College of Policing

Leadership
Standards
Performance

Going equipped

Issue 10 Spring/Summer

For any other enquiries about the content of the document please email **goingequipped@college.police.uk**

College of Policing Limited
Leamington Road
Ryton-on-Dunsmore
Coventry
CV8 3EN

Contact us if you're interested in writing for us or would like to be a peer reviewer.
goingequipped@college.police.uk

Issue 10 | Spring/Summer

Contents

Editorial

Deputy Chief Constable Katy Barrow-Grint ◆
Gloucestershire Constabulary

I am delighted to bring you this momentous 10th edition of Going equipped! After five years of publications, we have had articles or peer reviews from just about every force in the country. This has meant real contributions to improving policing by showcasing the research, roles and ideas of those in service.

As always, it's important to state that Going equipped is written by policing for policing. If you are an officer or staff member in any British force or overseas territory, we would love to have your contributions. Just email your interest and ideas to **goingequipped@college.police.uk**

In this bumper edition you will find a great mix of articles, including a long read on enhanced video response, which Dorset Police have trialled. We also have articles on public order dress codes, anti-social behaviour at football matches and dyslexia in police leadership.

We always have lots of submissions around public protection and violence against women and girls and this edition is no different. We feature a practice note on the brilliant campaign by Thames Valley Police to increase reporting of non-contact sexual offences following the Angiolini Inquiry recommendations. There is also an article from a colleague in Greater Manchester Police about the dangers of artificial intelligence in creating indecent images of children.

> Whatever your role or interests, I am sure there will be an article you enjoy.

Whatever your role or interests, I am sure there will be an article you enjoy. My thanks to everyone who has contributed to edition 10, but also everyone who has been part of Going equipped over the last five years, whether as an author, peer reviewer, member of the editorial board or part of the College of Policing team.

Thank you for your support and I hope you are all looking forward to the next five years!

PRACTICE NOTE

It Does Matter campaign

Rachel Hickman, Operational Communications Officer ◆ Thames Valley Police

As the Campaigns Officer for Thames Valley Police (TVP), I was proud to be involved in the development of the **'It Does Matter' campaign** as part of our violence against women and girls (VAWG) strategy, created in response to the Angiolini Inquiry. The VAWG team across the communications department brought the campaign to life with a powerful message. We focused on driving behaviour change when it came to reporting non-contact sexual offences and promoting safety on a night out.

The campaign was developed in collaboration with Lisa Squire, whose daughter, Libby, was tragically raped and murdered after a night out in Hull in 2019. Her attacker had a history of committing non-contact sexual offences, highlighting the dangerous pattern of escalation. It Does Matter aims to raise awareness of these offences and empower individuals to report them, reinforcing that every incident, no matter how minor it may seem, truly matters.

A report by the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for UN Women found that 71% of UK women have faced sexual harassment in public, including exposure. Yet 95% of incidents go unreported, often because victims don't think it's serious enough or believe reporting won't help. Among young women (18-24), 85% have experienced unwanted sexual attention. Alarmingly, 9 in 10 people, regardless of gender, have faced some form of non-contact sexual offence (Office for National Statistics, 2020).

Non-contact sexual offences, such as exposure and voyeurism, have long been overlooked as forms of VAWG, but that must change. TVP and wider national policing is conducting research to better understand and tackle these crimes.

Our campaign was strategically designed using the **COM-B** behaviour change model (Michie, van Stralen and West, 2011). The COM-B model is a framework for understanding and influencing behaviour change. It suggests that three key components are necessary for a behaviour (**B**) to occur.

1. **Capability (C)** – The individual's psychological and physical ability to perform the behaviour.

2. **Opportunity (O)** – External factors, such as social and environmental conditions, which enable the behaviour.

3. **Motivation (M)** – The internal processes that drive behaviour, including conscious decision-making and automatic responses.

By assessing these elements, policymakers, healthcare professionals and organisations can design targeted interventions to encourage positive behaviour change.

We wanted to use the model to address key factors influencing reporting behaviour, specifically to encourage an increase in reporting of non-contact sexual offences and promoting safety behaviours on a night out.

During the work, we explored how capability, opportunity and motivation influence attitudes and behaviours related to the reporting of non-contact sexual offences, particularly among our target audience of 18-to-24 year-olds.

We found that this group often face barriers, such as uncertainty about what constitutes a non-contact sexual offence and doubts about how to make a report and what the outcome might be. Therefore, with a particular focus on enhancing capability, we concentrated on education, ensuring young people understood the issue, recognised unacceptable behaviours and felt confident knowing how and where to report incidents.

We used the capability framework to shape our planned activity across universities and schools, as well as through internal and external messaging. This helped ensure our approach was consistent, targeted and rooted in behaviour change principles.

The first phase of the campaign introduced an educational package, available through the **PSHE Association** website, which incorporates Libby's story. This resource has been made accessible to schools nationwide and has already

been downloaded thousands of times. It is helping to educate young people and introduce the importance of recognising and reporting non-contact sexual offences and making informed decisions around personal safety.

The second phase of the campaign set out to reach 16-to-25 year-olds, with a secondary audience of parents of those in this age bracket. The aim of the campaign is to raise awareness of what a non-contact sexual offence is and how you can report an incident to the police or support agency. Libby's story was vital in our communication with younger audiences and having Lisa involved to tell it was even more impactful.

The second phase of the campaign launched in September 2024 and has since been embedded into VAWG work across the force. We worked with an external company, TMC Strategic Communications, to assist with research, insights and graphics for the campaign.

We launched internally through the TVP intranet and bulletin news to spread the word. Several officers and members of staff offered their support and asked how they could help with the campaign, which was great to see.

The external campaign launched in September 2024 and was promoted to media outlets. Traditional methods of contacting the local press were used and we also contacted national outlets and organisations we had not worked with before. This included Good Morning Britain (GMB) and BBC's Newsbeat, who collectively have both our target audiences making up their main audience figures (It Does Matter, 2024).

The day of launch involved in-person studio interviews for Assistant Chief Constable Katy Barrow-Grint and Lisa Squire at GMB and Sky News Breakfast with Kay Burley. This was the first time a TVP campaign had been so welcomed

on national television and news. We were keen to capture the learning as soon as we could, so a structured debrief was scheduled soon after the launch to record feedback and considerations moving forward.

Following the external launch, I liaised with universities across the force area to secure a presence at freshers' events in September and October 2024. Some were welcoming of the idea, but others did not want a policing presence at welcome events for students. The one aspect of the campaign that helped overcome these concerns was the branding of the campaign, which purposely does not include a police logo.

To understand the campaign's impact, I collaborated with neighbourhood policing teams and communications colleagues to engage directly with students at events. A survey was conducted with 577 students to assess their awareness, perceptions and responses to non-contact sexual offences.

The key findings were as follows.

- **Demographics:** Of the 577 students surveyed, 75% identified as female, 22% as male and 3% as non-binary.
- **Awareness:** When asked to identify non-contact sexual offences, the most commonly recognised were drink spiking, upskirting and exposure.
- **Safety concerns:** 73% of students reported feeling uncomfortable or unsafe while on a night out, highlighting the widespread discomfort in social settings.
- **Reporting behaviours:** When asked, "Who would you report to if

a non-contact offence happened to you?" only 30% of students said they would go to the police. Other common responses included parents, security staff and teachers, indicating potential gaps in trust or awareness of reporting channels.

This primary data provides a valuable insight. It is crucial for understanding the thoughts and feelings of our target audience regarding this crime type and their willingness to report concerns. By continuously monitoring this data, we can assess the impact of the campaign in achieving its aims and identify any shifts in attitudes or behaviours. This ongoing analysis allows us to refine our communications, ensuring they remain effective and responsive to the needs of our audience.

The campaign has generated interest from other police forces across the country. Linking in with other forces and sharing our best practice for this campaign has made me feel really proud of the team's work.

It Does Matter is a campaign that has been founded in response to a truly awful set of incidents in our society. But the work this campaign does to bring younger audiences into the policing space is vital. This is why the campaign is available to share across all forces. It remains unbranded; the only place a police logo or link is featured is on the dedicated website.

I encourage everyone to look at the

bespoke website and watch the video detailing real experiences of non-contact sexual offences and how they affect everyone in different ways.

References

Michie S, van Stralen MM and West R. (2011). 'The behaviour change wheel: A new method for characterising and designing behaviour change interventions'. Implementation Science, volume 6(1), page 42

Office for National Statistics. (2020). **Child sexual abuse in England and Wales: year ending March 2019**. (Viewed on 7 April 2025)

It Does Matter. (2024). **'It Does Matter' campaign coverage**. (Viewed on 7 April 2025)

This article was peer reviewed by Eleanor Prince, Principal Behavioural Scientist, Metropolitan Police Service

Spotlight on a role

Counter Terrorism Security Advisor

Kelly Hemmise, Counter Terrorism Security Advisor

- **City of London Police**

I have been a Counter Terrorism Security Advisor (CTSA) for the past 16 years. I work under the 'Protect' strand of the government's CONTEST counter-terrorism strategy (Prevent, Pursue, Protect and Prepare). My role involves providing up-to-date support and advice to local businesses on how they can protect themselves against a terrorist attack.

Every force across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland has a CTSA team who are representatives of the National Counter Terrorism Security Office (NaCTSO). Being part of this national network is great for sharing ideas, collaborative working, and most importantly, increasing security.

Guidance and advice

As a CTSA, one area I offer advice on is physical measures. In the public realm, this can involve advising on hostile vehicle mitigation. For privately owned sites, advice can be provided around appropriate access control and glazing for the local authority and architects wishing to build in the City of London.

One example is the bollards at St Paul's Churchyard. They provide protection of public areas, while still allowing legitimate access required for St Paul's Cathedral – such as royal visits, large-scale events or business as usual activities such as the Christmas Eve carol service.

The work involves collaborating with the City of London Corporation to plan public realm protection that is not just an oppressive row of bollards, but where street furniture, such as seating, works together to protect the area, like in nearby Aldgate Square.

Training

I have trained thousands of people on national products, from the historic Project Griffin and Project ARGUS to current packages, including Action Counters Terrorism (ACT) and See, Check and Notify (SCaN).

The aim of these products is to increase attendees' awareness of the current terrorist threat and methodology, before focusing on what individuals and businesses can do to help mitigate these threats. This then helps them plan how to respond if a threat arises. We constantly review these projects to ensure they are up to date and advice is current and relevant.

