

Policing – a vision for 2025

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The media is full of stories about the threat of cyberattack on states, companies and individuals. Uber and AirBnB have fundamentally disrupted long established industries. Citizens can file tax returns and apply for passports online. But only a tiny proportion of police forces around the world offer citizens the ability to report crime online and then to track the progress of their case.

Yet policing affects all of us. It is a vital element in any properly functioning society. And it is a basic tenet of policing that “the police are the public and ... the public are the police”. It must then keep pace with changes in society, whatever the challenges involved. This paper describes the current challenges facing police forces and proposes ways in which Chief Officers should address them.

Effective policing is a vital element in any properly functioning society

There are few individuals and communities who will not turn to the police at moments of crisis. An estimated 240 million calls are made to 911 in the US each year¹, while approximately 131 million calls were made to the European emergency number 112 in 2013². Police officers themselves deal with those moments of crisis and the threat – or reality – of personal danger on a daily basis, often many times a day. 123 US police officers died in the line of duty in 2015³. Despite these dangers, we expect the police to be there when we need them.



“The prevention of crime and the successful, timely and efficient apprehension and conviction of criminals, their humane treatment and effective rehabilitation are amongst the highest obligations of the state in the discharge of its duty to protect its citizens and their property. The police service is one of the most important instruments by which peace, order and security are maintained.”⁴

Nor does crime affect us only as individuals. In 2010, the direct annual costs of violent crime alone ranged from \$90 million per year in Seattle to around \$200 million per year in Boston, Jacksonville, and Milwaukee, to more than \$700 million in Philadelphia and nearly \$1.1 billion for Chicago.⁵ The annual cost of fraud in the UK could be as high as £193 billion per year.⁶

A recent McKinsey Global Institute report calculated that “intimate partner violence” against women costs about \$4.9 billion in the US annually. 70 percent of this comes from direct medical costs, 15 percent from lost productivity and 15 percent from lost earnings over women’s lifetimes⁷, while a 2005 report calculated that the average medical cost for women victimised by physical domestic violence was \$483.⁸ Early intervention to disrupt repeat offending could significantly reduce these costs, and – much more importantly – prevent women from suffering violence.

1 Data from the National Emergency Number Association

2 European Commission – Digital Single Market

3 National Law Enforcement Officers’ Memorial Fund

4 The State of Policing 2015, Sir Tom Winsor, HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary

5 “The Economic Benefits of Reducing Violent Crime: A Case Study of 8 American Cities”, R. J. Shapiro and K. A. Hassett, June 2012

