full of conflicting strands’. Reducing the hierarchy may be one way of furthering the concept of professional autonomy.

Ways forward

The police service in the UK has become excessively hierarchical and needs to be both flatter and more democratic (Loveday & McClory, 2007, p. 5; Fukuyama, 2014, p. 516; Needham & Mangan, 2014, p. 17; Caless, 2015, p. 5; College of Policing, 2015b, p. 10).

Interviewee 1: Change the command and control structure; change the ranks; reduce the hierarchy and start bringing in people from outside.
In 2001 the Australian Federal Police abolished its traditional rank structure and implemented a ‘flexible teams approach’ within a national structure of just seven tiers (Miller & Palmer, 2003, p. 116). The Danish Police Service has just four leadership levels and the Swedish Police Service just three (Vanebo, Bjorkelo & Aaserud, 2015, p. 19-20). The first level of management in Sweden is ‘direct leadership’ (‘frontline management’) which interestingly includes executive officers who have no leaders at all between them and their employees. The second tier is called ‘indirect leadership’, involving middle managers who lead through other leaders. The third level is ‘strategic leadership’ and their focus is towards the outside world, taking a long-term, visionary focus geared towards interpreting and understanding the social demands of policing (ibid). Such flattened structures noticeably incorporate more horizontal networks, multi-agency teamwork and more opportunities for lateral development (Langmead-Jones, 2014, p. 18).

Interviewee 12: I like the Australian models of policing and you know in the UK we ought to be more bold and start trialling some of these different models.

Interviewee 2: Ultimately we are going to have to become an organization that has fewer layers in it...The concept that success is about promotion is not right, and it’s not sustainable.

There are opportunities to develop much greater lateral development within policing. Creating opportunities to move between warranted and non-warranted positions has been shown to offer considerable flexibility in Australia and New Zealand where some powers go with the post rather than with the individual (College of Policing, 2015c, p. 33). Multi-agency, multi-role environments could also assist in defining police activities much more sharply.

Interviewee 13: The police leadership of the future needs to be much more about shared leadership, working with people and listening to the voices of our staff [rather] than being a commander that has all the answers. It’s a challenge. We’ve got attitudes about what insignia people have on their shoulders that dictate how great and how godly they are. We got to start breaking some of that down and concentrate on delivering a service to members of the public. The rank structure should support that service. I think it comes down to how we help people to do the job first.

Interviewee 12: My view is that you need a professional police service that can achieve its mission. Whether it’s sworn or unsworn, paid or unpaid I’m a bit indifferent to. I’m quite supportive of a mixed approach but there needs to be a critical mass of cops.
As Bittner (1990, p. 160-1) points out, the role of the police can be confined to those occurrences that may require the exercise of non-negotiable force. Duties within such multi-agency partnerships that do not require the potential use of coercive force could be more appropriately tackled by other agencies. The difficulty is, that it is often unclear whether coercive force may or may not be necessary so police personnel may find themselves accompanying partner agencies on a ‘just in case’ basis. There is also the possibility that partner agency staff could similarly be empowered and equipped to use coercive force, through the use of transferable powers. However, Bittner (1990, p. 160) insists that the police alone should be given the right to use non-negotiable force against citizens, and that this capability should not be extended to other agencies.

By developing a flatter, more networked environment with opportunities for lateral development police practitioners would be seen more as independent agents and facilitators. As HMIC (2012, p. 3) and Villiers (2003, p. 24) suggest, there is a need to equip officers as independent professionals rather than as people who need to be constantly managed. The police service needs to place more trust in their staff, utilizing their collective skills, knowledge and experience instead of suppressing it under a lid of command. Police personnel must wholeheartedly pursue impartiality, guided not by a powerful few but by what is morally and legally right (Brown, 1974, p. 118).

Rigid, rule-bound bureaucracies are simply unable to create and sustain the reflective, autonomous practitioners that are essential for the development of professional public policing services (Neyroud & Beckley, 2001, p. 86).

Yet there appears to be a reluctance to embrace the notion that individual police officers can be reflective autonomous practitioners (Cioccarelli, 2003, p. 29). This may be because if front line policing were to be professionalized there would be a lot less need for such an extended hierarchy.

Interviewee 13: What I’d really like is to make people autonomous and be able to make [all] decisions on the front-line. Why then would we need a Sergeant? What then do we need an Inspector to do? Do we need an Inspector? Do we need a Chief Inspector? What do they do? And so on, because we’ve had all these ranks in the past but there are some times when the PC knows as much as the Sergeant, as the
Inspector, as the Chief Inspector, as the Superintendent and above about an incident, a problem or an issue. Now really, in the 21st century do we want all those ranks to be doing the same thing?

Interviewee 1: Most private businesses are seeking omni-competence in the staff that they hire. They want individuals to be able to perform a variety of functions...workers should be given greater autonomy, not less.

Interviewee 13: I think we are still operating in a world which is closed down, in that, people wait to be told what to do because of the rank structure. If you think about shared leadership, the most fundamental difficulty we have with shared leadership is that we operate in hierarchical ‘silos’ because we all know best. So each Superintendent or each Chief Superintendent has their own business and it’s about their power base, their area of control. Actually, to get on the first rung of talking about shared leadership we have to trust one-another, to work together to solve problems. The majority of the problems that we have are not going to be solved by the Superintendents they are going to be solved by the PCs and the PCSOs on the front, because they are the ones doing the job day in and day out. Yet our mind-set is that we have to design it from the top.

Unlike nursing and social work, the police service falls short of all the elements necessary to qualify for full professional status (Friedson, 1983, cited by Neyroud & Beckley, 2001, p. 74; Lumb, 1994, p. 13; Cioccarelli, 2003, p. 27; Carlan & Lewis, 2009, p. 370; Heslop, 2010, p. 3; Christopher, 2015, p. 1). Policing falls into the category of a ‘semi-profession’ or a ‘profession in parts’ (Lumb, 1994, p. 15; Caless, 2011, p. 221). Whether policing does become a profession may well depend upon political will, which could be reluctant to see police officers operating as autonomous, impartial, independent wielders of power. Police duties may also be reduced to their core function, namely as potential users of coercive force, which is not a professional occupation. As Rohl and Barnsley (1995, p. 26) wrote 21 years ago, if the police want to achieve professional status they will firstly have to embrace education and then operate within a less stratified, more autonomous structure. The difficulty with this is that once people have attained power and position within a structure they rarely want to surrender it, even if it would mean professionalizing the service.
Education and training

The police undertake an extraordinarily difficult and varied job but until very recently, the police service has tended to be profoundly anti-intellectual (Manning, 2010, p. 134-6; Honey, 2014, p. 94).

Interviewee 8: For me, policing is based on common-sense not on what qualifications you’ve done. For me, experience is what you need to have. You could have all the degrees in the world and still not know the job.

Whilst many officers emphasise the no-doubt relevant importance of experience and common sense, the question is rarely asked whether common-sense is a sufficiently sound basis upon which to build a professional police service. A curious feature of policing is that in contrast with other professions there is no minimum national educational requirement for those wishing to join the service (Neyroud, 2011, p. 82).

In the past police work was not considered to be a job that involved the need for any further or higher education and new recruits often received very little training (Emsley, 2007, p. 242). Today, the lack of any formal educational requirements to join the police is unusual (Routes to the top, 2013, p. 18). Over the last 30 years the knowledge base underpinning policing has broadened and deepened (Neyroud, 2011, p. 17) and although policing has become more complex this has not been reflected in the training and educational requirements of officers (Rogers, 2014, p. 5).

Interviewee 6: The complexity of what we are dealing with has changed and policing hasn’t kept pace.

Some forces have stipulated that new recruits need to attain a Certificate in Knowledge of Policing or a Foundation Degree but as it is, further and higher education is not yet embedded within policing in the same way as it is in nursing, probation or social work (Christopher, 2015, p. 6). As Batts, Smoot and Scrivener (2012, p. 10) suggest, many middle managers have simply not kept pace with their more educated subordinates and perhaps as a result of this they remain married to a more transactional style of leadership.

Interviewee 6: The only people who will gain from people with qualifications will be the public…Am I better for having attained some academic qualifications? Yes. I don’t think we should get into an either/or debate about this, higher education has a place.
Interviewee 3: I think there should be opportunities to access and benefit from higher education for both police officers and police staff...there shouldn’t be barriers to staff who wish to undertake higher education.

