

Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes

in a Changing Britain

Physical safety and security: policies, spending and outcomes

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Overview I

Part of a broader research programme **Social Policies and Distributional Outcomes**, which builds on previous CASE policy analysis going back to 1997.

This paper focuses on more recent period 2015- though we discuss the inheritance up to this point.

SPDO main question: What progress has been made in addressing social inequalities through social policies?

Analysis across ten policy areas. Our framework for analysis:

- Inheritance
- Goals
- Policies
- Resources
- Inputs and outputs
- Outcomes

Overview II

This paper applies this broader question of addressing inequalities through policies specifically in relation to physical safety and security policies

Focussing on five key areas:

1. Interpersonal violence
2. The prison system
3. Hate crime
4. Race and the criminal justice system
5. Violence against women and girls

Inheritance

Social Policy, Safety and Security, Inequality



Inheritance and context I

Focus on criminal justice

But recognition of broader context: other social policy areas; third sector; private sector

Shifting policy salience:

Pre 1980s: rising crime, stable policy salience

1980s –mid 1990s: rising crime, rising policy salience

Mid 1990s-mid 2000's: declining crime, sustained policy salience

Mid 2000s to present: stable crime, lower policy salience

'Governing through crime' and 'overcriminalization'

(NB problems of measurement: formal versus substantive:

Halsbury – offences created 1989-2008 take up 2.5 times the space of those in previous 637 yrs: Law Commission 2010)

The preventive turn

Inheritance and context II

- Key contextual factors 2015-20:
 - Brexit
 - Austerity (and the relation between the two, in both directions...)
 - Fragmentation of the policy field
 - Inherent ambivalence of safety and security policy from the point of view of equality
- *Challenge: to identify manageable baselines/indicators given scale of field, interdependence with other policy areas (notably mental health, welfare and housing) and lack of previous chapter...*

Policy goals

Goals

Key overlapping themes from Party manifestos 2015, 2017

- Terrorism and an envisaged increase in preventive orders
- Domestic violence, FGM
- Improving the efficiency of the penal system (both prison and community sentences)
- Reviewing operation of law on hate crime
- Relatively low presence, especially in 2017

Policies: ambitions and realities

Policies – interpersonal violence

Serious Violence Strategy 2018

- £11M early intervention investment fund
- National County Lines Co-ordination Centre
 - (but - nbb - 400+ local authorities to share this investment...)
 -
- Multi-agency coordination
- Glasgow model: public health approach extended to London and West Midlands
- Calls for enhanced sentences e.g. for possession of knives

Policies – the prison system

2016 Ministry of Justice Prison Safety and Reform Review

- Promising
 - a clearer legal framework for prison standards
 - better training for staff
 - clearer powers for governors
- But...
- Continuing problems exposed by successive Prison Inspectorate Reports
- Unrest, violence, overcrowding, and poor conditions
- Racial disproportionality (in exposure to high security regimes and representation as a whole: e.g. young black people 9x more likely to be in prison; BME as proportion of young offenders rose from 25% in 2006 to 41% in 2017 (Lammy Review) and 51% last year (see below).
- Mental ill health and impact of multiple disadvantages typical of prison population

Policies – hate crime

2016, 2018 Home Office Action Plans on Hate Crime

- Legal and sentencing framework: Crime and Disorder Act 1998, offences aggravated by racial hatred; extended in 2001 to religion
- LGBT Action Plan on homophobic abuse
 - Law Commission has just launched a comprehensive reassessment of the adequacy of the law on aggravated offences: definition and option of extending scope to e.g. sexual orientation, disability, transgender status

Owusu-Bempah and colleagues (2017) multi-method report on Hate Crime and the Legal Process, addressing problems of proof and process and setting out options for reform.

Policies – race and the CJS

The Lammy Review 2017

- Widespread racial disproportionality in criminal justice processes and outcomes, notably in terms of stop and search (BAME 3x as likely to be stopped and searched; Black men 6x more likely to be stopped; prison population; use of joint enterprise law).
- Widespread distrust in the CJS and in lawyers on the part of BAME suspects and defendants, leading to phenomena such as low rates of guilty pleas, leading in turn to disproportionality in sentencing
- Recommendations for better coordination, greater monitoring and transparency; more imaginative use of Modern Slavery legislation
- Positive response by Government
- Commitment to regular race equality audits (though NB data issues)
- Ministry of Justice to have dedicated team to follow up (but cf. Resources, below...)

Policies – violence against women and girls I

Legislative and policy developments

- Serious Crime Act 2015 s. 76, new offence of coercive or controlling behaviour in relation to someone with whom D is personally connected and which has a serious effect on them, maximum penalty 5 years (Challen case)
- Criminalisation of 'revenge pornography' in CJ and Courts Act 2015 s. 33, maximum penalty 2 years.
- Ratification of Istanbul Convention on Combating Violence against Women and Girls 2017

Policies – violence against women and girls II

Legislative and policy developments

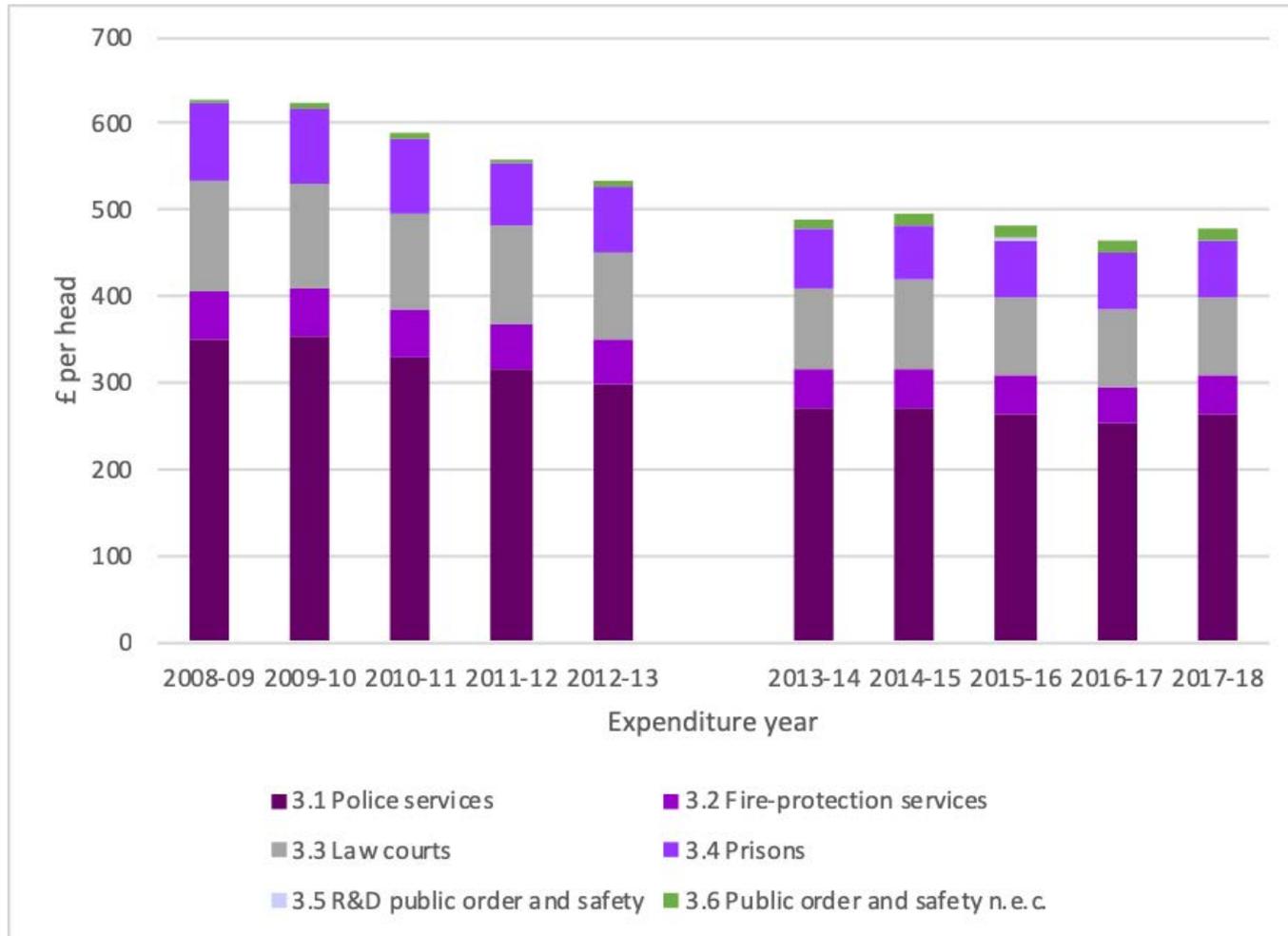
- Home Office Consultation 2017 followed by Domestic Abuse Bill 2019: definition of DA; appointment of Commissioner to oversee issue; DA protection orders compelling offenders to take rehabilitation programmes
- New strategy envisages a holistic, 'whole system' approach, with a special fund of £1m for pilots in 6 local areas
- Multi-agency cooperation at local level
- NBB – resources (below): £20 M extra for DV initiatives in Spring 2017 budget