6 Annual Fraud Indicator 2016, based on research from University of Portsmouth Counter Fraud Centre

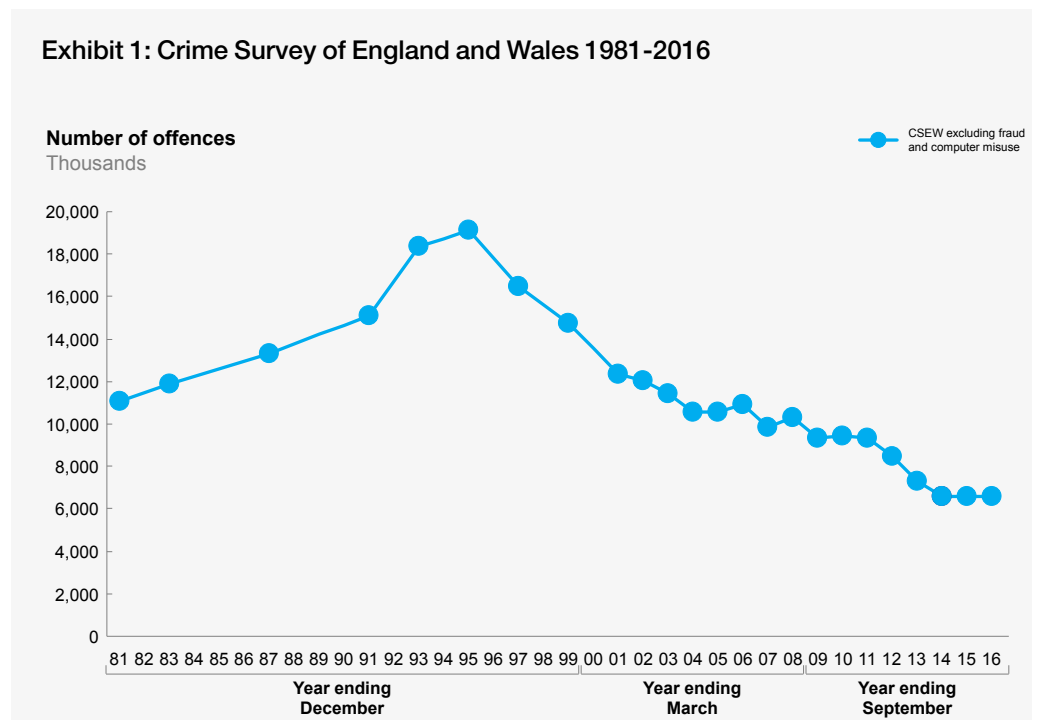
7 “The Power of Parity: Advancing Women’s Equality in the United States”, McKinsey Global Institute, April 2016

8 Centre for Disease Control and Prevention

The economic benefit of effective policing, to prevent crime, is obvious. But so are the broader benefits to society. The vulnerable are protected. Citizens are more productive and businesses are more likely to invest when they feel secure. Civic pride and responsibility can more easily flourish.

Police forces must adapt to a changing context

Crime itself is changing. Many countries, such as England and Wales have seen an overall fall in crime rates, driven by large reductions in acquisitive crime (Exhibit 1).



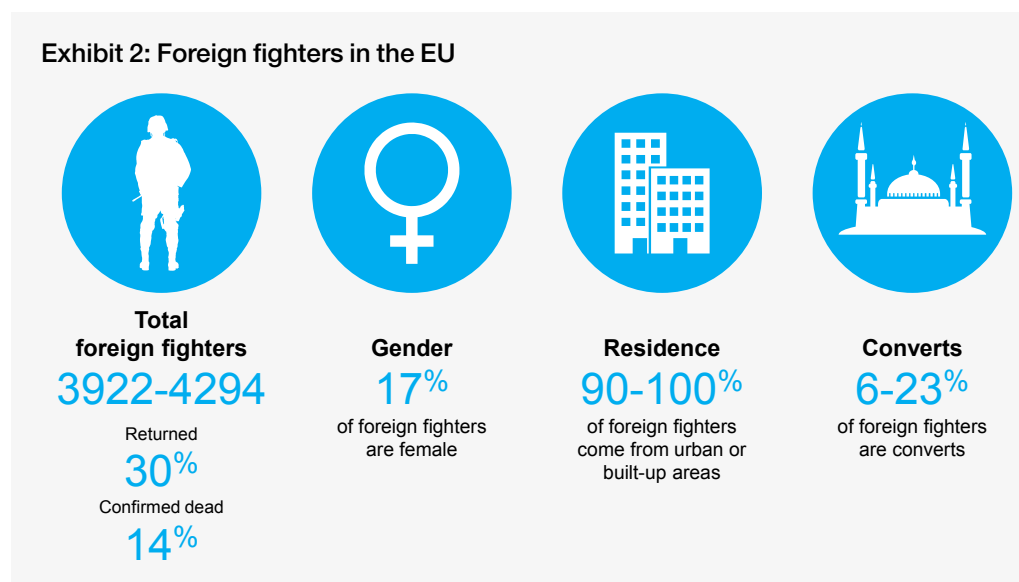
But within that overall fall, emerging trends are clear. The Internet created online crime, which has not featured in “traditional” crime statistics⁹. As the digital world develops at pace, criminals identify new opportunities. Some crimes, such as “trolling” and “phishing”¹⁰, simply did not exist before the Internet. For other crime types, such as viewing indecent images of children, the digital world has resulted in the industrialisation of offending. Online forms of harassment and stalking now make up a significant proportion of such offences. Major businesses, such as Sony, TV5 Monde, Aramco and TalkTalk have been the target of high-profile attacks. New criminal marketplaces have emerged on the Dark Web trading the skills and software needed for cybercriminality. Crime is becoming increasingly transnational. The victim of online crime and its perpetrator may well be in different jurisdictions, perhaps on opposite sides of the world. And the scale of offending is such that investigation and prosecution can never be the whole answer.

