



Welcome to the Commissioner's weekly horizon scanning brief:

1. **Legislation** (Legislation, Home Office, APCC, press comments, reports and campaigns relating to strategy, policy and programmes)
2. **Policing and crime key developments** (relevant crime and criminal justice information and partners' policy/reports/campaigns)
3. **Reports** (covering research, reviews, inspections and audits across policing and crime)
4. **Consultations** (police and crime bulletins, research, consultations and press releases)

Contact Officer: Karen.sleigh@nottinghamshire.pnn.police.uk

1. Legislation

[Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Bill](#)

This Bill has just passed through the committee stage during its passage through the House of Commons and is about to go to the report stage.

[Finance Bill receives Royal Assent](#)

The Finance Bill, which contains provisions to exempt chief constables and the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis from any corporation tax liability, received Royal Assent.

[Draft Offender Management Act 2007 \(Commencement No. 6\) Order 2013](#)

Secondary Legislation Scrutiny Committee - Eighth Report

2. Policing and crime key developments

[Reoffending is up while fewer people enter the criminal justice system](#)

More than 400,000 crimes were committed by those who had broken the law before, in the year up to September 2011. For those sentenced to less than 12 months, 58.5 per cent had reoffended within 12 months of their release up to September 2011 – this is 1.2 percentage points up on the previous year. While the number of offenders coming to court is falling, alongside falling crime rates, more people who do commit crime are receiving prison sentences, according to recent figures.

[Getting cases ready for court – A joint review of the quality of prosecution case files by HMIC and HMCPSI](#)

An efficient criminal justice system is dependent upon the effective exchange of information between all the relevant agencies. Nowhere is this exchange more important than in the context of the relationship between the police and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) when preparing a case for court. Effective management of the process of building a prosecution case file can improve the quality of the files, and keep the inevitable paperwork associated with the passage of a case through the criminal justice system to a minimum.

In the recent report, Stop the Drift 2, a sample of case files in the magistrates' courts where the police had anticipated a guilty plea from the defendant were examined. This found little evidence of any improvement since the NAO report was published. This review builds on the work undertaken since 2011 by the National Audit Office, criminal justice inspectorates, and the joint CPS/Police National Prosecution Team.

HMIC Policing in Austerity: Rising to the Challenge

In the October 2010 spending review, the Government announced that central funding to the police service in England and Wales would be reduced in real terms by 20% in the four years between March 2011 and March 2015. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary's (HMIC's) Valuing the Police Programme has tracked how forces have planned to make savings to meet this budget reduction, and published findings in July 2011 and June 2012. This report explains, analyses and makes recommendations in relation to what has been found as we enter the third year of the spending review period.

Nottinghamshire Police has made sound progress in meeting its financial challenge, finds HMIC

Nottinghamshire Police has made sound progress in meeting its financial challenge - its savings programme has allowed it to reduce costs while continuing to fight crime and it is redesigning the way it delivers policing services to the people of Nottinghamshire.

Damian Green rallies key players in fight against child abuse

A group of 100 people from groups that tackle child sexual exploitation and abuse of vulnerable people have met at the Home Office. The next steps for the group are:

- further measures to curb online abuse, including securing industry support for a proactive approach to taking down illegal images (September)
- launch of revised guidance to make sure charging decisions are made purely on the basis of the credibility of the allegation rather than the credibility of the victim (September)
- a College of Policing review of guidance for police dealing with cases of child abuse (September);
- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary inspection of volume of offending across the internet (October)
- Sentencing Guidelines Council issuing new guidelines for sexual offences (December).

Parliamentary and Health Service Ombudsman report on Trafford Youth Offending Team (YOT)

A report regarding a vulnerable young person who was a victim twice, once from the crime against him and again from the service he received from Trafford Youth Offending Team and from Trafford Metropolitan Borough Council during the handling of his complaint. The events the report refers to took place in 2011 before the election of PCCs.

Home Affairs select committee - New Inquiry: Counter-terrorism

The Home Affairs Committee has launched an inquiry into Counter-Terrorism. The Committee's inquiry will focus on the Pursue strand of CONTEST which is designed to stop terrorist attacks. This follows on from the Committee's work on 'Prevent' in its inquiry into the Roots of Violent Radicalism in 2010. The inquiry will examine how the UK police and security

services work with foreign governments and international organisations, such as Interpol and Europol to counter terrorist activity.

