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Frequency

Summer and Winter

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Articles on issues of professional interest are sought from Australasian police officers and police academics. Articles are to be electronically provided to the Editor, colin.rogers@southwales.ac.uk. Articles are to conform to normal academic conventions. Where an article has previously been prepared during the course of employment, whether with a police service or otherwise, the contributor will be responsible for obtaining permission from that employer to submit the article for publication to *Australasian Policing*.

Contributors are expected to adhere to the Journal's publishing guidelines. These guidelines are available in this Journal. All papers are peer-reviewed.

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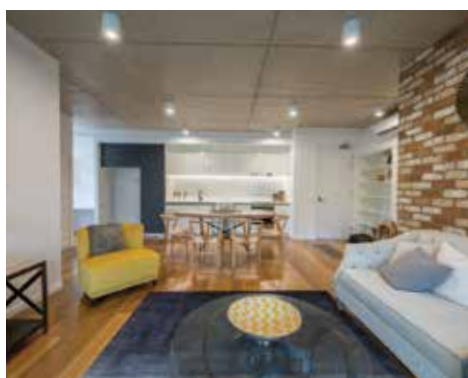


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Editorial

Professor Colin Rogers, the International Centre for Policing and Security, University of South Wales, (UK)

Welcomes to this latest edition of the Australasian Institute of Policing Journal.

Recent events in the UK and in Australia as well as across the globe involving terrorist attacks serve to focus the world of policing upon such terrible events. The first duty of a state is of course to protect its citizens so the pressure is on for all governments to ensure the safety of people against such violence. This is of course not easy, nor will it be solved by technology alone, despite the tremendous advances in recent years. One of the key factors that need to be utilized in order to combat such attacks is to gain the support and will of all people in society including those from whom terrorists' attacks emanate. Winning hearts and minds and involving people in community engagement plays a vital part in the fight against such atrocities. This is of course, or has been for hundreds of years, the way in which police in most democratic countries have carried out their function, policing with and through communities not at them. It is tempting when considering the 'fight against terrorism' to forget this part of the strategic approach to dealing with such issues, but I feel we do so at our peril. Policing tactics and strategy should never really

be one dimensional, but diverse and appropriate to the needs of all of the people.

Just to illustrate how diverse police, policing and the criminal justice system is any country we have a selection of articles that are wide ranging, interesting and will have resonance with police and policing in whatever country you are in.

Mick Cutajar asks us to consider the rise and role of private security and other issues affecting policing in Australia and raises questions regarding the suitability of current training for police officers, whilst Peter Jones, David Hillier and Daphne Comfort introduce us to the unusual topic of food crime which will have resonance amongst many countries, but here illustrating the work of the UK's food crime unit. In this age of Evidence Based Policing, Ian Hesketh and Les Graham discuss workplace factors that influence such an approach. Gareth Cuerden highlights the perennial problem of the use of official statistics when discussing the unrecorded number of hate crimes in Wales.

We sincerely hope you enjoy the informative and useful articles in this edition.

In memory

Professor David Hillier died on May 4th 2017 after a short illness. For many years he was Head of Geography, and then he became an Emeritus Professor at the International Centre for Policing and Security, at the University of South Wales. His research interests were in urban design and policing and in retailing and sustainability and his work was widely published in the academic press. He will be sadly missed by all who had the pleasure of knowing and working with him.



Experience

A former Police officer who spent a considerable time in operational activity at the ranks of Constable, Sergeant and Inspector, Professor Rogers has taught police officers, further education students, undergraduates in higher education as well as postgraduates on Masters level courses. He has also successfully supervised students to Doctoral level.

He has been engaged in advising governments and educating police nationally and internationally, including working in such countries as Uruguay, Australia, Brunei, Abu Dhabi and Germany as well as throughout the UK and the rest of Europe.

Professor Rogers is a Fellow of the Higher Education Academy.

Professor Rogers is currently Director of Studies for several PhD students studying at the centre, considering such aspects as community intelligence, police/public engagement, police unionism and police and partnership working.

He is an experienced researcher in the field of criminology and police sciences.

Responsibilities

Professor Rogers is responsible for post graduate research at the Centre for Police Sciences, as well as being a member of the Crime, Social Policy and Criminal Justice Research Institute, a member of the Faculty Research Ethics Committee and lead for the Police and Policing Cognate Group dedicated to the furtherance of wider research and publication of all policing activities across society, including mental health, education and public health.



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Presentation on increased needs for both security and police departments

Mick Cutajar

Introduction

The nature of policing appears to have gained significant political, social and media interest in recent decades. The apparent escalation in serious and organised crime such as that of terrorism, appears to have raised many questions for police services around the world, such as the role and ability of other security organisations, such as the private security sector.

Whilst terrorism may provide significant challenges for the police and other agencies, it is becoming increasingly apparent that in certain countries, the apparent misuse of lethal force by some police officers has caused increased fragmentation, less social cohesion, and fears around personal security (Ransley & Mazerolle 2008). Therefore, a breeding ground for terrorist activities. Expanding this debate, Waddington (1999:293) explains that there has been a number of “disproportionate shootings of ethnic minority suspects by American cops”. Whilst one may argue that this is as a result of racist sub-cultures within the police (Goldkamp, 1982), one cannot help but wonder whether an increase in professional development, training and education for both police officers and security personnel – could assist in the reduction of hostile environments, and perhaps reduce the level of excessive and fatal use of force (Sherman & Blumberg, 1981).

The growth of the security industry

The growth and diversity of the security industry has come on in leaps and bounds since the industrial revolution of 1760 -1840. The employment of a personal security guards for the rich and royals in 1760, would appear to be a small function of the security industry of today. In Australia “it is almost impossible to identify any function of the public police which is not... under some circumstances performed by private police in democratic societies” (Sarre 2002, pg. 1; pg. 3). Whilst this statement highlights the importance of the private security industry to Australian business, and to the community in general, the role and function also appears to be greatly accepted by police forces. For example, police forces are now “increasingly turning to private security companies for assistance, and this includes patrols of downtown districts, residential neighborhoods, and even as part of complex criminal investigations” (Goldstein 2007, online). In addition, Insurance companies are now expecting particular sites to have 24/7 security coverage, whilst other agencies such as the welfare agency now use private security services (Ransley & Mazerolle 2008).

Security guards are people “employed to protect, watch or guard any property by any means” including patrolling in person, or monitoring using devices such as closed-circuit television, radios and alarms etc. (Police Victoria 2015, pg. 1). The variety of different roles is outlined by the Victorian police department as six sub-activities: “an unarmed guard; an armed guard; an armed cash-in-transit guard; a control room operator; a monitoring center operator; and a guard assisted by a dog” (Police Victoria 2015, pg 1). Whilst these roles have become entrenched within Australian society, one cannot help but wonder why this industry has grown so rapidly and been accepted so quickly. One could argue that businesses and the general public “are prepared to pay for an enhanced security” (Etter 1999, pg. 6) as they have fears around their personal safety.

Although, another interesting thought is that perhaps businesses and citizens have a greater level of trust and confidence in trust security operatives compared to that of police officers. Although, one could argue that this second view is hinged on the restrictive powers and procedures confounded to security operatives (McGoey, 2015).

Use of force

The use of force by police officers is a contentious issue and one which requires a detailed discussion. In Victoria, a state of Australia with less than six million people, a ‘use of force’ situation occurs about 90 times per week. Whilst these statistics do not provide much details around the level of force used by police officers in these cases, or the circumstances of the incidents, there still however appears to be a degree of concern by some members and groups of society surrounding the volume of cases involving force used by the police. However, it is important to note the use of force by the police or security personnel is not in itself the issue, the issue lies when force has been used unjustly, disproportionately and unjustifiably.

The use of force by police officers or security personnel includes the use of firearms, batons, capsicum spray, restraining accoutrement, and defensive and restraining tactics such as the use of the hands and various holds and locks (Office of Police Integrity 2009; Queensland Police Service 2015a).

Figure 1: Levels of force commonly used

Level 1	Highly visible uniformed officer presence, use of a marked vehicle Purpose is to establish a calming professional security presence, acting as a deterrent and also building confidence in members of the public
Level 2	Verbal communication to de-escalate the situation Staying calm, showing confidence, using a clear voice with simple language Carefully observing all those involved, controlling the conversation, asking questions, maintaining eye contact
Level 3	Minimal use of physical force Use of control holds and restraints, bare hands to guide and hold Use of pain compliance holds if an aggressive suspect is still resisting
Level 4	Chemical and other agents to subdue in order to facilitate an arrest Capsicum spray, tear gas, tasers
Level 5	Temporary incapacitation to control an extreme, violent and immediate situation All methods of non-deadly force can be used including closed hand and impact tools. Both defensive and offensive moves are permitted
Level 6	Deadly force Permitted when in fear of death or great bodily injury Can be applied with hands, impact tools or firearms

(Adapted from; McGoey 2015; Cutajar 2015; Office of Police Integrity 2009).

Whilst this figure demonstrates the varying levels of force that a police officers may use, it is vitally important to acknowledge at this point that police officers are given legitimate authority by the state to use all levels of force, “authorised, justified, reasonable, proportionate, appropriate, legally defensible, tactically sound and effective” (Queensland Police Service 2015b, pg. 3). Whilst these principles are recognised across the world as excellence values, one must acknowledge that any use of force should have a balanced, fair and ethical accountability process (Punch, 2011). In-turn, this would support the legitimacy of the police service. Therefore, this article will critically analyze the training received by both police officers and security officers, in the light of the foregoing comments.

Training

Police training is a topic of discussion, which appear to raise its head when the policing response by some officers has perhaps lacked expectation. Whilst many official reports, Governmental documents and other articles have on occasions criticized or recommended areas of improvement in police training (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999; Hill & Moston, 2011), this article will critically discuss specific ‘use of force’ tactics; with the view of reducing the use of lethal or excessive force.

The importance of police training is highlighted by Rogers and Lewis (2007: 22), whereby it is claimed that “the effectiveness of police training will influence the extent to which officers are equipped to deal with the challenges that they face”. In essence, the level and standard of training could impact upon the delivery of policing services, which in-turn, places a great level of interest and emphasis upon the content and methods involved in police training. It is alleged that traditional police training methods have focused upon lengthy pieces of legislation with emphasis on discipline and obedience (Rogers and Lewis, 2007). Although it appear that training in the state police forces in Australia is extensive, and includes a varying degree of practical training, including hand-to-hand techniques. This style of training would appear to have many advantages. Although, most significantly, the increased confidence and skill for law enforcement and security operatives would appear to be most significant. This development in confidence and skill could in fact assist officers and security operatives in the accuracy of tactical assessments, resulting in a less frequent need to use lethal force.