(ie a combination of criminalisation plus institutional strategy and reparative goals)

Resources

Resources - overall spending has decreased

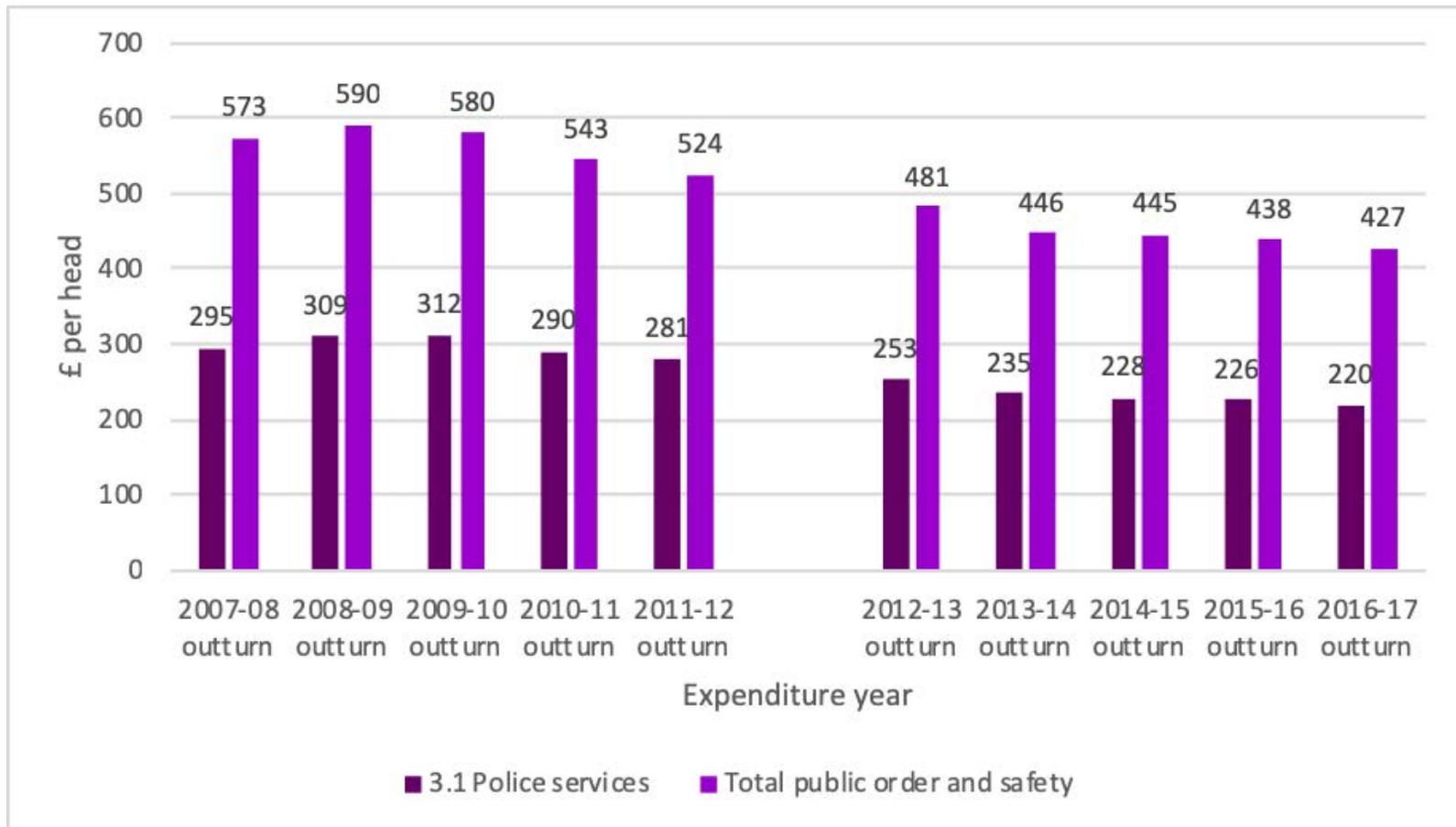
Expenditure per capita on public order and safety in the UK, in 2017/18 prices



Source: PESA Note: trends are only comparable within, but not across the two periods.

Resources - reduced spending on police services

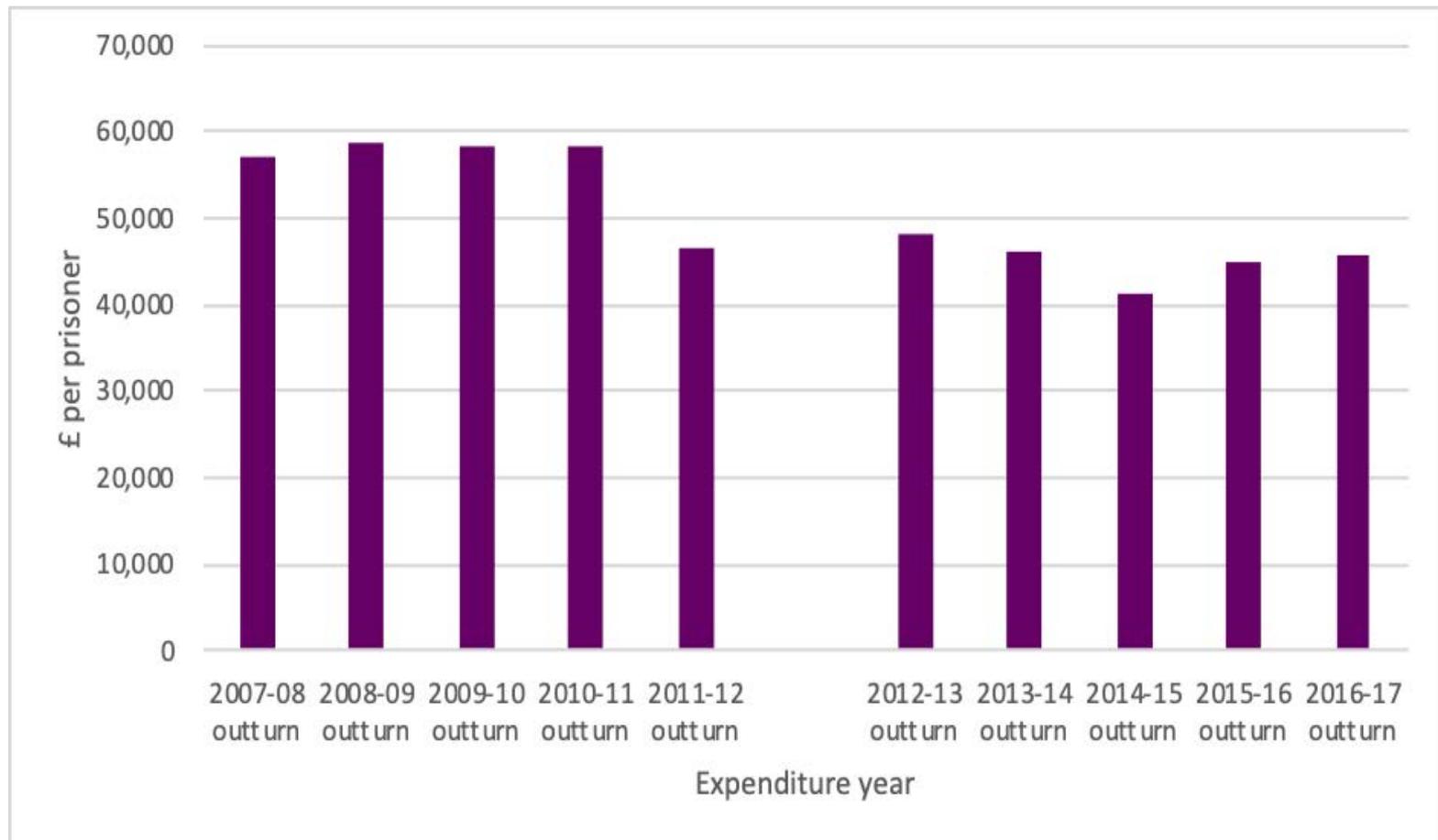
Expenditure per capita on police services in England, in 2017/18 prices



Source: PESA Note: trends are only comparable within, but not across the two periods.

Resources - expenditure on prisons has recovered slightly but still below 2007/08 levels

Expenditure on prisons in England and Wales, per prisoner, in 2017/18 prices



Source: PESA Note: trends are only comparable within, but not across the two periods.