Mental health remains key factor in deaths in or after police custody, report finds

Mental health continued to be a key factor in deaths in or after police custody in 2012-13, according to statistics published by the Independent Police Complaints Commission.

Bar Council announcement

Victim Support has welcomed news that defence barristers who cross-examine vulnerable witnesses will be required to have specialist training. The Bar Council has announced its support for the creation and implementation of a 'required training programme' for all advocates dealing with vulnerable witnesses. Currently, only prosecutors and judges must undergo training before questioning victims of crimes such as rape, child abuse and human trafficking. Changing the system to ensure all barristers in a courtroom must have expertise on handling vulnerable and young witnesses has been a key demand of Victim Support.

Crime is down by more than 10%

Figures from the Office for National Statistics show crime is down by more than 10%. These statistics show that police reforms are continuing to deliver results across the country with falls in crime in every police force in England and Wales.

Lord debate on a motion to agree the EU: Police and Criminal Justice Measures

The EU: Police and Criminal Justice Measures were approved after a debate in the Lords by a majority of 112.

New £3m fund to crack down on rogue landlords

Councils will be able to bid for share of up to £3 million to tackle irresponsible landlords in their area, who allow their tenants to live in unsafe and squalid conditions, putting lives at risk and disrupting local communities.

Targeted action to tackle alcohol related crime and disorder

The Home Office has set out a number of measures to tackle drunkenness and disorder blighting town centres in England and Wales.

Better scrutiny required for police & crime commissioner decisions to remove chief constables

The Home Affairs Select Committee has published its report on Police and Crime Commissioners – Power to remove Chief Constables.

Women offenders: after the Corston Report

The Justice Select Committee has stated that the Government's probation reforms are designed for male offenders and ignore women in the Justice system.

'Opt-out' pornography blocks to be introduced

Internet providers will introduce automatic blocks for pornography viewed at home, Prime Minister David Cameron is to announce, to "protect our children and their innocence".

Rural Crime Conference

The APCC's Rural Crime Conference was held in Leicestershire on 18th July.

[Howard League: end to strip searching of children](#)

After years of lobbying by the Howard League, the government has finally agreed to end routine strip-searching of children when they arrive in prison, many of whom have suffered physical and sexual abuse.

3. Reports

Delays in failed asylum seekers leaving the UK has cost the Government £32.1 million over the last three and a half years.

It takes on average ten months for a failed asylum seeker to return home due to delays at the Home Office and increasing numbers of human rights appeals ([Express](#)).

[Home Office](#)

Crimes detected in England and Wales 2012 – 2013.

[Police recorded crime open data tables](#)

These tables contain recorded crime figures broken down by offence type, geography and time period.

[Bertelsmann Stiftung; Social Cohesion Radar: Measuring Common Ground.](#)

Western societies have undergone major changes over the past few decades, and the future will bring critical challenges: demographic change and a restructuring of welfare systems, immigration and integration, globalization and international competition, shifts in values and technological advances in both the labour market and private life. The Social Cohesion Radar looks at trends over the past quarter of a century in social cohesion in 34 different countries. Surveys have shown that the majority of people believe that cohesion is declining or threatened.

[Department for Communities and Local Government:](#) Neighbourhood Community Budget pilot programme.

The Neighbourhood Community Budget pilot programme ran from April 2012 to March 2013. It was announced in the Community Budget Prospectus in 2011, was different in emphasis, and ran in parallel to the larger scale Whole Place Community Budget process. Twelve neighbourhoods worked closely with their communities, and the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) to test how services could be devolved to the neighbourhood level, and residents engaged in service re-design and delivery. DCLG analysts interviewed the pilots regularly throughout the year and captured learning and insights, feeding these back to help implementation. This report documents the learning from the programme and summarises the operational plans submitted at the end of the pilot process. It then reflects on the key messages which were generated from this exercise.

[Sustainable Communities Act 2007: decisions on local councils' proposals to improve local areas](#)

Government response to proposals submitted by local authorities to improve the social, economic and environmental well-being of their area. In 2007, the Sustainable Communities Act was passed to 'promote the sustainability of local communities'. The process underpinning the Act was overly bureaucratic, but the sentiment was right – giving people the power to shape the future of their lives and communities. That is the essence of the Big Society.

[Department of Health](#)

Statutory guidance on joint strategic needs assessments and joint health and wellbeing strategies.

[Equality and Human Rights Commission](#)

Annual report and accounts 2012/13.