In 2012, HMIC Tom Winsor (cited by Independent Police Commission, 2013, p. 114) suggested that the police service had been recruiting far too long from a narrow stratum of society and that formal intellectual attainment had played too little a role in police recruitment practices. Since then, the split between policing and academia has reduced and increasing numbers of staff are entering the police service with higher educational qualifications or are undertaking further education during their careers. This broader acceptance of academic attainment has been described as the key mechanism for advancing the professionalization of the police service (Flanagan, 2008; Neyroud, 2011, cited by Christopher, 2015, p. 1).

The majority of research covering education and policing has focused on the interesting effects of higher education upon officers attitudes. Researchers have found that officers who have undertaken higher educational studies have tended to hold beliefs that are less authoritarian, rigid, and punitive than their colleagues (Dalley, 1975; Roberg, 1978; Carlan & Byxbe, 2000; Guller, 1972, cited by Rydberg & Terrill, 2010, p. 93). They were also found to be much less likely to use force and were likely to be more open-minded, flexible and positive in their responses (Krimmel, 1996, p. 86; Paoline & Terrill, 2007, p. 179; Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 449-50; Rydberg & Terrill, 2010, p. 92). Furthermore, such officers tended to be more humanistic (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 450), have less prejudiced views (Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 211) and be on the receiving end of fewer complaints and assaults (Shernock, 1992, cited by Krimmel, 1996, p. 86). Research suggests that higher education increases the ability of officers to handle difficult or ambiguous situations whilst fostering the development of more creative, innovative solutions (Krimmel, 1996, p. 86; College of Policing, 2015b, p. 21).

A research poll undertaken by Wuestewald (2006, p. 4) clearly indicated that those officers with higher levels of education had a more egalitarian ethos; felt more comfortable taking risks and challenging assumptions, and had a strong learning orientation. As such characteristics are not usual within police organizations it is perhaps unsurprising that there tends to be less innovation or exploration of ideas (Herrington & Colvin, 2015, p. 5). Although higher education does appear to offer many positive effects it may also have some disadvantages.
As Paoline, Terrill and Rossler (2015, p. 60) found, officers with a four-year degree tended to be less satisfied with their job and have less favourable views of top management when compared with their counterparts. Degree-educated officers also tended to request reassignment more frequently and were less accepting of top-down coercive structures. According to Roberg, Novak and Cordner (2008, p. 450) more highly educated officers tend to become frustrated due to their inability to utilize or develop their professional knowledge and are subsequently more likely to terminate their career early.

Interviewee 2: We have lots of people with potential but there are few opportunities to develop that potential. People almost have to become the perfect model to fit the organization.

As highly educated officers tend to be less authoritarian and rigid, it follows that they are less likely to want to ‘fit into’ or be confined within an authoritarian framework. This apparent constriction and stifling of ability can be sharply contrasted with the expansive and exploratory nature of higher education. Perhaps the first principle for alleviating such concerns is for organizations to provide opportunities for individuals to share with others what they know or have experienced (Ober, 2008, p. 119). This could be by publishing papers, doing mini research projects or otherwise feeding into the organization ideas through participant panels, upward mentoring and feedback schemes.

Police forces do not deal with the possibility of mistakes in the same way that other organizations do, namely, by admitting the impossibility of controlling everything, developing supportive infrastructures, diagnosing potential shortcomings, and providing continued training and learning in order to share best practice (Bayley, 1994, p. 65).

As Bayley suggests, there needs to be a cultural change around acknowledging the difficulties of policing and an emphasis placed upon embedding higher learning along the lines of those displayed within professions such as medicine or education. This isn’t without difficulty, Bittner (2005, p. 168) found that some senior officers were reluctant to work with subordinates who outranked them educationally, and, at present, there is no relationship between educational attainment and promotional activities within policing (Manning, 2008, p. 288).
Interviewee 9: We don’t put enough emphasis upon learning in the organization. NCALT [National Centre for Applied Learning Technologies] is not training; it’s probably better described as ‘awareness’.

Interviewee 12: I think there is a responsibility on the organization to properly acknowledge the nature of the learning, experience and skills that people develop...We should be more thoughtful about our profession and reward those who broaden the evidence base. I don’t expect everyone to be doing PhDs but the fact that some are is interesting and encouraging.

The training that does exist should be more focused on educational attainment, particularly around technology and values-based learning. As policing becomes more complex, flexible and uncertain, there is likely to be increasing demand for specialists in various subjects, such as banking, accountancy and financial fraud (Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 215). A new scheme allowing direct entry at Chief Officer, Superintendent and Inspector ranks was the subject of several largely unsolicited, critical comments by some of the interviewees for this research:

Interviewee 7: I think it’s important that people start on the ground. I’m not into direct entry.

Interviewee 3: I’m a believer in operational police officers doing time on the front-line because that’s where you learn about people. The one rank you could do direct entry for is Chief Constable but what it all really says to me is that they are just hiring senior members of police staff.

Direct entry may be appropriate with regards to specialist posts, but instantaneously obtaining a specific rank may be problematic when you consider the vast scope of policing activities. Either way, the police service will need to build a more professional, qualified and flexibly structured workforce where rank and hierarchy can accommodate knowledgeable specialists in whatever role or position (Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 217; Hogan-Howe, 2015, p. 17). Such developments will necessitate changes to the hierarchical structure and a more matrixed (networked) organization is likely to emerge (College of Policing, 2015b, p. 11).

Waddington (2006b, p. 15), Weisburd and Neyroud (2011, p. 11) have suggested that such changes will be threatening to police organizations as scientific study and the attainment of knowledge has been neither integrated nor fully valued in policing. Yet many forces are now
linking in with universities and many current and future police officers are undertaking higher education courses either full time or part-time covering a range of police related topics. When people joined the police in the past they normally did so because they wanted to belong to it rather than to change it, but with a growing emphasis being placed upon higher education and a more informed integrated environment taking shape there is likely to be increasing scope for ever more positive changes within policing. Not just from academia, but from serving police officers and police staff and a host of multi-agency partners engaged in or involved in expanding the scope of public safety and protection.

**Flexible multi agency teams**

The College of Policing (2015b, p. 27) has identified the importance of flexibility within the police environment. However, accumulated rigidities, both hierarchical and bureaucratic, have led to the compartmentalization of policing into a variety of specialist units that are often highly resistant to change (Manning, 1977, p. 336; Bittner, 1990, p. 308; Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p. 125). When such units are created they can easily become insular and exclusive, losing sight of the wider elements of policing (Waddington, 1999b, p. 15). As Needham and Mangan (2014, p. 7) suggest, the police need to be fluid and supportive rather than controlling and siloed. Police organizations need to be flexible and adaptable in order to quickly integrate and reconfigure their responses to changing circumstances (Alderson, 1979, p 141; Wright, 2002, p. 148-9; Batts, Smoot & Scrivener, 2012, p. 1; Herrington & Colvin, 2015, p. 5). This can be achieved by organizations and individuals situating themselves within larger catchment areas of innovation (Pinker, 2011, p. 576).

Interviewees in this research were asked the question ‘What do you think of the concept of multi-agency teams? The responses were surprisingly varied with both ‘for’ and ‘against’ views contained within several of the answers. There was also considerable reticence and a lack of clarity about what multi-agency teams were currently doing or how they should be configured:

Interviewee 8: I don’t really know what the MASH [Multi Agency Safeguarding Hub] does. There seems to be a lot of people doing various things and I suppose it all helps but I really don’t know what they all do. We know what we do, but we don’t really know what the CID does or any of these other departments or agencies; they must be doing something.
Interviewee 4: What I have difficulty with is police officers being struck off to go and work in an office with social workers. These police officers are not using their powers and for every one police officer you take away and put in an office there is one less on the ground.

Interviewee 13: I absolutely agree with multi-agency teams. Policing is not all about crime issues; crime often arises from welfare issues, so I think multi-agency is the way to go.

Interviewee 3: It would be brilliant if the police could reduce demand through problem-solving and working with partner agencies.