Resources – funding for women's refuges

Despite additional funding committed to gov's VAWG strategy

- Not all local authorities benefited from this funding and where they did there was huge variation in the amount of funding per head from **£3.52 per woman in Cumbria to 11p in Kent**
- Since 2010 local authorities across England have **cut funding of women's refuges by 24%** with poorer areas being worse affected

In addition to ring-fenced VAWG funding in Spring 2017 budget the Government announced additional £20m over two years for services addressing domestic violence

- But **Women's Budget Group (2018)** caution this is still not sufficient to meet the level of need and by limiting it to two years is 'creating a 'cliff edge' that threatens the ongoing sustainability of services'
- Research published alongside 2019 Bill estimates costs of domestic abuse at £66m pa

Resources – context of wider funding cuts

- **MOJ predicted to lose over 40%** of its budget in the period 2010/11-2019/20 (Emmerson and Pope, 2017)
- Around **30% cuts in budget for Local Government and Communities** affecting goods and services, preventive work
- **Public health funding cuts** identified as constraining factor in taking a public health approach to knife crime (Grimshaw and Ford, 2018)
- **£400m reduction in funding for youth services 2010-2019**
 - closure of 160 youth centres and loss of around 900 youth workers; evidence cuts in both public and voluntary sector greatest in areas of greatest disadvantage (Jones et al 2015): *Turning the Tide* reported fall of £1.4bn in local authority spending on early intervention schemes from 2010/11 2015-6
- Cuts across different domains likely to overlap in their effect on disadvantaged groups

Inputs and outputs

Inputs and outputs – now fewer police officers than in late 90's

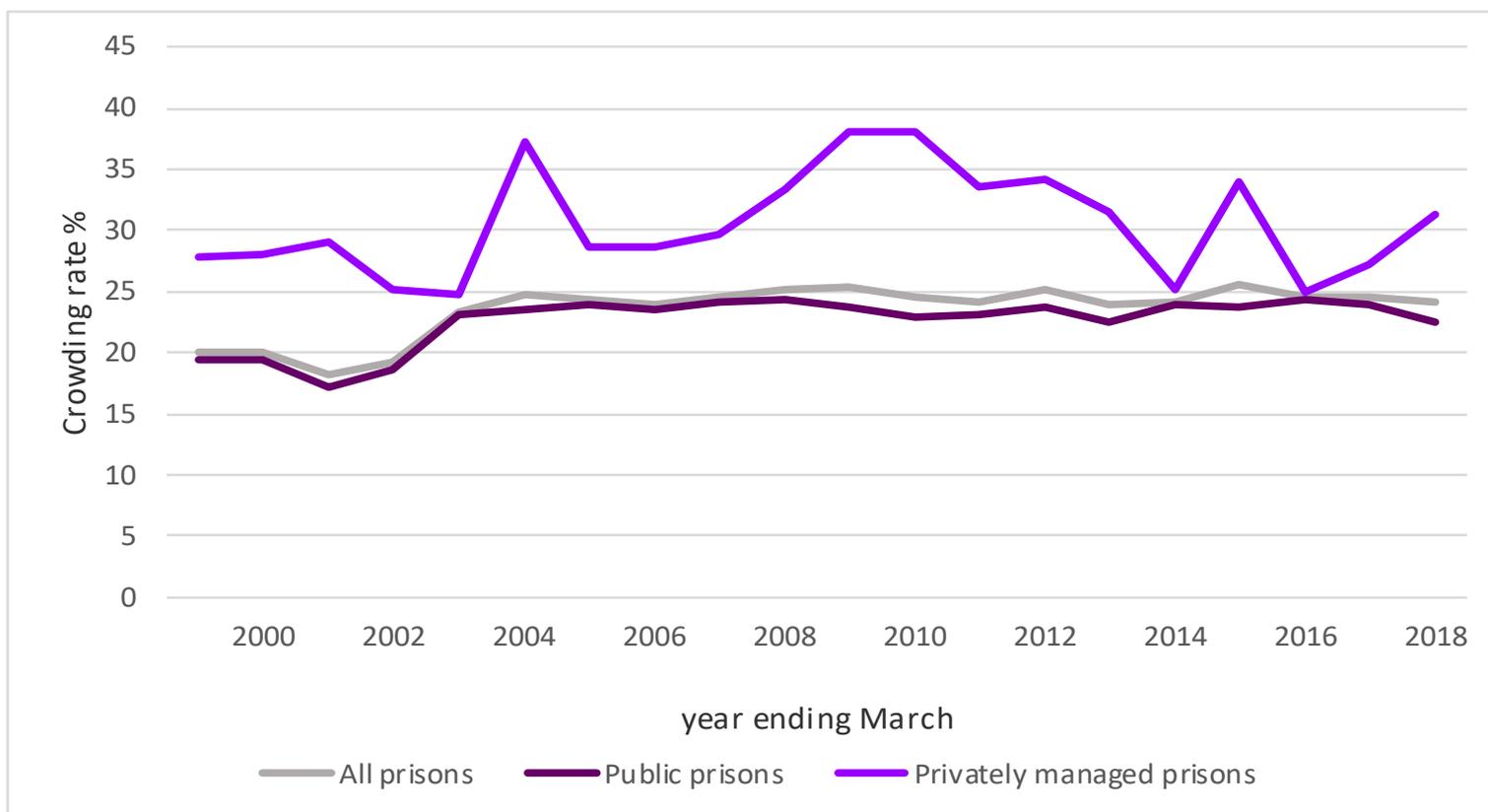
- **Inputs:** Entire police force reduced by 18% between 2010-2018, and no. of community support officers fell by 40% (Institute for Government, 2018). National crisis in shortage of investigators (HMICFRS, 2018).
- Difficult to assess how this translates into **outputs** – no complete data on how police spend their time and activities have changed over time e.g. cyber crime, mental health (in context of cuts)
- Clear up rates have remained stable but not clear whether would have continued to improve (Disney and Simpson, 2017)
- Number of days taken to charge an offence has increased
- Met police internal guidance to focus on more serious incidents
- Decline in victim satisfaction, staff morale, increase in long-term sick leave (Institute for Government, 2018).
- Senior police officers, Police and Crime Commissioners and others link reduction in officers to rise in knife crime though disputed. Some evidence increase in police related to reductions in crime (Draca, Machin and Witt, 2011)

Inputs and outputs – prisons

- In Summer of 2018 prison population was 82,867 – highest imprisonment rate (alongside Scotland) in Western Europe and above official capacity (75,859) (World Prison Brief).
- **Inputs:** Reduction in staff to deal with cuts – decrease of 21% in real terms spending on prison staff between 2012/13 – 2016/17.
- Since March 2017 no. of prisoner officers increased but still below 2009/10 levels
- Retention of prison staff low, experience levels have decreased (Institute for Government, 2018)
- **Outputs:** Inspectorate reports reflecting continuing problems, e.g. recent report on Bedford
- Rehabilitative activities - Fewer prisoners completing accredited courses –declined by 22% since 2014/15. Also decline in the number of academic qualifications achieved by prisoners (Institute for Government, 2018)
- Increasing racial disproportion of BAME young male prisoners, now 51% of the relevant prison population (*Children in Custody* HM Prisons Insp. 2018).

Inputs and outputs – prisons - overcrowding

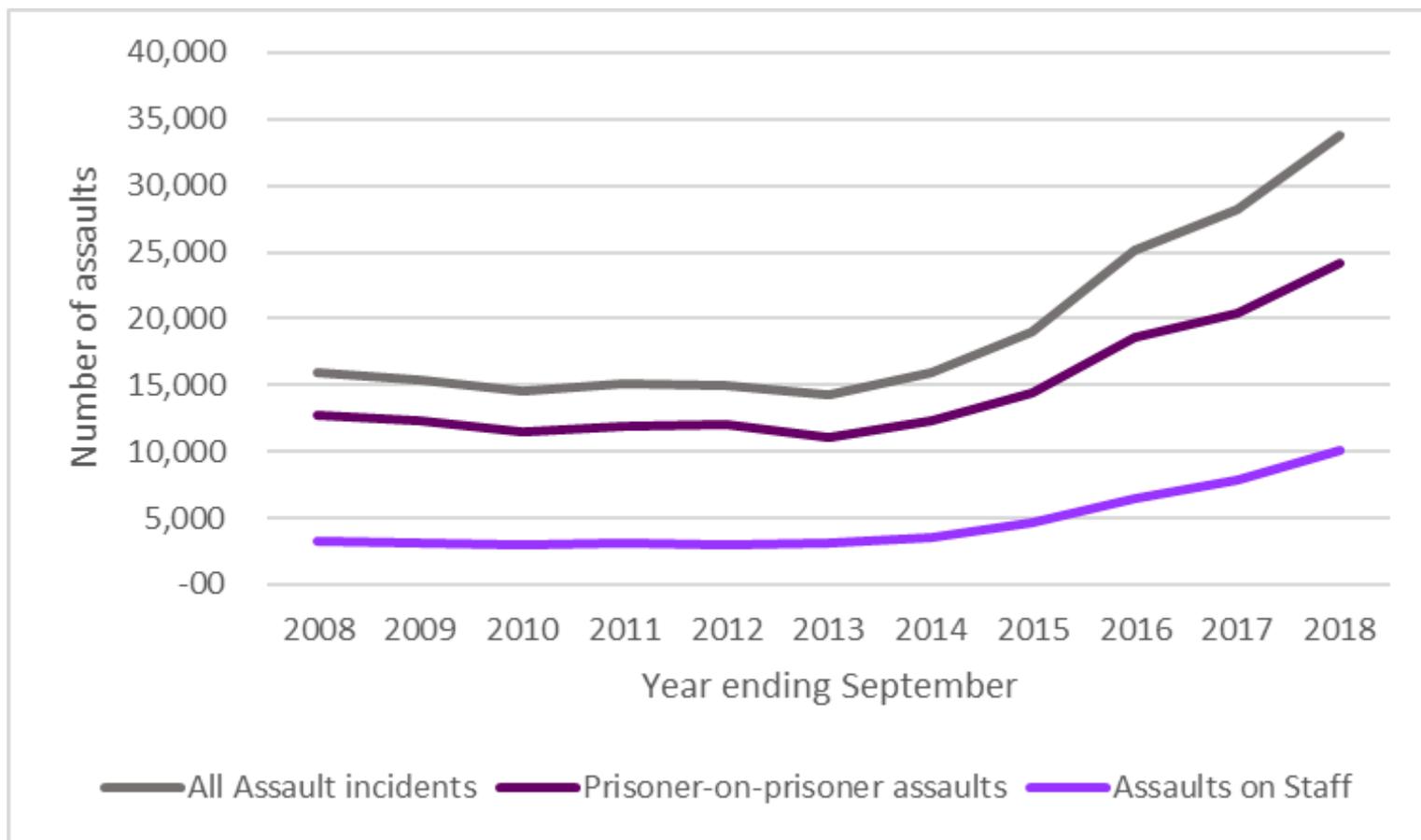
Percentage of prisoners held in crowded conditions in England and Wales across Public and Privately managed



