REVIEW OF THE TRANSITION TO THE LOCAL POLICING MODEL

February 2015



MAYOR OF LONDON

OFFICE FOR POLICING AND CRIME

INTRODUCTION

In 2013, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) established a new approach to neighbourhood policing called the Local Policing Model (LPM). It was designed to

"enhance neighbourhood policing by redeploying over 2,600 officers into neighbourhoods and refocus neighbourhood teams so that they have a broader remit to reduce crime, investigate offences, tackle offending and support victims" (Police and Crime Plan 2012-2016 Pg. 22)

It should not be underestimated that the introduction of the LPM was a radical reorganisation and a fundamental change to way the MPS delivers services.

After the biggest changes to local policing in years, it was important to review how the LPM was working and what could be done to improve it. We are pleased that the MPS has conducted a thorough examination of the LPM in their "Neighbourhood Policing Review" and are making changes as a consequence.

In this paper, Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) explored the impact of the LPM on crime and confidence. Despite the widespread changes, the LPM has had no detrimental impact on MOPAC 7 crime performance or public confidence, both of which continue to improve.

SECTION ONE

Purpose and scope of the review

- **1.1** The Police and Crime Plan 2013-16 sets out what the Mayor wants to achieve by 2016 and explains to Londoners what they can expect from the police and from MOPAC.
- **1.2** In order to achieve the priorities set out in the plan and to meet the Mayor's challenge to strengthen the front line, increase the numbers of officers out on the streets and reduce costs, the MPS established a radical reorganisation of the Service and a fundamental change to the way the MPS delivers policing services (the "One Met Model"). A key element is the change to borough policing, described as the Local Policing Model (LPM).
- **1.3** The Local Policing Model rolled out across 32 London boroughs in two tranches: Tranche 1 from July 2013 and Tranche 2 from September 2013 (see Annex 1 for list of boroughs in each tranche).
- **1.4** This review does not look at the entirety of changes to policing encompassed in the Police and Crime Plan. Instead, the scope is to look at whether the Local Policing Model has led to the Police numbers promised and what effect its implementation has had on performance on crime, confidence and victim satisfaction.

- **1.5** It does not assess the wider changes to local policing, for example the impact of contact points or the quality of training of officers recruited to boroughs. Nor does it assess how effectively the changes within the LPM have been communicated internally within the MPS.
- **1.6** However, it does look at the impact of this significant change to how the MPS works locally on its mission to deliver crime reduction and confidence in policing to local people. Its conclusions will have implications for these and other areas. Other relevant publications on this subject are currently being published and this includes the MPS neighbourhood review (which assesses and responds to numbers of officers and their deployment, including on aid) and the MOPAC contact points review.

SECTION TWO

Evidence analysed

- **2.1** The data presented here are from two major sources: the MPS and the public. Wider partner views are incorporated in later in section two. First, we examine MPS's own crime, response, abstraction, sickness and other performance and workforce information to assess the transition to the One Met Model, and in particular, the LPM. Second, we use MOPAC's Public Attitude Survey and User Satisfaction Survey to assess what impact the transition has had on public experience of local policing.
- **2.2** A key aspect of the LPM was the redeployment of 2,600 officers to boroughs.

Assessment of numbers

- **2.2.1** The transition to the LPM led to significant changes to the deployment of officers to boroughs. The previous model for Safer Neighbourhood policing allocated dedicated neighbourhood officers on a ward basis (with 1 PS, 2 PCs and 3 PCSOs per ward). Under the LPM 1 PC and 1 PCSO are designated to each ward. The remainder of the Neighbourhood roles operate across ward boundaries flexing to demand, local need and specific tasking responsibilities. This means the LPM has more Neighbourhood roles as a whole. This enables a flexible problem solving approach at the Neighbourhood level accompanying MPS neighbourhood review.
- **2.2.2** As well as increasing the number of neighbourhood officer roles, the LPM has also greatly enhanced local officers' work responsibilities. Under the Safer Neighbourhood model teams were primarily focussed on community engagement, problem solving and visible patrolling. Under LPM this has extended to some crime investigation, off borough aid commitments (e.g. large scale events), appointment cars, staffing front offices at contact points and backfilling the Emergency Response Teams.

