

THE GREAT DEBATE:

How wide or narrow should the police's remit be?

Executive Director's Introduction

In October 2014, the Second International Conference on Law Enforcement and Public Health took place at the Free University, Amsterdam. A particular highlight was a plenary debate between Professor Andrew Millie of the UK's Edge Hill University, and the AIPM's Dr Victoria Herrington on how wide should the police's remit be. The genesis of this debate was a chapter published by Professor Millie in Jennifer Brown's influential book on the Future of Policing (published in 2014), which itself informed Lord Stevens' independent review on the future of policing in England and Wales (2013). This chapter developed ideas that Millie had put forward in a special edition of the scholarly journal Criminology and Criminal Justice in 2013 and set out the potential opportunities for policing to recast its role in society as a result of contraction enforced through austerity, and with it to reconsider the sense in police being involved in a range of non-crime issues.

There is of course a counter argument to be made, particularly within the context of public health, which was the focus of the conference for which this debate was prepared. Dr Herrington assumes this counter position here and as such this Research Focus sets out both arguments and invites you to draw your own conclusions. In line with the AIPM tradition of advancing provocative ideas, we hope you will see this document as the starting point for further discussion, rather than an end point in and of itself.

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THE CASE FOR A NARROWER FOCUS TO POLICING

Andrew Millie

Since the economic crisis of 2008, governments across the world have had to make difficult financial decisions. Following the 2010 election, the UK coalition government adopted an approach characterised by austerity with cuts made across many departments. Policing was not immune, with a 20 per cent cut in government funding of police in England and Wales through to 2015. Scotland adopted a different approach opting for a merger of all forces in an attempt to cut costs.

The politics of policing south of the border made this less of an option for England and Wales. Instead there were various attempts to cut costs while maintaining 'front line' services. There followed a period of recruitment freezes and uncertainty among serving officers. On top of this, it was decided that this was a good time to increase the democratic accountability of police in England and Wales, leading to the first ever elections of 'Police and Crime Commissioners' (PCCs) in

November 2012. Following a very low-key campaign only 15 per cent of the electorate turn up to vote.

The past few years have proved to be quite a challenge for British policing; having fewer resources and the introduction of (assumed) democracy. When the cuts were announced the function of the police became more of an issue. If there were to be cuts, where would they be? And rather than being a wholly negative experience for the police, could this be an opportunity to refocus on core tasks?

There followed a seminar in September 2011 funded by the British Academy on the topic of post-austerity policing, with contributions from Ben Bowling, Karen Bullock, Simon Holdaway, Robert Reiner, Mike Hough, Nick Tilley and myself. Discussion was led by Betsy Stanko, John Graham and P.A.J. Waddington (see Millie and Bullock, 2012). A selection of papers from this seminar was published in a special issue of the academic journal 'Criminology and Criminal Justice' (Bullock and Leeney, 2013; Holdaway, 2013; Hough, 2013; Millie, 2013; and Reiner, 2013). As noted in the introduction, my contribution was developed further in a paper for Lord Stevens' independent review of

policing in England and Wales (Independent Police Commission, 2013; Millie, 2014). In this short paper I provide a summary of my main arguments and call for a re-think regarding the breadth of tasks that have been adopted by the police.

..the police function comprises a mix of crime control, order maintenance and social service functions.

In 1983, Jean-Paul Brodeur described policing as either high policing or low policing. High policing included the work of the intelligence community, while low policing included everyday policing activities, often by officers in uniform. Instead, I conceptualise policing as being on a continuum between narrow policing and wide policing, depending on the range of functions adopted by police personnel. I argue that policing has become too wide and needs to be narrowed, but not to the extent that some have argued.

For instance, the UK Home Secretary Theresa May (2011) has stated that

“We need [the police] to be the tough, no-nonsense crime-fighters they signed up to be”.

This is an especially narrow conception of policing function. At the other extreme, policing scholar Egon Bittner (1990/2005: 150) has noted the police’s role is to intervene in “every kind of emergency”. To me this is too wide a remit for the police. While there is much more to policing than simple ‘non-nonsense crime fighting’ there are tasks that others might do just as well, and maybe even better than the police.

