

Evidence-based policing and Police-led research

Peter Neyroud

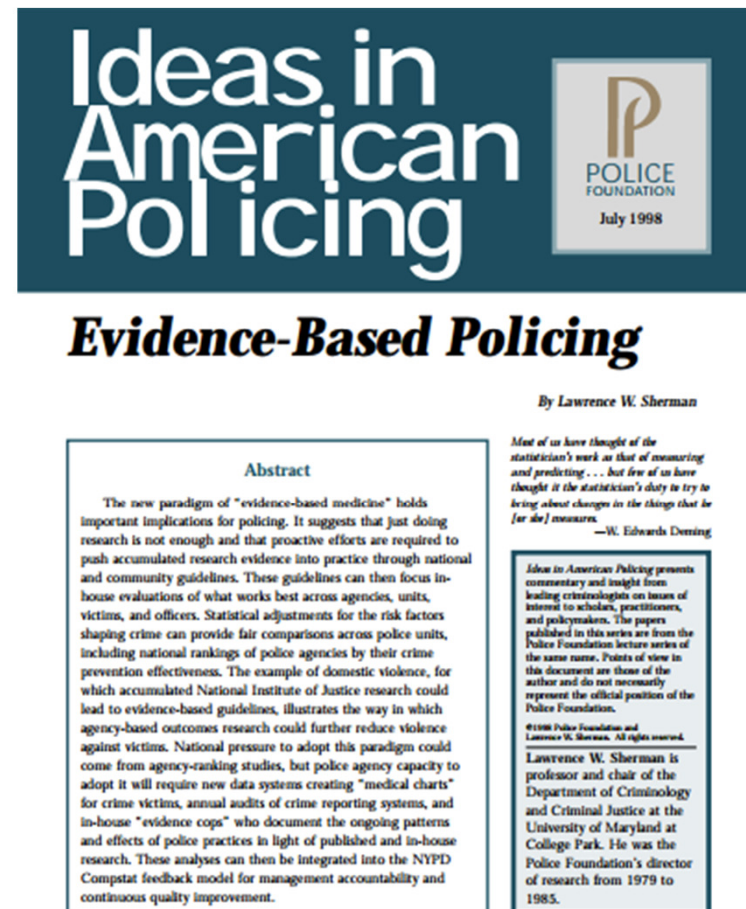
Institute of Criminology, Jerry Lee Centre for Experimental Criminology

Overview:

- The development of an idea – evidenced-based policing
 - US model – Sherman’s “Ideas in American Policing”
 - European model – European police science
- Leading evidence-based policing
- A case study of experiments in policing
- The challenges of police “ownership” of science and EBP

History of an idea: evidence and policing

- What is it?
- What's new about it?
- How does it apply to police practice?
- How can it be institutionalized?



Evidence-based policing: what is it?

“Evidence-based policing is the use of the best available research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate agencies, units and officers.

Put more simply, **evidence-based policing uses research to guide practice and evaluate practitioners**. It uses the best evidence to shape the best practice. It is a systematic effort to parse out and codify unsystematic “experience” as the basis for police work, refining it by ongoing systematic testing of hypotheses.”

Lawrence Sherman: Evidence based policing, 1998

Evidence-based policing: what's new about it?

“No other [policing] paradigm uses scientific evidence to hold professionals accountable for results in peer-reviewed and even public discussions of outcomes...

...assumes that experiments alone are not enough. Putting research into practice requires just as much attention to implementation as it does to controlled evaluations”

Evidence-based policing: how does it apply to practice?

Drawing on lessons from medical science, Sherman observed the need to remember that

“doctors tend to change practices based on personal interaction and feedback not from conferences, classes or written research reports...”

and policing has an even stronger experience-based culture

European Police Science

“Police Science is the scientific study of policing as an institution and policing as a process”



European Police College

Project Group on a
European Approach to
Police Science
(PGEAPS)

PERSPECTIVES OF POLICE SCIENCE IN EUROPE

European Police Science: a broad science

- Political
- Social
- Technological
- Historical
- Comparative



European Police College

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PERSPECTIVES OF POLICE SCIENCE IN EUROPE

European Police Science: a need for a strategy?

In 2007 there was no institution in Europe where:

- “the great number of scientific findings concerning police, policing and police training/education are collected systematically;
- comparative studies are initiated or done;
- systematic presentations of findings for police forces, police training institutes and universities take place in order to make use of them;
- efforts for bridging existing gaps between theory and police practice are made.”

European Police Science: steps since 2007

- An expanded role for CEPOL
- The CEPOL Police Science Conference
- The European Police Science and Research Bulletin



European Police Science and Research Bulletin

- New Editors:
Eduardo Ferreira,
Antonio Vera and
Peter Neyroud
- We have asked all
the speakers for
articles
- We encourage you
all to submit to:
[research.bulletin@
cepol.europa.eu](mailto:research.bulletin@cepol.europa.eu)



European Police Science and Research Bulletin

- Short articles (2000-5000) on research
- Focus on implications for practice
- Target audience in policing across Europe and beyond



