



The New Conservatives' Plan to Cut Crime

Marco Longhi MP

thenewconservatives.co.uk

Contents

Introduction	3
Common Sense	8
Impartial Policing	18
Accountable Leadership	25
Conclusion	28
Appendix – Peelian Principles	29
Endnotes	30

Introduction

The Principles of Policing

The Conservative Party has long prided itself on being the party of law and order. Freedom of the individual and the bonds of community cannot be realised without the fundamental security provided by the state. Policing is essential to ensuring society can be both free and secure. Conservatism rejects the progressive argument that policing is an authoritarian weapon as well as the libertarian idea that policing is an infringement of our liberties. Law and order is the guarantee of civilization.

Conservatism's defence of law and order goes back to its eighteenth century origins. Edmund Burke condemned the revolutionary violence that engulfed France, collapsing one of Europe's most civilised nations into anarchy and then despotism. Sir Robert Peel, the future founder of the Conservative Party, was instrumental in establishing the Metropolitan Police in 1829. As a pioneering Home Secretary, Peel put conservative values at the heart of British law enforcement and became the "father of modern policing". Peel only secured parliamentary approval for the Metropolitan Police after giving assurances that the police force would not give arbitrary power to the state over its citizens. This was to avoid the French experience with Napoleon Bonaparte's intrusive and authoritarian state police.

Instead of being secretive agents of the state, the Metropolitan Police was intended to be part of the citizenry, made visible by their uniforms, becoming known as "Peelers" and then "Bobbies". Peelian principles, drafted by the first commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, famously declared that "The police are the public and the public are the police." It is this Peelian concept of policing by consent that defines British law enforcement. In this country, law and order relies on the public working with the police, rather than the police being a blunt instrument used by the state. Consequently, the powers of the police have to be well defined and used appropriately. Peelian principles are based around

the central tenets that policing should aim to prevent crime from occurring, receive support from the public as responsible citizens, and operate impartially and with the community's trust.¹

The police were also much more localised in their origins than they are today. As the borough and county local governments were reformed during the nineteenth century, more local police forces were established. Victorian Britain had more than 200 constabularies.² Today we have 43 territorial police forces in England and Wales that cover vast areas. Policing in Scotland and Northern Ireland are devolved matters. The Metropolitan Police is not only responsible for policing London but it also bears some national responsibilities, including counter-terrorism. The introduction of directly-elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) was intended to inject some local democracy into the system but has not reversed the loss of focus on local issues and concerns. Instead, policing remains overly bureaucratic, leading to losses in efficiency and innovation.

There is a clear argument to be made that British policing is itself in need of reform. Of course, crime has a range of causes, of which many are beyond the control of the police. The criminal justice system's shortcomings, especially around convictions and sentencing, must be addressed to deliver better policing. Without a doubt, the police and prosecutors need to crack down on crime and response times, and overcome the low conviction rates for rape and domestic violence.³ New initiatives such as Operation Soteria, bringing together academics and police forces to improve the national model for investigating and prosecuting rape, has made some welcome progress. We also need to see a firmer approach to vandalism, shoplifting, and burglary. There should be a return to "broken windows" policing, meaning that visible signs of law breaking, such as vandalism and drunken behaviour, should be targeted by robust neighbourhood police teams to create a stronger sense of public order.

Impartiality

Impartiality is essential in policing and is another aspect of today's policing that is in dire need of attention. Despite efforts from the Government to cut crime and recruit 20,000 more police officers to keep our streets safe, the police are not acting with impartiality when it comes to many of the contentious issues of the day, which have become a distraction from crime reduction. All too often the police and prosecutors acquiesce to those preoccupied with left-wing agendas. This has led to instances where protestors can call for jihad without arrest and protestors obstructing highways are given water and suntan lotion.⁴ It also led to officers taking the knee in front of Black Lives Matter protestors during the Covid-19 lockdowns but making arrests of women at a vigil held in the memory of Sarah Everard at Clapham Common. It was especially shocking to see the Chief Constable of Kent Police, Alan Pughsley, taking a knee in "solidarity" with protestors.⁵

It is imperative that a blind eye is not turned to the public disruption from protests that threatens to undermine policing by consent and gives cause to suspect police partiality. Although policing by consent continues to be referenced by today's police leadership, this idea has been trampled on by the followers of social justice. Chief Constables have allowed the police, like an increasing

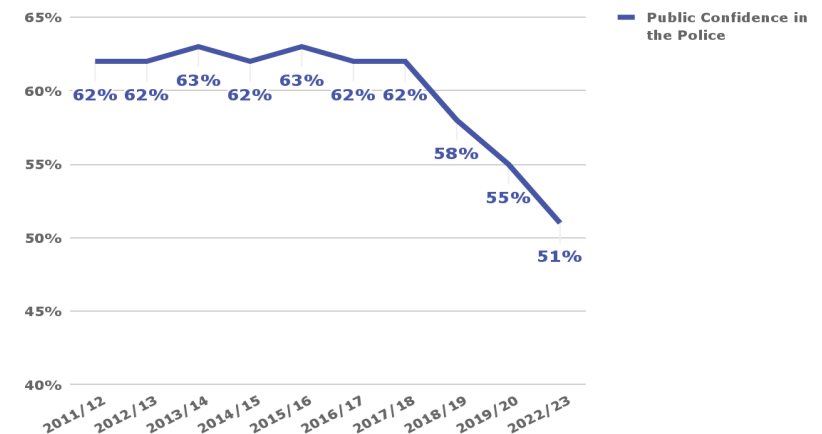
number of British institutions, to capitulate to politically contentious ideologies in recent years. The likes of Extinction Rebellion, Black Lives Matter, Just Stop Oil, and – most recently – Israel-Gaza protestors.

In short, the police are falling short of the principle of impartiality. Protests have brought to the fore that the balance is off between acknowledging the right to protest and the right of everyone else to have public order maintained. By shying away from enforcing the law against those that are difficult to manage, the police implicitly condone criminal activity at protests. The Prime Minister was right to address this issue directly and make clear to senior police officers that the public expect them to not just manage the protests, but to police them.⁶ A new framework is certainly needed.

Public Trust

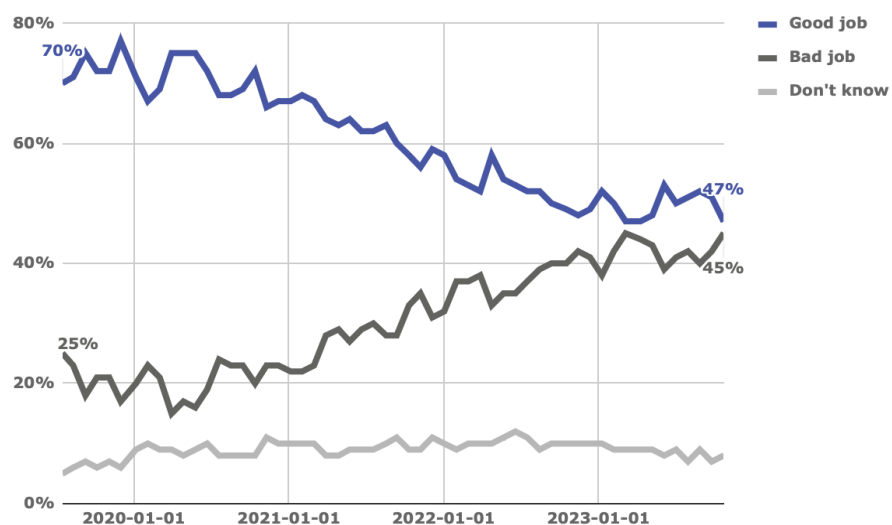
Last year, His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary Andy Cooke commented that "There are clear and systemic failings throughout the police service in England and Wales and, thanks to a series of dreadful scandals, public trust in the police is hanging by a thread. We have a small window of opportunity to repair it."⁷ Cooke was right; public confidence in the police is haemorrhaging.

Chart 1: Public confidence in the police over time⁸



In recent years, the public confidence level in the police has fallen. In 2017/18, the confidence level stood at 62%, but this dropped to 55% in 2019/2020 and lower still to 51% in 2022/23.⁹ The number of people who think the police are doing a “good job” has also plummeted.¹⁰ This poses a very serious challenge to the principle of policing by consent. If the police are no longer trusted by the public, they are unable to maintain policing by consent.

Chart 2: Response to the question: “Generally speaking do you think the police are doing a good or bad job?”¹¹



Several factors contribute to this haemorrhaging confidence, of course. Concerns around police culture, starting before the pandemic but brought to the fore by the murder of Sarah Everard and the subsequent Casey Review, undoubtedly contribute to the diminished public confidence in the police. But the inability of the police to maintain law and order has also undermined the public’s confidence. Trust in the police has diminished because many believe that there are too many people who can break the law and get away with it. The police need to reassert their authority and not allow criminals or political activists to flout the law.

The former Home Secretary, Suella Braverman, wrote to police chiefs last year outlining how she thought public confidence in the police had been damaged by police engaging in contentious issues, including policing gender-critical views on social media, police conduct at political marches and officers “taking the knee”.¹² Policing by consent ought not to be watered down to justify the weakness of police leaders, these state that the police should “seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law.”¹³

But what has led to this seismic shift away from police as the trusted enforcers of law to being bystanders in the face of disorder? And how do we restore confidence that the police will enforce the law and not pander to political activists?

Journalist Dominic Lawson attributes the police’s shift from protection to appeasement in part due to a progressive overemphasis on human rights culture. Writing for *The Times*, he observed how in 2002 the Labour government changed the wording of the oath sworn by police officers to a narrative about “upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people.”¹⁴ A further problem highlighted by David Spencer, former Met Detective Chief Inspector and now Head of Crime and Justice at Policy Exchange, is that we now experience situations where “with very large groups the police are willing to allow behaviour that would not normally be permitted by individual or smaller groups, in the interests of preventing large-scale violent disorder.”¹⁵ As a result, inadvertent forms of discrimination (i.e. that of favouring protestors) can occur as the police are not *solely* concerned with upholding the law without fear or favour.

Identity Politics

The infiltration of identity politics into the police force compounds the challenges. The proliferation of staff networks grouped around identity and protected characteristics, coupled with contentious Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion training, consolidates a culture that is corrupted by progressive groupthink. The closed-shop of police promotions prevents the police from being a “self-reforming sector” and the exclusion of external talent only serves to perpetuate the status quo.¹⁶

In order to undo the infiltration of identity politics into our nation’s police forces, and to restore trust that the police will discharge their duties impartially, without fear or favour, the police must adopt a zero-tolerance approach where possible to policing protests and the broader political activism of police officers must be curbed. In short, the police need to be consistent in their approach: any other way leads to

justifiable allegations of partiality within the police. Longer term, efforts should be made to establish whether the College of Policing is fit for purpose given its “catastrophic reputation within policing” and its role in promoting contentious ideologies.¹⁷

We must remember that the police do one of the hardest jobs in society. They have the responsibility to balance the liberties of the citizen with the safety of the public and the peace and quiet of the community. This is especially important and difficult when it comes to questions of community relations and public order. But there has been a lack of effective leadership in too many police forces. Operational independence must continue to be respected; politicians should not be able to direct arrests or prevent the police enforcing the law. However, this important principle should not protect police leadership from being held to account for their decisions. This means we have to look at the institutions and structures that govern British policing.

Recommendations

Police reform is urgently needed to cut crime and restore public confidence. To truly get tough on crime, we have to be tough on police reform. Therefore, the New Conservatives’ ten point plan to cut crime is as follows:

1. Adopt a “broken windows” approach to anti-social behaviour and crime, and massively expand resources for neighbourhood policing.
2. Make it easier for Chief Constables to sack police officers for misconduct or underperformance, supported by higher standards in recruitment and training.
3. Allow police officers to detain serial offenders for up to seven days and restore their ability to charge criminals, which should take no longer than a week after an arrest.
4. Introduce mandatory two-year sentences for hyper-prolific offenders and a “five strikes and out” rule for repeat offenders to tackle reoffending.