⁹ In 2015, the Crime Survey of England and Wales was amended to include questions about cybercrime. Experimental statistics showed there were 3.6 million fraud and 2.0 million computer misuse offences for the first full year in which such questions have been included

¹⁰ E-mail where the sender purports to be a trustworthy institution to obtain financial or other details

Other crimes, such as domestic abuse, human trafficking and the sexual exploitation of children have always existed, but have been hidden or ignored. The public are increasingly demanding law enforcement action against such crimes, while victims are more willing to come forward. Seven percent of adults in England and Wales reported in 2016 that they had been sexually assaulted as children.¹¹ 47,000 sexual offences against children were reported last year.¹² In Australia, there were between 3,400 and 4,800 substantiated cases of child sex abuse reported annually between 2004-05 and 2012-13, but academic studies of prevalence concluded that 12.2 percent of women and 4.1 percent of men had suffered penetrative sex abuse.¹³

The terrorist threat is also evolving. Social media has given groups such as Daesh powerful propaganda tools, inspiring thousands to travel from Europe to Syria and Iraq to join Daesh; some have returned to Europe, with battle experience, ready to attempt attacks in their home countries. It is estimated that between 3,922 and 4,294 of these “foreign fighters” have travelled from the EU alone; research indicates that an average of 30 percent subsequently returned to their countries of departure¹⁴ (Exhibit 2). Others have been radicalised entirely online. Large movements of migrants across borders offer the potential for concealment, for terrorists and criminals. Failing or failed states offer ungoverned space in which they can base themselves. This heightened and unpredictable threat demands a rapid response and cross-agency coordination, within countries and across borders.



11 Crime Survey of England and Wales, August 2016

12 “How safe are our children? The most comprehensive overview of child protection in the UK 2016”, H. Bentley, O. O’Hagan, A. Raff, I. Bhatti, London: NSPCC, 2016

13 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Child protection Australia 2011-12, AIHW, Canberra, 2013: “Is child sexual abuse declining? Evidence from a population based survey of men and women in Australia, M. Dunne, D. Purdie, M. Cook, F. Boyle, J. Najman, 2003

14 “The Foreign Fighters Phenomenon in the European Union”, The International Centre for Counter Terrorism, The Hague, April 2016

As a result, the focus of law enforcement is shifting from the public to the private space. Officers visibly patrolling our streets are still important to keep us safe, but police forces need to replicate that reassuring, deterrent presence online. Citizens and governments must decide the extent to which they want, and are prepared to allow, policing of domestic spaces through law enforcement access to communications and other data.

As crime changes and previous distinctions between “local” and “international” crime blur, **the responsibilities of police forces, intelligence agencies, the armed forces and policy makers become ever more closely entwined.** Even local police forces need the ability to pursue investigations abroad. Information held by one organisation is likely to be of value to others; the true picture may only be apparent by drawing together information from a range of agencies. Mohammed Bouhlel, who killed 86 people and injured 434 others in the terrorist attack in Nice on 14 July 2016, was known to the police for petty crime and domestic violence, but not in connection with terrorism.

