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in the **public interest**

Crime inspection 2014

The Metropolitan Police Service

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How effective is the force at cutting crime?

Overall summary

The level of overall crime is higher in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) area than anywhere else in England and Wales. The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime has set an ambitious target for the force to cut the crimes that matter most to local communities by 20 percent by 2016. Crime has fallen at a similar rate to England and Wales as a whole over the last four years, and in the year to June 2014 has fallen by a higher percentage.

HMIC found evidence that although the force's approach to investigating crime is good in parts, there are inconsistencies in the quality of investigations. This means that the Metropolitan Police Service may be missing opportunities to gather the best possible evidence to secure a successful outcome in some cases. We also found that although the force leadership has made a strong commitment to put the victim at the centre of police work, there are inconsistencies in the extent to which, in practice, this is systematically happening across the force.

Tackling anti-social behaviour is a priority for the Metropolitan Police Service, and the force is working well at a strategic and an operational level to provide a good service. Good progress has been made - anti-social behaviour levels are falling in London, and the force is on track to achieve its target of a 20 percent reduction by 2016.

This year, HMIC undertook an inspection into the crime data integrity of all 43 police forces, to determine the extent to which police-recorded crime information can be trusted at a national level. HMIC has concerns about the Metropolitan Police Service's approach to crime recording, which is not as accurate as it should be. Individual force reports are available at <http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/>.

How effective is the force at reducing crime and preventing offending?

Good

The level of overall crime is higher in the Metropolitan Police Service area than anywhere else in England and Wales, but has fallen at a similar rate to England and Wales as a whole over the past four years and in the year to June 2014 has fallen by a higher percentage.

The force has been set an ambitious target to reduce the crimes that matter most to local communities by 20 percent. It uses a wide range of proactive and reactive tactics available to it, alongside preventative measures to cut crime and prevent offending across the capital city.

How effective is the force at investigating offending?

Requires improvement

The quality of investigation is good in parts, but there are inconsistencies in the quality of initial investigations which means that the force may not always be gathering the best evidence it can to bring offenders to justice.

The force recognises the importance of assessing risks to victims, and providing them with a good service throughout an investigation. However, we found that there are areas for improvement in both officers' understanding of their responsibilities for victim care, and their commitment to genuinely placing the victim at the heart of the investigation.

The integrated approach with partners to managing the most harmful offenders is effective and the force is increasing the efficiency of its approach.

How effective is the force at tackling anti-social behaviour?

Good

Reducing anti-social behaviour is a clear priority for the Metropolitan Police Service, and there is a strong commitment to tackling it effectively which is evident at all levels in the force.

There has been good progress towards achieving the target of a 20 percent reduction in reported anti-social behaviour by 2016.

The dedicated police resources in each ward enable effective communication with local communities and also with local partner agencies. This ensures that community priorities are understood and acted upon.

There are good processes in place to manage risk and ensure that high risk victims of anti-social behaviour receive a co-ordinated response from the police and partners.

How effective is the force at reducing crime and preventing offending?

Good

Providing an effective service to victims is a high priority for the Metropolitan Police Service. It works well with partners to share information and provide a co-ordinated approach to safeguarding victims, particularly those whom it identifies as vulnerable. The force communicates with hard-to-reach communities across London to encourage the reporting of previously 'hidden' crimes.

How effective is the force at investigating offending?

Requires improvement

The force has a range of processes and resources dedicated to the sharing of 'what works'. But it has not yet successfully connected all of this activity in a force-wide framework.

How effective is the force at tackling anti-social behaviour?

Good

Introduction

This inspection looks at how effective police forces are at cutting crime. The public expects the police to reduce, prevent and investigate crime, bring suspects to justice and, in conjunction with other services and agencies, care for victims. To assess each force's effectiveness, we looked at three specific areas:

- How effective is the force at reducing crime and preventing offending?
- How effective is the force at investigating offending?
- How effective is the force at tackling anti-social behaviour?

