Policing and Crime:

An evidence base for London

November 2021

Background to this assessment

The Police and Crime Plan is a landmark document outlining the Mayor's police and crime objectives for London. Understanding the evidence is a critical building block to ensure an evidence-based approach to crime and justice.

As we will outline – London* is changing. Not only because of COVID-19, but across many different axes – be it demographics, economic, technological and others. As a result, the questions and challenges posed to crime and justice agencies are also changing – and in the same way, solutions will need new and creative thinking that often stretch past policing.

The overarching aim of this assessment is to provide an evidence base, which can act as a roadmap to drive policy conversations for 2021 and beyond. An understanding of the challenges London can expect to encounter and insights in how to respond effectively are highlighted.

The synthesis of the evidence base has been led by MOPAC Evidence and Insight, incorporating a wide array of methods and collaborations. The chief aims of the work were to:

- Assess risks, gaps and core evidence
- Identify key thematic areas for policing and crime
- Be collaborative with partners and academia
- Be a product which can be referenced across London

Key Facts - Greater London

Metropolitan Police area:
607 square miles

Population (MYE 2019)**:**
8.96 million

(MPS Workforce – January 2021)
32,373 police officers
9,814 police staff
1,254 PCSOs

In London, the elected Mayor is the equivalent of the Police and Crime Commissioner & is responsible for the totality of policing in the capital (outside of the City of London).

MOPAC

*For this product, references to Greater London refer to the 32 boroughs policed by the Metropolitan Police Service & excludes City of London

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The landscape of London

London's **population is growing**. The estimated population is 8.96 million (mid-2019 estimate). Greater London Authority (GLA) trend projection scenarios suggest the population could be approximately **9.3m** by **2025,** and between **9.8m** and **11.8m** by **2050**[1]. However, the population in London has fallen during the COVID-19 pandemic - current projections show continued population increases, albeit at lower levels than in previous estimates. The full impact will be dependant on the extent to which changes persist as restrictions are eased and the city begins to recover[2].

London's population is ageing; however, we also see the proportion of **young people increasing and becoming more ethnically diverse**.

Almost a third (30%) of London's population are aged under 25. The population aged 10-24 is projected to increase by 255,000 over the period 2019-2050, concentrated in East London. Most outer London boroughs are projected to become more ethnically diverse than inner London by 2041, driven by diversity in younger age groups[3].

Financial pressures are mounting. As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of Londoners claiming Universal Credit (UC) has more than doubled between March 2020 and January 2021 (+134%)[4]. More than one million Londoners are claiming UC and the number is still rising. The largest increases in UC claimants have been among the younger age groups, particularly among those in their twenties.

Child poverty is increasing and over a third of London's children (39%) live in poverty[5]. This is more children than at any time since the data series began 24 years ago and is the highest rate of any region in the UK. Additionally, working age poverty remains higher in London than nationally and a fifth of pensioners in Inner London are living in material deprivation.

There are very **different patterns of deprivation across the 32 London boroughs,** with two London boroughs ranking within the 10 most deprived authorities in England: Barking & Dagenham and Hackney (as per the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2019)[6]. There are three further boroughs (Islington, Newham, and Tower Hamlets) within the top 10% most deprived authorities.

London also shows comparatively high and much more widespread levels of crime deprivation (measured by high levels of crime categorised as violence, burglary, theft or criminal damage).

Understanding local need is key. The distribution of crime across London is not equal. Half of all crime in London is focused upon only a quarter of it's area. There are also extremes - half of all recorded theft from the person occurs in just 3% of London[7].

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An overview of method & results

Our evidence synthesis involved…

Setting the scene
What do we know

- **Learning from internal MOPAC E&I evidence**. Existing products and **16 new evidence assessments** on key themes such as Health & Justice; Intrusive Tactics; Violence Against Women & Girls; Child Sexual Abuse/Exploitation; Confidence & Trust in the Police; Hate Crime; Knife Crime; Arrest, Detentions & Outcomes.

- **Data analysis and secondary reading of key strategic products** from the Greater London Authority, Metropolitan Police Service; and Violence Reduction Unit.

Calls for Evidence
What can we find out

- A survey of **London Heads of Community Safety** (LHoCS) – 18 responses.
- **A 'Call for evidence' survey** open to key stakeholders to submit views/data – 31 responses.
- King's College London CUSP virtual data dive.
- **Workshops** with statutory partners and academia – focussed on Criminal Justice, technology, disproportionality and police demand.
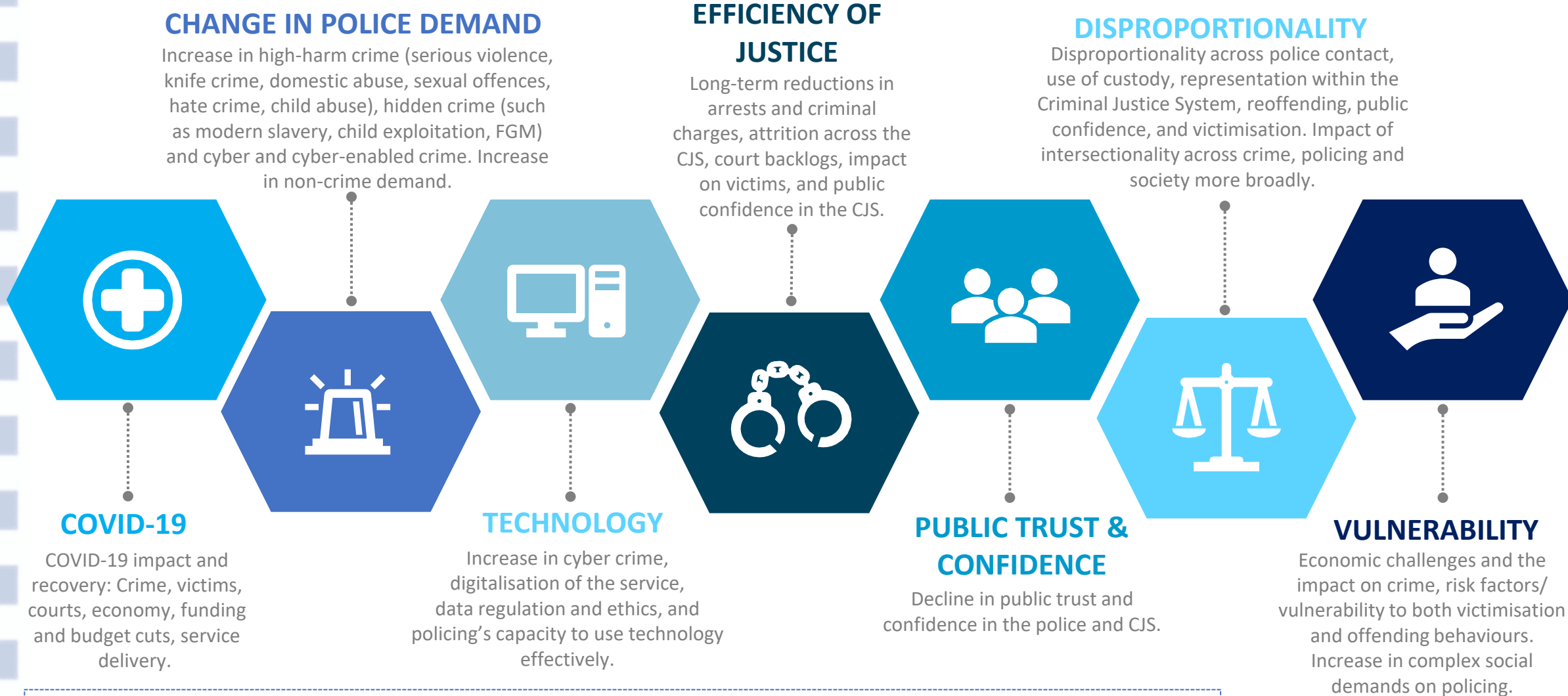- **Internal boards and partnership groups.**