Source: MOJ, (2018e) HMPPS Annual Digest 2017/18 Statistical Bulletin, Table 2.2. Chapter 2 Tables – Prison Crowding

Inputs and outputs – prisons - safety

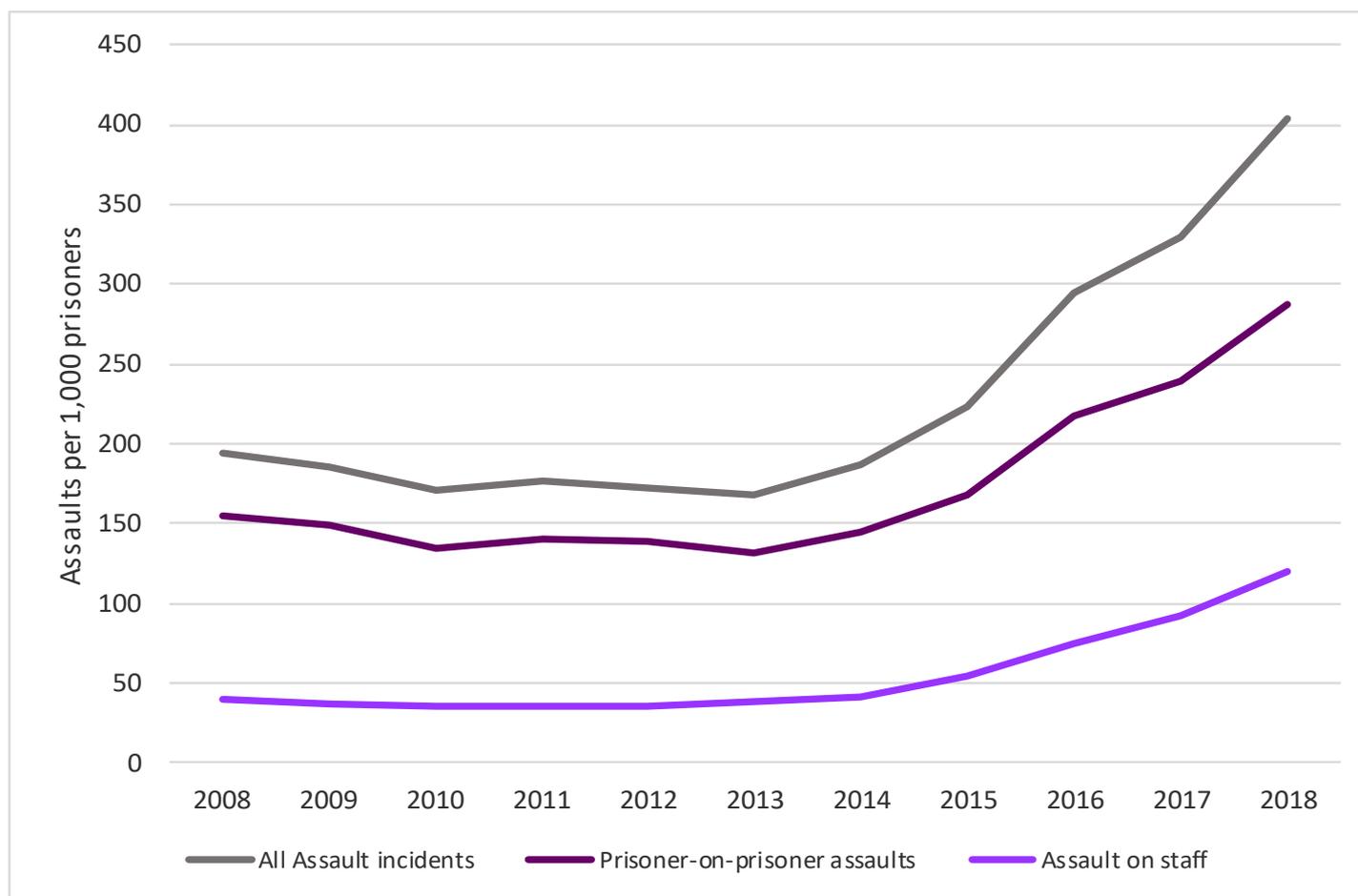
Number of assaults in prisons in England and Wales



Source: MOJ (31 January 2019) Safety in Custody Statistics; Self-harm and assaults to September 2018

Inputs and outputs – prisons - safety

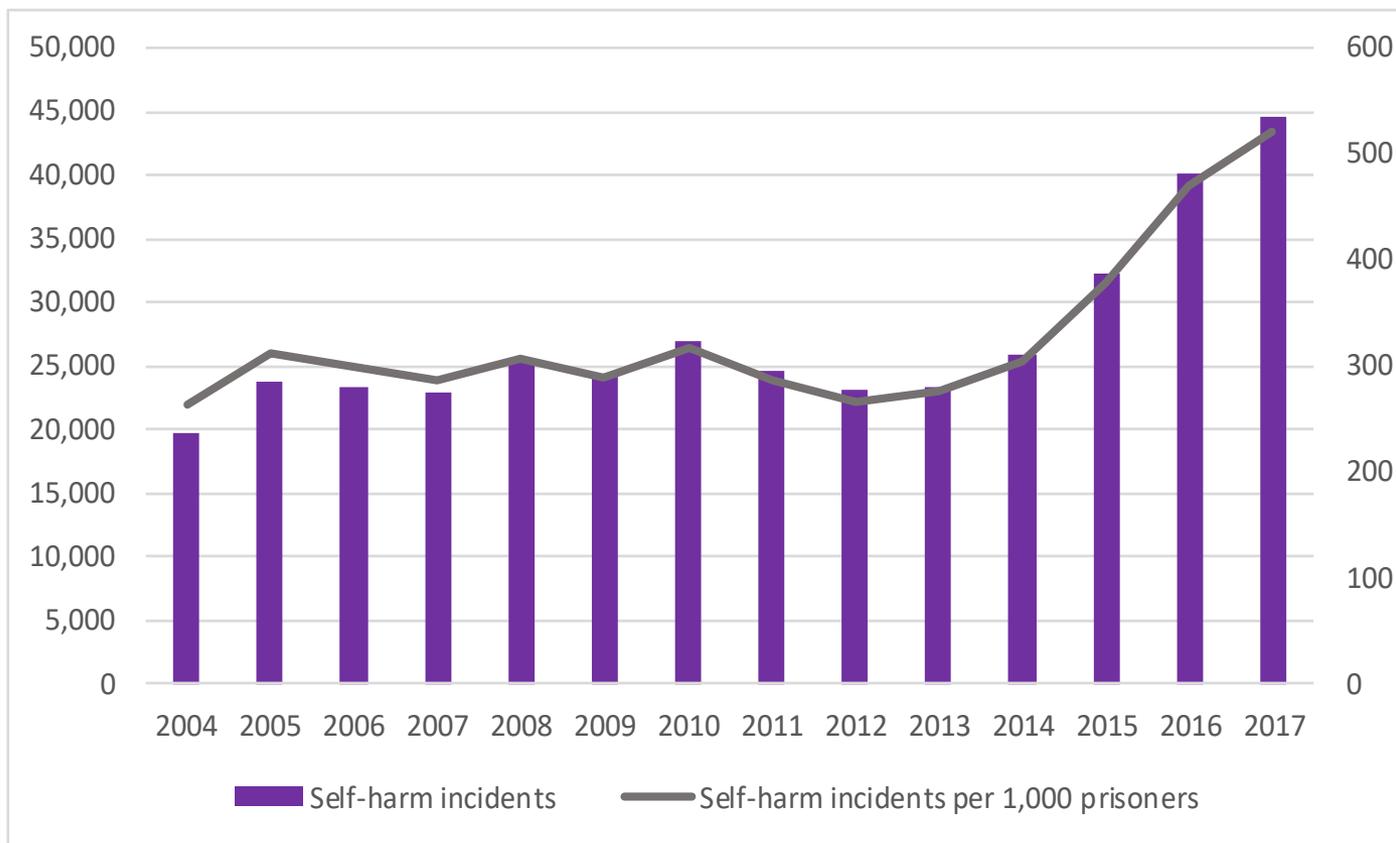
Assaults in prisons per 1,000 prisoners, in England and Wales