The use of specific force skills including hand-to-hand is a crucial component of any enforcement or security training, and training should be as realistic as possible (Bennell 2015). Although, in comparison to the police service, it would appear that training for security guards is perhaps of a lower standard, which could be seen as ineffective. The standards in Australia for security operatives would appear to be of higher standard in contrast to other training courses around the world. For example, in the United states “armed propriety guards are not required to get a license, training, or to go through a background check” (Walter 2014, pg. 18). Many security training courses in the US involve only one or two days in total, leaving very little scope for hand-to-hand training (AEGIS Security & Investigations 2015; Zamost & Griffin 2014). In Australia it would appear that standards are much higher, particularly in states such as NSW and Victoria. In Queensland however security operatives can obtain the Certificate II with very little or even no training at all, through sham business academies (Harvey 2012, pages.1-3). At the higher end quality security training can begin with a minimum of 120 hours, with firearm training being additional (Walter 2014, pg. 7). In contrast to these training courses, it would appear that some commentators have criticized the curriculum within police training as it “is heavily reliant on tactical equipment such as capsicum spray” (Office of Police Integrity 2009, pg. 58). One may argue that this specifically focused style of police training could mean that officers

are more likely to use excessive levels of force, and could explain why police officers have , on occasions, gone “to the most powerful use of force option: the firearm” (Goldsworthy 2014, pg. 3). In addition, this style of training could therefore be contributing to the 90 ‘use of force’ situation that occurs each week in In Victoria. Whilst one would accept that police officer requires training in “operational safety and tactics” (NSW Police Recruitment 2015, pg. 1), due to the role and nature of the work that the police carry out. It is perhaps important to note that if the level of hand-to-hand and self-defense training was to increase, then perhaps police officers would feel an increase in their confidence when using such skills. In turn, this could perhaps change the way in which they assess threats, therefore resulting in less excessive or deadly force. The examination of a particular situation see below, highlights this.

Mental Health

There would appear to be a growing need for police officers and security personnel to respond to psychiatric patients, and people suffering generally from mental health issues. Whilst the policing response to mental health has been a topic of debate for some time in the UK and Australia, it would appear that In Victoria about 15 per cent of critical incidents involve the police response to such incidents (Office of Police Integrity 2009).

These types of incidents can place enormous pressures upon police and security operatives, as the behavior of the person can be irrational. Therefore, threats need to be identified accurately and any use of force should be avoided as far as possible, and only used when necessary and justifiable. To allow this, officers must stay calm, controlling him or herself, and taking notice of who and what is around them. Voice tone is of critical importance and the officer must accurately observe any changes in the aggressor’s body language, stance and voice, particularly the possibility that the aggressor may arm him or herself in some way (Cutajar, 2015).

It is acknowledged that training in the Queensland police service places particular emphasis on the importance of tactical communication, involving police continually assessing a scenario as it evolves. This is a significant improvement on police just ‘reacting’ (Queensland Police Service 2015b, pg. R6). Although, the argument that police training has particular focus upon tactical equipment (Office of Police Integrity 2009), is one which still stands. Therefore, psychological and tactical assessment has to become a more significant part of operational training. This enhanced level of police training should provide a high level of hand-to-hand proficiency, which in turn would enable law enforcement and security officers to accurately assess situations, therefore providing a reasonable response to the incident. If officers and security officials lack the admired level of confidence and skills set, then they could revert to a fear based reaction which could mean the rapid escalation of force.

Relationship between the police service and security industry

Here in Australia, as in other countries, the police force and security industry have been operating in a more or less mutually exclusive manner. It is now recognised that an enhanced and closer relationship between the police and private security industry can have “enormous potential” (Golsby 1998, pg. 18). Ideally this relationship needs to be formalised to facilitate working together and even forming partnerships (Golsby 1998).

The increasing pressures and demands of police work, is one example of how private security workers would be appreciated and welcomed

by some police forces (Golsby 1998; Rigakos 2002). Example of successful partnerships between these two sectors is apparent in the United States. In the Minneapolis Police Department, for example, private security officers share both a radio frequency and the wireless video camera system with the police. There has been joint training of police officers and security workers on “elements of an arrest, writing incident reports and testifying in court” (Goldstein 2007, pg. 3). This improved co-operation between the police and the security industry is likely to increase the status of the security industry, and perhaps this level of formalized partnership would increase the quality of training and quality of applicants. However, for this to be achieved there would need be improved regulation of the security industry.

Conclusion

It would appear that from some of the discussions that have taken place within this paper, that the hand-to-hand training. This dynamic to officer training is one aspect which could impact upon the decision-making and level of force used by officers.

The venue of cooperation in the area of hand-to-hand training ideally would be within police academies, such as the NSW Police Academy at Goulburn, a regional city. It is essential that training take place over a period of time to develop greater physical strength and fitness, to improve working relationships between police and security personnel, and most importantly, to increase trainee personal confidence which allows improved tactical communication. Too often in police academies with the traditional training culture —officers are warned against complacency, and given the message that if they are not afraid, their survival is at risk, and that hesitation could be fatal (Stoughton 2014).

Improved training however takes officers and security workers beyond the gun belt and away from the frontal assault mindset. In any case, in confined security settings such as hotels and bars, there is little room to deploy weapons, and there is a risk to the public. In such situations confidence and skill in hand-to-hand training can be of very significant tactical advantage.

This paper has identified a number of ways in which improved professional tactical training can help manage rising levels of violence. The chief recommendation is that hand-to-hand training, and its association with the psychology of tactical assessment, be greatly extended. Ideally this needs to take place in the context of a combined police and security guard teaching/learning setting. Such improved co-operation would also bring its own range of benefits including the facilitation of a national use of force register. Effective preparation for the coming decades of law enforcement, security, and policing does need an improved response. A new strategic alliance between police and security personnel, and far more effective hand-to-hand training as part of tactical operations, would go a long way towards meeting some of the foreseeable security issues and risks in Australia.

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Food crime and the UK's Food Crime Unit

Peter Jones, David Hillier and Daphne Comfort

Introduction

As the use of Information and Communication Technologies have become increasingly commonplace, and in many ways an essential element, in almost all walks of life so cybercrime has become a new, high profile, rapidly growing, multifaceted and almost everyday concern for businesses, law enforcement agencies, governments and for the population at large. By way of contrast food has always been an essential element for all human life, but while a few food scandals (e. g. the horsemeat scandal in Europe in 2013) have certainly made media headlines, food crime often goes undetected and unreported and has received much less public attention. Croall (2013a), for example, suggests that *'the many crimes that are involved in the production, distribution and selling of basic foodstuffs touch everyone as food is an essential commodity and a major part of personal expenditure.'* With this in mind this short commentary paper provides an outline of the nature and characteristics of food crime and a short case study of the establishment of the National Food Crime Unit (NFCU) in the UK.

Food Crime

The UK's Food Standards Agency (FSA) defines food crime as *'dishonesty relating to the production of food which is either complex or likely to result in serious detriment to consumers, businesses or the overall public interest'* (FSA 2016). At the same time the FSA makes what it claims as the clear distinction between food crime and food fraud with the latter being defined as *'a dishonest act or omission, relating to the production or supply of goods, which is intended for personal gain or to cause loss to another party'* (FSA 2016). That said the FSA also suggests that *'food fraud becomes food crime when the scale and potential impact of the activity is considered to be serious.'*

In looking to illustrate food crime a number of typologies of food crime can be identified. Manning and Soon (2016) identified ten *'types of food crime'* namely:

- *Adulteration – the addition of an undeclared material into a food item for economic gain*
- *Counterfeit – all aspects of the fraudulent product and packaging are fully replicated*
- *Diversion – the sale or distribution of legitimate products outside of intended markets*
- *Over-run – legitimate product is made in excess of production agreements*
- *Simulation – illegitimate product is designed to look like but does not exactly copy the legitimate product*
- *Tampering – legitimate product and packaging are used in a fraudulent way*
- *Theft – legitimate product is stolen and passed off as legitimately procured*
- *Malicious poisoning, bioterrorism or sabotage – intentional adulteration with a view to cause harm, fear or dread*
- *Misleading Indications – use of words such as "natural" or "traditional".*
- *Packaging Size – use of overlarge packaging.'*

South Ayrshire Council (2016) suggested that *'food crime comes in different forms and includes':*

- *Fraud – food or drink that has been adulterated or substituted using poorer quality, mis-labelled or dangerous ingredients*
- *Illicit goods – selling a product as something it isn't such as counterfeit alcohol – fake vodka or wine*
- *Identity theft – fraudulently using the identity of a legitimate food business and the movement of livestock and food using falsified documents*
- *Illegal slaughter – the slaughter of farmed, wild and stolen animals in conditions which do not meet animal welfare or hygiene standards*
- *Unfit food – everything from putting animal by-products back into the food chain, to meat of unknown origin, or selling goods after their "use-by" date.'*

More specifically Wood (2016) provided a number of specific examples of food crime incidents. These include the seizure by customs officers of several kilograms of monkey meat at an airport in Belgium and of eleven kilos of locusts and twenty kilos of caterpillars in France; the Italian police's recovery of 85 tonnes of olives which had been painted with copper sulphate solution to enhance their colour; and in Hungary, Italy, Lithuania and Romania customs officers and the police authorities discovered counterfeit chocolates, sweets and non-alcoholic sparkling wine destined for export to West Africa. In Greece police officers discovered three illicit factories producing counterfeit alcohol and seized over 7,000 bottles of fake alcohol and counterfeit labels; In Thailand the police discovered a network importing illegally imported meat from India and distributing it across ten provinces; while in Australia the testing of 450 kilograms of honey revealed that it had been blended or adulterated and falsely labelled; and the testing of a consignment of peanuts found that it had been repackaged and relabelled as pine nuts, thus posing a major threat to individuals suffering from peanut allergy.

In a brief historical overview Croall (2013b) argued that *'food has long been associated with crime'* and cited incidents from the fourth century BC, the Middle Ages and scientific investigations into food crime in Britain in the nineteenth century to illustrate this association. In a similar vein Hines and Murphy (2015) suggested that food crime has *'existed since food became a commodity'* and cited *'the adulteration of wine in Roman times'* and *'the use of unsavoury additives in Victorian England'* as illustrative examples. However Croall (2013b) also claimed that while *'consumers can be poisoned by everyday food, defrauded by counterfeit products and a host of misleading marketing practices, while populations starve others profit from food diversion and land related conflicts'* and *'notwithstanding the status of food as an absolutely fundamental and valued good- crimes involving food, with a few notable exceptions, have not featured strongly in criminology.'* While Manning and Soon (2016) argued that the literature concerning food crime and food safety was *'a fast evolving literature'* only 40% of the references they cited could be classed as academic sources, and only some 10% specifically referred to food crime, with the majority being professional and trade publications.

While this would seem consistent with Croall's (2013b) suggestion that food crime has not attracted much attention in the criminology literature, a small number of examples provide an illustration of recent academic work in this field. Spink and Moyer (2011), for example, argued that food crime can be profitably deconstructed using approaches drawn from criminology and the behavioural sciences focused on *'the crime triangle and the chemistry of the crime'* to

construct 'a food risk matrix' which helps to identify specific types of food crime incidents. More generally Spink and Moyer (2011) conclude that attempts to deter food crime demand 'interdisciplinary research combining criminology with other fields, such as food safety, public health, packaging, food science, food law, supply chain management, consumer behaviour, social anthropology and political science.' Manning et. al. (2016) have looked to develop 'a more sophisticated understanding of the typology of the food criminal in terms of their *modus operandi* and how individuals and organized crime groups develop criminal business models and networks in the context of meat supply.' In conclusion Manning et. al. suggest that their work demonstrates the challenges of mitigating the activities of criminals and as well as commercial and criminal organisations that look to exploit 'the existing vulnerabilities between legitimate and illegitimate business activity.' Cheng (2012) examined the nature and extent of food crime in Zhejiang Province of China and he concluded that the 'prevalence of food crime occurs in the context of "cheap capitalism", which is characterized by low price, inferior quality of products and degraded social morality and business ethics.' In reviewing the trade and regulation of genetically modified food Walters (2007) explored the issues of eco-crime and raised questions for environmental and transnational justice when corporations and governments are complicit in acts of exploitation and illegality.

