

LONDON POLICING ETHICS PANEL
ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR POLICING
POLICY DEVELOPMENT: AN ETHICS MATRIX

MARCH 2022

“The role of ‘ethical discourse’ is clarificatory. It enables us to explore the implications of any principle or choice we might advocate, so as to ensure that we really do understand and accept them. For if we do not, then the principle is insufficient (and perhaps even totally inappropriate) or the choice is wrong (in the sense of not being in accordance with the principles we believe we hold).

This clarificatory role is very important and to be welcomed wholeheartedly.¹”

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1. Alan Williams 'QALYs and ethics: a health economist's perspective. *Social Science & Medicine*, 43(12), 1795-1804 (1996)

INTRODUCTION

During the development of the 2022 – 2025 Police and Crime Plan for London, the London Policing Ethics Panel sought to develop ethical principles that could underpin the prioritisation of police and crime policy commitments. We were prompted to do so by the Police Foundation's 2016 report which had argued that police leaders and PCCs should make more explicit the values that underpinned prioritisation decisions.²

It became apparent that developing an ethical framework that could supply a definitive answer to questions about what should be done, and - more importantly when resources are limited - what should not be done, was an implausible aim. Other factors are critical, including political commitments, availability of resources, public concerns and perceptions, the strength of evidence for proposed courses of action, and inescapable demands associated with failure and accountability.

With thanks to external contributors

We are grateful to the following experts for sharing their ideas and research, and for their valued input into the discussions that have informed development of the matrix.

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However, the Panel concluded that it is both desirable and possible to articulate the ethical foundations informing a Police and Crime Plan, both as a whole and in specific areas of action. We have developed and 'bench tested' an ethical framework that appears to be a useful aid to policy development in the discrete areas that London's Police and Crime Plan addresses.

Feedback suggests that this model may help to ensure that policy development is ethically robust and is attentive to the full range of ethical considerations. Testers also thought that it would prove helpful in future to support scrutiny and accountability for actions in response to the Plan.

This report summarises the model and the ethical principles that underpin it. It also sets out a worked example of how the model can be applied to one area of policy, the Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG) strategy.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ETHICS MATRIX

In the course of the Panel's work, we concluded that eight important insights should inform the development of an ethical framework.

1. The centrality of principles of procedural justice, linked to - more broadly - a social democratic commitment to policing by consent. Procedural justice theories argue there are significant relationships between the treatment people receive at the hand of the police, the impact of this treatment on trust, the consequences of trust for the legitimacy and authority of justice institutions, and subsequent preparedness to obey the police and comply with the law.
2. Recognition that policing ethics is particularly complex because there are multiple stakeholders:
 - i. suspects/offenders/persons of interest
 - ii. victims/complainants
 - iii. civil society in general
 - iv. law enforcement and justice personnel and organisations.

This differentiates policing ethics from, for instance, health care ethics where the ethical locus has commonly been viewed as the professional - patient relationship. (In the course of the pandemic this focus has tended to broaden to include ethical concerns associated with public health.)

3. The necessary trade-off between the goals of maximising individual, social and economic freedoms (for example in supporting London's night time economy) and protecting people from harm (for example in managing harms associated with alcohol or drug use)

