

A DIVERSITY UPLIFT?

Police workforce gender and ethnicity trends from 2007 to 2018 and prospects for the future

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Introduction

The planned 20,000 uplift in police officer numbers over the next three years¹ offers policing in England and Wales a once-in-a-generation opportunity to dramatically improve the diversity of its police officer workforce.² With this in mind, this paper uses published Home Office police workforce data to examine police workforce gender and ethnicity trends over the 11 years between 2007 and 2018, for England and Wales as a whole and a selection of forces.^{3,4} Six key findings are identified and their implications for thinking about workforce diversity in the years ahead are discussed. A fuller set of charts, including all of those below, is available separately.⁵

Summary of key findings

- Across the ranks the percentage of police officers who are female has been steadily increasing.
- Black and minority ethnic (BAME) representation differs by role, generally being higher for police staff and Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) than police officers.
- Male police officers are more ethnically diverse than female at least up to inspector; male chief officers are less ethnically diverse than female chief officers and officers of all other ranks apart from female chief superintendents.
- The main driver of increasing police officer ethnic diversity since 2007 has been the recruitment of Asian and mixed ethnicity officers, especially men, while black representation has barely increased. Detailed ethnicity data that might offer insights into the composition of the main ethnic groupings

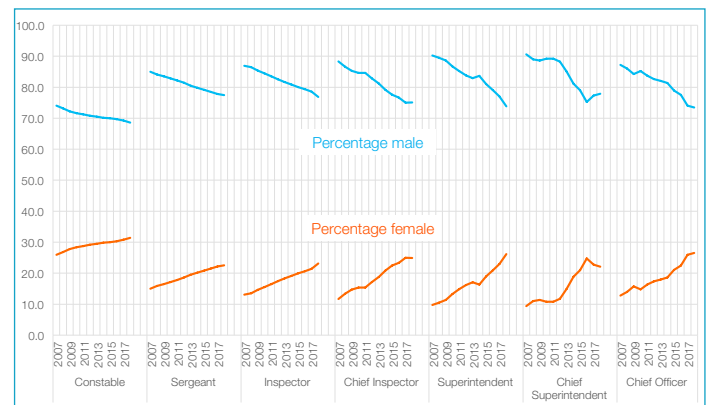
(including mixed ethnicities and white diversity) are not published.

- Diversity varies widely between police forces as do changes to diversity over time. It is unclear if lessons have been learnt about what has worked, where and how to improve diversity – but there are some clues in the data.
- Incomplete data (ethnicity 'not stated') limit our understanding of workforce diversity, especially in some forces.

1. Across the ranks the percentage of police officers who are female has been steadily increasing

Looking across England and Wales as a whole, it is possible to chart how the gender composition of police officers has changed over time, by rank (Figure 1). We can see that constables have greater female representation than other ranks, at just over 30 per cent in 2018, and that female representation has increased across all ranks over time, except for a small but sharp reversal at chief superintendent level since 2016, the reasons for which are unknown.

Figure 1: England and Wales – police officers by rank and gender, 2007-2018: percentage of rank by year



1 <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/national-campaign-to-recruit-20000-police-officers-launches-today>

2 A point made by AC Martin Hewitt at the NPCC Chief Constables' Council in July 2019 <https://www.npcc.police.uk/Council/Minutes%202019/CCC%2017%20%2018%20July%2019%20OPEN.pdf>.

3 The analysis is based on published Home Office Police Workforce data, specifically the ethnicity open data tables, for the period to 31 March 2018 <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-workforce-england-and-wales-31-march-2018>. Published workforce data relating to diversity are limited at present to gender and ethnicity, but in future will include all protected characteristics. The analysis presented in this paper is not intended to be exhaustive.

4 The analysis presented here was first explored in a Twitter thread (<https://twitter.com/gmhailes/status/1100737512807501824>), with additional detail in a separate thread looking at the intersection of role, rank, gender and ethnicity in West Yorkshire Police (<https://twitter.com/gmhailes/status/1101093212805087232>).

5 http://www.police-foundation.org.uk/2017/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/police_work_force_charts.pdf

2. BAME representation differs by role, generally being higher for police staff and PCSOs than police officers

When we examine police officers, PCSOs and police staff separately we see quite different ethnic profiles and trends over time.⁶

At a national level, while police officer numbers have fallen, officer diversity has been increasing, most rapidly for Asian and mixed ethnicities which make up the largest two non-white ethnic groupings (Figures 2 and 3). Black and Chinese/other representation is both much lower and increasing much more slowly.

Figure 2: England and Wales *police officers*: number (full-time equivalent) and percentage BAME, 2007 to 2018

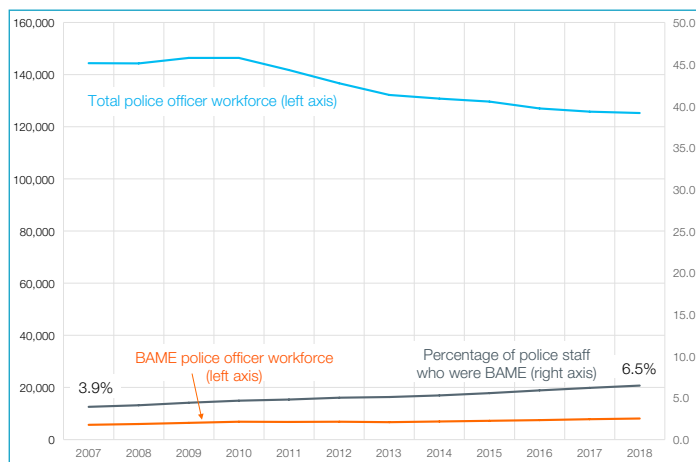
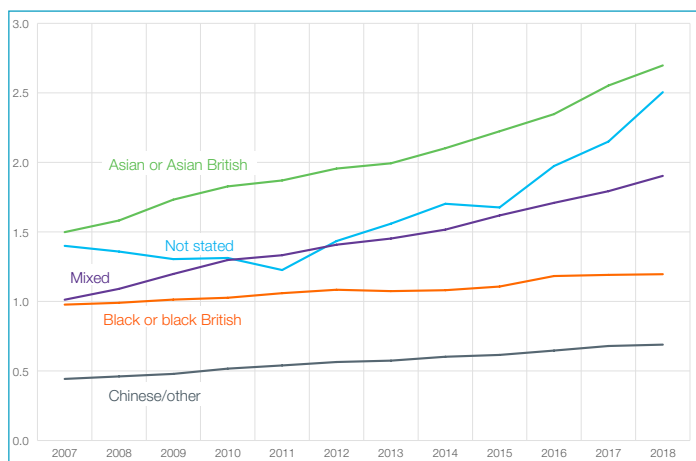


Figure 3: England and Wales: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *police officer* workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



⁶ Data summarised in Appendix 1. Throughout the paper, PCSOs are reported separately from, and not counted towards, 'police staff', as per the Home Office police workforce statistics. 'Police staff' also do not include traffic wardens and designated officers, except for some unnamed – in Home Office statistics – forces that are reported to be unable to provide separate data on some types of designated officers, which are therefore counted under police staff. Traffic wardens and designated officers are not examined in this paper.

