

Better policing through partnership Working together for a safer community

Tackling crime is rightly a high priority. If the police are to meet public expectations, they need to be able to deploy more of their resources to support the frontline. In this brief we showcase examples of how smarter partnership working with private sector providers is achieving this goal without compromising public safety. Such innovative partnerships are delivering high-quality services and show the way forward for police reform.

Protecting the citizen is at the heart of policing. The National Policing Plan 2005-2008, *Safer, Stronger Communities*, sets out a clear list of priorities: reducing crime, making policing citizen-focused, increasing detection and conviction rates and combating serious and organised crime. As a user and funder of police services, business has a stake in ensuring the police are effective in fulfilling all these roles.

Eleven million crimes were committed in the UK in 2004-2005.¹ A Home Office research study on reassurance policing shows that reducing crime is “...ranked as the top priority” and “...top of the residents’ list of community safety priorities was increasing the number of police officers on the beat”.² For any government focused on citizen-led public services, it is natural to emphasise policing. But with the burden of public protection comes a myriad of specialist roles, not all of them relating to frontline policing, which involve working together with other providers of public services.

In reacting to this challenge, many police forces have sought to harness skills from other sectors in order to release police resources to the frontline.³ As crime affects us all, it is right that all parts of society and all public services are engaged in helping deliver better public protection. As providers of public services, many businesses have skills to offer and are ready to help.

Over the last decade, legislation has increasingly allowed for the ‘civilianisation’ of police roles, whereby police officers can be released from non-operational technical or administrative tasks which do not require police powers or police expertise. By choosing to partner with independent providers, police forces have looked for new ways to become more effective operationally and to provide improved services to operational units. The CBI believes this partnership model – businesses working with the police to improve police support services – can help reduce crime, improve efficiency and modernise police facilities. Developing the market in police support services would allow forces to streamline operations – such as facilities management or IT and administration services – and concentrate resources on the frontline.

The CBI believes partnering with private providers helps improve policing. If some of the best practice already taking place were replicated across the country, significant improvements would follow. In this brief we set out how:

- Partnering with private providers helps deliver high-performance policing
- Effective market management will further improve public protection.

Partnership with private providers helps deliver high-performance policing

In some areas, police forces have already started partnering with the private sector in order to deploy resources more efficiently and effectively. Where they have become involved, private providers have supported better police performance and delivered innovation and value for money. In this section we show how partnership with private providers is:

- Freeing officers to deliver better frontline services for citizens
- Offering higher security standards
- Delivering greater productivity and efficiency
- Providing innovative solutions.

Freeing officers to deliver better frontline services for citizens

A key aspect of increasing public confidence in crime reduction is a more visible police presence. Using specialist expertise from outside providers to deliver police support services means that warranted police officers have more time to focus on core policing tasks. One example of this is the provision of custody suite construction and management by private providers. Police authorities following this route have done so with the aim of improving custody services, creating economies of scale, freeing officers from administrative duties and letting them return to street duty sooner.

In Sussex, the police authority partnered with Reliance to deliver the management of its custody facilities as part of a 30-year Pathfinder Private Finance Initiative (PFI) project. The clear objective of redesigning services was to improve the custody process and release police officers for other duties. Reliance achieved the outcomes by centralising services into six custody centres, thereby reducing booking times from 20 minutes to nine.⁴ As a result, Reliance needed fewer officers to supervise the centres and the police were able to re-assign 18 sergeants – until then managing the custody suites – back to the frontline. Since 2002, Reliance has also been working with Thames Valley to provide a custody services team of 115 people across 12 centres. By partnering with a specialist provider which focuses exclusively on custody management, the police authority has saved £1.6m so far and has been able to move 133 police officers back to the frontline.

In Cheshire, GSL was commissioned by the local police authority to deliver three brand new custody suites to replace 11 ageing town-centre stations and to introduce an innovative approach to the transportation of offenders. In the commissioning process, the police authority made clear that desired outcomes were more police officers staying on the beat and providing custody centres that are easy to access, run and control. GSL achieved these outcomes by designing

a transportation system that requires a single GSL-employed operator and by using sites outside town centres that allow easier access for police vans.