Delivery

- **A synthesis** of the information provided in previous phases.
- Identification of **key themes** and challenges for crime and policing in London over the next five years.
- Strategic **enablers** identified for tackling these future challenges.
- Development of a results pack.
- Considerations for dissemination and sharing learning.

Expert Reference Group:
Critical advice and evidence provided

Top-line findings: Thematic challenges for crime and policing in London going forward

CHANGE IN POLICE DEMAND

Increase in high-harm crime (serious violence, knife crime, domestic abuse, sexual offences, hate crime, child abuse), hidden crime (such as modern slavery, child exploitation, FGM) and cyber and cyber-enabled crime. Increase in non-crime demand.

EFFICIENCY OF JUSTICE

Long-term reductions in arrests and criminal charges, attrition across the CJS, court backlogs, impact on victims, and public confidence in the CJS.

DISPROPORTIONALITY

Disproportionality across police contact, use of custody, representation within the Criminal Justice System, reoffending, public confidence, and victimisation. Impact of intersectionality across crime, policing and society more broadly.

COVID-19

COVID-19 impact and recovery: Crime, victims, courts, economy, funding and budget cuts, service delivery.

TECHNOLOGY

Increase in cyber crime, digitalisation of the service, data regulation and ethics, and policing's capacity to use technology effectively.

PUBLIC TRUST & CONFIDENCE

Decline in public trust and confidence in the police and CJS.

VULNERABILITY

Economic challenges and the impact on crime, risk factors/ vulnerability to both victimisation and offending behaviours. Increase in complex social demands on policing.

The infographic above gives a broad overview of the key challenges for crime and policing over the next five years identified from evidence assessments, stakeholder consultation and a call for evidence. These themes **do not exist in isolation** and there are overlaps between them. While it can be useful to think about the impact of each challenge individually, it is the combination of each of these themes that will create new challenges and implications for crime and policing in London.

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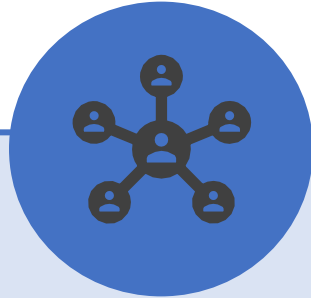OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME

Evidence Synthesis: consistency across methods for the key themes and challenges

The strategic challenges were identified through data, evidence, and by stakeholders. The key themes and challenges emerged relatively consistently across each of our methods.

Method		COVID-19	Technology	Change in police demand	Vulnerability	Public trust & confidence	Efficiency of Justice	Disproportionality
Setting the Scene	Evidence Assessments	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Secondary analysis of key strategic products and literature	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Calls for Evidence	LHOCs Survey	x	x	x	x			
	Call for Evidence Survey	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Workshops	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Total		**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**4**

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Enablers for tackling these challenges

Enhanced collaboration

➢ The increase in complex social demands will require all partners and organisations who contribute to public safety and security (i.e., policing, businesses, health services, local authorities, housing providers, community based organisations, large tech companies, universities and wider) to work in a much more creative and collaborative way.

➢ This will include engaging partners in dialogue to determine future roles and responsibilities.

➢ A mapping exercise ought to be undertaken so all appropriate opportunities of collaboration can be identified.

➢ Development of cross-agency strategies and outcomes promoting collaboration.

➢ Improvements in knowledge sharing and data sharing across partners.

Building a workforce for the future

➢ Building upon the PEQF (Policing Education Qualifications Framework) national framework for the professional training and qualifications of police officers. Re-skilling of policing for a digital age as well as harnessing and developing existing skills. This will require creativity in the recruitment process.

➢ Continued investment in detectives to deal with the increased reporting of high harm crimes. Improvements in the process of investigation, strengthening skills and training.

➢ Development of the skills and competencies required from police officers to respond to safeguarding and incidents involving people who live with multiple disadvantages.

➢ Ensure the organisational structure of policing is fit for the future and well equipped for the changing demands on policing. Identify the most effective mix of people, processes and technology that will deliver the best outcomes for the public.

➢ A modern workforce also means a police service that is representative of its communities.

Funding

➢ The police have limited resources and face pressure to both innovate and continue to offer traditional ways of operating. Therefore it is essential to maximise efficiency and effectiveness in order to free up resource for reactive and proactive demands.

➢ Increased investment in prevention-based services.

➢ Long-term sustainable funding for technology.

➢ Policy and funding to enable joint, collaborative working across organisations.

➢ Balancing investment with building internal capacity.

Enablers for tackling these challenges

Community Engagement

➤ New ways in which to include the public in the decision making processes with an effective feedback loop for the public.

➤ Collaborative, preventive policing alongside key partners when appropriate.

➤ Embedding the principles of public trust, community policing, and legitimacy in policing through both strategic documentation and practical action.

➤ Redefining 'visibility' to include new contact channels, and improved online and telephone response that enable interaction with the public in dynamic and personalised ways.

➤ Communities are becoming more diverse and more mobile, requiring in turn a more sophisticated response from the police force. Consideration should be given to new models of service delivery and citizen engagement.

Technology solutions

➤ A more collective and joined-up approach to ICT enabling criminal justice organisations to share data and systems that can talk to one another.

➤ Collaboration and building stronger links with the private sector to harness skills. Increased use of shared resources/ secondees/ apprenticeships with the private sector.

➤ Police forces must adapt new technologies for their own needs such as investigation and enforcement.

➤ Knowledge sharing – there is a need to share the outputs and outcomes of different technologies in a way that effectiveness and learning can be gauged. New evaluations.

➤ A police force that harnesses data and technology to create connectivity with the public and other agencies to transform public safety.

Evidence-based policing and data-driven problem solving

➤ Problem solving approaches, analysis and experimentation are required if police are to address the identified challenges and respond effectively.

➤ Academic research and wider evidence repositories will be necessary to inform emerging good practices.

➤ Key here is the internalisation of learning generated, so the Police have routes through which to document, embed and drive learning.

➤ The challenges would benefit from consistency in definitions and utilisation of standardised metrics enabling cross partner understanding.

➤ Greater data transparency will enable improved scrutiny, sharing and accountability.

➤ Explore new means of measuring the prevalence of crime.