5. Embed immigration enforcement officers at police custody suites to swiftly identify and remove foreign national offenders instead of sending them to prison.
6. Issue statutory guidance stipulating impartiality on political issues and identity politics, stressing that the police should not 'take a side' in any such issues.
7. Give enhanced powers to the Home Secretary to ban protests that pose a serious threat to both public order and social cohesion.
8. Transfer the Metropolitan Police's specialist operations, leadership of Regional Organised Crime Units, and the Serious Fraud Office to the National Crime Agency.
9. Streamline the process for firing failing Chief Constables and establish a more competitive programme for promotions and hiring fresh talent.
10. Commission an independent review to examine the future of the College of Policing, the National Police Chiefs' Council, Police Superintendents' Association, Chief Police Officers' Staff Association, Police Federation, and all other staff associations.

Common Sense

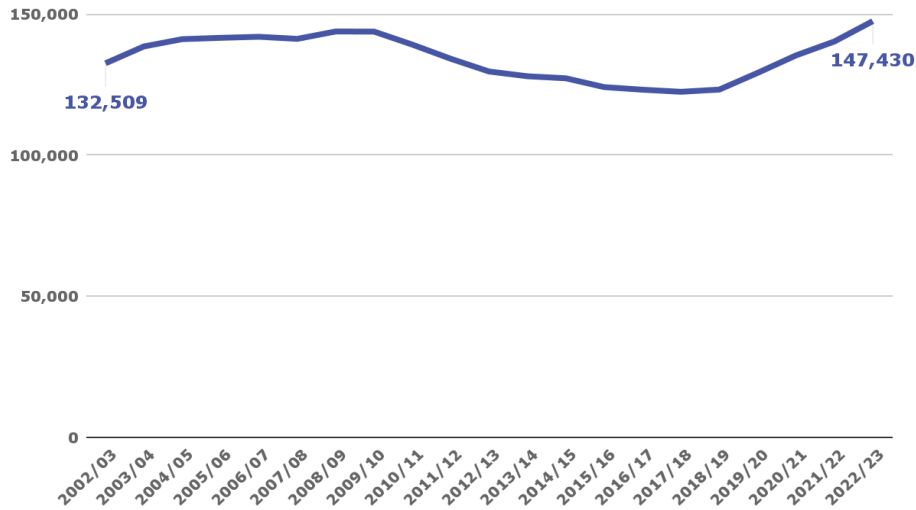
Overall crime has been falling since the mid-1990s but there have also been recent increases in anti-social behaviour, knife crime, gang activity, online crime, and serious offences. Violent crime increased by 17% between September 2020 and September 2023.¹⁸ There is more reporting of sexual offences, which is important and must be addressed. London has been particularly affected by these trends. Hospital admissions for people under 25 with knife-related injuries was up 17% in London alone last year.¹⁹ Croydon became "London's knife crime capital" and the number of teenagers killed on London's streets hit its highest ever recorded level in 2021.²⁰ Stabbing incidents, including machete-attacks, are on the rise. This has created a widespread sense that the police do not have a grip on crime.

To make matters worse, the average response time in England for priority calls increased by 64% since 2019.²¹ In England and Wales in 2021/22, the rate of reported residential burglaries being solved stood at 3.5%, reported robberies at 6.3%, and reported thefts at 4.1%.²² Furthermore, the number of suspects being charged or summonsed fell from 15.6% of police-recorded crimes in 2015 to 7.3% in 2021.²³ The problem has only grown worse since then with no burglaries solved in half of neighbourhoods across England and Wales over the past three years.²⁴ There has also been a 53% drop in the number of people imprisoned for burglary between 2013 and 2023.²⁵ The inaction of prosecutors and the courts has contributed towards this state of affairs, but the police must also be held responsible. A lack of action and visibility from police in communities is contributing towards a loss of public confidence. It is the primary purpose of the police to fight crime and this should define everything the police do.

Officer numbers, budget levels, and Covid backlogs alone do not explain what is happening. In fact, officer numbers in London and across the country have increased thanks to the Police Uplift Programme announced in 2019. London is very

well resourced, receiving £3.5 billion in 2024/25, with the highest per capita funding in England and Wales.²⁶ The uplift programme has recruited an extra 20,951 officers, with almost 150,000 police officers in England and Wales, and 24 police forces have more officers than they have ever had, including the Metropolitan Police.²⁷ Despite this significant investment in our police forces, reform is still needed to ensure additional resources can deliver better results. Furthermore, warranted officers need to be accompanied by a range of police staff, from Special Constables to data analysts, to most effectively tackle changing patterns of crime.

Chart 3: Number of full-time police officers²⁸



Neighbourhood Policing

Police forces need to focus on crime reduction as their primary mission, with particular attention on shoplifting, burglary, drug possession, and violent crime. The public’s confidence in the police to handle these types of crimes has fallen significantly to as little as 31% for burglary, 33% for theft, 34% for anti-social behaviour, and 35% for violence against women and girls.²⁹ The police need to address this urgently. The public also wants the police to prioritise more serious crimes; 44% of those surveyed think sexual crime and rape should be a police priority and 50% think murder and violent crime should be a priority.³⁰ Too many in the police leadership make concessions to activists who believe it is the role of officers to reduce the harms of policing such as possible discrimination, rather than enforcing the law.

The police should not be afraid to deploy the legitimate and proportionate use of force to maintain public order, and avoid the temptation to focus on softer forms of crime. There is a strong disincentive for the police to take stronger action due to problems in the criminal justice

system, that are covered later in this paper, but stronger and more visible policing still sends a powerful message to the public and potential lawbreakers. Indeed, there is no such thing as “over policing”. Communities with significant levels of crime require a large police presence to identify and combat criminal behaviour.

Chart 4: Number of reported crime incidents (excluding fraud and computer misuse)³¹

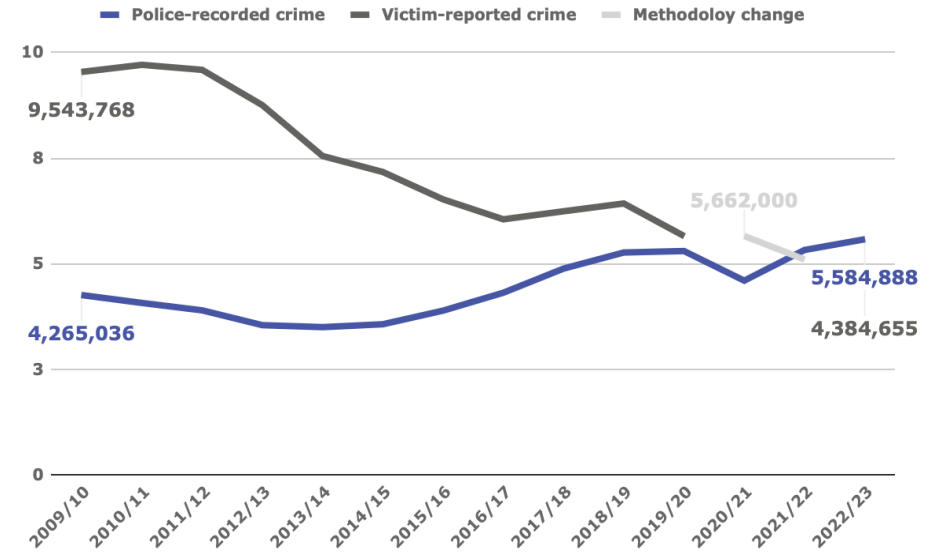


Chart 5: Number (mn) of crimes by type excluding fraud and computer misuse³²

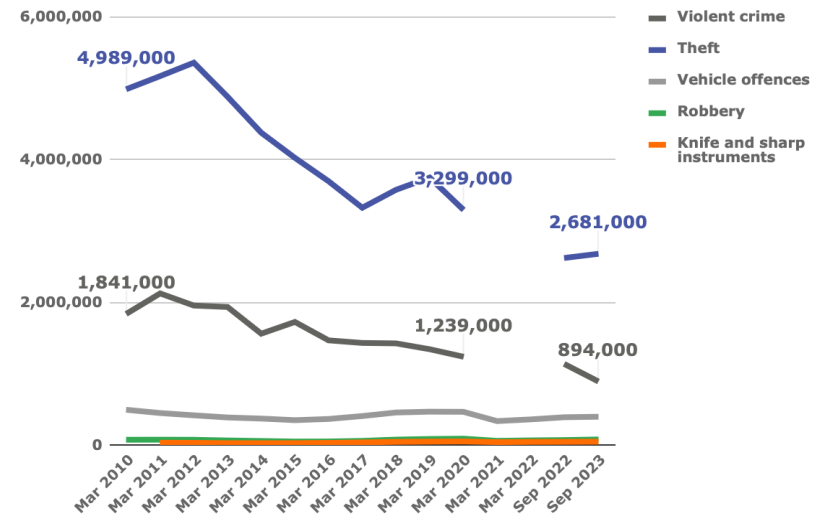
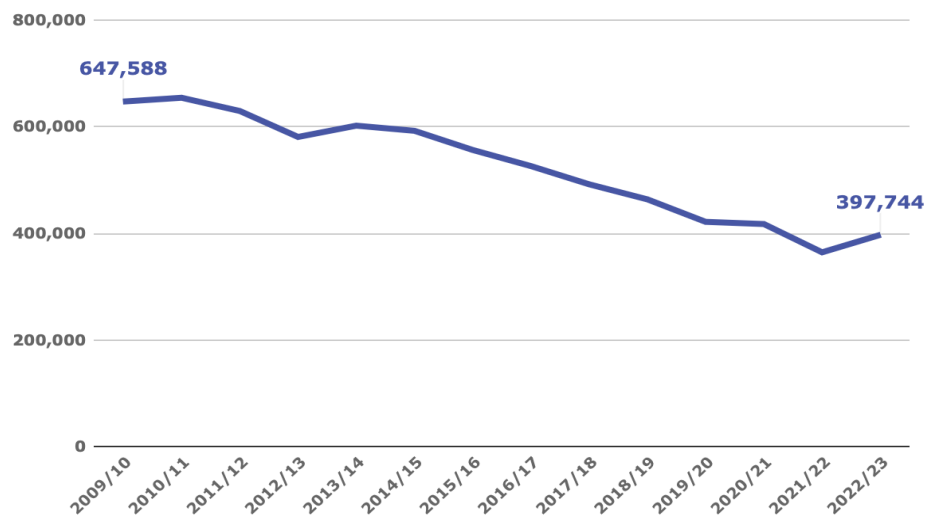


Chart 6: Number of charges and summonses recorded by police forces³³



Presently, half of police forces are not investigating crime properly according to the official watchdog.³⁴ When the police tolerate small offences and effectively decriminalise crimes such as shoplifting and burglary, they allow criminal behaviour to escalate. Passive policing has also led to a more passive citizenry. Polling in 2022 showed that over one in ten people would not report a burglary, assault or mugging to the police. This increased to one in four not reporting anti-social behaviour. More than half of those people believed the police would not solve the crime even if they did make a report.³⁵ The Victim's Commissioner found that 34% of victims surveyed would not report a crime again to the police.³⁶ It is the most vulnerable who suffer as a result. People living in the most deprived areas are more likely to be victims of violent crime at a rate of 1.2% compared with 0.5% for the least deprived areas.³⁷

Despite their passivity when it comes to reporting crime, polling also found that 54% of people surveyed wanted the police to target anti-social behaviour.³⁸ This is very much a crisis of public confidence. Crime overall is falling but people's perception of crime is fundamentally defined by

what they see in their neighbourhoods. If there is widespread anti-social behaviour then people will feel that their community and personal safety is under threat regardless of what national statistics might say. Smaller incidents of criminal behaviour can also set people on the path towards committing more serious acts. Furthermore, if people do not see police officers regularly patrolling their area then they will have less contact with law enforcement and fewer reasons to trust that local police are doing their job.