In contrast to police officers, PCSO ethnic diversity at the national level has been falling over time (Figure 4), which may well largely reflect cuts to PCSOs in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS, see below). Nevertheless, in March 2018 just over four per cent of PCSOs in England and Wales were Asian and just under three per cent black (Figure 5), compared to a little over 2.5 per cent and a little over one per cent respectively for police officers.

Figure 4: England and Wales *PCSOs* – number (full-time equivalent) and percentage BAME, 2007 to 2018

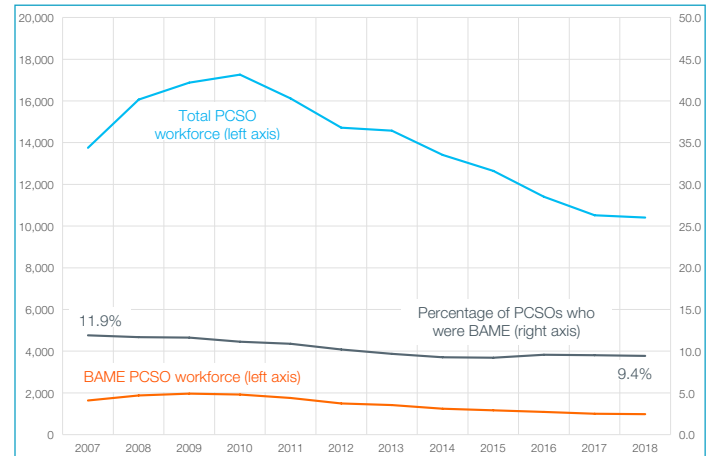
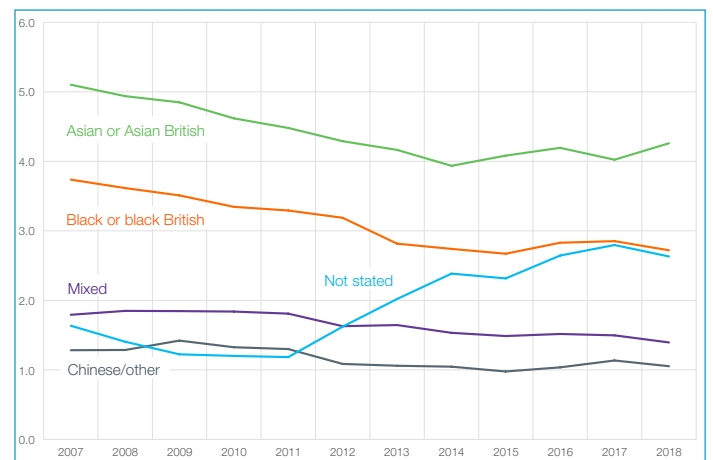
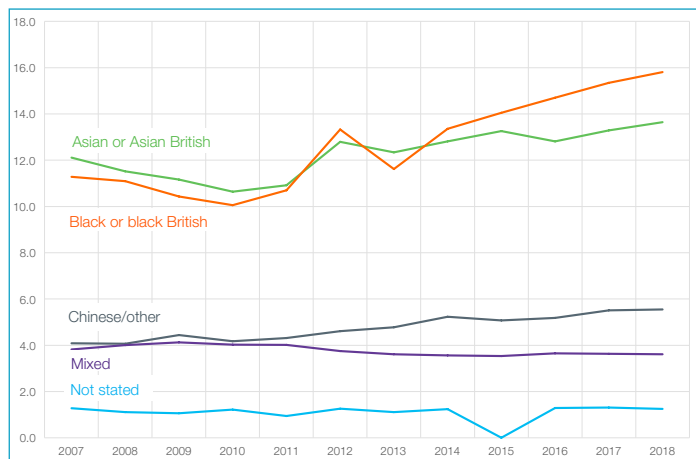


Figure 5: England and Wales: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *PCSO* workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



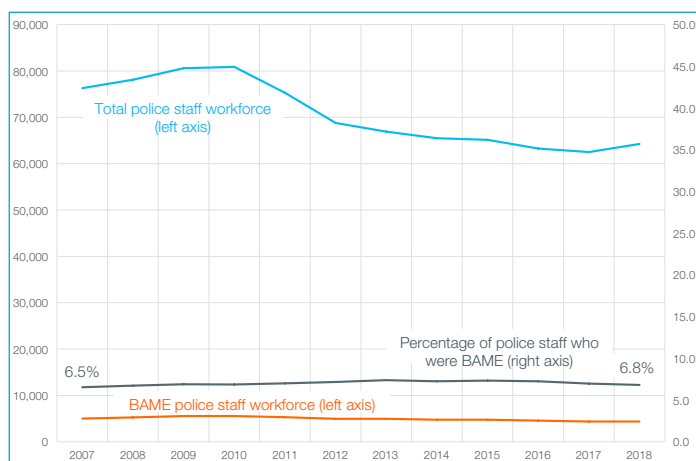
It is especially noteworthy that the MPS has been very successful at attracting black PCSO recruits, in stark contrast to the picture for police officers (Figure 6). In 2018 almost 16 per cent of PCSOs in the MPS were black and almost 14 per cent Asian, compared to just over three per cent and 5.5 per cent of police officers respectively. However, PCSO numbers in London have been cut by two-thirds since 2010 (falling from just over 4,500 to under 1,500) causing a massive loss of ethnic diversity from both the MPS and national PCSO workforce in terms of numbers – although the percentage BAME in the MPS has increased over the same period from 31.3 per cent to 38.6 per cent.