Food crime has a range of potential impacts on the economy and society. Within the UK in 2014, for example, the food and drinks industry generated over £170 billion annually in retail sales, and employed 3.7 million people and food and drinks manufacturing was worth £96 billion while the UK's food and drink export market was worth £18 billion (Institute of Grocery Distribution 2016). Thus food crime, and concerns about food crime, provide potential challenges to the integrity and the reputation of the industry as a whole and to its export trade and poses multiple threats to large and small businesses and to the employees of those businesses. Further in many cases where food crime is detected, or suspected, this can generate additional costs for legitimate businesses. Such costs may include the tangible costs involved in recalling and replacing products and in issuing food product warnings and less tangible, but potentially more important costs, associated with the loss of brand reputation. There are over 300, 000 small and medium businesses within the UK's food and drinks industry (Institute of Grocery Distribution 2016) and in many ways it is this small business sector, where many operators have small trading margins and facing cash flow problems or are struggling to establish themselves within a competitive market place, that is most vulnerable to food crime. Potentially all consumers are at risk from food crime and food fraud and both short and long term ill health are major consumer concerns. At the same time lower income groups usually spend a larger share of their income on food and in looking to reduce food spending they may be more vulnerable to cheaper, but illegally produced or distributed, foodstuffs.

Though the evidence is, at best patchy, a wide range of individuals, small groups of individuals and larger organisations appear to be involved in food crime. At one end of the spectrum rogue farmers, butchers and distributors may 'become involved in the misrepresentation, mislabelling or adulteration of product by adding cheaper and often potentially dangerous alternatives. In the case of meat the alternative ingredient/material may have been condemned or previously classified as unfit for human consumption' (Manning et. al. 2016). At the other end of the spectrum there is a growing debate about the role of large scale organised networks or organisations in food crime. On the one hand the Council of the European Union (2014) has suggested that 'the production, distribution and placement on the market of fraudulent or counterfeit food products or substances used for the production or marketing of foods are becoming an increasingly attractive business for members of organised crime groups' and

that 'substandard and counterfeit food represents a major emerging criminal market, capable of exploiting the complexity of the globalised food supply chain.' On the other hand the UK's NFCU (2016a) reported that 'the evidence does not currently suggest that Organised Crime Group activity is a major component of food crime.' However the NFCU (2016a) noted that 'Organised Crime Groups which are involved may also operate in other areas of criminality' and 'that UK law enforcement data identifies more than twenty organised crime groups whose criminal activities have links to food, drink or animal feed.'

A number of operations and organisations have been established in an attempt to reveal and tackle food crime. At the international level, for example, INTERPOL, the International Criminal Police Organisation, and Europol, the European Union's law enforcement agency, launched its OPSON operations in 2011. The aim of these operations is 'to identify and disrupt the organized crime networks behind the trafficking in fake goods and enhance cooperation between the involved law enforcement and regulatory authorities' (Europol 2016). In its most recently reported operation, namely OPSON V, police, customs, regulatory food bodies and private sector partners carried out checks at shops, markets, industrial estates, airports and seaports between November 2015 and February 2016 and seized 10,00 tonnes and one million litres of hazardous fake food and drink across some 50 countries. At the national scale a number of European countries, including France, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands and Germany have established dedicated food crime agencies and units.

The UK's National Food Crime Unit

In the wake of the so called 'horse meat scandal' in Europe 2013, when foodstuffs advertised as containing beef were found to contain undeclared or improperly declared horsemeat, the UK Government commissioned a major review into the integrity and assurance of food supply networks. This review was led by Professor Chris Evans, Director of the Global Institute for Food Security at Queens University, Belfast and the final report was published in July 2014. The report, popularly known as the Elliot Review, contained a number of recommendations which essentially formed the basis of 'a national food crime prevention framework' (HM Government 2014). There were eight recommendations in total including ensuring the needs of customers are given top priority; the need for a shared focus by Government and industry on intelligence gathering; recognition of the value of an audit and assurance regime; that those conducting audit, inspection and enforcement should have access to appropriate laboratory testing facilities; the establishment of mechanisms to deal with serious food safety and food crime incidents; and the need for clear leadership and co-ordination of investigations and possible subsequent prosecutions. As part of the need for leadership and co-ordination the Elliot review recommended that Government should 'support the creation of a new food crime unit hosted by the Food Standards Agency' (HM Government 2014).

The UK's NFCU was formally established by the Food Standards Agency in December 2014 and its overarching aim was 'to give greater focus to enforcement against food fraud in government by analysing intelligence, initiating investigations and liaising with other criminal and regulatory enforcement agencies' (NFCU 2016a). The Scottish Food Crime and Incidents Unit, based in Aberdeen, was established in April 2015 with the focus being on tackling 'serious and/or complex fraudulent conduct and serious and /or regulatory non-compliance involving dishonesty' (Food Standards Scotland 2015). The NFCU's vision is 'for the UK to be free from, and a hostile environment to, serious criminality within food chains' and it aims to be regarded by consumers, government and industry as a proactive, innovative and professional capability and an asset to the overall law enforcement effort in the UK' (NFCU 2016b). The NFCU's work is guided by a

number of broad themes of activity as set out in the Government's Serious Organised Crime Strategy namely 'Prevent, Protect, Prepare' and 'Pursue' (NFCU 2016b). In addressing prevention, for example, the focus is 'on offenders as we suspect that a journey exists between low level non-compliance with food laws and serious dishonesty' while the protective measures include 'making food production, manufacture and retail hostile or difficult environments for the operator to operate within' (NFCU 2016b).

Structurally the NFCU has two key functional elements namely an intelligence team and an operational team. The role of the intelligence team includes maintaining and developing the strategic understanding of the food crime threat to consumers and to businesses; managing the flows of information into and out from the unit and thus becoming the single point of entry and exit for food crime intelligence; and managing the information provided to the unit in confidence by consumers and businesses. The NFCU has published details of its 'Information Requirement' (NFCU 2016b) which includes a number of general (e.g. *How big a problem is food crime perceived to be?*) and specific questions (*'What techniques are used to change labels?'*) In looking to receive information from employees (whistleblowers) on suspected food crime within their company the NFCU will work within the FSA's policy on handling disclosures made under the Public Interest Disclosure Act 1998 and will look to ensure that the whistleblower suffers no detriment as a result of the disclosure. The operational team's responsibilities include the instigation and development of operations to reduce identified food crime threats; the instigation, co-ordination and support of criminal investigations; and the management and development of relationships with a range of stakeholders including local authorities, central government departments, the police service, food retailers and wholesalers, food producers and consumer interest groups.

In the foreword to its first Annual Strategic Assessment the NFCU (2016a) reported that the threat of food crime was real but argued that *'despite some sensationalist headlines, food and drink in this country is undoubtedly amongst the safest and most authentic in the world' and suggested that 'the challenge for us and our partners is to keep it that way.'* The largest sections of the 2016 Strategic Assessment are devoted to 'Criminal Techniques, Methods and Enablers' and a 'Threat Assessment By Commodity' (NFCU 2016a). In identifying the former the NFCU (2016a) lists *'falsified or inaccurate documentation', 'redirection of waste products and re-dating of stock', 'food brokers', 'internet sales' and 'European Distribution Fraud.'* Food brokers, for example, which obtain title of consignments of food but usually do not physically take possession of such consignments before selling them on to manufacturers, distributors or retailers, are seen as less likely to be subject to the same level of inspection or scrutiny as those operating at the production or retail stages of the food chain. Although the major food retailers currently dominate the online food market, smaller and often unregistered operators can avoid the scrutiny to operators which register as food businesses or have physical premises from which their business is conducted, are subject.

In reporting on its threat assessment the NFCU suggested that red meat; eggs; fish; alcohol; herbs, spices, and nut and seed powders; and the diversion of waste products were currently the principal causes of concern. At the same time poultry; dairy products; animal feed; fruit and vegetables; and rice were seen as presenting limited concern while concerns about olive oil and certain food supplements were assessed as moderate. The misdescription and the diversion of red meat was seen as an *'area of considerable concern'* and *'livestock theft, illegal slaughter and meat species substitution'* were also seen as significant issues of note. The NFCU (2016a) reported that the theft of livestock is increasing and that the value of such thefts has risen by 20% since 2010. The NFCU (2016a) suggested that *'it is highly likely that stolen livestock will be processed through illegal*

channels' and that *'this presents food hygiene risks'* because *'the premises and practices used are unlikely to comply with food hygiene regulations'* and because *'the theft of animals without documentation will mean that the detection of those containing unauthorised veterinary medicine residues is impaired'* which can in turn *'lead to animals entering the food chain which are unfit for human consumption.'* The NFCU (2016a) argued that *'by virtue of their portability, durability and the nature and scale of the demand, alcoholic drinks are a lucrative commodity to produce and sell in substandard and counterfeit forms.'* More specifically the NFCU (2016a) claimed that *'criminally inauthentic spirits can appeal to those who drink to excess and those who have other substance abuse issues'* and that *'this magnifies potential health risks as these consumers may have an impaired ability to make reasoned judgements.'* More commercially the NFCU (2016a) suggested that *'the sale and consumption of counterfeit or sub-standard spirits can also heavily distort legitimate trade.'*

Discussion

The establishment of the NFCU in the UK is a both recognition of the growing importance of food crime and a clear signal of Government determination to address this problem. That said food crime is complex and the NFCU will face many challenges in tackling the problems it presents and three issues merit discussion. Firstly while intelligence gathering is one of the NFCU's two principal functions obtaining information about criminal activity within the food chain presents a major and multi-dimensional challenge. Food supply chains are complex, increasingly with a global reach, and often they can seem opaque and thus assessing the scale of food crime and identifying specific incidents can be fraught with difficulties. The Elliot Review, for example, reported a number of difficulties in looking to quantify the overall level of food crime. The majority of businesses contacted, via their trade associations, responded that *'they had no evidence or grounds to suspect food crime and where authenticity issues had occurred they were of relatively low frequency or were issues that were already widely known'* (HM Government 2014). The Elliot Review also contacted all the territorial police forces in England and Wales to request details of significant food crime. Less than 50% of police forces responded and of those that did respond the majority returned a nil return. More specifically a number of police forces reported difficulties associated with the lack of a Home Office code for food crime which meant that it was not possible to search existing crime recording systems for information about such criminal activity.

More generally those involved in food crime seem likely to go to considerable lengths to disguise and/or conceal their operations and networks and penetrating those operations and networks may be both difficult and dangerous. Even where innocent employees working within organisations or businesses suspect food crime may be taking place they may be most reluctant to disclose any such information for fear of losing their job and/or physical violence/retribution. Where legitimate traders or retail organisations suspect they may be the subjects of food crime they too may be reluctant to report their suspicions and concerns because of the potential damage to their reputation and thus to their financial position. The large retailers which dominate the food market in the UK stress that food safety is one of their primary concerns. As part of its commitment to *'Trading Responsibly'* Tesco, for example, stress that its product safety standards *'outline best practice in food safety, legality and quality and they cover the lifecycle of all products from ingredients through to the shelf edge'* (Tesco 2014). However following the discovery of horsemeat in some of its burgers in 2013, the company reported a small, but discernible impact on frozen and chilled convenience food sales and a 5% drop in its share price. While consumers can be seen as the end point victims of food crime, unless they suffer physical illness as a result of their

food purchases, they may be unaware that any criminal activity has taken place and therefore are not in a position to report it. Indeed some consumers who are aware or may suspect that the food they are buying is stolen, for example, from a slaughterhouse or meat processing plant, may welcome this opportunity to make the cheaper purchase and therefore they themselves effectively become complicit in food crime.