What we need, and what people want, is a return to more visible and proactive neighbourhood policing that is capable of taking a "broken windows" approach to anti-social behaviour and crime. Broken windows policing is based on the argument that officers should understand the neighbourhoods they are policing and adopt approaches that are most likely to have the support of local people and find the best solutions to local problems. This can include strict enforcement of the law against so-called "low-level" crimes and anti-social behaviour such as vandalism, loitering, public drinking, and graffiti, to prevent escalation in lawless behaviour and help citizens feel safer in their communities.³⁹

Anti-social behaviour, as well as burglary, theft, and drug possession are the most visible signs of lawbreaking and what concerns people the most in their day-to-day lives. Think tank Onward calls this phenomenon "Community Crime" as these criminal acts profoundly impact our high streets, house prices, public services, and community feeling.⁴⁰ Reducing these forms of crime will restore trust in the police and make our communities safer.

Crime is not a natural phenomenon beyond the capability of the police to handle. Broken windows policing offers a well established and effective tool for tackling crime. New York City Police Commissioner Bill Bratton led the way in pioneering this approach during the 1990s and conclusively proved it can work.⁴¹ That is not to say broken windows policing can rely on a zero-tolerance approach to reduce crime single handedly. It must be based on robust neighbourhood policing and support from the criminal justice system too. This form of policing also needs to be carefully targeted to be most effective. Local divisional commanders should be given greater autonomy to set clear goals and held more accountable, putting in place local action plans and communicating with the public. Going back to the fundamentals of policing will reduce crime and restore confidence.

We have already seen this approach work with impressive results at Greater Manchester Police (GMP) under Chief Constable Stephen Watson. Before taking the position, GMP was ranked bottom of the rankings and had failed to properly record 80,000 crimes.⁴² In his first 18 months, Watson used a "back to basics" approach to get GMP out of special measures and improve its performance. Under his leadership, GMP increased arrests by 60% and reduced 999 call answer times from 22 seconds to 7 seconds and response times to grade-two emergencies from 28 hours and 45 minutes to two hours 13 minutes.⁴³ Burglary now has a solve rate of 16.7% in Stockport, which is among the highest rates in the country.⁴⁴

Watson achieved this dramatic turnaround by focusing on the fundamentals of policing. He

ordered that every burglary should be investigated by an officer, stopped the "screening out" of "low level" cases, and put more officers on patrol. Watson met individual police officers to inspect standards and encouraged them to focus on their job and community, not on social media. Laser focused on fighting crime, Watson has declared that he would only "kneel before the Queen, God, and Mrs Watson". Commenting on the state of GMP prior to his arrival, Watson said "The fundamental failing was simply that we stopped doing the basics well, we stopped being the police and we stopped doing many of the things that our public have every right to expect."⁴⁵

Relying on overall recruitment levels to improve outcomes is not helpfully targeting resources. More effort is needed to get police officers on patrol, engaging with local residents and showing results. In the case of London, David Spencer of Policy Exchange has argued this means increasing the number of ward-based neighbourhood police teams and requiring all officers to spend two years on these teams.⁴⁶ These teams should include one police sergeant, two police constables, and three Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). Officers seeking promotion should have served for at least one year on a neighbourhood team in order to be eligible. Their time on the beat would also be ring fenced, by as much as 80%, except in cases of major emergencies or public events. There is no reason why police forces across the country, especially in major cities, cannot adopt similar models. Stronger neighbourhood policing would help police officers to fully understand their patch, quickly target and address crime hot spots, and meaningfully communicate with the public.

The government can help facilitate this revival of neighbourhood policing by recruiting more PCSOs and Special Constables to reinforce the new wave of warranted officers. The number of PCSOs and Specials has declined in recent years. Onward has published their proposals for a Neighbourhood Police Uplift Programme of 10,000 PCSOs, 6,000 Specials, and 3,000 police officers.⁴⁷ The £2.9 billion cost would be spread over five years and funded by removing the £13 precept cap in

council tax for PCCs and increased funding from the Home Office grant. These new police officers would also receive dedicated training on the basic principles of neighbourhood policing. More powers could be granted to PCSOs and police forces should ensure people know who their local policing teams are and how to reach them. This might require more civilian staffers to provide administrative support to take the pressure off frontline officers so they can carry out regular patrols. These measures can all restore trust and improve police performance.

To support this expansion of neighbourhood policing, the Home Office will have to think more actively about how to give police officers the time, resources, and flexibility to do their job. Part of the solution lies with clearer guidance regarding police powers such as stop and search. Police powers should always be applied fairly and backed with evidence, not arbitrary targets, to ensure police time is not wasted nor public trust eroded. The Home Office, working with other departments, should also invest more in the right facilities to support frontline officers. Over time, police stations have closed with more crimes being reported online or by phone and resources moved elsewhere. This presents an opportunity to reshape the estate around neighbourhood policing priorities. Onward has suggested that the Home Office should allocate funding towards opening smaller bases in the community to support frontline officers and office space for remote working, such as processing paperwork.⁴⁸ Publishing more data and clear contact details for local policing teams can also go a long way in nurturing trust. The introduction of crime maps has been a useful tool for citizens, but there is potential for much more information to be made available, including key indicators such as 999 answer times, police response times, and arrest rates. Local divisional commanders should then have to publicly answer to residents when police performance falls short.

Rigorous Standards

Despite overall crime falling in recent years, there has been a significant drop in productivity within

the police. The Casey Review into the Metropolitan Police's problems was damning. It found that one in four Met officers are not deployable and "London no longer has a functioning neighbourhood policing service."⁴⁹ Almost 3,000 Met officers are not fully deployable due to issues regarding physical fitness, mental health, and poor performance. Of the 866 officers with sickness, 224 were affected by mental health issues. An additional 500 officers were suspended or on restricted duties due to allegations of misconduct, of which 217 were related to sexual misconduct.⁵⁰ A HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) review in November 2022 found that as many as 10% of police officers should not have been hired.⁵¹ The inquiry into the rape and murder of Sarah Everard found that her killer, Wayne Couzens, should never have become a police officer and that he had a long history of sexual offences dating back to 1995.⁵²

Commissioner Sir Mark Rowley was right to argue that police officers should be easier to identify and sack for underperformance and misconduct. In addition to accepting the Angiolini Review's recommendations, Chief Constables should be more assertive in using the fast track process for dismissing officers found guilty of lawbreaking or misconduct rather than leaving it to the judgement of a panel or legally qualified person. This also means more rigorous vetting and routine re-vetting is needed. Random drug testing of 20% of officers every year could be considered as a sensible precaution against substance abuse. This would send a powerful message that zero-tolerance is shown towards lawbreaking within the police force as much as on the streets.

While the Metropolitan Police and other police forces have focused on meeting their diversity targets, standards for physical fitness and literacy have slipped. Official figures show that over 1,000 police officers failed their Job-related fitness test (JRFT) in the past year, including 337 Met officers.⁵³ Introduced in 2014, the annual test consists of running through a series of 3 minute and 35 second 'bleep tests' over 525 metres. Officers are allowed at least two attempts with six

week intervals in between each try. In August 2022 British Transport Police decided to drop the fitness test for officers, except for new recruits and specialists, so as to prevent "indirect discrimination" against women and older officers.⁵⁴ Relaxing standards for physical fitness will only undermine the effectiveness of police officers and reduce confidence in their ability to catch criminals.

His Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary Matt Parr has also highlighted anecdotal evidence to warn that the Metropolitan Police is accepting applicants who are "functionally illiterate in English".⁵⁵ Falling standards even extends to dress codes.⁵⁶ Police officers should look smart and professional, wearing their uniform with pride. These are basic standards such as requiring that shirts should be ironed and boots polished. Stricter recruitment standards and more rigorous inspection is crucial to ensuring police officers do their jobs effectively and command respect.

Equally, the police need to have a renewed focus on their retention rate. The officer exit rate hit 9.6% in 2022/23, which was the highest since 2007/08.⁵⁷ Giving a bonus to officers in their early career would provide a strong incentive to keep officers in the force. Pension rules could be reformed to prevent seasoned officers from retiring early and taking their much needed experience and knowledge out of the force. These would establish much stronger incentives for talented individuals to stay in the police force and hold themselves to higher standards of performance and conduct.

Police officers also should have a clear sense of purpose and commitment to the philosophical grounding that makes British policing distinctive and special. There should be a new "policing doctrine" that gets back to basics to guide the conduct and purpose of policing, emulating the model used by the armed forces. HMICFRS can begin this work by carrying out a comprehensive review of police recruitment and training. From there, we can develop a policing doctrine capable of getting back to the fundamental features that deliver effective law enforcement.

Swift Justice

Even with more robust measures of attracting and retaining talent, police officers also need greater freedom and flexibility to be active in the field and do what the public expects them to do. As many as seven out of ten Met officers did not make a single arrest in 2021/22.⁵⁸ This raises serious questions about exactly what police officers are doing with their time and resources. There has been some welcome progress with reducing the administrative burden on officers since the former Home Secretary, Suella Braverman, launched her common-sense policing campaign. The National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) estimated that the government's changes to recording processes will save 443,000 hours of police time every year from unnecessary paperwork.⁵⁹

However, victims of crime have had to wait 50% longer for offenders to be charged due to new paperwork from the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) introduced in 2020. It still takes too long for police to get their cases "trial ready" due to data protection requirements that mean officers spend hours or even days redacting third-party information from documents. In 2022, it took an average of 419 days between the reporting of a crime and then charging a suspect. In 2019, it was 282 days on average, representing a 49.6% jump.⁶⁰ During such long periods of time, a victim might stop pursuing charges and criminals walk away with impunity. This is also time wasted entirely when a suspect pleads guilty, foregoing the need for a trial. Such massive waste in time acts as a deterrent against the recruitment of new detectives and leaves officers demoralised.

Investing in new technologies such as AI to carry out administrative tasks such as redacting personal information can save days of police time, as has been the case with Bedfordshire Police.⁶¹ But more can be done to speed up the process. Chief Constables, including Stephen Watson, have called for police officers to be given back the power to charge suspects, instead of the CPS, as was the case before 1987.⁶² Police officers should also be given the power to detain

suspects for up to seven days while a charging decision is being made, which should take no longer than a week, to help keep potential lawbreakers off the streets. This would do much to speed up times in handling cases involving knife crime, domestic abuse, burglary, and theft. It is essential that the government does as much as possible to get officers on the beat and catching criminals instead of being stuck behind a desk under stacks of paperwork.

But even when police officers do all the right things pertaining to investigating the crime, arresting the suspect, and preparing the court case, the criminal justice system can still turn around and let these criminals out of prison early to offend again. This puts our hardworking police officers back at square one. Think tank Policy Exchange identified as many as 9,668 offences being committed by “Hyper-Prolific Offenders” – individuals who have been convicted at least 45 times in their lives – in 2022. But 52.7% of these offences did not result in a prison term.⁶³ Latest figures show that the reoffending rate for criminals receiving a community order is 30.6%, increasing to 55.1% for those serving a sentence of less than 12 months. At a cost of £18.1 billion a year, the overall reoffending rate of 25% causes immense damage to law and order, making it difficult for the police to do their jobs.⁶⁴ Tougher sentencing is essential to helping a reformed police enforce the law on our streets.

The Sentencing Bill, currently going through the House of Commons, provides an opportunity to create a more robust sentencing regime. The early release of prisoners only shifts the burden from prisons to the police and the probation service. We need a stronger deterrent against the prolific offending that acts as a drain on our police, prisons, and communities. This should be supported by greater investment in our prison estate through a new building programme. Public safety will diminish if muggers, shoplifters, and thugs receive a mere slap on the wrist. Therefore, the government should accept two amendments to the Bill to improve the sentencing regime.