A significant proportion of police resources is devoted to a small group (often both offenders and victims) who have repeated interactions with the police. Such individuals are often also heavy users of other public services, such as health, social welfare and housing. Research in 2015 estimated there were 58,000 people in England who faced the overlapping problems of homelessness, substance misuse and contact with the criminal justice system in any one year. Around 40 percent also experienced mental health problems.¹⁵ The best response – for both the individual and the tax payer – will only be possible if agencies come together, share information and work collaboratively.

While technology poses a threat, it is also an opportunity for law enforcement.

Almost all crimes, however unsophisticated, now generate digital evidence. New technology offers dramatically new ways of working: access to police systems on mobile devices reduces the need to return to the police station and the administrative burden; new techniques can speed investigations (e.g., rapid DNA testing and roadside drugs testing); body-worn video has been found to reduce complaints against the police by 93 percent¹⁶ (Exhibit 3). Perhaps most important of all is the potential to use advanced analytics to deliver more effective policing, including for crime prevention. An academic assessment of the use of predictive policing in relation to robberies in Milan, Italy, concluded that “predicting policing improves police patrolling by a large degree (. . .). Benefits appear to outweigh the cost by a factor of 5”¹⁷.

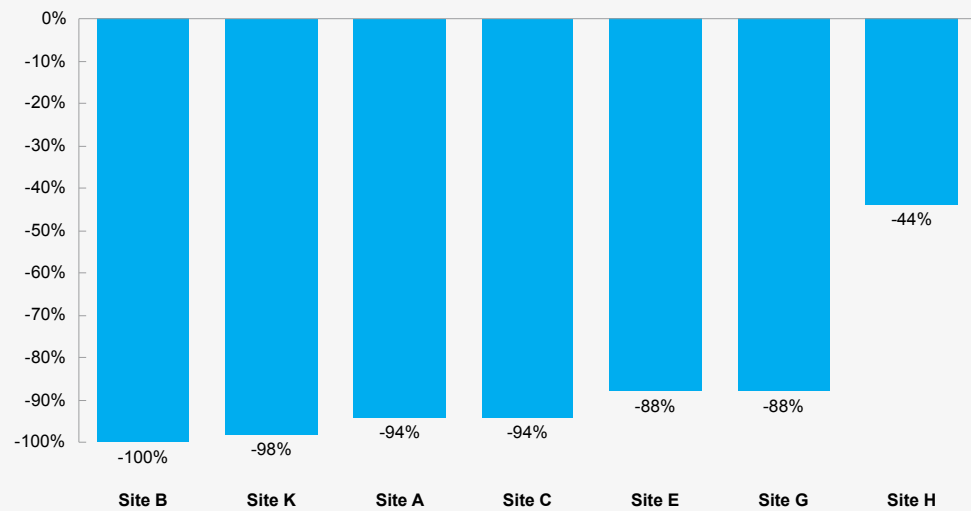
15 “Hard Edges: Mapping severe and multiple disadvantage”, S. Fitzpatrick, G. Bramley et al., LankellyChase Foundation, London 2014

16 “Contagious Accountability”, University of Cambridge analysis in criminal justice and behaviour, September 2016

17 “Information Technology and Police Productivity”, G. Mastrobuoni, University of Essex, 2015

Exhibit 3: Reduction in complaints against police officers across 7 sites after the introduction of body worn video

Percentage change



Populations are less trusting of public bodies, while at the same time increasingly demanding. In 1829, the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police in London set out the principles of policing (the “Peelian Principles” after Sir Robert Peel, the British Home Secretary, and founder of modern policing).



“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.”

That social contract between police and public is under acute strain in some places. Social media has brought much greater scrutiny of the actions of individual officers. Rapid demographic changes can compound tensions. Gallup polling in the US in 2015 saw public confidence at its lowest point (52 percent) since polling began in 1992, although this improved to 56 percent in 2016. Significantly, the figure was 62 percent and 39 percent for whites and non-whites amongst those polled¹⁸ and that difference has been starkly demonstrated by Black Lives Matter protests across the US and beyond.