Secondly while the NFCU is *'currently focused on putting in place the necessary resources, mechanisms, relationships and capabilities to identify serious criminal threats to UK food and drink'* it also clearly acknowledges that *'the primary responsibility for tackling regulatory non-compliance at a local level continues to rest with local authorities'* (NFCU 2016a). However local authorities within the UK are under increasing financial pressures and in many areas these pressures are leading to a decline in the numbers of Trading Standards and Environmental Health Inspectors who are available to investigate suspected food crime. This decline in the number of inspecting officers can be compounded by the loss of local knowledge, expertise and contacts built up over time as officers retire or are forced to leave their posts because of spending cuts. At the same time food crime is rarely contained within local authority boundaries and the resources to facilitate cross local authority co-operation may also come under increasing pressure. More generally there is little evidence that food crime is currently a priority for police forces. There were suggestions in the Elliot Review, for example, that the police forces in the UK felt that food crime should be dealt with by local authorities and/or the FSA rather than the police.

Thirdly while, as reported earlier in this paper, academic research into food crime has been limited, the seemingly growing awareness of food crime might be seen to encourage an increase in research activity. That said such research would seem to face a number of problems. In general terms academics looking to pursue research into food crime can, in theory, base their investigations on primary and secondary sources of information. On the one hand, in practice primary research could be both difficult and dangerous in that the criminal activities concerned with food are generally well hidden and/or disguised and where such activity is suspected those responsible for its organisation and operation seem likely to go to considerable lengths to warn off any investigative enquiries. More covert research approaches may enable academic researchers to gain some level of access to food crime operations, which may in turn provide some insights into the activities and behaviours of those responsible for food crime. However such approaches not only face the ethical problems associated with all covert research but also carry the risk that the researcher be drawn into the criminal activity to demonstrate his/her credibility or the danger of discovery that would, in all likelihood, endanger the researcher's well-being. On the other hand researchers may, in principle, find it easier and safer, to look to base their work on secondary data sources, for example, on court records, the investigations conducted by the NFCU, Trading Standards, Environmental Health departments or on material sought from police forces. However negotiating access to such information from the relevant gatekeepers, for whom confidentiality and professional circumspection may be deemed necessary, can often be a frustrating and daunting challenge.

Conclusion

The growth of food crime is part of a rapidly evolving twenty first century menu of crime that has the potential to have significant impact on society. That said establishing a regulatory and law enforcement framework to tackle food crime is far from straightforward. The UK's new NFCU may now be beginning to develop the specialist knowledge and expertise and hopefully securing the necessary financial resources to tackle food crime effectively and efficiently. Looking to the

future local authorities, police forces, food retailers and wholesalers, consumer groups and those academics interested in food crime will want to keep a watching brief on the progress made by the NFCU.

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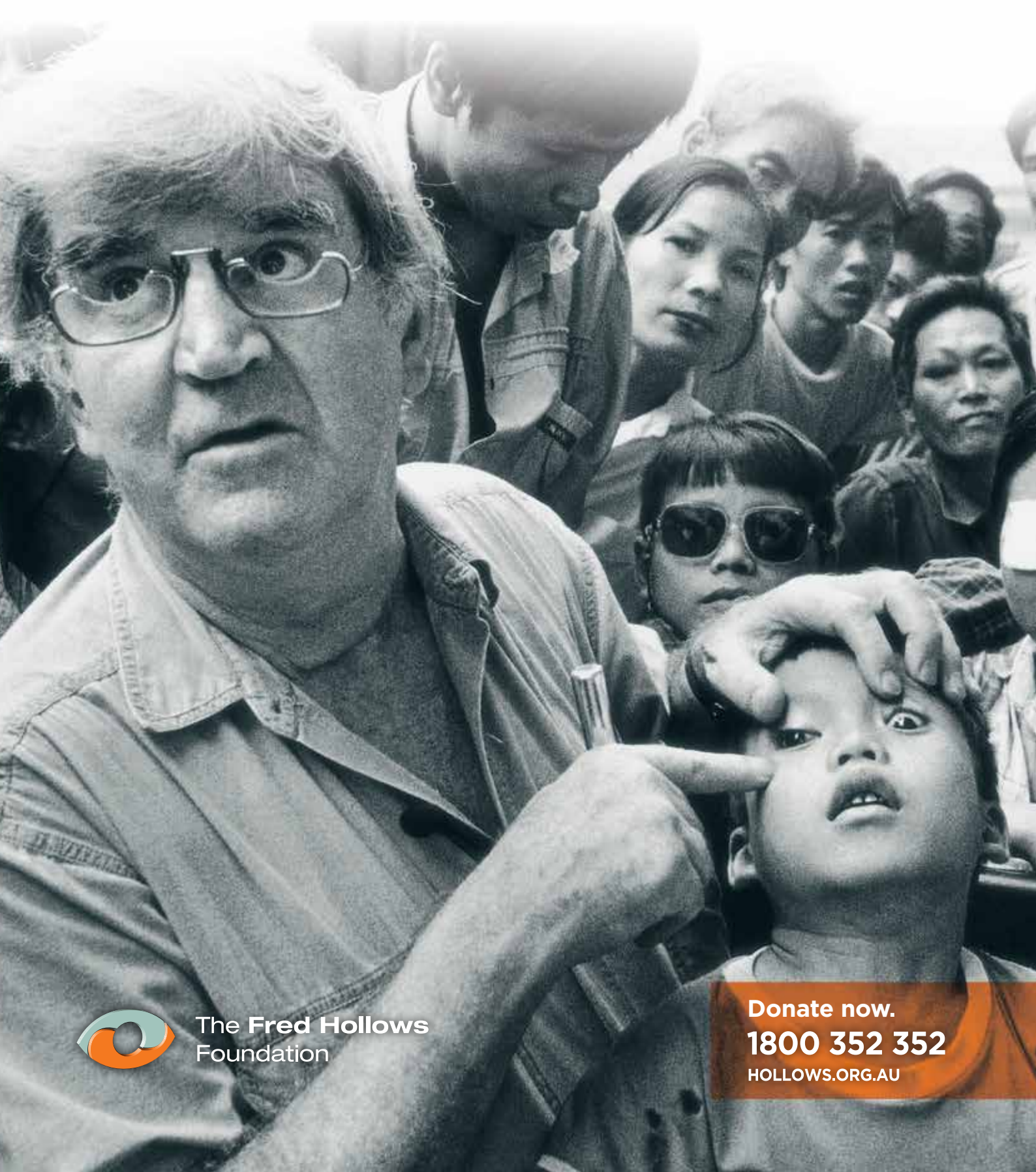
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Theory or not theory? That is the question

Ian Hesketh and Les Graham

Introduction

Police interest in using evidence has grown rapidly in the past decade (Sherman, 2013). In 1999 the UK Home Office committed more than £250 million to the Crime Reduction Programme that had the objective of generating evidence-based policy (Hope, 2004). There are clear signs within the policy context and academic literature that evidence-based approaches in management are becoming increasingly used and influential, as noted by Morrell *"the momentum behind the evidence-based school is considerable and shows no sign of diminishing."* (2008: 630).

It is widely reported that police organisations are continuing to face high levels of challenge, largely due to the reduction in resources available to them and the burgeoning amount of emerging crime, witnessing both new crimes, and old crimes committed in new ways. As noted by Hesketh and Cooper (2017) the UK police are adapting to new challenges, pressures, technologies and opportunities, set against a backdrop of radical reform. In England and Wales police forces have had to restructure and reduce their number of resources (HMIC, 2014a). Since 2010 funding from central government to police services in England and Wales has been reduced by £1.7 billion, or 19 percent (HMIC, 2015). This in turn has led to a growing concern about some of the possible consequences, such as increased levels of absence and burnout in police officers (see for example: BBC, 2016), as well as changes in police officer attitudes. There are also some indications of an increasing level of incivility towards the public and of concerns about reduced empathy with victims of crime. *"Too often, victim contact is viewed by officers as just another bureaucratic (our emphasis) requirement"* (HMIC, 2014b: 50-52).

What we may be witnessing is an overstretched workforce that increasingly *'complies'* with policing initiatives, rather than being committed to these initiatives and fully engaging with practices? What we explore and report on in this paper is how we garner evidence of sufficient quality, validity and reliability that it can be used to inform practical strategies to mitigate these issues, despite the prevailing leadership culture. As noted by the UK police inspectorate, *"Chief Officers have more to do in creating an ethical culture in their force."* (HMIC, 2014: 87). At the same time as reduced resources, the police profession is coming under increasing pressure to ensure that all officers and staff act with integrity. These serious concerns merit rigorous research to deepen understanding of causal relationships, and for the development and provision of recommendations for improvement. The three main foci of this collaborative research project are to investigate how leadership, management practices and culture affect: wellbeing, engagement, integrity and ethical behaviour.

The use of theory

Less than one percent of HR managers read academic literature regularly, and consultants who advise them are unlikely to do so either (Rynes, Brown & Colbert, 2002). This suggests that managers' knowledge and understanding of theory and evidence can be quite limited. In sharp contrast to this Chief Constable Sara Thornton (2015), the head of the UK National Police Chiefs' Council notes that: *"... police leaders need to not only have knowledge of the evidence, but also to achieve a deep understanding of the underlying logic so that they can apply it into their daily decision-making."*

Our central proposition is that the adoption of an evidence-based management (EBM) model will reduce 'research-practice gaps,' congruent with the work of Denise Rousseau (2006). Evidence-based management means managerial decisions and organisational practices informed by the best available scientific evidence (Rousseau & McCarthy, 2007). Given the powerful impact policing leaders' decisions and behaviours have on their organisations, individuals and the public, we argue that competence in decision-making is a critical factor for organisational success. In support, Briner, Denyer and Rousseau (2009) propose that evidence-based management is about making decisions through the conscientious, explicit, and judicious use of four sources of information:

1. Practitioner expertise and judgment
2. Evidence from the local context
3. A critical evaluation of the best available research evidence
4. The perspectives of those people who might be affected by the decision

Punch (2015) posits, in relation to the use of theory in practice, that there are three factors worthy of mention. Firstly, there is occasionally a degree of professional friction when proponents of evidence-based research and evidence-based practice claim primacy for these as 'real science,' and appear to define fundamental and qualitative work as somehow inferior. In return there is a concern among others that evidence-based practice is in danger of being co-opted by the crime control lobby, with the skewing of research funding exclusively towards crime control. This study relates to research of, and in, the policing population rather than criminality. We argue that investment in the policing workforce would have a significant impact on criminality (in a non-statistical way!). The argument being that an engaged workforce, with meaning, purpose, and high levels of psychological wellbeing will be more focussed on their role of policing (Hesketh & Cooper, 2016). Thirdly, Punch suggests it is questionable if the typical police organisation and occupational culture is readily open to research findings and the implementation of EBP. Much of policing is highly contextual, incident driven and geared to the 'here and now', with an antipathy even to research and with a negative stereotype of academics. Fyfe (2015) notes the research-practice gap, and the friction that can sometimes exist between police officers, researchers and police officers doing research. This is supported by Weisburd and Neyroud, (2011: 2) who note: *"there is still a fundamental disconnect between science and policing"*. They also contend that a radical reformation of the role of science in policing will be necessary if policing is to become an arena of evidence-based policies. They claim that the advancement of science in policing is essential if police are to retain public support and legitimacy, cope with recessionary budget reductions, and if the policing industry is to alleviate the problems that research has to become a part of the policing task.