Methodology

During our inspection we analysed data and documents from forces, and conducted in-force inspections. We interviewed the senior officers responsible for crime, neighbourhood policing and victim care in each force. We held focus groups with frontline police officers, investigators and police staff, and observed their activities first hand. We also reviewed 20 crime investigations in each force and interviewed heads of partner organisations such as local authorities. We focussed on anti-social behaviour and the offences of: burglary dwelling; serious sexual offences; and violence with injury on this inspection. We chose to focus on these offences because they cover the areas of acquisitive and violent crime and the protection of vulnerable people. This has allowed us to make an assessment of how well the force treated the victim throughout the investigation – examining in particular how well officers gathered evidence and how well they were supervised.

Victims are at the heart of this inspection. Victims are entitled to a service from the police; this includes regular information about their case, an opportunity to provide an impact statement where relevant and to be consulted on potential criminal justice outcomes. When the police provide this service to victims, it increases victim satisfaction and builds trust and confidence in the police.

As part of this inspection, we considered how well forces deal with domestic abuse, alongside other offence types. HMIC published a report in March 2014 on how well forces tackled domestic abuse and provided support to victims. As a result of that inspection all forces were asked to provide an action plan setting out how they were improving services to victims of domestic abuse and we have reviewed the action plans developed by forces. The action plans have not informed the judgments made in these reports.

The crime inspection provides HMIC with the first opportunity to test whether the force's approach to improving how it tackles domestic abuse is beginning to have an effect and this forms part of our overall assessment of the force.

How effective is the force at reducing crime and preventing offending?

HMIC looked at how the leadership of the force deploys its resources to reduce the volume of crimes being committed, maximise the quality of victim contact, and ensure that the force focuses on community priorities while mitigating national threats.

We looked at how the force prevents crime, how it uses police tactics such as stop and search powers to prevent and detect crime and reduce offending. We also looked at how the police work with other agencies such as social services to reduce crime.