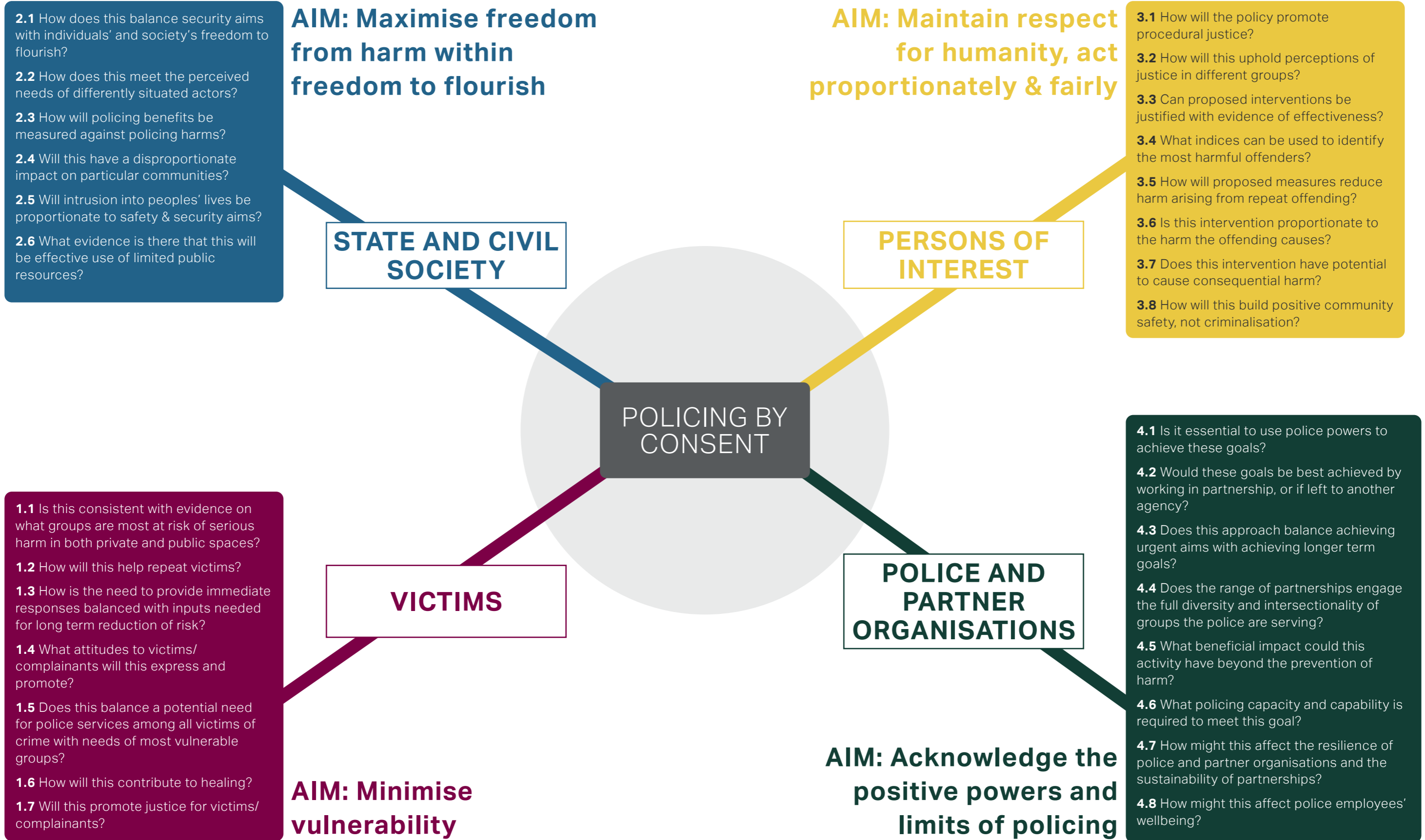
4. How best to serve the needs of those identified as victims and potential victims. This includes recognising that the categories of victim and offender are not always 'opposites', so that for example young people involved in knife crime, county lines, etc. may have been vulnerable to exploitation or threat in the course of becoming offenders.
5. Acknowledgement that policing serves to protect state security interests, and provide protection from terrorism, as well as domestic crime.
6. The need to balance attending to urgency and also to long-term prevention work.
7. The need to work in partnership with other public and private agencies.
8. Consideration of sustainability, viability, and organisational justice within the police organisation itself.

The matrix attempts to capture all of these dimensions by organising the model around four differently situated groups, with policing by consent and procedural justice placed at the centre. Each quadrant in the matrix contains questions intended to highlight ethical considerations that should be taken into account as a policing strategy is developed, reviewed, or evaluated.

The matrix is set out on the following pages, and is followed by a brief explanation of the core ethical theories that have informed it.