One amendment would introduce mandatory two-year custodial sentences for hyper-prolific offenders (those who have already been cautioned or convicted for at least 45 offences since turning 18) for each further offence they commit that requires going before a magistrate or a crown court. A second amendment would establish a “five strikes and out” rule whereby custodial sentences are given to offenders with at least four convictions since turning 18 for each further conviction received. Both amendments provide the courts with the discretion to not impose these sentences due to particular circumstances that must be clearly explained. The Ministry of Justice should also be required to provide tailored support for hyper-prolific offenders, such as drug rehabilitation and employment training, to reduce the chances of these people continuing to reoffend. Offenders under 21 would also go to young offender institutions rather than prison. Short sentencing is an essential tool to keep criminals off the streets, protect the public, and help the police to fight crime.

To further ease the burden on police officers, there should also be closer cooperation with immigration enforcement. Under Operation Nexus, piloted in London in 2012 before expanding to several other large police forces such as the West Midlands and Greater Manchester, immigration enforcement officers were embedded at police custody suites to run real-time immigration checks to help identify and remove immigration offenders and “high-harm” foreign nationals who were arrested. This also allowed for greater intelligence sharing with law enforcement bodies in other countries. In 2012 to 2015, Operation Nexus contributed towards the deportation of 3,200 foreign national offenders.⁶⁵ Removing foreign national offenders at the point of arrest saved the time and resources of the police from being wasted on taking people through the criminal justice system who should not have been in the country to begin with.

However, Operation Nexus was brought to an end in 2019/20. As a matter of urgency, the Home Secretary should revive this programme for

close cooperation between the Home Office, Immigration Enforcement, and police forces. This means reintroducing Operation Nexus across all 44 territorial police forces in England, Scotland, and Wales. If an Immigration Officer is not embedded in a police custody suite, or cannot cover a certain number of shifts, police officers on the ground should be able to carry out these immigration checks directly and contact Immigration Enforcement (with appropriate safeguards in place, particularly in relation to people coming forward as victims or witnesses of crime). In June 2023, there were 10,321 foreign national offenders in the prison population of 85,851.⁶⁶ This is not sustainable. Subject to international law, a revived and expanded Operation Nexus should seek to deport as many foreign national offenders taken into custody as possible, not just “high-harm” ones, to alleviate pressure on prison occupancy while saving money for the taxpayer.

New forms of crime are also growing and developing faster than the police can currently manage, especially online fraud and identity theft. Fraud and computer misuse both increased by 25% and 89% respectively between March 2020 and March 2022.⁶⁷ Data and technology have vast potential to improve police performance in general. To help the police, the Home Office should provide support for greater interoperability of different ICT systems across the nation’s police forces, increase funding for the Police Technology Programmes to develop new tools such as facial recognition, and use data more effectively to predict when and where different crimes are most likely to take place. This will mean recruiting more civilian specialist staff as well, including data scientists, hackers, and programmers, to help the police adapt to cybercrime and other complex threats to public safety. Regional Organised Crime Units should also hire more specialist investigators. The Strategic Policing Requirement, which sets national priorities for the police, needs to be updated to reflect the changing nature of crime. When it comes to moving with the times, the police should be responding to new forms of crime, not the latest progressive cause.

Recommendations:

1. Adopt a “broken windows” approach to anti-social behaviour and crime, and massively expand resources for neighbourhood policing.
 - Adopt a “broken windows” approach to anti-social behaviour and crime, especially knife crime, burglary, and drug possession.
 - Launch a Neighbourhood Police Uplift Programme consisting of 10,000 PCSOs, 6,000 Specials, and 3,000 police officers.
 - Support expanded neighbourhood policing with clearer guidance, more police facilities, and new crime data tools.
2. Make it easier for Chief Constables to sack police officers for misconduct or underperformance, supported by higher standards in recruitment and training.
 - Make it easier to sack underperforming officers, offer early career bonuses to officers, and retain senior officers before they reach retirement age.
 - Authorise HMICFRS to launch a review of police recruitment and training and develop an official ‘policing doctrine’.
3. Allow police officers to detain serial offenders for up to seven days and restore their ability to charge criminals, which should take no longer than a week after an arrest.
 - Give police officers the power to charge suspects directly and detain suspects for up to seven days while a charging decision is being made.
4. Introduce mandatory two-year sentences for hyper-prolific offenders and a “five strikes and out” rule for repeat offenders.
5. Embed immigration enforcement officers at police custody suites to swiftly identify

and remove foreign national offenders instead of sending them to prison.

- Revive Operation Nexus across all 44 territorial police forces in England, Scotland, and Wales to identify and remove foreign national offenders.
- Reduce paperwork and administrative burdens through new technology infrastructure and additional civilian staffers.

Impartial Policing

Too many police leaders have been captured by ideological groupthink that is prevalent among the Left. The incentives to put the enforcement of human rights and equalities legislation above tackling crime make it easier for police leaders to pursue soft targets and become politicised. More time and funding is going towards promoting social justice instead of crime reduction. In 2022, the police spent £10.2 million a year on Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) roles.⁶⁸ Across England and Wales, each police force employed, on average, five full-time staff members dedicated to EDI, costing £210,000 in annual salaries. Taxpayers paid £3.6 million for 24,100 staff days for equality training programmes, which excludes the resources spent on hiring external organisations to run training.⁶⁹

Many of these EDI roles are significantly better paid than the average frontline officer. West Midlands Police hired an assistant director of diversity and inclusion with a salary of up to £82,000 as well as a positive action manager receiving up to £59,000.⁷⁰ Essex Police employed a positive action chief inspector with a salary of £48,000. West Yorkshire Police's head of diversity, equality and inclusion was paid up to £63,000.⁷¹ The Metropolitan Police employed 23 EDI staff members, whose salaries cost between £1,177,267 and £1,479,962 a year.⁷² This is valuable time and funding that should be better spent on the frontline to support police officers and protect the public.

Despite the virtue signalling of police leaders and the expansion of funding for EDI, the Casey Review into the Met found "widespread bullying, discrimination, institutional homophobia, misogyny and racism, and other unacceptable behaviours which are a far cry from the high ethical standards the public rightly expects of its police officers."⁷³ This shows a shocking inability among police leaders to address misconduct as well as an unwillingness to challenge progressive dogma. It is the worst of both worlds. We cannot expect the police to resolve the inequalities and discrimination that genuinely exist in British society. Impartiality is the best way to respond to these challenges and remind the police that their

primary purpose is to reduce crime, not to promote contested ideas of social justice.

Last year the former Home Secretary, Suella Braverman, ordered that a review be conducted into activism and impartiality in the police so as to establish "whether the police getting involved in politically contentious matters is having a detrimental impact on policing."⁷⁴ Although the police model in England and Wales should ensure that the police adopt a position of political impartiality, she expressed concern that police were not seen by the public as without political bias, not least due to their engagement in political marches and policing gender-critical views on social media.⁷⁵ She stated that "The British people expect their police to focus on cutting crime and protecting communities – political activism does not keep people safe, solve crimes or support victims, but can damage public confidence."⁷⁶ The findings of this review are expected by March 2024, but further action should be taken regardless so as to ensure political activism does not distract from vital policing. It is unclear just how much police resources are dedicated towards these activities, but the public have an expectation that frontline policing be prioritised – at a time when the police complain of lack of resources. By issuing further guidance stipulating impartiality on political issues sooner rather than later, the neutrality of the police concerning political matters can be ensured and frontline capacity potentially increased.

Staff Networks

One area in particular that deserves greater scrutiny is the political activism of police staff networks. Within the police force exists a proliferation of staff networks that group around single common interest issues, often pertaining to race, identity, or other protected characteristics. Unlike Staff Associations, which are formal bodies representing all officers at specific ranks, staff networks are unofficial groupings.⁷⁷ There are over 200 of these staff networks, operating with little or no oversight.⁷⁸

Some of these networks engage in identity-based politics, actively lobbying for increased

representation within the police based on protected characteristics like race or religion. For instance, the Metropolitan Black Police Association and the National Association of Muslim Police have both stated aims to increase minority representation of their respective identities.⁷⁹ Although these aims are laudable in themselves, it is not the job of individual police officers to lobby for other political ends at all. A police officer's role is, ultimately, to enforce the law. Although dedication to political agendas can serve the common good, such commitments extend beyond the remit of what is expected of our police.

In January 2023, Policy Exchange published a paper that examined the role staff networks play in distracting from the core mission of the police. Responding to Policy Exchange's research into these staff networks, the former Home Secretary, Priti Patel, described it as "deeply concerning" that "many of these groups are engaging in what has become an unhealthy internal competition for attention and resources rather than pursuing a relentless focus on serving the public."⁸⁰ In short, the spread of staff networks has eroded the distinction between politics and policing, leading to diminished impartiality (perceived or otherwise) from some police forces.

The National Black Police Association, the National Association of Muslim Police and the LGBT+ Police Network are among the larger staff networks.⁸¹ It is these larger staff networks in particular that highlight the challenge of police forces becoming politically active and implying favour towards certain groups when it comes to policing contentious issues.

For instance, the National Association of Muslim Police (NAMP) "has regularly moved into overtly political commentary and public lobbying, a troubling practice given the expectations for policing to remain politically impartial."⁸² An example of this can be found in the wake of the recent conflict between Israel and Hamas. NAMP issued a public statement on the matter which, while not advocating for policy concerning the conflict, stressed its commitment to Muslim

officers and noted the "concerning rise in Islamophobia".⁸³ It did not note the rise in anti-Semitism as well. The preoccupation with one groups' interests calls into question the impartiality of the police when policing events such as protests in support of the Palestinians, particularly when demonstrators conflict with pro-Israel demonstrators.

Commentary on the Gaza conflict was not the first time the NAMP ventured into political matters. The report '*Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?*' details how the NAMP was a supporter of the campaign Islamophobia Awareness Month.⁸⁴ Central to this campaign is adopting the definition of Islamophobia proposed by the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims – a definition the Government previously refused to accept due to its implications for free speech.⁸⁵ As the authors of the Policy Exchange report concluded, "For NAMP to be involved in a campaign whose central feature is contrary to existing government policy strays beyond the bounds of what is acceptable for an organisation operating within policing and which therefore should be making every effort to remain politically impartial."⁸⁶

The NAMP are not alone, however, in lobbying for political causes. The National Black Police Association (NBPA) adopted political stances around Black Lives Matter protests. Andy George, head of the NBPA, said in response to calls from the then Home Secretary to prioritise "common-sense policing" and stop focusing on "symbolic gestures", that he was "not ever going to force anybody to take the knee, but if someone feels compelled to do so I think it is wrong for policing to restrict their support for a really important cause. It is not about making a political statement. How can equality of opportunity or any equality matter be seen as a political gesture?"⁸⁷ Once again, the preoccupation with advocating for a group's rights and the advancement of equality based on identity politics can blur the lines between police being unbiased enforcers of the law and figures that are expected to side with the social justice issue of the day.

Similarly, the involvement of the LGBT+ Police Network – or any police officer in uniform, for that matter – parading at Pride marches is not a politically neutral act. The most recent London Pride event was not divorced from politics – the event organisers made several requests of the Government, including a ban on "conversion therapy", reform of the Gender Recognition Act and an end to the "hostile environment" towards migrants.⁸⁸ Such requests are undeniably politically contentious issues and it is therefore inappropriate for uniformed police officers to be seen as lending their support to those causes.