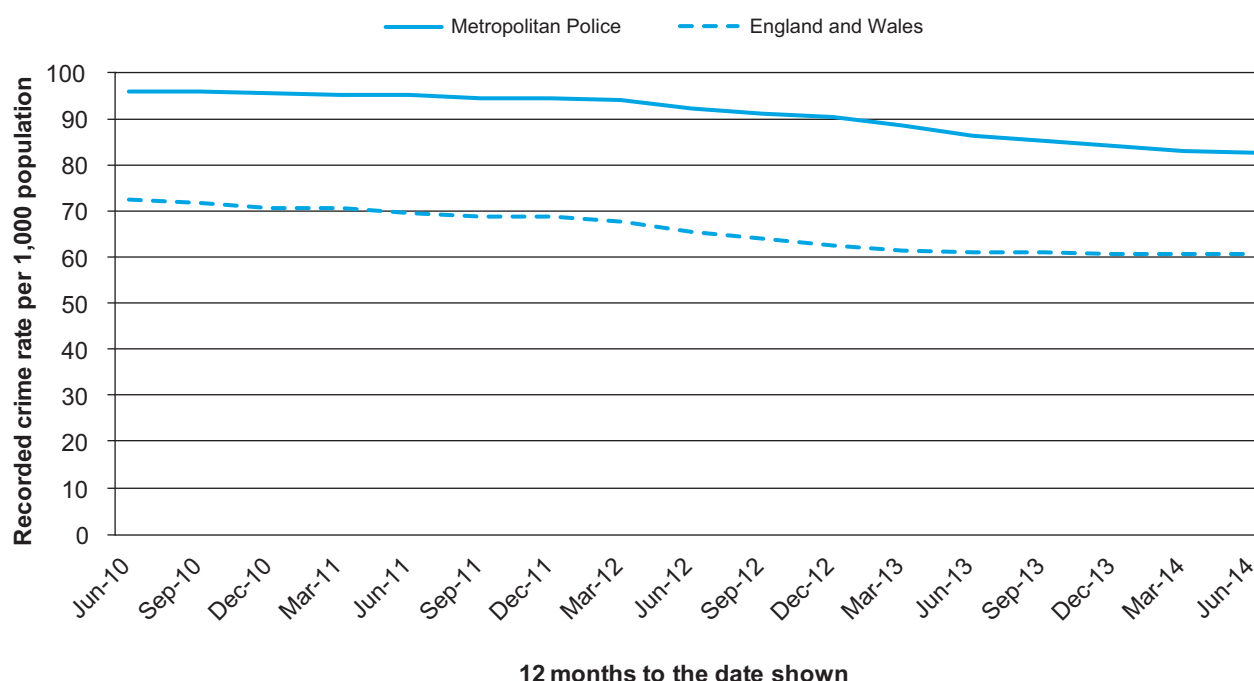
Crime

In 2010 the Home Secretary set a clear priority for the police service to cut crime. When compared with the 12 months to June 2010, recorded crime (excluding fraud) in the 12 months to June 2014 reduced by 14 percent in the Metropolitan Police Service compared with a reduction of 16 percent across all forces in England and Wales.

Over this period, victim-based crime (i.e., crimes where there is a direct victim such as an individual, a group, or an organisation) decreased by 12 percent in the Metropolitan Police Service, compared with a reduction of 16 percent across England and Wales.

Looking at the 12 months prior to the end of June 2014; recorded crime (excluding fraud) in the Metropolitan Police Service reduced by 4 percent, compared with a 1 percent reduction across England and Wales.

Figure: Recorded crime rate (per 1,000 population) between June 2010 and June 2014.



By looking at how many recorded crimes and incidents of anti-social behaviour occur per 1,000 of population, we get an indication of how safe it is for the public in that police area. The table below shows crime and anti-social behaviour rates in the Metropolitan Police Service (per 1,000 population) compared with the rest of England and Wales.

| 12 months to June 2014 | Metropolitan Police rate (per 1,000 population) | England and Wales total rate (per 1,000 population) |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Crime excluding fraud | 82.7 | 60.7 |
| Victim-based crime | 72.0 | 53.9 |
| Sexual offences | 1.4 | 1.2 |
| Violence with injury | 7.3 | 5.9 |
| Burglary in a dwelling* | 16.1 | 8.9 |
| Anti-social behaviour incidents* | 40.8 | 36.8 |

***Note that anti-social behaviour data is for the 12 months to March 2014 and the rate for burglary in a dwelling is the rate per 1,000 households, not population.**

We have chosen these types of crime to give an indication of offending levels in the force area. We are not judging the effectiveness of the force on recorded crime rates only. For information on the frequency of other kinds of crimes in your area, go to www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmic/crime-and-policing-comparator

The Metropolitan Police Service's detection rate (for crimes excluding fraud) for the 12 months to the end of March 2014 was 23 percent. This was lower than the 26 percent for England and Wales.

The new crime outcomes framework was introduced in April 2014. It replaces a previous framework for recording how the police finalise investigations through what was known as 'sanction detections' (e.g. charges and/or summons). The new crime outcomes framework is designed to support police officers to use their professional judgment to ensure a just and timely outcomes which reflects the harm to the victim, the seriousness of the offending behaviour, the impact on the community, and which deters future offending. Data on the full range of outcomes achieved as a result of investigations (not just detections but also, for example, community resolutions such as mediation known as restorative justice) will be available from July 2015 and used in future HMIC inspections.

Meeting the needs of the community

The police and crime plan sets out clear priorities for reducing crime and preventing offending. The Metropolitan Police Service has a target to reduce the crimes that matter most to local communities by 20 percent by 2016. These priorities were identified through extensive public consultation in all 32 police boroughs of the Metropolitan Police Service and comprise: burglary, criminal damage and arson, theft from and theft of motor vehicles, violence with injury, robbery and theft from the person.