² Gavin Hales and Andy Higgins 'Prioritisation in a changing world: seven challenges for policing' Police Foundation (2016)

**ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR POLICING POLICY DEVELOPMENT:
AN ETHICS MATRIX**



ETHICAL THEORIES INFORMING THE MOPAC ETHICS MATRIX

Three key approaches to ethics have informed the development of the matrix: primarily duty-based ethics, primarily consequentialist ethics, and the principle of protecting the vulnerable. These are outlined briefly here. A fourth approach, virtue ethics, was also considered. Whilst we found virtue ethics a potentially very valuable theoretical orientation for policing ethics in general, it appeared less pertinent to the strategic concerns of the matrix.

We would emphasise that no one ethical perspective is dominant. Rather, each perspective highlights particular concerns and considerations. Balancing and negotiating these during policy development will, we think, help lead towards ethically robust and compelling policies.

The principle of policing by consent needs no further elaboration here, but the summary below indicates how the three ethical approaches have informed the four quadrants of the matrix.

1. PRIMARILY DUTY-BASED ETHICS

Duty based theories command obedience to absolute rules or duties without regard to the probable consequences. We do the right thing by following the rule, whatever doubts we may have about what the outcome could be. Duty based ethics thus differs radically from consequentialism, which involves deciding what is right by looking to the probable results.

Recognisable duties, such as not killing innocent people or telling the truth, are taught in childhood and are expressed across a range of world religions. However, the most influential secular deontologist is Immanuel Kant, whose ideas are reflected in some of the basic ethical assumptions of modern democracies and modern policing.

Kant argued that humans should decide what to do by considering an overarching principle he named the categorical imperative. Kant wrote

different versions of the categorical imperative, but the one which is perhaps now most familiar and resonant is always to treat human beings as an end in themselves, and not to treat them solely as a means to an end. This emphasises an unbreachable principle that it cannot be right to override the dignity and humanity of another person, simply in order to achieve your own aims.

The point of calling the imperative 'categorical' is to emphasize it creates an absolute and unbreachable moral law that must be followed however untoward the consequences that might ensue. The moral importance of following the rules, and the moral difficulty in doing so when this appears to point towards an unfavourable outcome, is the conflict on which many a 'rogue cop' drama or argument for 'noble cause corruption' turns. Whatever the difficulties associated with an absolute rule, it has real merits in upholding the fundamental rights of all humans, whether they are UK citizens, refugees, people of interest to the authorities, mentally disturbed, or otherwise.

The principle of respect for every individual, however problematic their behaviour, is encapsulated in Quadrant 3 in the matrix. The ethical duty to demonstrate respect for humanity is one reason for embedding procedural legitimacy in policing. It is simply the right thing to do. Consequentialism (below) supplies a second rationale for pursuing procedural legitimacy.

The principle of respect for humanity also highlights the demands of moral equality and inclusion. It mandates for instance attention to the particular needs of women and girls, LGBTQI groups, and people from ethnic and other minority communities. They all belong in the circle of those to whom consideration is owed, and we attending to the needs of differently situated groups is referenced in all four quadrants of the matrix.

2. PRIMARILY CONSEQUENTIALIST ETHICS

Consequentialism is an approach to ethical deliberation in which the good or bad consequences of one's actions guide determination of what is the right thing to do. Consequentialist theories all focus on the ends of human action, and thus require some view on what is a desirable state of human affairs. While there are many variations of consequentialism, the best known is probably utilitarianism. Utilitarians defend the principle that the best solution is that which achieves the greatest good for the greatest number of people. The right thing to do is that which will have the consequence of maximizing the achievement of 'worthwhile' pleasure, and minimizing pain and suffering.

Utilitarian ideas – or just undefined consequentialism – are familiar approaches in policy development and strategic planning. However, a common criticism of utilitarianism is that pursuing the greatest good for the greatest number of people may lead to the rights of individuals or minority groups being overlooked or overridden. Utilitarianism in principle allows actions where the greatest quantum of happiness is achieved for many, at the expense of one or the few. For this reason, consequentialist considerations need to be balanced by reference to fundamental interests such as life, dignity or bodily integrity which are clearly acknowledged in duty-based theory.

In the matrix, therefore, Quadrant 2 sets out an overarching aim of achieving maximum freedom from harm (protecting the basic interests of individuals) within freedom to flourish (supporting the pursuit of what are regarded as worthwhile life goals). The matrix does not make assumptions about what the worthwhile goals might be, but does invite consideration of these in light of security needs. For example, alcohol consumption is associated with disinhibited and potentially criminal behaviour. How should we balance the good of alcohol sales against the harms this may generate?