The direct result of using partners to manage such support services is that more warranted officers can focus on frontline policing. Police authorities also transfer most of the risk around the operation of these services to their partner, so that they can concentrate on policing. For instance, if the heating of a custody centre breaks down, it is the provider's role to deal with it, and it no longer absorbs valuable police time. Providers deploy staff dedicated to their role rather than being liable for other duties, as warranted police officers would be. In Cheshire, GSL's contract provides for collection of 'out of force' detainees. To date, this has included collecting detainees from Northern Ireland and Scotland. By partnering with a private provider to deliver this service, the police force releases officers from undertaking long journeys to collect detainees from other forces.

Some police authorities have taken a more comprehensive approach to the delivery of policing services in order to deliver improvements. In Warwickshire, for instance, Warwickshire Police, Warwickshire Magistrates' Courts Service, the National Probation Service, the Courts Service, the Crown Prosecution Service and Warwickshire Youth Offending Scheme pooled their resources in a partnership to offer services at the same location and reduce waiting times between procedures. In 2005, it commissioned an integrated justice centre consisting of a police station, custody facilities and four courtrooms. The facility is owned by the police and maintained by Serco. The police use Reliance to manage the custody centre, and rent the remaining areas to the other services.

Shared locations such as this allow more effective joined-up working practices between the teams and increase overall productivity: police officers work alongside Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) lawyers, courts, the Probation Service, the Youth Offending Team and the Victim and Witness Support Team. Recently, the in-house magistrate's court at the Warwickshire centre issued a fine to a defendant without a permanent address. When he didn't pay the fine an arrest warrant was issued. The court was able to obtain the address where he could be found from the adjoining probation office and take the warrant to the police within minutes. This approach significantly improves public protection by increasing efficiency in criminal justice services and releasing officers to core duties more quickly. Even with the innovative approaches outlined, more efficient ways of operating could still be found – perhaps by commissioning further non-operational duties, such as reception services or CCTV-checking, to an independent provider.

‘Partnerships have delivered new facilities and services with high security standards, and providers have demonstrated their ability to work alongside police in highly secure environments.’

Offering high security standards

Changes in policing arrangements naturally raise questions about the security of new approaches. Experience to date suggests that private providers have been adept at maintaining and increasing standards. In 2004-2005, there were only two escapes from private prisons and escorts out of 39,377 prisoners handled.⁵ Partnerships have delivered new facilities and services with high security standards, and providers have demonstrated their ability to work alongside police in highly secure environments.

Providers have used innovative design to deliver higher security standards. For the custody suites in Runcorn, Chester and Middlewich, GSL constructed each building on a cruciform design, with suites on the ground floor, enabling one custody sergeant (supported by GSL staff) to see every cell with the naked eye from the charge desk. This design has risk-management advantages: it allows GSL and the police to shut down a wing in case of emergency without affecting the functioning of the rest of the facility. In addition, the centre is designed to have excellent sight lines for CCTV and a state-of-the-art security system far in advance of what could have been installed in the centres it replaced.

By locating these facilities outside town centres, GSL has also been able to enhance the security around the custody entrance: vans can park by the door of the custody centre to discharge their prisoners. Prisoners are taken through two electronically-controlled doors, which only open once the other has been closed and identity has been cleared. Prisoners are taken to the registration desk before being moved to a nearby cell. All this helps create a safe custody environment and ensure low levels of self-harm and accidents, but allows for rapid reaction if necessary. GSL applies the same high security standards to its transportation service: in 2005-2006, a total of 7,000 detainees were escorted from the point of arrest to custody centres without any accidents, complaints or assaults on staff.

When working alongside police in high-security environments, providers have demonstrated that they can handle sensitive information in a responsible way while continuing to deliver efficiencies. Serco works with the new Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) to provide services in one

of the most sensitive and security-controlled areas of police operation. Serco's new secure data storage system for SOCA is just one example of improvements in efficiency that also increase security standards. Serco set up an integrated IT system designed to meet officers' needs, covering key areas such as intelligence management, case management and crime information systems. Designed around role-based security,⁶ the new system is saving significant numbers of staff-hours by offering excellent access to data when necessary, combined with high levels of security for document exchange and storage.