Numerous academics (Villiers & Adlam, 2004, p. 10; Manning, 2010, p. 44; Paterson & Pollock, 2011, p. 94; National Debate Advisory Group, 2015, p. 21) have highlighted the benefits associated with greater multi-agency collaboration. The rationale being that a range of specialists working together can deal not only with the causes of problems but their symptoms as well (Thornton, 2015, p. 7). The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) acknowledged the benefits of this collaborative approach and through a statutory framework forced the police, local authorities and other agencies to work more closely together to resolve local problems. Despite such initiatives the National Debate Advisory Group (2015, p. 21) and the College of Policing (2015b, p. 9) have recently identified the need for much more integration. Similarly, Hogan-Howe (2015, p. 2) has recommended a complete re-definition of the emergency services within a single collaborative agency. Johnston (1999, p. 235) and Fahy (2015, cited by Loeb, 2015, p. 2) extend this concept by suggesting that multi-agency integration should extend across the entire public sector. Hoogenboom and Punch (2012, p. 85) predict that developments would take collaborations from the regional and national contexts into the broader realm of international alliances. Such wide-ranging views were not expressed by interviewees in this research though one highlighted the merits of a contradictory approach:

Interviewee 4: In Western Australia the motto of the force is ‘Frontline First’. Perhaps we should do just what the Chief did out there, he got all these officers out of multi-agency offices and got them back out on the streets; his ratings went through the roof. They still worked together but they weren’t stationed in joint offices. I think we’re in danger of going too far down the multi-agency route.
Interviewee 12: Some of the things that local authorities do are long-term resolution of problems, which is wholly their job, but you know actually, when we try and do long-term resolutions, we’re not that good at it.

Multi-agency deployments, at least in and between the blue light services and the military have already taken shape within policing, particularly with regards to responses to major events such as terrorist attacks using chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) elements. More broadly, joint working models have been set up by the Joint Emergency Services Interoperability Programme (JESIP) which seeks to facilitate multi-agency cooperation through a broader spectrum of emergency events. Police services are also linking in with fire and rescue services under the remit of Police and Crime Commissioners. But it is with smaller incidents at the local level that multi-agency support structures could expand. Such an expansion would not be without its problems and the literature suggests there would be resistance to emergency service mergers on the grounds that the culture and skills within these organizations will be diluted (Police Executive Research Forum, 2011, p. 24). There is also uncertainty as to where such a collaborative approach would lead us:

Interviewee 12: I was recently considering whether victim statements or basic investigative tasks could be undertaken by social workers. If they were dealing with a vulnerable adult or child for instance and they became aware of offences or the need to seize property, they could be trained to seize that property and take a witness statement. Why not, it makes sense, sounds good, but would it work? Some of this multi-agency stuff is seen as intuitively right because it must be more efficient but I don’t know, I genuinely don’t know.

In such a collaborative environment, with the police facilitating cooperation and coordination, another interviewee stated that the police should not lead if they were not the right agency to do so: the response being led by the most appropriate ‘leader of the moment’.

Interviewee 13: If we identify a problem...it should boil down to who is the best person to lead that group of people. There’s something about matrix management, where we are not looking at the silos vertically but horizontally. If we could paint a future where a police officer was accountable to a social work manager or a Council Manager then I wouldn’t be too worried about that, in fact I’d be comfortable with it.
because it comes back to the question about are we part of a team that is trying to achieve the right thing, not just worried about the hierarchy. I don’t think we should be scared of allowing others to direct police resources to problems as long as it comes together as a system. All partners need to be equal.

There would still need to be specialists in each field but their particular specialist functions would then be seen as part of a wider public protection strategy. The broadly held view amongst both academic commentators and interviewees was that multi-agency collaborations would inevitably increase. For Interviewee 2, the central component of this collaboration would be shared data:

Interviewee 2: I think if we can grasp the concept of shared-data that is deployable in a mobile device; it would be fantastic. Our operating structure would then become based around access to a mobile system that wasn’t wedded to buildings and we would [have] almost complete flexibility of deployment. Imagine if we had on this device some sort of face-to-face capacity to talk with specialists at the scene...Deploy-ability may not be about physical presence. And there’s a flip-side, other agencies would be able to access us. Many of the things they will be linking in with us will be low-level, but it will all be about facilitation.

This idea of infinitely flexible resource capabilities without the burden of costly estates and facilities structure harks back to the original Prussian Model of policing which was almost completely indistinguishable from its surroundings.

It may also be beneficial for the police service, and other multi-agency partners, to operate under a single employment framework (Police Act Review Team, 2006, p. 6). Within such a framework it would be possible for individuals to hold both sworn and non-sworn positions during a single career. Powers and/or warrants could be based around the requirements for each specific post and people could come into or drop out of these posts as required, thereby increasing flexibility (ibid).

A further pluralization of policing into the international realm looms even larger as crime and non-crime matters expand well beyond state boundaries. As English and Welsh voters have narrowly decided to exit Europe, this expansion, however, is likely to take place elsewhere first, leaving Britain open for more predatory international practices.
All such activities suggest a shift towards an increasingly rich ‘mixed team approach’ (Police Act Review Team, 2006, p. 6). As Newburn and Reiner (2007, p. 944) state, ‘the police will be replaced by a pluralised assortment of bodies with policing functions and a more diffuse array of policing processes.’ For two interviewees at least, the whole concept of multi-agency teams embodied a vision of the future of policing:

Interviewee 9: It’s about public service, not just being a police service. We say we’re a police service but actually what we want is public service. When you cut through all the waffle - health want to keep people alive, the police want to keep people alive; people in social care want to keep people alive. The theme for the police, fire, and ambulance service is all the same. The concept of multi-agency teams is without a doubt where we are going in the future.

Interviewee 13: So many people are simply talking about shutting off demand and economics plays a key part in this thinking. Although the financial question is relevant the moral standpoint for agencies is ‘what is the right thing to do and how do we do that? The focus on economics is largely concerned with the now but what we should be concerned about is reducing demand in the future through prevention activities and that does need a different skill-set, a multi-disciplinary team approach.

Privatising police functions

Policing today is built upon the premise that its services should be free and equally available to all (England, 2015, p. 145). Since the late 1970s, however, neo-liberal ideology has been refashioning the shape and functions of the state and essential utilities have been opened up to private capital and their operating responsibilities devolved to private providers (Jones & Newburn, 2006, p. 7; Harvey, 2010, p. 29; Eick & Briken, 2014, p. 14). At the same time government spending on welfare has been cut and publicly owned assets such as police buildings have been sold off (Bowling, Phillips & Sheptycki, 2012, p. 45; Hutton, 2015, p. 37).

Simultaneously, there has been a remarkable expansion in the private security industry (Garland, 2001, p. 17; Stenning & Shearing, 2015, p. 1). In most democratic countries the private police now outnumber the public police (Bayley & Shearing, 2001, p. 1) and in Canada and Britain they outnumber the police by at least two-to-one (Loveday & McClory, 2007, p. 3). There has also been a rise in ‘contracting out’ or outsourcing of tasks, particularly in relation to custodial and
prisoner escort services (Forst & Manning, 1999, p. 15; Wakefield, 2014, p. 210). Large multinational security corporations have sprung up such as ‘G4S’, which is the world’s second largest private employer and the largest company on the London Stock Exchange (G4S, 2016, p. 1). There is a recognised link between the growth of the security industry and the emergence of mass private property that is functionally public, or quasi-public (Bayley & Shearing, 2001, p. 1; Carter, 2006, p. 44).

Private policing services routinely control facilities such as shopping malls, transport terminals, airports, office buildings and leisure facilities (Wakefield, 2003, cited by Aas, 2007, p. 139). Although private security personnel possess no greater legal capabilities than ordinary citizens, many are authorised to act as agents of property owners and therefore have the authority to exclude or eject any ‘undesirable’ persons from the private space they control (Carter, 2006, p. 45). Such control measures distort the distribution of security in favour of those who can afford it.

Interviewee 7: I think outsourcing is a potential disaster, the road to privatization and the de-professionalizing of what should be a very professional operation – accountable to the public rather than to issues of profitability or false assertions of affordability which comes back to austerity, which I think is a scam.

‘Partnerships’ have become increasingly common-place between the police and various private providers (HMIC, 2013b, p. 5; National Audit Office, 2013, p. 10). For private companies there is nothing better than a contract from government. At present 30% of British government expenditure is now dedicated to procuring goods and services from private providers; one of the highest proportions in the industrialized world (Hutton, 2015, p. 82). As public institutions are incrementally squeezed some of their roles are also being ‘captured by private interests’ (Fukuyama, 2014, p. 7) with further cuts by the state leading to even more collaboration with the private sector (Caless & Tong, 2015, p. 177). As austerity continues, it is clear that an even larger market for the buying and selling of policing services will emerge (Police Foundation, 2011, p. 1).