¹⁸ Gallup.com, June 2016

Other organisations, such as major retailers and commercial service providers and public services like tax administrations are ever more **customer orientated** and digitally driven. The public are increasingly impatient with old models of service from the police. Yet while the public increasingly expects high quality, digital access to public services, the public's attachment to visible, local policing is strong. Victims of crime want a human, local response – even if the perpetrator is thousands of miles away. So police forces must strike a difficult balance: **they must remain intensely local** to understand and reassure the communities they serve, while expensive, specialist capabilities and the overseas inquiries that they increasingly need will often **best be delivered regionally, at state level or nationally**.

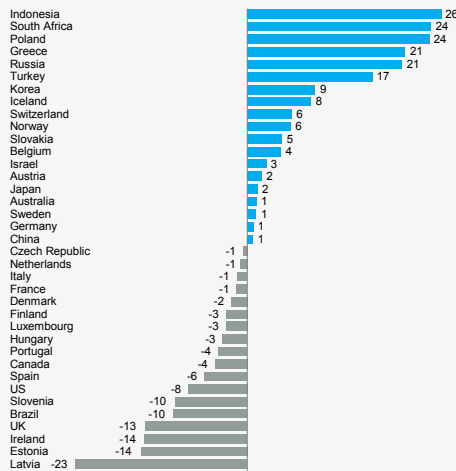
A **differently shaped and skilled workforce** and a new operating model for police forces are needed. New skills are required at every level (data analytics, digital investigation, skills to deal with highly vulnerable victims and language skills). Data and digital can no longer be the preserve of the specialist.

Many forces are experiencing **pressure on public finances**. Across the world, budgets are being squeezed, often significantly more than in other government departments. In 2011-15, across 37 countries analysed, real expenditure on public order and safety fell in half of all countries, and in per capita terms, it fell in nearly two thirds of all countries¹⁹ (Exhibit 4). That makes investment in transformation particularly difficult.

Exhibit 4: Changes in expenditure on public order and safety 2011-15

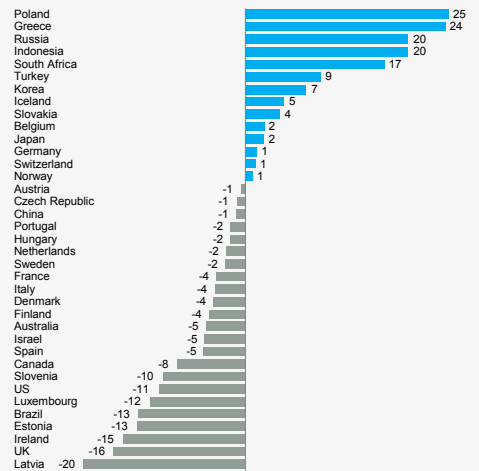
In half of the countries analysed, real expenditure on public order and safety decreased between 2011-15

Percentage change in real expenditure in public order and safety, 2011-15



In 2/3 of the countries analysed, real per capita expenditure on public order and safety decreased between 2011-15

Percentage change in real per capita expenditure in public order and safety, 2011-15



SOURCE: Forthcoming research on government productivity by McKinsey Centre for Government

19 Forthcoming research on government productivity by McKinsey Centre for Government



Six changes police forces must make

Addressing these challenges successfully requires an integrated transformation effort that engages the whole workforce:

1. Reskill the workforce for 21st century challenges

Police forces must equip their workforces with the skills and expertise to meet these challenges. A modern police officer is expected to have the skills to deal with a wide range of scenarios: from identifying individuals at risk of radicalisation, or “grooming” for sexual exploitation or trafficking, to collecting and triaging digital evidence and investigating online crime, to dealing with highly vulnerable people and a wide range of communities and gathering evidence from them.