Source: MOJ (31 January 2019) *Safety in Custody Statistics; Self-harm and assaults to September 2018*

Inputs and outputs – prisons - safety

Self-harm in prisons in England and Wales



Source: MOJ, (26 April 2018) *Safety in Custody Statistics; Self-harm in prison custody 2004-2017*

Inputs and outputs – violence against women

- The police response to domestic abuse (2019): main concern 'weren't always enough officers to respond as quickly as they should'. Delays to response in just over a quarter of forces in some cases putting victims of domestic abuse at serious risk of harm.
- Data from CPS shows increase in no. of days for a decision to charge to be made in domestic abuse related cases
- Women's Aid (2018): 60% of services cited funding cuts as their biggest challenge in 2016-17, with more than 10% having had to decrease staffing levels and 13% withdraw the offer of counselling services.
- Women's Aid Annual Survey: of the total 19,764 referrals made to the services *half* were declined, and of those declined around 30% were declined because there was no space or capacity to support them (ONS, 2018).
- Sisters Uncut highlight closing of refuges disproportionately affects women from BAME background, with a disability, EAL

Outcomes – crime rates

- Significant caveats!
 - Time lag
 - Imperfect data
 - Multiple complex factors
- Two main sources of data
 - Police recorded crime
 - Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)

Outcomes – violent crime

Homicides (excluding exceptional events with multiple victims) based on Police Recorded Crime in England and Wales

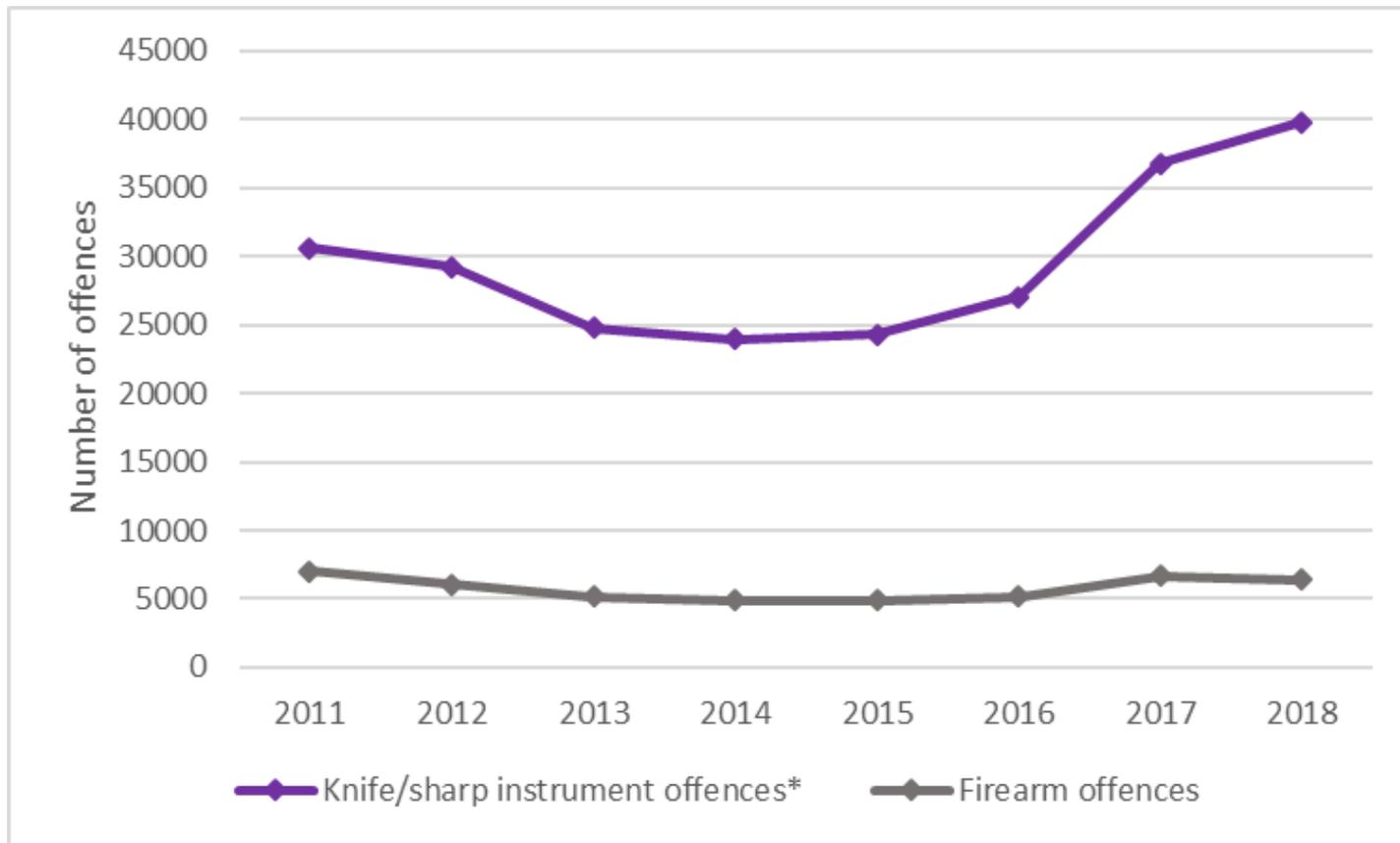


Source: ONS, (2019b) Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2018

Note: All years are to March apart from 2016-2018 which are to the year ending September

Outcomes – violent crime

Police Recorded Crime on offences involving a knife/sharp instrument and firearms in England and Wales



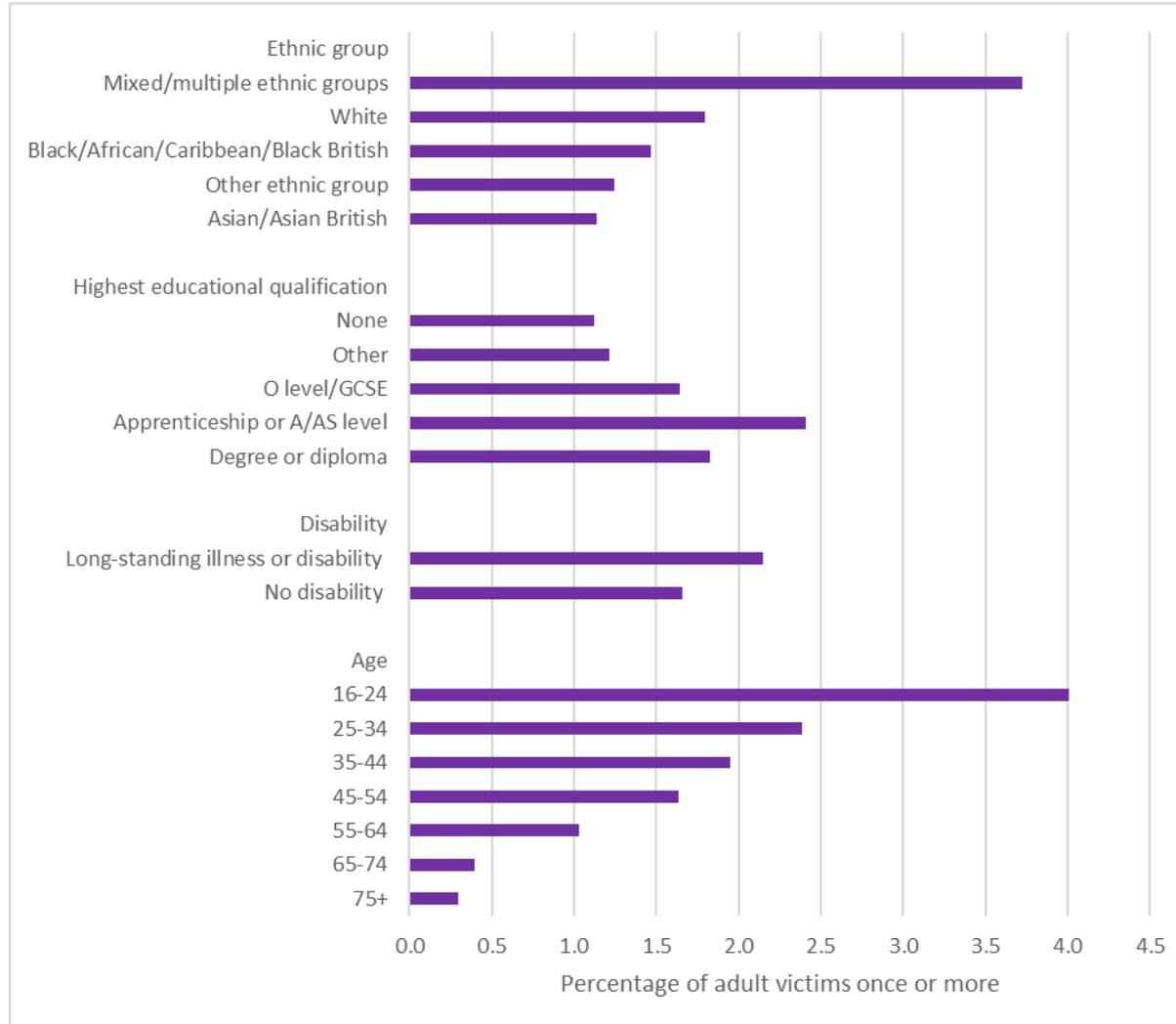
Source: ONS, (2019b) Crime in England and Wales: year ending September 2018