The lack of regulation around the functioning of staff networks makes curbing their political lobbying activities a challenge. And yet, despite little official oversight of the operating of staff networks, some yield significant influence. The NBPA, for instance, had input into the College of Policing's Race Action Plan.⁸⁹ This action plan stipulates that the police had become "institutionally anti-racist" which, as pointed out by Dr. Richard Norrie, Director of the Statistics and Policy Research Programme at Civitas, borrows the language of a political movement that "demands 'anti-racist' discrimination as the only remedy to racist discrimination."⁹⁰ Likewise, the NAMP has issued various statements advocating for changes to the Government's CONTEST Strategy – the overarching counter-terrorism strategy.⁹¹

Given the expansion of staff networks in recent years, efforts are now needed to ensure they do not yield undue influence, and police officers do not become preoccupied with identity politics or political agendas. The College of Policing's Code of Ethics already states that "Membership of groups or societies, or associations with groups or individuals, must not create an actual or apparent conflict of interest with police work and responsibilities."⁹² The Code goes on to state that "The test is whether a reasonably informed member of the public might reasonably believe that [an officer's] membership or association could adversely affect [their] ability to discharge [their] policing duties effectively and impartially."⁹³ In light of the political activity of

staff networks, there is a very reasonable basis that the public might doubt a police officer's ability to discharge their duties impartially while also aligning themselves with a network. As such, there should be a clear and restated expectation that police officers do not engage in public lobbying on politically contested issues, either individually or as part of a broader network. Ultimately, Chief Constables ought to be able to make these expectations clear, but the Government should intervene should that not be the case.

Identity-based training

It is perhaps unsurprising that a proliferation of staff networks obsessed with protected characteristics exists when a wholly disproportionate emphasis on EDI has infiltrated public and private institutions. Diversity and inclusion training pervades public services, not least the police. And yet, despite widespread implementation of identity-based training such as 'Diversity and Inclusion training' or 'Unconscious Bias training', there is increasing evidence that such programmes do little to promote inclusion and operate from flawed and contentious first principles. Not only can such training increase workplace tensions, but many training programmes seem "geared more toward sparking a revolutionary reunderstanding of race relations than solving organisations' specific problems."⁹⁴

Unconscious bias training is particularly contentious. A report commissioned by the Government Equalities Office found that "there is currently no evidence that this training changes behaviour in the long term or improves workplace equality in terms of representation of women, ethnic minorities or other minority groups."⁹⁵ Consequently, at the end of 2020, the UK Government announced that it would phase out unconscious bias training across the Civil Service.⁹⁶ The Government went on to state that it "expects other parts of the public sector, including local government, the police, and the NHS, to review their approaches in light of the evidence and the developments in the Civil Service."⁹⁷

So far, there has been seemingly little review of the use of unconscious bias training across the police. Although the College of Policing's website concedes that "there is no available evidence that training can eliminate unconscious bias," it does claim that "there is some evidence from clinical and educational settings to suggest that empathy training or interventions have the potential to mitigate bias."⁹⁸ Its website states that "Unconscious bias affects everybody's decision making."⁹⁹ Indeed, in the College of Policing's 'Police Race Action Plan: Improving policing for Black people', it reasserts that "Unconscious bias affects everyone."¹⁰⁰ Both of these were published *after* the Government issued its criticism of the use of unconscious bias training.

Given the slow adoption of phasing out unconscious bias training in the police, renewed efforts should be made to ensure contentious training and flawed first principles do not further infiltrate the police hierarchy. One way to increase oversight of the training police receive is for the Home Secretary to issue a national veto on identity-based training. Given calls from the Government for public services to review their approach to diversity and inclusion training and unconscious bias training, the Home Secretary has a responsibility to reverse the widespread use of such training within the police.

Non-Crime Hate Incidents

The disproportionate emphasis on protected characteristics can also be seen in the excessive documentation of Non-Crime Hate Incidents (NCHIs).

The concept of NCHIs was introduced in 2014 with the College of Policing's Hate Crime Operational Guidance. The Guidance was later updated in 2020, with enhanced detail concerning NCHIs and when to record them.¹⁰¹ In June 2023, the Home Office issued statutory guidance on NCHIs, with an updated 'Code of Practice on the Recording and Retention of Personal Data'.¹⁰² The aim of the Home Office's guidance was to curb the excessive recording of NCHIs and "ensure that the police only record non-crime hate

incidents where it is proportionate and absolutely necessary" in order to protect a "commonsense understanding of free speech".¹⁰³

Despite the new guidance, however, the number of recorded NCHIs has skyrocketed in recent years, with the Metropolitan Police being a core driver of this change. Data obtained by think tank Civitas shows a year-on-year increase for most police forces studied in the number of recorded NCHIs.¹⁰⁴

The percentage increase in the number of NCHIs recorded is much higher than the percentage increase for actual Hate Crimes recorded. In part, the increase in both could be attributed to "an improvement in the recording of these crimes" as well as "a greater awareness in identifying hate

crime".¹⁰⁵ Consequently, there are limits in using police recorded figures for examining long term trends on hate crime.¹⁰⁶ All the same, the comparison of percentage increase in the number of NCHIs compared with actual Hate Crimes draws attention to the overemphasis on NCHIs. The increase in recorded NCHIs has maintained even *after* the Home Office's guidance on curbing excessive recording of such incidents.

Chart 7: Number of recorded NCHIs

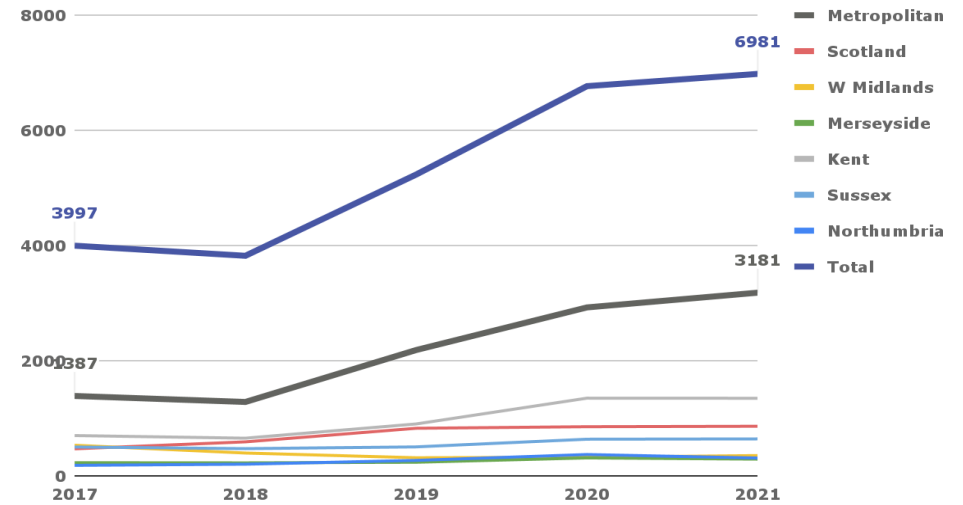
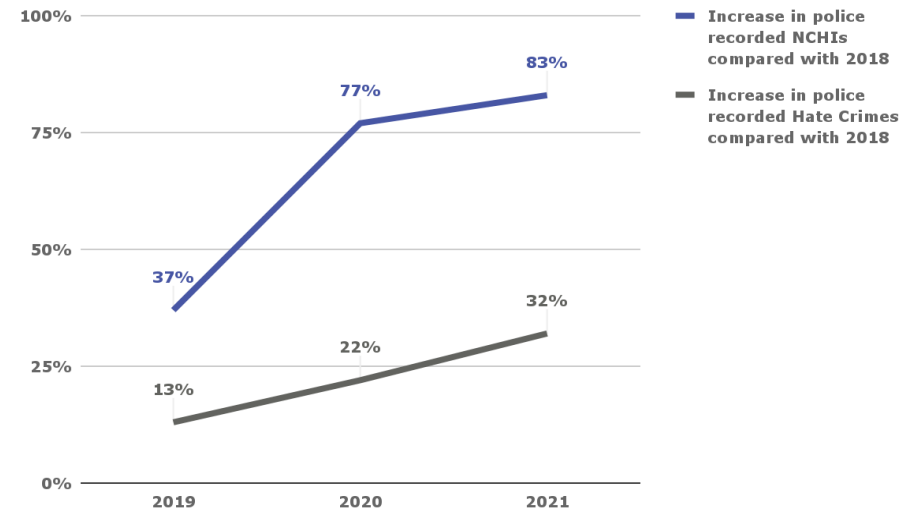


Chart 8: Increase in the number of police recorded NCHIs and Hate Crimes compared with 2018¹⁰⁷



There have been over 120,000 people recorded for a NCHI over the past five years.¹⁰⁸ Some of these cases are, quite frankly, absurd. For

instance, a man from Bedfordshire ended up with a police file after he whistled the theme tune to Bob the Builder at his neighbour, who perceived racial hatred.¹⁰⁹ Filling police time with the

documentation of such incidents places a disproportionate emphasis on identity-politics driven non-crimes – further compounding the time given to a left-wing, identity-obsessed agenda.

Although the guidance introduced by the Home Office goes some way to address the flaws with the documentation of NCHIs, further steps could be taken. The incentives to voluntarily record NCHIs will still exist even if their documentation is no longer mandatory. Politicians should further interrogate whether dealing with NCHIs serves the common good or whether it distracts from more serious policing matters, while only serving illiberal, overly censorious interests. If the latter, adequate assurances must be made to police forces that action will not be taken if they decide not to record NCHIs.

Policing Protests

From Extinction Rebellion to Black Lives Matter, and Just Stop Oil to Israel-Gaza rallies, marches and protests in the name of social justice issues cause disruption to the lives of the hard-working British public. And yet, while protestors obstruct ambulances, cause employees to miss work, and intimidate good people going about their ordinary business, the police all too often opt for inaction rather than enforcing public order.

Why has the pendulum swung in favour of those protesting – even in the face of criminal damage – rather than in favour of maintaining public order for the law-abiding? At least in part, the tendency to delay arrests for fear of escalated conflict is to blame.

Moving protests may be banned under Section 13 of the Public Order Act 1986 if there is the threat of serious public disorder that cannot be controlled by other measures.¹¹⁰ In other words, a protest can be banned if the police anticipate that it will cross the accepted threshold of serious disorder. The threshold of public disorder, however, is not always calculated on the assumption that all arrests will be made in real time. All too often the police decide to delay

arrests for fear that further disruption will ensue if arrests are made at the moment of the incident.¹¹¹ For instance, although 1,000 officers were deployed to a Israel-Gaza march in October 2023 at which over 100,000 protestors attended, there were fears that such numbers of police would be insufficient if a large number of arrests were made and tensions subsequently escalated.¹¹² Frontline officers are being asked to do a tough job, often suffering injuries on duty, and many have shown bravery in their efforts. But hesitancy to arrest for fear of escalation undermines the rule of law and the enforcement of law, leading to a police force that is less trusted and, by implication, one that emboldens even more disruptive and increasingly criminal behaviours.

Police officers argue that they often lack the resources to make arrests at protests. Responding to a Government-requested inspection into how the police effectively deal with policing protests, one officer commented that when it comes to using existing powers to restrict numbers attending protests, “the police do not have the capacity to make mass arrests in this scenario.”¹¹³ As such, many arrests simply are not made. After the Israel-Gaza protest and counter-protests on Armistice Day 2023, the Defence Secretary, Grant Shapps, observed that “there are far more arrests still to be made from the march”, either because “the police were distracted here or because they weren’t going to intervene immediately.”¹¹⁴

It is lamentable that the police sometimes lack the strength to contain certain marches or demonstrations. Although intervening and arresting offenders may create a greater disturbance, police “standing by, filming the offences and prosecuting people later” only serves to avoid short term escalation at the cost of “anarchic behaviour”.¹¹⁵

The police ought to adopt a zero-tolerance approach to policing protests, recognising that criminal activity at protests will only escalate if the smaller crimes are not addressed. Indeed, given that Just Stop Oil¹¹⁶, Extinction Rebellion¹¹⁷,

‘Kill the Bill’¹¹⁸, and pro-Palestine¹¹⁹ protestors have all caused significant disruption in recent years. Although the police may at times lack the resources to make all arrests, any assessment of serious disorder likely to arise from a protest should always be made on the basis of the assumption that the law will be enforced at every opportunity. The threat level should not be calculated on the presumption of an under-resourced police response. The police should endeavour to properly enforce the law at all protests – this includes requiring protestors to remove face masks (where such conditions have been required) and making immediate arrests for criminally racist speech and displays and incitement to violence.