Figure 6: Metropolitan Police: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total PCSO workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



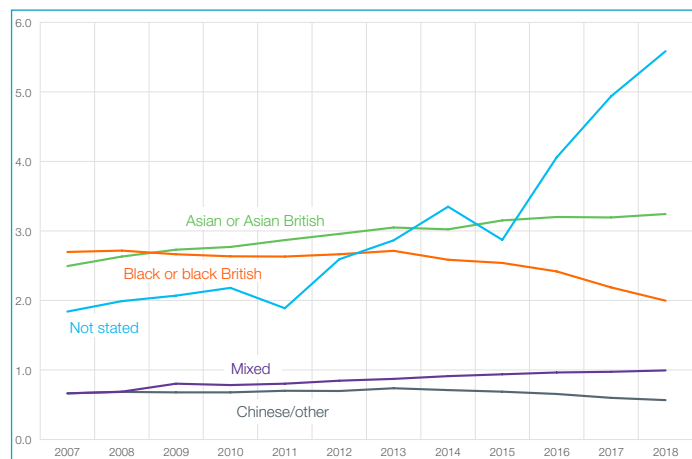
Nationally, black representation in the police staff workforce has also been falling, particularly since 2013, while Asian and mixed ethnicities have risen slightly in percentage terms; overall BAME representation has barely increased (Figures 7 and 8).⁷ As with PCSOs, it seems likely that cuts in the MPS have had an important effect on the national picture, the MPS having cut 6,000 out of 14,000 police staff since 2010, losing more than 1,400 BAME staff members in the process, including more than 800 black staff. In 2018, the MPS accounted for 63 per cent of black police staff across England and Wales (806 out of 1,283) down from 77 per cent in 2010 (1,631 out of 2,131).

Figure 7: England and Wales *police staff* – number (full-time equivalent) and percentage BAME, 2007 to 2018



⁷ As above in Footnote 6, 'police staff' excludes PCSOs, traffic wardens and designated officers.

Figure 8: England and Wales: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *police staff* workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



3. Male police officers are more ethnically diverse than female at least up to inspector; male chief officers are less ethnically diverse than female chief officers and officers of all other ranks apart from female chief superintendents

We can look at the degree to which individual ranks consist of BAME males and females, and indeed the proportion of males and females of each rank who are BAME (see Figures 9 and 10 on the next page).

For male officers we see that up to inspector they are more likely than their female counterparts to be BAME, and there are apparent signs of BAME progression to chief superintendent rank where male BAME representation has increased very sharply. It is unclear why at chief inspector level there was a clear reversal in the trend, with BAME representation falling, although it may well be related to progression through higher ranks not being reflected at the transition from inspector to chief inspector. At chief officer level, diversity has been falling (though note the small numbers involved and issues with the completeness of the data – explored below at Section 6).

At constable level the ethnic diversity of female officers hasn't grown as fast as for their male counterparts, which seems very likely to reflect the relative success forces such as Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and Bedfordshire have had attracting Asian male rather than female recruits (see below). At sergeant and inspector level, female ethnic diversity has improved at the same rate as for male officers, while at superintendent level the diversity of female officers has surged to catch up with their male counterparts – which again begs the question how this has been achieved, for example whether it is a result of coaching or other positive action efforts paying dividends?

Figure 9: England and Wales – police officers by rank, gender and ethnicity: percentage who were BAME, 2007-2018

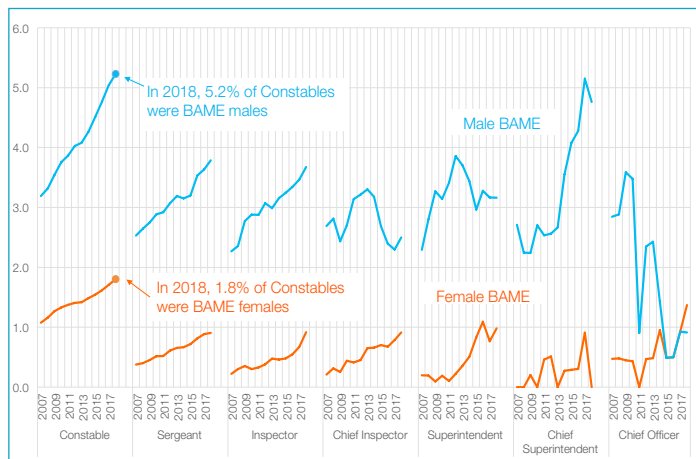
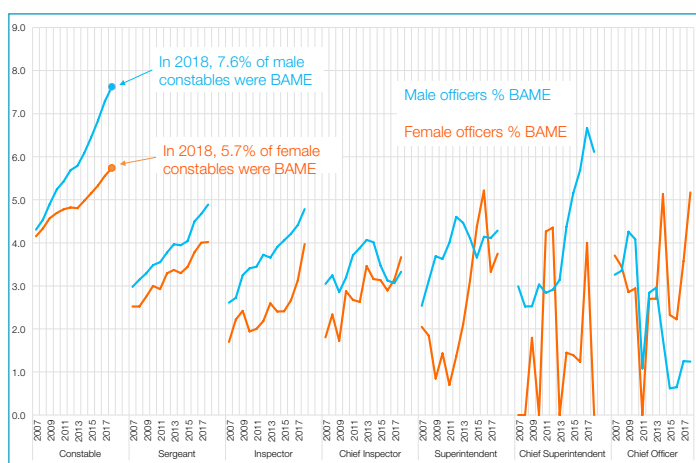


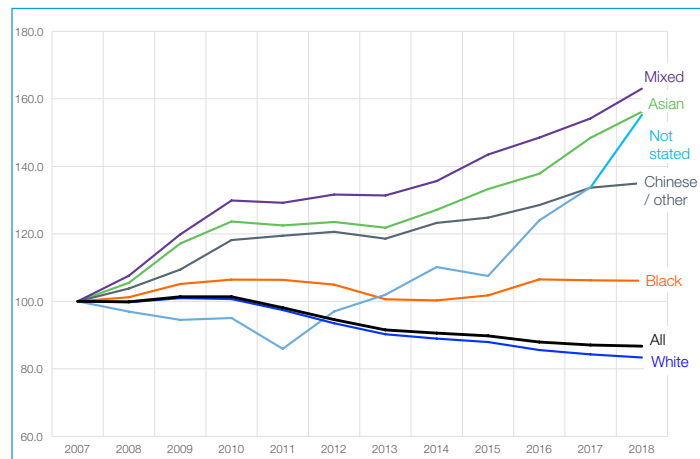
Figure 10: England and Wales – police officers by rank, gender and ethnicity: percentage of gender who were BAME, 2007-2018



4. The main driver of increasing police officer ethnic diversity since 2007 has been the recruitment of Asian and mixed ethnicity officers, especially men, while black representation has barely increased. Detailed ethnicity data that might offer insights into the composition of the main ethnic groupings (including mixed ethnicities and white diversity) are not published

When we index the data to 2007 we can see how the numbers of police officers (in this case) of different ethnicities have varied over time relative to that 2007 benchmark (Figure 11). We see that the numbers of mixed ethnicity and Asian police officers have risen fastest (up 63 and 55 per cent respectively), while Chinese/other and especially black officer numbers have increased more slowly (up 35 per cent and 6 per cent); white officer numbers have fallen 17 per cent. In all cases the significance of rising numbers of officers whose ethnicity is ‘not stated’ is unclear.

