

PCDA Assignment Two

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Essay one:

Evaluate the role of police in counter-terrorism policing, and examine how intelligence gained in the investigation of other types of criminality might inform counter-terrorism policing. Your answer must be based on academic research, although you may make reference to recent, relevant case studies.

Word limit: 2000 words.

Answer:

The impact of terrorism can alter a national landscape, in a range between economic decline, loss of public confidence in leadership and widespread behavioural change (Van Der Does *et al.* 2021). In response, global leaders drive change in a desire to protect against future threats, the impact however often involves military action as evidenced following the 9/11 attacks (Thomas, 2010). Nonetheless, threat and fear remain, where the United Kingdom (UK) alone has experienced thirteen fatal terrorist attacks since 2017, which have caused the death of almost forty people (Allen, Burton and Pratt, 2022). Notably, many view terrorist groups to have evolved their capability following 9/11, where relationships have formed within governments and organised crime groups to avoid detection and develop funds (Viano, 2020). To add complexity, within recent years the UK has also recognised a growing risk of individuals planning solo attacks, frequently in areas relatively near their upbringing in a risk factor entitled “lone wolf terrorism” (Hamm and Spaaij, 2017, p. 1). This essay will explore deeper into these areas, and detail key changes within the UK’s counter-terrorism approach, where worldwide terrorist activity has created a pressure for continual improvement (Innes, 2006). Furthermore, this essay will consider the value of police within counter-terrorism policing, and test the view that

neighbourhood policing is important to both deter activity and develop intelligence (Lambert, 2011). This essay will then examine the area of intelligence and build upon the view that relationships exist between terrorist groups and other forms of organised crime (Picarelli, 2012). Consequently, this will lead into the worldwide impact these bonds form, and opportunities they present to better inform counter-terrorism policing.

The challenge for the UK's counter-terrorism approach is great, where terrorists range from global networks to individuals who are influenced by such groups, in a radicalisation process which can lead to violent acts being completed alone and quickly (Counter Terrorism Policing, n.d.). Additionally, attacks such as the 7/7 bombings in London illustrate how public fear does not solely focus on foreign regions, where all four of the bombers for example lived within the UK (Rogers, 2008). Furthermore, networks and resources can include people in privileged positions, in an area branded an "insider threat" (BaMaung *et al.* 2018, p. 133). Here, the scale of opportunity is vast, where open online sources promote individuals to exploit employment within military, government, industrial and police occupations for example to open unique opportunities for terrorist groups (Naji, 2006). Content similar to this has led to examples within the UK such as Rajib Karim, a British aviation employee who was convicted for terrorism offences after supporting a plan to place an explosive device on an American destined airliner, whilst in regular contact with Al-Qaeda leaders (Bean, 2017). Specific to employee threats, the UK government has supported a response through the Centre for the Protection of National Infrastructure (CPNI) however the evolving tactics terrorists utilise pose a great challenge for UK counter-terrorism agencies (CPNI, 2021).

This complexity, risk, and reality formed pressure for the UK's counter-terrorism approach to improve, where developments and delivery have since created a long debated field. Factors which influenced this include the unpredictability of attacks, increased recognition of public fear, and knowledge that terrorist incidents reduce community cohesion (Innes, 2006). First introduced in 2003, a consistent strategy to the UK's counter-terrorism approach has been the CONTEST model, a partnership collaboration focus which remains in place today and focusses on four areas to prevent, pursue, protect and prepare for terrorist threats (HM Government, 2018). The CONTEST strategy however brought early criticism, with views that the approach lacked direction and governance (Rogers, 2008). Furthermore, this now experienced strategy has sustained public criticism for the lack of change it has embraced, which has increased pressure on partnering agencies to defend against increasing terrorist capability (Gearson, 2015). Within the counter-terrorism policing environment, one of the largest changes to improve partnership working occurred in 2006, where the Counter Terrorism Command (CTC) formed through the merger of previous specialist departments to support efficient collaboration with intelligence and government partners (Weston, 2009). Here, instead of each UK police service previously containing their own specialist terrorist unit, the UK moved to a model of eleven regional counter-terrorism units, which has been viewed to improve consistency and working relationships with security partners such as MI5 and MI6 (Halford, 2022).