*Excluding knife/sharp instrument offences recorded by Greater Manchester Police Force

Note: All years are to March apart from 2017, 2018 which are to the year ending September

Outcomes – experiences of violent crime by personal characteristics

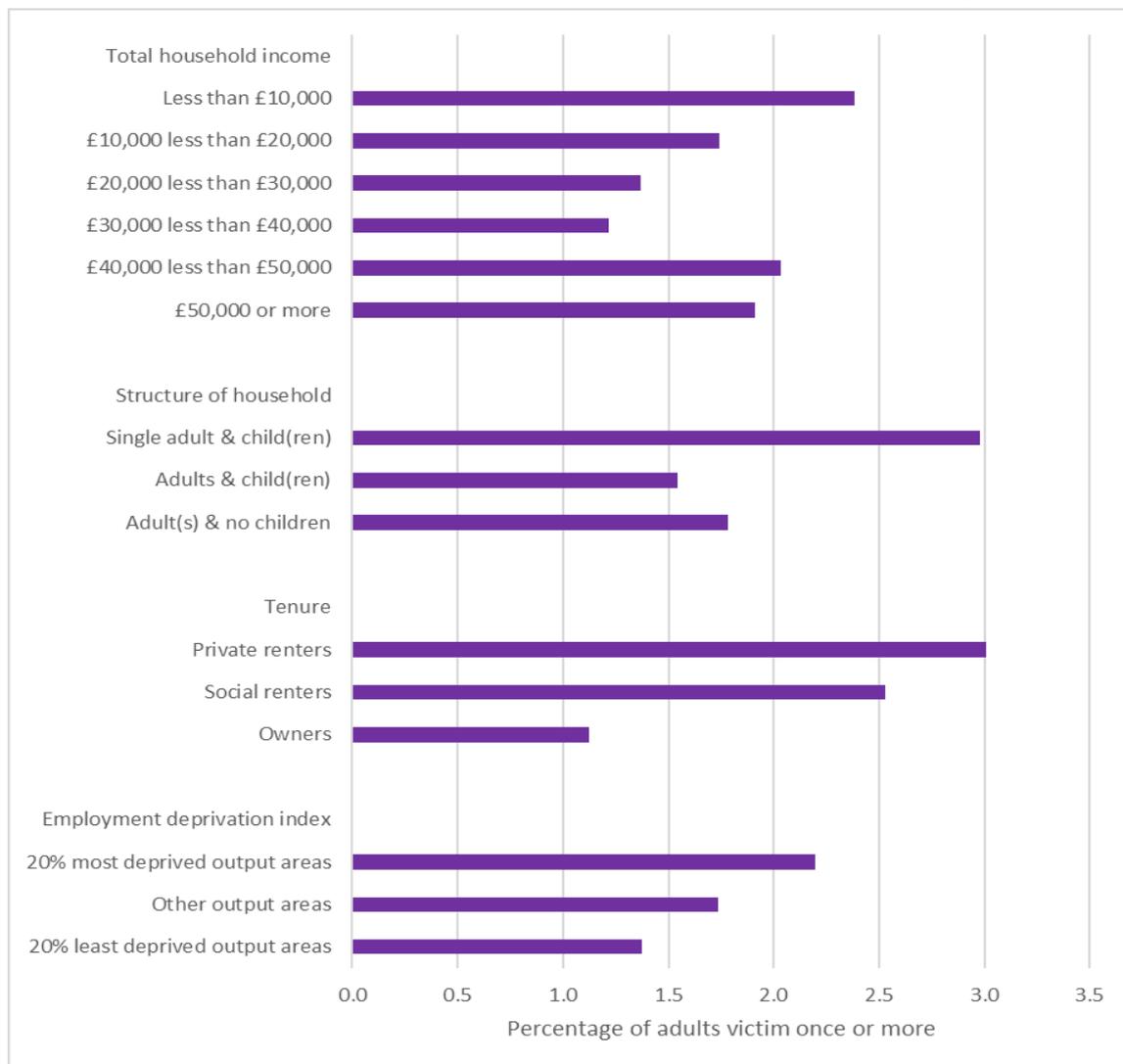
All violence* as measured by Crime Survey for England and Wales, by personal characteristics year ending March 2018



Source: ONS (7 February 2019)
Appendix tables:
homicide in England and
Wales Year ending
March 2018

Outcomes – experiences of violent crime by household characteristics

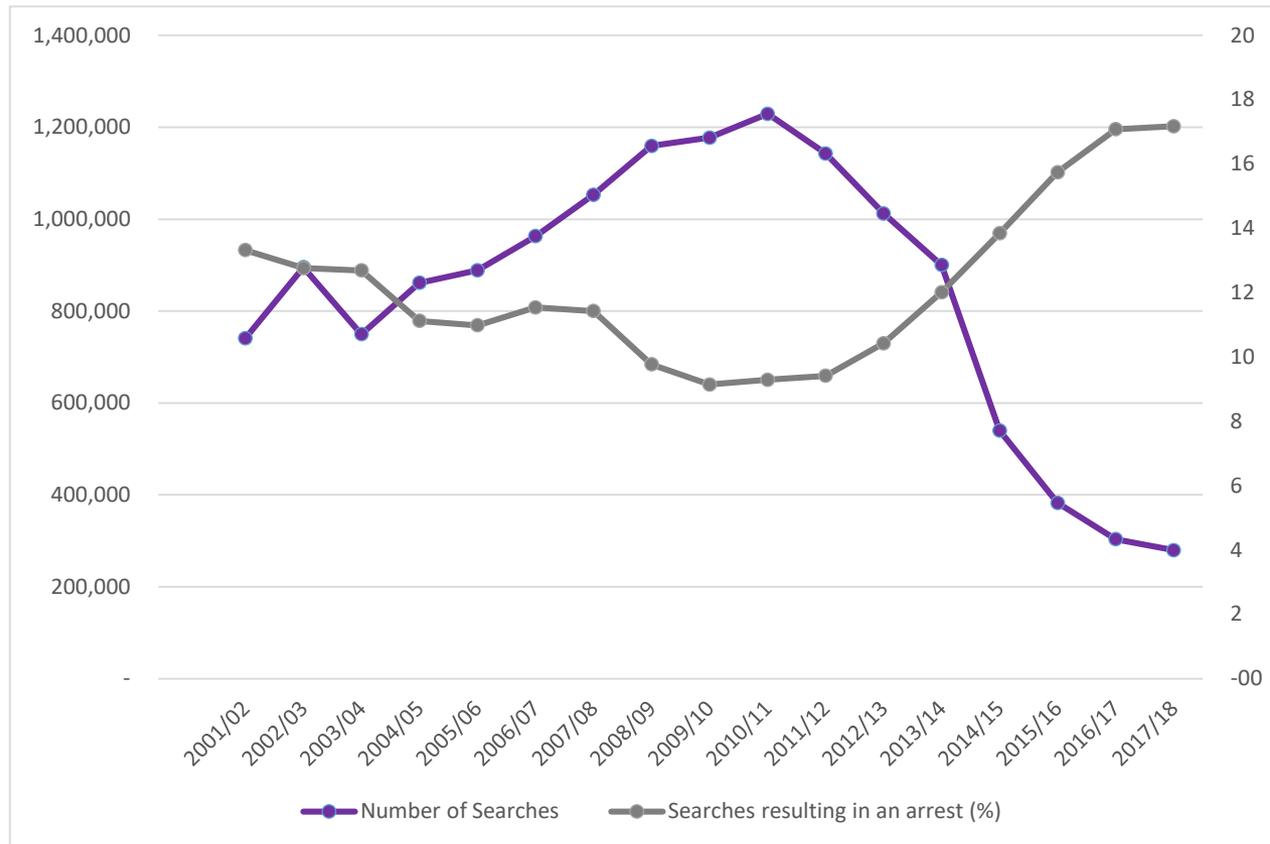
All violence* as measured by Crime Survey for England and Wales, by household and area characteristics year ending March 2018