These packages are best delivered in person to groups, whether single-site attendees or representatives from local businesses, to encourage participation and engagement. Online packages were developed in 2020 to ensure training could continue during the COVID pandemic. We still use these at times for specific packages, however face to face is best.

> Effective communication is essential to build trust.

Collaborative working

Like many roles in policing, effective communication is essential to build trust in the relationships with our community. Often we need them to make changes to their security policy – sometimes at huge costs. By engaging with local businesses, other police departments and my CTSA counterparts, we can ensure good practice is shared to create a wider security culture that crosses borders.

One example of where cross-border collaborative CTSA work was beneficial to all was a visit from the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community to St Paul's Cathedral in October 2024. A CTSA from the Metropolitan Police Service and I arranged for security representatives from the mosque to visit St Paul's.

The purpose of the visit was to meet with the security team and understand how the cathedral approaches and implements 'compassionate security' that fits the environment while fulfilling security requirements. This was reciprocated with a visit to their mosque and international headquarters in Surrey.

While there are clear differences between the two sites, what was clear from the visits was how many similarities they had. Both are:

- pivotal focal points for their respective religions
- places where people come to worship
- places that experience high visitor footfall
- facing several threats that range from low-level crime, to protests through to CT threats

Contacting CTSAs

The CTSA role is always evolving in line with the terrorist threats we face, to enable us to be most effective in the advice and guidance we offer. We specifically engage with crowded public and iconic sites, and those that have a high footfall. We also provide guidance and advice to locations where there is intelligence of threats or hostile intent.

In the City of London, we engage with local businesses who often reach out to us for support on their security practices, training and policies. Using an email/mobile messaging system, local security forums and sector policing, we promote and highlight the vast guidance available online from ProtectUK and the National Protective Security Authority.

Where possible, we engage directly to help businesses increase their security profile by inviting them to training sessions. We encourage them to join a security forum, work with their neighbours and receive any communications we send out.

There are not often many vacancies. But having knowledge of recent terrorism ideologies and methodologies, and completing some of the free and available ACT and SCaN training products, would give you a good basis.

After 16 years, it is clear I enjoy being a CTSA. The role is often challenging, both professionally and personally. But providing support to individuals and businesses in protecting the public makes it a worthwhile career choice.

This article was peer reviewed by Detective Constable Mara Phipps, CTPHQ Research and Development, Metropolitan Police Service. This article is shared with the permission of St Paul's Cathedral and the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

PRACTICE NOTE

Operation Yellow Card

Inspector Sam Tucker and Michael Price, Dedicated Football Officer, Ops Planning ◆ Cambridgeshire Constabulary

Through several years as operational football officers (OFOs) attending fixtures up and down the country, we noticed a growing number of young people involved in anti-social behaviour (ASB) and violence linked to football matches.

While we were seeing an issue at our own games with Peterborough United Football Club (PUFC), this was clearly a trend that impacted others. There is a known national issue of football hooliganism and ASB, creating challenges for policing such events.

We knew something needed to be done about our own games and this could not be done by police alone. We wanted to address this behaviour within the younger generation and divert them from becoming entrenched. This is where Operation Yellow Card was born, in partnership with PUFC.

The scheme, which is aimed at 15-to-23 year-olds, is a prevention tactic to intervene before serious offences occur. It alerts individuals, and often their parents or carers, of the need to make changes to their behaviour to prevent them from receiving long-term football bans and/or criminal convictions.

Through police enforcement and partnership intervention work with PUFC, the aim is to prevent a repeat of unacceptable behaviour by fans. Police are in regular contact with the

safety officer at the club to discuss people who have caused issues, through daily phone calls and weekly in-person meetings.

As in a football match, Yellow Card is designed to be a caution to an individual regarding their behaviour. Initially they would be spoken to informally but if this behaviour becomes consistent, or an improvement is not seen, a community protection warning (CPW) can be issued. The CPW was introduced under the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 to tackle long-term problem-solving. However, this scheme was the first to use it in a football context.

A CPW identifies a requirement for change from the individual. Parents or appropriate adults (AA) generally do not escort the young person to the various towns and cities that the fixtures dictate, however they are required to attend the police station with the young person if a CPW is served.

By serving the caution at the station, it is hoped it will have a bigger impact on the young person's behaviour. It also enables officers to make parents and AAs aware of their safeguarding responsibilities in the hope they can play their part in changing the young person's behaviour. At PUFC, as with other clubs in England, the minimum age to attend a match unaccompanied is 14 so parents/AAs may not even be aware of what is happening.

Using a problem-solving approach through the deployment of OFOs, we identify a cohort of individuals who we believe would benefit from some form of intervention. The dedicated football officer (DFO) who manages the scheme then decides on an appropriate response to the individual's behaviour, in agreement with the safety officer at PUFC.

Action taken includes holding initial joint meetings between police, safeguarding leads, PUFC and parents and carers of the young person to educate them about the impact of

their behaviour and potential action that could be taken. Home visits are then carried out by the DFO to explain the scheme to both the young persons and their guardians and set out the reparations.

Bespoke reparations are issued; however, examples of general conditions include the following.

- Attending the football ground in the company of an appropriate adult (replacing the club's policy for only under 14s to be accompanied)
- Sitting in specific locations within the ground
- Attending joint inputs from police and the club on football legislation
- Adhering to an exclusion zone – following repeated issues in specific locations based on the coming together of rival supporters, we have an exclusion zone for a specific period. This requires those within the Yellow Card cohort to leave the vicinity of the ground by an alternative route after the match has finished.

We also work with our local Youth Offending Team. We deliver educational inputs at schools and colleges, alongside PUFC's safeguarding lead, around the current football scene and legislation covering anti-social and violent behaviour.

During the last two seasons, just 17% of the 30 people on the initial stage of the scheme progressed from a CPW to having a community protection notice (CPN) issued. 83% of those subject to a CPW intervention in this period did not reoffend. Only one of the CPNs issued led to prosecution.

The tiered intervention can be provided as evidence to support the necessity for a football banning order. Breach of a CPN can lead to arrest and ultimately courts can issue a banning order of up to 10 years depending on the severity. This prevents an individual from attending all football matches in the top seven tiers of English football.

The Yellow Card scheme has been received really positively by the supporter community. There has been feedback from fans who noted the absence of a similar scheme when they were engaging in similar behaviour in their youth. People have also thanked us for our interventions and diverting family members away from this troublesome behaviour.

Having been recognised as good practice nationally, it is being discussed as part of the DFO training with the UK Football Policing Unit (UKFPU). We hope to see it implemented across the country in the future.

This article was peer reviewed by Police Constable James Woodcock, Football Coordination, Northumbria Police

Five things about...
Investigating missing children and adults using comms data

Police Constable Chris Glover, Communications Data Investigation Unit
Greater Manchester Police

This article introduces five things to know when investigating missing persons, highlighting the differences to consider between missing children and missing adult investigations.

Legal compliance must be adhered to throughout an investigation. Continuous monitoring of social media profiles requires a directed surveillance authority (DSA), provided by the covert authorities bureau. Personal social media accounts should never be used to carry out research. Social media algorithms can link personal device accounts to the account you are researching, risking exposure. You should direct your enquiries towards departments with specific training in the areas of research you require.

1 Statistics

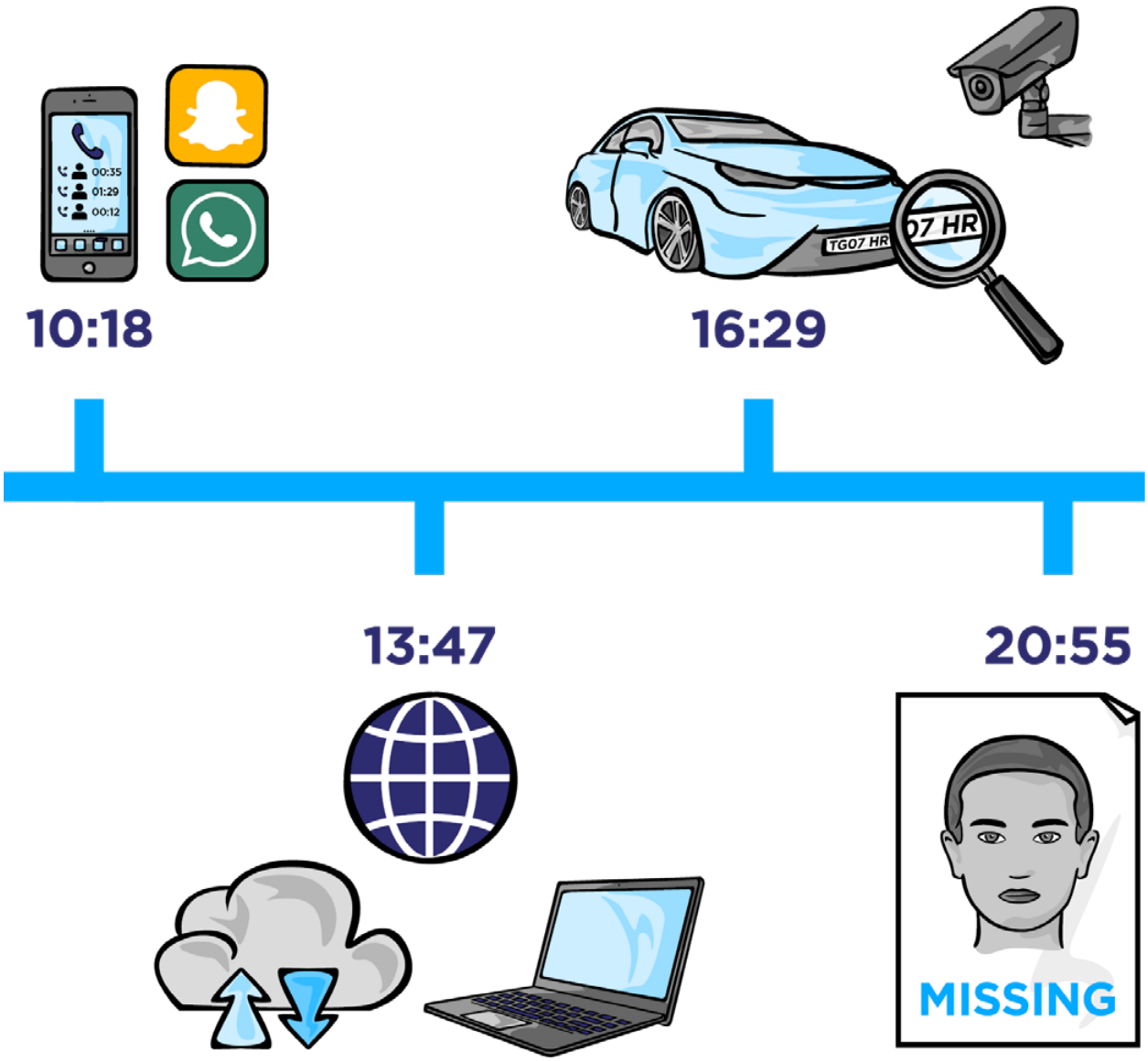
Over 170,000 people are reported missing each year in the UK, resulting in around 330,000 missing incidents for the police to respond to. Almost two thirds of these incidents relate to missing children (National Crime Agency (NCA) report, 2022-2023), who are at an increased risk of being victims of crime.