Private Policing Accountability

The public police can be held accountable for breaches of rules, regulations and codes of conduct but the growing prevalence of private policing raises questions about the public accountability of private corporations (HMIC, 2013b, p. 12). If government’s sub-contract parts of policing to private companies and there are causes for complaint, the government can use the
civil courts in relation to breaches of contract; but for citizens, all lines of public accountability vanish (Crouch, 2003, p. 21; Brodeur, 2010, p. 354). Furthermore, the potential for incompetence and misbehaviour by private employees is enormous; the screening for many positions being lax, and their training often minimal (Forst & Manning, 1999, p. 23).

Interviewee 3: What troubles me about private companies is the issue around their commitment to public safety in comparison to their commitment to shareholders. When the shareholder aspect meets a public sector function it can get quite tricky. If something happens in custody involving a civilian detention officer, where does the responsibility lie?

Interviewee 4: I would question whether a custody officer needs to be a police officer; I think there is a good argument to civilianize the entire custody process. I don’t see why police officers need to be involved in dealing with speeding matters either that could be given to the local authority, it’s an administrative process.

The privatisation of policing moves accountabilities for security further away from citizens. Chains of sub-contractors blur accountabilities and raise the prospect of expensive, complex litigation as the only means of recompense. Even if private sector ideals are entirely honourable it is problematic to hold sub-sub-contractors accountable for employee’s actions or inactions (Crouch, 2003, p. 22-3). Such dispersals of responsibility enable private providers to minimise their risks whilst maximising their profit potential (Stenning & Shearing, 2015, p. 6). The high public demand for non-crime policing activities may be particularly attractive to private providers; whilst the more diffuse lines of accountability may also be appealing to neo-liberals, who favour the minimization and outsourcing of state responsibilities to the market. But public policing is not a business.

Manning (2010, p 9) and Fukuyama (2014, p. 54-5) argue that public services are far too important to be left to market forces. Commodities such as clean air, clean water, sanitation, defence, public safety, a legal system and public health cannot be left entirely to the free market because lapses in these areas affect everyone. Policing is not a commodity that should be determined by people’s willingness or ability to pay (Independent Police Commission, 2013, p. 32). Public services can never be provided equitably through markets. Markets breed inequality, which may in turn endanger everyone. Policing is a public good, a service available to everyone. The commodification of basic social goods would reduce the role of a citizen to merely that of a
consumer (Aas, 2007, p. 140). It can be argued that the categorization of people as merely consumers is not only dangerous it is dehumanizing. People acquire rights to public services as human beings not through their ability to pay. Policing should not be motivated by profit. The police do not have ‘customers’, their assistance should be available to everyone regardless of their ability to pay. Policing should remain as a public good, undistorted by the market (Morgan & Newburn, 1997, p. 138; Bayley & Shearing, 2001, p. 31).

Interviewee 7: They’re only there for the profit. Look what’s happened with the care homes. They’ve been privatized and they’re collapsing. A similar collapse could occur if we out-source police functions. These are community service functions and we should regard the community as a family. We should invest in the family rather than exploit it. It comes down to whether you regard the public as a herd to be milked or as a community to be enhanced.

Public policing is geared towards the common good, whereas private policing provides services to customers on a contractual basis only. The National Audit Office (2013, p. 11) and HMIC (2013b, p. 11) both recommend that police forces improve their business partnering activities as much as possible, though it is noted that actual policing activities are legally required to be undertaken by individuals who hold the Office of Constable (HMIC, 2013b, p. 12). As constables are not regarded as employees this acts as a restriction to the privatisation of public policing. But Chapman (2014) has recently indicated that the time is now right to review whether the Office of Constable should be retained or not. Within a neo-liberal environment we are likely to see increased efforts to try and undermine the independence of the Office of Constable.

Privatising futures?

For most of the last two centuries the state’s specialist institutions of criminal justice have dominated their field (Garland, 2001, p. 17), but recently, the situation has begun to change as private organizations have encroached more and more into what used to be the exclusive domain of the police. In the UK there is a willing commitment from the police to merge into partnerships with private companies (Levi & Maguire, 2012, p. 209). For Wakefield (2014, p. 230) and Loveday (2014, p. 121) there is a continuing likelihood that private enterprise will continue to expand further into the realm of public policing. As HMIC Chief, Tom Winsor (Winsor, 2013, p. 10) states, ‘the operational boundaries of policing should be dissolved to the greatest extent reasonably
practicable’. This could mean that forces should be opened up as fully as possible to private sector partnering or it could mean that force boundaries themselves have been severely restricting the development of the police. Both perspectives are relevant. During 2015-2016 for instance Staffordshire Police outsourced all of its Estates and its Information Technology (IT) services to private sector corporations. The American corporation Boeing took over responsibility for the provision and support of all IT services in Staffordshire at an estimated cost of at least £110 million over a ten year period (Boeing, 2016, p. 1; Pinsent, 2016, p. 1). Although this may help Staffordshire residents, what is actually needed is a national IT infrastructure that can be utilized by all forces and all multi-agency partners. Policing should move towards a national structure with expanding links into international bodies. What neo-liberalism is encouraging, however, is even greater privatization.

Interviewee 2: I’ve got this nervousness about engaging with the private sector because by and large I’ve come from a public sector background which despite all its criticisms I still have a vocational heart around doing the right thing, which is not based around a fiscal thought process. Sometimes we are not very cost-effective, not very good at business and not very good at finances. The private sector model is set around squeezing out all your costs, but such a model isn’t appropriate in the public sector. We need to think about our problems differently. We’ve tried to sort of, almost, eradicate that weakness through outsourcing. The difficulty with outsourcing is that over a ten year period a financial contract unravels because it doesn’t have the flexibility to adapt to changes. These models are obsolete now and we are moving more towards public/private sector partnerships.

Although Cassels (1996, p. 43) states that there is no case for privatizing the police service as a whole, there is a strong likelihood that policing will incrementally be replaced by a pluralizing assortment of bodies and a more diffuse array of policing processes (Newburn & Reiner, 2007, p. 944). In such an environment private sector providers will endeavour to increase their market share by squeezing out any competition (Hodge, 2014, p. 4). With the government now protected from direct involvement in policing through the establishment of PCCs, the way is now potentially clearer for private corporations to become beneficiaries of the commissioning process. The death of public policing is likely to become increasingly apparent as the compassionate, egalitarian, redistributive activities upon which policing were originally founded become lost within the framework of competitive free-market economics.
Looking into the future

It is impossible to predict what will happen in the future or what challenges will confront the future. For a very long time little change was noticeable in society but over the last two to three hundred years the pace of social change has steadily quickened and much less of the future is now likely to look like either the present or the past (Dator, 2006, p. 5-7). Despite the irresistible urge to assume that whatever is happening now will continue into the future it would be more accurate to say that only a percentage of the phenomena that exist now will exist in the future. The ‘new phenomena’, if we knew what they were now, would probably seem ridiculous to us, but when exploring the future there must be a willingness to consider even the strangest ideas as being possible (ibid).

Interviewee 11: We are in an ever-changing world and what the future is god only knows. We struggle to keep up, I get frustrated, the police are heading back into a corner and we’re tying ourselves up in knots.

As a social construction, policing was initially imagined as an adjunct to the courts system but it has increasingly evolved into a more politicized institution. As a result, the police service is torn between the slower moving wheels of criminal justice and the rapidly changing external environment of everyday living. If the police service were to fully professionalize it would enable far greater evidence to be brought to bear upon future trajectories, however, at present, the rigidities in policing are restricting its development and growth.