A look at the thematic challenges in more detail

Change in Police Demand – Challenges

Crime is changing bringing new demands on policing

Across England and Wales there has been a large fall in traditional volume crime (as measured by the Crime Survey for England and Wales) since the mid-1990s, including a 75% fall in burglary and a 79% fall in vehicle theft[8]. At the same time there have been large increases in new types of crime such as cyber-crime and 'mass' fraud.

Looking to the future, based on historical projections and continued population growth assumptions the MPS anticipates increased demand across online Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (CSEA), modern slavery, domestic abuse, hate crime, sexual offences and harassment, public order, and welfare concerns[9].
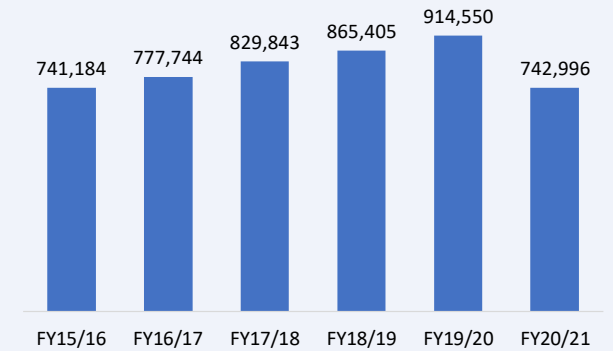
📱 Improvement in crime recording practices

The nature of victimisation has also changed, becoming more complex, with a **rise in high harm and violent offences** over recent years such as sexual offences and domestic abuse. These "high harm" crimes are complex in nature and staff intensive. MOPAC analysis indicates that these increases in recorded crime can be primarily attributed to increased compliance with crime data integrity[10]. However, it is recognised that that there is still significant **under reporting** for these crime types. There is also an ongoing debate as to the integrity of measuring crime via only police recorded offences.

There has also been growing reporting of **hate crime** driven by improvements in crime recording and a better identification of what constitutes a hate crime. Total recorded hate crimes increased by **+31%** over 2019/20 as compared to the previous year[11].

Police recorded crime was on the rise across London

Between 2015/16 and the end of 2019/20, Total Notifiable Offences increased by **+23%**. The largest increases were recorded for Robbery (+86%), Theft from Motor Vehicle (+64%) and Knife Crime (+60%)[12]. The MPS have previously assessed that TNOs may exceed 1m crimes per year from 2022/23.

741,184	777,744	829,843	865,405	914,550	742,996
FY15/16	FY16/17	FY17/18	FY18/19	FY19/20	FY20/21

The government's lock-down measures to reduce the spread of COVID-19 have however, had a significant impact on recorded crime, with a decrease in almost all areas of crime recorded by the police. Total Notifiable Offences reduced by -19% over FY20-21 and there will be long-term implications on future crime and offending patterns.

🚨 First Response demand

The police are increasingly fulfilling a general 'first responder role' which could be dealt with by other agencies or in partnership. Request for service 999 data has shown a continued increase in demand year on year. The number of 999 calls per year increased by **+28%** between 2015 and 2018[13].

Change in Police Demand – Challenges

Diversification in Organised Crime

Organised crime groups have diversified their activities, causing harm in new or previously hidden spaces, exploiting digital technology and operating across borders to an unprecedented degree[14]. For example, we have seen the rise of **County Lines drug trafficking**, whereby children and young people have been exploited by organised crime groups to directly export crack cocaine and heroin into small towns and rural areas.

There has also been increased awareness, reporting and activity in the area of **modern slavery and human trafficking.** In 2019/20, the MPS recorded an increase in Modern Slavery offences of **+80%** compared to the preceding year[15].

Many organised crime groups have moved into more profitable and less risky activities such as **money laundering and fraud**. The police force faces a challenge in keeping up with the scale and complexity of these changes.

Public Order and Social Tension

There have been an increasing volume of protest events, alongside an increase in the level of 'confrontational' tactics used by protestors. For example, the number of protests involving confrontational tactics increased from seven in 2000 to 126 in 2019[16]. This often involves the diversion of resources away from neighbourhood policing to support public order demand[17]. There are signs of rising social tension that can be seen in reports of hate crime and, at an extreme end, in the form of political extremism and terrorism.

It is predicted that the demand on the police generated by terrorism, both right wing and Jihadist, will also continue to increase, even if the number of attacks does not[18].

Increase in non-crime demand

In recent years there has been a rise in the demand on police towards non-crime and welfare incidents. The MPS has seen an increase in incidents relating to vulnerability and multiple disadvantage, such as mental health crises, car accidents and protecting the vulnerable, such as missing people.

There is also increased demands and expectations on police in relation to safeguarding. Non-crime incidents now account for **76%** of all command and control calls to the MPS, with 20% of these calls relating to public safety and welfare[19].

> Mental health flagged calls reported to the MPS increased by **40%** between 2018 and December 2020[20].

In 2019/20, 44% of respondents to the Public Attitude Survey listed Antisocial Behaviour (ASB) as a priority for policing in their local area. This also illustrates the public expectations for a police response to issues such as ASB alongside more traditional policing.

Technology – Challenges

Increase in cyber crime

As people do more and more online, the threat from cybercrime grows – this includes fraud, data theft, grooming and/or exploitation of children, stalking and harassment. This crime is harder to detect, more complex to investigate, and operates across borders.

Fraud and computer misuse now make up **44%** of all crime in England & Wales[21]. In London, the number of Fraud and Computer Misuse offences referred to the National Fraud Intelligence Bureau (NFIB) by Action Fraud has increased by **+45%** between 2016 & 2020[22].

Technology and the Public

The internet is changing the way the public are using technology; the ways they want to engage with policing and their expectations of the services they wish to receive.

> The MPS Force Management Statement anticipates a rise in online crime reporting from **13% to 38%** over the next four years[23].

The police face a service transformation challenge as a result – to ensure staff have the skills and tools to be accessible at the point of contact; to manage expectations up-front about what can be delivered; to develop a customer experience more in-line with the private sector; and a need to develop a better digital response (e.g., evidence-based 'live chat services').

> **The User Satisfaction Survey** shows that victim satisfaction with service is lower for both telephone (48%) and online (42%) reported cases as compared to satisfaction of those who are dealt with by BCU officers (67%)[24]
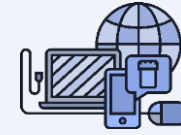
Data Regulation and Ethics

With investment in new technology, police agencies need to address (with public input), the major ethical questions that arise in relation to data use, privacy and surveillance. This requires transparency, independent oversight and trust, and clear national guidance.

Policing needs to weigh the risks of new technologies against their benefits to the core policing mission, focusing on what each technology *should*, rather than *can*, do. This requires a more evidence-based understanding of what the benefits and risks of new technologies are[25]. A key challenge will be how to innovate and try new things in an area which lacks legislation, especially when there is a lack of agreement over how to interpret ethical regulations.

The same applies to data – work should be undertaken to monitor and review data storage and internal links between systems to ensure data silos do not hinder learning.