Worryingly, these numbers are likely to be lower than the true scale due to underreporting. It is estimated that 7 in 10 young people who have been sexually exploited have also been reported missing. A quick and effective response to missing person reports is crucial in safeguarding both children and adults (NCA, 2022-2023).

2 Reasons for going missing

Adults can go missing for a variety of reasons, including relationship breakdowns, debt, substance misuse or mental health issues. Domestic violence is a particularly concerning issue. It can cause vulnerable individuals to leave without informing anyone due to fears of being found by the perpetrator. Older adults may get lost or go missing accidentally due to health issues such as dementia.

Children can also go missing for different reasons, for example family issues at home, neglect and abuse. Young people in the care system can feel isolated and displaced, prompting them to travel back to areas where they have friendships and familiarity. An increasing concern is child sexual exploitation (CSE), where young



people can be coerced into travelling to unfamiliar areas.

3 Communication methods

Adults and children will use different communication methods. While traditional telephony work (phone calls and text messages) may quickly identify the whereabouts of a missing adult, call data records of a child may show very little activity.

Missing children often communicate through apps such as WhatsApp and Snapchat, which create both challenges and opportunities in locating them. It is important that early contact is made with the communications data investigation unit (CDIU) who can support with a digital strategy and the best use of available tactics.

4 Transport

The age of a missing person often dictates their mode of travel while they are missing. For those over the age of 17, consideration should be given to police system checks and enquiries with the family to determine if they have access to a personal or work vehicle. Automatic number plate recognition (ANPR) enquiries can be cross-referenced with cell site data to narrow down a search location.

Younger people often use public transport. Pre-purchased or free school travel cards make travel easily accessible. Local tram networks are popular during the late evenings due to reduced staffing levels, and should be incorporated into the search strategy.

5 Location

Children have less independence and can be reliant on friends for support during the time they are missing. Often, multiple missing children are located together. It is important to check if parents or guardians have any parental control over the missing child's devices, including GPS tracking.

Be mindful that many young people may not have contract mobile phones with large amounts of mobile data available. As a result, missing children will often seek out places that offer free Wi-Fi services. Local knowledge of fast-food restaurants and transport hubs which offer these services should form part of the investigation plan.

Due to the autonomy adults have in comparison to children, there may need to be a greater reliance on pattern analysis in locating them by combining communications data with CCTV, financial and ANPR data.

Adults may be in possession of multiple devices. Obtaining all available contact information for the missing person should be considered at the initial report-taking stage.

This article was peer reviewed by Adam Watkinson, Detective Inspector, South Yorkshire Police

LONG READ

Enhanced video response: Responding to non-emergency calls for service by video

Chief Superintendent Stew Gates ◆ Dorset Police

I am currently a chief superintendent in Dorset Police, having worked in various ranks and roles over my 20-year career to date. As part of the Applied Criminology and Police Leadership Master's Programme with the University of Cambridge, I explored the use of a virtual response offering to victims of crime in Dorset. I built on previous research conducted on rapid video response (RVR) within Kent Police.

This trial supports the chief constable's drive to improve how the force responds to the public and investigates crime. This is in line with the latest His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) PEEL report in 2022.

Introduction and literature review

For victims and witnesses of crime, the journey begins in force control rooms. These are the gatekeepers that decide the level of service a victim will receive and how quickly (Ekblom and Heal, 1982; Waddington, 1993; Waddington, 1999). However, the available options for handling a call remain limited. They have not evolved beyond sending an officer to the scene, dealing with the report via phone or taking no further action.

Many people are still promised a

visit from a police officer when it is not required, causing an oversupply of services (Walley and Jennison-Phillips, 2020). The time it takes to answer the initial call for service is vital and directly correlates to victim satisfaction levels, and potentially to the outcomes of the case (Clark, Arial and Harinam, 2022).

Dorset Police is not immune to these pressures and risks. The most recent Dorset Police HMICFRS inspection highlighted grave concerns about how long the force was taking to meet calls for service and the standard of investigations once those calls had been completed (HMICFRS PEEL, April 2022). Dorset Police has taken these recommendations seriously and expressed a desire to make changes.

While overall crime continues to fall across England and Wales (Ariel and Bland, 2019), the public's demand for police services continues to rise. Prior research indicates that 94% of surveyed victims expect to see a police officer when they call for help (Ekblom and Heal, 1982). However, responding to incidents that do not require a physical police response prevents officers from attending to victims who require in-person assistance (Sumrall and others, 1981).

Using data from 15 UK police forces, Walley and Adams (2019) investigated the demands placed on policing and how forces responded to these demands between October 2018 and February 2019. All UK forces in the sample groups acknowledged that they were unable to meet the demands placed on their organisations, and that 'true victims' were left waiting.

Qualitative research conducted in 2015 shed light on the effects of police budget cuts and the resulting increase in demand and pressure on police officers. This research highlighted that the demand placed on officers had increased in tandem with the perception of a decrease in officer numbers, with this imbalance between resources and public demand putting the officers at greater risk. The number of officers leaving the police force had increased, as had sickness rates and low morale. The study highlighted the sense of helplessness the officers felt: they joined policing to provide a beneficial service to the public and keep them safe, but felt they were unable to do so due to the constant stream of demands placed on them (Elliott-Davies and others, 2016).

There has been a shift towards exploring technological advances, particularly virtual responses, to meet the needs of victims of crime while addressing backlogs (HMICFRS, 2023; National Police Chiefs' Council, 2020). This shift is presumably due to the changes required throughout the pandemic, which is supported by research conducted in Kent Police.

Kent Police – Rapid Virtual Response

Rothwell and others (2022) evaluated the effects of a virtual deployment to low- or medium-risk domestic abuse (DA) victims in Kent, known as rapid virtual response (RVR). This experiment was the first of its kind in England and Wales. A randomised controlled trial (RCT) was conducted, giving callers the option of seeing a police officer on their device remotely. The goals and objectives were to improve victim services, reduce victim wait times, increase efficiency and determine the arrest rates of the two sample groups.

Findings highlighted that video call meetings with non-emergency DA victims reduced the demands placed on the organisation, reduced wait times for victims (RVR was 656 times faster at responding to victims of DA), and increased their satisfaction levels as measured in follow-up surveys.

My research looked to build on this revolutionary research by replicating some of its design. I explored the types of victims to which the virtual approach was applied, how this approach affected their support of the criminal justice system and the standards of the investigations once attended.

Methodology

My study on enhanced video response (EVR) was a conceptual replication of the RVR RCT. However, the EVR study aimed to enhance the existing body of knowledge by broadening the scope of individuals eligible for a virtual response beyond DA calls. Specifically, this study sought to include all call and crime types that meet the 'Grade 3 calls' criteria. Examples of Grade 3 calls in Dorset would include a historic serious assault, a domestic incident where the offender is no longer in the presence of the victim or a harassment/stalking offence.

Only Grade 3 calls were included, as the accumulation of unmet demand is primarily concentrated within these call types. These contacts involve offences of substantial severity that inflict significant harm on victims. However, on assessment at the initial point of call, it was deemed that an immediate policing response (on blue lights) or attendance within 60 minutes was not required.

After the call taker conducted the risk assessment and determined it to be at a Grade 3 level, the system instructed the call taker to complete a call script in collaboration with the caller. If the individual making the call preferred a virtual response option, the call handler administered the eligibility questions using a pre-programmed set of drop-down questions.

An RCT design was applied. Callers (victims and witnesses) to the police were randomly allocated to either a treatment group, which received the virtual response intervention, or

a control group, which received the standard in-person deployment.

A dedicated Force Communications Centre supervisor was assigned throughout the trial to oversee the process, with primary responsibility for continuously monitoring incoming Grade 3 calls. On meeting the specified eligibility criteria, the supervisor added the call log reference to a customised spreadsheet exclusively accessible to the supervisor and the EVR sergeant. From here the log was randomised based on the last digit of the call reference number. For those that fell into the EVR category, the call log was passed to the awaiting EVR sergeant.

After reviewing the log, the EVR sergeant randomly assigned the treatment call to a virtual officer who was available at that time. Once a virtual officer had been assigned a call, their status was updated to 'dispatched' on the call log. After establishing contact with the victim and initiating the primary investigation, the virtual officer included an 'at-scene' tag. After concluding the virtual communication, individuals indicated their departure from the call log. At this juncture, the remaining portion of the primary investigation was finalised. This meant completing the investigation plan and considering evidential factors prior to transmitting the investigation record to an independent evidential review officer.

EVR is a further deployment option through which a police officer visits the scene of an incident virtually – through a smartphone, computer or iPad – rather than in person. Individuals eligible for a virtual response were sent a text message or email link to a platform called GoodSAM, which was already procured by the force and is used by most police forces nationally. Through that procurement process, data security and **management of police information (MoPI)** compliance was reviewed and embedded along with the ability to use cloud storage for the footage obtained. The system is very simple for victims to use. Once the victim has clicked the link, the officer appears on screen without the need to download any software or apps onto their devices.

To maintain business-as-usual staffing levels, no police officers from patrol teams were used during the trial setup to avoid any potential impact on the validity of the control group. Dorset is divided into two local policing areas (LPAs): the county policing area and the Bournemouth, Poole and Christchurch policing area. This RCT was conducted for three months in the county LPA using 10 restricted police officers and two sergeants.

Findings

A total of 4,950 Grade 3 logs were created in the county LPA during the trial period, of which 3,891 (78.6%) were excluded. The most common reasons included a concern for welfare which required officers to attend in person to mitigate any risk, the victim declining EVR (219) or the report originating from a third party not directly involved in the incident.

Of the remaining 1,059 cases eligible for a virtual response, 659 (62.2%) were randomly allocated to the treatment group (EVR) and 400 (37.8%) to the control group through the allocation process described above.