Figure 11: England and Wales: police officers (full-time equivalent) by ethnicity 2007 to 2018, indexed to 2007



Examining trends for the gender and ethnicity composition of police constables (Figures 12 and 13), it is striking that female BAME constables make up a smaller proportion of all constables than their male counterparts (note the different y-axis scale to the male chart in Figure 13 – for legibility), and that female constables are much less likely to be Asian (note how for female officers a similar proportion of constables are mixed ethnicity or Asian, whereas for male officers constables are much more likely to be Asian than mixed ethnicity). This suggests an important intersection between ethnicity and gender and potentially important gaps in the degree to which forces represent their local communities.

Figure 12: England and Wales – male police constables by ethnicity: percentage of all constables (male & female) by year

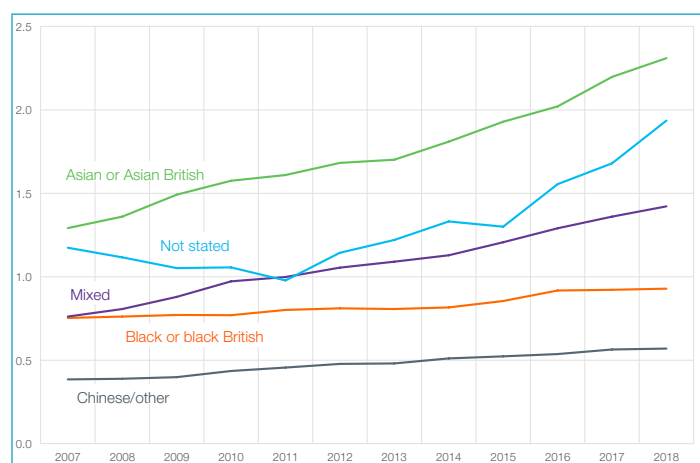
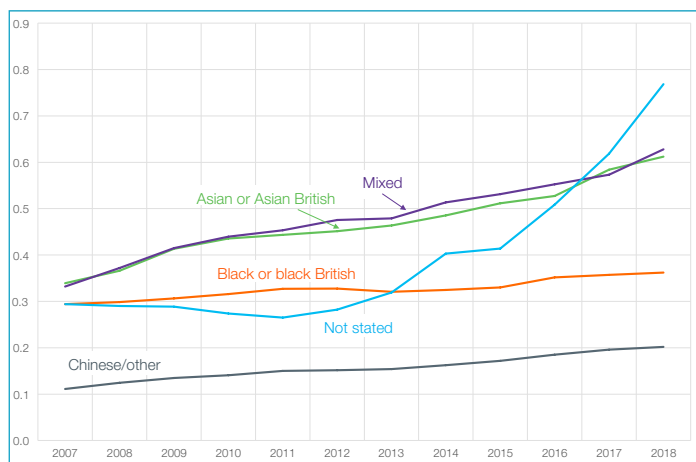


Figure 13: England and Wales – female police constables by ethnicity: percentage of all constables (male & female) by year



This is a good point to observe that the workforce ethnicity data published by the Home Office are not very granular and as a result we can't say anything about how representation has changed in relation to the diverse ethnic backgrounds grouped within the white, black, Asian, Chinese/other and mixed categories, and therefore the degree to which the diversity of police officers matches local communities. For example, are mixed ethnicities predominantly Asian mixed heritage, reflecting the increases of Asian as opposed to black representation across the police officer workforce? To what extent are increasing numbers of Asian (especially male) police officers from Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or other Asian backgrounds? Are there differences in representation between black Caribbean, African and other backgrounds? Black representation has barely increased, but what of black mixed heritage officers?

There is a strong case for more detailed ethnicity data being recorded (if it isn't already) and published, using the full census categories. Ethnicity 'not stated' is a problem that will be returned to below.

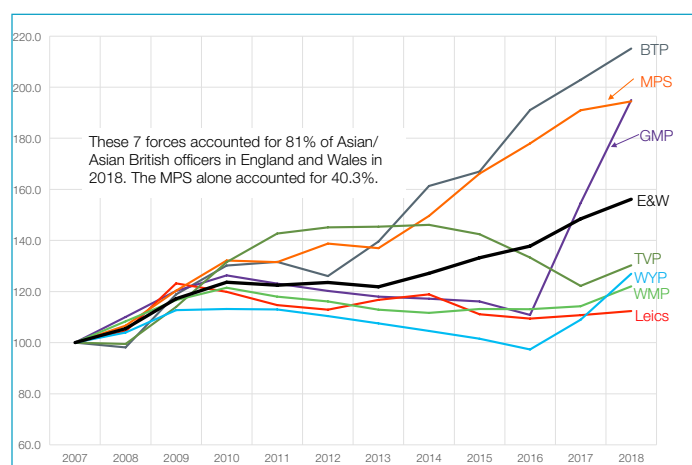
5. Diversity varies widely between police forces as do changes to diversity over time. It is unclear if lessons have been learnt about what has worked, where and how to improve diversity – but there are some clues in the data

Given that the demographics of the communities in different force areas vary greatly, we shouldn't be surprised that levels of diversity in the police workforce do too, and the question of representation is always best addressed at a more local level.

Concentrating on police officers, we see that in 2018 only seven forces accounted for 81 per cent of Asian/Asian British police officers (Figure 14), only four accounted for 80 per cent of black officers (Figure 15), while 15 forces accounted for 80 per cent of mixed ethnicity officers (of which the MPS alone accounts for 41 per cent) (Figure 16).

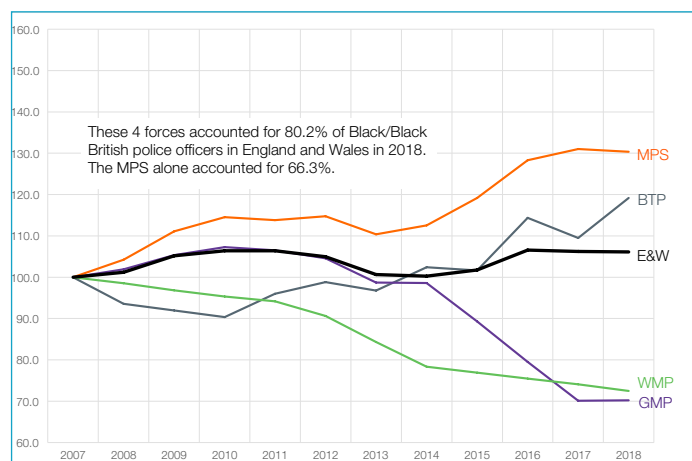
For Asian officers, of which there were 3,380 in 2018, the biggest percentage increases have been achieved by BTP (up from 53 to 114), the MPS (from 857 to 1,666) and GMP (from 118 to 230), the latter mainly achieved in 2017 and 2018. Leicestershire has seen only very modest gains (from 78 to 88).