POLICE SCIENCE: TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM

New Perspectives in Policing

JANUARY 2011



HARVARD Kennedy School
*Program in Criminal Justice
Policy and Management*

NIJ

National Institute of Justice



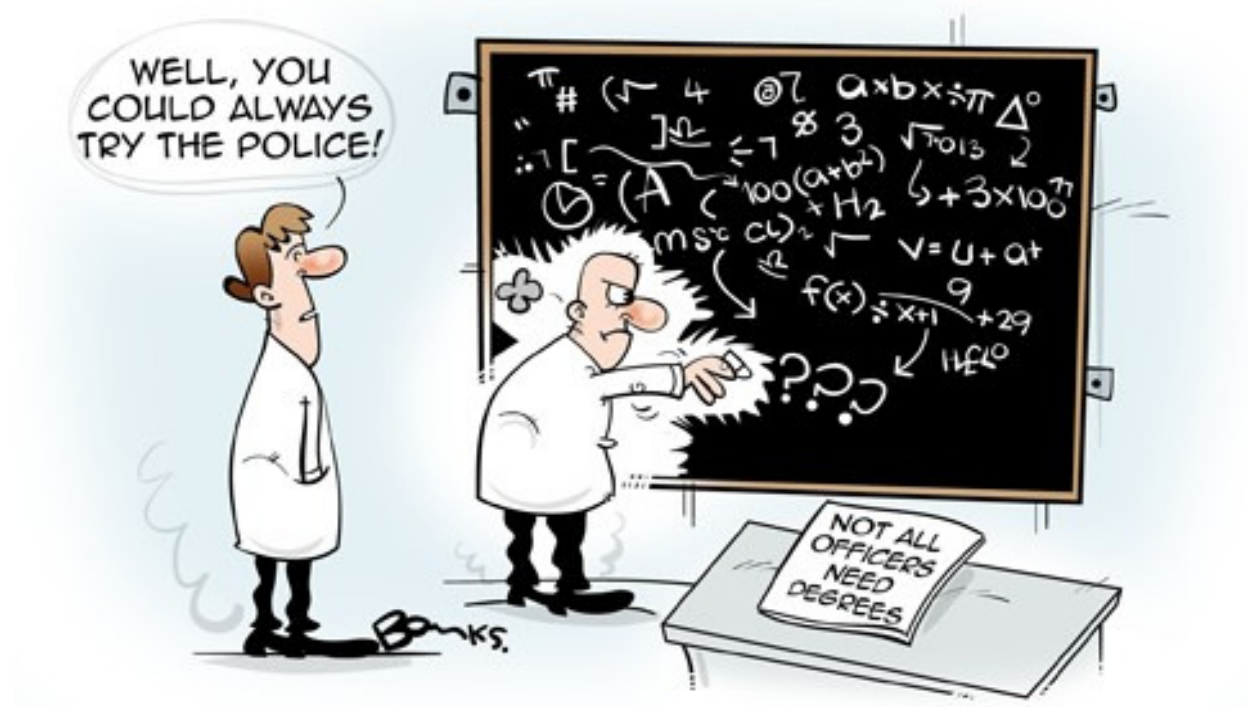
Police Science: Toward a New Paradigm

David Weisburd and Peter Neyroud

Take Ownership of the Science

“Police agencies
needed
to place a higher value
on science and
policing must take
“ownership” of
science.”

Neyroud and Weisburd (2014)



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Take Ownership of the Science

“Ownership, we suggested, was central to translation, because it required a new institutional relationship between the police and scientists in universities. In turn, that new relationship would lead to improvements to policing through more and better science about policing and the embedding of science in the education and training of police officers”

European Police Science and Research Bulletin

- And ownership includes contributing to the knowledge in policing...



And “Ownership” means reading research....

CEPOL's e-Journals

These following titles (including available back issues) shall be currently accessible through the e-Journals service:

- *Crime Science*
- *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice*
- *European Journal of Criminology*
- *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*
- *International Journal of Electronic Security and Digital Forensics*
- *International Journal of Police Science & Management*
- *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*
- *Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*
- *Police Quarterly*
- *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*
- *Trends in Organised Crime*
- *Journal of Human Trafficking*
- *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*
- *Police Practice and Research*
- *Policing & Society*
- *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*

Title in preparation:

- *European Journal of Police Studies*

EBP and Police Science: lessons from 25 years

- Leadership
- Police-research Partnerships
- Embedded researchers in police departments
- Systematic Reviews
- The practitioner researcher

Chips Stewart and NIJ



Stewart and NIJ

- Vision of research
- Driving the agenda
- Pushing highest standards of study
 - Hotspots
 - Domestic violence
 - Repeat Offender strategies
- Building networks for translation



NIJ.GOV | *National Institute
of Justice*
STRENGTHEN SCIENCE. ADVANCE JUSTICE.

Leadership and evidence based practice?

Characteristics

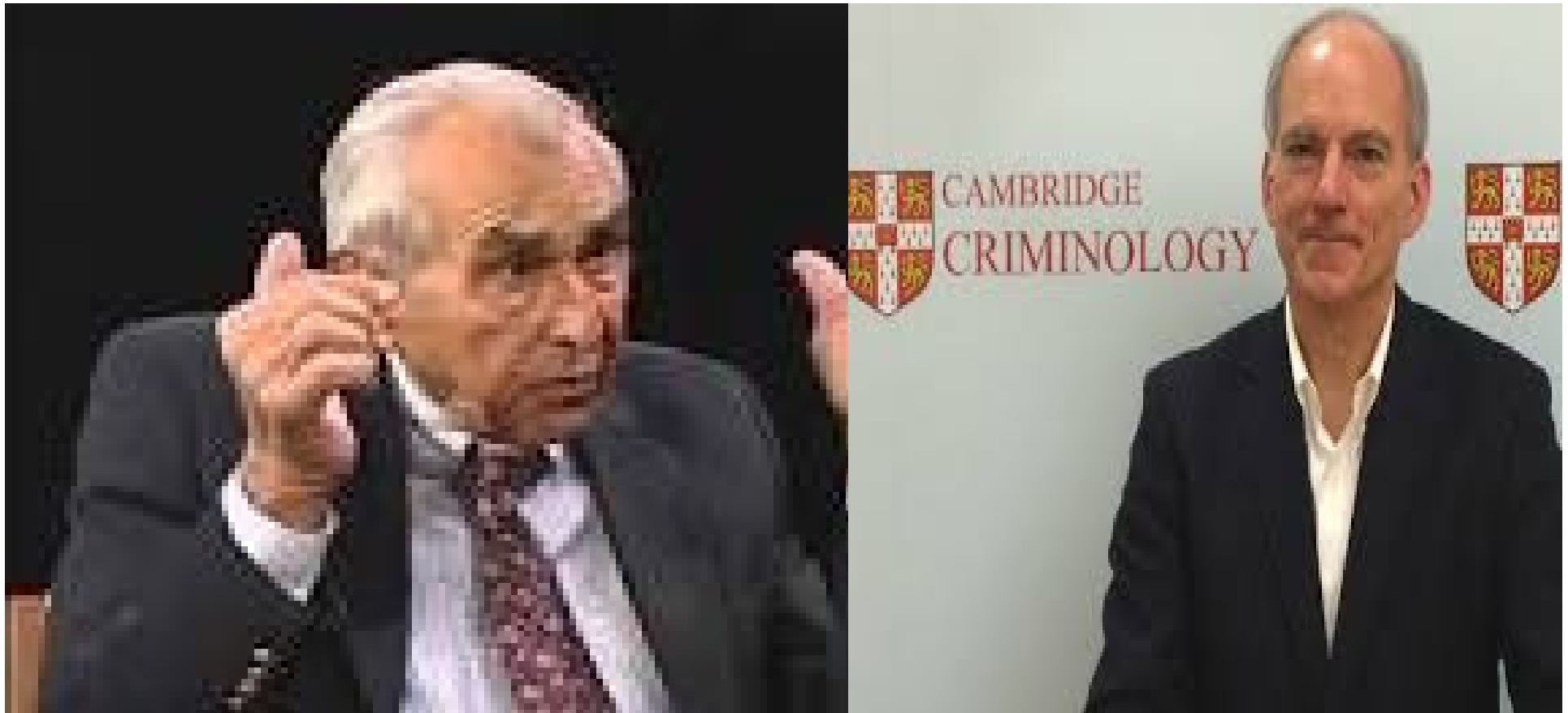
- Ethical
- Building Trust and “trustworthiness”
- “legitimacy in the eyes of ones staff”
- Understanding the need to be a “role model”
- Communication
- Decision-making
- Critical thinking