In a similar high-security environment at the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB), Capita has created a secure integrated IT and administration infrastructure that allows the CRB to handle 70,000 applications for disclosures a week. This involves Capita working alongside CRB Agency staff, who have access to both centrally-held government records and the Police National Computer (PNC). The CRB's structure ensures high levels of security and confidentiality while still delivering efficiencies and improved service levels. Capita staff handle all the processes up to and following the records check, but only the CRB Agency's staff, who are accredited civil servants, can collect information from the databases. The CRB is able to issue 99.4% of standard disclosures within its target of 14 days and to handle all enhanced disclosures within five days. Over 20,000 unsuitable people have been prevented from working with children or vulnerable adults as a direct result of CRB checks.

Delivering higher productivity and efficiency

Through partnership working with police authorities, private providers have been able to improve productivity and help deliver important savings. They do this by shopping around for better solutions and integrating services. In south Wales the full training of police officers to manage custody suites previously cost around £3m a year. By using G4S Justice Services for the training of 97 custody and detention officers, South Wales Police are now saving around £1.2m on staffing costs.

Using public-private partnerships also allows service providers to improve performance by meeting specific key performance indicators (KPIs). At the CRB, for instance, Capita has been able to turn around service performance and quality due to its ability to analyse initial difficulties in meeting KPIs, and the introduction of a service improvement plan which successfully eliminated backlog in six months and led to targets being exceeded. The organisational review conducted by PwC in November 2005 confirmed Capita's objectives had been attained in terms of delivering service excellence, year-on-year efficiency and improvement, making this contract "...a very high profile account and a major public sector reference site". At the National Crime Squad (now part of SOCA),

Serco used its diagnostic abilities to deliver a number of efficiency improvements, for instance by storing and maintaining the stolen vehicles of its seized asset store for only 20% of the previous public sector cost.

Some police forces have looked to improve efficiency and service by collaborating with other bodies at a strategic level. An example of how police forces could use the capacity of other bodies to deliver better public protection is the pilot project being developed by the West Midlands Police and the CRB Agency. With this project, the force is partnering with the CRB to deliver its records checking service, allowing specialist staff at the CRB to do checks against the force's records in a secure environment without losing control of the information.⁷ This has already helped reduce police backlog and has the potential to address the variations in service performance across the 43 police forces and cut down the time taken to do a police check, a major part of the CRB's disclosure process. This improvement was made possible thanks to the highly secure IT infrastructure established by Capita, and should provide the impetus for greater efficiencies by sharing this service at a strategic level.

Capita and the CRB have also been working on developing an Interim Police Local Cross-Referencing database (I-PLX) to help improve information sharing between regional forces. I-PLX will feed into the IMPACT Nominal Index (INI) which provides an index of names appearing in 34 million criminal records. This is all part of the larger IMPACT programme which aims to encourage information sharing to create a fully integrated national police database by 2010.

Sharing of services also has a lot to offer in back-office tasks. HR, finance and IT support are all areas where forces could benefit from co-operating with other providers to commission services. This could offer not only significant cost savings to authorities, but also create the impetus for transformation of services standards as part of the commissioning process. At the Metropolitan Police, CapGemini UK plc, in collaboration with Unisys and BT (CUBIT), recently started providing information and communications technology services under a seven-year contract. CapGemini provides services such as: management and support of desktop IT networks; telephony and mobile devices; software applications relating to crime reporting information and analysis and records storage. CUBIT supplies: help desk services; new data centres; a comprehensive performance regime and infrastructure monitoring; and management tools. For the Met, the objective of entering into this partnership was to get the most appropriate and efficient solutions to support frontline policing in London. All partners agree that the success of the partnership will be measured by their ability to work as a single team, thereby drawing the maximum benefits from shared services.⁸

'Outcome-based procurement encourages innovation in the delivery of support services and provides operational solutions tailored to police needs.'

Customer-focused staff are key to delivering efficient services and vital in a partnering environment. In particular, recruiting specialist staff with specific skills helps foster co-operation with police officers and increases knowledge and understanding of the role private providers can play. At the National Crime Squad (NCS), Serco conducted extensive research with officers before designing the integrated IT system in order to understand how they deal with serious organised crime work and take into account practical suggestions on how the system could best be used.