By way of further examples, adopting a consequence-based analysis, this quadrant calls attention to how policing benefits (such as confiscating weapons) may be associated with concomitant harms (loss of individual dignity when subjected to stop and search). It is worth noting that in 'bench testing' the matrix this question (2.3) about weighing the benefits and also the harms arising out of policing activity itself was a less familiar one. Quadrant 2 also invites consideration of the costs to the public of a given policing initiative, taking into account that collective resources should be used to maximise collective benefits.

Consequentialist considerations further come into play in questions of proportionality and fairness (Quadrant 3). While it may be difficult to provide an evidentiary basis for the effectiveness of all police action, it is the effectiveness of action that ultimately justifies police interference in citizens' activities. Quadrant 3 therefore includes questions about the expected benefits of action in relation to suspected harms.

Finally, consequentialism provides an additional rationale for maintaining a commitment to procedural legitimacy. There is good evidence that when police treat people fairly and with respect, this is more likely to secure peoples' trust and co-operation. Procedural fairness is thus an instrumental good as well as a fundamental moral obligation.

3. THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTING THE VULNERABLE

We use the principle of protecting the vulnerable here in the specific sense elaborated by philosopher Robert Goodin: that where people are particularly vulnerable to or dependent upon you, you have a special responsibility to protect their interests.

The requirement for police to be aware of the needs of the most vulnerable in society is a familiar prescription. But Goodin's formulation invites us to go a step further, and consider the extent to which some people may be uniquely vulnerable to, or especially dependent upon, police action.

The principle of protecting the interests of those particularly vulnerable to your actions of course correlates with issues around proper use of the unique powers of the police. It thus points to questions about, for instance, how effectively police work with vulnerable victims such as those who have experienced sexual assault (Quadrant 1). It also raises questions such as whether police action can potentially have disproportionate impact or significant collateral consequences, such as repeated police action in minoritised populations or high crime areas (Quadrant 2). Further, it engages questions around how policing can help to build, rather than undermine, community resilience. (Quadrant 4).

The principle of protecting the interests of those especially dependent on you becomes significant in areas such as working with groups particularly vulnerable to the risk of exploitation or crime (Quadrant 1), focusing on high harm repeat offenders whose pattern of offending is visible mainly to police (Quadrant 2) or where social deprivation and exposure to harmful behaviours may be associated with intersectionality and create further marginalisation (Quadrant 4).

Finally, this principle of recognising the responsibilities owed to those whose welfare depends upon your action, emphasises the need to consider the duty of care owed to police staff and the importance of attending to police employees' wellbeing.

TESTING THE MATRIX

The matrix was 'bench tested' with the Violence Against Women and Girls policy team. The team found the matrix was simple to follow and use, and it took them about 2 hours to work it through and consider its implications. They considered that the four quadrants encompassed the spread of their concerns.

Importantly, the matrix helped them to identify fresh issues or areas that needed more consideration. These included countenancing the possible perverse consequences of specific policy initiatives, and finding the right balance of protecting civil liberties alongside policing action.

Overall using the tool provided reassurance that policy development was on the 'right track'. It was found to be of value for checking back on policy that already existed, considering how far policy was fit for purpose, as well as being useful in the process of formulating new policy.

It was suggested that the matrix could be adopted as a tool for oversight and assessment in discussions between MOPAC and MPS. The VAWG team thought it could be a useful reference point for MPS officers, working as a prompt sheet for developing business plans or for reporting on MPS policy delivery. Used by both organisations it could constructively support the fulfilment of oversight objectives. It was felt that the matrix has potential for use as an evaluative tool, both in terms of assessing policy and monitoring or evaluating implementation.

However, there was also concern that it should not come to be seen as 'just another checklist', in the way that can affect the equality impact assessments. There was a need for consideration of how to 'land' the matrix in the organisation, and how to encourage its use as a genuine tool for thinking rather than another bureaucratic requirement.