Van Dijk, Hoogewoning and Punch (2015) maintain that 'what works' is clearly important and police should pursue that forcefully in order to support practitioners. They also stress that 'what matters' always supersedes this. A CEPOL study of police research in European police agencies found that only 5 out of 30 countries showed a "high" value accorded to police science research. In contrast, in nearly half the countries, research was seen as being of "low" value. The CEPOL study categorized low value through two characteristics: little or no demand from police for research, and police training being conducted without reference to scientific or academic knowledge (Hanak &

Hofinger, 2005). Even police practitioners who are committed to using scientific evidence recognize that the present state of practice makes a sophisticated use of science difficult in many police agencies (Neyroud, 2008; Weatheritt, 1986).

Researching the police

The Durham University (UK) research collaboration project has expanded rapidly, from an established relationship between social science researchers and a single police force, encompassing a further twenty-two forces, and all this in less than three years. Rousseau (2006) suggests that the adoption of an evidence-based management (EBM) model will reduce 'research-practice gaps.' We review our success in the adoption of an EBM approach in this collaborative work and provide an evaluation of the importance of identified factors.

Given the powerful impact policing leaders' decisions and behaviours have on their organisations, individuals and the public, decision-making competence is a critical factor for organisational success. We also review our attempts to encourage evidence-based education (Rousseau & McCathy, 2007) to develop operational managers into competent practitioners who are able to effectively use research evidence and translate it into workplace practices that solve organisational problems.

Collaboration

In order to facilitate the research we formed a collaborative research venture with over half of the forces in the UK, to establish what the state of play is with these critical aspects of policing. Achieving strong collaborative relationships between researchers and police practitioners is not straightforward (Fyfe & Wilson, 2012). To overcome this we have adopted a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach (Kendon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007), which is defined as collaborative research, education and action used to gather information to use for change on social issues. It involves people who are concerned about or affected by an issue, taking a leading role in working together to produce and share knowledge and understanding on how to make improvements. The overall aim is that the research findings can be translated into actions, interventions and policy, which result in benefits and changes for all of those involved in policing; including the public. We hasten to add this includes police staff as well as police officers, and the wider policing family and the nuances that brings. Successful PAR involves long-term partnerships based on a common set of values. The benefits for the public, as previously touched upon, include the identification of human factors that can improve service delivery behaviours. They can also lead to the early identification of problems that present the risk of service failure, or sub-optimal working. We envisage future police inspections in the UK will feature a variety of contemporary people issues for commentary and assessment. Our simple proposition can be summed up as the way people are treated by the organisation, and the environment in which they work affects their attitudes, perceptions, behaviours and service delivery. As with all other walks of life, and an acknowledgement to the great poet Maya Angelou, people will always remember how they were made to feel.

Ambition

Our research aims to develop reliable key measures in each participating force that can be tracked longitudinally to assess whether improvements are achieved and are sustainable. It is also our aim to develop predictive models that will identify factors that

are having the greatest impact on focal measures, and be able to recommend priorities for action to forces in which these emerge. Finally, the research aims to establish a selection of measures that allow interested forces to compare themselves over time and test interventions for workplace improvements in terms of workplace wellbeing, (for example Resilience Training Efficacy Hesketh, Cooper & Ivy, 2015).

Pfeffer and Sutton (2006) emphasise the importance of collecting and analysing internal organisational evidence and paying less attention to the role of external research and systematic reviews of the literature in prior research. In our experience in working with forces on this collaborative research it is not sufficient even to show evidence from research in similar forces, however it is necessary to conduct research in the context of the home force to replicate the findings before acceptance is achieved.

Rousseau (2006) argues for the importance of social networks for the adoption of evidence-based practices. Our experience is that through conferences and a number of small briefing workshops a very strong network has been developed that effectively transfers and shares knowledge and ideas. We also note the increasing use of social media, such as Twitter within these conferences, to communicate content to a wider, and perhaps global, audience.

Conclusions

Punch (2015) posits that it is questionable whether the typical police organisation and its occupational culture are open to the research findings of EBR and EBP. We have argued in this paper that the adoption of an EBM philosophy, coupled with a PAR approach, gains the attention of interested practitioners within police forces, who then work with academic partners to conduct research focussed on the issues that are important to them. Their involvement in the process of conducting the research in their home force on issues they are motivated to solve encourages them to appreciate the importance and gain understanding of the theoretical underpinnings and the research findings. Rousseau (2006) identifies the importance on learning how to translate research findings into solutions. Through the adoption of the EBM philosophy and focussing on the importance of using practitioner expertise and judgment and their knowledge of the local context to interpret the research findings we believe we have overcome two challenges. Firstly, helping the practitioners to achieve a critical evaluation of the research evidence, and secondly, the translation of research findings into actions, policy and interventions to solve the key problems and challenges the organisations face.

We hope to have provided some thoughts and evidence to answer the question posed by Sherman (2013) as to whether research can improve democratic policing.

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Official Crime Statistics: the dark figure of hate crime in Wales

Gareth Cuerden, University of South Wales

Introduction

Crime Statistics in England and Wales are produced by the Home Office, whom also produce guidance to the Police within England and Wales on how to record crimes, however there is an element of scepticism about the accuracy of the published crime levels due to a belief in the general under reporting of crime.

(Maguire 1997) suggests that crime statistics are socially constructed, whether through a change of perception towards a particular crime, and the level of effort devoted to gathering greater information about such crimes. Or through the lobbying of interested groups that seek to pressurise the police and criminal justice agencies to take crimes of interest and behaviours attached to them more seriously. As was the case in the 1980's whereby Victim Support pressured police forces in England and Wales, to adjust the way in which they record and publish data on the numbers of crimes in which there was thought to be a racial motive. This idea, is also demonstrated where the media focus on a social interest, thus focussing attention to a certain aspect of crime, highlighting new examples of such an activity and generating more public awareness of the problem, in turn leading people to report more instances to the police (Cohen 1979). Additionally to the social influencers, there exists a 'Dark Figure of Crime' a term (Bidderman and Reiss 1967), terminalized by the belief that those hidden crimes that go under-reported that are experienced by members of the public are not included in the official figures. This Dark Figure of crime plays a significant role in how official statistics are constructed as there are several influencing facets that form part of the Dark Figure. The first is the public's willingness to report crime which is suggested to be influenced by perception of poor police effectiveness, or a distrust of the police (Skogan 1994). The victim's own criminal tendencies, which (Spark et al 1977) suggests would cause an indirect antipathy towards the police and thus fewer crimes reported by the victim. Previous experiences such as a cost versus benefits assessment associated with reporting an incident (Goldberg and Nold 1980), or where there is an element of culpability over the crime such as leaving a window open, in this example (Skogan 1994) purposes that the likelihood of reporting an incident of burglary in this circumstance would be diminished. The second is the way in which actual crimes are recorded notwithstanding the effectiveness of detection, arrest conviction rates and in turn an alteration to either of these would result in a decrease or increase in crime rates that may not truly reflect the changing experience of crimes by victims. This is evidenced by (Brand and Price 2000), having considered the British Crime Survey which highlighted the disparity between official crime rates and the numbers of crimes not reported to the police by victims. (Pudney 2000) reinforces this having considered that even if all crimes were recorded there would remain an issue in official figures since crime is fundamentally committed where the likely offender perceives the likelihood of conviction to be low, and the criminal justice system effectiveness is a fluctuating process. Applying a method of correction to such anomalies demonstrated that crime measurement errors are systematic and affect both the crime and conviction rates, suggesting that if reporting practices vary over time, measurement errors generate complex biases. One such fluctuation may be considered when looking at how multiple individual offences are counted when repeated over short periods of time amounting to one larger offence. This was something acknowledged

prior to 1968 where there was little consistency by police forces on the categorisation of such activities, leading to the Perks Committee in 1967 setting out recommendations that were adopted in 1971 as clear 'counting rules'. Such rules suggest that where there are several offences committed in one incident only the most serious would be counted, unless violence is used upon which the rule is one offence per each victim.

One cause of a systematic measurement error experienced by Police, when categorising recorded crimes, by which there is a drive whether budgetary or politically to centralise crime reporting functions (Rogers 2014). Through the process adopted by many forces to direct crime reporting through a police operated call centre on the main, staffed by non-police officers. Using information provided by the caller and documentation provided by the local force in the form of a standard operating procedure, a 'judgement call' is determined whether to report the matter as a crime or incident, opens the possibility for multiple differences in categorisation to be made. Or it may be that the offence is viewed as too trivial and may be disbelieved thus not becoming a reported crime (Bottomley and Coleman 1981), both examples of which directly influence official crime figures when compiled.

A further influencing factor to police categorisation to recorded crimes can be best considered by the question 'what is a crime'. By way the law is written requires a rigid set of complex rules to be balanced and assessed against social interactions. The most common crimes recorded by the police for the purposes of Home Office assessment are that of 'notifiable offences', as these capture those crimes with the highest social impact and thus allow a more comparative analysis over time. (Brand and Price 2000) consider that the police can only record those crimes that come to the attention of the police however, that there are likely to be offences reported that may not fall into a notifiable offence because there was insufficient evidence to prove that crime took place. It is important to note that notifiable offences although not completely prescriptive, generally only include indictable offences; which suggests that summary only offences are on large exempt from official crime statistics unless they are considered either way offences. To compare the police recorded figures to that of the British Crime Survey would demonstrate the magnitude of this issue, as (Mirrlees-Black et al 1998) estimated as actual crime being as much as four times higher, but is particularly acute where reporting rates have been historically low but may now be on the rise as seen in Domestic Abuse and Racially Motivated offences.

Addressing the Dark Figure

Prompted by random sampling of households in two large scale experimental surveys (Bidderman and Reiss 1967) and (Sparks et al 1977) demonstrating a gap in the known reported levels of crimes and the unknown levels of experienced crimes, led a greater investment across England and Wales to ask samples of the public to outline experiences of crimes committed against them over a given period of time. This process facilitated a new platform of analysis by having fuller data sets and in theory a more valid picture of crime, now known as the Crime Survey for England and Wales (formally British Crime Survey), which uses data obtained from persons living in households aged 10

and above. It is possible that this mechanism enables a greater level of understanding to the extent of crime than recorded statistics because the survey captures crimes not reported to the police, and thus not recorded by the police. The CSEW can be considered as sitting in isolation from the changes in reporting confidence to the police or the police reporting procedures, to which it cannot be used as a direct comparison to recorded crime (Hough and Mayhew 1985) as it does not represent the total volume of crime. However, there exist many surveys regarding crime each measuring different things, what adds strength to the CSEW, is that it broadly mimics the definitions of crime and application of crime counting rules to that used by the police so that the two data sets can be broadly compared as to tackle the 'dark figure of crime' gap.