In the control group, 97 cases (24.3%) were physically attended. The study highlighted that a call log remains on the 'open summary queue' for several days, even weeks in many cases, due to no further harm reported or because the force has been unable to source a police officer to attend. Moreover, 167 (41.8%) cases were sent to an individual officer's inbox for them to manage deployment whenever available at a future date. 136 (34%) were resolved over the telephone by a police officer allocated to attend, with the victim never seeing a police officer.

When the EVR team were on duty, they commenced an investigation within 1.28 hours on average. However, for the control group this was 203.10 hours. The wider findings on overall timelines are detailed further below, however these findings are statistically significant.

After the trial, all 1,059 cases were assessed to identify the effect of the intervention on policing outcomes. These findings are listed in Table 1 and discussed below.

Table 1. Control, EVR – Policing, victim-focused and recidivism rates

	Control %	EVR %
No further action – victim withdrawn	36	21
Victim support after primary investigation	45	75
Positive outcomes	1.5	4.9
Arrests	6.3	10.6

In total, 474 surveys were distributed to participants in both groups, at an equal split, with a response rate of 75.5% (362 callers).

Significant improvements were detected in the overall perceptions of the police following EVR interactions. First, the survey results suggested that more EVR participants felt that their opinion of the police had significantly improved (46.2%) than those in the control group (21.6%). The same was found in terms of participants' trust and confidence in Dorset Police. Notably, the number of respondents who expressed that their trust and confidence went up 'a lot' was substantially greater in the treatment group.

A detective sergeant trained in reviewing serious and complex investigations completed investigation quality assessments for all 1,059 cases. They completed all the reviews to ensure the reliability of the instrument used (professional judgment) was a consistent measurement. This showed that the average compliance result for the control group was 67%, with the compliance rate of the treatment at 96.8%.

Discussion

This study aimed to conceptually replicate the RVR trial conducted in Kent (Rothwell and others, 2022) and expand on the number and type of participants. It included nearly all crime categories and risk levels outside those needing an immediate police response. The primary objective of the trial was to test the myriad effects of the provision of a virtual policing response to victims of crime. This included a) the speed at which these services were provided, b) victims' satisfaction and c) criminal justice system outcomes.

A. Response time

The study found an approach to providing services to all non-emergency victims that reduced the time they waited for a police response. When officers were assigned to provide EVR, they commenced investigations with a victim within 18.44 hours, whereas for control cases it took an average of 423.13 hours. Notably, when EVR officers were on duty waiting to receive calls, the time was dramatically reduced to 1.28 minutes.

B. Satisfaction with the contact

The overall rating of the experience was substantially higher in the EVR group. Nearly 90% of the treatment participants said they would use EVR again and recommend it to others.

C. Policing and crime outcomes

Positive outcomes and arrests for victims of crime were significantly higher in the treatment group. There were 45 more arrests or suspect interviews than in the control group, with the highest increase found when

the EVR team was on duty. This is supported by the 4.9% positive outcome rate in the treatment group, which was at its highest when the EVR team was on duty. These findings are statistically significant.

Conclusion and recommendations

Policing is at a tipping point. How calls for service are met needs to change. Now is the time for chief officers to look closely at how their police forces are responding to the public, considering victims' wishes and voices.

EVR gives chief constables an alternative, evidence-based deployment method. It is shown to improve timeliness, increase arrests and positive outcomes. It is both preferred by victims and more cost-effective.

Although the EVR team were only on duty a fraction of the time, the intervention was significantly faster at initiating investigations with victims. The standard of those investigations was better, yielding higher arrest rates and more positive outcomes for victims while still reducing costs. Victims in the treatment group preferred the response they received, and the treatment group yielded significant improvement in victim satisfaction. Further, many examples of risk reduction were found due to the quicker deployment of police resources and high officer job satisfaction.

More than 96% of callers receiving EVR saw a police officer who gave them time and space to explain their issue, compared to one-quarter of the victims in the control conditions. Using EVR, an officer could speak with a victim at their convenience while details were fresh in their mind and secure all possible evidence while providing support. Of those 634 cases, 75% of victims supported a police prosecution. This early engagement substantially increased satisfaction levels as a positive outcome was more likely when victims were supportive. I encourage other forces to conduct trials of similar technologies.

Due to the above findings, Dorset Police has now built EVR into the force operating model with a central team working early and late turn shifts, seven days a week across the whole force. To date, over 10,000 victim consultations have taken place with a baseline efficiency saving of over £1.7 million which has been reinvested.

This research has now been published in the Criminology & Public Policy journal. The implementation team from Dorset are now working alongside the College of Policing, under the Centre of Police Productivity. They have supported a much larger RCT in a neighbouring force. Interim findings are looking promising and suggest similar findings to that of the Dorset trial.

Join the National Police Library

To access more materials on this subject, become a member of the **National Police Library**. Membership is available to all serving UK police officers and staff.

References

Ariel B and Bland M. (2019). 'Is crime rising or falling? A comparison of police-recorded crime and victimization surveys'. In Deflem M and Silva DM (eds.), 'Methods of criminology and criminal justice research: Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Volume 24'. Leeds: Emerald Publishing Limited, pages 7-31

Clark B and others. (2022). **"How should the police let victims down?" The impact of reassurance call-backs by local police officers to victims of vehicle and cycle crimes: a block randomized controlled trial** (OpenAthens account registration required). Police Quarterly, volume 26(3), pages 355-378

Ekblom P and Heal K. (1982). **The police response to calls from the public** [online]. London: Home Office. [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

Elliott-Davies M and others. (2016). **"Getting a battering": The perceived impact of demand and capacity imbalance within the police service of England and Wales: A qualitative review** (OpenAthens account registration required). Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles, volume 89(2), pages 93-116

His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services. (2023). **Police performance: Getting a grip: PEEL spotlight report.** [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services. (2022). **PEEL 2021/22 Police effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy: An inspection of Dorset Police.** [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services. (2019). **A call for help: Police contact management through call handling and control rooms in 2018/19.** [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

National Police Chiefs' Council. (2020). **Digital, data and technology**. [Accessed 14 April 2025]

Office for National Statistics. (2023). **Crime in England and Wales: year ending June 2023**. [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

Rothwell S and others. (2022). **Rapid video responses (RVR) vs. face-to-face responses by police officers to domestic abuse victims: A randomised controlled trial** (OpenAthens account registration required). Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing, volume 6(1-2), pages 1-24

Sumrall RO and others. (1981). **Differential police response strategies** [online]. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs. [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

Waddington PA. (1999). 'Policing citizens: Authority and rights'. London: UCL Press

Waddington PA. (1993). 'Calling the police: the interpretation of, and response to, calls for assistance from the public'. Aldershot: Avebury

Walley P and Adams MM. (2019). **An evaluation of demand management practices in UK police forces** [online]. Milton Keynes: Centre for Policing Research and Learning. [Viewed on 14 April 2025]

Walley P and Jennison-Phillips A. (2020). **A study of non-urgent demand to identify opportunities for demand reduction** (OpenAthens account registration required). Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, volume 14(2), pages 542-554

This article was peer reviewed by Dan Martin, Senior Business Lead, Force Contact, West Midlands Police

Diary of an ...
Internet Intelligence Investigation Researcher

Alice Hancock, Internet Intelligence Investigation Researcher ◆ Thames Valley Police

I work as an internet intelligence investigation (III) researcher in the Digital Investigations & Intelligence team for Thames Valley Police. My role centres around researching and providing relevant intelligence from online sources. This provides a crucial intelligence picture to the force around protest activity, community tensions and national incidents. Working alongside another dedicated researcher, an intelligence development officer (IDO) and a supervisor, we specialise in advanced online research. We support investigations across the force from missing person enquiries to major operations. It's a dynamic and varied job that keeps us on our toes.

Our wider team includes digital media investigators (DMIs), a digital trainer, a detective sergeant and a detective inspector. We all work together to offer support and direction to digital or online elements of any investigation.

Monday

I kick off the week by diving into emails and scanning police systems and online sources for any protest activity that might impact force resources. This includes high numbers of people in built-up areas, groups that have previously blocked roads or contentious causes. As part of the force's vital signs, I feed into the force daily management meeting, where we discuss matters of strategic threat and risk. My input ensures the force's management teams are aware of any upcoming events that may cause resourcing issues or community tensions.

I identify a protest that could disrupt the public's daily lives due to the contentious cause and potential for high numbers of attendees

on a busy high street. A planning meeting with internal partners, such as Operation Planning and Neighbourhood Policing, is organised which follows the national decision model format. My assessment was crucial for our Operations Planning team to evaluate risks and allocate resources effectively.

Tuesday

This morning, I'm stepping in for a colleague on leave, handling national reporting requirements.

Just as I am about to take a lunch break, my supervisor alerts me to a potential non-violent direct-action protest against an organisation that evening. I quickly scan social media for discussions about the protest and produce an intelligence assessment on the group's previous activities and potential risks.

My findings show that their protests have always been peaceful and brief, reducing the need for our Public Order team to intervene. I continue to monitor online activity throughout the day to stay ahead of any changes.

Wednesday

After the excitement of yesterday, today seems more relaxed. We start with team training, sharing techniques and case studies from the past month. One IDO showcases a platform for identifying modern slavery and human trafficking offences, while a DMI shares their success in locating a missing person using a new social media platform. I share these insights with other intelligence teams via a Teams channel and set up an account to explore the platform further. These sessions are invaluable for enhancing knowledge and understanding across the team and the wider force.

Tomorrow, I'll be attending the Silver Suite as the III support for the Intelligence Cell at the Global Artificial Intelligence Safety Summit in Milton Keynes. This high-profile event requires meticulous preparation and the whole team has been working on it for a considerable amount of time. I spend the afternoon reviewing the attendee list for any online threats or fixator activity that could impact the summit.

Thursday

It's an early start and a change of scenery as I head to the marquee where our Silver Suite is set up. Despite the freezing temperatures, I'm prepared with plenty of layers! My first task is to set up the online monitoring schedules, ensuring I'm instantly alerted to any potential risks to the event. Overnight, intelligence revealed that an event worker had disclosed sensitive details online, breaching their contract. I swiftly capture the post and forward it to the event manager

through the Silver Commander for immediate action.

Just before the attendees began arriving, a suspicious male is spotted filming a secured area. Officers stop him and, while my colleagues check his details on police systems, I delve into his online footprint. My research reveals he is a local resident concerned about road closures, posing no significant risk. This incident underscores the critical role of online support in operations like these, where missing online threats could have serious consequences.