In summary, it was thought that policing by consent was an appropriate core principle, that the quadrants reflected the foci of MOPAC's responsibilities, that the grid was helpful, and that it could be of use in the formative, finalising and evaluative stages in the policy process. However, the MOPAC team agree the matrix is of less value in the derivation of priorities.

WORKED EXAMPLE: TACKLING VAWG AS A PRIORITY

Overleaf we illustrate how our ethical foundations model helps to specify ethical considerations in relation to addressing VAWG in the Police and Crime Plan. As VAWG is such a broad domain, we used Domestic Abuse as an example.

This analysis is not intended to be exhaustive. It offers a brief answer to the prompts for strategic planning under each of the four 'ethical stakeholder' quadrants: victims, state and civil society, persons of interest, police and partnership organisations.

"It makes you think quite deeply about the work you're doing."
(VAWG team member)

QUADRANT 1: VICTIMS

<p>1.1 Is this consistent with evidence on what groups are most at risk of serious harm in both private and public spaces?</p>	<p>Repeated violence against a small group of victims accounts for a significant proportion of harm. Data analysis suggests that a focus on domestic abuse and sexual offences could significantly contribute to overall harm reduction but should co-exist with a focus on RVV against identified groups of at-risk males.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data from Scotland indicate that when RVV is broken down by the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, domestic violence emerges as an important component of RVV (ONS, 2019). Research using the Cambridge Harm Index in Dorset (Dudfield 2017) showed that 85% of all calculated harm was suffered by 4% of the population, that sexual offences against women were a significant component, and that 15% of calculated harm occurred during offences subsequent to the first. Conversely a review of 106 studies on repeat victims of violence (RVV) found that risk factors include being male, younger, not married, on a low income and unemployed (van Reemst et al., 2013)
<p>1.2 How will this help repeat victims?</p>	<p>Repeat victimisation concentrates harm and trauma on a small number of increasingly vulnerable people. Responding to domestic abuse and sexual offences using steps to prevent repeated violence could significantly reduce the impact this has on victims. (HMIC noted in the past that MPS databases did not easily identify repeat victims).</p>
<p>1.3 How is the need to provide short term immediate responses balanced with the inputs needed to achieve long-term reduction of risk?</p>	<p>See also 2.2, 4.2, 4.3. on different types of immediate response.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attentiveness to victims' expressed needs during immediate response may generate further knowledge of what is needed for long term preventative approaches. Recognising patterns of repeat violence in DA could be preventative in the short/medium term. Long term prevention needs to be situated within a holistic public health approach.
<p>1.4 What attitudes to victims/complainants will this express and promote?</p>	<p>Research suggests four common attitudes to victims (silence, blame, deference, agency).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DA has historically been met with silence (not a police problem) or blame (victim's fault). Responses tailored to victim preferences and need, and a long-term public health approach, move towards respect for agency.
<p>1.5 Does this balance a potential need for police services among all victims of crime with needs of most vulnerable groups?</p>	<p>DA has historically been treated as lesser in various ways than other crimes of violence so prioritising DA redresses that imbalance. More broadly there is good ethical justification to direct the focus on harm and RVV rather than treat all counts of crime, or even violent crime, as equivalent.</p>
<p>1.6 How will this contribute to healing (e.g. coping, recovery, restoration of trust)?</p>	<p>A person-centred approach that focuses on victims as active agents invites consideration of how police & partners' activities can be designed to support future wellbeing of victims and their families.</p>
<p>1.7 How will this promote justice for victims / complainants?</p>	<p>See also 3.2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How far does the planned approach take into account victims' different conceptions of an appropriate outcome in DA cases?