A challenge highlighted through the call for evidence was that there is a fine line between disclosable evidence, data, and Intelligence, but complex and challenging rules over each. Different legislation makes it hard to use information effectively and the regulatory environment needs to better reflect there are changing purposes and cross overs.

Technology – Challenges

Capacity to use technology effectively

Rapidly evolving technology calls for continuous improvement of policing processes, to ensure the capacity and capability to use it effectively. However, there must be a balance: investing in technology which is relevant, makes people's jobs easier, and a commitment to only purchasing technology the workforce can be trained to use.

The MPS faces challenges in building technological tools and acquiring (and retaining) staff with these in-demand skills. During the calls for evidence, it was reported that there are currently no career lines in the MPS focusing on technology, making the development and retention of skilled staff challenging. There is a risk of a disjointed approach for both tech and data specialists if the current strategy does not bring all elements across the organisation together. Therefore, the use of tech and data (whether that be use of specific hardware/software; use of data/analytics; investigation of online/cyber-crime etc.) would benefit from clearer overarching direction.

Linked culture and leadership challenges emerged from the call for evidence. In particular, the emphasis on a lack of understanding on how data and technology works at a senior level. This can lead to the risk of what was termed the '*data disconnect*': a need for leaders to be briefed on the 'art of the possible', of what can be done internally and with communities. There should also be an understanding that building digital skills is different to building a digital organisation (see digitalisation of the service), but that the two are intrinsically linked.

Digitalisation of the service

Linked to the police and justice sectors ability to use technology effectively is the ever increasing need to further digitalise the service. There is an abundance of digital evidence; such as CCTV footage, emails and phone records, and there is a requirement to ensure it is accessible, readable and has long term integrity. Policing will need further investment in the digital tools required to operate effectively in this new environment, including consideration of mobile/self-service devices; automation; big data processing; harnessing artificial intelligence, and the use of technology for engagement with the public, crime prevention and investigation.

A challenge highlighted through the calls for evidence was the need to consider an entire system redesign – not just for the police but across the Criminal Justice System. Across the criminal justice system there is already a renewed focus on using technology to manage information more effectively via the 'Common Platform' digital case management system which is due to be rolled out across all courts in England and Wales by the end of 2021[26].

Inefficient Funding & Procurement Cycles

Challenges for police procurement include spending regulations; short term funding settlements, high security demands; and a complex political environment. Technology requires longer term investment. Short-term yearly capital does not fit with tech solutions (such as running costs of cloud services) or development and innovation.
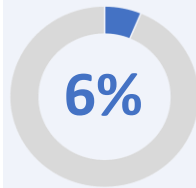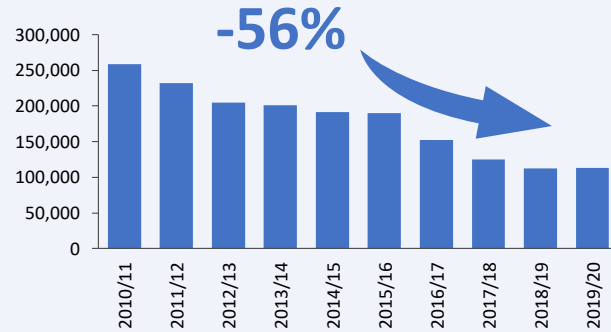
In the innovative technology landscape, procurement needs to be agile, there needs to be a budget to try and test, and an acceptance for public money to be spent on solutions that may fail.

Efficiency of Justice – Challenges

Long-term reductions in arrests and charges

Total police arrests have been falling since 2010/11 within the Met Police area and have now stabilised. This is also a trend that has been seen across England and Wales[27].

-56%

Year	Value
2010/11	~260,000
2011/12	~235,000
2012/13	~205,000
2013/14	~200,000
2014/15	~190,000
2015/16	~190,000
2016/17	~150,000
2017/18	~125,000
2018/19	~110,000
2019/20	~110,000

6% At the same time there has been a reduction in the percentage of crime that leads to a charge or summons (accounting for just 6% of crime in 2019-20, a decline of five percentage points since 2016-17)[28].

Sanction Detections had been showing a long-term decline until a recent improvement over the COVID-19 lockdown period. Sanction detection rates dropped from around 22.7% in December 2014 to a low of **8.5%** in December 2019[29].

Court backlogs

COVID-19 and associated actions have also led to a significant decrease in criminal court receipts and disposals, with figures dropping to unprecedented low levels. Court backlogs are a key issue affecting all partners, with an especially big impact on victims and witnesses. The backlog will also affect the work of police, prosecutors, prisons, probation and youth offending teams.

Attrition of rape allegations

Victim/survivor withdrawal is a key driver of attrition for specific crime types such as sexual offences and domestic abuse.

The London Rape Review[30] conducted by MOPAC in 2019 found that victims/survivors who withdrew did so soon after reporting, and the majority within the police investigation stage. Reasons for victim/survivor withdrawal were complex and often interrelated, with the most common being because of the stress and trauma of the police investigation, or due to a desire to move on from what had happened which was often intensified by feeling surprised and overwhelmed by the process of the official police investigation.

Public confidence in the CJS

Recent findings from the Public Attitude Survey found that currently **60%** of Londoners said that they were confident that the CJS is effective in bringing people to justice. Court delays may impact on confidence in the system as people are waiting for justice to be done.

Lack of trust amongst BAME communities in the CJS has been linked to a number of negative outcomes in the CJS, such as driving higher rates of 'not guilty' pleas and 'no comment' interviews, which could lead to more severe sentencing if convicted[31].