This broad range of requirements challenges the traditional model of generalist police officers with a career for life. Forces must fully tap into the talents of all their workforce, including civilian staff and volunteers and ensure that the workforce properly reflects all the communities served by the force. Forces may need to adapt their operating model to recognise that few individuals will have all the skills needed to deliver every one of these requirements.

In Bavaria, the police force ran a recruitment campaign targeting immigrant communities. Applicants did not have to be German citizens, as long as they could speak fluent German and had lived in Germany for at least five years.

The Metropolitan Police Service in London has recently insisted that recruits have lived within the force area for at least three of the last six years (to mirror the much wider range of communities represented in London, compared to many other areas of the UK) and has in some recruitment campaigns required a second language. The College of Policing in the UK is leading work to make policing a graduate profession, either at entry, or through continuing learning programmes for officers.

Forces need to recruit and retain specialists and for individuals to move into and out of policing. Forces must provide training opportunities for new and existing officers and staff, develop performance management structures that reflect the skills required and reward innovation and autonomous decision making²⁰.

20 “Leadership Review”, UK College of Policing, June 2015

2. Put data analytics at the heart of the organisation

Police forces collect and generate large quantities of data every day. Even applying relatively straightforward analytics to police data can improve performance, when incorporated into decision making and resource allocation²¹. Combining it with analysis of social media and other available data can be even more powerful.

Police forces should use analytics to understand the demands to which they must respond, in order to prioritise and allocate resources and manage performance. But analytics is not just an efficiency tool: it can triage forensic examination of large volumes of digital evidence and drives crime prevention by identifying patterns of suspicious activity for investigation and opportunities to target prevention activity.

Nor are software tools alone enough. Forces must put analysis at the heart of their decision-making processes. They need a workforce with the right digital skills across the whole organisation, not just a small team of specialists. Leaders and managers must understand the value of analytics to improve the service they provide. Existing processes and structures will need to change to incorporate insights from data analytics. Forces will also need ethical and policy frameworks that properly govern their use of data, to protect and reassure the public.

Many forces hold data across multiple legacy IT systems. Any analytics solution will need to work across multiple systems. Consistent, open standards for data and technology are key for interoperability within an organisation and to facilitate sharing of information between police investigators, prosecutors, the courts and other bodies.

3. Integrate technology to maximise performance

Technology is easy to buy. But its value is lost unless it is properly integrated into forces' operating models. Successful introduction of new technology requires an agile approach to procurement, plus significant business change, to achieve an operating model that derives maximum benefit. Some changes may require amendments to legislation or codes of practice. For example, police regulations may oblige officers to return to their police station to complete certain tasks, such as interview records, even if mobile devices allow them to perform those tasks anywhere. Culture change may also be needed to encourage autonomous decision making; technology can ensure that officers make decisions within the law and codes of practice, without the need for supervision.



“Technological changes may not bring about easy and substantial improvements in police performance without significant planning and effort, and without infrastructure and norms that will help agencies maximise the benefits of technology.”²²

21 “Predictive Policing: the Role of Crime Forecasting”, Rand 2013, “What Caused the Crime Decline?”, Roeder, Eisen and Bowling, Brennan Center for Justice (which identifies a 5-15 percent reduction in crime in those cities using CompStat methodology)

22 “Realising the Potential of Technology in Policing: a multi-site study of the social, organisational and behavioural aspects of implementing policing technologies”, Koper, Lum, Willis, Woods, Hibdon, George Mason University and the Police Executive Research Forum, December 2015

New technology increases opportunities for evidence collection. Almost every crime now has a digital footprint. Digital forensics and investigation can no longer be the exclusive preserve of high-tech crime units. Frontline officers need basic skills in digital evidence collection and preservation. Forces must triage and examine vast volumes of digital information.

Body-worn video can increase public confidence in the police and has been shown to reduce dramatically the number of complaints against officers²³ and to reduce the use of force in arrests²⁴.