[Home Office](#)

Briefing on human trafficking for Police and Crime Commissioners: Human trafficking is a global phenomenon which needs to be tackled at a local, national and international level. Men, women and children are moved and exploited for sex, labour, domestic servitude, and other criminal activities.

[Housemark](#)

ASB Benchmarking: Analysis of results 2012/13: HouseMark's anti-social behaviour (ASB) benchmarking system is the country's leading tool to help social landlords measure and understand the ASB they are tackling on a day-to-day basis. This is the sixth annual report of findings from ASB benchmarking and it covers the financial year 2012/13, with cost data from 2011/12.

[Institute of Government](#)

Making Public Service Markets Work: Professionalising government's approach to commissioning and market stewardship.

[National Audit Office](#)

Financial statements of the Youth Justice Board 2012-2013.

[National Housing Federation](#)

Housing Britain's Future

[New Local Government Network](#)

Future Councillors: Where next for local politics?

[Office of Children's Commissioner](#)

Annual Report and Financial Statements 2012-13.

[Police Foundation](#)

Policing Young Adults – A briefing for Police and Crime Commissioners.

[Sentencing Council](#)

Annual Report 2012/13

[Third Sector Research Council](#)

'Very small, very quiet, a whisper' – Black and Minority Ethnic groups: voice and influence.

[Mistakes will be made' on public sector reform](#)

Pressing ahead with too many market reforms at once in the public sector is failing to ensure genuine competition, a new report has warned. The Institute for Government (IfG) found mistakes in the set up and management of outsourcing in care for the elderly, schools,

probation and employment services. Some providers have been criticised for ‘parking’ those with complex needs and getting paid for the easiest cases.

[NHF calls for house-building to keep up with population](#)

House prices could increase by 42% by 2020, with rents rising even higher, the National Housing Federation (NHF) has warned in a new report. If the rate of house-building continues to fail to keep up with the rising population, up to 3.7 million young people could be forced to live with their parents. Private rents in England are predicted to increase by 6% a year between 2015 and 2020, and are expected to be 46% higher than today’s prices by 2020.

[Trade unions ‘central’ to income equality](#)

A stronger representation in the workplace could lead to significant progress on tackling in-work poverty and wage inequality, a new report suggests. Published by the Smith Institute, ‘Just deserts: Poverty and income inequality’, examines the causes of low-wage growth and work poverty in the UK. It recommends statutory extension of collective agreements, the establishment of a corporate governance commission to reform company law, board level representation backed up by robust structures for employee participation, and reforms to executive pay. The extensive use of fair-wage clauses in public contracts and an extended living wage could also help to solve the wages ‘crisis’, the report states.

The Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee has called on the Government to address the “rural penalty” of a disparity of state funding between rural and urban communities.

The Committee has highlighted that despite paying higher levels of council tax, there is less funding for schools and services in rural communities ([Times](#); [Telegraph](#); [Independent](#); [Guardian](#); [Mail](#); [BBC Online](#)).

4. Consultations

[Home Office Launches Consultation relating to Guidance on Early Deletion of DNA and Fingerprint Records](#)

The Home Office has launched a consultation relating to guidance for police Chief Constables on processing applications from individuals for early deletion of their DNA and fingerprint records. The consultation closes on **29 July 2013** and is open to members of the public, police forces, members of the legal profession and interest groups.

[Statutory guidance on children who run away or go missing from home or care](#)

The current statutory guidance on children who run away and go missing from home or care was published in July 2009. The closing date for consultation responses is 17 September.

[New consultation: Stop and search](#)

This consultation seeks views on the police powers of stop and search. The consultation runs up to 13 August 2013.

[Codes of practice issued under the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002](#)

The aim of the consultation is to seek comments and representations on the guidance provided in four draft codes of practice. The consultation runs until 30 August 2013.

[Child Sexual Exploitation guidance](#)

The College of Policing is consulting on a review of guidance covering all aspects of violence and public protection, starting with Child Abuse and Child Exploitation. The consultation runs until 3rd September.

[Drug Driving : proposed regulations](#)

The consultation seeks views on the government's preferred policy option of making it an offence to drive if any of 17 controlled drugs are found in blood over a specified limit. The consultation closes on the 17 September.

[Improving safeguarding for looked-after children: changes to the Care Planning, Placement and Case Review \(England\) Regulations 2010](#)

This consultation seeks views on proposals to amend the [Care Planning, Placement and Case Review \(England\) Regulations 2010](#). The closing date for consultation responses is 17 September.