- **2.2.3** By December 2014 the transition to the LPM for local officers was complete (when comparing current neighbourhood officer strength to 2015 target strength¹) with approximately 4,500 officers now in Neighbourhood roles, alongside 13,900 borough based officers, who attend local demand for service, specialist functions (such as Community Safety Officers who deal with domestic violence) and other locally based policing functions (such as attending victim appointments). The commitment around additional neighbourhood policing establishment made in the Police and Crime Plan has been met (See appendix, Figure 1).
- **2.3 Abstraction of borough officers** Designed into the Local Policing Model is the promise to keep officers on neighbourhood, with an explicit intent to minimise the abstraction of borough resources into other parts of the MPS business. This subject is focused on more fully within the MPS review.
- **2.4 Response Times** Response to immediate calls to service has improved in many boroughs. In terms of responding to incoming calls for emergency assistance, the transition to the LPM shows a broadly positive picture. The MPS demand data now shows an uplift in the "on target" percentage of incidents receiving a response for both I calls (Immediate attended within 15 minutes) and S calls (Significant attended within 60 minutes) for the MPS as a whole.
- **2.5 Morale and motivation of officers** Large scale changes like the LPM have the potential to impact the workforce in terms of morale. The LPM has taken place within the context of some of the largest organisational changes to policing in modern times, in the shadow of the Winsor Review and austerity measures in general.
 - **2.5.1 Recorded sickness levels are not changed.** Recorded sickness for officers, as measured through the average number of workdays lost to sickness, did show a slight rise in the first quarter after the transition began to LPM. However, these levels returned to almost the same levels as before in the second quarter of the transition (see Appendix, figure 2).
 - **2.5.2 Staff satisfaction remains unchanged.** The 'Build A Better Met' staff survey captured staff views during the period of LPM transition. Results from this survey show that as a whole the Territorial Policing response to the headline question of "Satisfaction with current role" remained at 44% between November 2012 and March 2014.

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¹ Police and Crime Plan

2.6 Crime outcomes are a critical benchmark for the stability of the policing mission during a major organisational change.

- **2.6.1** There have been some continued reductions in MOPAC 7 crimes over the last 12 months. These have occurred throughout the year and across the transition to the LPM in both tranches, in line with longer term trends of crime reduction.
- **2.6.2** There have been some reductions in most MOPAC 7 crimes in the short term while the LPM has been rolling out. These have occurred across both LPM tranches at the same time - regardless of which tranche of LPM boroughs. Overall, the transition to the LPM did not disrupt the trajectory of crime reduction in London. (See appendix, Figures 3 and 4) Violence With Injury has increased in London and other parts of the country. The January 2015 MOPAC Performance Challenge has highlighted the rise in Violence With Injury. Of the remaining six crime types, the majority have seen reductions overall: Theft Person; Burglary (despite regular seasonal peaks); Robbery and Theft from Vehicles, with the exception of Theft of Vehicles which has remained flat. Via MOPAC's oversight and challenge systems, there have been several performance related actions emanating from this analysis. MOPAC Challenge in October on performance analysed the potential violence hotspots and agreed further targeted work by MPS through Operation Equinox. This is being discharged through a series of joint partner problem solving events in the top five boroughs for violence. MOPAC challenge in January reported progress and developed further the analysis of wider drivers of crime and appropriate responses.
- **2.6.3** MOPAC has published a number of public dashboards, one of which presents crime reported by the key MOPAC seven crime types: Violence with Injury; Robbery; Burglary; Theft Person; Theft from Motor Vehicles; Theft of Motor Vehicles; and Criminal Damage. The dashboard demonstrates that crime reduction in London is driving the overall crime reduction across England and Wales, see:

www.london.gov.uk/mopac-data

This dashboard is updated on a monthly basis, and provides a picture of borough level performance.

- **2.6.4** These tools allow for a fine grained understanding of the crime picture in each borough to inform local problem solving.
- **2.7 Public confidence outcomes** One of MOPAC's challenges to the MPS is to improve public confidence by 20% by March 2016. MOPAC's performance measure for the increase in public confidence is taken from the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW), where it is possible to compare Public Confidence in policing in London with the other 42 police services. The key question monitoring Public Confidence is 'how good a job do police do locally'. The most recent (Office for National Statistics) CSEW findings show the MPS at 62.9% (CSEW as of June 2014).