In south Wales, G4S Justice Services reviewed service performance in November 2004 by distributing questionnaires to operational police officers, custody officers, inspectors and chief inspectors. Ninety-six percent stated that the helpfulness of the custody and detention officers was excellent, 92% said that the adherence to operating procedures was good, and 96% stated that co-operation shown to police officers was good. As a result of the information received, G4S reinforced operational procedures and recruited and trained an additional 32 custody and detention officers so that operational service levels rose from a monthly average of 86% to 98% by May 2005.

Providing innovative solutions

In some of the best examples of partnership working with the police, private providers have improved service performance thanks to contracts that allow them freedom to determine how they reach a KPI based on a specific outcome or output. Outcome-based procurement encourages innovation in the delivery of support services and provides operational solutions tailored to police needs.

In Cheshire, GSL was encouraged to come up with an innovative solution to improve the pick-up time on arrests. By using a simple software package to map arrests and by learning how to maximise the productivity of vans from the delivery system used by a major UK supermarket, GSL reduced the pick-up time on arrests from 30 to ten minutes in key areas. To do this, GSL identified key zones where most arrests took place during the week and based the vans there. The vans are equipped with a satellite navigation system that downloads the destination from the control centre and avoids confusion over where the vehicle should head. Van drivers acknowledge instructions to ensure a speedy response. This innovative approach adds to the efficiency of the operation by

enabling the police officer to return to the beat sooner, having only to fill in a risk-assessment form and help load detainees when the van arrives.

Private providers can be particularly effective at delivering flexible services adapted to ever-changing demand where outcomes-focused contracting is used. A good example is the new police headquarters in Gloucestershire. This is being built in partnership with Reliance with the aim of integrating all operations, from administrative tasks to scientific support. It will allow all resources to be focused on responding to an incident and offer a flexible office environment that enables the operational team to be in contact with command and control. This joined-up approach allows all officers to work together on an incident and save time on communications.

At the Met, Unisys started providing a command and control service in 2005 under a five-year contract which ensures that *“...the staff at the end of the police emergency line always have the information they need to co-ordinate and provide assistance”*. To meet this objective, Unisys put in place a system allowing operators to enter information quickly and accurately and to have access to a range of information including mapping technology, caller line identification, address verification and a set of standard incident type codes. Unisys not only designed and provides support for the hardware, systems software and applications, it also has a team of 30 on-site support staff and a team of 15 staff responsible for development. According to Unisys, *“...statistics for the last year show that the system was fully operational for 99.99% of the time”*⁹.

Partnership has also driven innovations in care in custody. New custody centres are designed to better prevent self-harm and violent behaviour or accidents. The Home Office’s *Guidance on Safer Detention and Handling of Persons in Police Custody* of February 2006 recognises that a police station is not the most appropriate place for diagnostic assessment or healthcare treatment and focuses on practical measures to help raise standards of custodial care. The guidance strongly promotes the use of specially-trained healthcare professionals to help minimise risks for staff and detainees. In particular, the guidance states that *“...police forces should determine the most appropriate model of healthcare provision, taking account of service provision and best value”*¹⁰. This approach is important, as providers have the ability to develop the kind of innovative police medical services the guidance foresees.

In Sussex, Reliance has recently introduced an integrated professional medical service for the police. The police authority previously purchased the services of local GPs on an ad-hoc basis, which was more expensive. The new service has improved performance because the mixed team of nurses and doctors is able to respond more quickly to the medical needs of people in custody than local GPs and have

specific knowledge of medical care in custody. Making sure that detainees receive the appropriate level of healthcare to ensure their fitness to be detained and interviewed is a key element in the evidence gathering and conviction process. The presence of healthcare professionals in custody centres also improves risk assessment and co-ordination of follow-up care and saves money compared to the previous GP service. Close to 80% of interventions are now being delivered by nurses, leading to the progressive professionalisation of nurse practitioners in a police custody environment.

Effective market management will further improve public protection

Police support services are developing and improving around the country. In order to achieve the government’s aim of more effective policing, we must build on this. Effective market management means giving providers the information that will allow them to invest in capacity and the capability to deliver support services. This means:

- Police forces should explore what can be achieved in partnership
- Government should look to remove legislative barriers to innovative service provision
- The National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) must play a strong role in creating a fair and transparent market and promoting dialogue
- Police authorities need to build the skills to harness efficiencies.