The busiest times of the day are when attendees arrive and depart. After a quick lunch in the makeshift canteen, I return to the much warmer marquee to continue monitoring and researching online activity until we are stood down by the Silver Commander.

Friday

Specialising in advanced online research, I support officers in case (OICs) with their investigations, whether it's identifying suspects, creating digital profiles or pinpointing specific locations from limited imagery.

This morning, I am working on a low-priority request when a high-priority task comes in. With a two-day turnaround for high-priority requests, this work takes precedence. I am tasked with locating family members and potential victims of a suspect involved in distributing indecent images of children. Using multiple systems and tools, I compile a comprehensive digital profile of the suspect. This enables the OIC to contact family members and implement safeguarding measures for at-risk children.

Returning to the low-priority request, I need to identify the location of a property where two suspects were pictured. The image showed them in a garden with a red brick house and an outbuilding in the background. By examining small details and using various techniques, I determine there was a park in front of the house, it was south-facing and had a rear driveway. Using Google Maps, I successfully identify the property, leading to targeted patrols to disrupt potential criminal activity.

This role is one of the most dynamic and rewarding I've ever had. One day, I'm analysing community tensions data and the next, I'm supporting a Silver Command team in the midst of a fast-paced operation.

Every day brings a new challenge, but the common thread is the sense of purpose, knowing that my work directly contributes to keeping our communities safe.

This article was peer reviewed by Sergeant Conor Walsh, Metropolitan Police Service.

Emerging theme ...

The evolution of AI in child sexual abuse material – how to stay ahead, protect victims and bring offenders to more robust justice

Beckie Rackham, Media Office Team Leader ◆ Greater Manchester Police

Sadly, both indecent images and prohibited images of children are nothing new to investigators. Over the past few years, the online world and technology has continued to grow and develop. But with that, the very worst in society have evolved their offending behaviour in new and terrifying ways.

Issues such as 'deepfakes' have been covered extensively in popular culture. But now, with the expansion of readily accessible 3D programmes and artificial intelligence (AI), offenders are expanding their horizons even further. At Greater Manchester Police, we recently saw this with the case of Hugh Nelson, which this article will delve into in more detail.

Investigations involving AI programmes in the child sexual abuse space are still the outlier compared with the 'traditional' indecent images that are typically found. However, we are starting to uncover a shift in criminal behaviour. AI, or computer programmes, are being used more and more to create new material. In research commissioned by the Internet Watch Foundation (IWF), they confirmed a 380% rise in AI-generated child sexual abuse – with 245 reports in 2024 compared with 51 in 2023 (IWF, 2025).

Forensic services are already stretched due to the shift towards online offending that started many years ago. AI/child sexual abuse material (CSAM) is proven to be more likely to increase addiction to this type of content. It's possible therefore that investigators could become overwhelmed. It is now so much quicker and easier to create than the material we have become used to seeing up to now.

In this investigation, and what will likely be the case in many others to follow, despite the seemingly 'cartoon' and unrealistic nature of this content, real victims are behind it. They face an even greater risk of being repeatedly victimised online, or the even more serious issue of being missed entirely, if this space becomes more saturated and difficult to manage.

Background

Hugh Nelson, a now 28-year-old from Bolton, was convicted in August 2024 of several offences relating to the online abuse of children. This followed an investigation by our dedicated Online Child Abuse Investigation Team. He had originally come to our attention via the National Crime Agency, which had been conducting a proactive investigation into AI being used in the online child exploitation field. We identified Nelson, whose online persona was 'SweetDemons', to be the offender through his financial data, tracing the money his 'customers' were paying for his creations.

Nelson was jailed for over 20 years in October 2024, with the charges he pleaded guilty to including the production, distribution and possession of indecent images of children (IIoC).

What made this case particularly unique and deeply horrifying is that Nelson was using a computer programme with an AI face-transformation function within it. This turned normal everyday photographs of real children into indecent child sexual abuse imagery. He was then selling or publishing albums of those images across various chat rooms on the clean web.

The software

Ultimately, coming across new applications happens all the time and can create challenges in gaining forensic evidence. However, it is important that the digital forensic investigator uses their existing skills, knowledge and investigative mindset to locate the evidence and display this appropriately. This ensures that the bigger picture of the investigation is made clear.

In this particular case, it was the first time a GMP investigation had discovered 3D modelling software of any nature being used in such a way. Those handling the case had no hands-on experience in dealing with this type of content and the new types of forensic artefacts they would be looking for.

The software package provides a wide range of 3D assets for users to create scenes and characters. Typically, it is used for genuine purposes such as video game creation and animations. The software comes with tools that allow users to manipulate their models in several ways, including changing their posture, expressions, putting them in poses and adding animations.

In the case of Hugh Nelson, he was looking to create a model that appeared to resemble the commissioned victim as closely as possible.

Nelson's 'customers' were predominantly the fathers, uncles,

family friends or neighbours of the victims, and lived all across the globe. They would send him regular photos such as holiday or school photographs to use as the basis for the models. Before starting this venture, he did not have any graphic design or illustration experience. It shows how quickly and easily someone with no creative background is now able to create this kind of content. The emergence of AI and computer software is taking away the need to have a particular skill.

The developers at the software company assisted the investigation by signposting us to what we should be looking for in the code to determine whether an AI face transfer plugin had been used. This in turn helped us to figure out which creations originated from photographs of real children, even if we couldn't find the original image.

This investigation was very much a case of learning on the job. Investigating the software live on the platform and working with the developers was absolutely key to ensuring that we were on the right track. It is something that would be recommended should other investigators find themselves in the same position with this platform or others of a similar nature.

What will also be useful to investigators looking particularly at AI cases is grading software plugins. At GMP, we have plugins which look at Exif data – markers within a file – that allow us to find specific things in the data and image.

We know there are limitations to this method. You will not always be analysing the original version of an image so the data attached is not the data you are looking for. However, these plugins can be useful when the original data is recovered from a suspect's device.

In this case, however, the main data of importance was the chat data, through which we could derive the start point for Nelson's creations. Without this, the most important part of this investigation, the safeguarding of the real children impacted, could not have been done.

Legislation and grading

When we began investigating this case, legislation already existed to say that images which are created by AI can be graded as photographs (Categories A to C). However, it contained the following caveat.

'High-quality computer-generated indecent images/AI-generated images can pass as photographs and it is possible to prosecute on the basis of quality computer-generated images as pseudo-photographs.' (Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) guidance)

The images created by Hugh Nelson didn't reach this criteria.

They were cartoon-looking rather than images designed to look realistic and would have typically fallen into the prohibited images category.

We felt that to charge him with prohibited images offences only would have been a disservice to the victims. This is especially the case when you consider the extremity of the content and the fact that the material had a real source image of a victim at the centre.

Given this, when looking at section 7 of the Protection of Children Act 1978, specifically with regard to 'tracing' and how these can be classified as photographs:

> '(4A) References to a photograph also include—
> (a) a tracing or other image, whether made by electronic or other means (of whatever nature)—
> (i) which is not itself a photograph or pseudo-photograph, but
> (ii) which is derived from the whole or part of a photograph or pseudo-photograph (or a combination of either or both)'.

This applies to offences under section 160 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988, meaning indecent photographs of children.

During discussions with the CPS, it was agreed that criteria would be used to determine how an image is graded.

We were able to satisfy the following.

- Where we have good provenance of images (continuity of real image to final product) we should proceed with indecent photographs.
- Where there is a digital footprint or any related chat that could show that the final product was traced from another image (that we don't have) we should proceed with indecent photographs.
- Remaining images will need to be checked to satisfy that they look like photographs rather than purely computer-generated images (do not fit into the above criteria). The former should be graded as IIoC and the latter as prohibited. Therefore, cartoon-style images with no provenance linking them to a real child, or a photograph, are categorised as prohibited images.

From our investigation, we could identify 119 images we could classify as indecent rather than prohibited in terms of distribution from eight chats he was in, and 1,807 images he had made. In total 1,391 other images located on his devices still had to be classified as prohibited images as they didn't have a traceable source photograph they had derived from.

Summary

This was a landmark ruling not just for GMP but for forces nationally, as this is now stated case law. We can now say that computer-generated images, even non-realistic and cartoon-style images, which derive from real photographs of children can be charged as indecent images of children, rather than prohibited images of children.

This is significant for the grading of indecent images of children and will ultimately change the results of grading going forwards when applied against R v Nelson.

It is clear that the law still has some catching up to do when it comes to the AI space. But it is expected that some AI child sexual abuse offending – but not all – will be covered in the upcoming Crime and Policing Bill. We must continually expand our horizons to ensure we can keep track of new platforms, technology and the ways offenders continue to evolve. This is particularly the case for digital forensic investigators, whose decision-making ultimately has some of the biggest impact on these cases.

We have helped to set up a national pilot to test AI detection tools. A variety of tools in development have already been tested on existing, finalised cases, to see if they could identify whether content is AI generated or real. The results of these tests are mixed and there is still much to do to bring the evolution of these tools in line with the escalation of offending behaviour. But this could be an area which makes a positive difference to cases in the future.

While this work continues, the art of visual interpretation is still key to ensuring positive outcomes. Deepening understanding of issues such as shadow placement and alignment in photography, for example, may assist investigators in identifying where AI has been used.

Overall, roughly 98% of AI-generated child sexual abuse material is of girls (IWF, 2025). If we can successfully tackle the problem and those involved, we could go a long way towards addressing the wider issue of violence against women and girls.

References

Internet Watch Foundation. (2025). **New AI child sexual abuse laws announced following IWF campaign**. (Viewed on 7 April 2025)

Internet Watch Foundation. (2025). **Global leaders and AI developers can act now to prioritise child safety**. (Viewed on 7 April 2025)

This article was peer reviewed by Dylan Alldridge, Head of Innovation, Office of the Police Chief Scientific Advisor

LONG READ

Dressing for disorder: Examining the effect of enclothed cognition and uniform type on police officers' self-perception

Inspector Vicky Hebborn, Ops Support ◆ Norfolk Constabulary

Introduction

During the Covid-19 lockdowns, while my friends took up baking or learning a new language, I found myself enrolling on a Professional Doctorate with the University of West London, studying Policing, Crime and Security. I spent the next four years researching the impact of uniform on police officer self-perception, specifically comparing 'response' and 'public order' uniform.