The force has a robust process, known as 'Met Grip', which it uses to keep a tight control of its performance and to ensure that resources are aligned to both strategic and community priorities. Alongside the police and crime plan priorities, community concerns are captured through scheduled meetings in each of the 32 boroughs' sub-districts (called wards), and by other less formal community engagement meetings and initiatives. This, together with real-time information from social media feedback and intelligence collected by neighbourhood police patrols, is fed to borough-level 'Grip and Pace' meetings, which are held three times a day. Each borough has a 'Grip and Pace' centre where a wide range of information is available including recent crimes, incidents of anti-social behaviour and current intelligence. A safer neighbourhood sergeant in each centre directs activity to address local community concerns. General problem solving is undertaken by dedicated ward officers, and police community support officers (PCSOs) liaise well with partner agencies. Some local issues (such as gangs) are directed centrally to specialist force-wide investigation teams.

Borough teams review how representative of their communities their existing ward panels are. Activity has focused on assessing borough demographics and seeking opportunities to engage with parts of the community that are under-represented. A review of community partners is under way as part of a force-wide 'Connect' programme.

Quality of victim contact

Providing effective contact with victims is a high priority for the Metropolitan Police Service. The force has had a 'total victim care' strategy in place since 2012. It has publicly stated that every victim of crime will be visited by an officer should they request one when offered. One of the ways in which the force monitors victim care is through a monthly 'call back' process, where 250 victims and witnesses who had called 999 or 101 are contacted by volunteers for feedback on the service that they have received.

An important measure of the impact of changes to service delivery for the public is how satisfied victims are with the overall service they receive when they seek police assistance. In the 12 months to the end of June 2014, the Metropolitan Police Service had a victim satisfaction rate of 79.9 percent (± 0.6 percent) which is lower than the satisfaction rate in England and Wales of 85.0 percent (± 0.2 percent). Its current rate is higher than the 77.5 percent (± 0.7 percent) recorded for the Metropolitan Police Service in the previous year.

Use of police tactics

The force uses a wide range of proactive and reactive tactics alongside preventative measures. The force operates a 'One Met' model which allows specialist resources to be moved to wherever they are needed to deal with all types of crime across London. This is based on an assessment of threat, risk and harm. Surveillance officers have a broad remit; alongside drug cases and serious sexual offending, they assist the force to tackle other crime types. Preventative measures are taken to protect communities from crime. These include 'cocooning' (visiting properties in the vicinity of a burglary to alert residents to the risk that their homes may also be targeted) and using traceable liquids to mark objects and assist with the identification of stolen property.

HMIC found evidence of a consistently high level of emphasis on tackling serious and organised crime and gangs – both force priorities – with covert operators, detectives and neighbourhood officers closely involved and working together in organised crime group disruption. Gang members are identified and proactively managed using a gangs matrix (currently 3,500 nominals recorded). To reduce crime, these offenders will be identified for diversion or education activity with partners. The force also makes effective use of a wide range of legal powers open to it to prevent offending such as: sexual offence prevention orders, risk of sexual harm orders, foreign travel orders, football banning orders and dispersal orders.

Intelligence is gathered systematically across the force area and used effectively to prevent crime and reduce offending. Covert internet investigators, forensic examinations and covert human intelligence sources are used with appropriate authorisation across a broad range of crime. For example they are used to identify key locations where networks of offenders meet to exchange indecent images of children and arrange the commission of child sex offences. The Metropolitan Police Service works with the Home Office to gather intelligence about UK nationals seeking to travel abroad with the intention of abusing children.

Partnership working and information sharing

The Metropolitan Police Service works across a complex array of local and strategic partnerships. For example, multi-agency public protection arrangements enable the police and local agencies to jointly assess and manage the risks posed by the most serious sexual and violent offenders. Plans are agreed for each offender which ensures a coherent approach to the prevention of re-offending. There is a strong focus on working with partners to support victims, particularly vulnerable victims. The force also works well with partners to identify and tackle hidden crime.

Each of the 32 London boroughs operates a regular multi-agency risk assessment conference (MARAC), which brings together police, social services, victim support, health and housing services to jointly consider how best to safeguard some of the most vulnerable victims of domestic abuse. In the 12 months to 31 July 2014 the Metropolitan Police Service presented 7,897 cases to the MARACs.