Decline in public confidence

The relationship between the police and the public they serve is under pressure. Public confidence has declined in London over recent years – falling from 68**%** from FY 16-17 to **56%** in Q3 FY20-21 - as measured by the London Public Attitude Survey 'how good a job do people think the police do in their local area?' question. Results from the Crime Survey for England and Wales also identify a similar decline wider than London.
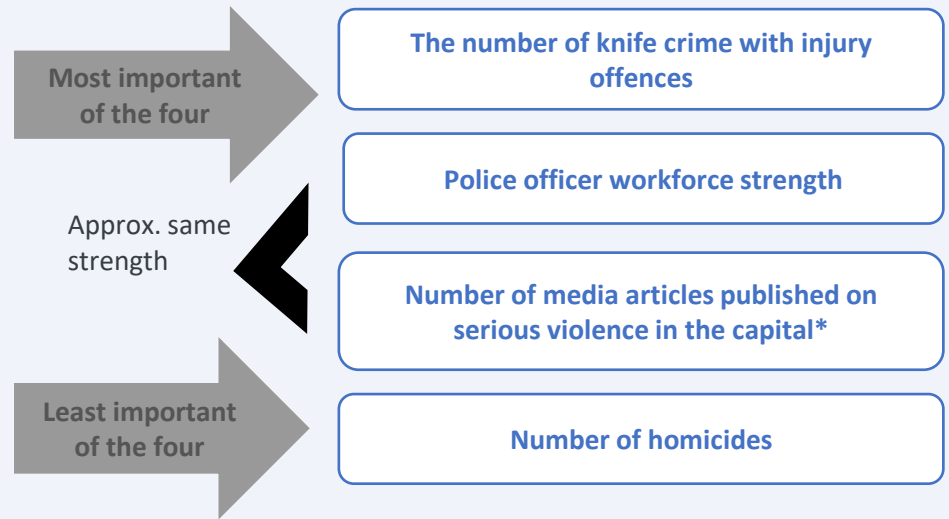
Trust in the police has also declined from 87% 17-18 to **81%** 20-21. Public Trust in the Metropolitan Police Service is higher than trust in Central Government or the Media, but is lower than the NHS[32].
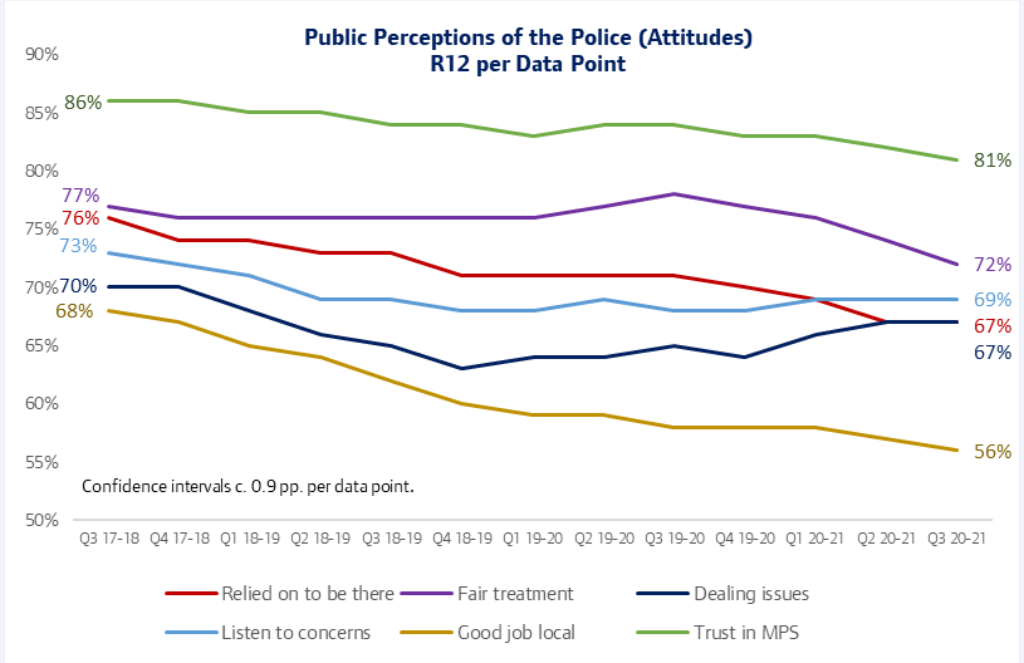
Continued efforts to improve trust and confidence in the police will have tangible benefits for policing as those holding positive views of the MPS are more likely to state they would **help the police**, more likely to **report a crime**, **obey the law** and **comply with police orders**.

"Voluntary support and cooperation is linked to judgements about the legitimacy of the police. A central reason people cooperate with the police is that they view them as legitimate legal authorities, entitled to be obeyed." - Tyler, 2004[33].

Analysis between E&I and Kings College suggested <u>four variables</u> were particularly important in explaining the decline in confidence over recent years:

Most important of the four →	**The number of knife crime with injury offences**
Approx. same strength ◄►	**Police officer workforce strength**
	Number of media articles published on serious violence in the capital*
Least important of the four →	**Number of homicides**

*Article count gathered from News Whip (www.newswhip.com) using key word search parameters related to serious violence in London, excluding terms related to terrorism.

Public Trust & Confidence – Challenges

Neighbourhood policing remains core – local priorities.

Londoners list a range of priorities for policing in their local area, spanning more serious and lower-level issues.

	First priority	Second priority	Third priority	Total
Drugs and drug-related crime	18%	13%	11%	41%
Burglary	17%	13%	10%	40%
Anti-social behaviour (ASB)	14%	16%	13%	43%
Gun/knife crime	13%	12%	10%	34%
Accessibility/visibility of police	11%	9%	10%	30%
Traffic/road related issues	4%	8%	7%	19%
Gangs and gang-related crimes	2%	7%	7%	16%
Acid attacks	0%	6%	9%	15%

The most common local priorities selected were drugs, burglary and ASB, with around over 40% of residents placing these amongst their top three. Beyond this, residents prioritise serious violence (e.g. gun/knife crime, gangs, acid attacks), alongside lower-level issues such as police visibility and traffic-related issues. Most vulnerable wards are more likely to prioritise gun/knife crime, drugs, and gangs; whereas least vulnerable wards are more likely to prioritise burglary, accessibility/visibility, and traffic issues. The PAS can explore local areas – although is not best placed to go hyper local…

Neighbourhood policing remains core – London priorities.

When asked about policing priorities across London, overall there was greater agreement amongst residents.

In particular, **gun/knife crime** emerges as a clear priority, alongside terrorism, drugs and gangs.

	First priority	Second priority	Third priority	Total
Gun/knife crime	49%	27%	9%	84%
Terrorism	24%	14%	10%	48%
Drugs and drug-related crime	8%	20%	18%	46%
Gangs and gang-related crimes	3%	16%	21%	40%
Anti-social behaviour (ASB)	2%	7%	15%	23%
Traffic/road related issues	1%	2%	3%	6%
Acid Attacks	0%	2%	3%	5%

For FY 19-20, Londoners were asked to list their top three policing priorities in their local area and across London. For the first time, the PAS enabled residents to specify a first, second, and third priority in order. This slide presents priorities where over 5% of residents selected them within their top three.

Please note that total percentages do not add up to 100% as residents could select more than one option. Totals may not equal the sum of priorities due to rounding. Data is for FYTD 19-20.

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Public Trust & Confidence – Challenges

Inequalities in public perceptions of the police

There are striking inequalities in public perceptions among different social groups, particularly by **Ethnicity**[34]. To illustrate, Black Londoners are:
 -9pp less likely to be confident in the police
-22pp lower in trusting the MPS
-19pp lower in believing the MPS treat everyone fairly

Londoners from Mixed backgrounds are:
 -9pp less likely to be confident in the police
-12pp lower in trusting the MPS
-22pp lower in believing the MPS treat everyone fairly
Plus, those from Black and Mixed backgrounds are less likely to have positive personal experiences of Stop and Search, and more likely to hear negative things about Stop and Search from others.

Inequalities are also seen by **age**. Those in the 16-24 age group are less likely to have confidence in the police. Conversely, those aged 65 and over are more likely to trust the police.

Confidence and trust in the police, as well as victim satisfaction, are also **lower in more deprived areas of London**. Results are broadly linear: as deprivation *decreases*, perceptions and satisfaction incrementally *increase*. However, Londoners living in less deprived areas also differ demographically from those living in more deprived areas. It is therefore important to consider the impact of deprivation *alongside* demographics and other variables (such as perceptions of police fairness, engagement, effectiveness and transparency/accountability) to build a better picture of how deprivation shapes confidence and trust in the police[35].