Since joining Norfolk Constabulary in 2014, I have worked almost entirely in uniformed response policing. I remember the first time I went out in public in uniform. I felt that everyone must be looking at me. I felt different and was excited and proud to be visibly recognisable as a police officer.

As my career progressed, I became a Police Support Unit (PSU) officer, which requires using specialist tactics and wearing different protective uniform. PSU is not a full-time role in my force and

is something that is deployed, either pre-planned or spontaneously, to meet emerging needs.

Much like my first day in uniform, I noticed a shift in my perception of myself when I was wearing PSU kit compared to when I was wearing 'ordinary' uniform. I still felt very much like a police officer. But I felt that my purpose had shifted as a specialist, and the expectations of me were different. My doctoral research intended to explore why that perception shift was happening, and whether it was just me.

I had heard a common anecdote from sources throughout the rank and command structure: as soon as an officer dons their public order uniform, they adopt a new personality. The suggestion behind this anecdote was that the friendly, neighbourhood officer becomes a militarised, homogenous instrument as soon as they change their appearance. This assumption was, on occasion, preventing commanders from selecting a protective dress code, potentially exposing their officers to unnecessary risk. I wanted to understand whether there was any truth in this and, if there was, why it happens.

Literature review

My literature review considered both policing policy and review, and academic research. Operationally, there was very limited research or guidance regarding dress codes. 'Adapting to protest' (HMIC, 2009) and the subsequent 'Adapting to protest – nurturing the British model of policing' (HMIC, 2009:2) were two of the few to offer recommendations considering the wearing of public order uniform. They suggested the following.

> "The British model [of policing] can be easily eroded by premature displays of formidable public order protective uniform and equipment which give the perception – inadvertent or otherwise – of a hardening of the character of British policing." (HMIC, 2009)

The initial report further suggested that health and safety considerations should not overwhelm the decision-

making process of justifying deployment of officers in public order dress (HMIC, 2009). This position places public order and public safety (POPS) commanders in the difficult position of having to balance the safety of the officers they deploy with the 'character' of the policing operation. This HMIC guidance is more than 15 years old. High-profile events involving protest and disorder during 2021 and 2022 highlighted that this perspective of public perception over officer safety should be reviewed.

Academically, there was research available into uniform and behaviour. However, this was almost entirely based on people being given a uniform and told to 'imagine' they are a police officer before undertaking tasks or being asked questions about their thoughts and emotions.

There were some notable exceptions involving genuine police officers, including De Camargo, 2017; Andrews, 2023 and Simpson and Sargeant, 2023. In particular, De Camargo (2017) considered how police officer uniform can shape identity. The officers she observed expressed a challenging contradiction in wearing a 'militarised' style of uniform while being expected to undertake friendly, community-based duties. This insight was particularly relevant to my research: whether PSU officers find wearing protective kit to be at odds with delivering a community style of policing.

Original research

The theoretical framework of my research was based on a theory proposed by Adam and Galinsky (2012) called 'Enclothed Cognition'. This identifies two critical factors which must occur for clothing to have an influence on the person wearing it.

- The clothing is actually worn, not simply nearby or hypothetical
- The clothing must hold a meaning to the person wearing it

This theory was something I could test with PSU officers who sometimes find themselves deployed on a 'PSU job' in normal working uniform, with their PSU kit nearby in a van. I wanted to understand how they would feel in that situation. Would their mindset be that of a PSU officer even in 'ordinary' uniform?

I was also interested to understand more about how uniform could hold meaning. I wanted to know how this meaning might evolve as an officer becomes more experienced and has different memories of their time wearing PSU kit.

I developed two research questions which would identify whether changing uniform can

change the self-perception of the officer wearing it.

1 What do officers perceive the purpose of their role to be when wearing ordinary, or public order uniform?

2 How do officers perceive their exposure to risk when wearing ordinary, or public order uniform?

An insight into these questions would mean recommendations could be made. These would ensure that any changes to an officer's self-perception are understood and acknowledged.

To understand how officers perceive themselves, and to identify whether this changes in different uniforms, I identified three participant groups and recruited four participants per group.

- Non-PSU officers, who had never undertaken PSU training or deployment
- Novice PSU officers, who were undertaking their initial PSU training, so had limited experience of wearing their uniform in training scenarios. However, they had not been deployed to real incidents
- Experienced PSU officers, who had attended a minimum of three PSU deployments

Participants were interviewed while on duty or during training, and were wearing the uniform they would ordinarily perform their role in. Novice and experienced PSU officers were interviewed twice, once in their ordinary role and once in their PSU role.

Non-PSU officer

Interviewed once

Normal working clothing

To determine a benchmark perception of a police officer with no experience of operating in a PSU setting. The officer is either wearing operational police uniform, or civilian business wear dependent on their role.

Novice PSU officer (trained but never having deployed to a real incident)	
Interviewed twice	
Normal working clothing	**PSU uniform**
To determine that officer's self-perception in a non-PSU role.	With no operational PSU experience, this will determine the officer's self-perception based only on the change of uniform. They will not associate the uniform with a lived experience as they have yet to deploy as a PSU officer.

Experienced PSU officer (deployed to more than three PSU incidents)	
Interviewed twice	
Normal working clothing	**PSU uniform**
To determine that officer's self-perception in a non-PSU role	As an experienced PSU officer, this will determine the officer's self-perception based on enclothed cognition principles. Associating the PSU uniform with their past experiences while wearing it.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with each of the participants and asked questions around their role, things they enjoyed or disliked, and whether they felt exposed to risk or danger. Interviewing participants in the groups detailed above provided me with data from a total of 20 interviews.

I transcribed the interviews and used thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2022) to look for themes or similar topics that emerged. I then used these themes to explore how these might affect each officer's self-perception in their role.

Findings

The interviews allowed me to look for similarities and differences in how the officers perceived themselves in their ordinary role. And for those with the PSU skill, to compare whether their self-perception changed.

Research question 1: 'What do officers perceive the purpose of their role to be when wearing ordinary, or public order uniform?'

Participants perceived the primary purpose of their role to be protecting the public from harm. This was easier to achieve when officers were working in dedicated community roles, however the concept of public protection was a universal theme across all roles. Officers highlighted that safeguarding was always at the forefront of their minds, acknowledging that the concept of safeguarding is woven into all elements of policing and training.

> PSU officers felt that they understood their purpose more in PSU than when performing their daily role.

Participants experienced a shift in their self-perception when performing a PSU role in comparison to their normal daily role. Although participants acknowledged protecting the public as a priority, PSU officers also indicated that they perceive themselves to be a tactical option to respond to significant violence or disorder.

PSU officers felt that they understood their purpose more in PSU than when performing their daily role. Officers felt that their daily roles required them to respond to such an array of events that their purpose could vary greatly from one job to the next, whereas in PSU, their purpose felt clearer.

PSU officers felt conflicted when deployed on a 'PSU job' while

> PSU officers saw their PSU kit as being representative of a level of training that enhanced their confidence in their colleagues.

wearing their ordinary uniform. Officers described the challenge of understanding why, if the risk was sufficient to deploy a PSU, they would not be dressed in such a way to use their protective and tactical kit. This supported Adam and Galinsky's (2012) first principle of Enclothed Cognition. This finding is particularly relevant to commanders when considering deploying PSU trained officers but not requiring a PSU dress code, as officers may feel unclear on their purpose.

Research question 2: "How do officers perceive their exposure to risk when wearing ordinary, or public order uniform?"

Officers perceived risk to be a part of policing and accepted low-level injury to be an unfortunate byproduct of their role. They regarded their uniform as an enhancement to their safety and felt more confident engaging in dangerous situations when wearing protective kit.

This confidence is built up through experience in training, where PSU officers described being subject to high-end aggression, such as being attacked by missiles and petrol. PSU officers stated they have full confidence in their protective uniform because they have tested it in this way. PSU officers additionally saw their PSU kit as being representative of a level of training that enhanced their confidence in their colleagues. An example of this is as follows.

> "I know their skills are up to scratch and I know mine are as well, so I know I've got that trust in that person. I may not know them in any other way, but I know that they're going to be on my shoulder and supporting me, protecting me when I need it and vice versa." (Participant 11)

Participants felt most at risk when performing their ordinary daily role and attributed this perception to the unpredictability of the role, more limited protection from their uniform and the likelihood of being the only officer attending an incident. PSU officers conversely felt relatively safe when undertaking

their role owing to their protective clothing, the presence of additional colleagues and there being a degree of predictability at an incident.

The research can be summarised into four prominent findings.

1. Regardless of the role they are performing, police officers felt that their primary purpose was to protect the community.

2. Participants retained most readily the things that they are repeatedly taught. Overwhelmingly this related to safeguarding but was also demonstrated by PSU officers' association of the PSU role with high levels of violence.

3. PSU officers did not feel that their specialist skills were used appropriately and were not used as well as they should be.

4. Participants demonstrated that they felt most at risk when performing their normal daily role.

Recommendations

It was always my intention for this research to be practical and applicable to policing, and not just an academic endeavour that would sit on a shelf. As such, this research will contribute to the policing of public order incidents in three distinct ways.

1. Development of public order training

The research demonstrated that officers retain the messages they are taught most frequently. If PSU training focuses entirely on 'high-end' scenarios, this means reinforcing the notion that wearing PSU kit is only something you do when you are about to encounter significant disorder. This research demonstrates the importance of building 'low-level' scenarios into training where officers are wearing PSU uniform and working in a community-focused way, such as engaging with protestors or escorting a jubilant crowd.

2. Informing commander decision making

The research demonstrated that officer dress code does affect the mindset of PSU officers. They understand that they are being deployed as a specialist tactical option. Officers do, however, still consider themselves to be community focused and their purpose is to protect the public. Commanders should therefore consider their dress code decisions based on the risk to officers, and the reason they are deploying PSU assets.

3. Influencing the way public order officers are briefed prior to deployment

Effective briefing of officers is integral to ensuring the right style and tone of a policing operation. PSU officers understand whether their role is one of engagement or enforcement as long as this is communicated to them. By wearing PSU kit, officers will retain tactical training and understand that their specialist skills are being used, even in operations that do not lead to significant disorder.

These recommendations support deploying officers in a public order dress code at the earliest stages of an operation, confident in the knowledge that officers will engage with the community and be 'human' even when wearing PSU kit. The research therefore provides an opportunity for commanders to consider officer safety outside of the restraints of Adapting to protest (HMIC, 2009).