Figure 14: Asian/Asian British police officers by Force (full-time equivalent): 2007 to 2018 indexed to 2007



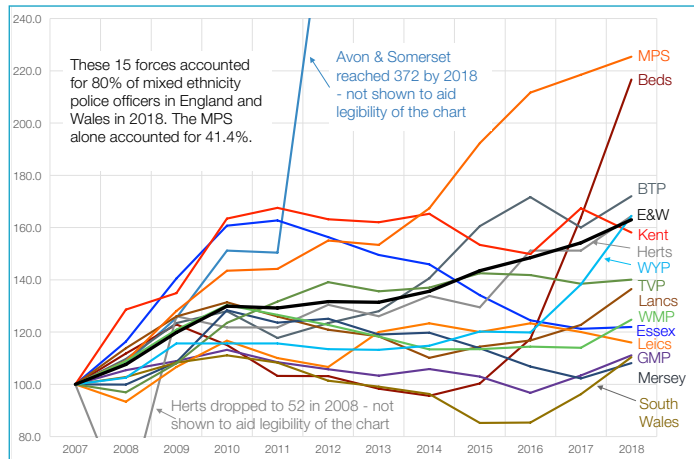
In the case of black police officers (Figure 15), of which there were 1,498 in March 2018, numbers have fallen in WMP (down from 134 to 98) and GMP (from 51 to 36), while BTP (up from 62 to 74) and especially the MPS (762 to 993) have made gains, although these have been relatively modest.

Figure 15: Black/black British police officers by force (full-time equivalent): 2007 to 2018 indexed to 2007



Officers from mixed ethnic backgrounds (2,384 in 2018) are much more widely spread (Figure 16). The MPS has achieved strong gains more than doubling the number of mixed ethnicity officers from 438 to 987. Avon and Somerset managed an almost four-fold increase from a low base (up from 13 to 47); likewise Bedfordshire (up from 17 to 37) and BTP (up from 44 to 75) have seen numbers rise relatively quickly.

Figure 16: Mixed ethnicity police officers by force (full-time equivalent): 2007 to 2018 indexed to 2007



Looking more closely at individual forces, there are some signs of step changes in recruitment that raise questions about how forces achieved them and whether there are lessons for the rest of the police service.

In GMP, we can see a sharp increase in the numbers and representation of Asian (particularly male) police officers since 2016 and PCSOs since 2013 (Figures 17 and 18). In the case of police officers, the number of Asian males increased from 112 to 196 between 2016 and 2018 (up 84) and the number of Asian females rose from 19 to 33 (up 14), while for PCSOs the rises between 2013 and 2018 were respectively from 24 to 40 (up 16) and from five to 14 (up 9).

Figure 17: Greater Manchester Police: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *police officer* workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018

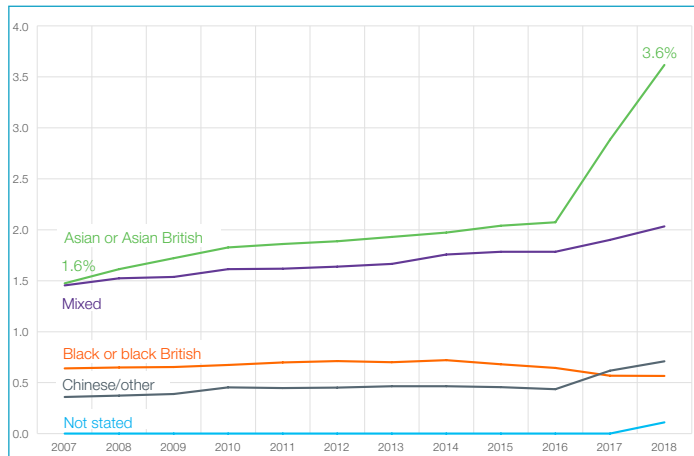
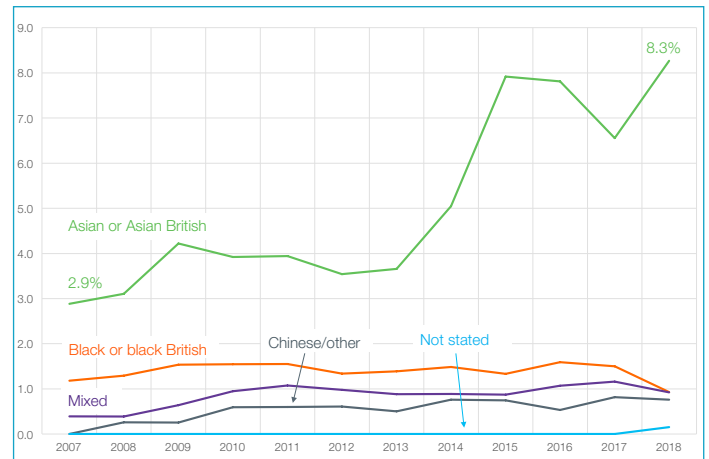
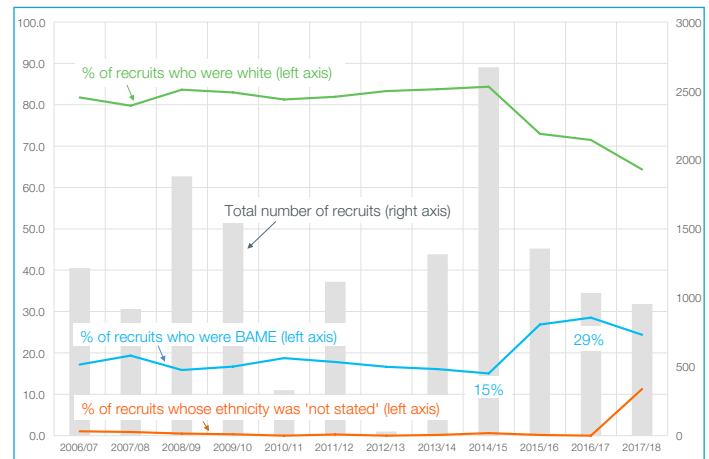