Public perceptions are linked to support for a range of police tactics

Nearly everyone (96%) supports the police conducting weapons sweeps, local engagement, and uniformed patrols. However, support is lower for more intrusive tactics, including stop and account (87%), stop and search (84%) and high speed pursuits (83%).

Trust and moral alignment (e.g., feeling the police have the same sense of right and wrong as you do) are important in shaping whether Londoners support these tactics.

Workforce representation

There is a perception gap between whether the MPS should be and if it is reflective of Londoners. Over four-fifths of Londoners agree it is important that the MPS's workforce reflects the population profile of the communities it serves (86%) whereas only around half agree this is currently the case (local police 57%; senior officers 42%).

Victim satisfaction

There is a link between victim satisfaction and perceptions of policing. Those who were satisfied with the service they received when reporting their crime over the phone were significantly more likely to say the police did a good job in their local area (85%) than those with mixed views (48%) or those who were dissatisfied (24%)[36].

The drivers of Trust and Confidence overlap, but also show some divergence

Analysis of the Public Attitude Survey shows that Trust and Confidence are interlinked – but also distinct – concepts. Trust shares some common drivers as Confidence (such as perceptions of police effectiveness and police engagement/treatment), but also some unique relationships. The drivers are shown in the graphic below: Bold lines are stronger relationships, whereas dashed lines are weaker relationships.

Statistical modelling shows that perceptions of **police effectiveness** and **police engagement/treatment** are important in shaping **both** confidence and trust.

Confidence aka. 'good job local'

However, confidence is more strongly associated with **patrol visibility**, **social cohesion** and **local concerns** (ASB, crime & violence). These things do not independently shape trust.

- Police Effectiveness
- Police Engagement/Treatment
- Local Community Cohesion
- Patrol Visibility
- Violence a Problem
- Worry about Crime
- Worry about ASB
- Ethnicity
- Police Transparency/Accountability
- Obedience to Law

Trust

In contrast, Trust is more strongly associated with **police transparency and accountability.**

Ethnicity emerged as a moderate predictor of trust in the police.

Data source: MOPAC Public Attitude Survey, FY 19-20

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Disproportionality-Challenges

Low level of BAME representation in the police service

BAME officer representation is low (currently accounting for **15.4%** of all police officers)[37], as compared to the London population of 44%. Black officers represent 3.5% of police officers.

15% BAME
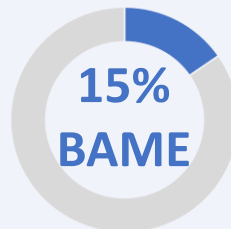
The impact of this is significant – during the consultation for the **Mayor's Action Plan** for improving transparency, accountability and trust in policing - Black Londoners highlighted that they do not see themselves fully reflected in their own police service. Some felt that a lack of diversity and cultural knowledge contributed to incidents where they felt officers had interacted with them based on stereotypes, with low regard for their dignity and respect[38].

The MPS is aiming to increase BAME officer representation to 16% of total officer workforce by 2022, 21% by 2024 and 28% by 2030. Whilst this may not sound challenging and is not reflective of the BAME population of London, the nature of a policing career means it is difficult to make rapid largescale changes[39].

Intersectionality

It is also important to understand the impact of intersectionality and how it can lead to overlapping of discrimination and disproportionality within the Criminal Justice System. Intersectionality refers to the ways in which different aspects of a person's identity can expose them to overlapping forms of discrimination and marginalisation. Aspects of a person's identify can include characteristics such as gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, nationality, age, ability, socioeconomic status, geographic location.

Disproportionality in victimisation

There is also disproportionality in victimisation within London's black communities, particularly evident for violent crime. Between 2008-2018,

Black Londoners were **1.8X** more likely to be victims of knife crime than non-Black Londoners. Almost half of all victims of knife crime are from BAME backgrounds[40].

BAME people represent 44% of London's population but make up 61% of homicide victims (2020) and 67% of those charged with homicide. Black males represent just 13% of the London population but make up almost half (45%) of all knife homicides (2020)[41].

Measuring disproportionality

There is no one standard methodology for defining and measuring disproportionality across the criminal justice system. A range of methods exist, all with different strengths and limitations. The most common of which include percentages, rates per capita, and risk ratios.

The standard Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) category is also problematic, and there is a need to look more deeply into the ethnic minority population when measuring disproportionality.

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Disproportionality-Challenges

Disproportionality in use of police powers

Analysis of London level data shows that there is a large BAME disproportionate contact occurring at the point of **arrest**. The highest disproportionality is for black males, who are almost **3X** more likely to be arrested than white men. The largest disproportionality is for robbery arrests, in which black males are **10X** more likely to be arrested than white males[42].

Disproportionality is also a significant issue for **Stop and Search**, where a BAME individual is more than twice as likely to be Stopped and Searched, and a Black individual **3X** more likely to be Stopped and Searched, despite **outcomes being proportionally in line with those of White individuals**. In the 12 months to February 2021 Black individuals were 6.3 times more likely to be stopped and searched for Weapons, Points and Blades, and 5.7 times more likely for Section 60 Weapons stops[43].

Recent analytics with Kings College London indicated the role of wider societal factors (such as deprivation, population constituents and education) in the disproportionality of Stop and Search.

Recent analysis by the MPS Strategic Insight Unit (SIU) utilised advanced statistical methods to assess the trends and disproportionality in the **Met's Use of Force**[44]. It found that Black Londoners (compared with their share of London's population) disproportionately experience Taser - but that when accounting for other factors (like presence of a weapon) the analysis found that Taser armed officers were no more likely to use Taser on a black Londoner than a white Londoner in encounters where any use of force (i.e. including handcuffs) occurred.

Disproportionality in the youth justice system

Disproportionality is also more evident amongst young offenders and the youth justice system. Black juveniles are more likely to sentenced to immediate custody than White children and Asian children. As a result, children and young people from a BAME background are significantly **over represented in prison**. In London, BAME children and young people accounted for 78% of the average custodial population for 2019/20[45].

78% BAME
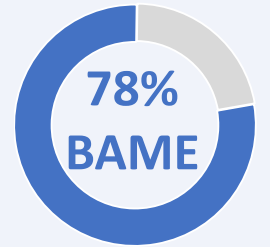
Reoffending rates also remain consistently higher for black reoffenders, as compared to Asian and White reoffenders.

Large inequalities in public perceptions of the police continue to be seen across different communities; most notably for trust and perceptions of police fairness.

Particular inequalities emerge for residents from Black Caribbean and Mixed ethnic backgrounds, and for those identifying as Lesbian, Gay or Bisexual[46].

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Vulnerability – Challenges

Vulnerable People

The concept of vulnerability covers a wide spectrum, including victims, witnesses and suspects. Personal vulnerability factors result from an individual or group's characteristics, identity or status such as age, mental disorder or impairment, disability or physical disorder.

Vulnerability is a rising demand for policing. The police are responding to increasing numbers of incidents involving people facing multiple disadvantages, as well as safeguarding those who need help and protection. For example, between 2015 and 2018 the MPS experienced a **22%** increase of submitted Adults Come to Notice Reports. Highlighted issues included physical, sexual, psychological, neglect and acts of omission or financial abuse[47].