- **2.7.1** MOPAC's Public Attitude Survey (PAS) tracks public confidence of residents in London. The survey interviews over 3,200 respondents quarterly and is able to monitor Public Confidence over time, and enables borough comparisons. To September 2014-15, confidence in local policing in this survey is at 67%² (see Appendix, figure 5).
- **2.7.2** There are four key confidence drivers: public engagement, public perception of how the police treat people fairly; public perception of effective policing and the public perception of their concern about anti-social behaviour. Providing a visible policing presence is a component of the 'effectiveness driver' as measured in London's confidence in policing, but not its sole measure of effectiveness.
- **2.7.3** The survey data asking people about whether they have seen officers on patrol shows that people say they see fewer officers on patrol (see Appendix, figure 6). However, confidence remains fairly high, and is relatively unaffected by changes in the trends of how often residents see police officers patrolling. The survey data show consistently it is what police do and how they do it that is much more important to public confidence than seeing officers on the street. Extensive analysis demonstrates that community engagement and problem solving are significant contributors to public confidence, especially for local residents (see Tuffin et al 2006 and Jackson et al 2013). Analysis of the MOPAC PAS shows that where Londoners' confidence has increased, their agreement that the police can be relied on to be there when they need them is higher (See Appendix, figure 7). The focus on visibility as the sole indicator of delivery of the LPM in London is misleading, and we should consider if this is the correct and most fitting measure for the success of local policing.
- **2.7.4** Whilst not recommended as a primary outcome measure for local policing, it is important to recognise that the visibility of officers is a very real, and talked about, issue for the people of London. At a recent set of MOPAC roadshows, the most commonly raised topic was the LPM. There were concerns around the visibility of officers along with a list of problems that are relevant to the delivery of local policing (e.g. community engagement, accessibility of police). There were clear feelings that there has been a reduction in visibility alongside a reduction in neighbourhood officer numbers. Some residents commented that they rarely see officers on patrol. There were also concerns around vacancies and abstractions. Whilst the feedback of residents at roadshows is valuable and important, the data from the Public Attitude Survey captures a statistically robust and representative view of London.
- **2.8 Victim experience of the transition to the LPM** The LPM was launched following the rollout of Total Victim Care (TVC), which was part of the Commissioner's promise to overhaul all elements of policing within London. The TVC programme brought closer monitoring of victim satisfaction data, specific borough plans and victim feedback directly to front line officers. Against these changes, large improvements (6 percentage points) in the main headline measure of Overall Victim Satisfaction with service provided by the police (from the end of Financial

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²https://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/policing-crime/data-information/confidence-dashboard

Year 11-12 to FY 13-14) as well as across all of the driver questions was seen over the period of two years. Results from the survey have remained fairly stable since FY 13-14, with Overall Victim Satisfaction at 80%.

- **2.8.1** There are four key driver questions that underlie overall victim satisfaction. These are satisfaction with ease of contact, satisfaction with the actions police took, satisfaction with police follow up and satisfaction with treatment by the police All of these indicators have remained stable during the transition. Full breakdowns can be seen in the Appendix (Figure 8).
- **2.8.2** Despite the scale of internal changes brought about during the transition to the LPM there was no change in the main measure of Overall Victim Satisfaction with service provided by the police.