Developments

Within Norfolk Constabulary, my research has contributed towards threat and risk assessments in discussion with POPS commanders. I have demonstrated the value of deploying officers in PSU kit to non-disorder incidents, and have influenced decisions on occasions where commanders were unsure of the most suitable dress codes.

In a public order training environment, the operational support unit have developed scenario-based training that requires officers deployed in PSU uniform to police peaceful, low-level events that do not escalate into disorder. Debrief and discussion with officers following training scenarios has also highlighted the specific public order skills they have used, including cordons and tactical communication, to reinforce the fact that skilled PSU deployments do not inevitably lead to disorder.

In addition to public order, I have worked with other teams in the force to review uniform and dress code, particularly for officers who change uniform to perform in a specialist role, in a similar way to PSU officers. This has included working with proactive teams who may deploy in uniform or plain clothes.

By providing an overview of enclothed cognition I have been able to support officers and commanders to understand why they are asked to wear certain things. It has also helped them to recognise the influence this uniform might have on their own behaviour and self-perception.

My research findings have been shared with the College of Policing. As a result, I was asked to present at the public and personal safety training (PPST) conference in relation to wearing patrol uniform to undertake PPST. This led to thought-provoking conversation regarding both enclothed

cognition and other clothing-related learning. This included the practical and physical muscle memory of understanding the location of kit and how to access it when required.

To access more materials on this subject, become a member of the **National Police Library**. Membership is available to all serving UK police officers and staff.

References

Adam H and Galinsky AD. (2012). Enclothed cognition. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, volume 48(4), pages 918-925

Andrews T. (2024). **The superhero effect: How enclothed cognition can impact on the perceptions and actions of serving UK police officers** (OpenAthens account registration required). The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles, volume 97(3), pages 417-434

Braun V and Clarke V. (2022). 'Thematic Analysis, a practical guide'. London: Sage

De Camargo C. (2017). A uniform not uniform: an ethnography of police clothing, performance, gender and subculture in neighbourhood policing. Salford: University of Salford

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. (2009). **Adapting to protest** [online]. London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. [Accessed 14 April 2025]

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. (2009) (2). **Adapting to protest – nurturing the British model of policing** [online]. London: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. [Accessed 14 April 2025]

Simpson R and Sargeant E. (2023). **Connecting officer appearance with officer safety: a survey of police officers' perceptions of uniforms and accoutrements** (OpenAthens account registration required). In: Farmer C and Evans R. (eds.), 'Policing & firearms: New perspectives and insights. Cham: Springer, pages 385-403

This article was peer reviewed by Alistair Price, Lead Public and Personal Safety Trainer, Avon and Somerset Police

Q&A

**Detective Inspector James Bird (JB), Change Manager,
Trustee of the Police National Dyslexia Association
Assistant Chief Constable Matt Welsted (MW) ◆ West Midlands Police**

Introduction

As the demands in policing evolve, the wider value of neurodivergent leaders who excel in creativity, adaptability and big picture vision has never been more relevant.

I spoke with Assistant Chief Constable (ACC) Matt Welsted, National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) lead for neurodiversity. His insight offers a valuable perspective for current and aspiring leaders, as well as for organisations seeking to better understand and support neurodivergent talent.

Dyslexia in senior leadership

JB: Can you share how dyslexia has influenced your career progression and leadership style?

MW: The first thing to highlight is that I didn't know I was dyslexic until well into my policing career. I always knew there was something different about the way I thought. But I didn't go through the process of diagnosis until I was in my 40s when I hit the barrier of the senior executive selection process.

I've always known what I'm good at and what challenges I face. My neurodivergence has given me the ability to think differently and find solutions to challenges in ways that have proven to be successful. It's given me insights that make me stand out from those around me,

and I've been fortunate enough to leverage those strengths to succeed in various promotion processes. It's fair to say, though, that I've also been unsuccessful at promotion processes. I'm sure I've failed more than I've passed, which is amusing to admit as an ACC.

Leadership is about working through others. I have found that being honest and transparent about both my strengths and weakness, and being human, has often helped me build powerful teams around me. These teams, and what we achieve together, are the real secret of success in policing.

JB: Why do you think it's essential to have more neurodiverse leaders at the table? And what impact can this have on policing?

MW: It's essential for two reasons. Firstly, our ranks are full of neurodivergent people, and it is important that they see themselves in their leaders. We need people who are already in our ranks to declare they are different, whatever that characteristic is, as getting our data right is one of the most important pieces for policing. Additionally, seeing leaders being open about their differences will give others the confidence to recognise that they are not unusual in this environment and policing is a home for them.

Secondly, it's around the skills neurodivergent people can bring to policing. We need innovators, problem solvers, fabulously inspiring people, people that are great at collaborating, people that can visualise solutions and have the resilience to drive forward and turn that idea into a reality. I believe these are the strengths of neurodivergent people.

Compartmentalising the challenges

JB: Dyslexia often comes with unique skills like strategic thinking and resilience. How can officers and staff harness these strengths?

MW: Just look at the challenges that we face in policing. It's a hugely rewarding and meaningful job, but we all have tough days and weeks, sometimes longer, because of the sorts of challenges that we face. So, resilience is one of those key strengths.

Personally, I've always enjoyed the ability to compartmentalise the challenges that I've been facing and benefited from good support from my family and colleagues. It's that combination of support networks along with how I process information and challenges, which has given me the resilience to work through those dark days and make hay while the sun shines.

Policing has got plenty of problems and there are loads of things that we could do better. We need innovators. The resilient and tenacious people

who will try things, who can visualise solutions, who can have that personal confidence to keep going because they know that there is an answer there somewhere. When we look at some of the key advancements in policing, as well as society, there's very often neurodivergent people in and around that innovation.

Everyone is an individual

JB: What challenges has it presented at the level that you are at? How have you overcome them?

MW: I have to be realistic about the things that I do find difficult. The most obvious is a combination of the volume of reading and written work that is involved in being an ACC. Also, certainly more relevant now, the environments that I work in. This is of course my experience but someone else's neurodivergence may manifest in very different challenges. Please don't make the mistake of assuming all dyslexic people are the same.

I'm dyslexic but have strong ADHD tendencies. That intersectionality, the combination of the differences, manifests itself in certain strengths and weaknesses that might not be the same as someone else who is also dyslexic and has slightly different challenges. We must recognise that everyone is an individual and that individual nature of us is only exasperated by being neurodivergent.

When it comes to reading, I use a lot of text-to-speech technology and try to understand what the product is, and what I want to get out of it before I spend time processing it.

I also confess that I'm easily distracted. It's very hard for me to concentrate on things like written work, either writing or reading in busy, noisy environments. I therefore try and pick and choose where I work and what I work on at various times and locations. Of course, policing does not always allow this. But knowing that I work better in the right environment has helped me a lot over the years.

The point I want to make is that often, small changes have made a significant difference. So a little self-awareness and knowledge, and often small adjustments in the workplace and you can minimise the challenges, so that the strengths you bring can be unlocked.

Share your experiences

JB: Are there any particular strategies or resources you recommend for dyslexic officers and staff looking to develop their leadership skills?

MW: Absolutely. Firstly, take advantage of your force's neurodiversity support network. Nearly every force has one, and they're invaluable resources. By joining, you can connect with other neurodivergent individuals, learn from their coping strategies and share

your own experiences. When you discover effective methods, become an advocate. Help others by sharing how you maximise your strengths and overcome challenges.

Secondly, explore positive online resources. Websites like 'Made by Dyslexia' offer inspiration and practical examples to try. These resources can provide valuable insights and strategies tailored to neurodivergent individuals in professional settings.

Finally, don't hesitate to initiate conversations with your line manager and HR department. Many forces offer support that you might not be aware of, such as coaching, courses and assistive technology. These resources can help mitigate challenges and unlock your full potential. Remember, if you don't ask, you won't know what's available to support your neurodivergent journey in policing and unleash your potential.

From isolated to indispensable

JB: Have you faced any misconceptions about dyslexia as you progress through your career? How did you address it?

MW: Absolutely, although things have got significantly better, certainly over the last decade. I think as society starts to understand neurodivergence a lot more, policing explicitly starts to realise that people who are different add value. When I first joined, anybody who was different, particularly anybody who was overtly neurodivergent, was quite honestly isolated and criticised. It was the culture at the time, but that was 28 years ago.

There's a lot of people who know that they're neurodivergent who won't talk about it. It's frustrating because if they would talk about it, it will help us all realise just how widespread in policing neurodivergence is. That's one of my key things I want to encourage. I want people to talk about being different.

There is still a lot of misunderstanding and even fear of talking about being neurodivergent and I want this to change. The sooner policing realises that we have a significant proportion of people who are neurodivergent already in our organisation, the faster it will change, and that can only be a good thing. Not least in improving the service we deliver to our communities, which of course also includes a significant number of people who are neurodivergent.

Information is power

JB: What advice would you give to dyslexic officers and staff members who may doubt their leadership potential because of their dyslexia?

MW: There's no reason anybody should doubt their leadership

potential just because they're dyslexic. Lots of people want to be leaders and might not necessarily have those leadership skills. This is true whether they are neurodivergent or not.

However, I believe many neurodivergent individuals have great leadership potential if they confront their challenges and work with their organisation to get the support they need. Unfortunately, too many people suspect they might be neurodivergent but hesitate to get assessed or discuss it. Others who know they're neurodivergent either choose not to disclose it or are unsure how to do so. My advice is simple: information is power.

Getting assessed is valuable because knowing you are dyslexic, autistic or have any neurodivergent traits helps you understand your strengths and address your challenges more effectively. It provides you with the language to describe your experiences and opens doors to opportunities, support and growth.

So, my advice is this: work to maximise what you are good at. Understand who you are. If that aligns with leadership skills, then you should have no fear whatsoever to pursue this goal. Demonstrate what you are really good at and be proud of your strengths.

JB: What should non-neurodivergent/neurotypical senior leaders understand about dyslexia and neurodivergence, to better support their colleagues and create that inclusive culture?

MW: I don't expect anyone to be an expert in any neurodivergent condition. Very rarely is somebody 'just' dyslexic; they often have overlapping conditions. That's normal. They're lifelong, they haven't caught it. It's not something that they did. They've always been neurodivergent, and they always will be.

It's important that we don't label people, but we see the individual that's in front of us. Ask them. Talk to them about what they're good at, what challenges they face and work together to maximise their strengths. Individuals learn more about themselves and develop strategies to improve themselves, deal with the things they find more difficult and unlock the things they are good at. It's normal for the support that they need to change over time.