Tasks

- “Creating a shared vision”
- “engender organisational commitment”
- “care for subordinates”
- “driving and managing change”
- “Problem-solving”

Pearson-Goff, M. and Herrington, V. (2014). Police Leadership: a systematic review of the literature. *Policing*, 8,1, 14-27

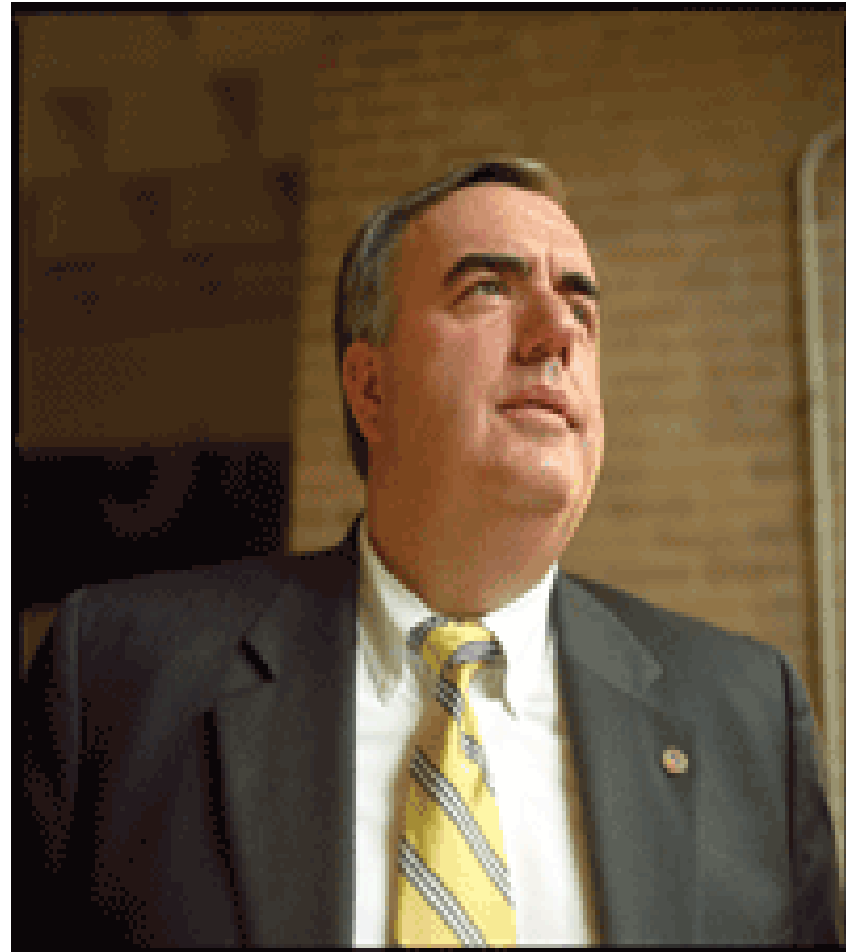
Tony Bouza and Larry Sherman



Minneapolis v Milwaukee

- Chief an “embattled outsider”
- Inspector was virtually powerless to help and not a natural leader
- Required significant investment in training
- And very intensive oversight
- Seen as “Bouza’s experiment”
- Problems with treatment integrity
- Strong support from the top
- And from two layers of management
- Capt Collins was a “troubleshooter”
- Lt. Bacich was a “taskmaster and cheerleader”
- Experiment “belonged to the officers who made it happen”
- High level of treatment integrity

Anthony Braga and Ed Davis



Lowell and Boston

- Partnership led to a series of critical experiments and research projects
 - Lowell Hotpot experiment on disorder
 - Boston Ceasefire strategy
- Davis appointed Braga as his “Chief Policy Adviser”



The Embedded researcher as part of day to day operations and strategy

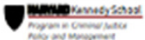
- Braga attended operational and strategic meetings
- Supported development of strategy
- Evaluated initiatives

The progress of an idea: from 1980's to 2015


“In essence, the police should adopt a flexible “community problem-solving” approach to dealing with crime and disorder problems and draw upon specific kinds of programs when they fit local community needs. This approach should be rooted in community engagement, the analysis of crime problems, and the development of appropriate prevention responses”

New Perspectives in Policing

SEPTEMBER 2015

 **Harvard Kennedy School**
Program in Criminal Justice
Policy and Management

 **NIJ**
National Institute of Justice



Crime and Policing Revisited

Anthony A. Braga

Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety

This is one in a series of papers that will be published as a result of the Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety.

Harvard's Executive Sessions are a convening of individuals of independent standing who take joint responsibility for rethinking and improving society's responses to an issue. Members are selected based on their experiences, their reputation for thoughtfulness and their potential for helping to disseminate the work of the Session.

In the early 1980s, an Executive Session on Policing helped resolve many law enforcement issues of the day. It produced a number of papers and concepts that revolutionized policing. Thirty years later, law enforcement has changed and NIJ and the Harvard Kennedy School are again collaborating to help resolve law enforcement issues of the day.