2.9 Stakeholders are supportive of LPM, but opportunities remain to work collectively to address local issues

- **2.9.1** It is important to consider the wider impact of changes to local policing arrangements. A small scale consultation with council leaders (interviews took place with five councillors from four boroughs) offering both their own opinion and ongoing feedback from their residents, revealed some consistent themes that can inform future lessons.
 - **2.9.2 Ward Panels:** issues were raised around the consistency, frequency and follow-up of locally discussed issues. However, it is not clear whether these issues are attributed to LPM, or just local policing over recent years.
 - **2.9.3 Visibility:** it is felt there is a lack of a visible police presence on the streets. There are differing views from boroughs some felt that lack of visibility is as a result of LPM, others feel it has been an ongoing issue pre-LPM.
 - **2.9.4 Partnership Working:** overall positive relationships were reported between councillors and Borough Commanders.
 - **2.9.5 Cultural Shift:** changes associated with moving from the old Safer Neighbourhood Team model to the new LPM has resulted in some issues around the skilling of officers and team dynamics (e.g. old and new teams).
 - **2.9.6 Dealing with Crime:** a number of boroughs feedback that DV is increasing. There were some concerns expressed around the implications for resourcing and also how best to communicate these messages to the public.
 - **2.9.7 Support for the LPM**: it was felt that the LPM is a good concept and can work, but it needs to be thought through more and boroughs need to reach full targets for optimum delivery.
 - **2.9.8 'One size does not fit all'**: some boroughs feel there are difficulties with conflicting priorities and differing borough vs London-wide priorities. Confidence, Offender Management and anti-social behaviour may provide a better focus. Some boroughs feel there are 'two-halves' to their borough, each with their own challenges. This can be difficult to police.

SECTION THREE

Findings

- 3.1 The new capacity promised in the Police and Crime Plan is in place.
 - **3.1.1** Despite the scale of the organisational change encompassed by the "One Met Model", which touched every aspect of the work of an organisation more than 50,000 strong and a large scale recruitment and training programme, the additional 2,600 more officers working directly in neighbourhoods which were promised in the Police and Crime Plan are now in post.
 - **3.1.2** The MPS services affecting local policing are now re-scoped, in many cases centralised, and are performing effectively.
 - **3.1.3** Local officers have been abstracted. However, the MPS has carried out extensive analysis of the levels and nature of these abstraction in its neighbourhood review and has plans in place to reduce extractions.
- 3.2 Despite the scale of the change programme, crime continues to fall... The transition to the LPM has not disrupted the trajectory of overall crime reduction in London.
 - **3.2.1** The total MOPAC 7 crime is 19% below 2012 levels³, with many boroughs already showing reductions of more than 20 per cent;
 - **3.2.2** MOPAC's publication of the Crime and Public Confidence dashboards puts performance into the public domain on a routine basis;
 - **3.2.3** Since June 2013 when the transition to the local policing model began,
 - o Robbery has fallen by 31% across London;
 - Theft from the person has fallen by 19% across London;
 - o Burglary has fallen by 16% across London;
 - o But Violence with Injury has risen by 21% in the same period.

3.3 Confidence is steady and is best understood locally

- **3.3.1** The MOPAC PAS tracks Public Confidence by borough in London. Confidence in local policing (as of Quarter 2 2014-15) stands at 67%.
- **3.3.2** The strongest driver of public confidence is engagement with the public. Now that the allocation of neighbourhood officers is complete MOPAC expect engagement to improve.

³ Comparing the Rolling Year to June 2013 prior to the transition to the Local Policing Model to that of Rolling Year December 2014 (most recent crime data at time of writing).

- **3.3.3** Where public confidence in local policing has increased people tend to say that they can rely on police when they need them.
- **3.3.4** Safer Neighbourhood Boards, and indeed the public at large, can use MOPAC Dashboards to assess confidence in their local areas. The dashboards are available at www.london.gov.uk/mopac-data

3.4 Victims are broadly satisfied

3.4.1 Overall Victim Satisfaction in London has remained steady at 80% throughout the transition.

CONCLUSION

Further to their review of the transition to LPM, MOPAC supports the changes that the MPS are making—in particular to reduce abstractions, which were too high, and to consider dedicating more officers to higher crime areas as standard practice.

The Local Policing Model will remain the basis for delivering the flexible policing that is needed to fight crime in London.

APPENDIX

Figure 1: Establishment of Neighbourhood Officers

Safer Neighbourhoods								
	2011	2015	Change					
Barking and Dagenham	49	119	70					
Barnet	60	135	75					
Bexley	61	110	49					
Brent	61	159	98					
Bromley	65	127	62					
Camden	52	157	105					
Croydon	73	183	110					
Ealing	68	161	93					
Enfield	61	144	83					
Greenwich	50	138	88					
Hackney	54	154	100					
Hammersmith and Fulham	47	139	92					
Haringey	55	144	89					
Harrow	61	107	46					
Havering	53	107	54					
Hillingdon	64	129	65					
Hounslow	58	127	69					
Islington	48	140	92					
Kensington and Chelsea	54	128	74					
Kingston	46	92	46					
Lambeth	69	184	115					
Lewisham	53	162	109					
Merton	58	107	49					
Newham	59	173	114					
Redbridge	61	129	68					
Richmond	53	97	44					
Southwark	62	178	116					
Sutton	54	102	48					
Tower Hamlets	51	143	92					
Waltham Forest	58	149	91					
Wandsworth	58	137	79					
Westminster	73	230	157					
TOTAL	1849	4491	2642					