Wales Political Focus on the 'Dark Figure'

Victim and Community involvement is integral to the role of Police and Crime Commissioners in England and Wales. "Commissioners put Victims First" an Association of Police and Crime Commissioners press release in 2015¹ suggested that Police and Crime Commissioners have been instrumental in listening and responding to victims from specific engagement activities to conducting victims' needs assessments to help inform the kind of services needed by victims. "Transforming the Criminal Justice System, Strategy and Action Plan – Implementation Update 2014" emphasised that victims should have a louder voice within the Criminal Justice System with broader entitlements and that 2014/2015 reforms will put the victim first. "Tackling Hate Crimes and Incidents A Framework for Action 2014" highlighted how the Police and Crime Commissioners in Wales have included Hate Crime amongst their Police and Crime Plans and that the Welsh Government will work with Criminal Justice partners to identify how a 'victim centred' approach can be taken to support responses to hate incidents and crimes. This new strategy for Wales was supported by the Welsh Government commissioned report by Cardiff University and Race Equality First 'Time for Change' 2013, which collated victim led responses demonstrating that there is a disjuncture between victim centred reporting mechanisms and evidence driven criminal justice prosecution processes. Ongoing interest in the area of Hate Crime and victims can be clearly seen within the Political landscape within Wales 'Welsh Labours Jeff Cuthbert is the PCC for Gwent' (press release 09/05/2016) and outlined publicly that the priority for Gwent will be ensuring that crimes such as domestic abuse, hate crime, child exploitation, and modern slavery are given the attention that they deserve.

1. http://www.apccs.police.uk/press_release/commissioners-put-victims-first/

Hate Crime Reporting Wales

The indicator most utilised for understanding rates of hate crime are the incidents reported to the police, who then refer them on to various other agencies for information and action. The situation within Wales is that victims of hate crime can report the occurrences directly to the Police primarily using the 101 or 999 telephone numbers or other methods. Victims also have the option of submitting a report online directly to the Police through 'True Vision' the England and Wales third party reporting website. Victims may also report directly to Victim Support Cymru who have been commissioned by the Welsh Government to support victims of hate within Wales and are the National Hate Crime Report and Support Centre Wales. The recording system in use in Wales means that when an incident is reported to the police, Victim Crime Data is transferred automatically from the four Welsh Police Forces using a data sharing agreement which is confidential, and involves anonymised data being analysed using an extract report produced by the Victim Support Cymru National Hate Crime Report and Support Centre.

Hate Crime Data Sources – plugging the gap?

Table 1 below, outlines the officially published hate crime figures for Wales produced by the Home Office using data obtained from the four Welsh Police Forces, which is where (Bidderman and Reiss 1967) would suggest there are missing crime reports known as the 'dark figure of crime'.

Table 2 (opposite), presents referral data that has been produced by Victim Support Cymru, who operate the National Hate Crime Report and Support Centre Wales which is inclusive of police referrals as previously outlined but also third party reports. Although not possible of being used as a direct comparison (Hough and Mayhew 1985), it may prove an interesting exercise.

Initially upon first glance at the total number of referrals within Table 2 and the total number of 'aggravating factors' from Table 1, appears lower by 261 incidents, and one would generally conclude that comparing the two data sets may not have any value at this juncture. However, on looking at a comparison between the actual police force areas within each table, a significant finding is apparent.

Exploring the figures by force area, with the exception of South Wales Police where there is a difference of 571 incidents, in favour of the Official figures published in Table 1, the other three Police Forces, Dyfed Powys, Gwent and North Wales, have a lesser number of

Table 1

Hate crimes recorded by the police in England and Wales by police force area, 2015/16

Numbers						England and Wales, recorded crim	
Monitored hat crime strand						Total number of motivating factors	Total number of offences
Police force area	Race	Religion	Sexual orientation	Disability	Transgender		
Dyfed-Powys	88	6	16	11	0	121	114
Gwent	139	15	53	15	2	224	213
North Wales	275	18	62	39	9	403	385
South Wales	1,245	80	241	179	24	1,769	1,693
Wales	1,747	119	372	244	35	2,517	2,405
England and Wales	49,419	4,400	7,194	3,629	858	65,500	62,518

Source: Police recorded crime, Home Office

Table 2

Hate crimes referrals recorded by Victim Support Cymru by police force area, 2015/16

Police force area	Race	Religion	Sexual orientation	Disability	Transgender	Total number of referrals
Dyfed-Powys	172	8	34	38	1	253
Gwent	250	20	64	44	3	381
North Wales	295	8	58	56	7	424
South Wales	860	54	160	102	22	1,198
Wales	1,577	90	316	240	33	2,256

Source: Victim Support Cymru

incidents registered in their Official figures within Table 1 compared to the number of hate crime victim referrals outlined in Table 2 (32% less data obtained).

Using Dyfed Powys Police Force Area as an example for further interrogation of the figures, within Table 1 there is an annual figure of 121 'aggravating factors', whereas in Table 2 there is an annual figure of 253 victim referrals a difference of 132 incidents (**109% more data obtained**). The main differences in the figures lie within Disability, Race and Sexual Orientation, although it is fair to say that all categories within this data set being considered demonstrate lower figures than Table 2.

Gwent Police Force Area displays an annual 'aggravating factors' figure of 224 compared to 381 within Table 2, a difference of 157 incidents which amounts to **70% more data obtained**. With the main differences held in Race and Disability reports.

North Wales Police Force Area has a lesser margin of difference when comparing the same data sets which amounts to only 21 incidents (**5% more data obtained**).

Concluding Thoughts

It is apparent that in this small study that 'apples are not being compared to apples' but in light of the critique over the Official Statistics and whether this represents the true figure of crime. It is evident that whilst not always the case, but having used a data set that should be relatively close, given that on the main, those referral figures received by Victim Support are automatically transferred by the four Police Force Areas on converting an incident into a crime and where a victim exists, that there would appear to be less data in the Official Statistics. This ultimately reinforces the findings of (Brand and Price 2000), but there are no explanations as to what has caused this 'Dark Figure of Hate Crime' explored in this short study, as the casual factors are being considered in an ongoing piece of research with Hate Crime Victims in Wales.

Disability appears to be the main area generating a data gap amongst at least 3 of the four Police Force Areas, an area that may best be explored by Police Forces as all Wales Police Forces have a priority around protecting communities and the most vulnerable from harm.

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The sustainability of Policing Domestic Abuse: Insights from Wales and Australia

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Abstract

The scale of domestic abuse and violence is one which is outlined by the World Health Organization as a worldwide problem. Upon reflection of the widespread and seriousness of the problem, the European commission (2010:5) have claimed that “domestic violence is a high priority for the European Union”. In response to this, the UK Government, like many others across the continent, have stated that “domestic violence and abuse is unacceptable and addressing the issue is a priority for the government” (Gov, 2016b, Online). This viewpoint appears to be widely accepted and encouraged by many, for example, within all of 43 Home Office police forces in England and Wales (HMIC, 2014). This article will aim to critically debate the extent of this commitment, and question what impact austerity has had on the sustainability of policing domestic abuse. In addition, this article will aim to question whether these measures have outweighed, and overlooked the risks posed to victims of domestic abuse in the UK, and Australia.

Introduction

The police response to domestic abuse is one which has been greatly criticised in recent decades (Myhill & Johnson, 2016). It would appear that the in-depth scale and volume of the problem, along with domestic abuse being of a complex and high-risk nature, is one which appears to have provided the police service with some significant challenges. Arguably, these challenges have led to criticisms with the poor policing response to domestic abuse, which allegedly boil down to a number of key factors, as outlined in the 2014 HMIC report: Improving the police response to Domestic abuse in the UK, but also within the NSW Ombudsman’s 2006 report, Domestic violence – improving police practice, in Australia.

Both reports, appear to have made key recommendations for the police service, which collectively, aspire to improve the level of service to victims of domestic abuse. Whilst on paper this may appear to be sufficient, one may question whether the police service are able to maintain a robust and effective service for victims of domestic abuse, more so at a time austerity.

Austerity within the Police

The notion that policing does not exist in a vacuum (Rogers, 2014), is one which refers to external and internal factors which can influence the operational efficiency of services, such as the police. These factors can involve internal and external means, of which, can be viewed within the PESTEL analysis model (figure1).

As demonstrated within the above figure, PESTEL focuses upon Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Environmental and Legal factors. These factors, along with some continuing changes within these factors, appear to have added complexity to the delivery of policing services within the UK (Reiner, 2000), and other countries around the world. For example, the growth in multicultural communities is one clear example of the continuing change within construction of society, whilst not forgetting the rise and changes within the political

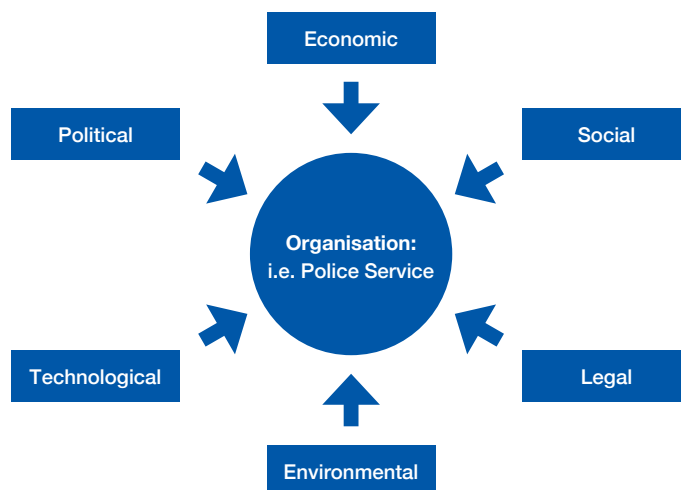


Figure 1 - adapted from Marshall, 2016

thought within some countries, such as the UK (Cuerden and Rogers, 2016). Notwithstanding some of the other influences that have been outlined within the PESTEL analysis, this article will focus upon some recent economic changes that the police services have faced; both in the UK and in Australia.

Within the UK, it has been well documented that in 2010 the UK Coalition Government formulated a spending review across all Governmental department. The review had suggested that the police budget will be reduced by up to 20% between 2014 and 2015, a saving of £2.4 Billion (Gov, 2015). Whilst one may recognise that this reduction in financial support is going to have an impact upon policing resources, the question remains as to what extent? One way to examine the extent of austerity within the police, is to review the number of staff within the 43 Home Office police forces.