Unencumbered private expansion

Fourteen years ago Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary stated that there was little chance of the 43 police force structure surviving much longer (HMIC, 2004, p. 183). This view was reiterated by O’Connor (2005, p. 11) and years later HMIC Tom Winsor (2013, p. 10) was still identifying the need for all forces to join up ‘in a coherent, efficient and effective single system’. Neyroud (2015, p. 15), Hogan Howe (2015, p. 17), Dijk et al. (2015, p. 13) and Muir (2015b, p. 2) have all insisted that the 43 force structure makes no sense, either operationally or financially. Despite such consensus, local Chief Constables and PCCs are, perhaps unsurprisingly, not in favour of breaking up the current structure (May, 2014, p. 1). As such debates continue to immobilize public policing; private companies are seizing the initiative and rapidly expanding their operations regionally, nationally and internationally on an unparalleled scale. In sharp contrast to this, public policing services are shrinking rapidly (HMIC, 2014a, p. 8). Unencumbered by regulation and
competition from the public sector, the private sector is increasingly feeding off the growing gaps in diminishing public provision. Public space and public assets are being eroded as they are replaced by commercial buildings with privatized security arrangements (Jones & Newburn, 2006, p. 8). Government reforms are pushing responsibility ‘down and out’ (Innes & Graef, 2012, p. 168) with neoliberalism re-moulding the social environment away from:

‘...loving, family-oriented, sharing and caring members of meaningful communities to selfish, self-centred, narrow-minded, individualistic consumers’ (Dator, 2006, p. 12).

For the vast majority of individuals the coming decades will be devoid of progress for many working families (Bivens, 2010, p. 23-5). Gaps will widen between the rich and the poor, with increasing non-crime demands being made on policing resources. PCCs will continue to increase the politicization and control of a broadening range of public services (Cumberland Lodge, 2015, p. 3). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) suggests that national and international cooperation will become increasingly necessary but progressively strained as countries retreat into self-mutilating boundary defences thereby furthering the stagnation of growth over the next 50 years (OECD, 2014a).

Narrowing roles

Economic changes will transform the social environment by increasing centralization, specialization and private/public sector engagement (Morgan & Newburn, 1997, p. 140). To facilitate the progressive transfer of public funds into private hands, moves are likely to be made to undermine and replace the Office of Constable with new employment contracts and oaths moulded to prohibit strike activity and to accommodate the transferability of powers. Such changes may have beneficial effects but they also narrow policing functions towards a purely crime-focused narrative. As the government distances itself from social provision it is unlikely to provide much support for non-crime policing.

Interviewee 3: My utopian view is that policing will still be occupying the non-crime space in the future but with others and as part of a more joined-up approach...If we don’t pursue this joint approach the police will still be a reactive force that won’t deal very well with the longer-term issues. The United Nations ³ report on prevention stressed that it cannot be just one agency.

Interviewee 9: The future I see is that of a multi-agency, prevention policing model rather than an enforcement policing model.

Interviewee 6: I see the police fragmenting further. I see a domino effect. I think it’ll take place over the next ten years.

Over the coming century emergency and other services, both public and private, can be expected to integrate and be seen as a largely joined-up service. Even though such a development would help foster cooperative, self-managed, non-hierarchical work teams, economic constraints will continue to stifle large sections of the workforce. As a result, many are likely to remain trapped in a world of discipline and power hierarchies with worsened job security, remuneration and working conditions (Mason, 2015, p. 287). Accredited employees (perhaps on zero-hours contracts and excluded from such things as pension schemes) could be placed ‘on-call’ in order to achieve greater cost-effectiveness (Halliday, Asthana, Hewson & Gibson, 2012, p. 5). Policing could become part of an impersonal control network built into environments and incorporating a broader range of technological and bureaucratic controls.

Interviewee 7: I think there is a long-term plan…to destroy what we knew as the welfare state with free education, free health, proper public services and care from cradle to grave…We are going down the road of getting rid of all those services. I view the future as being pretty bleak and I think if it goes that way we will all be facing potentially revolutionary situations particularly with regards to inequality and climate change. We need officers to think about in whose interests do the police exist and that is a very big question.

**Neighbourhood policing**

The most successful forms of visible problem-oriented policing could all but disappear as specialization will mean that fewer warranted officers will be available for community policing activities (Loveday, 2015b, p. 10; Muir, 2015a, p. 1). While leaders in the police service recognize the value of neighbourhood policing, reduced state funding will mean that policing services will become increasingly reactive (HMIC, 2014e, p. 36). If such a trend continues, future public policing could be subjected to further ‘asset stripping’ which would condense their core functions to the use of situationally justified coercion or force. If this happens policing could not be expected to develop into a fully professionalized service. Within such an environment non-crime
Nothing is forever

Police organizations in such an environment are likely to become much more streamlined as they slot into cross-functional teams with fewer hierarchical layers and greater professional autonomy (Mitchell, 2003, p. 147). Hierarchical power is likely to give way to networked authority (Needham & Mangan, 2014, p. 4), within which leadership roles will be increasingly superseded by empowered front-line professionals (College of Policing, 2015b, p. 47).

Interviewee 2: I see the future as something that is not based upon rigid structures.

Police forces may well merge into an overlapping network of institutions (Neyroud, 2015, p. 15). However, the hiring of more women and members of minority groups will help open up policing into the more diversified organization that it needs to become (Goldstein, 1990, p. 166; Newburn, 2008, p. 833). Expanding this diversification could lead to increased organizational stability and much greater democracy (Brodeur, 2010, p. 343; Pinker, 2011, p. 634-6). Assisting this will be greater interpersonal connectivity through technologies involving low or zero transaction costs (The future of work, 2015, p. 14-15). Such developments are most likely to occur first within the military through the use of e-technology that will make it much easier to canvas everyone’s ideas quickly and efficiently (Roberts, 2010, p. 8). As networked technologies flatten command structures individual officers will assume greater responsibility (Liddy, 2004, p. 139).

Interviewee 2: I have this vision where the front line officers are equipped with as much skills as they possibly can be and to be able to deal with as much as they possibly can.

A combination of professional accreditation and technology may well see the advance of policing towards that of the general practitioner. Officers, either singly or as part of a ‘Wiki’ (Roberts, 2010) will be able to diagnose problems, provide reassurance, make referrals and reduce all sorts of social harms within an inter-connected society. It is by helping people in a myriad of ways, in conjunction with others, that the police could help build and sustain high levels of social capital.
But as such a role runs counter to neo-liberalism it may mean that we are likely to see a further diminishment of the police role rather than an expansion.

In 1977 Sir Robert Mark thought that the police role would never diminish in importance (Mark, 1977, p. 85). However, nothing lasts forever and systems change over time. Everything that exists now did not exist at one point in the past, and at some point in the future will not exist again. All civilizations, forms of governance and institutions come into existence at a certain time for a certain set of reasons and then fade away at some point in their future (Dator, 2006, p. 8). As Fukuyama (2014, p. 451) argues:

‘...all political systems, past and present, are liable to decay and the fact that a system was once successful does not mean that it will remain so in perpetuity’.

Success for organisations of all types is usually gauged by whether they are growing or not and right now, public policing is shrinking. In order to survive for longer, policing will need to provide relevant, useful services that are of benefit to the public at large. Many of these are non-crime activities.

Interviewee 8: If we stopped going to these [non-crime] calls the public would not be best pleased...If we said we were not turning up to all these non-crime calls you have to ask the question ‘what would we all do all day, because that’s it pretty much?’

Interviewee 12: I think some cops will say we shouldn’t be dealing with any non-crime stuff. But, I think ultimately in policing we are the crisis managers of last resort and we want people to turn to us in a crisis. That is our reason for existence.

The overwhelming demand for policing services relate to incidents which are largely of a non-crime nature. Moreover, the capabilities and capacities that the police bring to such activities are constructed largely around their authority to utilize situationally justified force. The availability of such an authority, around-the-clock, has meant that the police have become the default option for a significantly broad range of important non-crime tasks.

Interviewee 7: Policing is a total activity; it does not just relate to crime but relates to the good ordering of the community in a creative and professional way. It could be said that the police are a life-giving power within the community, a real force for good.
CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

This research has critically analysed the future of non-crime policing within a broad social, political and economic context. It has drawn on extensive literary sources and utilized data covering eight years of public calls to the Staffordshire Police. It has also utilized data collected from interviews with individuals who have had extensive experience of working within the police. This final section summarizes and draws implications from some of the key findings as well as making recommendations for the future.

The research was undertaken during a period when austerity measures were being implemented across the entire public sector in the UK. Police staff in Staffordshire, and elsewhere, were losing their jobs and the Home Office were directing the police to achieve one performance target: to cut crime. During the same period Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) came into existence replacing hundreds of mostly unpaid, locally-elected councillors and magistrates from Police Authorities. PCCs also began the process of commissioning work from a broad range of private contractors. During this time Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) monitored the impact of these austerity cuts on policing by measuring recorded crime rates and victim satisfaction surveys, even though ‘crime’ makes up less than 20% of all calls for police assistance.