Learn more about the Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety at:

www.NIJ.gov, keywords "Executive Session Policing"

www.hks.harvard.edu, keywords "Executive Session Policing"

Can the police reduce crime? In 1991, when the first Executive Session on Policing concluded, the answer to that question was generally described as being in the eye of the beholder (Sherman, 1992). Based on the scientific and practical knowledge available at the time, some well-respected criminologists and police scholars concluded that the police were not able to reduce crime (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Bayley, 1994). Promising evidence, however, suggested that if the police changed their approach to crime control and prevention, then they might be able to reduce crime (Goldstein, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Sherman, Gartin and Buerger, 1989). In a key Executive Session paper that examined crime and policing, Moore, Trojanowicz and Kelling (1988) highlighted the prospect of improved crime prevention as an explicit goal of community policing by developing problem-solving initiatives to address crime-producing situations and dynamics, stimulating informal social control among residents in high-crime neighborhoods, and apprehending repeat offenders through improved information sharing with the community. Because admittedly little rigorous evidence existed to back their claims,

Policing and the lessons from Systematic Reviews

Campbell Collaboration for Crime and Justice have published 25 systematic reviews on policing, including:

- Hotspot policing
- Focused deterrence
- Street level drug enforcement
- Use of DNA in police investigations
- Stress management interventions in policing





THE CAMPBELL COLLABORATION Crime and Justice

To help us prioritise, we would be grateful for your assistance:

STEP 1: Please look down the list of Reviews that have already been done at:

http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/reviews_crime_justice/index.php

STEP 2: Think about key areas of your work, particularly interventions, strategies, tactics, new technologies and innovations.

STEP 3: Please write down up to 3 Subjects that you would like to see prioritized for systematic review:

WHAT HAVE SYSTEMATIC REVIEWS TAUGHT US?

There are many studies that meet standards of rigor for high quality studies.

The search for the Global Police Database has identified over 7000 studies with a controlled design since the 1950s

There is now a strong and growing number systematic reviews of policing strategies.

Those reviews provide a very different portrait of policing than that gained in the 1990s.

Not all programs work, but there is a large body of evidence about interventions in policing that work or, just as importantly, do NOT work

There are areas in which systematic reviews are absent.

In many areas there is a need for more and more rigorous primary studies.

REVIEWS IN POLICING

Review	Authors	Year
Counterterrorism	Lum et al.	2006
Drug law enforcement	Mazerolle et al.	2007
CCTV	Welsh & Farrington	2008
Neighborhood watch	Bennett et al.	2008
Problem-oriented policing	Weisburd et al.	2008
Second responders	Davis et al.	2008
School-based drug prevention	Faggiano et al.	2008
Police patrol for drunken driving	Goss et al.	2008
Anti-bullying in schools	Farrington & Ttofi	2009
Micro displacement	Bowers et al.	2011
DNA for police investigations	Wilson et al.	2011
Stress management	Patterson et al.	2012
Focused deterrence	Braga & Weisburd	2012.
Hot spots	Braga et al.	2012
Gun carrying	Koper & Mayo-Wilson	2012
Interrogation techniques	Meissner et al.	2012

POLICE CAN BE EFFECTIVE! BUT THEY ARE NOT ALWAYS EFFECTIVE

What works?

Hot spots policing

Focused deterrence

Problem-oriented
policing

Directed patrol for gun
violence

Neighborhood watch

DNA for police
investigations

What's promising?

Information-gathering
interrogation method

Programs to increase
procedural justice and
enhance legitimacy

What doesn't work?

Second responder
programs

Stress management
programs

Community policing to
reduce crime

LESSONS FOR POLICE

1. Police should focus efforts on high activity places and people (focused deterrence review, hot spots review)

- Displacement is not inevitable at the micro- or meso- level when police focus their efforts

2. Police will increase their effectiveness with proactive problem solving (over simply focused approaches) (POP review, drug enforcement review)

3. Police should go beyond traditional approaches, like using law enforcement and arrest (POP review, hot spots review, drug enforcement review)

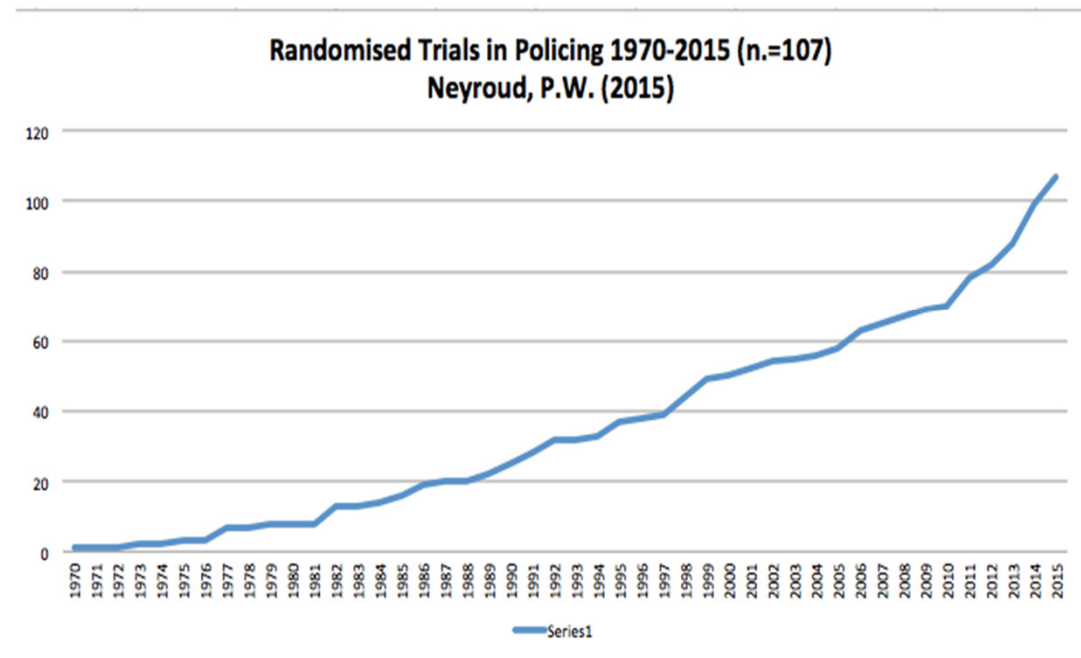
What have we learnt by testing?