Despite this vast structure including partnership agencies, many believe local policing holds a vital role, to improve community bonds, cohesion, and the identification of

local terrorist activity (Ben Jaffel, 2020). Across the CTC model, counter-terrorism work is viewed to fall under two categories of proactive and reactive areas (Innes, 2006). Indeed, the respect for frontline community policing to gain intelligence and deter terrorist activity, in support of the proactive perspective, has grown against the landscape of increased UK based attacks (Klausen, 2009). This has seemingly increased the perceived value of police within counter-terrorism policing in comparison with historic views of security services predominantly sourcing intelligence leads and police mainly responsible for the creation of legal cases (Masse, 2003). Further research into community based counter-terrorism policing has found similarity between both police and terrorist desires to build trust within influential members of the community (Spalek, 2013). Consequently, the UK has experienced development with the creation of departments such as the Muslim Contact Unit within counter-terrorism police agencies where success has been proven through interventions with youths who had been targeted by extremist groups (Lambert, 2011). This shows the increase in perceived police importance towards counter-terrorism policing, in a neighbourhood oriented focus to bring the community with the police, as opposed to the enforcement of processes which may incur resistance (Lambert and Parsons, 2017).

Despite the respect of police engagement by some, others believe there is a continued suspicion from young people at risk of radicalisation (Spalek, 2013). Furthermore, instances such as the closure of the Muslim Safety Forum, believed to be a strong partnership example, have led to a view that police engagement with communities has not fully achieved the potential (Lambert and Parsons, 2017). Another highlighted area of concern is a view that after 9/11, frontline and visible

counter-terrorism policing has disproportionately focussed attention towards Muslim communities, which has consequently increased resistance to police in areas and questioned political focus (Spalek, 2013). Accordingly, a study across UK mosques found that whilst a large consensus agreed extremism is a societal challenge, the majority were supporting the area without police involvement, which has resulted in lost information and intelligence (Innes *et al.* 2011). Findings such as these pose thought to the value the security services bring to counter-terrorism, where agencies such as MI5 and MI6 hold global fame for their history (Irons, 2008). The importance of the security sector is further supported by the reality that terrorist communication increasingly utilises the online world (Palasinski and Bowman-Grieve, 2017). The more hidden and secretive nature however of intelligence and security sectors mean studies and published results are more limited compared to police based literature.

Despite the different views on the UK's counter-terrorism effectiveness, the importance of taking proactive action against terrorist groups when required is widely respected (Sandler, 2005). As a result, when action is taken, the performance of the UK's counter-terrorism strategy is judged on a case by case basis, where the selection of the most appropriate agency and approach is crucial based on the circumstances. Balance therefore forms a factor, where whilst this essay has detailed a resistance towards high visibility policing in areas, studies find high levels of hidden surveillance also harm the relationship between communities and the police (Kundnani, 2009). Partnership working therefore continues to be vital, where relationships, ability to share information and network across all areas of the CONTEST model provide the foundation to the UK's counter-terrorism approach (Wong, 2022).

The use of intelligence to defend against terrorism within the UK is an area which has also experienced great change, where historic perceptions have progressed from a secretive detective image to that of frontline police officers (Ben Jaffel, 2020). The sharing however of intelligence between police, intelligence agencies and other supporting partners has not always been successful, where some view poor information sharing to have been a failure prior to the 7/7 London bombings for example (Field, 2009). This has led to the development of new systems such as the National Common Intelligence Application however further concerns still exist (Halford, 2022). One such study finds that police officers display caution to trust intelligence from civilian based employees due to a perception of reduced validity (Cope, 2004). Equally, organisational culture differences are viewed to form relationship and intelligence sharing barriers (Sheptycki, 2004). In exploration of intelligence systems, not all partners within the CONTEST model share a consistent structure which adds complexity and lack of consistency (Halford, 2022). Furthermore, theorists view there to be a difference in the direction of intelligence between police and the security sectors, where security agencies tend to focus upon wider pictures whereas police inputs are more directed towards specifics and future legal proceedings (Treverton, 2003).