Source: ONS (7 February 2019)
Appendix tables:
homicide in England and
Wales Year ending
March 2018

Outcomes – stop and search

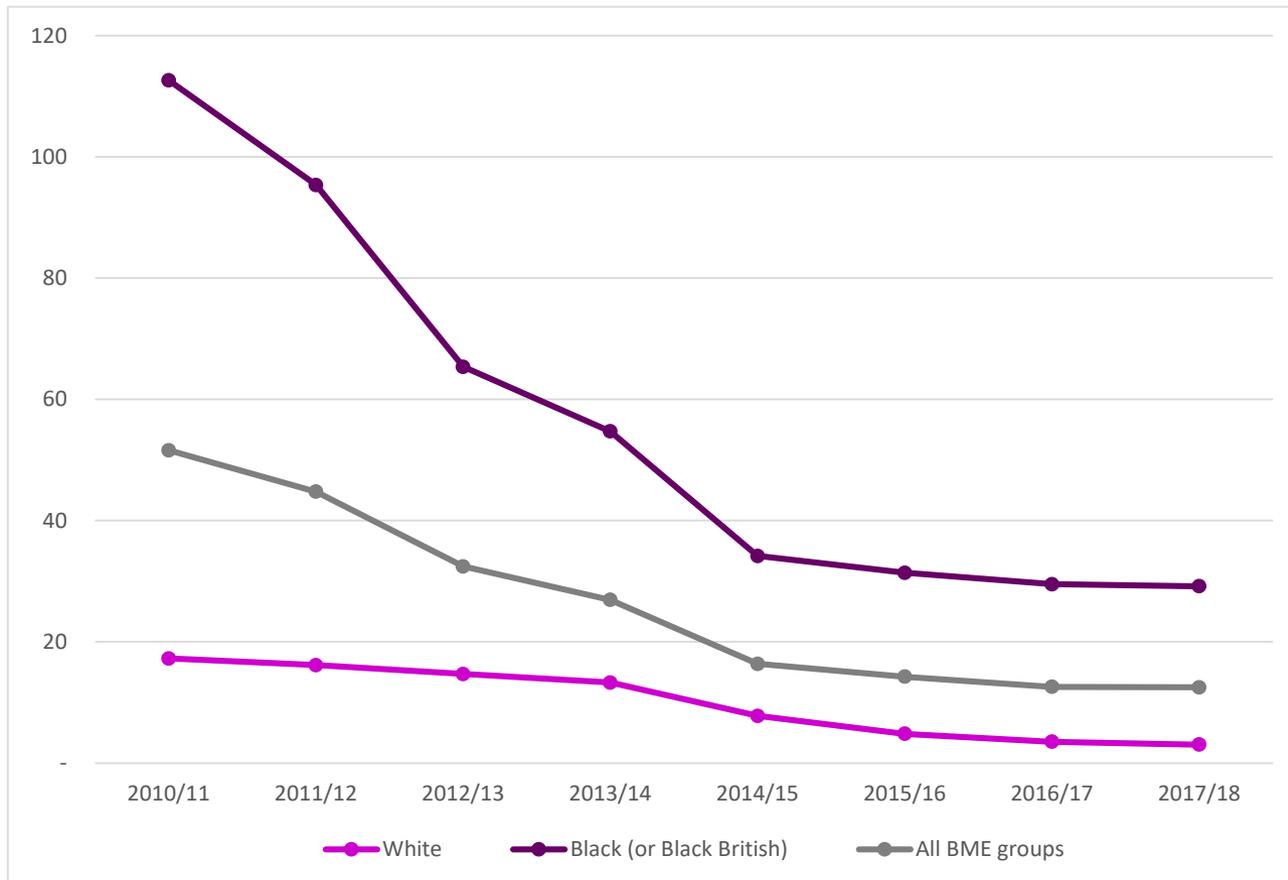
Stop and searches and arrest percentage under section 1 of PACE (and associated legislation), England and Wales



Source: Home Office (25 October 2018) Stop and search statistics data tables: police powers and procedures year ending March 2018 table SS_02

Outcomes – stop and search

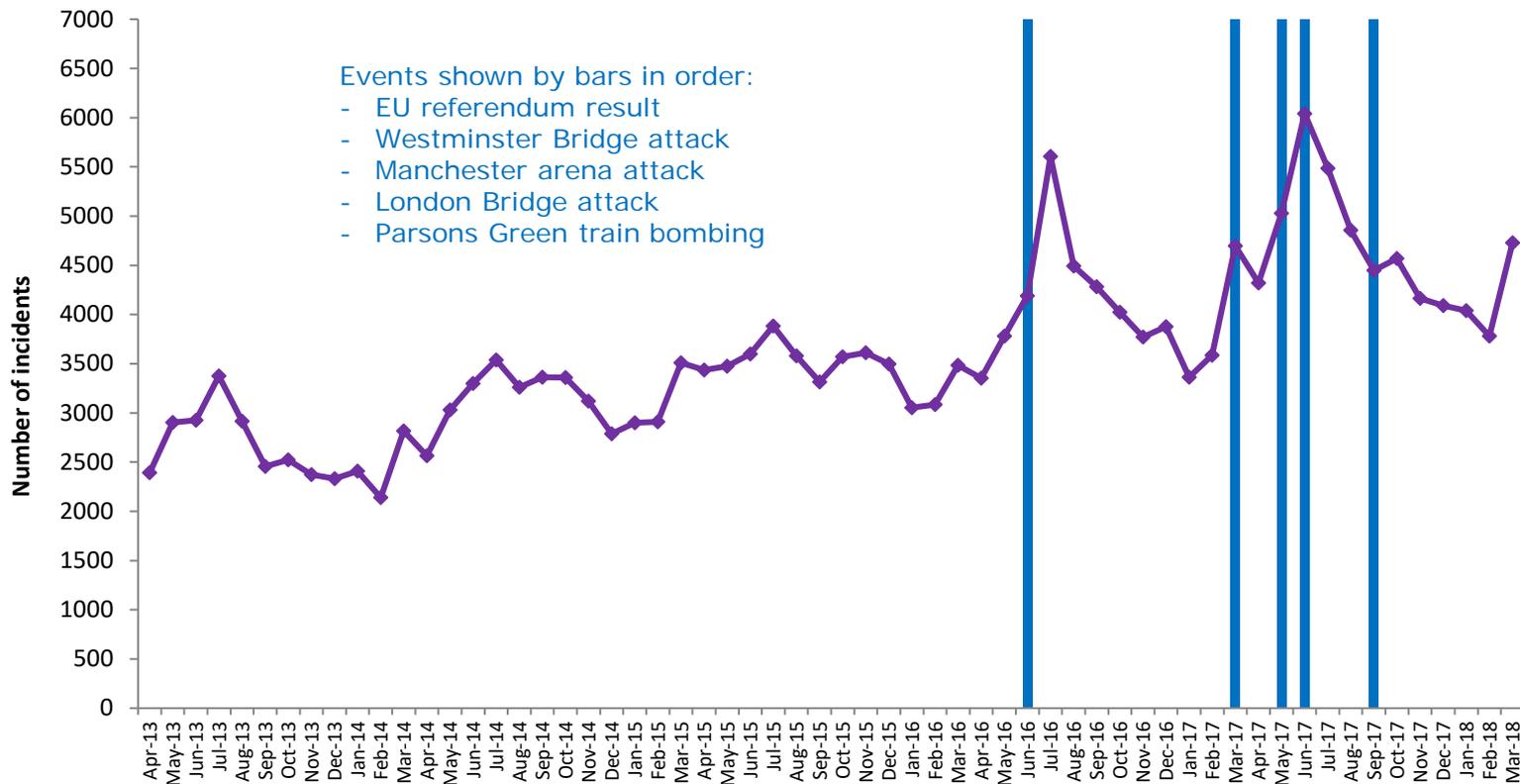
Stop and searches per 1,000 population in England and Wales, by self-defined ethnicity



Source: Home Office (25 October 2018) Stop and search statistics data tables: police powers and procedures year ending March 2018