107 completed randomised trials in policing and more 40 in flight at the moment

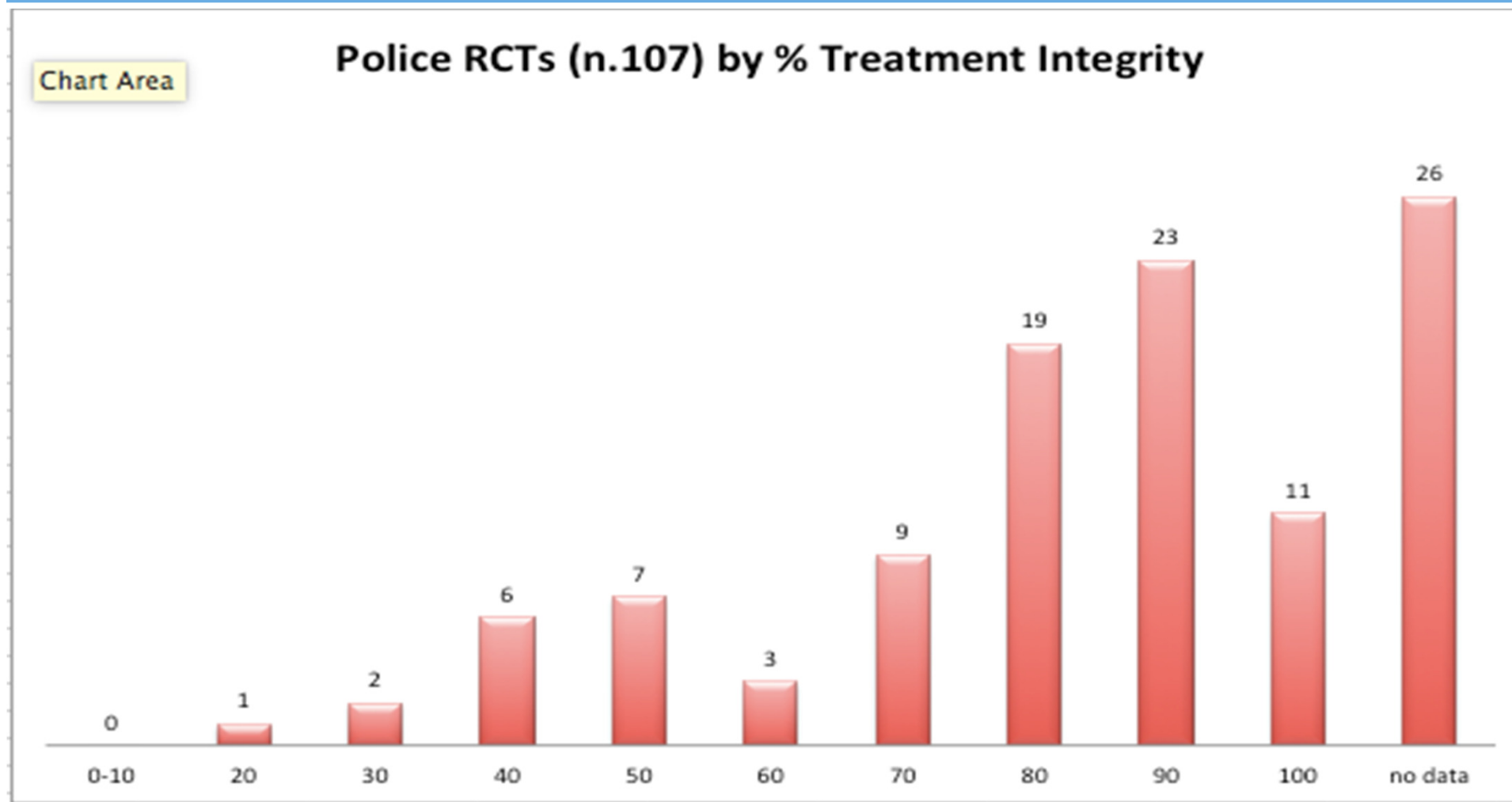
Early studies largely US based and run by academic researchers

Since 2010 numbers of RCTs have grown rapidly and internationally

And more and more involve police practitioners as principal or co-principal investigator



The Challenge of testing successfully in policing



Global Police Database: over 7000 studies

The Global Policing Database has launched.

Using funding from the College of Policing's Building Capability Fund and the Australian Research Council, the Evidence and Insight Team from the Mayor's Office for Policing And Crime (MOPAC) has worked with experts from the University of Queensland to develop the Global Policing Database (GPD).

This is a web-based and searchable database designed to capture all published and unpublished experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations of policing interventions conducted since 1950. GPD Version 1.0 has now been launched and contains research from 2008 to 2014, which represents one third of the policing research captured by the innovative systematic review technologies developed at the University of Queensland.

Please find Version 1.0 at www.gpd.uq.edu.au

The leadership of field research in Policing

- Field research usually involves a change programme and requires a coalition to be sustained through the experiment
- There are certain to be “dynamic tensions”
- The objective is an effective working relationship governed by
 - Good processes for decisions and resolving tensions
 - Mutual understanding of outcomes

Emerging framework for conducting and managing experiments*

- Research motivation
- Experimental station
- Researcher role
 - Training and guidance
 - Control of random assignment
 - Observation
- Leadership
 - Commitment
 - Focus and accountability
- Implementation process
 - Pilot testing
 - Technology support
 - Structured decision making
- Police culture
 - Professional skills
 - Frontline engagement
 - Ownership
 - Managing Discretion
- Managing Inter-agency relationships

*Neyroud (forthcoming) Learning by Testing

What could go wrong?



“There is no question that police still have the resources to do their important work ”

Mike Penning Police Minister

BBC, 4.6.15,”Police cuts: Ministers have ‘insufficient information’.

Director of Forensic Sciences

“The pilot was developed to look at what value forensic teams bring to the detection of attempt burglaries”

Politician (PCC)

“was unaware of the idea but would have advised against it”.

DAILY TELEGRAPH 5.8.15

Police 'only investigate attempted burglaries at even-numbered homes'

“Leicestershire police 'ignore' attempted burglary at odd-numbered houses”