Despite these challenges, the bond which exists between other forms of criminality, particularly organised crime groups and terrorism creates the increased activity of terrorist groups. These relationships are long respected, where historical events such as the fall of the Soviet Union highlight the terrorist requirement for funding, supplies and partnership support (Dishman, 2001). Furthermore, in more recent

times terrorist and organised crime groups have become so embedded within areas of the globe alongside corrupt governments it means investigation and action experience great difficulty (McCulloch and Pickering, 2005). Revenue is viewed to be one of the basic needs for terrorist groups, which leads them to complete criminal activity themselves in addition to forming partnerships with existing organised crime groups (Clarke and Lee, 2008). These relationships span worldwide, where at times the requirement for funds outweigh their political views and delay other terrorist operations (Benson and Decker, 2010). A strong example of the global scale for revenue generation is Al-Qaeda's reported involvement within the West Africa diamond trade (Farah, 2004). In addition, the worldwide impact is demonstrated by the repeated kidnapping of Nigerian schoolchildren by terrorist group Boko Haram, where studies suggest links are formed with the increasing presence of Nigerian gangs in Europe, and the transportation of Nigerian females into the European prostitution environment (Viano, 2020).

These examples demonstrate the historic and ongoing relationship between terrorist groups and other criminal activity, where the policing of other crime types holds opportunity to disrupt vast plans. Consequently, theorists promote governments to focus on a combined approach, instead of bespoke plans for terrorism and crime in isolation (Viano, 2020). Case studies show how the volume of people with knowledge of terrorist operations can far outweigh those who directly complete the attacks, where an investigation into the 2003 suicide bombings in Istanbul found that nearly three hundred people had knowledge before the event compared with the four physical attackers (McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007). Whilst prominent case studies such as this demonstrate the worldwide scale, research also finds terrorist

groups engage in a broad range of more local criminal activity, to include for example illegal drug distribution and road traffic offences (Hamm and Van de Voorde, 2005). This implies continually aware and present policing holds opportunity to gain intelligence which links in some form to terrorist activity. The value of awareness also expands beyond police and intelligence services, where the CONTEST strategy places a requirement on sectors such as education, government and healthcare to raise any terrorism risks they identify (Department of Education, 2015). Despite these opportunities, organised crime groups and terrorist partners continue to develop their operations and structure to avoid detection, where with each policing and investigative success, developments are made to move terrorist activity deeper into a hidden environment (Tsvetovat and Carley, 2005). Chiefly, in comparison with strict policies and structures within police, government and security agencies, terrorist groups become more fluid, able to complete and destroy communication within minutes, and maintain separation between decision makers and those who complete direct attacks (Mullins, 2009).

In conclusion, the UK's counter-terrorism strategy faces a large challenge to protect against the evolving potential of terrorist groups. In response, the CONTEST strategy has supported the UK's defence, where developments have occurred over time to improve partnership working and overall capability (Weston, 2009). Despite this, the CONTEST strategy has received criticism, where consideration has been brought towards the importance of community based policing to develop terrorist intelligence and disrupt activity (Ben Jaffel, 2020). The importance of policing to the counter-terrorism strategy however is difficult to compare with security services, due to the secretive nature of partners such as MI5 and MI6. Nonetheless, there is wide

respect for the need to share intelligence effectively, where historical instances have branded poor information handling to be factors within completed attacks (Field, 2009). Furthermore, it is known that terrorist groups form relationships with other organised crime groups to develop funds and avoid detection. This reality creates both increased challenge and opportunity, where terrorist involvement in other crime types will generate the presence of additional information. The objective therefore becomes the identification of this information, through strong community policing and investigatory partnerships to gain visibility of wider pictures, and protect against future attacks.