The UK Government have claimed that on the 31st March 2016 there

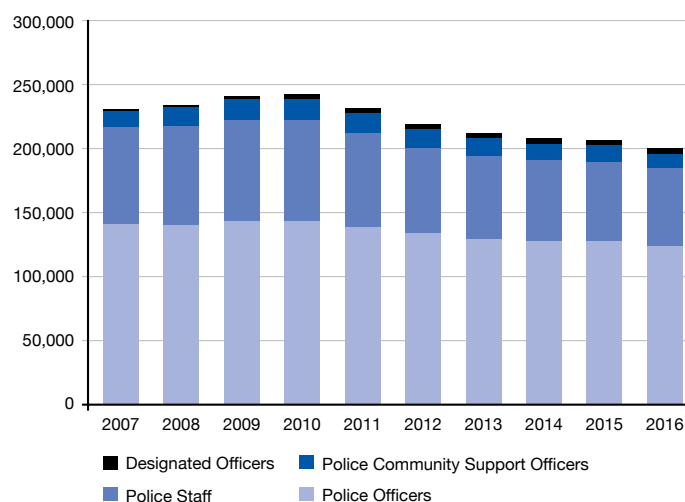


Figure 2 - Gov, 2016, Online

Australian Federal Police Staff

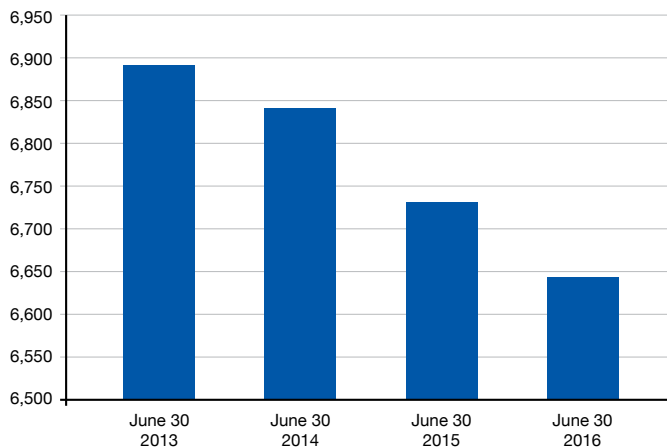


Figure 3 - Source: Australian Federal Police

were 124,066 employed police officers in the 43 police forces. These figures highlight a decrease of 3,126 police officers in comparison to the previous year, which calculates at a reduction of around 2.5% compared with the previous year (Gov, 2016, online). It is not a coincidence that this graph illustrates a continuing decrease in the employment of police officers in England and Wales since 2010 – as this was coincides with timing that the coalition government conducted its spending review across all governmental organisations. The impact of budgetary restraints is one which appears to be reflected in other countries, such as Australia. It has been widely reported within media sources from within Australia, that the police services are under pressure to improve their efficiency and reduce their expenditures. The measures that have been applied to meet such aims, appear to be similar to those implemented within the UK. For example, from examining the Australian Federal Police workforce figures, it is apparent that the overall number of police staff has decreased by 252 since June 2013, which equates to a 3.6 % degree of the workforce.

The decrease of staff resources, is one which reflects the views that have outlined within The Advisor (2013, online), whereby it is claimed that the police budget will be cut by “\$19.3 million in 2012-13, \$31.8 million in 2013-14, \$44.5 million in 2014-15 and \$57.1 million in 2015-16”.

Whilst the above figures appear to illustrate the effects of austerity on police resources, it is also vitally important to consider the overall demand, and change in demand that the police service are currently experiencing. In the UK, the College of Policing (2015) have outlined two areas of demand on the police, these are defined as Public demand and Protective demand.

Public demand on the police service is one which mainly relates to the service delivered by the police, such as police response to an incident, emergency calls, etc. Statistics released by the College of Policing 2015 appear to highlight a decrease in reported and recorded crime from the previous years. However, whilst the public demand has decreased as a whole, it has been claimed by the College of Policing (2015) that police involvement with other specific and complex issues, such as mental health and domestic abuse, are on the increase. This demand focuses upon public protection strategies, which has undoubtedly changed the working nature of policing in England and Wales since the introduction of the Crime and Disorder Act in 1998. This Act has placed a greater level of emphasis upon partnership working, preventing crime and the implementation of safeguarding measures. An example of the increasing pressure of safeguarding vulnerable adult and children, is outlined in official police statistics. In

order to further support the changing nature of policing in England and Wales, the College of policing (2015) have also suggested that there has been 17% increase in Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs) in 2012/13 compared to the previous year. Therefore, it would appear that the police service are under strenuous pressure to maintain operational resilience and quality of service for communities, at a time where resource and funding are on the decrease. Although, whilst acknowledging such changes, the question remains as to what extent austerity has had on the delivery of policing services and whether there has been a change in policing style towards certain crimes as a method of maintaining operational resilience and delivery of service across forces.

Social view of Domestic Abuse

The focus by some overarching political bodies such as the European Union and Council of Europe appear to have placed significant pressure upon policy makers and practitioners whom implement interventions which aim to prevent and reduce domestic abuse (European Commission, 2010; Sullivan, 2011). There can be no mistake, that on paper, domestic abuse is a priority for the UK Government, and all Police forces across England and Wales (Gov, 2016; HMIC, 2014). It would also appear that this view is replicated within Australia, with the Parliament of Australia (2011, online) outlining domestic abuse as an “Australasian policing priority”. The notion of domestic abuse being a government and policing priority, is one which can be related to the nature of the offence, but also the shift in political and social philosophy towards domestic abuse. For example, within England and Wales it would appear that in recent years, the social and political awareness and understanding of domestic abuse has changed. This view is best understood within a research study that has been conducted by the European Commission (2010: 10) where it was found that “98% of people are now aware of domestic violence across the EU compared to 94% in the previous survey”. This rise of 4% appears to not only illustrate the increasing social awareness of domestic abuse, but it is also supported by the social detest of the behaviour, which is recognised by 97% of UK respondents as an unacceptable act of behaviour (European Commission, 2010). Following on from the research conducted by the European Commission in 2010, it had been identified that 94% of UK respondents believed that it is the government’s responsibility to effectively deal with domestic abuse. Utilising this view, it would appear that the UK government have acted upon the social viewpoint, as they have outlined their commitment to tackling domestic abuse by outlining it as a priority. In addition to this, the UK Government have defined domestic abuse as:

“Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behavior, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to; psychological, physical, sexual, financial, and emotional”.

(Gov, 2016b, online)

From this, it would appear that the social view of domestic abuse is somewhat represented within the Governments vision, more so as domestic abuse is regarded as an explicit priority in England and Wales by the police services, and other governmental agencies (HMIC, 2014). However, the full commitment and vision of the government and police service to effectively and efficiently tackle domestic abuse, appears to be greatly questioned when critically examining the police services response to the issue.

Explaining domestic abuse.

Initiatives and legislation aimed at dealing with the issue of domestic abuse appear to have flourished in recent decades, particularly within England and Wales.

The introduction of the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act in 1976 is one which is considered to be a landmark change in the field of domestic abuse, more so, as the legislation is regarded as the first acceptance by the government that domestic abuse is a problem. Whilst this Act of Parliament illustrates new rights for victims regarding civil orders, and offers additional powers to courts and police officers in England and Wales (Legislation, 1976). It would appear that the recent introduction of 'Controlling or Coercive Behaviour in an Intimate or Family Relationship' contrary to Section 76 of the Serious Crime Act 2015, appears to evidence the UK government's continued commitment to tackling domestic abuse, particularly as this style of abuse had been unrecognised in legislation by previous Governments. However, the ever-growing development of domestic abuse legislation, will undoubtedly put great pressure upon agencies in England and Wales who are effected by said changes, such as those who enforce Parliamentary Acts. What these changes appear to question, is whether services who are affected by these changes have the competency to effectivity and adequately deal with the scale and nature of such changes. And more so, are the police service in England and Wales, or in Australia, capable to police domestic abuse in a fair and appropriate way – whilst still managing and dealing with the impact of austerity.

To further emphasise this point, in 2010 the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) released statistics which claimed that up to 20% of police work was taken up by domestic abuse. This statistics is one which highlights the scale and nature of domestic abuse within the England and Wales. A point which is further reiterated by Refuge.org (2016) - a domestic abuse charity in the UK, who claim that it currently costs the UK £15.7 billion a year to deal with domestic abuse. In-order to put these statistics into perspective, it is claimed that the Criminal Justice System and health response to drugs is estimated to cost society £13.9 Billion a year (NHS, 2016). What these figures demonstrate more than anything else, is the scale and volume of domestic abuse within the UK, which places greater focus upon the suitability and efficiency of policing such a crime. The volume and scale of the problem is not only represented within the financial statistics, but also within official recorded crime statistics.

The graph below (Figure 4) illustrates the increase in recorded domestic abuse cases by the Police service in England and Wales, year by year.

Cases of domestic abuse recorded by the police

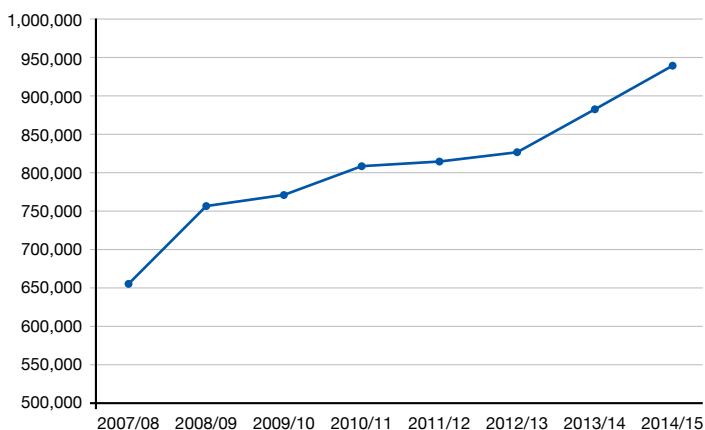


Figure 4 - House of Commons, 2016, P.6

It is evident from this graph that the number of recorded domestic abuse cases have risen year by year in England and Wales. The graph illustrates a 43% increase in recorded domestic abuse cases in 2014/2015, compared to that in 2007/2008 (House of Commons, 2016). It can be argued that this increase in recorded domestic abuse incidents, is related to a number of different concepts.

1. The level of offending behaviour is increasing
2. Victims have greater confidence in the police/ CJS
3. Introduction/changes to policies/procedures
4. Increase in domestic abuse Legislation
5. Increase in police priorities/focus
6. Greater awareness around domestic abuse.

Whilst there appears to be no ostensible reason as to why recorded domestic abuse incidents have increased, one may argue that the influence of some of the practises outlined above, have had some influence. However, a detailed discussion into the police services response to domestic abuse, raises questions around whether there is in fact adequate confidence in the police service to deal with domestic abuse cases. The police response to domestic abuse is one which has received great criticism; mainly due to the belittling, inattentive, and mishandled manner that some police officers handled and viewed domestic abuse incidents (Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Edwards, 1989). Furthermore, it is apparent that a similar view of domestic abuse had been represented throughout the Criminal Justice System, as "only in the last ten years that domestic violence has been taken seriously as a criminal justice issue. Before that, the vast majority of cases were brushed under the carpet with the refrain 'it's just a domestic' " (Starmer, 2011, online). Whilst one cannot dispute the profound changes by the Government and Criminal Justice System in relation to tackling the issue of domestic abuse. Nevertheless, the poor treatment of some victims by the police (BBC, 2016) along with the view by some police officers that the issue of domestic abuse is "not worthy" of their time (Myhill & Johnson, 2016, P9) are factors which are likely to have profound consequences for public confidence in the police and other Criminal Justice Agencies. In light of this view, findings from the Crime Survey of England and Wales in 2014/2015, appear to illustrate the full extent of domestic abuse in England and Wales. However, it is suggested that "due to the often private nature of domestic abuse, the majority of domestic abuse incidents will not come to the attention of the police" (Office for National Statistics, 2015, P.8). This does not only suggest why a large proportion of domestic abuse incidents fail to reach the attention of the police, as indicated in Figure 5.