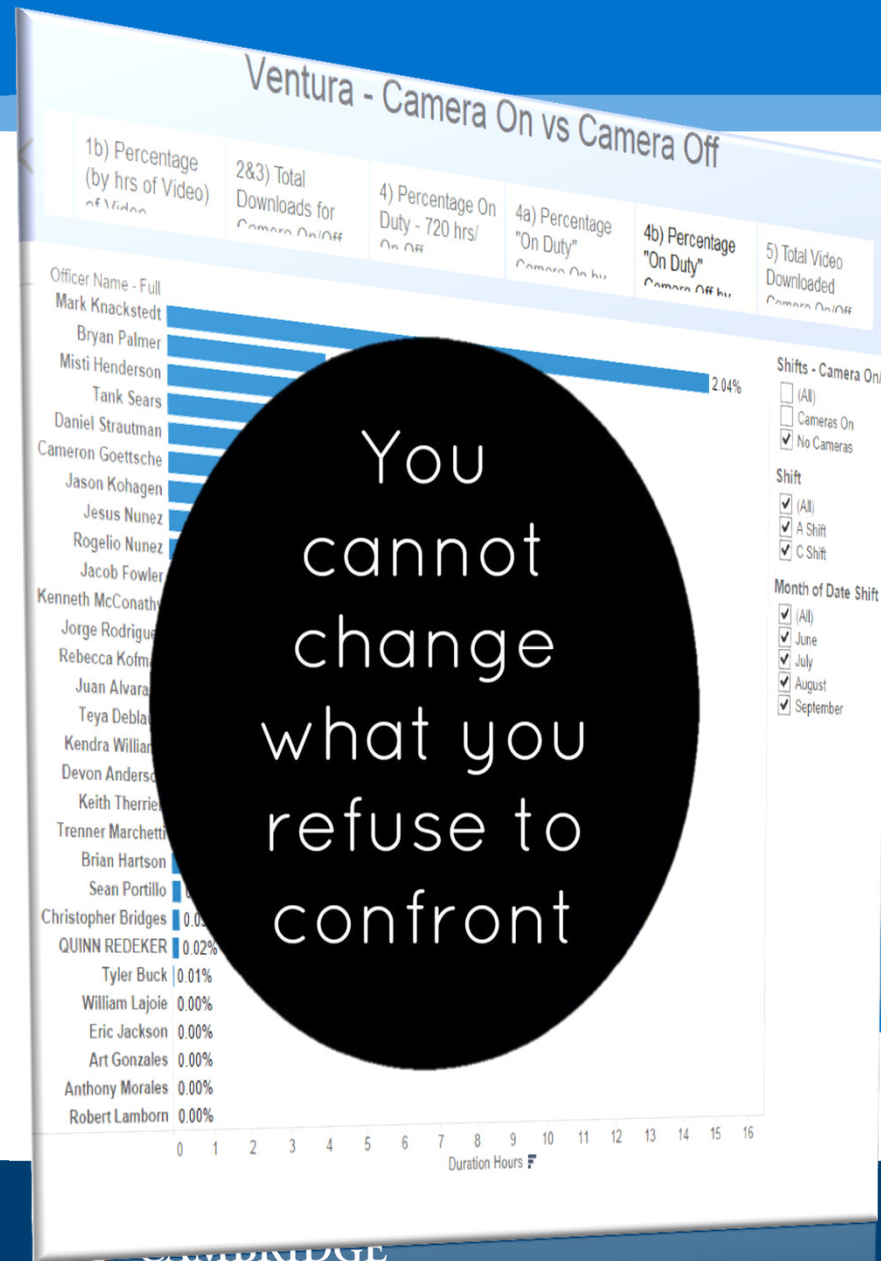
A Multisite Randomized Controlled Trial on Body Worn Videos

Barak Ariel, Alex Sutherland, Darren Henstock, Josh Young, Paul Drover, Jayne Sykes, Simon Megicks and Justice Tankebe

ba285@cam.ac.uk



BWVs Tracking Model



Measurement
of
Implementation

Intervention
when integrity
is challenged

Feedback to
officers

Operation Turning Point:



Deterrence and Desistance: Operation Turning Point

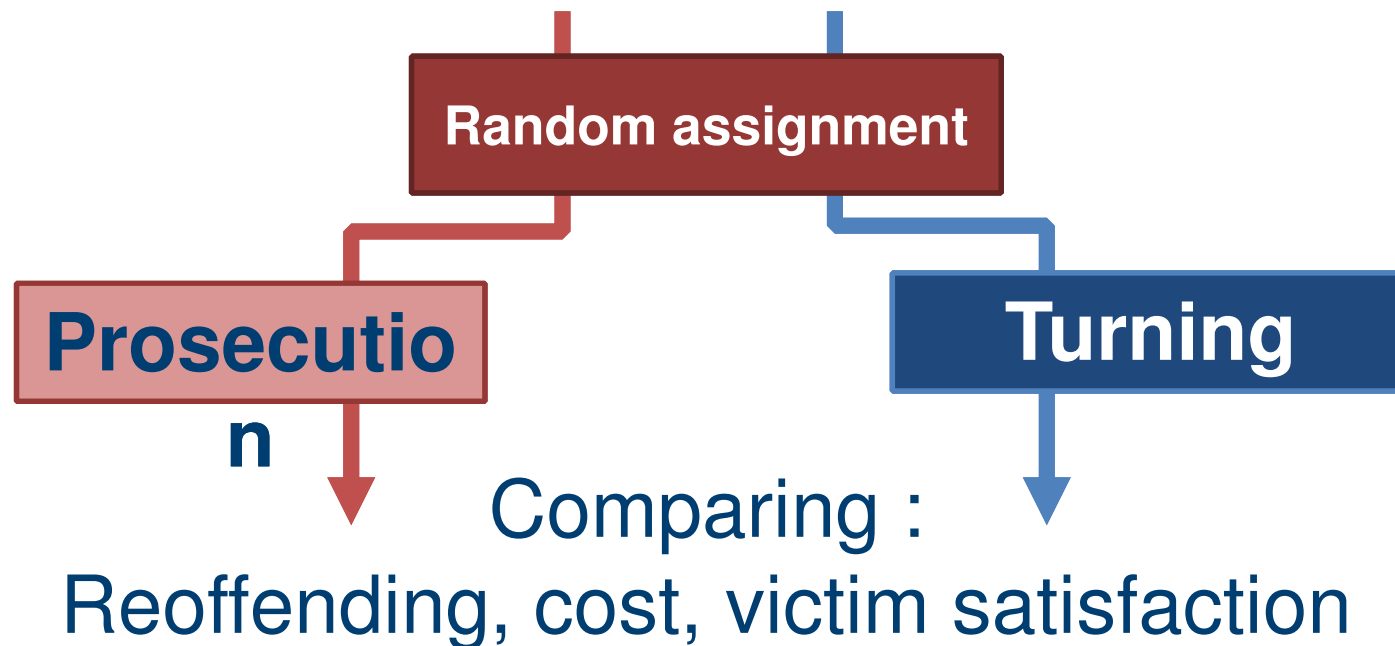
- **Hypothesis** is that police can prevent crime by a combined treatment
 - **Holding a prosecution over the offender (Deterrence)**
 - **Agreeing a contract to support the offender to stop offending (Desistance)**
 - **But insisting on compliance in return for non-prosecution (Deterrence)**
- **Treatment** is a deferred prosecution with conditions, targeted at the 60+% of offenders who can be assessed as a “low risk of serious harm”
- **Method** is an Randomised Controlled Trial