Domestic abuse

In March 2014 HMIC published the results of its inspection of 43 forces on the effectiveness of the police approach to domestic violence, with a focus on outcomes for victims and whether risks to victims are adequately managed. This included clear recommendations for each force about improvements it should make. As a result of this inspection all forces were required to produce and publish an action plan setting out the steps they were taking to improve the services to victims of domestic abuse. This plan should demonstrate that HMIC recommendations are being addressed and also explain how:

- the leadership will ensure the changes necessary and hold the right people to account;
- the police response when a victim first contacts them (by a 999 call or by visiting a police station) and when they first attend the scene of the incident is improved;
- the force will ensure there is a high quality investigation of all domestic abuse crime;
- victims will be properly supported and offenders properly managed; and
- the training and learning provided to officers ensures they can give the best available response to the victim.

HMIC has made an initial consideration of the action plan submitted by the Metropolitan Police Service. We found the action plan details activity that is in line with the agreed national priorities outlined above. There is evidence to support the activity described within the plan. There is no direct reference to the specific recommendations made by HMIC to the force, but there is information that supports the activity required by those recommendations.

The crime inspection provided us with our first opportunity to test whether changes in the force's approach to domestic abuse were beginning to have a positive effect.

HMIC found evidence that the Metropolitan Police Service considers domestic violence and abuse a priority. It is closely monitoring the level of domestic abuse reported and undertaking analysis to understand the factors affecting the recent rise in reported incidents. We found evidence of the force using a range of tactics such as domestic violence protection orders, and working with partners such as local authority housing to prevent re-offending. We found that independent domestic violence advisors were widely used to support victims and were positive about the levels of engagement with the Metropolitan Police Service. Victim care initiatives such as the 'TecSOS'¹ project are supporting over 1,000 high risk victims across the force.

Summary

Good

- The level of overall crime is higher in the Metropolitan Police Service area than anywhere else in England and Wales, but has fallen at a similar rate to England and Wales as a whole, over the past four years and in the year to June 2014 has fallen by a higher percentage.
- The force has an ambitious target to reduce the crimes that matter most to local communities by 20 percent by 2016. It uses a wide range of proactive and reactive tactics available to it, alongside preventative measures to cut crime and prevent offending across the capital city.
- Providing an effective service to victims is a high priority for the Metropolitan Police Service. It works well with partners to share information and provide a co-ordinated approach to safeguarding victims, particularly those whom it identifies as vulnerable. The force communicates with hard-to-reach communities across London to encourage the reporting of previously 'hidden' crimes.

¹ TecSOS is a mobile alarm system that allows victims of abuse to call for police assistance even when an emergency phone call is not possible;

How effective is the force at investigating offending?

HMIC looked at the range of police tactics and powers used by the force to investigate offending, including how investigations are conducted, whether persistent offenders are diverted from crime and how people vulnerable to repeat crime are supported. We looked at how the force learns from experience in order to improve professionalism in operational practice and leadership.

Vulnerability, risk and victims

The force recognises the importance of assessing the risks faced by victims (and offenders), and identifying at the earliest possible stage those who are particularly vulnerable and need an enhanced level of service.

HMIC found that compliance with the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime is variable. A review of a small number of case files showed that in some investigations, the victim's concerns and needs were fully taken into account in the plan for the investigation, and that the standards of victim contact set out in the Code of Practice were being met. However, in discussions with officers it was evident that compliance with the Code standards is seen as a process to undertake, rather than an essential part of placing the victim at the heart of the investigation. In general, we found that the more serious the offence, the greater focus on victim care was evident. The force recognises that more work is needed to ensure that all staff understand their responsibilities to victims under the Code. There is a programme board to examine existing arrangements, and new training is being prepared for every borough territorial policing command to undertake.

Investigation

We found that the force's approach to investigations is good in parts. The most serious crimes are generally investigated by the most experienced and highly trained detectives, who are accredited to national professional standards; this was confirmed by a review of a small number of cases. However, the majority of investigations are attended in the very first instance by neighbourhood officers, who do not receive this training. Crimes may then be passed on to either borough-based investigators or specialist detectives. We found that there are inconsistencies in the quality of the initial investigation, and important elements such as securing CCTV images are sometimes missed by officers initially attending the scene of a crime. This means that effort is being duplicated by having to go back at a later stage, and that opportunities to gather the best possible evidence to secure a successful outcome are sometimes lost. HMIC also found that despite the force focus on improving victim care, the victim's needs are not consistently a principal element of the investigation plans which we examined.