Outcomes – hate crime

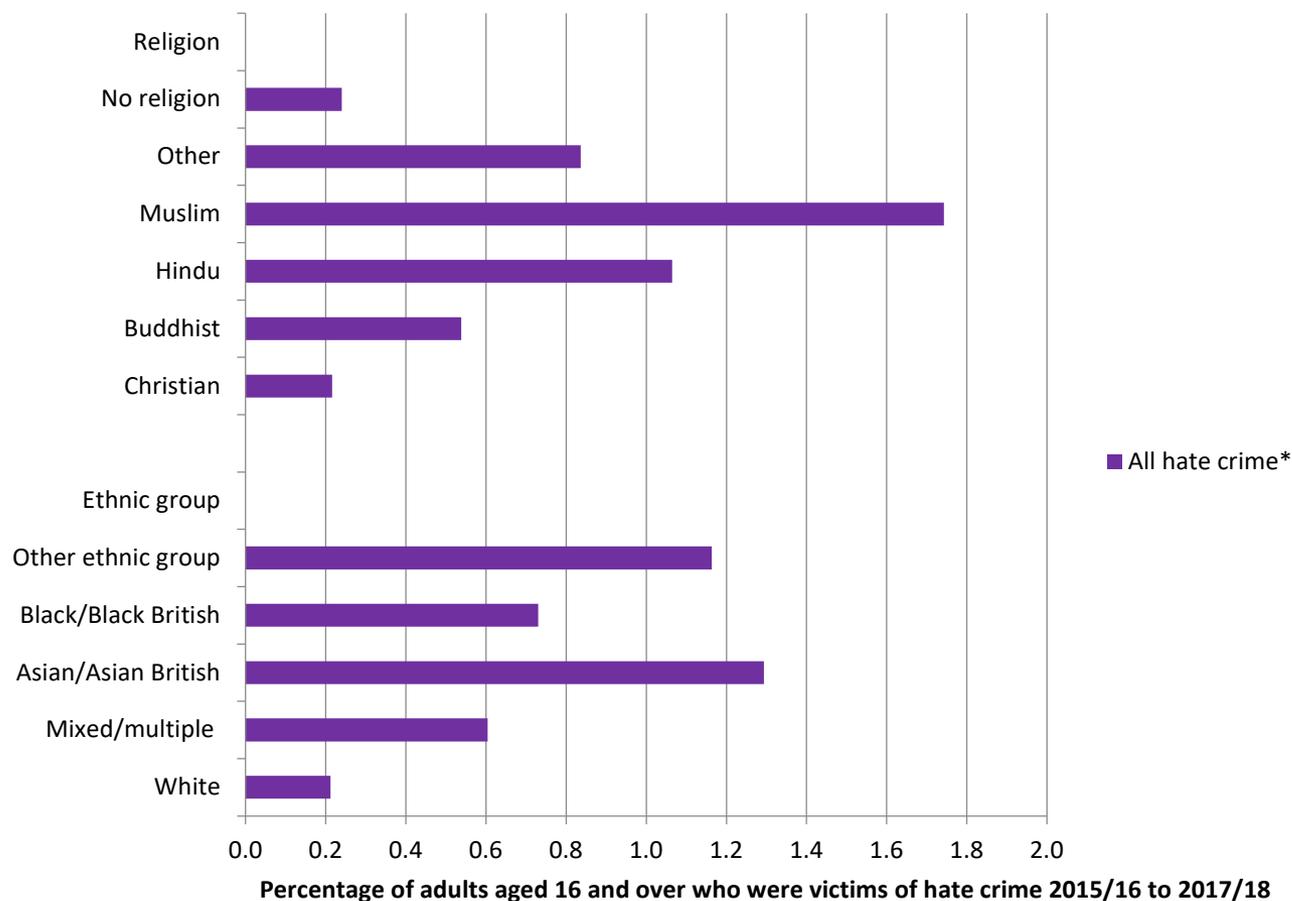
*Number of racially or religiously aggravated offences recorded by police
April 2013 - March 2018*



Source: adapted from Figure 2.2 p14 Home Office (2018) Hate Crime, England and Wales, 2017/18 Statistical Bulletin 20/18

Outcomes – hate crime

Experience of hate crime by religion and ethnic group based on CSEW 2015/16 - 2017/18

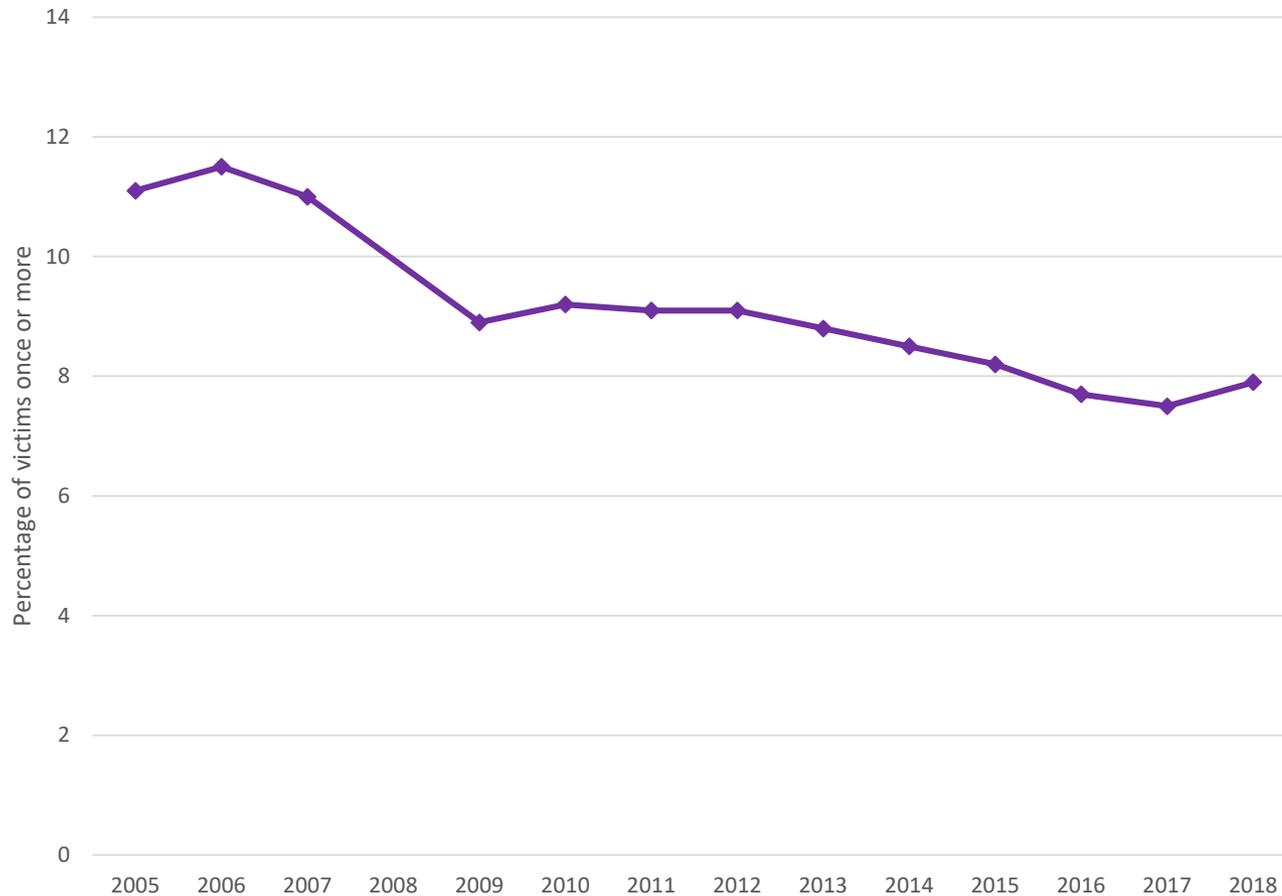


*All hate crime includes personal and household hate crime

Source: Home Office (16 October 2018) Hate crime, England and Wales, 2017 to 2018 Appendix tables

Outcomes – violence against women

CSEW: Prevalence of domestic abuse for women aged 16 to 59



Source: ONS (22 November 2018) *Domestic abuse in England and Wales : year ending March 2018*
Note: no data available for 2008

Conclusions

Tentative conclusions I

- Safety and security policy has redistributive potential, but also inherent dangers as a policy tool in this area, given the disproportionate association of certain kinds of disadvantage with not only criminal victimisation but also criminalisation.
- Austerity is undermining the egalitarian potential of some of the more progressive reforms, and consolidating the inegalitarian tendency of criminal justice more generally. NB spatial differences in impact of both crime and reductions in public services such as policing and courts.

Tentative conclusions II

- Stark contrast between holistic analysis of key reports, e.g. Serious Violence Strategy, and resources envisaged to deliver them.
- 2015-19 a case study in genesis of ‘overcriminalisation’: policy papers combine ambitious strategies requiring institutional capacity and coordination with new offences/preventive orders; the latter often fail to materialise due to lack of resources, political will or bureaucratic capacity, leaving only the offences – with clear implications for the capacity of criminal justice to reduce inequalities of safety and security.

Ben Jennings, *The Guardian* 6/3/19

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/picture/2019/mar/05/ben-jennings-on-knife-cartoon>

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Thank you for listening!

Paper will be made available on the SPDO website along with other papers from this research programme:

http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/_new/research/spdo/default.asp