Figure 18: Greater Manchester Police: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total PCSO workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



In the MPS, which introduced residency and language requirements in 2014 and 2015, we can see – looking differently at published data – that the percentage of recruits who were BAME rose from 15 per cent in 2014/15 to 29 per cent in 2016/17 (Figure 19). However, other evidence highlights that this came at the cost of a gradual reduction in the overall numbers of BAME recruits: the MPS recruited 402 BAME officers in 2014/15, 365 in 2015/16, 295 in 2016/17 and 233 in 2017/18.⁸

Figure 19: Metropolitan Police standard direct police officer recruits number and percentage white/BAME



Looking at West Yorkshire Police (WYP), we see a step change (though involving small numbers) in Asian female police officers since 2016 (Figure 20), but overall the main finding is their consistent success at increasing Asian male representation (Figure 21), which

8 More details in MPS (2019) *Submission to the Police Remuneration Review Body 2018/19*. https://www.met.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/foi-media/metropolitan-police/priorities_and_how_we_are_doing/corporate/met-hq-people-change-mps-police-remuneration-review-body-2019.pdf

possibly hints at cultural differences within WYP's Asian communities regarding gender and the police officer role. As with Greater Manchester Police (GMP) above, these findings raise questions about what WYP have been doing and whether there are wider implications.

More generally, male police officer numbers in WYP have fallen overall, while female officer numbers have remained constant, which might hint at officers reaching retirement age being predominantly male.

Figure 20: West Yorkshire Police: female ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *female* police officer workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018

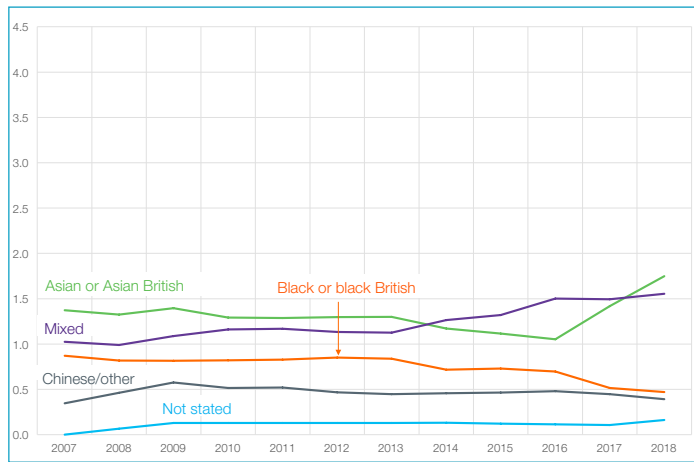
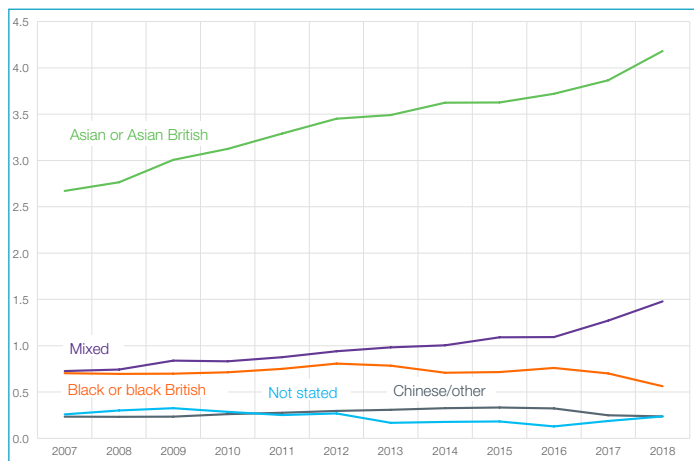
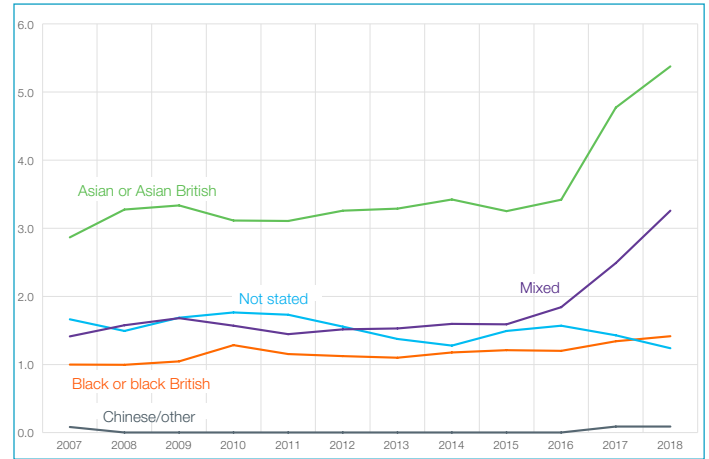


Figure 21: West Yorkshire Police: male ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *male* police officer workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



Finally, as in GMP, there are signs that Bedfordshire has had some success recruiting larger numbers of Asian – but also mixed ethnicity – police officers since 2015 and 2016 (Figure 22). Bedfordshire has added 24 Asian police officers since 2016 (up from 37 to 61) and 20 mixed ethnicity police officer since 2015 (up from 17 to 37).

Figure 22: Bedfordshire Police: ethnic minorities as a percentage (%) of the total *police officer* workforce (full-time equivalent), 2007 to 2018



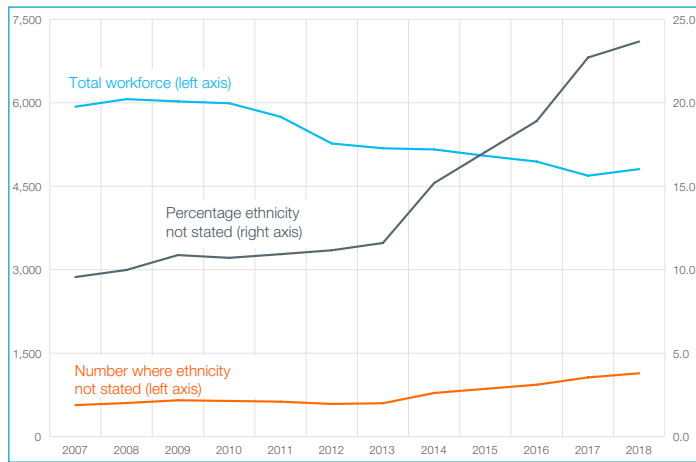
6. Incomplete data (ethnicity ‘not stated’) limit our understanding of police workforce diversity, especially in some forces

A limitation of the police workforce ethnicity data is the number and percentage of personnel for whom ethnicity is recorded as ‘not stated’, and the Home Office published data allow us to look at the detail – including, in the case of police officers, by rank.