Source: Mayor of London Police and Crime Plan 2012-2016

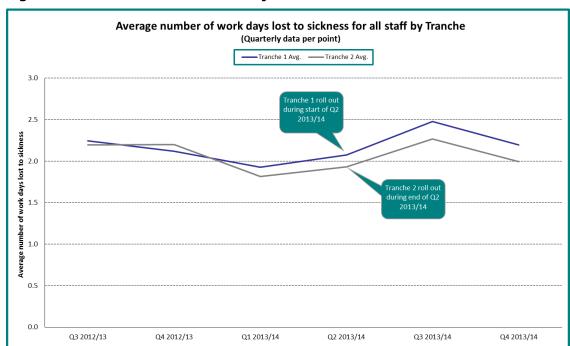


Figure 2: Staff Sickness Levels by Tranche

Source: MPS Sickness Data - Accessed via PeoplePages

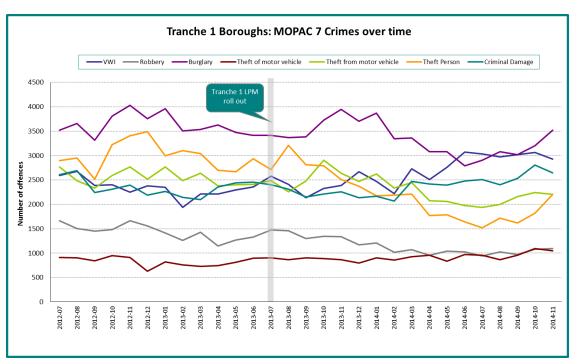
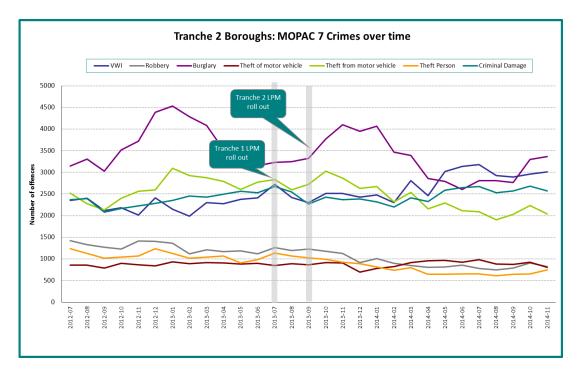


Figure 3: MOPAC 7 Crime Trends - Tranche 1 Boroughs

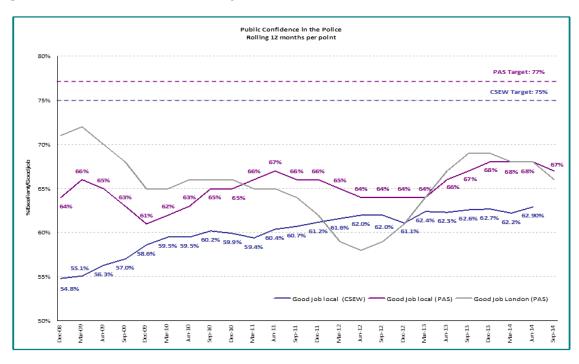
Source: Metropolitan Police Service Recorded Crime Figures and Associated Data - London Datastore

Figure 4: MOPAC 7 Crime Trends - Tranche 2 Boroughs



Source: Metropolitan Police Service Recorded Crime Figures and Associated Data - London Datastore