4. Optimise processes and structures

Successful transformation will require investment. Ensuring that existing operational processes are as efficient as possible will release savings which can be invested elsewhere.

Improvements to case management in a southern European police force resulted in the number of files being processed per day increasing by 50-90 percent across departments and 40 percent more files being transferred for indictment.

In the Swedish Police region of Uppsala, using lean methodologies saw a drop of 27 percent in the number of cases remaining open and a 42 percent increase in the number of cases an investigator dealt with.

At Charles de Gaulle airport in Paris, the introduction of a “lean” approach increased capacity at border control points and reduced waiting times. In less than a year the number of people waiting for more than 15 minutes at border control dropped from 43 percent to 7 percent. The approach was replicated in other large French airports.²⁵

On-the-spot fines, diversion to driver training for minor motoring offences or informal resolution for cases of low-level criminality help reduce demand on resources for investigation and prosecution.

Much policing is intensely local in character: police officers must know and understand the communities they serve. However, the challenges described in this paper require increasingly specialist skills. Small forces cannot afford to acquire and retain those specialist capabilities. Yet their communities have the right to expect access to those capabilities. Forces should consider sharing specialist capabilities and physical estates and collaborating, integrating or outsourcing back-office functions such as finance, HR or IT services.

23 “Contagious Accountability”, University of Cambridge analysis in Criminal Justice and Behaviour, September 2016

24 “Testing the Effects of Body Worn Video on Police Use of Force during Arrest: A Randomised Controlled Trial”, D. Henstock, Wolfson College, 2015

25 “Magazine Civique”, French Ministry of the Interior, November 2011

Collaboration/integration need not be confined to police forces. There are successful collaborations between the police and other emergency services and local government and between police forces and commercial organisations.

Lincolnshire Police achieved savings of 18 percent in the first year of an outsourcing contract with G4S, which covered a range of services, including custody and control rooms.²⁶

Project GRIFFIN, established in 2004 in London has seen private security guards across the capital engaged in a counter-terrorism partnership with the police.²⁷

In 2012, Renault signed an agreement with the French Gendarmerie Nationale to work together to combat auto theft. The agreement gave the Gendarmerie access to the carmaker's technical toolboxes and databases and Renault access to the Gendarmerie's knowledge of auto theft techniques.

Such collaboration can have operational benefits, such as increasing local resilience, as well as delivering efficiency savings. Successful collaboration does require clear operational and political governance and an agreed mechanism for prioritisation of tasks and allocation of resources.

5. Collaborate with other agencies to get the best outcome for citizens

Police officers can feel they are the “social welfare service of last resort”. Many incidents to which the police are called involve individuals who require support from a range of public sector organisations. Police cells may be the only place of safety available. The system of social care provision can be complex for individuals to navigate, particularly those in crisis or vulnerable. Effective collaboration between the police and other agencies is essential to ensure that individuals get the right response, from the right organisation, at the right time – and in the most cost-effective way.



Ten pilots of “Liaison and Diversion” services in the UK demonstrated that having ready access to expert advice on dealing with vulnerable people (particularly those with mental health problems) improved charging decisions and provision of services and saved police time.²⁸

²⁶ “G4S Lincolnshire Strategic Partnership – One Year On”, Lincolnshire Police and Crime Commissioner and G4S, June 2013

²⁷ Gov.uk, MPS and City of London Police Web sites

²⁸ “Evaluation of the Offender Liaison and Diversion Schemes”, Rand Europe, 2016

Siloed budgets, structures and governance can make collaboration between organisations difficult. Culture, performance management systems which incentivise individual over collective achievement and working practices can be obstacles. Legislators' intent to protect citizens' privacy through data protection frameworks can make practitioners reluctant to share, even when legally permissible. Time and again reviews of the deaths of those previously identified by public authorities as at risk, point to a lack of integrated service provision and of effective information sharing as contributory factors.²⁹

Successful collaboration requires shared objectives amongst the organisations involved and the office holders to which they are responsible, along with agreed prioritisation, deployment and tasking mechanisms and agreed information-sharing arrangements.