People who offend are also often some of the most vulnerable in society, experiencing a range of issues such as homelessness, abuse, mental illness, addiction and communication difficulties. Academic literature suggests the more vulnerable someone is, the more at risk they are of using violence or being the victim of violent crime[48]. Some of these vulnerabilities appear to have been rising for the past five years including levels of poverty and deprivation.

Connectivity between violence, vulnerability, and criminal exploitation, particularly in relation to adverse childhood experiences and contextual safeguarding provides challenges and opportunities for the MPS. Reducing future demand in these areas will demand difficult choices from the MPS regarding the role of policing in crime prevention and safeguarding[49].

Vulnerable Locations

A growing evidence base demonstrates the highly concentrated nature of violence in London and the impact of vulnerability and deprivation on crime and safety.

For example, analysis conducted by the GLA Strategic Crime Analysis Team found that there is a significant relationship in London at a borough-level between the proportion of the population who are victims of serious youth violence and a range of public health factors including poverty, deprivation, mental wellbeing and educational attainment. The analysis showed that **three-quarters** of the boroughs in London with the highest levels of recorded violence offences are also in the **top 10 most deprived**[50].

The **MOPAC review of the MPS Gangs Matrix** (2018)[51] found that people living in the most vulnerable wards (the top 10%) were six times more likely to become victims of knife crime than those in the least vulnerable wards (bottom 10%). Potential gang members were eleven times more likely to live in the most vulnerable wards.

Further development of socio-demographic analysis would enable a greater understanding of the impact of vulnerability, and the targeting of resources for prevention and early intervention.

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Vulnerability – Challenges

Rising social inequality

Inequality globally is growing, with the gap increasing in terms of income, wealth, education, social mobility and political advantage[52]. Increasing income inequality will likely elevate levels of socioeconomic deprivation, in turn leading to a rise in demand associated with long-standing health and social problems, such as drug abuse, anti-social behaviour and mental health conditions[53].

High levels of income and wealth inequality also have implications for poverty rates, levels of violence and social cohesion[54]. The projected rise in social inequality, as well as constraints on public spending, could mean that policing is presented with ongoing challenges linked to those who suffer from multiple disadvantages[55].

A recent **British Future report** found that some social divisions have been amplified by the disproportional impact of the COVID-19 virus and new sources of divisions are growing more intense. For example, young and old people are viewed as being increasingly opposed. Some people also felt that neighbourliness and community spirit was weaker in areas of high deprivation[56].

Economic challenges and the impact on policing

COVID-19 has had a profound effect on the UK economy and labour market. Overall, it is estimated that output is not expected to recover to 2019 levels until 2022, and the jobs recovery is expected to be slower. Employee jobs fell by 5.5% over 2020 (more than any other region[53]), and the unemployment rate in London continues to rise more quickly than in other parts of the UK[57].

Economic challenges can both increase complex social demands on policing and constrain the resources available to deal with them[58]. This could constrain further investment in policing beyond the current uplift in police numbers. The recent **Future Operating Environment 2040 report** published by College of Policing predicts that in a fiscally constrained environment, competing priorities such as technology investment, training, pension payments and workforce wellbeing will make the affordability challenge ever starker and will require difficult decisions[59].

Research exploring crime rate and economic conditions has also shown a relationship between increasing unemployment rates and rises in crime, especially property crime[60]. Some of this research has identified a multi-year lag in time between economic improvement and the eventual reversal in crime rates. This means that increased crime rates stemming from the pandemic could persist for several years, even in the face of strong economic performance.

COVID-19 Impact and Recovery

Crime

The government's lock-down measures to reduce the spread of COVID-19 have had a significant impact on all crime types. In most cases this has resulted in large reductions in recorded offending - with the exception of **domestic abuse, drug offences, Anti-Social Behaviour,** and **Hate Crime**.

Research conducted by the MPS Strategic Insights Unit concluded that the increase in domestic abuse offences is consistent with annual increases seen every year since 2015. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether the increase in recorded offences can be directly attributed to the coronavirus pandemic[61]. There has however been an increase in demand for domestic abuse victim services during the coronavirus pandemic, particularly affecting domestic abuse helplines and online forums[62].

> Recent analysis conducted by the Kings College London found that the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic varied across crime type – following the first lockdown some crimes recovered extremely quickly in London (such as drugs offences), whereas others did not (robbery)[63].

Courts

As a direct result of the lockdown there has also been an increase in the number of court cases and hearings that are postponed or adjourned, leading to backlogs and delays. Across England and Wales there has been a **22% increase** in the number of cases outstanding at Magistrates' Courts between Jan 2020 and Jan 2021, and a **47% increase** in the number of cases outstanding in Crown Courts[64].

Police Enforcement of COVID-19 regulations

The COVID-19 pandemic has thrusted the service into a new and unfamiliar role: public health policing[65]. Regulations designed to slow the spread of COVID-19 came into force in England, Wales and Scotland on 26 March 2020. These stated that no person may leave the place they are living without a reasonable excuse and gave police powers to enforce this regulation, disperse groups and issue fines for noncompliance. However, there have been challenges for the police in responding to this event and concerns raised about the response.

Between March 2020 and February 2021 the MPS accounted for almost **one sixth** (16%) of all Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs) issued in England under emergency health regulations[66] which is in line with the percentage of the population that reside in London. There has been some evidence of disproportionality in the issuing of fines, with Black and Asian people more likely to be issued with fines and arrest under the coronavirus legislation.

> Analysis published by the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) found that across London, Black individuals were issued with a FPN at a rate of **1.7 times higher** than white people and Asian individuals were issued a FPN at a rate of **1.4 times** higher than white people[67].

COVID-19 Impact and Recovery

Service Delivery

The COVID-19 pandemic has created unique challenges for police demand, response, as well as resource strains and staff shortages. COVID-19 has also impacted on delivery of certain workstreams such as surveys and police recruitment.

> Recent research conducted by the Police Foundation and Crest Advisory found that as the police service delivers business as usual alongside work related to COVID-19, there are growing concerns about workforce wellbeing and fatigue[68].

Trauma and mental health

COVID-19 and lockdown measures exacerbate the risks of vulnerability. For example, with school closures across the country, many vulnerable young people lost a key protective factor – as teachers are often the first to report abuse and raise safeguarding concerns. Regional figures for London show that children in need referrals fell by -6% in the first lockdown (March 20 – June 20). The decrease in referrals is largely accounted for a large drop in March 2020 (**-21%**), but this increased over the following months[69].

Mental health support services were often unavailable in lockdown, and social care referrals fell by almost a fifth in the first lockdown[70].

Funding

Increased government spending coupled with reduced tax revenue has had a dramatic impact on the UK's public finances in this financial year, while the long-term outlook remains very uncertain.

The reduced funding and loss of income to Local Authorities will have a consequent impact on community safety services.