Fifty years of policing scholarship has concluded that the police function comprises a mix of crime control, order maintenance and social service functions. I believe all three are as important as each other, yet there is scope to reconsider what within these three functions are police work, and what could – or perhaps should – be done by others. But first I shall provide some context.

The past thirty years has been a period of sizable growth for the police. For instance, from 1981-2009 the police service strength in England and Wales increased by 22 per cent. This occurred while the population increased by just 10 per cent. This was not a uniquely British phenomenon.

From 2000 to 2005, police numbers in New South Wales Police increased by 10 per cent, while the State population rose by 3 per cent. In the US from 1992-2008, State and local law enforcement agencies grew from 2.38 sworn officers per 1,000 to 2.51 per 1,000 in 2008 – an increase of a quarter in absolute terms. Yet

over this same period, recorded crime stabilised, or actually fell in many Western nations. Of course, there are doubts over the accuracy of some recorded crime figures, and much criminal activity is missed by police crime statistics and by victimisation surveys.

Yet the significance here is that in many instances the fall in recorded crime occurred before the biggest rises in police personnel, thus making it more difficult to claim that falls were due to increased police numbers. This is illustrated for England and Wales in Figure 1.

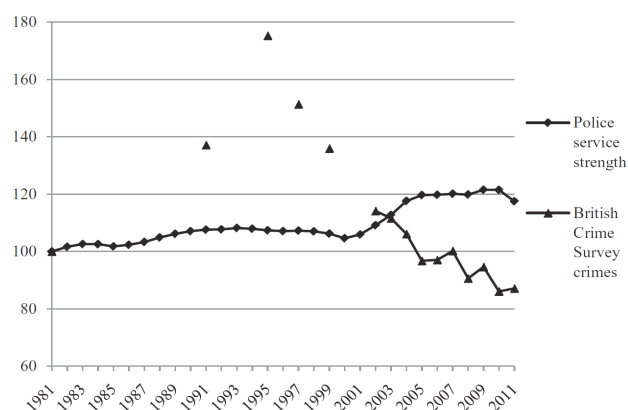


Figure 1. Police Service Strength England and Wales, and British Crime Survey (BCS) count of crime, 1981–2011, both indexed to 100

Original figure in Millie (2013)

Note: Police Service Strength is recorded for 31 March each year. The BCS is irregular from 1981 through to 2001, and then annual figures are available from 2002 onwards.

Not only was the growth in police numbers despite falls in recorded crime, expansion was also at a time of increased competition with the private sector more vigorously taking on functions traditionally supplied by the police. Furthermore, growth in the state police also occurred in the range of functions adopted by police personnel.

A wide remit for the police is not new. According to Lee (1901), nineteenth century policing included: “... compulsory education of children, the reformation of criminals, the observance of sanitary and hygienic conditions, the control of liquor traffic, and the prevention of cruelty to children and animals”. Clearly the remit of the police can and does change with many of these early functions being taken on by others.

Much more recently, the British Home Office (1995) attempted to identify superfluous tasks, including missing persons, schools work, lost property and stray dogs, noise nuisance, responses to alarms, public/sporting event stewarding, gaming, betting and licensing, court summons, warrants and other administrative duties, court security and immigration

and other escorts. This effort at streamlining was met with opposition and was not successful, although some tasks have since shifted to other agencies, including private security taking over prison escorts and local authorities taking responsibility for noise nuisance.

There are a number of possible explanations for the recent history of police growth. Firstly, governments have shown increasing enthusiasm for using crime and its control for political purposes.

In Britain this has been especially so since Tony Blair's famous declaration in opposition that his party would be "tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime" (1992). Politicians are clearly prone to populism and at election all main political parties in Britain have promised more police numbers (Millie, 2008). Responding to calls for more bobbies on the beat leads, according to Ian Loader (2006: 207), to a

"self-propelling circle whereby popular demands, and the numbers of police supplied in a bid to meet them, are both endlessly ratcheted up".

Chief Constables may also have been guilty of empire building. When something needs to be done the police are often the first with their hands up saying "we can do it". The kind of tasks taken on or given to the police have included having police officers permanently based within schools and doing probation work, in Britain under the title 'offender manager'. It is possible that such tasks, along with some existing responsibilities, may be more usefully done by other government and non-government agencies, NGOs or community groups.