Word Count – 2199

Essay two:

Evaluate the effectiveness of specific crime prevention initiatives, and consider how these have been informed by relevant policing models (e.g. problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing).

Word limit: 2000 words.

Answer:

Within recent years the study of crime has become more complicated, where despite the stabilisation of reported crime rates within the United Kingdom (UK), the public fear of crime has increased and become an important component of how crime is perceived (Evans, 2011). Against this complexity, theorists view crime prevention initiatives to be a high priority which deserve investment and focus, in contrast to increased dependence on the Criminal Justice System for example (Shaftoe, 2004). Chiefly, crime prevention is targeted to address the root cause of criminality, which when successful and sustained can support the reduction of public fear (Balloni and Sette, 2020). In addition, the development of crime prevention is not exclusive to the UK, where respect for the potential is shared within many countries worldwide (Welsh and Farrington, 2012). This essay however will focus attention on UK based crime prevention initiatives, where the effectiveness of examples will be evaluated. Furthermore, consideration will be provided to the connection these initiatives hold with policing models and recognise the political undertones which have influenced the area over decades (Evans, 2011).

Over time, the development in technology has enabled crime types to change. This has resulted in the evolution of crime prevention initiatives, where the wide range

of approaches lead academics to refer to the area as having “definitional elasticity” (Gilling, 2000, p. 136). With this growth, research into the effectiveness of crime prevention has increased, which includes the financial benefit this can bring to countries in addition to the social avail (Drake and Miller, 2009). Equally, the financial perspective further supports studies which show high imprisonment rates can unsettle communities and lead to increased subsequent crime (Clear, 2007). The focus of crime prevention therefore becomes the avoidance of criminal behaviour before any act takes place, which predominantly targets offender, environment and community based options (Welsh and Farrington, 2012). To further illustrate the progress research has made in this area, contrast can be brought to views within the 1970s that crime interventions held little potential, and that additional trials would be financially wasteful (Weisburd, Farrington and Gill, 2016).

Due to the wide social and financial opportunity crime prevention has since been proven to hold, the area has long attracted political attention and influence. This is in addition to views that prominent British leaders have utilised the overall challenge of crime to support political campaigns for generations (Reiner, 2007). For instance, prominent British prime ministers have often utilised the desire for community safety to help gain public popularity (Evans, 2011). Consequently, political involvement has at times led to publicised tension between government and police leaders, as demonstrated following the 2011 British riots where criticism was traded between both parties (Machold, 2020).

Whilst specific crime prevention initiatives understandably focus on relatively precise areas, crime prevention overall has experienced a notable journey. Within early

trials, approaches to reduce crime largely focussed upon the offender in isolation, where the Criminal Justice System and prison services were heavily relied upon to deter and rehabilitate criminals (Evans, 2011). This direction is now largely viewed to be dated, and draws comparison to historic criminologists who viewed criminality to be a genetic factor, a theory which has since been widely discredited (Ramsland, 2009). Subsequently, the further study of crime has provided a deeper understanding, where the development of models such as routine activity theory brought attention to the environment and situation of potential crimes (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Revolutionary milestones such as this inspired trials into the protection of potential targets which continue to the current day, in a view that criminals make conscious and calculated decisions, based upon opportunity, reward and risk (Akers, 1990). The realisation of advancing crime types, and the large range of crime prevention opportunities led to the introduction of the UK's modern crime prevention strategy in 2016 which highlighted the six key elements of crime to be the available opportunity, criminal character, deterrent of the Criminal Justice System, profit potential, and the use of drugs and alcohol (Home Office, 2016).