Economy

COVID-19 has had a profound effect on the UK economy and labour market. The economic decline presents challenges by increasing complex social demands on policing whilst at the same time constraining resources available to deal with them.
Research exploring crime rates and economic conditions has also shown a relationship between increasing unemployment rates and rises in crime, especially property crime.

> The Joseph Rowntree Foundation predicts that the numbers in destitution (extreme low incomes) will double in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, plunging a million children into extreme poverty[71].

Overlapping Challenges
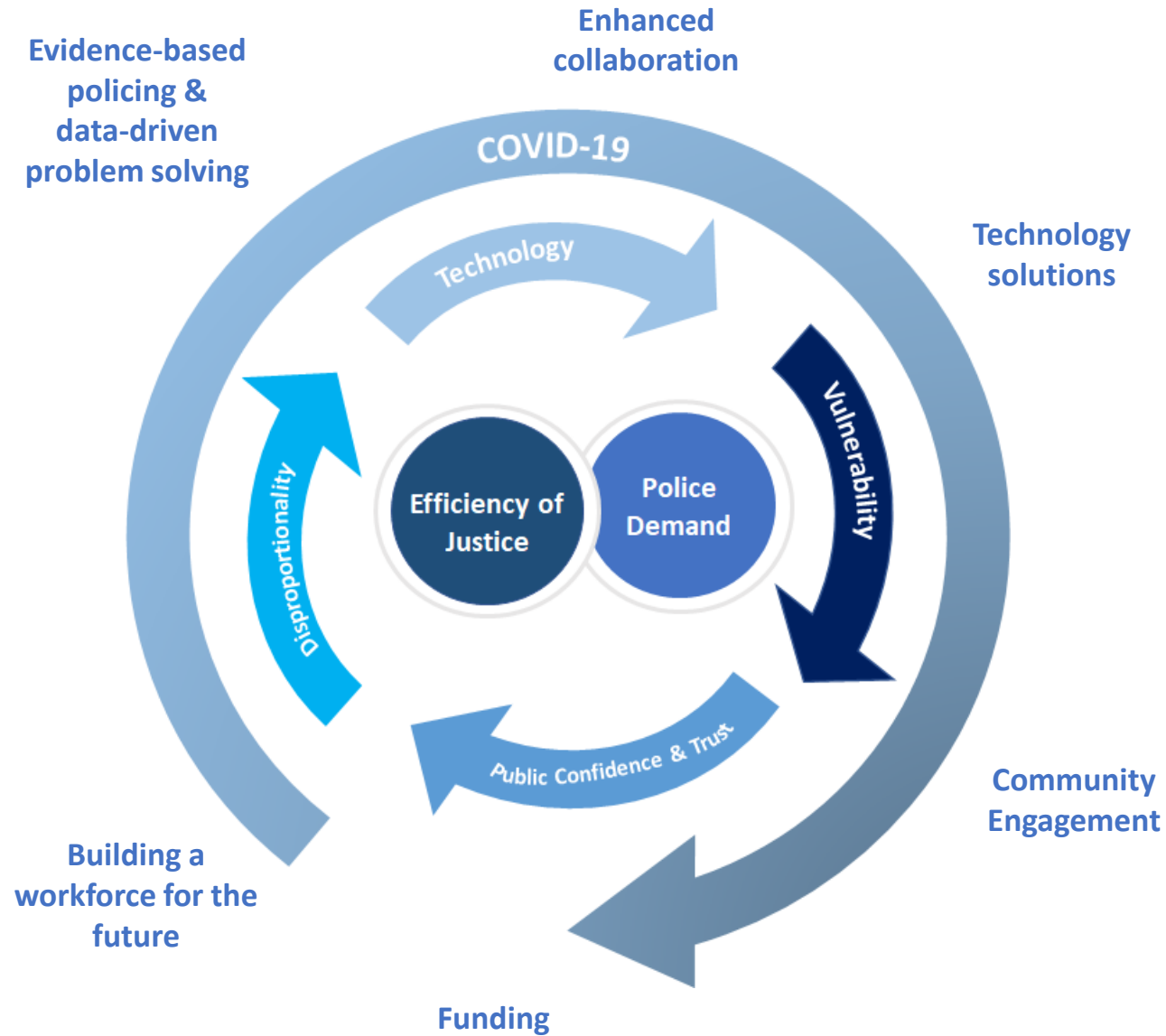
As outlined throughout the pack, the challenges do not exist in isolation – they will overlap and interact in many complex ways at different levels. Attempting to capture the myriad of interactions between the themes and enablers is in itself an exercise worthy of substantial focus, albeit one beyond the scope of the current evidence base.

To enable debate, one potential way to conceptualise the challenges is presented herein. With police demand and efficiency of justice placed in the centre, being influenced by issues of disproportionality, vulnerability, confidence and trust, as well as technology. With COVID-19 serving as an all encompassing matter.

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Conclusion

The challenges

This pack is the culmination of a substantial research method to identify the key challenges for policing (within London) over the next five years. We document that London is changing across many dimensions (i.e., population, diversity) and the landscape of crime and policing has changed. Sitting alongside are the implications of a global pandemic as well as wider aspects that previously would have been likely out of the explicit scope for policing to address. Ultimately, these fashion a remarkable series of challenges.

As outlined, the key strategic issues identified: **Covid-19**, **The change in Police demand**, **Technology**, **Efficiency of Justice**, **Public Trust and Confidence**, **Disproportionality** and **Vulnerability**.

These issues emerged consistency across our evidence base.

The themes **do not exist in isolation** and there are overlaps between them. While it can be useful to think about the impact of each challenge individually (i.e., disproportionality in police tactics, reducing trust in the police, falling number of arrests – and so on) it is the interplay between these themes that present the new challenges and implications for crime and policing in London.

Just 10 years ago, reductions in specific crime categories were a core emphasis for policing in London. The debate has moved forwards. There is now a much wider and complex range of demands upon policing (as well as wider society) and the eventual measures of police success will need to reflect this.

Looking forward

It is hoped the results can be used to inform the development of the next London Police and Crime Plan. The evidence base was developed with a London focus in mind – so should be of value for other London crime and justice partners. However, the issues identified are not necessarily unique to London, and learning within the pack could well stretch to partners further afield (national or international value).

The document identifies the substantial challenges ahead, highlighting their breadth and complexity. Sitting alongside are a range of enablers that, to some degree, provide a starting point from which to form a response. We outline the need for **Enhanced collaboration, Evidence based policing**, **Building a workforce for the future**, **community engagement**, **technology solutions**, and **funding.**

It is not an understatement to say that the police service will require new skills, competencies and infrastructure to meet these challenges. Policing for the future will depend on modern technology, an agile workforce, sophisticated analytics, sustainable funding, and proactive engagement with London's communities.

Yet, many of the future challenges demand a **system-wide attention** and are not just the responsibility of police. Collaboration becomes imperative and should be a focus across all aspects of working and evidence.

Whist this is the completion of the evidence base – the analytics do not end. The evidence base will form a core aspect of the Police and Crime Plan, and following this, a new programme of research and analytics will be developed to support MOPAC to compete it's statutory responsibility in holding the MPS to account.

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