In 2012, HMIC (2012, p. 2) noted that frontline police officers spent the majority of their time either ‘tackling crime’, or ‘stop[ping] things that the public feel are dangerous or wrong and should cease immediately’. Of these two activities, only ‘tackling crime’ is the subject of extensive political emphasis and measurement. However, the other activities that the police undertake are far from being periphery and make up approximately 80% of all public calls for assistance. This research has referred to this second broad category of police activities as ‘non-crime’ incidents.

The research examined the nature of non-crime calls, highlighting their breadth and complexity. It also identified the general absence of academic research into non-crime matters and the rarity with which government documents highlighted non-crime issues. The notable exceptions being three national Inquiries that were set up in the early to mid-1990s which sought to find ways of extricating the police from their non-crime duties. These Inquiries, however, ended up all recommending that the police should continue offering a broad range of services to the public and that policing should not be restricted to tackling crime. The Posen Inquiry for
instance concluded that the non-crime functions of the police actually constituted ‘the very essence of policing’ (Home Office, 1995, p. 1).

Whilst exploring the depth and breadth of the police role in non-crime matters it became apparent that the Constables’ oath of office sets out the aims and scope of policing quite succinctly. In the oath, officers swear to undertake three actions: to safeguard fundamental human rights, keep the peace, and prevent all offences against people and property. It is notable that crime is not mentioned in the oath. What was found relevant in this was the expansive and fundamentally humane purpose of policing. The primacy of the human rights directive also suggesting that policing incorporates a much broader, legal, international remit. The oath also identified the importance of according equal respect to all people and officers conducting their duties in a fair and impartial manner.

The quantitative research, which explored all calls to the Staffordshire Police over an eight year period (2007-2014) found that total public demand for policing fell by 20%. Recorded crime fell by 30% and non-crime incidents dropped by only 6%. Over the same period staffing levels in Staffordshire declined by 23% and government funding fell by 25%. The research also noted the sharp rise in the number of calls to the police which were classified as ‘Abandoned’. Other incidents that increased over the reviewed period were those classified as ‘Concern for Safety’ and ‘Domestics’ as well as incidents involving suicides, attempted suicides and incidents involving people suffering from psychiatric disorders. The rise in these latter incidents was linked to the mass closure of psychiatric facilities. The prevalence of suicides, attempted suicides, and ‘Concern for Safety’ incidents showing marked increases in the years following the financial crisis of 2007/8.

In order to explore the possible future of non-crime policing the research sought to identify lessons from the past which could potentially help guide any future trajectories. The research considered the three models of policing that emerged in Prussia, France and Britain and noted that the French and Prussian systems became so closely linked to politics that they were engulfed in their countries own political turmoils. The early founders of the British police, by contrast, sought to align policing not to political structures but to the more measured, accountable processes associated with the rule of law and the courts. The first Royal Commission on Constabulary Forces (Leferve, Rowan, & Chadwick, 1839) recommended that the police become one national service and be linked directly to the courts through regional Commissioners holding the powers of Justices.
The research also identified that the hierarchical structures utilized in British policing had expanded from four ranks to nine, ten or eleven ranks; with new tiers recently emerging through the PCC structure. The growth of these hierarchical structures was suggested as being at odds with the selfless, collaborative and co-operative requirements required for non-crime policing activities. It was suggested that this hierarchy could be replaced by a three-tiered arrangement built around the ‘gold’, ‘silver’ and ‘bronze’ structure. Policing expertise could be arranged around roles rather than rank with pay scales commensurate with current levels of accreditation and availability for deployment. This could include increased payments for work undertaken during unsocial hours. To explore the relevance of these and other approaches the research briefly explored two of civilization’s greatest ‘golden ages’.

The two ages looked at were Classical Athens (508-322 BC) and the post-war consensus (1944-1976), both of which were characterized by extraordinary levels of equality, innovation, cohesion, economic growth and social welfare arrangements for citizens. The structure of these societies epitomized a communal approach which emphasized the common good rather than the more selfish, unequal, approaches associated with today’s currently dominant ideology: neoliberalism. These more communal societies developed good order both with and without formal policing structures. In Athens, for instance the ‘grain guardians’ ensured there was equal distribution of key resources to all citizens, whilst in Britain, during the post-war period, community-based policing reached its zenith in public popularity.

With economic factors seeming to play such a central role in the current and future trajectories of policing, the research considered the way public funds were being allocated to police forces. It found that 60% of all money received by the police related to the number of crimes reported within each police area. Non-crime incidents sat in a separate category which defines just 40% of all allocated funds. As reported crime declines, less funding becomes available for both crime and non-crime activities. But of the eight million crimes that occur every year in England and Wales it is estimated that five million are never even reported to the police. Although the police need to encourage people to come forward and report these other incidents they are saddled with a single target that directs them to ‘cut crime’. If the police really wanted to improve their funding then all they would need to do is identify more of these five million unreported incidents. But any force that shows an increase in crime due to more victims coming forward will not be achieving their target even if it is morally and ethically the right thing to do. In order to meet crime reduction targets (and simultaneously reduce their own funding) police forces are trying to reduce overall demand or outsource that demand onto others. It was notable that many
(not all) of the interviewees in this research expressed a strong desire to push non-crime demands onto other agencies. Although governments, and police forces, will tend to do what they think is necessary for their own survival, it should not mean pushing crime, non-crime or victims out of sight.

This research also identified that public policing operates in stark contrast to the selfish disposition associated with free market economics. Neo-liberalism is concerned with the maximization of personal profit, minimal redistribution, and the privatization of public assets. Policing on the other hand is geared towards the selfless provision of free emergency service to all who need it. Despite this contradiction, New Public Management (NPM) was brought into policing with the subsequent adoption of competitive, market-based practices geared towards improving measurable performance. As NPM methods took hold, corrupt practices within policing expanded and attention was directed away from non-crime activities towards measurable crime-focused targets using a variety of new policing approaches. ‘Zero-Tolerance’, ‘broken-windows’, CompStat and ‘hot-spot’ policing all served to exacerbate tendencies towards police brutality, discrimination and public alienation (Reiner, 2010, p. 156). The one method that suffered the most from these new changes was the only one that actually worked over the longer-term, problem-oriented policing.

**Our future**

The research suggests that the future trajectory of non-crime policing will depend largely upon whatever ideology dominates the political sphere. At present, the literature suggests that neo-liberalism will pave the way for a destabilizing future incorporating increased levels of social and economic inequality. Instead of developing the shared human environments that shaped the ‘golden-ages’ of Classical Athens and post-war Europe, the neo-liberal approach is likely to move society towards a consumerist ethic where people are seen less as human beings and more as merely economic units. Operating within such an uncaring environment, the demand for non-crime policing services is likely to increase in intensity as more and more citizens become ‘discarded’.

The external and internal pressures impacting upon policing are often contradictory. The government wants the police to deal specifically with crime, yet the public call the police for a whole range of other matters which are often non-criminal or preventative in nature. The police are also told to cut crime when the figures they are working with hugely under record the actual amount of crime occurring. Internally, multiple supervisory tiers direct officers towards crime reduction strategies because that is how their own performance is measured. As the police strive
to reduce reported crime, their success means that their funding levels drop and as the funding for crime falls, the funding for non-crime activities falls even further creating even more strain. The internal and external focus on crime leads officers and the public to view crime as the central focus of policing activity even though their oath of office and Peels Principles, amongst others, state otherwise.

Over the long term, police engagement with most non-crime activities is likely to be dissolved as sworn personnel are utilized for an ever narrowing range of activities based on their capacity to use non-negotiable force. As policing functions narrow, staffing levels are likely to decline along with opportunities to attain professional status, simultaneously there is likely to be an increase in militarization. The continual squeeze of neo-liberalism is also likely to lead to incremental encroachment by private enterprise into all non-crime policing areas. This vision of a shrinking, privatizing police service, however, may not come to pass and an alternative vision of a unified internationally expanding service built around an independent and impartial human rights framework may also emerge. Amongst the many possible futures open to us we should strive for the one that we all prefer and that each of us can have a hand in creating.
Recommendations and further research

Recommendation (1): The future of non-crime policing will require multi-agency collaboration that takes place as near to the front line as is safely possible. To support this it is recommended that the police consider a move towards 24/7 multi-agency responder hubs. These hubs could open the door to transferable positions between agencies and could include, amongst other things, inter-linked training programs and joint control/administration functions.