Police forces should explore what can be achieved in partnership

The CBI believes competition drives continuous improvement in public services. The evidence reviewed here shows that private sector involvement in police support services has allowed forces to focus on delivering frontline policing, ultimately leading to better protection for citizens. But as in other public services, regulations and safeguards are needed to ensure policing remains a public service accessible to all and that procurement processes deliver the best outcomes.

Police forces should develop shared knowledge and understanding of how the use of private sector partners can improve the way they deliver police services. Many forces are already forward-thinking in trying to improve performance. The introduction of diversity of provision in custody suites, offender escort, IT and administration is delivering efficiency savings, improving service quality and encouraging innovation. This good practice needs to spread.

The barriers to harnessing the benefits of private sector partnerships need to be removed. A clear vision of the shape and function of the police service will encourage

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forward-thinking forces to secure performance and efficiency and explore more comprehensive partnerships. In particular, institutional barriers need to be overcome. In one case, for example, a provider has developed a wide range of police training activities for a force – from officer safety to fingerprinting and DNA sampling. But a second force, whose training was previously done through the first force, has been reluctant to outsource its training to a ‘civilian’ provider, despite good results. By looking systematically at savings and higher quality generated through partnerships, institutional barriers could be overcome.

Progress is needed to develop awareness of which police support services private providers can deliver in a more effective and efficient way. Showcasing and spreading good practice will encourage local forces to think about provision and to share some support services including training, IT and administration. Developing a more strategic approach to resources will re-focus policing to the frontline but will require leadership from the government and the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA).

Government should look to remove legislative barriers to innovative service provision

Policing is, rightly, heavily regulated. In running custody centres, private providers have shown they can ensure high levels of security in procedurally-bound areas of public service provision. Providers have no wish to see this change, but it does make sense to identify areas of regulation where it is not essential for a warranted police officer to be in direct control of a service. This process – known as civilianisation – should never be allowed to detract from standards of service and procedure, but there are clearly many jobs currently specified for warranted officers that could, under the right circumstances, be delivered by civilians. Providers know and accept that this means significant investment in training, but they are willing to invest in staff to achieve this.

Another example of this is the role of custody sergeant. The 2002 Police Reform Bill and further reforms through the current Police and Justice Bill offer the opportunity to civilianise parts of this role. Under current provisions, a regular police sergeant has to be taken from other duties to perform the task. In future, it may be possible to develop the role of staff custody officers to the point where centres could operate with

a single warranted custody sergeant. This would enable police officers to take a more managerial role over the many processes involved in custody.

The CBI believes the government should carefully review which roles truly require a warranted officer, and which could be done by well-trained, well-managed and monitored civilian staff. This would help build the scope for partnering with private providers to deliver better services.

The NPIA must play a strong role in creating a fair and transparent market and promoting dialogue

To date, police engagement with providers has been quite fragmented. National leadership is needed to pull together examples of good practice, spread them across the police service and develop market capacity. The police service will benefit from the existence of a strong body to do this.

With the creation of the NPIA, there is the opportunity to start a discussion around innovative approaches. The CBI strongly supports the NPIA’s objectives of sustaining improvement across the police service and delivering the Home Office’s National Policing Plan. Under the current provisions of the Police and Justice Bill, the NPIA will have the powers and the remit to bring together police forces to discuss service improvements. We believe the creation of the NPIA can introduce a radically different model of leadership for the police and produce greater efficiency and clarity of purpose.

In particular, the NPIA should set up a dialogue between forces and outside stakeholders, including the private sector, to showcase best practice and foster shared services. A more open dialogue between the police and providers from the private and voluntary sectors would help clarify what service improvements could be delivered. The NPIA should also foster benchmarking of police support services – this is a powerful tool for police forces looking to improve their performance, as it pushes them to learn from others and adopt best practice. By encouraging benchmarking, the NPIA will promote collaboration and practical measures to improve performance and efficiency.

The Home Office’s proposal to appoint an NPIA liaison officer in each force is a positive step in creating a close knowledge-sharing relationship. This could encourage the development of shared administration and IT services across the police service, cutting down process costs and shifting resources to frontline case management. Identifying common needs and looking for outcomes-focused solutions in performance management, training or ICT solutions will be vital. By developing such leadership, the NPIA would effectively shape and manage a market in police support services in a way that encourages providers to develop capacity, while setting

boundaries that preserve the core competencies of warranted police officers. Effective market planning and management gives providers the predictability, the information and the incentive to invest in capacity and the ability to deliver a service.