Operation 'Turning Point'

- **Sample:** offenders whom the police have decided to prosecute, who are:
 - Low risk offenders
 - Who have no previous conviction (they may have previous cautions or other diversions)
 - or one prior conviction (more than 5 years ago if an adult and 2 years ago if juvenile).
 - And offence is not likely to result in instant prison sentence
- **Randomly assigning them to prosecution or police offender management**
- Developing and testing a standard protocol of tactics for police offender management

The Turning Point Experiment: 2011-14

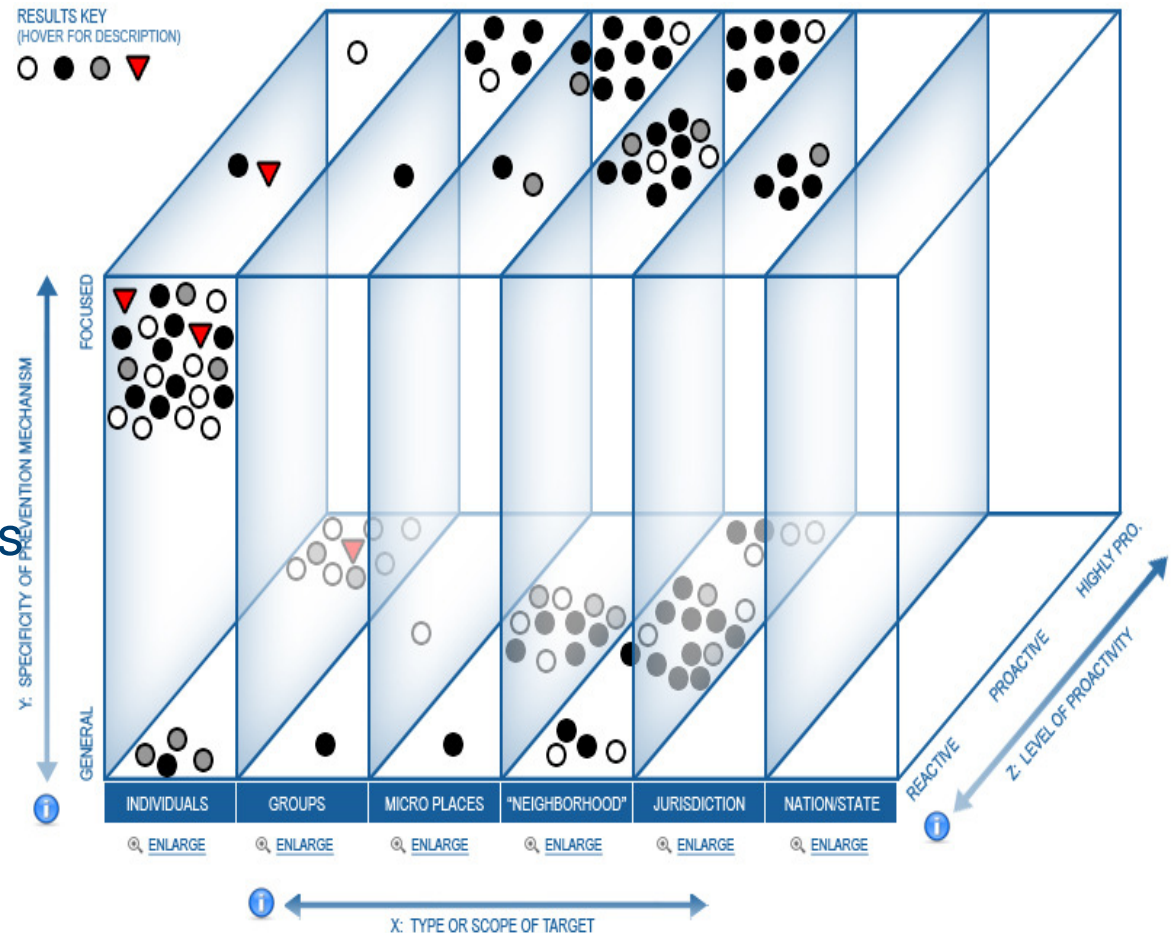
Sample of offenders whom the police have decided to prosecute.



The Challenge of Translating evidence into practice

The George Mason Evidence-based Matrix Of policing

Mapping the interventions and providing a tool for Frontline officers and leaders



The What Works? Centre at the National College of Policing, UK - <http://whatworks.college.police.uk/>