..public health programs should be in place to improve public health rather than crime

Furthermore, drawing on actuarial work in the insurance industry, over recent decades there has been increased emphasis on risk management; the notion that future hazards can be planned for and prevented. Jonathan Simon (2007) has described how a risk paradigm recasts a wide range of government actions as justifiable for their possible impact on the future risk of criminal activity; what he calls governing through crime. From this perspective education is important because there can be crime reducing benefits in having an educated population. Public health becomes important because work on substance abuse and addiction can lead to less crime. These statements may be true, but it is questionable whether the defining feature of such programs should be crime.

My view is simply that public health programs should be in place to improve public health rather than crime.

Similarly, governments should invest in education in order to improve the education and life chances of its citizens. Crime reduction may follow, but it should not define what is provided. Following a risk paradigm where crime risk is a defining feature, it is understandable why police officers are permanently based in schools, doing probation work, work as disaster managers, as sports ground stewards, etc. Such an emphasis on crime control has been seen as the criminalisation of social policy (e.g. Crawford, 1997), or more specifically the 'policification' (Kemshall and Maguire, 2001).

Once the police become involved in wider functions there is a danger that potential conflicts may follow. In 1999 Nash described the emergence of a 'polibation' officer in reference to the police's increased involvement in probation work. A potential conflict is between care for the offender and the traditional police function of intelligence gathering. This conflict was identified by Davies (2013) when looking at disaster management and family liaison. According to Davies:

Police regard survivors', relatives' or witnesses' disclosures to partner agencies as potential evidence and/or intelligence and argue that there can be 'no absolute guarantee of confidentiality' ... The idea of 'covert' use of a family liaison 'cover' by anti-terrorism officers has raised debate among police themselves. (Davies, 2013: 515).

A further example of potential conflict is in schools work. Following the introduction of Safer School Partnerships in England and Wales many schools have had police officers permanently based on their premises (Millie and Moore, 2011). The model adheres to a risk paradigm and draws on US experiences (Simon, 2007) where school security has been a major issue. Yet by having police officers within schools, issues of discipline can be recast as anti-social behaviours or crimes that require a police response – a form of criminalisation of education policy. Further, school-based officers found their roles expand and became involved in truancy patrols and, in some instance, even teaching relief. The British Police Foundation (2011) has expressed concern that, following a risk paradigm, police in schools have been used to identify "future bad behaviour or extremism":

One concern is that although the original purpose of introducing police presence in schools was the reduction of crime and antisocial behaviour, the role has been widened to encompass identification of risk factors pointing towards future bad behaviour or extremism" (Police Foundation, 2011: 08).

There are further tasks that the police do that could be reconsidered. For example, certain security officer tasks may be better suited to others. Stewarding of major

events may similarly be better suited to the private or voluntary sector. The recent Hillsborough Independent Panel (2012: 8) report into the Hillsborough football disaster of 1989 noted that the police prioritized “crowd control over crowd safety”. There was a clear conflict of policing tasks. That said, the experiences of G4S at the 2012 London Olympics – where they failed to provide enough security personnel with the army having to step in – demonstrate that private security may not have all the answers either.

However, austerity may be the opportunity to discuss which tasks may be better suited to other non-policing providers.

Individual police officers may be excellent at some of these tasks, be they offender management, disaster management, major event stewarding, or perhaps being permanently based within a school. However, austerity may be the opportunity to discuss which tasks may be better suited to other non-policing providers.

The response to the cuts has been talk of protecting the ‘front line’ (e.g. HMIC, 2011; 2012) with the front line defined as “those who are in everyday contact with the public and who directly intervene to keep people safe and enforce the law” (HMIC, 2011: 6). Everyday contact is defined loosely including both visible and specialist roles. In effect the front line is so all-inclusive that it becomes meaningless. In fact, all that are excluded are the back office functions without which the police would struggle to operate and perhaps ought to see greater protection.

One option embraced by a number of forces has been the closure of police stations. While some stations may be beyond their useful life expectancy, closure signals a lack of interest in the affected communities (McLaughlin, 2008; Millie, 2012).