[Open Government Partnership: UK draft National Action Plan 2013](#)

This draft of the UK's second National Action Plan is a result of the UK's membership of the [Open Government Partnership](#) (OGP) - a multilateral initiative that aims to secure concrete commitments from governments to promote transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance. The closing date for consultation responses is 19 September.

[Hate Crime-The Case for Extending the Existing Offences](#)

This project came to the Law Commission by a reference from the Ministry of Justice, following the Government's publication of its three-year hate crime action plan in 2012. The consultation closes on the 27 September.

[Views sought on changes to the alcohol and drugs reporting framework](#)

Public Health England (PHE) is keen to ensure that the alcohol and drug reporting framework is fit for purpose, and so is consulting with the alcohol and drugs sector on a number of proposed changes to the reporting framework. The consultation runs until September.

[Corporate responsibility: call for views](#)

Corporate responsibility is sometimes known as corporate social responsibility. It is defined as the responsibility of an organisation for the impacts of its decisions on society and the environment above and beyond its legal obligations, through transparent and ethical behaviour. The closing date for consultation responses is 27 September.

[Local Government Finance Settlement 2014-15 and 2015-16: technical consultation](#)

This consultation seeks views on a range of detailed and technical issues concerning the 2014-15 and 2015-16 Local Government Finance Settlements. It will be of particular interest to local authority finance departments. The closing date for consultation responses is 2 October.

[Consultation on prescription drug tramadol](#)

The government wants to make tramadol a Class C drug but ensure it is available to those who need it as a prescription medicine. The number of deaths involving tramadol has risen from 83 in 2008 to 154 in 2011. The deadline for responses is 11 October 2013.

Briefing on human trafficking for Police and Crime Commissioners

What is human trafficking?

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon which needs to be tackled at a local, national and international level. Men, women and children are moved and exploited for sex, labour, domestic servitude, and other criminal activities.

Victims may come from all over the world. They may enter the UK legally, on forged documentation or clandestinely, or they may be a UK citizen living in the UK. It must be remembered that human trafficking is not just a cross-border crime.

Trafficking is a relatively low risk crime. Victims are often unwilling to come forward, fearing reprisals from their traffickers, and may not be recognised as trafficking victims by those who come into contact with them.

Human trafficking offences are not carried out in isolation. Quite often they are linked with individuals who are involved in a range of other serious and organised crimes.

'People trafficking is the fastest growing means by which people are enslaved, the fastest growing international crime, and one of the largest sources of income for organised crime.' (UN Office on Drugs and Crime)

The police response

Of the 43 police forces in England and Wales, information collated by the UK Human Trafficking Centre shows that human trafficking victims have been identified in at least **39 force areas** during 2012.

The police play an important role in identifying potential victims. In some cases, victims may only be treated as perpetrators of immigration crime, criminal activity or prostitution, and any wider trafficking issues may be overlooked.

The UK Human Trafficking Centre, based in SOCA, provides tactical advice and support to police forces in the UK who are dealing with human trafficking cases.

Senior police officers responsible for human trafficking have been identified in each force area to help raise awareness and to provide a focus for human trafficking activity.

Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs)

We recommend that PCCs consider:

- raising awareness of human trafficking in force areas – with the police, statutory bodies, local authorities and the public;
- looking at how potential human trafficking offences are identified and dealt with effectively;
- ensuring that investigations and prosecutions are pursued appropriately;
- how to better utilise national resources such as the UK Human Trafficking Centre and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority;
- making links locally, for example with local authorities and non-governmental organisations; and
- recognising the potential link between human trafficking and other serious and organised crime which may be happening in force areas.