Police authorities need to build the skills to harness efficiencies

Innovations the market can deliver will only be achieved if commissioners understand the needs of the police service and the wider community, and improve processes in response.

Early engagement with providers is vital to ensure police authorities understand the supply-side of the market, and private providers understand and respond to their needs. In particular, police authorities need to understand their cost base before procurement, so they can fairly compare the costs of bids and in-house provision. Lack of cost visibility can mean police authorities don't look for new ways to save resources for frontline policing. More effective needs assessments can also help tailor services, enabling providers to offer flexible operational solutions. At the NCS, for example, Serco used consultation to design a new system to alter vehicles for high-security police operations and best suit police officers' specific needs.

‘Giving providers responsibility for the delivery of a set of outcomes requires procurement staff who can establish contracts and prompt top-quality performance.’

Good contracting requires effective training of police procurement specialists so they can produce detailed, outcomes-focused contract specifications based on thorough needs assessments. For example, before being awarded the contract for the management of the Cheshire custody suites, GSL ran custody pilots in Blackpool and Lancashire on contracts in which some inputs were very detailed. The Cheshire Police Authority and GSL learnt the lessons from these contracts and produced new specifications which were detailed but output-focused, leaving some room for innovation. While the police specified the number and content of each room and cell, they did not specify the design. This allowed GSL to come up with an efficient, innovative solution.

Giving providers responsibility for the delivery of a set of outcomes – rather than work on input-focused, often inflexible specifications – requires procurement staff who can establish contracts and prompt top-quality performance. That means investment in procurement and contract management skills by authorities.

Part of the process of good contracting is contract management. Conducting regular contract reviews to follow changes in needs and technological progress is essential. Examples of innovative good practice are often the product of contract renegotiations on an issue-by-issue basis. For example, the transfer of Serco's contract with the NCS to SOCA in April 2006 was seen by both sides as an opportunity to give new impetus to the contract specifications and build on what they have delivered so far. In particular, Serco were asked to deliver new IT corporate services and training, secure couriers and storage.¹¹ In addition, Serco had to be ready to adapt its existing services to the NCS to reflect new or changing duties within SOCA.

CBI RECOMMENDATIONS:

Where they are able to deliver high quality, flexible support services to the police, private sector providers can help re-deploy resources to the frontline and respond to several situations at the same time. For good practice to spread:

- Police forces should explore what can be achieved in partnership
- The government should look to remove legislative barriers
- The NPIA should look to create a fair and transparent market and promote competitive dialogue between forces and independent providers
- Police authorities should build commissioning skills to harness efficiencies and be able to re-deploy resources to the frontline.

References

- 1 Home Office, British Crime Survey, Crime in England and Wales 2004/2005, July 2005
- 2 Home Office, Research Study 288, *Reassurance policing: an evaluation of the local management of community safety*, November 2004. The study was conducted in two parishes of Milton Keynes
- 3 The Police Service is composed of 43 regional police forces as well as the British Transport Police and the Royal Parks Police. Each force is maintained by a police authority made up of local councillors, magistrates and independent members
- 4 Offenders being brought in custody have to go through the registration process involving declaring their identity, fingerprinting/DNA sampling, looking at offence history, checking in their belongings, risk and health assessment etc
- 5 Office for Contracted Prisons, Performance comparison 2004/2005
- 6 Role-Based Security: The Data owner defines who has access to the information on a job role basis. Depending on the pre-defined role the searcher may see all the data, some of the data filtered by security schema, just receive a message that the information exists and details of whom to contact to access it or they may even be told that no information exists. However, the owner of the information will be flagged to decide whether or not to disclose it
- 7 In such a system, the IT system only allows other forces to add information and not modify it
- 8 <https://www.uk.capgemini.com/news/pr/pr1516/>
- 9 <http://www.unisys.co.uk>
- 10 *Guidance on Safer Detention and Handling of Persons in Police Custody*, p73. This guidance was produced by the National Centre for Police Excellence on behalf of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and the Home Office
- 11 Secure couriers allow transportation of specialist equipment and evidence

Mission

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The CBI Public Services Strategy Board promotes quality and value in public services through competition and choice. For more information about its work, visit www.cbi.org.uk/publicservices

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