Although for most forces the numbers and percentages are small, a handful of forces seem to have real problems with their data quality, notably Devon and Cornwall, Dyfed-Powys and Surrey (for all worker types) and Dorset (for police staff) (see Appendix 2).

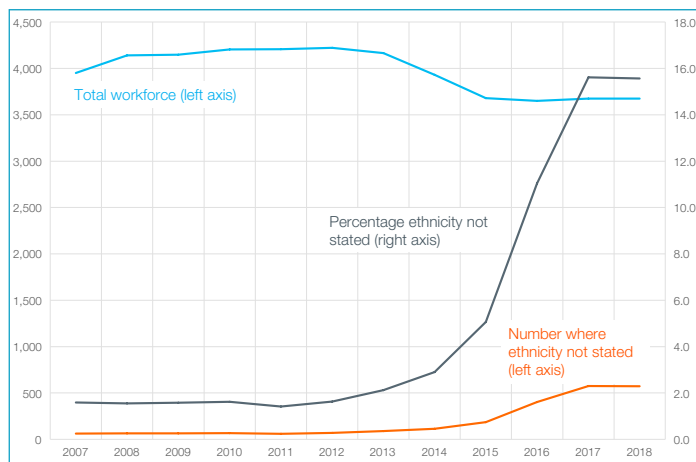
Looking at the data since 2007, we can see that in Devon and Cornwall around 10 per cent of their workforce had no ethnicity stated between 2007 and 2013, after which it rose to almost a quarter (23.7 per cent), which very likely suggests a process change in how ethnicity data is either recorded or reported to the Home Office (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Devon & Cornwall Police workforce data – ethnicity not stated: total workforce (full-time equivalent)



In the case of Surrey (Figure 24), a senior officer reported (personal correspondence) that the problem centred on ethnicity data not being ‘put onto our local systems from the paperwork on joining’ – a problem that we can probably assume started around 2013 and which was then seemingly addressed in 2018, but not corrected retrospectively.

Figure 24: Surrey Police workforce data – ethnicity not stated: total workforce (full-time equivalent)



If the ‘ethnicity not stated’ issue disproportionately affects particular ethnic groups – for example if forces have been improving diversity in recent years BAME personnel might be more likely than white to not have had their ethnicity recorded – then the extent of and trends relating to diversity may be partially obscured.

Hopefully the transparency the analysis presented here brings to this issue will result in it being addressed, ideally (if possible) retrospectively.

Discussion

Discussions of police workforce diversity tend to focus on police officers, on the percentage BAME, and on the national picture. The analysis above, however, shows the limitations of these approaches.

First, greater diversity is generally found among the wider police workforce, notably PCSOs but also police staff, the numbers of both of which have been cut greatly since 2010. In the case of cuts to PCSOs, this will have resulted in an important loss of diversity among the uniform wearing police workforce visible in communities.

It is particularly striking that the Metropolitan Police has been very successful at attracting black recruits for PCSO and police staff roles where they are represented to a much greater degree than we see for police officers, and this raises some interesting questions about whether the barriers to recruiting black police officers are concerned more with the specific nature of the police *officer* role and the powers and responsibilities that accompany it, rather than for example the MPS as an employer. If we accept that workforce diversity is important for the legitimacy of a police force such as the MPS and its ability to build links with and understand diverse communities, a question that follows is whether the MPS (and other forces in a similar position) should rethink their workforce mix with a view to recruiting more PCSOs while also rethinking how they are used; but of course the planned uplift is (at least so far) for additional police officers only. Nevertheless, we might also ask what evidence can be found for what works (or at least looks promising) in encouraging BAME and especially black PCSOs to apply for police officer roles. Might the key to boosting the diversity of police officers in the long-term lie in part in recruiting more PCSOs?

Second, we can see that the story is rather more complex than BAME versus white, not least given the different trends apparent among the ethnic groups that constitute BAME. In particular, we can see that while there has been good progress increasing the recruitment of Asian and mixed ethnicity police officers, and especially Asian men, recruitment of male and female black and female Asian officers has been much slower, and as such we should always keep in mind the importance of looking beyond the broad BAME grouping and having in mind the intersections between race and gender. At the same time, the data don’t allow us to understand the diversity contained within the

published ethnic groupings, for example to consider white diversity, the composition of mixed ethnicities or the heritage of Asian and black officers – and in turn the degree to which these reflect the composition of local populations.

Third, we have seen that workforce ethnic diversity varies hugely between forces (as does the population make up in the areas they cover) and a minority of forces account for the vast majority of BAME and especially black officers. A key implication is that discussions of police ethnic diversity at a national level are arguably rather meaningless. Nevertheless, to the extent that there will always be a national focus, efforts to boost diversity nationally will inevitably be heavily skewed towards a small number of forces. The degree to which the 20,000 officer uplift can boost ethnic diversity will, it seems, in part depend on which forces get more officers.

Finally, if the 20,000 uplift is to achieve a boost to ethnic diversity, it is vital learning can be generated and shared where forces like Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire and Bedfordshire have achieved successes in recent years raising recruitment from BAME communities. With time of the essence, those are lessons that need to be captured and shared with some urgency.

About the author

Gavin Hales is a senior associate fellow of the Police Foundation, having been the deputy director from 2014 to 2017 before moving overseas. Gavin has extensive experience of research and analysis on policing, crime and justice issues, including studies of police effectiveness, police governance, chief officer misconduct, the policing of drugs, gun crime, drugs markets and reoffending rates. He is a regular commentator on policing and crime policy matters, including on Twitter where he is @gmhales.