Recommendation (2): It is suggested that Rinkevics and Landmane’s (2014, p. 9) three-stage response approach provides a suitable framework from which to build problem-oriented, multi-agency policing initiatives:

- **Safeguard** and protect citizens from any imminent harm.
- Provide immediate **support** to prevent suffering or any ongoing preventable harm.
- **Provide information** to assist individuals in securing longer-term solutions to whatever has taken place.

To build upon this framework it would be necessary for all police personnel including police staff and Special Constables to be able to quickly exchange information about cases and incidents with those individuals and organizations that would be most able to assist. Mobile data systems could be useful in achieving this. This would also necessitate access to up to date knowledge and contact points for a broad range of public and private support/assistance structures. To save duplication of effort this could be linked through a multi-agency control room.

Recommendation (3): This research recommends that a problem-oriented approach be used to address the top ten demands being made on the police from the public. The top four should be considered a priority and incorporate multi-agency response strategies. Those top four are:

- ASB – Rowdy and Inconsiderate Behaviour
- Administration and Duplicate Incidents
- Highway Disruption/Hazard
- Concern for Safety – Adult
**Recommendation (4):** The police service should operate with a less stratified, more autonomous structure, built around role rather than rank. Any new structure should be able to quickly facilitate ‘leaders of the moment’ in key ‘bronze, silver and gold’ positions.

**Recommendation (5):** In order to attain a greater degree of professionalization in policing, all police personnel, sworn and unsworn, should be encouraged to undertake accredited higher educational studies.

**Further research (1)** is necessary to explore the lean national policing structures utilized in the Nordic countries (see Vanebo, Bjorkelo & Aaserud, 2015, p. 19-20; European Social Survey, 2011; Kaariainen, 2008). And the transferability of police powers utilized in Australia and New Zealand. The use of a non-rank structure, as in the Australian Federal Police, may also be worthy of further review.

**Further research (2)** is required into the reasons why there was a 9% rise in Abandoned Phone Calls in Staffordshire between 2008 and 2014. By 2014, 9256 callers to Staffordshire Police simply abandoned their call without giving any explanation or without even speaking to a human operator or call-taker.
Reflection

This doctoral program has provided a structured framework for the development and dissemination of new material (Kenny, 2015; Kenny, 2016). Whilst undertaking the literature review it became apparent that many of the excellent academic texts written on policing concentrate almost exclusively on crime-related topics. This confirmed the relevance and necessity of undertaking original research into the topic covered.

The research highlighted the importance and significance of undertaking piloting exercises prior to the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. It also highlighted the relevance of using a research journal. The journal undertaken to accompany this project helped to plot extensive trawls through the literature, and noted the changing perspectives on the topic being reviewed, as well as alternative titles to the thesis and lists of potential questions for interviewees. It also records many ideas and several avenues for exploration which did not form part of the final work. In terms of challenging accepted assumptions, the research has questioned the following:

- The lack of attention given to non-crime policing activities.
- The appropriateness of a single ‘cutting crime’ objective for the police.
- The distribution of funds through the Police Allocation Formula.
- The necessity of having nine, ten or eleven tiers of supervision in policing.
- The alignment of almost all Police and Crime Commissioners to political parties.

Of the many moments of personal discovery in this research, it was fascinating to learn about the historical aspects of policing in Europe and Britain. For example the Athenian ‘grain guardians’, the existence of 500 or so ‘self-protection societies’ in Britain and the early desire to keep British policing free from political interference. Also in Britain, the lean, non-military rank structure designed by Peel, Rowan and Mayne, and the early recommendation made by the Royal Commission to set up a national police force. The researcher was similarly fascinated by the Prussian model of policing which seemed to start with such humane goals yet be increasingly drawn into political/military power struggles. This caused the researcher to be even more concerned about the increasing politicization of policing in Britain. Furthermore, the research has pointed towards modern developments in the Nordic countries, New Zealand and Australia that could offer insights into developments that could be applicable in England and Wales.

The breadth of the topic was daunting in the extreme, requiring consummate planning and daily commitment between shifts. To try and complete part two of this doctoral program (this
thesis) within the four-year time frame the researcher had to go part-time at work during the last academic year. The breadth of the subject being reviewed was, in retrospect, overly ambitious. However, I was encouraged and supported by colleagues working through the same program as me and it has been a pleasure networking with individuals from a variety of different criminal justice disciplines and occupying positions in such interesting organizations as Interpol and Europol. The whole process has been one of enlightened discovery. Most interesting of all were the qualitative interviews undertaken in Staffordshire and in London. Many of the insights from individuals interviewed for this research re-confirmed my belief in the high calibre of people we have working within policing in the UK in all ranks and in all positions.
REFERENCES


### APPENDIX 1: UPR16

#### FORM UPR16
Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Postgraduate Research Student Handbook for more information)

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<th>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</th>
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<td><strong>PGRS Name:</strong> Daryl Evan Kenny</td>
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<td><strong>Department:</strong> ICJS</td>
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<td><strong>First Supervisor:</strong> Barry Lovelady</td>
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<td><strong>Start Date:</strong> September 2012</td>
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| **Title of Thesis:** A Force for Good: Exploring the future of non-crime policing. |
| **Thesis Word Count:** (excluding ancillary data) |

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University’s Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study.

Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

#### UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:
(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at http://www.ukrsc.org/wat.

| a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame? | YES [x] NO [ ] |
| b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged? | YES [x] NO [ ] |
| c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship? | YES [x] NO [ ] |
| d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration? | YES [x] NO [ ] |
| e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements? | YES [x] NO [ ] |

#### Candidate Statement:
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained (the necessary ethical approval(s))

**Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/REC):** 15/16.03

If you have not submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered ‘No’ to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

[ ]

**Signed (PGRS):** [ ]

**Date:** [ ]
October 29th 2015

Dear Daryl,

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Thank you for submitting your documents for ethical review. The Ethics Committee was content to grant a favourable ethical opinion of the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation, revised in the light of any conditions set, subject to the general conditions set out in the attached document.

There is no need to submit any further evidence to the Ethics Committee; the favourable opinion has been granted with the assumption of compliance.

The favourable opinion of the EC does not grant permission or approval to undertake the research. Management permission or approval must be obtained from any host organisation, including University of Portsmouth, prior to the start of the study.

Documents reviewed
The documents reviewed by The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protocol</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Assessment Form</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical Narrative</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Information Sheets</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consent Form</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Questions</td>
<td></td>
<td>September 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statement of compliance

The Committee is constituted in accordance with the Governance Arrangements set out by the University of Portsmouth.

After ethical review

Reporting and other requirements

The enclosed document acts as a reminder that research should be conducted with integrity and gives detailed guidance on reporting requirements for studies with a favourable opinion, including:

- Notifying substantial amendments
- Notification of serious breaches of the protocol
- Progress reports
- Notifying the end of the study

You are invited to give your view of the service that you have received from the Faculty Ethics Committee. If you wish to make your views known please contact the administrator ethics-fhss@port.ac.uk

Please quote this number on all correspondence - 15/16:03

Yours sincerely and wishing you every success in your research.

Chair
Jane Winstone
APPENDIX 3: Informed consent sheet

Study Title: What is the future of non-crime policing?

Name of Researcher: Daryl Kenny

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by anyone, though my contributions will remain anonymous.

4. I agree that the information I provide can be used for future ethically approved research.

- I agree to my interview being audio recorded
- I agree to be **anonymously** quoted verbatim
- I understand that I can withdraw any time up to the point of data analysis.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: Date: Signature:

Name of Person taking consent: Daryl Kenny Date: Signature:
Dear (Potential) Participant,

I would like to invite you to take part in a short research study that has been authorized by the Chief Constable of Staffordshire Police.

The research would entail one interview with you lasting approximately 45 minutes.

Before you decide if you’d like to take part or not, please could I set out why the research is being undertaken and what I would be seeking from you.

What is the purpose of the study?

The research forms part of a Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice which I am undertaking through the University of Portsmouth.

The working title of the thesis is:

‘What is the future of non-crime policing?’

Do you have to take part?