Available resources

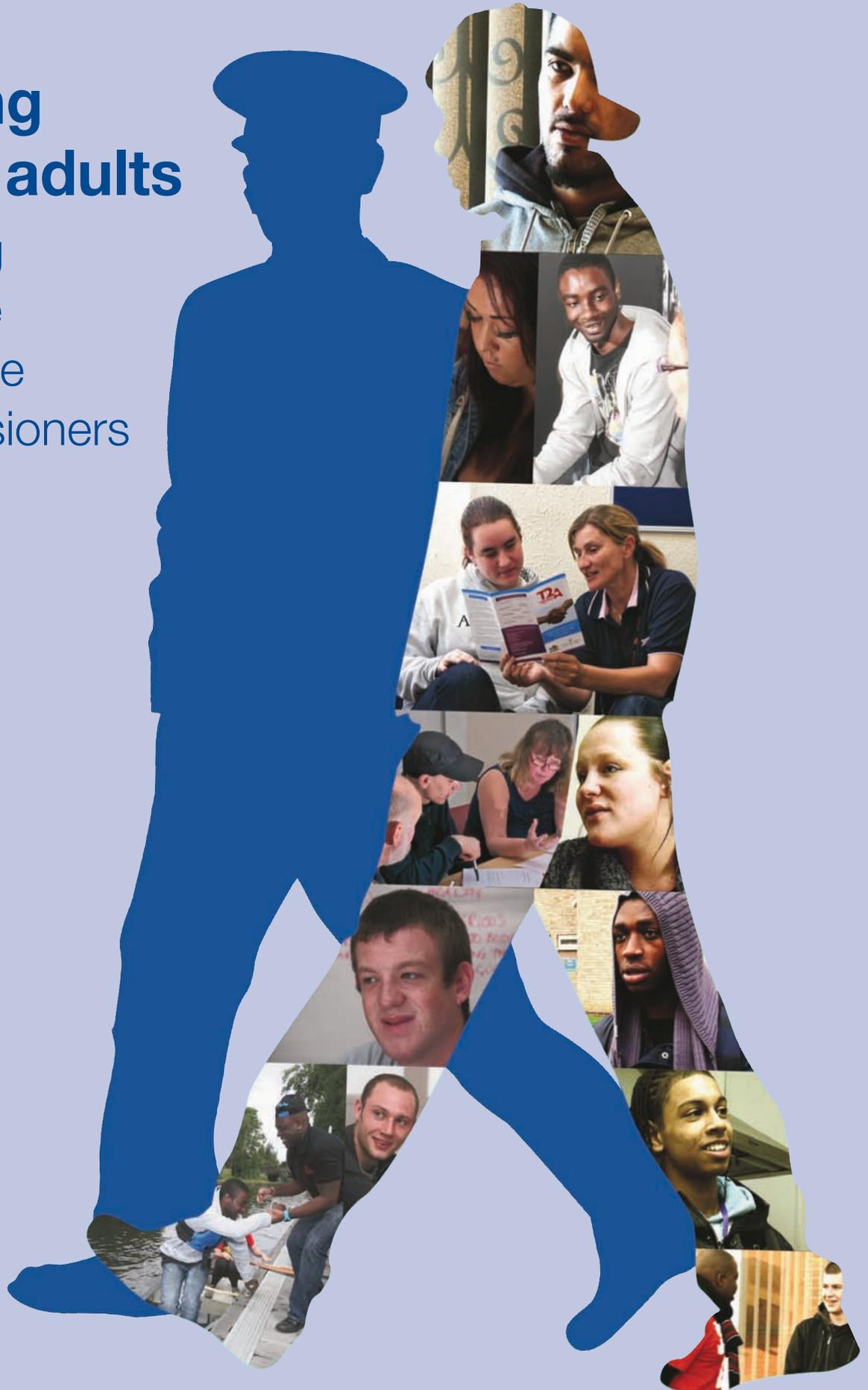
- National Centre for Applied Learning Technologies (NCALT) e-learning package on human trafficking
- Human trafficking operational handbook available to order from the Home Office on 0870 241 4680 (press '0' on your keypad to speak to the Home Office publications team) or email homeoffice@prolog.co.uk (product code UKHT-OPGUIDE)
- UK Human Trafficking Centre tactical advice to forces 08447782406 / UKHTC@soca.x.gsi.gov.uk
- Gangmasters Licensing Authority 0845 602 5020 / intelligence@gla.gsi.gov.uk
- The Metropolitan Police Specialist Crime & Operations (SC&O) Tel: 020 7321 7751.
- The Home Office Human Trafficking Policy Team Tel: 0207 035 8205/3341/4179.
- ACPO contact for liaison with senior police officers responsible for human trafficking: Katherine Allenby Tel: 07769684711
email: Katherine.Allenby@sussex.pnn.police.uk

Key facts

- In 2012, **1186** potential victims of trafficking were identified through the National Referral Mechanism (NRM). This represents a **25% increase** on 2011.
- The recent UK Human Trafficking Centre's baseline assessment, published in August 2012 estimated that there were **2,077** potential victims of human trafficking encountered in the UK, in 2011, by the police, NGOs, local authorities and the Gangmasters Licensing Authority.
- In England and Wales in 2011 there were **8 convictions** for human trafficking (on a principal offence basis).