Figure 5: Public Confidence by Year



Source: ONS Crime Survey for England and Wales and MOPAC Public Attitude Survey

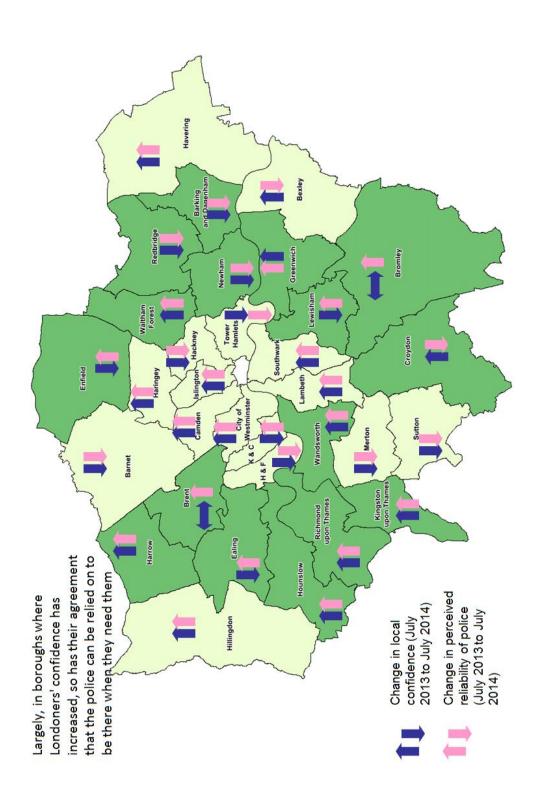
Figure 6: Police Visibility

How often do you see police patroling?				Is this appropriate?			
	At least weekly			About right			
	Tranche 1	Tranche 2	MPS		Tranche 1	Tranche 2	MPS
Q1 11/12	48%	47%	47%	Q1 11/12	39%	42%	41%
Q2 11/12	49%	47%	48%	Q2 11/12	42%	40%	41%
Q3 11/12	51%	45%	48%	Q3 11/12	48%	40%	44%
Q4 11/12	47%	43%	45%	Q4 11/12	39%	37%	38%
Q1 12/13	42%	35%	38%	Q1 12/13	36%	32%	34%
Q2 12/13	38%	37%	37%	Q2 12/13	39%	37%	38%
Q3 12/13	32%	31%	31%	Q3 12/13	32%	28%	29%
Q4 12/13	37%	33%	35%	Q4 12/13	38%	33%	35%
Q1 13/14	40%	33%	36%	Q1 13/14	45%	41%	42%
Q2 13/14	38%	30%	33%	Q2 13/14	49%	39%	43%
Q3 13/14	40%	31%	34%	Q3 13/14	46%	34%	40%
Q4 13/14	41%	34%	37%	Q4 13/14	45%	40%	42%
Q1 14/15	34%	29%	33%	Q1 14/15	42%	42%	42%
Q2 14/15	37%	34%	35%	Q2 14/15	41%	42%	41%

^{*}The grey shaded part of the tables represent post LPM figures.

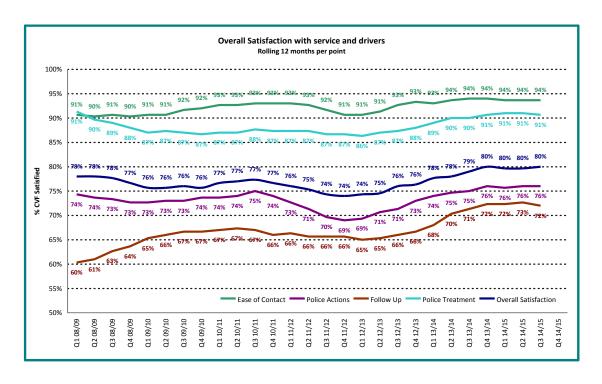
Source: MOPAC Public Attitude Survey

Figure 7: Local Confidence and Perceived Reliability of Local Police by Borough



Source: MOPAC Public Attitude Survey

Figure 8: Overall Satisfaction with Service and Drivers by Year



Source: MOPAC User Satisfaction Survey

Annex 1

Tranche 1:

Tranche 2:

Barking

Bromley Croydon

Brent

Ealing

Enfield

Harrow

Greenwich

Hounslow

Kingston

Lewisham

Newham Redbridge

Richmond

Waltham Forest

Wandsworth

Barnet Bexley Camden Hackney Hammersmith Haringey Havering Hillingdon Islington Kensington Lambeth Merton Southwark Sutton **Tower Hamlets** Westminster

Source: MPS