Tackling repeat and prolific offenders

The Metropolitan Police Service has an effective integrated offender management (IOM) programme. It works with a full range of partners to identify those prolific offenders who pose the greatest risk to communities. The force recognises that local agencies need to work together to deliver a co-ordinated approach to reduce offending. As of 31 July 2014, the force had 3,636 offenders under the IOM programme. The force anticipates that this will increase to about 4,200 by 2015. Each borough has dedicated resources to manage the process, but we found that the numbers of staff currently allocated to offender management appeared low given the large numbers of offenders being managed.

At a borough level, information from the probation service and data on anti-social behaviour, housing and troubled families from local authorities is used to identify and assess prolific offenders. They are dealt with by borough policing teams through a series of themes, for example the most prolific offenders for burglary, robbery or sexual assault. The challenge for the Metropolitan Police Service is to bring together the current thematic management of the offenders that cause most harm with that of the formal pan-force IOM structure. Work to bring these together has started with the approval of an offender management programme in May 2014, for completion by June 2015. The Metropolitan Police Service chairs a Women Offender Taskforce, which is planning to test a new approach in Westminster, Hammersmith & Fulham and Kensington & Chelsea with partners to divert women out of the criminal justice system using a more coherent approach to providing support services.

Learning from experience

The size and complexity of the Metropolitan Police Service makes organisational learning a challenge. There is clear evidence that the force is keen to evaluate policing practice, learn from what works and innovate to improve services. The force has either funded or directly conducted considerable volumes of research on policing strategies and techniques. There are over 100 academic researchers currently working in various areas across the force's operations, but we found that there is a lack of supporting structures to maximise this potential learning. The research conducted by the Metropolitan Police Service has been mapped as a starting point for organisational learning.

There are 20 thematic areas where there is work under way to ensure that learning is shared across the force. There are specific officers within specialist investigation teams whose role is to disseminate learning from serious case reviews and ensure that recommendations are acted upon.

The 'Crime Fighters' meetings which are chaired each month by assistant commissioners provide a good opportunity to evaluate performance and share what works. They form part of a framework of regular performance meetings reaching down to boroughs and other operational units.

Recommendations

- Within three months, the Metropolitan Police Service should finalise and commence the implementation of an action plan to improve the quality of victim service and contact which will ensure that:
 - (a) investigating officers and police staff are aware of the standards required within the Code of Practice for Victims of Crime and have the professional skills and knowledge to fulfil their duties;
 - (b) supervisors know what is expected of them in driving up standards;
 - (c) there is appropriate monitoring and oversight of quality of victim service and contact; and
 - (d) feedback from victims is used to improve the service provided.
- Within three months, the Metropolitan Police Service should develop and commence the implementation of an action plan to improve the quality of initial investigations which will ensure that:
 - (a) investigating officers are aware of the standard required and have the professional skills and expertise to fulfil their duties;
 - (b) supervisors know what is expected of them in driving up standards; and
 - (c) there is appropriate monitoring and oversight of investigative quality.

Summary



Requires improvement

- The quality of investigations is good in parts. There are inconsistencies in the quality of initial investigations, which mean that the force may not always be gathering the best evidence it can to bring offenders to justice.
- The force recognises the importance of assessing the risk to victims and providing a good service to victims throughout an investigation. However we found that there are areas for improvement in both officers understanding of their responsibilities to victim care and their commitment to genuinely placing the victim at the heart of the investigation.
- The integrated approach with partners to managing the most harmful offenders is effective and the force is currently working to streamline the approach further.
- The service has a range of processes and resources dedicated to sharing of 'what works well'. But has not yet successfully connected all of this activity in a force-wide framework.

How effective is the force at tackling anti-social behaviour?