Policing young adults

A briefing
for Police
and Crime
Commissioners



Policing young adults

A briefing for Police and Crime Commissioners

Introduction

This briefing aims to provide a summary of the key findings and implications from a small study on the policing of young adults. It provides an insight into the key challenges front-line officers face in street encounters with young adults (aged 18-24), referring in particular to stop and search and the night-time economy. It focuses not so much on how front-line officers should best enforce the law in these situations, but on how they should best negotiate such encounters without risking escalation and how this should be embedded in police practice.

The briefing is divided into six sections:

- Background
- Encounters with the police
- Stop and search
- The night-time economy
- Engaging with young adults
- Training and supervision

Background

On reaching their 18th birthday, young adults are considered as fully mature and responsible adults under the criminal law. In reality, however, the transition to adulthood varies between people and does not instantly take place on a person's 18th birthday. Recent research on brain development suggests that psycho-social

maturity – those aspects of development and behaviour that involve interpersonal relationships and help individuals make socially responsible decisions – doesn't develop until young people are well into their twenties. Furthermore, psycho-social maturity comes with responsibility and independence, but in the last few decades the means for achieving both have become increasingly scarce: young adults today leave home, secure jobs, get married and have children later than any previous generation.

Despite making up just 10 per cent of the population, young adults account for more than a third of those going through the criminal justice system.

The Transition to Adulthood (T2A) Alliance has been working for a number of years to shift criminal justice policy on young adults towards a more rational and effective approach that takes account of this extended transition and its implications for personal maturity and social responsibility. With funding from the Barrow Cadbury Trust, the Police Foundation undertook a scoping study⁽¹⁾ on the policing of young adults, the findings and implications of which are summarised here specifically for the benefit of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs).

1. Graham, J. with Karn, J. (2013) 'Policing young adults: A scoping study'. London: The Police Foundation

Encounters with the police

Members of the public who have had contact with the police hold more negative views of them than those who have had little or no personal contact. Bad experiences lead them to think twice before asking the police for help or deciding whether to report a crime and hostile or prejudicial attitudes can escalate a relatively benign encounter into a serious confrontation. Conversely, a positive interaction can help to avert a minor incident from becoming a major one. The same, only more so, applies to young adults, particularly young black men, who tend to hold particularly negative views of the police. Many young adult women, although they experience fewer encounters with the police, also hold similarly negative views.

Young adults are more at risk of victimisation than any other age group, yet the police tend to see them as suspects in need of control rather than potential victims in need of protection. Given their high-risk, street-based life styles, this may be understandable, but it can serve to undermine relations between young adults and the police and face-to-face encounters often reflect this. On the whole young adults, especially young women, feel over-policed and under-protected.

‘They are there to protect, but we don’t feel protected; we would go to our family, not the police, for protection’.

Where young people have no respect for police authority, lack trust in their capacity to protect them or deal fairly with them or are overtly hostile and antagonistic towards them, the risk that such encounters may escalate into aggressive exchanges and even violent incidents increases. This becomes particularly critical where such antagonism is rooted in a history of poor community-police relations and entrenched negative stereotyping by both

parties. How the police handle encounters with young adults, especially in high-risk situations, therefore influences the willingness of young adults to cooperate with the police, their trust and confidence in them and ultimately police legitimacy.

Stop and search

Stop and search plays a vital role in determining relations between young adults and the police. Young adults, particularly young men, are more likely than any other group to be stopped and searched, with young black men seven times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts. In the last decade, the use of stop and search has nearly doubled, while the proportion of searches resulting in an arrest has fallen.

The very nature of police encounters with young adults, especially in connection with stop and search, can create conflict even where police action is well conducted and appropriate. *How* officers conduct a stop and search is therefore as important as *why*. Young adults expect to be told why they have been stopped and/or searched – if they are treated as suspects, they have a right to know what they are being suspected of – but such explanations are not always forthcoming or convincing. Young adults understand that the police may have good reasons for stopping them and asking questions, but if the police use such powers unfairly, disproportionately or excessively, they are less likely to cooperate with the police or comply with the law. A single negative interaction can even affect an entire community.

Better training, observing more experienced officers and proper supervision could all help to reduce the risk that poorly conducted stops/searches trigger an incident and/or undermine relations with young adults. Given the inevitability of target setting, this study suggests that stop and search targets should be reviewed.