Similarly, the police should not ignore the cumulative effect and disruption arising from protests. Presently, assessments of the threat level of protests are calculated on the threat of violence arising from the particular day on which a protest is planned.¹²⁰ Recent events, however, highlight that protests have a cumulative impact. Israel-Gaza marches taking place in London over subsequent weekends have led to rising cases of anti-semitism and fostered a culture of intimidation felt by some Jewish communities.¹²¹ If the police find that they do not have the resources to apply these approaches to a protest, then legislation should be passed to give the Home Secretary stronger powers to ban protests that undermine social cohesion by making threats against specific communities or cannot be policed in real-time without leading to serious public disorder.¹²²

Recommendations:

6. Issue statutory guidance stipulating impartiality on political issues, stressing that the police should not ‘take a side’ in any such issues.
 - Prohibit police officers from partaking in political activity while in uniform.
 - Issue guidance outlining that it is inappropriate for Chief Constables to meet with representatives of

staff networks engaged in politically contentious issues.

- Veto identity-based training across all police forces.
 - Abolish any mandatory recording of Non-Crime Hate Incidents.
7. Give enhanced powers to the Home Secretary to ban protests that pose a serious threat to both public order and social cohesion.
 - Allow assessments of serious public disorder arising from protests to take into account the cumulative effect of protests.
 - Require that assessments of serious public disorder arising from protests assume that the law will be enforced.
 - Adopt a zero-tolerance approach to crime at protests, marches, and demonstrations.

Accountable Leadership

Police forces have become less responsive to local needs due to the growing power of complex and overlapping bureaucratic structures. The introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) was designed to support greater accountability and local voice in the system. Under the leadership of some PCCs there have been improvements. However, other PCCs have fallen short in their responsibility to scrutinise police leadership properly. More needs to be done to hold police leadership accountable. The Home Secretary should take the lead in transforming the culture that currently dominates police leadership and has allowed progressive groupthink to become entrenched among many Chief Constables and senior officers, detaching them from the fundamentals of British policing.

Police Reorganisation

A strong message the Home Secretary can send is to give the National Crime Agency (NCA) new powers and resources to tackle organised crime and other complex threats as well as new forms of crime such as online fraud, identity theft, and cyber-crime. This should involve giving the Metropolitan Police's Specialist Operations, including counter-terrorism, to the NCA through a gradual 10-year plan to transfer staff, budgets, and capabilities. Making the Metropolitan Police a genuinely local police force would ensure it is truly accountable to the Mayor of London as the involvement of the Home Office means that the current chain of command is unclear at times. Regional Organised Crime Units and the Serious Fraud Office should also be put under the authority of the NCA to enable better coordination of efforts to tackle organised crime and take pressure off local police forces across the country. The NCA can then be clearly defined as a law enforcement agency with employee pay scales to match police officers. This division of labour would help police forces to establish specific priorities for their areas and mitigate the risk of becoming overstretched.

There is also a role for local government in police reform and ensuring social problems are not

outsourced to the police. Local government authorities used to be strongly aligned with policing and the criminal justice system, such as the boundaries for probation areas and contributions to their budgets. More joined-up services are needed to increase accountability, share best practice, and prevent people from hiding behind the bureaucratic layers. Issues regarding licensing, traffic, social work, troubled families, and noise nuisance can all impact multiple public services. Citizens also have a part to play in looking after their communities. To address this, the operational geography of PCCs and police forces could be placed under review with the ambition of realigning them more closely with local government boundaries, especially as the number of combined authorities grows.

In combined authorities, there is a very strong argument to be made for Metro Mayors to absorb the PCC roles into their portfolio. This is already the case in London and Greater Manchester. It is true that Mayoral elections can feature a range of issues that drown out debate around law and order. Many areas benefit from having PCC elections that give voters a chance to focus on law and order problems and take part in discussions around policing and the criminal justice system. But sometimes PCCs lack experience and competency and attempt to shift responsibility towards Metro Mayors. For example, there have been severe difficulties within the West Midlands Police leading to it being placed under special measures. The decision to transfer PCC responsibilities to the West Midlands Mayor after the May 2024 local elections has been reversed by judicial review. Legislation should be introduced to allow all Metro Mayors to assume full PCC responsibilities to help restore accountability and credibility.

Competitive Recruitment

There has been a wave of cultural change through much of the public sector. The legislative framework underpinned by the Human Rights Act and Equality Act has facilitated this transformation. As a result, significant parts of police leadership see themselves not as crime

fighters but as the managers of bureaucratic entities geared towards the cause of social justice. Often the result is authoritarian behaviour from police officers in the service of identity politics while losing focus on reducing crime. To reverse this loss of purpose, the culture of police leadership needs to be fundamentally reshaped. The most effective way to do this is to reform how senior police officers are recruited and promoted.

The end of the capitulation of the police to politically contested ideologies will only be possible if police forces welcome senior officers who are not bound by the progressive groupthink that has emerged over the past decade. As such, it is vital that senior positions in policing do not come from internal promotions only. Senior policing's closed shop needs to end. There must be renewed efforts to ensure that senior roles in a force are open to external applicants, including other law enforcement agencies such as Border Force, non-policing professions, former officers rejoining, and from abroad. External talent would significantly raise the standards of senior officers given that they are more likely to have diverse professional backgrounds and are therefore less likely to be beholden to any self-selecting groupthink within the force.

Although Direct Entry programmes had been introduced to respond to the need to modernise the police's recruitment processes, they have not succeeded in their mission. In fact, the College of Policing's previous attempts to widen the talent pool for selection of senior officers has been "a case study in organisational and sector-wide failure", evidenced by the fact that "less than 5% of those appointed as superintendents in England and Wales between 2014 and 2018 were external appointments through the Direct Entry programme."¹²³ To help talent rise through the ranks, the Home Office should restore the Direct Entry programme for inspectors and superintendents with mandatory recruitment targets. The Home Office should also establish a twin-track career structure through a recruitment programme for a specific officer class similar to the military's commissioned officer programme. This would establish a much more competitive

process of developing senior officers and attracting talent from outside of the police.

In extreme circumstances, there is even a case for the Home Secretary to intervene. There are currently six police forces in special measures, including Devon and Cornwall Police, the Metropolitan Police, Nottinghamshire Police, Staffordshire Police, West Midlands Police, and Wiltshire Police. To date, only one Chief Constable has ever been sacked by a PCC. The Police Act 1996 gives the Home Secretary the necessary powers to direct police forces in special measures, including the ability to fire and replace their Chief Constables. It should be used more ambitiously to turn failing police forces around. This would provide a safeguard against police forces failing to meet adequate standards under poorly performing PCCs. It would also ensure the Home Office can act in the last resort to improve policing standards across England and Wales.

Professional Bodies

The cultural change in British policing has also been enabled by the failure of professional bodies to hold senior officers to the right standards or provide appropriate guidance. It is especially vital that the College of Policing is overhauled. Established in 2012, the College of Policing has since developed a "catastrophic reputation within policing" for its "failure over the last decade to deliver workforce reform that has been both substantive and effective."¹²⁴ Former Policing Minister Nick Herbert, who established the College of Policing, concedes that although his "ambition was to improve leadership, standards and professionalism in policing" by establishing the College, "it is sobering to see that many of the challenges facing the service remain, and in some cases have increased. The College itself has, to be candid, had an uncertain start, doing good work but failing to fulfil its potential."¹²⁵

The College of Policing is guilty of pushing a variety of ideological agendas. They urged forces to "decolonise" their training materials, asked them to become "Stonewall Champions", and called for time to "reflect on unconscious bias training" so that forces do not harbour

“unconscious bias”.¹²⁶ Such out of touch priorities are consistent with the finding from the ‘Fundamental review of the College of Policing’ that the College “was seen as too remote from the service and of insufficient utility to frontline officers.”¹²⁷ A shake up is needed. Policy Exchange has called on the government to replace the College with a new Leadership Academy. This new body would be a hub for the training of police officers and create exchange programmes with police forces in other countries. The College’s responsibilities for monitoring standards could then be transferred to the HM Inspectorate, where it would more properly belong, and provide a more effective use of the £70 million of taxpayer money currently going towards the College.¹²⁸

Relatedly, the Home Office needs clearer authority within the structure and hierarchy of the various bodies that govern policing. Institutional inertia from the College and National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC), among others, has been holding back police reform for too long. The College and NPCC often protect Chief Constables and strongly influences the process of choosing their replacements. The Police Federation has often been an obstacle to serious reform, especially around misconduct. As the Home Affairs Select Committee found in 2018, “It is time for the Government to demonstrate clear ownership of policing policy”.¹²⁹ In recent years, “the Home Office’s role in setting policing policy and priorities has been significantly diminished.”¹³⁰ When challenges arise within policing and the Home Office consequently issues guidance, there needs to be a clear expectation that this is followed with immediate effect.

To best determine how the Home Office can reassert its authority and provide strategic direction, the Home Secretary should commission an independent review of the professional bodies that oversee policing. The work would consider options for reforming the policing protocol that governs the relationship between the Home Secretary, PCCs, and Chief Constables. More broadly, the review can look at whether the College of Policing, the National Police Chiefs’

Council, Police Superintendents’ Association, Chief Police Officers’ Staff Association, Police Federation, and all other staff associations, are fit for purpose and how their powers can be transferred to more appropriate bodies. The overriding purpose of such a review would be to ensure the Home Office is firmly back in charge of policing and can drive forward police reform.

Recommendations:

8. Transfer the Metropolitan Police’s specialist operations, leadership of Regional Organised Crime Units, and the Serious Fraud Office to the National Crime Agency.
 - Review the operational geography of PCCs and police forces so they more closely align with local government boundaries.
 - Give full PCC responsibilities to Metro Mayors in combined authorities.
9. Streamline the process for firing failing Chief Constables and establish a more competitive programme for promotions and hiring fresh talent.
 - Allow external applicants to apply for senior officer roles and create a twin track recruitment process.
 - Use existing powers to allow the Home Secretary to direct police forces that enter special measures.
10. Commission an independent review to examine the future of the College of Policing, the National Police Chiefs’ Council, Police Superintendents’ Association, Chief Police Officers’ Staff Association, Police Federation, and all other staff associations.

Conclusion

British policing has lost its sense of purpose, with severe consequences for the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. Central government has provided adequate resources to police forces over the past fourteen years but has allowed their misallocation towards social justice initiatives instead of fighting crime. The Conservative Party can only win back its reputation as the ‘law and order’ party by getting back to the basics of British policing. This means ending the bureaucratic, woke, and mediocre model we currently have by embracing local people, common sense, and standards of excellence.

The police make an invaluable contribution to our country, helping to maintain the peace and keep people safe. The tendency towards political activism and weak enforcement of order, however, threatens to undermine the positive difference the police make to our communities. It erodes public trust in police impartiality, in turn posing a significant challenge to policing by consent. Not enforcing the law bends a metaphorical knee to lawless behaviour. Without a proactive response to crime, police become bystanders in the face of disorder, paving the way for further anarchy and broken trust down the line.

It is also imperative that police officers end public support for politically contentious issues. Parading in uniform and issuing political statements under the auspices of ‘staff networks’ suggests that the police care more for the latest social justice trends than they do for impartial law enforcement. When officers don their uniform, they assume a public duty to act as the impartial enforcers of the law – they are not the cheerleaders for a social justice cause, nor should they be.

We already ask a lot of our police forces, but today we should expect more. When the Home Secretary asks the police to review their training practices, changes should be forthcoming. Likewise, the College of Policing should face increased scrutiny when it pushes ideological

agendas and does not implement much needed structural improvements.