Appendix 1: Summary ethnicity data for police officers, PCSOs and police staff in England and Wales, 2007 to 2018

Home Office Police Workforce statistics, England and Wales at 31 March 2018

All workforce numbers full-time equivalent

Police officers

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Asian or Asian British	2164	2283	2535	2676	2651	2673	2637	2751	2884	2982	3212	3380
Black or black British	1412	1429	1484	1502	1502	1481	1421	1415	1436	1504	1500	1498
Chinese or other ethnic group	640	664	700	756	765	772	759	789	799	823	855	864
Mixed	1463	1573	1753	1900	1889	1925	1921	1984	2099	2172	2255	2384
Not stated	2022	1960	1911	1922	1738	1961	2062	2228	2174	2507	2705	3138
White	136737	136386	138031	137655	133196	127844	123437	121655	120303	117046	115284	114005
TOTAL	144437	144296	146416	146411	141741	136657	132237	130821	129695	127034	125811	125269

Police community support officers (PCSOs)

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Asian or Asian British	702	793	818	797	722	631	607	528	516	478	423	443
Black or black British	514	581	592	578	531	469	411	368	338	323	300	283
Chinese or other ethnic group	176	207	240	229	209	160	155	140	124	118	119	110
Mixed	247	297	312	317	292	240	240	206	188	173	157	145
Not stated	225	226	207	208	191	239	295	320	293	302	294	274
White	11885	13961	14706	15134	14170	12976	12871	11847	11190	10007	9219	9151
TOTAL	13748	16065	16875	17264	16115	14715	14579	13408	12649	11401	10513	10406

Police staff

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Asian or Asian British	1904	2057	2200	2242	2160	2034	2042	1981	2053	2025	1997	2085
Black or black British	2060	2124	2147	2132	1983	1833	1817	1693	1656	1531	1368	1283
Chinese or other ethnic group	507	536	548	548	529	481	494	467	449	414	375	364
Mixed	506	539	648	633	605	583	584	598	612	610	608	638
Not stated	1405	1554	1670	1766	1424	1784	1918	2194	1872	2568	3087	3590
White	69916	71301	73382	73573	68626	62069	60069	58552	58520	56104	55065	56285
TOTAL	76297	78111	80595	80893	75326	68783	66925	65484	65162	63252	62502	64246

Appendix 2: Ethnicity not stated by force and role 2018

Home Office Police Workforce statistics, England and Wales at 31 March 2018

All workforce numbers full-time equivalent

Force	Total workforce			Police officers			PCSOs			Police staff		
	Ethnicity not stated	Total Workforce	% not stated	Ethnicity not stated	Total police officers	% not stated	Ethnicity not stated	Total PCSOs	% not stated	Ethnicity not stated	Total police staff	% not stated
Devon & Cornwall	1138	4808	23.7	651	2959	22.0	82	257	32.0	374	1429	26.2
Dyfed-Powys	354	1963	18.0	216	1186	18.2	31	145	21.6	102	595	17.1
Surrey	572	3676	15.6	346	1994	17.3	12	106	11.3	193	1449	13.3
Dorset	378	2512	15.1	60	1263	4.8	3	123	2.4	309	1058	29.2
Avon & Somerset	529	5178	10.2	268	2597	10.3	25	325	7.8	236	2257	10.4
Northumbria	288	4830	6.0	99	3174	3.1	1	173	0.6	177	1384	12.8
Cheshire	186	3568	5.2	75	2020	3.7	7	168	4.2	95	1296	7.3
Gloucestershire	92	1829	5.0	35	1073	3.2	3	107	2.6	40	621	6.4
Sussex	226	4550	5.0	100	2549	3.9	6	203	2.8	120	1796	6.7
Warwickshire	75	1520	4.9	15	806	1.8	3	81	3.2	58	633	9.1
Northamptonshire	98	2079	4.7	52	1215	4.3	0	93	0.0	46	745	6.1
Lancashire	217	5018	4.3	150	2969	5.1	8	297	2.7	59	1751	3.3
Bedfordshire	90	2173	4.1	14	1130	1.2	2	56	3.6	69	920	7.5
Norfolk	105	2690	3.9	22	1558	1.4	1	79	1.3	77	922	8.3
North Wales	104	2654	3.9	25	1490	1.7	8	232	3.4	66	887	7.4
England and Wales	7298	204339	3.6	3138	125269	2.5	274	10406	2.6	3590	64246	5.6
Hampshire	172	4970	3.5	109	2835	3.9	3	334	0.9	50	1446	3.4
West Midlands	326	10409	3.1	70	6581	1.1	6	473	1.3	249	3355	7.4
Suffolk	62	2005	3.1	21	1127	1.9	1	85	1.2	33	694	4.8
West Mercia	109	3589	3.0	16	1974	0.8	6	210	2.8	87	1405	6.2
British Transport Police	132	4585	2.9	90	2865	3.2	3	267	1.1	38	1426	2.6
Leicestershire	94	3327	2.8	43	1777	2.4	11	239	4.6	39	1279	3.0
Staffordshire	81	3045	2.7	5	1590	0.3	1	227	0.4	16	1084	1.5
Cumbria	47	1778	2.6	18	1095	1.7	4	98	4.3	24	586	4.2
Cleveland	43	1679	2.6	26	1257	2.1	0	140	0.0	17	281	6.0
London, City of	29	1144	2.5	2	697	0.3	0	8	0.0	27	439	6.1
Nottinghamshire	78	3261	2.4	23	1917	1.2	1	185	0.5	53	1106	4.8
Metropolitan Police	829	40328	2.1	265	30390	0.9	16	1316	1.2	530	8027	6.6
Gwent	40	1982	2.0	28	1267	2.2	0	143	0.0	12	572	2.1
Thames Valley	143	7312	2.0	38	4067	0.9	1	368	0.3	43	2664	1.6
Kent	97	5758	1.7	42	3261	1.3	6	321	1.9	41	1874	2.2
Essex	80	5032	1.6	61	2958	2.1	1	92	1.1	14	1712	0.8
Cambridgeshire	34	2298	1.5	17	1383	1.2	1	111	0.9	16	778	2.1
North Yorkshire	34	2658	1.3	19	1350	1.4	0	195	0.0	15	1113	1.4
Durham	25	2140	1.2	2	1141	0.2	2	134	1.5	20	758	2.7
South Yorkshire	52	4628	1.1	12	2459	0.5	2	221	0.9	38	1874	2.0
Wiltshire	21	1988	1.1	2	994	0.2	0	113	0.0	14	691	2.0
West Yorkshire	93	9020	1.0	11	5014	0.2	1	611	0.2	81	3395	2.4
Hertfordshire	34	3473	1.0	14	1952	0.7	4	203	1.9	15	1127	1.3
Lincolnshire	15	1573	1.0	10	1087	0.9	0	124	0.0	5	319	1.6
Derbyshire	27	3130	0.9	4	1738	0.2	4	161	2.5	18	1144	1.6
Humberside	25	3172	0.8	10	1794	0.6	4	256	1.6	11	1002	1.1
Merseyside	42	5521	0.8	28	3450	0.8	2	266	0.7	12	1652	0.7
South Wales	37	5148	0.7	19	2916	0.7	1	414	0.2	17	1818	0.9
Greater Manchester	46	10341	0.4	7	6349	0.1	1	646	0.2	36	2882	1.2

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