QUADRANT 2: STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

<p>2.1 How does this balance security and individuals' and society's freedom to flourish?</p>	<p>A range of social factors influence occurrence and management of DA (e.g. privacy concerns, consent attitudes, consumption of alcohol, sport, etc).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are there any known factors (such as alcohol consumption) that could be addressed by moderating (mainly male) freedoms in the interests of security for victims of DA? Conversely, is freedom to flourish free of domestic abuse being limited by inattentiveness to (mainly women's) safety, attitudes such as victim blaming, or risk mitigation approaches that place responsibility on victims
<p>2.2 How will this meet the perceived needs of differently situated actors?</p>	<p>See also 1.4, 1.7, 4.4. How well do MOPAC and MPS currently understand patterns and reporting of domestic abuse as they exist in different communities, especially the seldom heard? HMIC noted MPS has DA survivors group.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distrust of police may inhibit reporting of DA in some communities. Some communities (e.g. people with Learning Disabilities) may have limited understanding of what counts as abuse Some victims may be particularly dependent on abusers (e.g. if frail or disabled) Victims of DA in different communities may seek different outcomes, with some placing higher premium for example on maintaining family or community cohesion. College of Policing notes there is a paucity of evaluative evidence in relation to alternatives to arrest. Concern has been expressed regarding levels of police perpetrated DA
<p>2.3 How will policing benefits be measured against policing harms?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arguably, in the past the disbenefits of police involvement in domestic abuse (arrest making it worse) have been highlighted at the expense of the benefits. It is accepted that policing can bring benefits in DA when police powers are used judiciously. However, it should be considered whether in some circumstances the potential harms could be mitigated by using agencies outside the justice system.
<p>2.4 Will this have a disproportionate impact on particular communities?</p>	<p>This depends on the approach adopted. However, profiling of repeat victims may yield information that would point in the direction of interventions focusing on particular communities.</p>
<p>2.5 Will intrusion into peoples' lives (e.g. by surveillance) be proportionate to a legitimate aim?</p>	<p>With DA, depends on approach adopted especially in respect of repeat offenders and repeat victims.</p>
<p>2.6 What evidence is there that this will be an effective use of limited public resources?</p>	<p>See 4.5</p>

QUADRANT 3: PERSONS OF INTEREST

We have used the term 'persons of interest' to encompass people suspected of offences and also those who come to the attention of the police (such as gang associates) who are not suspects for specific crimes.

<p>3.1 How will this aspect of the PCP promote procedural justice?</p>	<p>Procedural justice (PJ) is traceable both to a moral principle of according respect to all individuals, and - because respecting others secures greater legitimacy and compliance - is a pragmatic practice that serves law enforcement ends. Principles of PJ apply both to persons of interest and complainants.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plans to address DA should ensure that systems and processes support PJ. For example, allowing too little response time means alternatives to arrest that are better for victims may not be pursued. Conversely, bureaucracy following arrests may disincentivise officers from arrest. In DA women's perspectives have historically been marginalised, and they have been treated as unreliable witnesses. Procedural justice for them implies for instances respectful response, transparent communication, respect for individual views on appropriate resolution. HMIC noted a lack of awareness in MPS of important reasons for taking positive action such as arrest, which may be associated with reluctance to criminalise the perpetrator.
<p>3.2 How will this uphold perceptions of justice in different groups?</p>	<p>See also 2.2, 3.3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Procedural justice is key to all DA encounters. However, PJ may not serve different expectations around what would constitute substantive justice. HMIC referenced the need for police positive police action such as arrest. How far does arrest uphold perceptions of justice among victims? Processes should aim to develop police capability to deal responsively with cases, because (per 3.3.) evidence suggests proper use of discretion is key If resolution, not criminalisation, is the victim's goal how can just resolution be supported?
<p>3.3 Can proposed interventions be justified with evidence of effectiveness?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Evidence base conflicted. Mandatory arrest policy works in some contexts but doesn't work everywhere. College of Policing notes there is paucity of evaluative evidence in relation to alternatives to arrest. Evidence suggests discretion important but has to be used well.
<p>3.4 What indices can be used to identify the most harmful offenders?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of Cambridge Harm Index (CHI) has identified the 'power few' offences, the offenders and offences causing most harm. Repeat offending in DA features heavily. UCL is working with MPS on evaluating their RFGH (Recency, Frequency, Gravity, Harm) index. Important to look at how to measure collective impact on all involved: perpetrators, victims and family.