Often, I speak to officers and staff that have only gone through the realisation process that they are neurodivergent because they've seen it in their children. They've invested in their children being diagnosed and through that diagnosis they've sat there going 'they could be talking about me there'. Knowing that they're supported, and that people understand that they might also be

going through things at home, is equally important.

Strength in numbers

JB: As the NPCC lead for neurodiversity, how do you see the future of neurodiverse leadership in policing developing?

MW: I'm really encouraged because of the progress that's been made over the last decade or so in understanding neurodivergence. We might not have as many people as I would like declare that they are neurodivergent, but our ranks are full of neurodivergent people. If anybody doubts that, have a look around and you'll see that policing is a home for people who think a little bit differently and who have those neurodivergent traits and skills. We are already filled with people in leadership roles and specialisms who are neurodivergent. Neurodivergence is probably our second biggest cohort of people outside of gender. It's so abundant within policing that if we had the data there, we ourselves would see things very differently.

I am an optimist, of course. I believe all problems are solvable with the right people in the right roles and with the right skill set. Neurodivergent people bring a lot of those skills to the table, and I think we can solve once and for all some of those significant challenges that we face in policing today. Leaders in policing are coming to realise that neurodivergent people, when given the right support, add significant value. They are helping policing become more effective, more efficient and more inclusive.

JB: What do you hope your work as the NPCC neurodiversity lead will achieve for the next generation of officers?

MW: If I can help the next generation of officers join policing because they know that it is a fabulous career for neurodivergent people, and that it is normal in policing for people to be neurodivergent, I think my role here will have been done.

Everything I'm trying to do across the various work streams that we're working on is about helping policing be a home that embraces people who are different and maximises their potential.

Find out more

The Police National Dyslexia Association (PNDA – affectionately known as Panda) is a privately run association comprising of UK police officers and staff. Its aim is to support police colleagues with dyslexia and other neurodivergent conditions in the workplace and in their day-to-day lives.

For support, please take a look at **Oscar Kilo**, the National Police Wellbeing Service.

BOOK REVIEW

Predictive Policing and Artificial Intelligence – more relevant today than in 2021

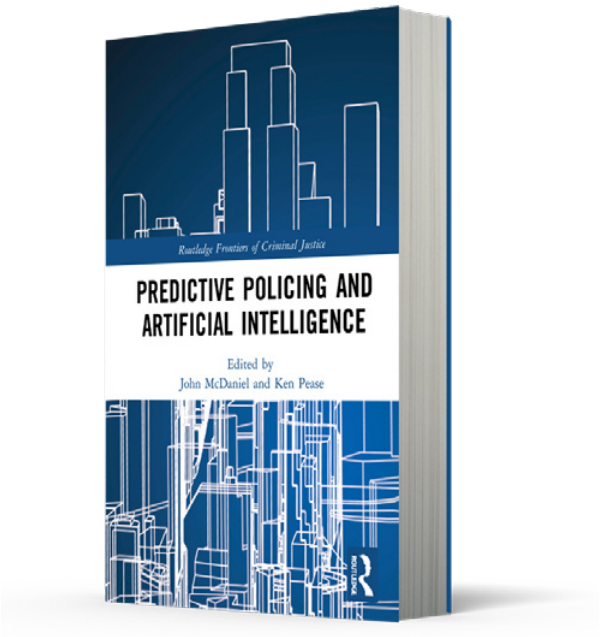
Temporary Superintendent Lewis Lincoln-Gordon, NPCC AI Portfolio Coordinator ◆ West Mercia Police

When I was asked to review 'Predictive Policing and Artificial Intelligence', published in 2021, before the release of OpenAI's ChatGPT in 2022, I mused to myself whether it would be similar to conducting a review of the printing press while sat behind my MacBook Pro (other computers are available). But I could not have been more wrong.

Prominent criminologists Ken Pease and John McDaniel have brought together a diverse set of experts. They have delivered a wonderful mix of theoretical and practical tips for policing to consider as we wrangle with the best ways to deliver AI technologies.

A balanced, thoughtful exploration of AI in policing

Broken into separate chapters considering different technical or ethical aspects of AI in policing, the book delves into how AI and predictive algorithms are reshaping policing, drawing on experiences from the UK, US and Australia. It offers a nuanced analysis of AI's potential to enhance policing while addressing ethical and operational challenges.



The editors balance optimism about AI's capabilities with caution about its responsible implementation.

Bias and Big Data – harnessing AI's potential

Part I, 'Bias and Big Data', explores how AI can revolutionise policing by improving analysis and predictive capabilities. It introduces concepts like machine learning, neural networks and risk assessment models within criminology. A key chapter, written by Pease and McDaniel, discusses choice architecture – how AI tooling will increasingly influence police decision-making. The authors emphasise that

AI must be implemented thoughtfully to avoid reinforcing historical biases in crime data. Part I largely presents AI as a tool that can enhance policing effectiveness if designed responsibly.

Ensuring accountability and public trust

Part II, 'Police Accountability and Human Rights', focuses on the importance of governance and considering ethical concerns. The book poses crucial questions about transparency in AI decision-making and accountability for AI-driven outcomes.

There is a standout chapter, written by Dr Alexander Babuta, Director of the Centre for Emerging Technology and Security and Honorary Lecturer at University College London, and Professor Marion Oswald, Professor of Law at Northumbria University and Senior Research Associate at the Alan Turing Institute. It deconstructs machine learning and its applications in policing, making recommendations for governance and oversight. Part II is an excellent reference point for anyone involved in the deployment of AI tooling, particularly those who support predictive policing or decision-making.

An essential read

Despite its academic focus, the book is largely digestible, offering valuable insights for police leaders, data scientists, policy makers and practitioners. Each chapter stands alone yet forms a cohesive narrative that is both thought-provoking and practical.

While it definitely is not a light bedtime read, it is an impressive collation of some of the world's most prominent thinkers on data-driven technologies in policing. If I was to read it again, I would focus on the introduction and pick key chapters of interest, taking my time with each chapter. Alternatively, it could be used as a reference book to support, for example, those charged with setting up a data or AI ethics forum where chapters from Part II would be incredibly helpful.

Fundamentally, 'Predictive Policing and Artificial Intelligence' points the reader towards how transformative AI will be for policing. This is a transformation that requires intentional, responsive and thoughtful oversight and governance. This in turn will deliver both better outcomes for the public and enhanced confidence in our service.

To access the online e-book, become a member of the **National Police Library**. Membership is available to all serving UK police officers and staff.

This article was peer reviewed by Russell Holloway, Solutions Architect, British Transport Police

With thanks to

Editorial board members

Deputy Chief Constable Katy Barrow-Grint, Editor-in-Chief, Gloucestershire Constabulary

Chief Inspector Caroline Hay MBE, City of London Police
Chief Superintendent Dr Phil Davies, Greater Manchester Police
Detective Constable James Dainton, Police Scotland
Detective Inspector Upile Mtitmila, Cheshire Constabulary
Detective Sergeant Jag Singh, Leicestershire Police
Detective Sergeant Keri Alldritt, Greater Manchester Police, NPCC
Detective Sergeant Maddie deBuse, Thames Valley Police
Dr Nichola Rew, Senior Analyst, City of London Police
Inspector Michael Richards, Metropolitan Police
Julia Morris, Interim Head of Research, Analysis and Knowledge Sharing, College of Policing
Nicola Macgregor, Senior Policy Advisor for Frontline Policing, College of Policing
Temporary Detective Inspector Dom Yelling, Surrey Police

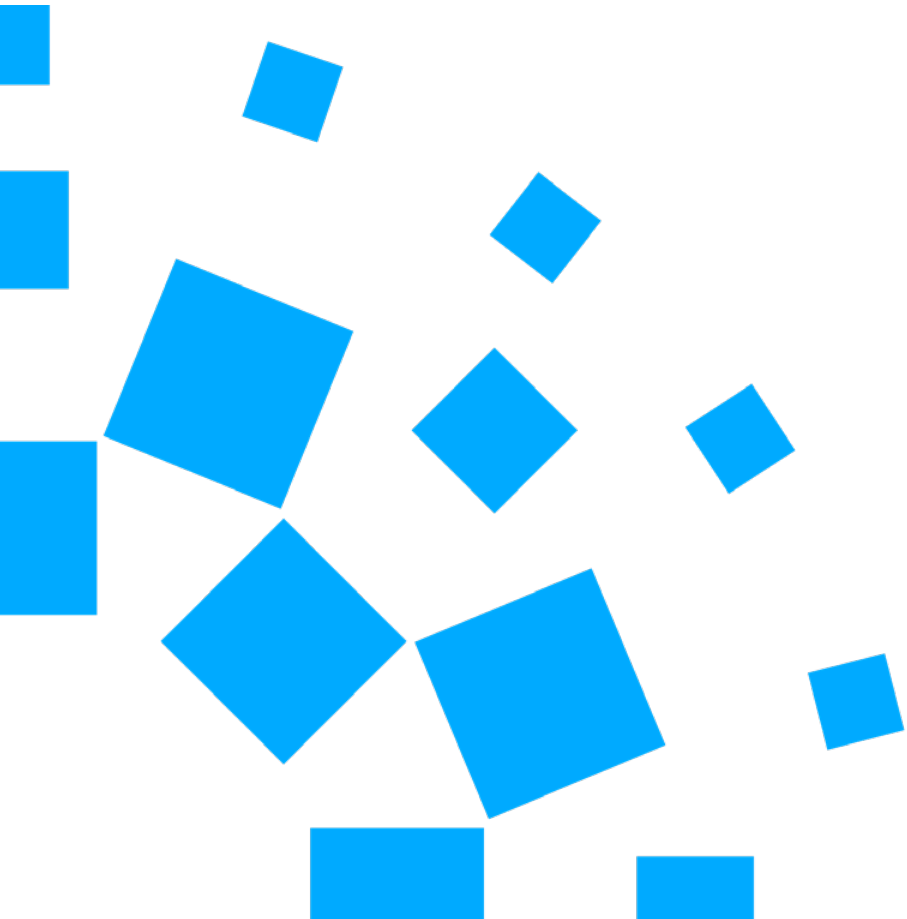
About the College

We're the professional body for the police service in England and Wales.

Working together with everyone in policing, we share the skills and knowledge officers and staff need to prevent crime and keep people safe.

We set the standards in policing to build and preserve public trust and we help those in policing develop the expertise needed to meet the demands of today and prepare for the challenges of the future.

college.police.uk



Follow us
@CollegeofPolice

C1686-0525