Combined, the recommendations outlined in this paper offer a way to restore a common-sense approach to policing and ensure police forces are not further discredited by capitulation to left-wing, divisive ideologies. By tackling matters of public order and ensuring the police are trusted, impartial enforcers of the law, we can hope to see public confidence in the police return to high levels, and the uniquely British tradition of policing by consent maintained for future generations.

Appendix - Peelian Principles¹³¹

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 co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
4. To recognise always that the extent to which the co-operation 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 friendly 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
7. is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
8. 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.
9. 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.
10. 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.

Endnotes

- ¹ Civitas (2004). Principles of Good Policing. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/research/crime/facts-comments/principles-of-good-policing/>
- ² UK Parliament (2024). Creating the nation's police force. Accessed 8th March. Available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transferring-society/laworder/policeprisons/overview/nationspoliceforce/>
- ³ Hohl, K (2022). "New scorecards show under 1% of reported rapes lead to conviction – criminologist explains why England's justice system continues to fail". City, 4th April. Available at: <https://www.city.ac.uk/news-and-events/news/2022/04/new-scorecards-show-under-1-of-reported-rapes-lead-to-conviction-criminologist-explains-why-englands-justice-system-continues-to-fail/#>
- ⁴ Reynolds, A (2023). "Police officer 'embarrassed' after M25 Just Stop Oil protesters given drinking water and suntan lotion". LBC, 27th January. Available at: <https://www.lbc.co.uk/radio/presenters/nick-ferrari/police-officer-embarrassed-just-stop-oil/#:~:text=Leading%20Britain%27s%20Conversation%20Police%20officer%20%27embarrassed%27%20after%20M25%20Just%20Stop%20Oil%20protesters%20iven,drinking%20water%20and%20suntan%20lotion&text=A%20serving%20police%20officer%20in,to%20resolve%20a%20simple%20matter.>
- ⁵ Camber, R & Duell, M (2020). "Now a chief constable 'takes the knee'". Mail Online, 10th June. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8405363/Police-chief-constable-took-knee-Black-Lives-Matter-event.html>
- ⁶ Gov UK (2024). PM address on extremism. 1st March. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-address-on-extremism-1-march-2024>
- ⁷ Brunt, M (2023). "Hanging by a thread": Public trust in police has fallen to its lowest level ever, watchdog warns". Sky News, 9th June. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/public-trust-in-police-is-hanging-by-a-thread-watchdog-admits-12898981>
- ⁸ ONS (2023). Crime in England and Wales: Annual supplementary tables, Table S1. 20th July. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/crimeinenglandandwalesannualsupplementarytables>
- ⁹ ONS (2023). Crime in England and Wales: Annual supplementary tables, Table S1. 20th July. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/crimeinenglandandwalesannualsupplementarytables>
- ¹⁰ YouGov (2023). Are the police doing a good job? Available at: <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/trackers/are-the-police-doing-a-good-job>
- ¹¹ YouGov (2023). Are the police doing a good job? Available at: <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/trackers/are-the-police-doing-a-good-job>
- ¹² Gov UK (2023). Home Secretary orders review into political activism in police. 2nd September. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/home-secretary-orders-review-into-political-activism-in-police>
- ¹³ Civitas (2004). Principles of Good Policing. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/research/crime/facts-comments/principles-of-good-policing/>
- ¹⁴ Lawson, D (2023). "Here's why the police appease Islamists". The Times, 29th October. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/3b722c82-75c5-11ee-9112-e87c82399f65?shareToken=550f5e5b5ce4b48e983cd31ae87640f>
- ¹⁵ Lawson, D (2023). "Here's why the police appease Islamists". The Times, 29th October. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/3b722c82-75c5-11ee-9112-e87c82399f65?shareToken=550f5e5b5ce4b48e983cd31ae87640f>
- ¹⁶ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>
- ¹⁷ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.26. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>
- ¹⁸ ONS (2024). Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2023. 25th January. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingseptember2023>
- ¹⁹ Donovan, T (2024). "London knife crime drives national rise - Cleverly". BBC News, 26th January. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cw8j3v39dx60>
- ²⁰ Tingle, R (2024). "More teenage homicides were recorded in London last year than in 2022". Mail Online, 3rd January. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12922317/more-teenage-homicides-recorded-2023-2022.html>
- ²¹ Whannel, K (2023). "Police taking over five hours to respond to priority calls in England". BBC News, 26th April. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-65388621>
- ²² Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.14. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>
- ²³ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.14. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>

<https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>

²⁴ Hymas, C (2024). "Police solve no burglaries in half of the country". The Telegraph, 3rd March. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2024/03/03/police-fail-to-solve-single-burglary-in-half-of-country/>

²⁵ Butcher, B & Hymas, C (2024). "Number of burglars jailed has more than halved in a decade." The Telegraph, 11th March. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2024/03/11/burglars-break-ins-jailed-halves-vera-baird-home-office/>

²⁶ Donovan, T (2024). "London mayor: Met Police needs more government money". BBC News, 25th January. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-68079880>

²⁷ Public Safety Foundation (2023). Transcript of the Home Secretary's Speech. 26th April. Available at: <https://publicsafetyfoundation.uk/events/the-public-safety-foundation-launch/>

²⁸ Gov UK (2023). Police workforce, England and Wales: 31 March 2023: data tables. 26th July. Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2023>

²⁹ Ipsos (2023). More Britons rate the standard of policing in Britain as bad than good – with few expecting it to improve. 6th July. Available at: <https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/more-britons-rate-standard-policing-britain-bad-good-few-expecting-it-improve>

³⁰ Ipsos (2023). More Britons rate the standard of policing in Britain as bad than good – with few expecting it to improve. 6th July. Available at: <https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/more-britons-rate-standard-policing-britain-bad-good-few-expecting-it-improve>

³¹ Institute for Government (2023). Performance Tracker 2023: Police. 30th October. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2023/police>

³² ONS (2023). Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2023. 25th January. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/crimeinenglandandwales/yearendingseptember2023>

³³ Institute for Government (2023). Performance Tracker 2023: Police. 30th October. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2023/police>

³⁴ Hymas, C (2023). "Half of police forces not investigating crime properly". The Telegraph, 28th December. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/12/28/over-half-police-forces-failing-properly-investigate-crime/>

³⁵ Hymas, C (2022). "Crime victims wait longer for justice as police get bogged down in 'needless' paperwork". The Telegraph, 12th February. Available at:

[https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/12/crime-](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/12/crime-victims-wait-longer-justice-police-get-bogged-needless/)

[victims-wait-longer-justice-police-get-bogged-needless/](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/12/crime-victims-wait-longer-justice-police-get-bogged-needless/)

³⁶ Hymas, C (2023). "More than a third of victims say they would not report a crime to the police again". The Telegraph, 7th November. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/11/07/34-per-cent-victims-say-not-report-crime-to-police-again/>

³⁷ ONS (2022). The nature of violent crime in England and Wales: Year ending March 2022. 9th November. Available at:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/thenatureofviolentcrimeinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2022>

³⁸ Booth-Dale, A (2021). More than half of anti-social behaviour incidents go unreported. HQN, 19th July. Available at: <https://hqnnetwork.co.uk/news/more-than-half-of-anti-social-behaviour-incidents-go-unreported/>

³⁹ Kelling, GL & Wilson, JQ (1982). "Broken Windows". The Atlantic, 1 March. Available at:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/>

⁴⁰ Hawksbee, A & Newton, C (2024). Back to Basics. Onward, p.5. Available at:

<https://www.ukonward.com/reports/back-to-basics/>

⁴¹ DeLisi, M (2019). "Broken Windows Work". City Journal, 29th May. Available at: <https://www.city-journal.org/article/broken-windows-works>

⁴² BBC News (2020). Greater Manchester Police 'failed to record 80,000 crimes in a year'. 10th December. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-55251366>

⁴³ Hymas, C (2022). "Anti-woke chief constable turns failing force around with back-to-basics approach". The Telegraph, 29th October. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/10/28/anti-woke-stephen-watson-greater-manchester-police-chief-constable/>

⁴⁴ Hamilton, F (2022). "Stephen Watson: people expect police to be making arrests". The Times, 25th November. Available at:

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/stephen-watson-manchester-police-woke-virtue-signal-cn680dsql>

⁴⁵ Hymas, C (2022). "Anti-woke chief constable turns failing force around with back-to-basics approach". The Telegraph, 29th October. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/10/28/anti-woke-stephen-watson-greater-manchester-police-chief-constable/>

⁴⁶ Spencer, D (2022). Policing Can Win. Policy Exchange, p.40. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/policing-can-win/>

⁴⁷ Hawksbee, A & Newton, C (2024). Back to Basics. Onward, p.7. Available at:

<https://www.ukonward.com/reports/back-to-basics/>

⁴⁸ Hawksbee, A & Newton, C (2024). Back to Basics. Onward, p.7. Available at:

<https://www.ukonward.com/reports/back-to-basics/>

⁴⁹ Metropolitan Police (2023). The Baroness Casey Review Final Report: March 2023, p.14. Available at: <https://www.met.police.uk/police-forces/metropolitan-police/areas/about-us/about-the-met/bcr/baroness-casey-review/>

⁵⁰ Metropolitan Police (2023). Not fully deployable officers and those suspended or on restricted duties. Available at: <https://www.met.police.uk/cy-GB/foi-ai/metropolitan-police/disclosure-2023/february-2023/not-fully-deployable-officers-suspended-restricted-duties/>

⁵¹ Tingle, R (2023). "One in ten police officers shouldn't have made it through vetting: Top watchdog says hundreds of rogue cops should never have been given a job". Mail Online, 26th January. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11678645/One-ten-police-officers-shouldnt-vetting.html>

⁵² Burns, J & Mackintosh, T (2024). "Sarah Everard's killer Wayne Couzens should never have been police officer - Angiolini Inquiry". BBC News, 29th February. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-68433319>

⁵³ Sabey, R (2023). "Fury as more than 1,000 cops failed fitness tests in last year raising questions over their ability to protect public". The Sun, 31st December. Available at:

<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/25211426/fury-more-thousand-cops-failed-fitness-tests/>

⁵⁴ Beckford, M (2024). "British Transport Police axes compulsory fitness test - because 'bleep test' is unfair on women". Mail Online, 25th February. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13122283/British-Transport-Police-axes-compulsory-fitness-test-unfair-women.html>

⁵⁵ Evans, M (2023). "Met Police recruit 'functionally illiterate in English' in attempt to improve diversity". The Telegraph, 26th January. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/01/26/applicants-functionally-illiterate-english-accepted-met-bid/>

⁵⁶ Hymas, C (2022). "Smart dress code helps turn police force into Britain's fastest improving". The Telegraph, 26th July. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/07/26/smart-dress-code-turns-police-force-britains-fastest-improving/>

⁵⁷ Hawksbee, A & Newton, C (2024). Back to Basics. Onward, p.6. Available at: <https://www.ukonward.com/reports/back-to-basics/>

⁵⁸ Brown, T & McLaughlin, C (2022). "Seven in ten Met Police officers failed to make a single arrest in an entire YEAR, new figures reveal - as crime hits highest level in two decades". Mail Online, 22nd July. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11037805/Seven-ten-Met-Police-officers-failed-make-single-arrest-entire-YEAR.html>

⁵⁹ Gov UK (2023). Police given more time to focus on solving crimes and protecting public. 13th April. Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/police-given-more-time-to-focus-on-solving-crimes-and-protecting-public>

⁶⁰ Hymas, C (2022). "Crime victims wait longer for justice as police get bogged down in 'needless' paperwork". The Telegraph, 12th February. Available at:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/12/crime-victims-wait-longer-justice-police-get-bogged-needless/>

⁶¹ Machin, J (2023). "Bedfordshire Police use AI to save hours on admin duties". BBC News, 14th December. Available at:

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-67680698>

⁶² Dodd, V (2023). "Police should be given power to charge suspects, say senior officers in England". The Guardian, 27th February. Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/feb/27/police-should-be-given-power-to-charge-suspects-say-senior-officers-cps>

⁶³ Spencer, D (2023). The 'Wicked and the Redeemable'. Policy Exchange, p.7. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/the-wicked-and-the-redeemable/>

⁶⁴ Spencer, D (2023). The 'Wicked and the Redeemable'. Policy Exchange, p.8. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/publication/the-wicked-and-the-redeemable/>

⁶⁵ Hansard (2015). Offenders: Foreign Nationals. 2nd March. Available at: <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2015-02-24/225256>

⁶⁶ Gower, M & Sturge, G (2024). Deportation of foreign national offenders. 2nd February. Available at: <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cdp-2024-0023/>

⁶⁷ ONS (2022). Nature of fraud and computer misuse in England and Wales: year ending March 2022. 26th September. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/natureoffraudandcomputer-misuseinenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2022>

⁶⁸ Dathan, M (2022). "Diversity roles cost police £10m a year". The Times, 6th December. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/uk-police-forces-10m-diversity-roles-jobs-inclusion-7s3bwsr0l>

⁶⁹ Dathan, M (2022). "Diversity roles cost police £10m a year". The Times, 6th December. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/uk-police-forces-10m-diversity-roles-jobs-inclusion-7s3bwsr0l>

⁷⁰ Dathan, M (2022). "Diversity roles cost police £10m a year". The Times, 6th December. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/uk-police-forces-10m-diversity-roles-jobs-inclusion-7s3bwsr0l>

⁷¹ Dathan, M (2022). "Diversity roles cost police £10m a year". The Times, 6th December. Available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/uk-police-forces-10m-diversity-roles-jobs-inclusion-7s3bwsr0l>

⁷² Line, H (2022). "Scotland Yard splashes out more than £1 million on diversity jobs as critics say chiefs are 'policing political correctness'". Mail Online, 27th December. Available at: [https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11037805/Seven-ten-Met-Police-officers-failed-make-single-arrest-entire-YEAR.html)

[11575563/Scotland-Yard-splashes-1million-diversity-jobs.html](https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-66693802)

⁷³ Metropolitan Police (2023). The Baroness Casey Review Final Report: March 2023, p.20. Available at: <https://www.met.police.uk/police-forces/metropolitan-police/areas/about-us/about-the-met/bcr/baroness-casey-review/>

⁷⁴ Mackintosh, T (2023). "Suella Braverman: Home Secretary orders review into police impartiality". BBC News, 2nd September. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-66693802>

⁷⁵ Gov UK (2023). Home Secretary orders review into political activism in police. 2nd September. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/home-secretary-orders-review-into-political-activism-in-police>

⁷⁶ Gov UK (2023). Home Secretary orders review into political activism in police. 2nd September. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/home-secretary-orders-review-into-political-activism-in-police>

⁷⁷ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.6. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁷⁸ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing? Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁷⁹ Green, D (2021). Is Identity Politics Undermining Police Impartiality? Civitas, p.17 <https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/2604-A-Identity-Politics-ppi-86-WEB-FINAL.pdf>

⁸⁰ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.5. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸¹ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.16. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸² Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.24. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸³ NAMP (2023). Statement in relation to the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine. 1st November. Available at: https://x.com/Official_NAMP/status/1719794786771648832?s=20

⁸⁴ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸⁵ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸⁶ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁸⁷ Quadri, S (2022). "Met chief in dispute after 'rejecting' meeting with National Black Police Association". The Evening Standard, 25th September. Available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/met-police-mark-rowley-chris-kaba-andy-george-b1027966.html>

⁸⁸ Peters, C (2023). "How the cops got woke". The Critic, 15th May. Available at: <https://thecritic.co.uk/how-the-cops-got-woke/>

⁸⁹ Norrie, R. Singh, H. (2022). We Need to Check Your Thinking. Civitas, p.33. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/2633-C-We-Need-to-check-your-ppi-150-WEB-COPY.pdf>

⁹⁰ Norrie, R. Singh, H. (2022). We Need to Check Your Thinking. Civitas, p.33. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/2633-C-We-Need-to-check-your-ppi-150-WEB-COPY.pdf>

⁹¹ Policy Exchange (2023). Blurred Lines: Police Staff Networks – politics or policing?, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Blurred-Lines.pdf>

⁹² College of Policing (2014). Code of Ethics, p.10. Available at: https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/2021-02/code_of_ethics.pdf

⁹³ College of Policing (2014). Code of Ethics, p.10. Available at: https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/2021-02/code_of_ethics.pdf

⁹⁴ Wanic, R (2023). "Diversity training does more harm than good". Spiked, 7th February. Available at: <https://www.spiked-online.com/2023/02/07/diversity-training-does-more-harm-than-good/>

⁹⁵ Gov UK (2020). Written Ministerial Statement on Unconscious Bias Training. 17th December. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/written-ministerial-statement-on-unconscious-bias-training>

⁹⁶ Gov UK (2020). Written Ministerial Statement on Unconscious Bias Training. 17th December. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/written-ministerial-statement-on-unconscious-bias-training>

⁹⁷ Gov UK (2020). Written Ministerial Statement on Unconscious Bias Training. 17th December. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/written-ministerial-statement-on-unconscious-bias-training>

⁹⁸ College of Policing (2023). Making good decisions. 28th August. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/guidance/conducting-effective-investigations/making-good-decisions#:~:text=Unconscious%20bias%20affects%20everybody%27s%20decision,the%20Police%20Race%20Action%20Plan.>

⁹⁹ College of Policing (2023). Making good decisions. 28th August. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/guidance/conducting-effective-investigations/making-good-decisions#:~:text=Unconscious%20bias%20affects%20everybody%27s%20decision,the%20Police%20Race%20Action%20Plan.>

¹⁰⁰ College of Policing (2022). Police Race Action Plan, p.49. Available at: <https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/Police-Race-Action-Plan.pdf>

¹⁰¹ College of Policing (2020). New national hate crime guidance published. 20th October. Available at: <https://www.college.police.uk/article/new-national-hate-crime-guidance-published>

¹⁰² Home Office (2023). Non-Crime Hate Incidents: Code of Practice on the Recording and Retention of Personal Data (accessible). 3rd June. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/non-crime-hate-incidents-code-of-practice-on-the-recording-and-retention-of-personal-data-accessible>

¹⁰³ Peters, C (2023). "How the cops got woke". The Critic, 15th May. Available at: <https://thecritic.co.uk/how-the-cops-got-woke/>

¹⁰⁴ Norrie, R. Singh, H. (2022). We Need to Check Your Thinking. Civitas, p.104. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/2633-C-We-Need-to-check-your-ppi-150-WEB-COPY.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ House of Commons Library (2022). Hate Crime Statistics. 2nd November, p.10. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8537/CBP-8537.pdf>

¹⁰⁶ House of Commons Library (2022). Hate Crime Statistics. 2nd November, p.9. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8537/CBP-8537.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ House of Commons Library (2022). Hate Crime Statistics. 2nd November, p.10. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8537/CBP-8537.pdf>

¹⁰⁸ Hymas, C (2023). "Police to be banned from recording non-crime hate incidents because someone is offended". The Telegraph, 13th March. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2023/03/13/police-banned-recording-non-crime-hate-incidents-someone-offended/>

¹⁰⁹ Hymas, C (2023). "Police to be banned from recording non-crime hate incidents because someone is offended". The Telegraph, 13th March. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2023/03/13/police-banned-recording-non-crime-hate-incidents-someone-offended/>

¹¹⁰ ITV News (2023). "Pro-Palestinian protests will go ahead on Armistice Day, police say". 8th November. Available at: <https://www.itv.com/news/london/2023-11-07/no-absolute-power-to-stop-pro-palestine-protests-on-armistice-day-police-say>

¹¹¹ Bolton, W (2023). "Met Police officers 'frustrated' by inability to make arrests at pro-Palestine rally". The Telegraph, 23rd October. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/10/23/met-police-frustrated-inability-arrests-palestine-rally/>

¹¹² Bolton, W (2023). "Met Police officers 'frustrated' by inability to make arrests at pro-Palestine rally". The Telegraph, 23rd October. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/10/23/met-police-frustrated-inability-arrests-palestine-rally/>

¹¹³ HMICFRS (2021). Getting the balance right? An inspection of how effectively the police deal with protests, p.97. Available at: <https://assets.hmicfrs.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/uploads/getting-the-balance-right-an-inspection-of-how-effectively-the-police-deal-with-protests.pdf>

[the-balance-right-an-inspection-of-how-effectively-the-police-deal-with-protests.pdf](https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-66693802)

¹¹⁴ Cole, H (2023). "Rishi Sunak orders major tightening of protest laws after Armistice Day was blighted by hate-filled mobs". The Sun, 12th November. Available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/24714273/rishi-sunak-protest-clampdown-armistice-day-palestine-march/>

¹¹⁵ Acheson, I (2023). "Keeping the peace: the politics of policing protest". The Spectator, 11th November. Available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/how-to-police-protest/>

¹¹⁶ Quinn, B (2023). "Just Stop Oil protesters smash glass on painting at National Gallery". The Guardian, 6th November. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/nov/06/just-stop-oil-protesters-smash-glass-painting-national-gallery>

¹¹⁷ BBC News (2021). "Extinction Rebellion activists smash windows at Canary Wharf HSBC". 22nd April. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-56843329>

¹¹⁸ Sky News (2021). "In pictures: 'Shameful' scenes in Bristol after 'Kill The Bill' protest descends into anarchy". 22nd March. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/in-pictures-shameful-scenes-in-bristol-after-kill-the-bill-protest-descends-into-anarchy-12253283>

¹¹⁹ Goodkind, S (2023). "High street under attack: Pro-Palestine vandals smash windows of Starbucks and release stick insects and mice inside four McDonald's in spree of attacks in Yorkshire and Birmingham after calls for branches to be targeted over 'support for Israel'". The Daily Mail, 1st November. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-12697291/pro-Palestine-vandals-smash-Starbucks-window-Yorkshire.html>

¹²⁰ College of Policing (2023). National protest operational advice. Available at: <https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/2023-06/National-protest-operational-advice.pdf>

¹²¹ Hazell, W (2023). "Give police powers to ban Pro-Palestinian protests, review to urge". The Telegraph, 11th November. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2023/11/11/give-police-powers-ban-pro-palestinian-protests-review/>

¹²² Braverman, S (2024). "Take on hate-filled mobs, before it's too late". The Telegraph, 6th February. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2024/02/06/take-on-hate-filled-mobs-before-its-too-late/>

¹²³ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.25. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>

¹²⁴ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.26. Available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>

¹²⁵ College of Policing (2022). Fundamental Review of the College of Policing, p.3. Available at:

<https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/2022-02/Fundamental-review-of-the-College-of-Policing.pdf>

¹²⁶ Young, T (2022). "A bonfire of the quangos should start with the College of Policing". The Spectator, 7th May. Available at:

<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/a-bonfire-of-the-quangos-should-start-with-the-college-of-policing/>

¹²⁷ College of Policy (2022). Fundamental Review of the College of Policing, p.3. Available at:

<https://assets.college.police.uk/s3fs-public/2022-02/Fundamental-review-of-the-College-of-Policing.pdf>

¹²⁸ Spencer, D (2022). What do we want from the next Prime Minister? Policy Exchange, p.26. Available at:

<https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Crime-Policing-What-do-we-want-from-the-next-Prime-Minister.pdf>

¹²⁹ Home Affairs Select Committee (2018). Policing for the Future. Available at:

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmhaff/515/51513.htm>

¹³⁰ Home Affairs Select Committee (2018). Policing for the Future. Available at:

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmhaff/515/51513.htm>

¹³¹ Civitas (2004). Principles of Good Policing. Available at: <https://www.civitas.org.uk/research/crime/facts-comments/principles-of-good-policing/>