'A success may be nothing happening, police defusing trouble, everyone having a good time and getting home safely ... success is often quite a boring day really.'

The night-time economy

Whereas stop and search is disproportionately likely to affect young men from deprived, black and minority ethnic (BME) communities, the consumers of the night-time economy include young men and women from all ethnic backgrounds. The focus is more on prevention and risk management rather than rapid response and detection: policing of the night-time economy is organised around the imperative that everyone should have a good time and get home safely. The police are therefore more concerned with preventing problems than fighting crime and work closely with other partners, including the leisure industry, to maintain an orderly and peaceful environment.

Arguments over who gets the next taxi home are resolved by effective marshalling of taxi queues, not by arresting queue jumpers.

The night-time economy presents the police and their partners with significant challenges and ties up considerable resources. Although the key to managing the night-time economy seems to be good partnership working as part of a problem-solving approach, with law enforcement seen as a last resort, in reality little is known about the most cost-effective way of allocating resources.

Engaging with young adults

A frequent criticism of community engagement is its failure to engage with the full spectrum of

Second Wave, a youth and community arts charity in South London, has been running a project called **Critical Encounters** for the past eight years. It comprises a series of local workshops where young people and police officers meet and take on each other's roles. The project aims, among other things, to:

- Create a safe space where young people can engage in a creative process of police/community collaboration
- Develop positive face-to-face dialogue on key issues (including stop and search)
- Identify and explore the significance and impact of 'critical encounters' involving young people and the police

Originally initiated in response to the pressures and anxiety that young people experienced from being persistently stopped by the police, the workshops are now fully supported by the Borough Commander and embedded in local police training. Project staff believe that newly recruited officers are now more attuned from the start to the idea that policing requires the support of the community and that this requires effort.

Second Wave has built strong links with the local council and the police and is helping to improve local interactions between young Muslims and the police. It is making positive improvements to relations between the police and young people in a poor inner city area with a significant BME population and a history of community tensions.

community residents, especially the young, certain ethnic minorities and people with complex needs and multiple disadvantages. Where relations between the police and young adults are poor, efforts need to be made to identify better ways of engaging with this age group. But while young adults are a major client group for the police, there is a paucity of specifically tailored engagement strategies, although a shining exception to this rule is Critical Encounters (see above).

Training and supervision

As well as better engagement, the policing of young adults could be improved through better training and supervision. The main emphasis of police training is, however, on the law and how to enforce it, not on interpersonal skills and how to deploy them. The police receive little training on managing encounters with different members of the public and defusing difficult situations. Neither do they receive much on-the-job mentoring or supervision. In practice, many (especially young) officers are ill-prepared for interacting effectively with young adults and are inadequately supervised by their senior officers. A more effective approach to changing police behaviour might be to integrate more police training into routine practice.

Conclusion

Young adults come into contact with the police more than most other age groups, if only because they often tend to occupy public space and engage in risk-taking behaviour, such as substance misuse and associated criminal activity. The police, for their part, tend to view young adults as potential suspects at risk of offending rather than potential victims who need to be protected. In reality they are both. Young adults, in the main, understand and accept what the police have to do but dislike the way that they do it. A minority actively despise and fear them. These largely negative stereotypes create a poor basis for cooperative relations. But what needs to change?

This study points to a number of possibilities. They include:

- Raising awareness of the changing transition to adulthood and its implications for policing
- Changing how the police interact with young adults, particularly when exercising their powers to stop and search

- Developing more imaginative and effective ways of engaging with young adults
- Expanding police training to incorporate interpersonal skills and aligning officer training more closely with on-the-job supervision for probationers
- Investing in the development of a stronger evidence base

Since November 2012, the replacement of the old police authorities with newly elected PCCs has fundamentally altered the relationship between the police, the government and the public. Given their mandate to hold the police to account, oversee the policing budget and reflect the wishes of local citizens in their plans, PCCs will now determine whether young adults will form part of the new governance, budgetary and consultative arrangements or become marginal to them. They hold the key to whether resources are invested in the right kind of training, supervision, management and leadership that will produce a step change in how young adults are policed. In reality, there is neither the budget for over-policing nor any excuses for under-protection.

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The Police Foundation
First Floor
Park Place
12 Lawn Lane
London SW8 1UD

020 7582 3744

www.police-foundation.org.uk

Charity Registration Number: 278257

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