6. Improve engagement to gain public trust

As the public's digital experiences improve, the contrast with police forces grows. Police forces need to share information with their communities and to obtain information from them. They need to engage digitally with "generation meh", but cannot ignore those who are digitally excluded.

The Dutch National Police Web site was voted "Web site of the Year" in the Netherlands in 2015 and the force's apps have been downloaded by 10 percent of the population. Spain's Policia Nacional has 2.3 million followers on Twitter, more than the FBI, and the largest follower community of any police force.

Better engagement should improve public confidence in the police. But there is more to public trust than that. As the public are less accepting of authority and have wide access to information and comment, police forces must work hard to explain the challenges and ethical and operational dilemmas they face and the constraints under which they operate. Public consultation, such as ethics panels, opportunities for the public to question senior officers or to go out on patrol with officers can have value. Publication of data about police performance, actions, such as shootings and other issues such as complaints helps the public monitor and challenge the police on an informed basis.

In England and Wales, HM Inspectorate of Constabulary inspect all 43 police forces annually as part of the PEEL programme (Police Efficiency, Effectiveness and Legitimacy); their performance is graded under each heading, against a range of criteria and the data published in full online, alongside an array of contextual information about the force and the area it serves.³⁰

²⁹ See for example: "Responding to child deaths: the work of Australia's Victorian Child Death Review Committee", R. Sheehan, *European Journal of Social Work*, April 2015

³⁰ www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmic/our-work/peel-assessments/



Making change happen

Policing has always felt the pressure of social change. But the scale and unpredictability of current shifts feel very great and demand some fundamental re-evaluation of traditional policing models.

All forces face these challenges; many forces have already begun a transformation journey and some have made real progress.

New Zealand Police responded to the pressures of the international financial crisis, rising costs in the justice and security sector and the changing threat picture, by launching “Prevention First” in 2009. This transformation programme included the rollout of mobile technology to officers, retraining them to focus on crime prevention and to work closely with social sector agencies. The police also introduced advanced financial management practices to drive efficiency. As a result, between 2008 and 2014, New Zealand’s homicide rate fell from 1.20 to 0.90 per 100,000, while the proportion of people reporting confidence in the police rose from 78 percent to 84 percent. Compared to 2008/09, by June 2014, the police had freed up 1.26 million hours for reinvestment into prevention activity and recorded crime reduced by 20.1 percent.

Unsurprisingly, given the scale of the task, we have found no forces which have achieved everything. Police forces can find it particularly hard to change quickly. Police employment has traditionally meant “a career for life”, making it harder to bring in different skills quickly. The public and politicians are rightly attached to “visible policing”: the officer on the beat, even though, in some circumstances, a technology-driven response may be more effective. Legislation can restrict the police’s ability to exploit technology or respond to new crime types. Legislative change is slow and uncertain. Most significant of all is the unrelenting pressure of the core mission and public expectation. Dealing with today’s emergencies can distract from long-term strategic planning.

Yet police chiefs must address these challenges. They should focus resolutely on achieving change in the most pressing areas for their force, recognising that the sorts of changes described here will not be achieved all at once or quickly. They should seek learning from evidence-based academic research and from other sectors; while policing is unique in what it does, there are many lessons from other sectors in how organisations transform to improve and maintain performance. Particularly in relation to computer-enabled crime, police chiefs should look for opportunities to work with industry to reduce the threat.

Nor should we expect police chiefs and their forces to deliver this transformation unaided. Politicians, oversight bodies and the public will rightly continue to challenge police chiefs to deliver more and better for all sections of the public. But they must also acknowledge the changing crime threats and context and recognise that there are uncomfortable choices to be made about where the police should devote their resources. Facing the future requires a clear vision, an agile approach to technology adoption and accompanying changes to processes, workforce and the operating model.

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