Conclusion

So police practice can be seen as sitting somewhere on a continuum between narrow policing and wide policing. I have argued for a narrower policing, but - recognising the police’s role in order maintenance and its social service function – not as narrow as Theresa May’s non-nonsense crime fighters. The police do have a role in areas not directly related to crime – be that in education, public health or other related areas of policy.

However, there may be other government and non-government agencies, NGOs and volunteer groups, that are better suited. By reconsidering where it is, and is not, suitable for police involvement there is the possibility of de-policification or de-criminalisation of social policy –

or to use Simon’s terminology, to govern through crime a little less. The police should maintain partnership arrangements but do not have to be taking the lead in such work on wider social problems. For schools, the defining characteristic ought to be education and not crime prevention. For public health, the major concern ought simply to be public health and not intelligence gathering.

Of course, if the police do pass on responsibilities, at a time of fiscal restraint others may not be able to fill the gaps immediately. This does not mean the discussions should not be had; and hopefully the result would be a narrower, more focused police service.

The former Commissioner of New South Wales Police, Ken Moroney (Millie, 2009) has stated that

“...recruitment for the future has to be more than just more police numbers and more police numbers – or as we say in this state, ‘more blue shirts and more blue shirts’”.

He is right that there is more to policing than numbers. In this paper I have argued that there is also more to policing than the number of roles and responsibilities. For the outsider there is a confusing array of tasks that police officers may become involved in. Yet, as the policing scholar Michael Banton observed back in 1964:

“A cardinal principle for the understanding of police organisation and activity is that the police are only one among many agencies of social control” (1964: 1).

Put simply, the police do not have to be doing everything.

THE CASE FOR BROAD POLICING

Victoria Herrington

There is much on which Andrew and I agree. I am also of the opinion that austerity provides with it an opportunity to review what it is that the police do, and that to slavishly preserve the ‘front line’ without a discussion on the role of that ‘front line’ is to miss that opportunity. But ensuring these front line police are effectively engaged in policing, and understanding that this function is broader than throwing someone in the back of a police van, is an important consideration.

I think we are also in furious agreement that there is much more to policing than simple crime control, and any refresh of the police role should include with it an understanding that the role is a blend of crime control, a social service function, and order maintenance. Theresa May’s characterisation of police as ‘crime fighters’ fails to consider either the symbolic function of police (Jackson

and Bradford, 2009), or the reality that as a 24/7 emergency service they are likely to be first responders to a number of ambiguous events stemming from a raft of social problems (Bittner, 1990/2005). In many ways this is what the public wants and expects.

Appreciating this reality is not the same as saying that police have a responsibility to fix all of these problems, but as I will argue, I think they do have a responsibility to contribute to such solutions, if for no other reason than in doing so they likely reduce the demand for their own services further down the line.

..to recognise not only that police have a necessary function in public health ... but other public agencies also have a role to play in crime control.

So to pre-empt my conclusion, I think where we disagree is in how police should deal with the realities of a contracting budget, and a contracting ability to deal with the multitude of issues that - for better or worse - have been laid at their door. For me, rather than hiving off functions that the police should withdraw from, and expecting these to be adequately catered for by other government services or the private sector, the current environment offers an opportunity to look at public safety in a much more holistic and joined up way.

The opportunity is there to recognise not only that police have a necessary function in public health and other 'non-crime' issues, but other public agencies also have a role to play in crime control. Rather than seeing the need for police to expand or contract their role, then, there is a need for a refocusing of effort on all sides, and greater recognition from all public sector agencies that we are really all in this together.

Exploring the intersect between policing and public health

The intersect between policing and public health is the focus of this conference, and as such I will concentrate - as an example - on how we might better understand the common ground between these two disciplines to enable better health and safety outcomes. I think a similar argument can be made for education, and for other public services involved in solving complex problems. So whilst I'll talk about the specifics in the context of public health, the principles of the argument are generalizable to the broader public service environment.

Public Health is most commonly defined by the World Health Organisation (1948) as

"a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (see Smith, 2014).