Taking part in this research is entirely voluntary: If you agree to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form and go through this information sheet with you prior to any interview.
What will happen should you decide to take part?

You will be asked a series of 20 questions regarding your thoughts about police involvement in non-crime matters. I will advise you of the questions in advance.

Table 1 (below) shows some of the types of calls that Mastrofski (1983, cited by Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2008, p.24) has classified as ‘non-crime’.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-crime matters</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic regulation</td>
<td>Traffic law, accidents, traffic flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disputes</td>
<td>Arguments, disturbances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuisances</td>
<td>harassment, annoyance,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent persons</td>
<td>Drunks, missing persons, absconders, mental health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>Injured persons, attempted suicides, deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information offer</td>
<td>Property, false alarms, complaints, compliments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General assistance</td>
<td>Animals, property, fire, emergencies, transportation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questions will invite you to comment about non-crime incidents in general but particularly those relating to ‘concern for safety’ or ‘mental health’ issues. The questions will also cover any thoughts you may have about organizational structures within the police and the likely future trajectory of policing.

Will you have to do anything to prepare for the interview?

You will not need to do anything at all to prepare for the interview other than to set aside some uninterrupted time on the agreed date. I will attend the venue that you specify and prior to starting the interview I will go through this document with you and ask you to sign a consent form.

Are there any possible risks involved in taking part in this research?

There are no inherent risks involved in your participation. Your contributions will remain entirely anonymous and confidential.

As is standard practice, my intention will be to use a digital recorder. I will seek your explicit consent before commencing any recording and if you would prefer that I don’t use a recorder I will take notes, though this will probably mean that the interview will last a bit longer.
What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Experience suggests that professionals derive benefit from thinking about and responding to key topical questions in an area that they are involved in or are interested in. Furthermore, I would be willing to send you a synopsis of the research findings when the thesis is completed.

Expenses and payments

Unfortunately, as this research is entirely self-funded I am unable to provide any expenses. However, if you are employed by Staffordshire Police, or are working with Staffordshire Police, the Chief Constable has authorized that any such interviews could be undertaken in works time using facilities operated by Staffordshire Police.

Will your contributions be kept confidential?

Yes. Confidentiality is assured. Any remarks during the interviews will not be attributed to any individual through reference to their name, rank or position. No participant will be directly referred to in any part of the document. The only (highly unlikely) exception to this confidentiality principle would relate to any disclosures that were of a criminal or disciplinary nature.

Participants will be assigned random numbers to identify them. Details as to which participants are aligned to specific numbers will be held confidentially and stored as below. In order to ensure everyone’s anonymity participants will not be made aware of their own randomly assigned number.

A separate, confidentially secured file will be maintained and kept available for the educational supervisors of the research (examiners, auditors and academic regulatory authorities) giving names of the individuals involved. All of these bodies are also bound by a duty of confidentiality.

The handling, processing, storage and destruction arrangements for all research data has been reviewed by Dean Neighbour, the Staffordshire Police Information Security Manager.

The research has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Portsmouth and I will, at all times, be adhering to the University’s own Code of Ethics. A copy of the University of Portsmouth’s code of ethics can be viewed at:
All data will be stored under Data Protection Act (1988) conditions for a period of 6 years; the consent forms will be held for a period of 25 years. All participants will also have the right to check the accuracy of any data held about them and to correct any errors.

What if you have any concerns during or following an interview?

If you have any concerns during an interview it will be terminated straight away. If you have any concerns after participating in an interview please speak to me or my university supervisor Barry Loveday (details below). After the interview it is only possible to withdraw up to the point of data analysis (expected to be March-April 2016). After that point it would be extremely difficult to remove individual pieces of anonymized data.

What if there is a problem or you would like to make a complaint?

If you have any concerns regarding any aspect of the research you should speak to myself on 07720857796 or my supervisor, Professor Barry Loveday on 023 9284 3458.

If you wish to make a complaint about anything to do with the research you can do so via Dr Phil Clements, the Head of the Doctoral Department at the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies on 023 9284 3934 or via Dr Jane Winstone the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee on 023 9284 3930.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The purpose of undertaking this research is twofold. Firstly, it is to meet the requirements of a Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice (DCrimJ). Secondly it is to inform developments within policing through publication and presentation of the findings. Please be assured that no participants will be identified in any report, presentation or subsequent publication.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is sponsored by the University of Portsmouth, who are responsible for providing appropriate supervision and insurance.

What do you have to do?

If you would like to participate in this please respond to my email directly or via the person who notified you of this research.
Your participation would be greatly appreciated. Thank you for taking the time to read through this invitation.

Yours sincerely,

Daryl

Daryl Kenny (January 2016).
APPENDIX 5: Interview questions

Doctoral Research

Semi Structured Qualitative Research Interview (Aide Memoire)

Introduction

- Explain why the research is being undertaken and the support received:
- Part of a Professional Doctorate - University of Portsmouth.
- Written approval from the Chief Constable.
- Written approval from the University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee.
- Explain anonymity and seek consent for digital recording.
- No answers will be attributed to any named individual – all the answers will be anonymised and interviewees will be assigned a random number. No records of the interview will be kept with your name on it. If quoted, the quote will be attributed to a numbered interviewee only. A list identifying named individuals with their number designation will be held securely and will be confidentially maintained. The list will only be made available to examiners undertaking internal verification of the research process.
- Explain research aim and methodology

Research question: What is the future of non-crime policing?

According to the Collins English Dictionary (n.d., para 1), ‘non-crime’ is defined as being ‘an incident that is not considered to be against the law’. Non-crime incidents include all those policing services that provide help, support, emergency assistance and conflict resolution for those who are vulnerable or who are unable to adequately help themselves (Guyot, 1991, p. 278).
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<td>Injured persons, attempted suicides, deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Directions, complaints, compliments, guidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General assistance</td>
<td>Animals, lost or damaged property, fire, emergencies, transportation, alarms, rescuing/helping people in trouble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Internal procedures, administrative functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reassurance</td>
<td>Presence, communications, crime prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gone on arrival</td>
<td>Dispatched calls where parties to the problem have left the scene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions and Codification 1 of 3

To explore the relevance of non-crime policing.

a) What do you think about police involvement in non-crime matters? [Probe: Should the police only undertake duties that are crime related?]

b) What status or value is attributed to non-crime policing activities? [Probe: Are non-crime policing activities viewed as being important?]

c) What do you think the police involvement should be, if any, with regards to ‘concern for safety’ incidents? [Prompt: Or other non-crime matters such as anti-social behaviour complaints?]

Questions and Codification 2 of 3

The impact of political/hierarchical ideologies on non-crime policing.

a) What do you think are the most important functions of the police? [Probe: Which of those do you think is the most important?]

b) In your day-to-day police duties do you feel that you are engaged in a ‘war on crime’? [Probe: Do you think the police should be viewed primarily as ‘crime-fighters’?]
c) Who do you think police officers police should ultimately be answerable to? [Prompt: The courts, police supervisors, the law, the government, the public, themselves?]

d) What do you think about the increasing involvement of non-sworn staff in policing? [Prompt: e.g. civilian investigators, PCSOs] [Probe: Where is civilianisation taking us?]

e) What do you think about out-sourcing non-crime police duties to private companies? [Probe: Is there scope for private suppliers to fill more non-crime policing functions?]

f) What do you think about the spending cuts being made in policing? [Probe: Where are these spending cuts taking us?]

g) What do you think about the current police rank structure? [Prompt: Do you think it should remain as it is?

h) Which police rank(s), if any, do you think are the most important? [Probe: Which, if any, are the least important?

Questions and Codification 3 of 3

To identify future directions for the police in relation to non-crime incidents.

a) What place, if any, do you think higher education should have in policing? [Prompt: Should higher learning be a requisite for promotion?]

b) What do you think of the concept of multi-agency teams? [Prompt: Should policing ‘join-up’ with other agencies / emergency services?].

c) Should sworn police officers be confined to only those activities that may require the legitimate use of police powers?

d) What do you think about PCSOs being given increased powers, including the power of arrest?

e) Should all British police officers be trained (not necessarily equipped) in the use of firearms? [Probe: Should all British police officers be equipped or have ready access to firearms?]

f) What do you think about increasing democratic involvement within the police organization?

g) What do you think is the likely future of police involvement in non-crime incidents?

Closing comments

May I thank you very much for helping me to develop this research.