HMIC looked at how the force prevents and tackles anti-social behaviour; in particular the way victims are treated. We looked at the quality and consistency of victim contact across the force and whether victims of anti-social behaviour were dealt with in a comparable way to victims of other crimes.

Community contact and victim care

The Metropolitan Police Service recognises community concerns about anti-social behaviour and prioritises its reduction. There is a clear force strategy for tackling anti-social behaviour and every ward within each of the boroughs has at least one dedicated police officer and one PCSO with the primary responsibility for tackling anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood. In some wards, there are additional anti-social behaviour officers jointly funded by local authorities. Other neighbourhood police officers are also available to respond as and when needed. Dedicated ward officers regularly meet with members of the community and partners at ward panels, community safety boards and other meetings to better understand local community concerns and plan how to respond to them. In addition to newsletters, Twitter is used to update the community on current actions.

The force also recognises the importance of assessing the risks faced by victims of anti-social behaviour when they contact the police for help, and identifying any victims who may be particularly vulnerable in order to ensure that they receive an appropriate response. The Metropolitan Police Service carries out an audit of calls from the public into its call centres each month, to check how effectively callers are dealt with. The force's own figures show that performance in identifying vulnerability of anti-social behaviour callers is poor.

The force uses a vulnerability assessment framework (VAF) to identify vulnerability and risk in cases of anti-social behaviour, whether to victims, witnesses, suspects or the public. Training for all officers in how to use the VAF has started. There is a clear process for officers to follow at each stage of an investigation to ensure that the victim's needs are understood and addressed. However, we found that there are inconsistencies in the extent to which officers are complying with the process, and in their understanding of the need for a greater focus on victim care.

Partnership working

The force works well with local partners to tackle anti-social behaviour. There is a clear process for each borough to escalate high risk cases to a wider community forum, such as anti-social behaviour action groups. These are multi-agency groups which enable the force to share information among partners, co-ordinate its approach to resolving cases, respond more effectively to each victim's needs and prevent escalation.

Improving services to the public

Tackling anti-social behaviour is a priority for the Metropolitan Police Service and during our inspection we found this to be universally understood. Anti-social behaviour features prominently on the agenda of local borough meetings. The force has a target to reduce reported anti-social behaviour incidents by 20 percent from the level in 2012 by 2016. In the 12 months to March 2014, the Metropolitan Police Service recorded 343,172 incidents of anti-social behaviour. This is a reduction of 11 percent against the previous 12 months.

In order to improve services the force has introduced a formal, regular survey to gather feedback from victims of anti-social behaviour. Boroughs are expected to contact 50 victims each month. We found that this is not consistently completed due to other work demands, for example the data for May 2014 show that only 6 of the 32 boroughs managed to make all of the 50 call backs.

Guidance on the use of anti-social behaviour powers is available on the Metropolitan Police Service intranet for use by officers. Guidance has yet to be given to officers or PCSOs in relation to the new powers introduced by the Anti-social Behaviour Crime and Policing Act 2014. However, local authority staff have provided a limited amount of training in some boroughs.

Summary

Good

- Reducing anti-social behaviour is a clear priority for the Metropolitan Police Service, and there is a strong commitment to tackling it effectively which is evident at all levels in the force. There has been good progress towards achieving the target of a 20 percent reduction in reported anti-social behaviour by 2016.
- The dedicated police resources in each ward enable effective communication with local communities and also with local partner agencies. This ensures that community priorities are understood and acted upon.
- There are good processes in place to manage risk and ensure that high risk victims of anti-social behaviour receive a co-ordinated response from the police and partners.

What each judgment means

HMIC uses four categories for making judgments, two are positive and two are negative. The categories are:

- outstanding;
- good;
- requires improvement; and
- inadequate.

Judgment is made against how well the force cuts crime. In applying the categories HMIC considers whether:

- the way the force is cutting crime and reducing offending is good, or exceeds this standard sufficiently to be judged as outstanding;
- the force requires improvement in the way it cuts crime, and/or there are some weaknesses; or
- the force's effectiveness at cutting crime is inadequate because it is significantly lower than is expected.