The interesting thing for those of us who are not public health scholars is that this definition calls for more than a simple medical intervention for individuals or groups of individuals; it underscores the need for health to be considered at the societal and community level as well.

A second set of parameters worth briefly setting out here are those accepted as having been articulated in one form or another on the inception of the Metropolitan Police Service in 1829, and which continue to define democratic policing across the globe (see Victoria Police 2014). Two of these so-called *Peelian Principles* are of particular note: that "the basic mission for which police exist is to prevent crime and disorder" and "the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it".

Crime prevention is the key message in these two principles, and is an aspect of policing underscored by the UK's Inspectorate of Constabulary's (HMIC) recent *Taking the time for crime* report (2012), which noted that a

"preventative policing approach is critical because it reduces crime and the demands that go with it" (p4).

Thus if we could caricature the two disciplines in broad strokes: public health is about the creation of social well-being, and policing is preventing the social harm inflicted through crime. There is, arguably, a clear overlap in any Venn Diagram representing these two aims, intersecting at a broader outcome aim that we might term *quality of life*.

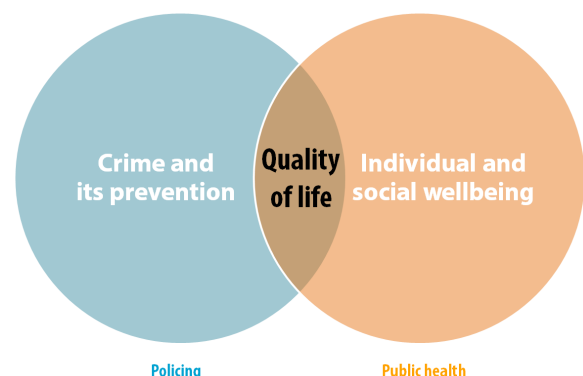


Figure 2: The intersect between policing and public health

I think it is in the interpretation of the scope of both of these missions and their overlap where proponents of the narrow and broad positions disagree. For me, a good response to the constraints of austerity (or perhaps more appropriately the political predispositions

that have accompanied austerity) is in reducing the demand for police services. And the best way to reduce a demand for police services is to reduce the amount

The police role in crime prevention necessitates stepping beyond the boundaries of police powers

of crime. As such rather than a simple redistribution of former police responsibilities to other ill-funded and reluctant agencies, and a retraction from the proactive crime prevention work that police have been doing upstream of offending, a better response might be a refocus of efforts in crime prevention, and more appropriate joined up working to deal collectively and more meaningfully with the antecedents of crime.

The police role in this crime prevention necessitates stepping beyond the boundaries of police powers and working with, but not instead of, the multitude of other agencies dealing with the wide range of social problems that conclude in one of Bittner's 'emergencies' at the police's door. This work could be characterised under a broad *quality of life* project wherein police become just one agent in a multi-faceted response to addressing complex social ills.

Why should the police care about public health?

Let's unpack that further and set out the case for why the police should retain their crime prevention function, but refocus efforts to more meaningfully engage with those perhaps better suited to dealing with broader social issues before they turn into crime.

We know that the police are intimately connected with public health whether they want to be or not. They routinely encounter health risk behaviours in their work (Wood et al., 2013) and estimates are that around 30% of police work involves dealing with people with a mental illness, often in crisis (Coleman and Cotton, 2010; Lipson et al., 2010).

In many of these cases individuals are 'frequent presenters' (Herrington and Clifford, 2012) to police and are the victims of a revolving door of acute admission, discharge and ineffective engagement with community based mental health services. We know also that it is not so much the initial police response that is of concern, but a lack of capacity for follow-through by other agencies that hurts front line police; oftentimes blowing out the amount of time it takes to deal with such incidences and – perhaps – encouraging police to simply get on and fix such problems themselves (Herrington and Pope 2013; Ogloff et al., 2013; HMIC, 2012), albeit through a

policing lens.

Family violence, and drug and alcohol related incidents make up a large proportion of the rest of the average police officer's workload. Oftentimes a police response is required because a law has been broken, or to prevent a law being broken. We know that most crimes do not come out of the blue, signalling instead a lack of effective intervention and engagement by a range of public service agencies upstream of the crisis event.