<p>3.5 How will proposed measures reduce harm arising from repeat offending?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All existing DA data point to a proportion of total offenders causing most harm. Policing initiatives, including alternatives to arrest etc., and multi-agency working could concentrate on the 'power few'. Concentrating on a specific group of offenders may not be ethical, however, unless they are being offered a way out of offending rather than repeatedly criminalised.
<p>3.6 Is this intervention proportionate to the harm the offending causes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interventions are a response to the harm done to all those involved, including family, extended family, and community witnesses.
<p>3.7 Does this intervention have potential to cause consequential harm?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is MPS learning from its domestic abuse survivor's group about the impact of different interventions? Where police act on intelligence for instance, there may be 'false positives' with associated harm. Interventions have to be well targeted.
<p>3.8 How will this build positive community safety, not criminalisation?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How far will MPS and partners work to develop civic institutions / practices / groups to provide protection for victims who might not approach police, and to provide alternatives to arrest which is itself potentially destructive? Note the importance of community group intermediaries and third-party reporting schemes Consider how police action can 'open the gates' to more community based, non-police interventions

QUADRANT 4: POLICE AND PARTNER ORGANISATIONS

4.1 Is it essential to use police powers to achieve these goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The response to DA requires a full range of police powers – immediate response to call for assistance, arrest, investigation, enforcement of restraining orders, risk mitigation, removal to place of safety, protection of / in place of safety.
4.2 Would these goals be best achieved by working in partnership, or left to another agency?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reducing domestic abuse can only be achieved by working in partnership utilising essential police powers As custodians of data police have important role in identifying behavioural patterns and leading risk mitigation efforts in domestic abuse. Additionally, consideration should be given to how partnership with private sector could reduce abuse (monitoring, environment design, digital safety etc).
4.3 Does this approach balance achieving urgent aims with achieving longer term prevention goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A comprehensive strategy which adopts a public health approach to violence would fulfil short- and longer-term prevention goals when carried out in partnership. Strategy should not focus only on women as victims but develop a range of preventative efforts including addressing male violence and male behaviours.
4.4 Does the range of partnerships engage the full diversity and intersectionality (age, class, ethnicity etc.) of groups the police are serving?	<p>See also 2.2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What needs to be done in order to engage and serve diverse communities and agencies that work with them (e.g. minority ethnic groups, those with communication issues (language or disability related) LGBTQI, elderly people). Are active attempts being made to uncover hidden violence or encourage reporting?
4.5 What beneficial impact could this have beyond the prevention of harm?	<p>Research indicates that not only does tackling DA address immediate harm and safety concerns but also has considerable impact in other areas. Effective reduction of DA would have positive benefits in all these areas.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DA impacts directly on victims' use of health and welfare services, housing need, participation in the labour market, etc. DA impacts on family as well as partners. It has major implications for use of health and welfare services, future educational attainment, future offending behaviours.

4.6 What policing capacity and capability is required to achieve this goal?	<p>Tackling DA raises issues around responsive resourcing of frontline services, to direct them towards emergent patterns of occurrence, and preventive activity with partners. Additional supportive roles might be needed (e.g. analysts or liaison services) that are essential to a proactive rather than reactive approach.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the past, HMIC has identified need for more MPS specialist officers, more training on use of positive action (e.g. arrest) in DA & greater awareness of non-violent DA such as coercive control. College of Policing evaluation of Domestic Abuse Matters programme showed limited impact on police attitudes to DA & coercive control, further work needed. Police-perpetrated DA is a significant issue requiring special provision
4.7 How might this affect the resilience of policing and partner organisations and the sustainability of partnerships?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both the short- and long-term benefits of resourcing for DA funding need to be considered. Consideration should be given to sustainability in resourcing partnerships and multi-agency approaches, and whether it is worth setting these up for short periods when results may not be immediately apparent. Funding sources for small community agencies that the police are working with are tenuous and are focused on immediate support for women. Insecure funding affects their focus on and the future of partnership
4.8 How will this affect police employees' wellbeing?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There appears to have been no research into how policing domestic abuse impacts on officers either negatively or positively. Some aspects of managing DA may be particularly physically or psychologically demanding. What resources may be required to support staff? Concern has been expressed regarding prevalence and management of police perpetrated DA, and this should be considered in developing interventions. How well do police support their own officers who are victims of DA?

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