The first crime prevention initiative this essay will explore is the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, an early but prominent UK example which has attracted worldwide study (Forrester, Chatterton and Pease, 1988). Commenced in 1985, this project focussed on a burglary reduction challenge in the Kirkholt estate within Rochdale, an area chosen due to a particularly high residential burglary rate of 24.6% per year (Gilling, n.d.). Prior to this project, key factors included the targeting of household utility metres, where the relatively secluded community led theorists to believe the crimes were largely completed by local residents (Stokes and Clare,

2019). Consequently, the planned actions included partnership working across police, utility services and probation teams, where the area received substantial investment in the form of improved building security, utility equipment, and a Neighbourhood Watch network (Gilling, n.d.). In addition to these situational factors, there was a strong view that social interventions would also be required, with beliefs the burglary rate was linked to drug usage within the area (Gilling, n.d.). The implementation of preventative measures sustained across several years, where by 1990 the residential burglary rate within Kirkholt had dropped to 6% (Tilley, 1993). This statistical success however did not fully represent the initial desire of the Kirkholt project, where concern was raised towards the social aspect of the challenge, with a view the study of offender motivations did not work simultaneously with situational changes (Gilling, n.d.). Likewise, despite the burglary reduction rate, thought was given towards the volume of situational interventions used, which created difficulty to accurately understand the benefit each individual area brought (Hope, 2019). Whilst these factors show the positive and negative implications of the project, against a political interest for measurable and clear statistics, the initiative created a foundation for future crime prevention on a global scale.

The focus on situational opportunity links to an array of activity within the field, with a prominent example being Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) which was first discussed in the 1970s (Piroozfar *et al.* 2019). The wider context of situational prevention is the physical protection of targets, removal of opportunity for offenders to conceal themselves, and the increased observation within areas (Rosenbaum, Lurigio and Davis, 1998). The development of CPTED however created a more specific list of approaches, which include natural and

technological surveillance, access restrictions, community ownership and area maintenance, all in addition to target hardening features (UNODC, n.d.).

Furthermore, CPTED distinguished itself from general situational prevention, by using historic evidence to predict issues, and support the initial development of areas, as opposed to situational methods which are more reactive and focus on existing problems (UNODC, n.d.). The benefits from this approach have since seen CPTED become a frequent approach towards construction within the UK, with crime prevention and security standards promoted within building regulations (Armitage, 2018). Whilst individual actions have become more understood, such as the substantially reduced likelihood of burglary in homes containing a front garden, the social value of CPTED has also become visible (Montoya, Junger and Ongena, 2016). For instance, the social side products have been viewed to be the increased pride and self monitoring of areas by residents, which in addition to technological surveillance generally improves social order (Massey, 2010). These benefits however do not occur without resistance, where the complex design process incurs resistance from planning and construction departments due to the delayed timeframe and cost involved (Cozens and Love, 2015).

The discussed initiatives of the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project and CPTED, whilst statistically successful, raise concern in the ability for several focus areas to coincide, where policing models aim to provide overall structure, alignment and vision. Similarly, whilst police services worldwide build strategies to maintain pace with enhancing crime types, the array of policing models mean tactical decisions are required to support crime reduction and a community sense of safety (Braga and Weisburd, 2007). In addition, theorists view change to be a challenge within police

services, where studies find police staff members can be resistant towards change and experience difficulty in the adoption of new ideas (Sparrow, Moore and Kennedy, 1990). As a result, the effective operation of policing models forms a crucial factor to crime reduction in addition to prevention initiatives.

In reflection of the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, the difficulty of utilising a situational, problem based approach alongside social, community based desires presented a challenge. As a result, theorists recommend caution in the combination of several policing models within projects, where doing so is viewed to confuse purposes, and risk conflict between involved stakeholders (Gilling, n.d.).