Dealing with such fall out is policing, of course. And so is preventing such crimes in the first place. But this leads me to paraphrase Ian Loader (1997) and ask "can there really be a policing solution to the crime problem?"

..there is a degree of fatalism in the reality that 'if the police don't do this, who will'?

Whether police are dealing with the fallout from failings in the public health system at the point where they grey into public safety (as is arguably the case when responding to persons with a mental illness in crisis), or where incidents require a full blown legalistic response, police work is intimately tied to the work of other public agencies, and in the context of this debate, to public health. Thus the effectiveness of any crime prevention starts a long way upstream. But how much of this upstream work should be the responsibility of the police?

Clearly police have a vested interest in ensuring effective preventative engagement with would-be offenders and persons of interest, although that is not the same as saying that they should be responsible, entirely, for such engagement. However, where police continue to be measured on the effectiveness of their response to crime and its prevention, and where effective prevention requires upstream work that may not be forthcoming from similarly cash-strapped public health agencies, what are the police to do?

Whilst not a satisfactory state of affairs there is a degree of fatalism in the reality that 'if the police don't do this, who will'? What other agencies' have their effectiveness measured against levels of crime? Or against perceptions of public safety? Who else is therefore instrumentally motivated to ensure that such events are identified early and prevented, even when that means crossing professional discipline boundaries?

Whilst other agencies may be better placed to deal with prevention characterised as education, or health, or social care, and police involvement in such activities may lead to a 'policification', police organisations are (both) blessed and cursed by a 'can do; will do' attitude.

(Which can admittedly sometimes be coupled with the *clarity to see exactly what needs to be done*, borne of a degree of *professional arrogance*.) They also, generally, have the necessary organisational grunt to fix the problem as they see it.

..given the way in which police effectiveness is measured - both technically by government and intuitively by the public - they cannot afford to abrogate responsibility for upstream crime prevention

I do not believe that such problem solving *always* carries with it a subversive intelligence gathering motive. More frequently, police involvement in public health and other 'non-crime' issues is driven by necessity.

What is a police crew to do at 2am when faced with a person in mental crisis? What are the consequences if they do nothing? What are they to do if this is the 10th time they have been called to assist this particular individual? Who wouldn't try and do something to better stem the demand for their service?

In times of austerity, but in times of efficient and effective public service in general, police cannot afford to be the 'fixers' for the range of social problems that ultimately land at their door. But given the way in which police effectiveness is measured - both technically by government and intuitively by the public - they cannot afford to abrogate responsibility for upstream crime prevention entirely either.

Thus instead of the opposing extremes of 'fixing the problem' themselves or 'leaving this for others to do', I advocate for a refocus of police effort to become enablers of a joined up approach to such issues, powered by a holistic understanding of the overlap in the missions between public safety and public health. I call also for all organisations engaged in solving complex social problems to consider the broader *quality of life* project, and frame their involvement in these terms to maximise the commonality in agendas between agencies.

Of course, police already profess to work in a joined up space, and have partnerships with schools, health services, corrective services, and drug treatment services. The balance that needs to be better struck is between police being the initiators and drivers of many of these partnerships, to being a collaborator.

We know that there are hurdles to effective partnerships including: a mismatch of resources; skills; culture; processes; expectations; professional identity; and competing demands from organisational key performance indicators (Herrington, 2012; Skinns, 2008;

Evans and Forbes 2009; Wood et al., 2011).

Which is why a holistic approach to joined up working requires all sides to see their involvement as central to their own mission or cause, and not an add on that takes away from the 'real work' or the organisation. While not without its difficulties, the *quality of life* moniker may be sufficiently broad to capture each organisation's agenda and encourage joined up working towards a shared - and universally accepted - outcome.

So perhaps rather than asking how narrow or broad policing should be, we should ask instead what other agencies are responsible for contributing to downstream public safety, and how can we better encourage joint ownership of this. The first part of answering this is articulating why non-police organisations - and public health organisations in particular - should be interested in it, which is what we turn to now.