Estimated number of victims of any domestic abuse

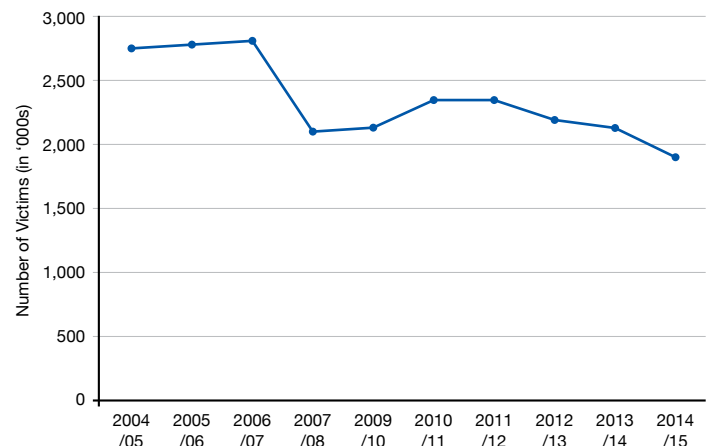


Figure 5 - House of Commons, 2016, P.6

Police response to domestic abuse

The police service hold a unique position within society, but also within the Criminal Justice System (House, 2013). They occupy a position at the front of the Criminal Justice System (Schucan-Bird, No year), a position which allows them to decide through their legal powers, whom gets projected through the Criminal Justice System.

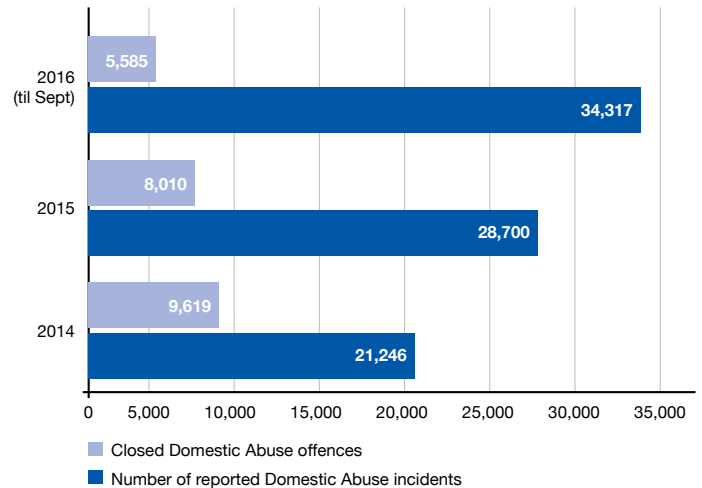
Deciding on whom gets projected through this justice system is often left to the discretion of individual police officers, and therefore, it is a position which places great emphasis upon the ethical judgment of police officers.

The philosophy and ideology of policing in England and Wales is underpinned by the doctrine of 'policing by consent'. This places obligations and duties upon Police officers, to use discretion whilst they carry out their duty (Rogers & Lewis 2007). Davis (1969:4) describes police discretion as "the effective limits on power which leave him [police officers] free to make a choice among possible courses of action or inaction". However, it is apparent that the ability to use police direction is not on its own problematic, the problem appears to lie within the ethical application and judgment of some police officers. For example, the unethical use of discretion at domestic abuse incidents appears to be a reoccurring issue for the police service (Myhill and Johnson, 2016), and one which has been at the forefront of critical-discussions for some time. This negative, and tarnished discussion of police negligence has undoubtedly been formed from those historical police responses to domestic abuse, which continues to be plagued with criticism, as some officers would often 'downplay' the severity of the offence, which is often referred to as 'cuffing' (Myhill & Johnson, 2016). In a nutshell, 'cuffing' is a term which relates to incidents which are "not worthy" of police time, or any police interventions (Myhill & Johnson, 2016, P9). Whilst one may recognise this to be a continuing criticism, questions must be asked around the true extent of this behaviour in today's police response to domestic abuse. An examination of Freedom of Information Requests to Police forces within Wales in September 2016, may provide an insight into some of these questions.

Insights from Wales

Understanding the true extent of domestic abuse in England and Wales is evidently challenging. Although, it could be argued that identifying the true policing response to such incidents is perhaps even more challenging. This article has collated data following responses from Freedom of Information requests made to South Wales Police in 2016. It is acknowledged that these findings may not represent the true extent of the police services response to domestic abuse, although they do provide an insight, whilst also provoking thought. From examination of the data from South Wales Police, it would appear that in 2016 South Wales Police recorded 34,317 domestic abuse incidents. This would appear to be a year on year increase within the South Wales police area, which is also echoed within other force areas within England and Wales. Whilst one may speculate upon the reasons for the continuing increase of recorded domestic abuse incidents in South Wales, and subsequently within England and Wales, the Crown Prosecution Service CPS (2011, online) suggest "some good progress has now undoubtedly been made since those administering criminal justice woke up to domestic violence". Whilst these claims appear to place emphasis upon the positive changes that have been made surrounding the administration and application of domestic abuse legal processes, one must question the extent and certainty of such claims. From a further and detailed examination of the data supplied by South Wales Police, it would appear that further questions have arisen, with regards to the current

Domestic Abuse figures from South Wales

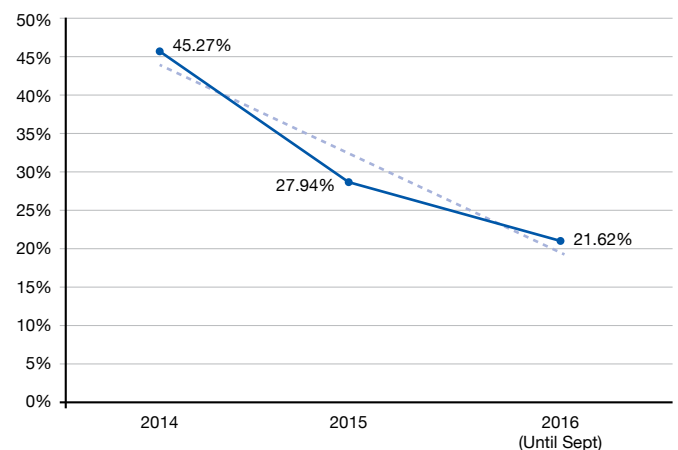


practical policing response to domestic abuse which will provoke some discussion. Of which, may question the nature and degree of changes that have been made within the administration of criminal justice within domestic abuse cases, as outlined by the CPS. In order to provide this insight, further data has been obtained within Freedom of Information requests. The figures obtained from South Wales police suggest that 21,246 domestic abuse incidents occurred in 2014, but with only 9,619 (45.27%) being "closed", or considered as Domestic abuse offences.

When examining the same data sets for the following years, it appears that in 2015 South Wales Police recorded 28,700 domestic abuse incidents, with only 8019 (27.94%) being "closed" as Domestic abuse cases. Finally, in 2016, South Wales police dealt with 34,317 incidents, with only 5,585 (21.62%) being defined, or closed as a domestic abuse case.

What these figures appear to illustrate, are that there is a continuing increase in the number of recorded domestic abuse incidents by the police, whilst at the same time, there would appear to be a proportionately lower amount of cases being defined, or closed, as domestic abuse incidents throughout each year in South Wales. The graph appears to best illustrate the year on year decrease in closed domestic abuse cases. The data appears to suggest that between 2014 and 2016, South Wales Police have dealt with an increasing number of reported domestic abuse incidents, whilst at the same time, less and less of these incidents have been "closed" or labelled by the police as authentic domestic abuse occurrences. Arguably, these figures highlight a number of concerns regarding the policing response

'Closed' as Domestic Abuse cases



to some domestic abuse incidents within the South Wales area. The figures appear to suggest that the response to policing domestic abuse in South Wales has changed in recent years. Whereby one could argue that the figures suggest that incidents of domestic abuse in South Wales have been 'cuffed', or downplayed into non offences by officers (Myhill & Johnson, 2016). Furthermore, what these figures could suggest is that the year on year impact of austerity, is one which coincides with the changes in the police response to domestic abuse in South Wales; with less incidents being considered as domestic abuse occurrences by the police.

If the suggestion is that measures of austerity have influenced the processes and response to domestic abuse, with it still potential being viewed by some officers as "not worthy" of their time (Myhill & Johnson, 2016, P9), then further questions are forthcoming to the Police Service, questions which relate to factors such as the impact of police culture in a time of austerity.

Culture

The ethical application of policing services is recognised as a philosophical ethos here in England and Wales. This transparent and ethical approach is one of fundamental importance to the legitimacy of the police service, more so when the actions and delivery of policing services are carried out in a fair and indiscriminate manner (Tyler and Fagan 2008). However, the influence of negative cultural views and norms is one which raises concerns when examine the police services response to certain crimes, such as domestic abuse.

For a number of decades the concept of police culture has been a well-debated topic. Goldstein (1963), Waddington (1999) and Reiner (2010) being some of the major commentators, amongst others (see, Young, 1991; Westmarland, 2001, and Loftus, 2009). Probing from this, it has been suggested by some that negative cultural attitudes are deeply embedded with the police organisations structure (Cain 1973; Manning 1977), and are believed to be focused around aggressive tactics, high adrenaline-pumping incidents, and selective law enforcement (Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003; Toch, 1976). Whilst it is suggested that domestic abuse is viewed by the police as a "low priority" (Myhill & Johnson, 2016, P.6) or "not real police work" (Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003, online), one must firstly question why this is? Secondly, one must question the impact that this stance has upon the quality of service that those involved in domestic abuse incidents receive? But thirdly, are those police officers whom downplay or 'cuff' domestic abuse cases, abusing their position of power, by selectively enforcing aspects of law and focusing on specific crimes?

It is understood that the philosophy ethos of policing in England and Wales is underpinned by the doctrine of 'policing by consent'. This philosophical stance does not only place focus upon the interests of the community, whilst also placing an obligation and duty upon police officers to use discretion whilst they carry out their duty (Rogers & Lewis 2007). . In essence, this narrative heavily relies upon police officers using fair, ethical, and indiscriminately decision making (Rogers and Lewis, 2007). However, one may question the ethical decision making of some police officers at domestic abuse incidents, more so when the notion and impact of police culture is considered (Buzawa & Buzawa, 1990).

It has been well-commented that the cultural view towards the issue of domestic abuse within the police service, has unquestionably had a negative impact upon the application of service delivery, police policy and legislation (Starmer, 2011; HMIC, 2014; Myhill & Johnson, 2016). These views appear to be evidenced with the recent claims by the then Home Secretary Theresa May in May 2016, who states that victims of domestic abuse are still being let down by police services in England

and Wales (Gov.uk, 2016a). It would appear from the statistics shown above, that the police response to domestic abuse has altered at the same time that austerity measures have taken place. Therefore, one could suggest that measures of austerity have fuelled the negative cultural view of domestic abuse, with officers downplaying domestic abuse incidents as they feel it is too resource intensive.

Conclusion

This article has highlighted the challenges faced by the police services in England and Wales, and in Australia, when being faced with a change in demand whilst still managing and dealing with the impact of austerity. There is no doubt that the domestic abuse is a complex, vast, and challenging area for police services in the UK, Australia and across the world, and whilst on paper it would appear that domestic abuse is a priority, the practical response may suggest otherwise.

There is no doubt that measures of austerity have had implications on police resources, which have subsequently influenced the police response to most types of crimes. Although, the image that domestic abuse is a priority, is one that appears to only stretch as far as the paper it is written on. Whilst there is acknowledgement that many police officers and staff provide a great level of support to victims of domestic, one could argue that this approach may not be replicated across the board. For domestic abuse to be tackled effectively, it is paramount that officers understand and appreciate the importance of a victim-centric philosophy, which must be replicated across all policing services.

For this to be achieved, there is requirement for some officers to shift their cultural views and attitudes towards the topics of domestic abuse. This article has acknowledged the impact of austerity on police resources within Australia, and in the UK. It would appear that the response towards domestic abuse by some police services in the UK has altered at the same rate of measure of austerity, which may pose significant risks to victims of domestic abuse.

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