Furthermore, upon review of the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project, whilst the situational factors were measurable and evaluated, the social elements were not which led to a descriptive only view, and criticism that the initiative did not fully explore the intended proposal (Forrester *et al.* 1988). Additionally, social and community based factors are frequently viewed to be difficult to measure, where some studies find baselines are difficult to accurately assess (Gilling, n.d.). This has led some theorists to believe that from a social perspective, more meaningful understanding comes after the completion of crimes or initiatives, such as probation work with offenders to understand motivations for example.

Despite these challenges, the UK is respected to be at the global forefront of community-based policing (Choi and Lee, 2016). From a social and community viewpoint, the challenge therefore becomes how to harness the relationship between police and the community into crime prevention initiatives. To begin this journey, community engagement has long been considered valuable to the intelligence-led

policing model (Maguire and John, 2006). In this case, despite community approaches not providing the same level of statistical clarity as problem-solving methods, the information communities can provide towards an intelligence-led strategy can be invaluable, with the identification of otherwise unknown information (Bullock, 2013). Furthermore, close policing bonds with communities help tailor crime prevention initiatives towards social needs, and have a more powerful impact on the fear of crime through the better dissemination of feedback (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). Finally, whilst there are contrasts in the motivations of community based and intelligence-led policing, both benefit from strong police and community communication, where the two models are viewed to feed into and complement each other (McGarrell, Freilich and Chermak, 2007). Nonetheless, the political desire for quantifiable benefits often leads government groups to remain in favour of problem-oriented policing models compared with community-based crime prevention approaches (Evans, 2011).

Whilst problem-oriented policing is suited towards the collation of comparable statistics, it does not mean the approach neglects the importance of communities and the public. Indeed, studies into the model have found problem-oriented approaches can be highly effective to improve public safety, however the generally robust models incur complexity and a challenge to sustain initiatives over long durations (Bullock *et al.* 2022). For example, problem-oriented policing frequently utilises problem-solving methods such as the SARA model, where a structure is followed to identify, analyse, respond to and assess what are predominately existing and substantive concerns (Gill *et al.* 2014). A debate therefore rises for whether problem-oriented policing models inform effective crime prevention initiatives, before

criminal acts take place, or whether they influence crime reduction once community fear has already been impacted (Welsh and Farrington, 2012). Accordingly, problem-oriented policing experiences polarising reviews, with policital sources rating the area highly, however academics shining light towards a history of poor scanning and analysis phases which can question the reliability of some initiative findings (Goldstein, 2018).

In conclusion, crime prevention is shown to have a rich history, where theorist views at times oppose each other, however political influence remains present throughout (Reiner, 2007). Despite the contrast in viewpoints, an evident consideration is the continuation of public fear, despite the stabilisation of crime volumes compared with previous decades (Evans, 2011). Equally, the advances in technology undeniably enable new crime types to emerge, where the large volume of policing models used in the history of the UK provide options to consider dependant on the situation and challenge. Against this landscape, it is widely viewed that crime prevention is pivotal to the future of the UK, as opposed to increased reliance on the Criminal Justice System both from a social and financial perspective (Shaftoe, 2004). As detailed within this essay, crime prevention initiatives such as the Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project and CPTED have proven to be statistically successful, however the community and social based outcomes become more difficult to measure. Against a polical interest which regularly focusses on the public fear of crime, the social outcomes of crime prevention hold less numerical clarity, and instead rely on largely descriptive feedback (Forrester *et al.* 1988). Similarly, the evaluation of crime prevention has shown how initiatives gravitate towards related policing models. Whilst policing models are desired to set direction and focus however, the benefit

they provide leads into confusion when two or more models are introduced, as evidenced with the problem-solving and community-based themes within Kirkholt (Gilling, n.d.). These findings demonstrate the large scale and potential of crime prevention, however also the risks which decision makers consider and debate. Ultimately however, the UK is in a strong position to build upon, where a vast history of concepts and models are studied, respected and emulated worldwide.

Word Count – 2195

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