The public health role in crime prevention

There is an instrumental *quid pro quo* argument that might be of value here: public health professionals know all too well the undermining impact that police activity can have on public health outcomes. The police are oftentimes *antagonists* to public health, particularly in the drug law enforcement domain, where police activity has been seen to have a detrimental impact on the health of substance users who revert to risky behaviours such as needle sharing in a bid to stay under the drug enforcement radar (e.g. Maher and Dixon, 1999).

Perhaps we should ask what other agencies are responsible for contributing to downstream public safety, and how can we better encourage joint ownership of this?

Similarly police involvement in criminalising those with a mental illness rather than seeking a public health outcome, or displacing sex workers into riskier environments through law enforcement activities (Wood et al., 2013) are harmful outcomes borne of a lack of understanding about the broader public health project. There is a benefit then for public health outcomes from ensuring that the police are fully cognisant of the impact of their law enforcement work, which is a message that may be enhanced through a public health undertaking to be similarly cognisant of the flow on impact of their work for broader public safety endeavours.

To say the same thing another way, public health

professionals should care about crime prevention because in doing so they are well placed to make a similar argument about why police should care about public health. In doing so there is potential for public health organisations to create 'public health armies' (personal communication, N. Thomson, 12th July 2013) that involve the police as well as other non-health organisations. Similarly police can use the same approach to encourage the crime-prevention networks required to engage in upstream preventative action.

The work of both fields is never going to be as simple as delineating a focus on 'people who want to harm themselves' (public health) and 'people who want to harm others' (policing). They go hand in hand in creating quality of life and social wellbeing, and there is much to be learned from each other's approach (Moore, 1995). There is, then, intrinsic value in public health professionals recognising their role in public safety and crime prevention.

Conclusion

So how do we move forward on this issue? Given that I represent a peak body for public safety leadership development, it would be remiss of me not to conclude without a nod to what leadership might be able to achieve here.

Leadership, true leadership, is about negotiating progress on complex issues in environments where telling people what to do is not the best way ahead. This is often a challenge for police organisations, who get used to an "I say, you do" hierarchy (Herrington and Pope, 2013) and the exercising of their *authority* as they 'take charge' of situations. This tendency has undoubtedly contributed to the current state of affairs which sees police fixing problems that might better sit with a non-police lead.

There are distinct advantages to a non-authoritarian leadership approach, in terms of negotiating buy in and the necessary expert involvement to deal with multifaceted problems, as well as accepting that the person with the loudest voice, or the most pips on his

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or her shoulder doesn't necessarily have all the (right) answers (Heifetz et al., 2009). This leadership does not necessarily have to be instigated by the police, and should not be undertaken in isolation by any agency.

Although there is perhaps more incentive for the police than other agencies given their involvement at the pointy end, and their organisational responsibility to deal with the fall out: crime.

If public safety is a responsibility of multiple agencies, then multiple agencies must have a commitment to partnership working, a commitment to true leadership in this space, and a commitment to considering what

Public health and public safety are both ultimately related to quality of life

organisational changes might best assist such a joined up approach. The police should not be responsible for doing it all. But neither must they rescind their responsibility to encourage others to more appropriately engage with public safety.

So in conclusion I would like to wriggle free of the parameters around this debate and request a reframing of the question from 'how wide or narrow should policing be?' to 'who other than the police is responsible for public safety, and how can we encourage them to play a more active role'.

Police cannot prevent crime on their own. Nor can they prevent it only alongside their criminal justice colleagues. One look at the recidivism rates can tell us that. Other public sector agencies have a significant role to play but perhaps less incentive to use their limited resources to do so. Public health and public safety are both ultimately related to *quality of life*, and as much as police are the unsung contributors to public health, so public health could better recognise their role in public safety. Encouraging such a state of being when all agencies are being financially squeezed is difficult. But a first step is to recognise the **breadth** of the organisational mission, rather than looking for opportunities to minimise one's involvement further.

Reframing our collective mission in terms of *quality of life* may bring with it the necessary disciplinary and organisational architecture to argue for fundamental changes to the way our joined up work is viewed. It may assist in crafting arguments for changes to organisational structure and measurement of effort and success; it may assist in crafting arguments about changes to the way work on collective issues is funded outside of organisational silos; and it may assist in encouraging all involved to see such issues as shared problems that need collective effort to be progressed.

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