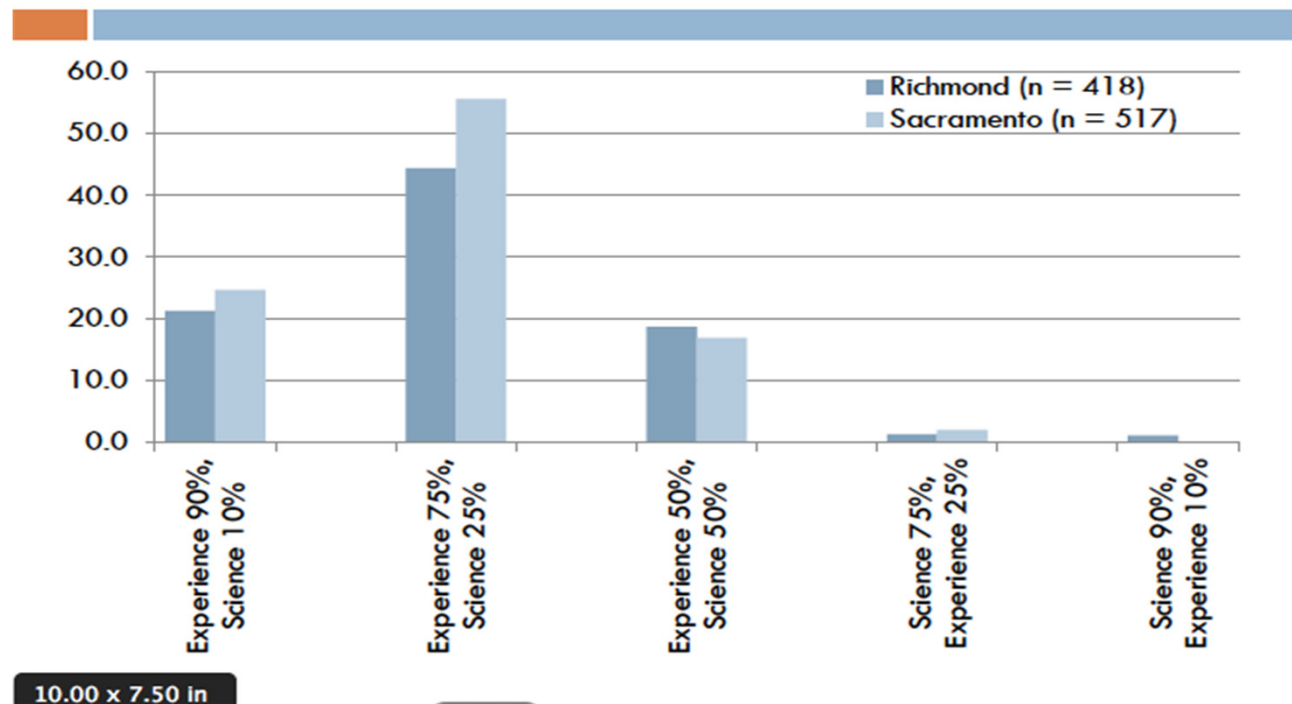


Crime Reduction Toolkit

Intervention	Impact on crime Effect	How it works Mechanism	Where it works Moderator	How to do it Implementation	What it costs Economic cost	
Alcohol ignition interlock						
Alcohol tax and price policies						
CCTV						
NEW Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) for Domestic Violence						

Experience v Science: Telep et al.

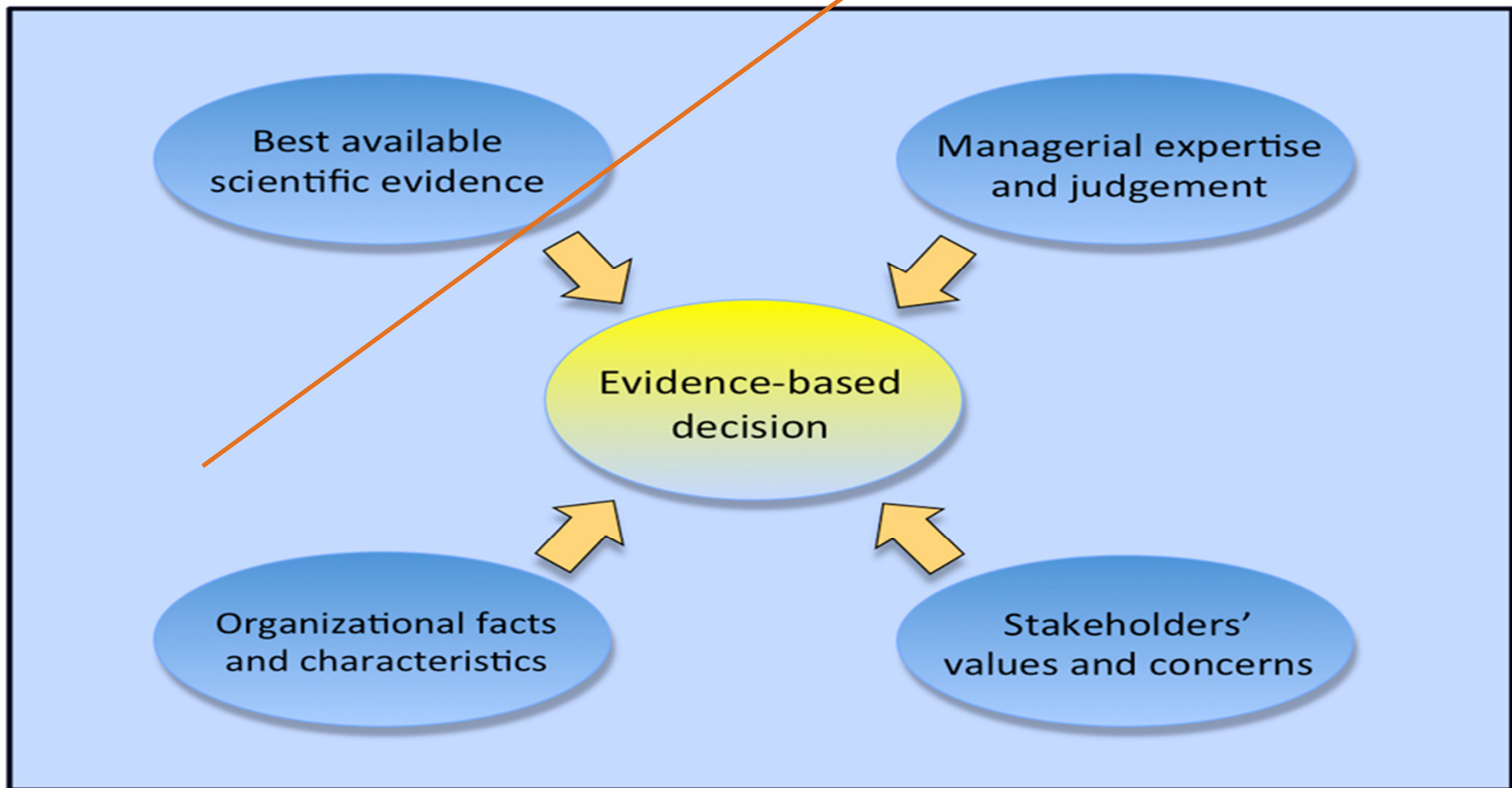
Experience > Science in Decision Making



Leading the effort to translate

- Education
- Conferences and seminars
- Interactive small groups
- Educational outreach visits
- Feedback on performance
- Reminders
- Computerized decision support
- Multi-professional collaboration
- Mass media campaigns
- Total quality management
- Financial interventions
- Citizen-professional interventions
- Combined interventions

Grol, R. and Grimshaw, J. (2003). From Best Evidence to best practice. *Lancet*, 362: 1225-30



Government and Regulators...



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Port and evidence-based policing

Port has many varieties from White, Rose, Tawny, LBV up to Vintage

But good EBP, like good Port requires:

- Skillful creation
- The right conditions
- A receptive audience



Port – mixed grapes: EBP – mixed methods

WHITE

Donzelinho Branco,
Esgana-Cão,
Folgasão,
Gouveio,
Malvasia Fina,
Rabigato and Viosinho

RED

Tinta Barroca,
Tinta Cão,
Tinta Roriz (Tempranillo),
Touriga Francesa,
and Touriga Nacional



Port and EBP need the right climate and conditions



EBP and Port need a partnership between Experts



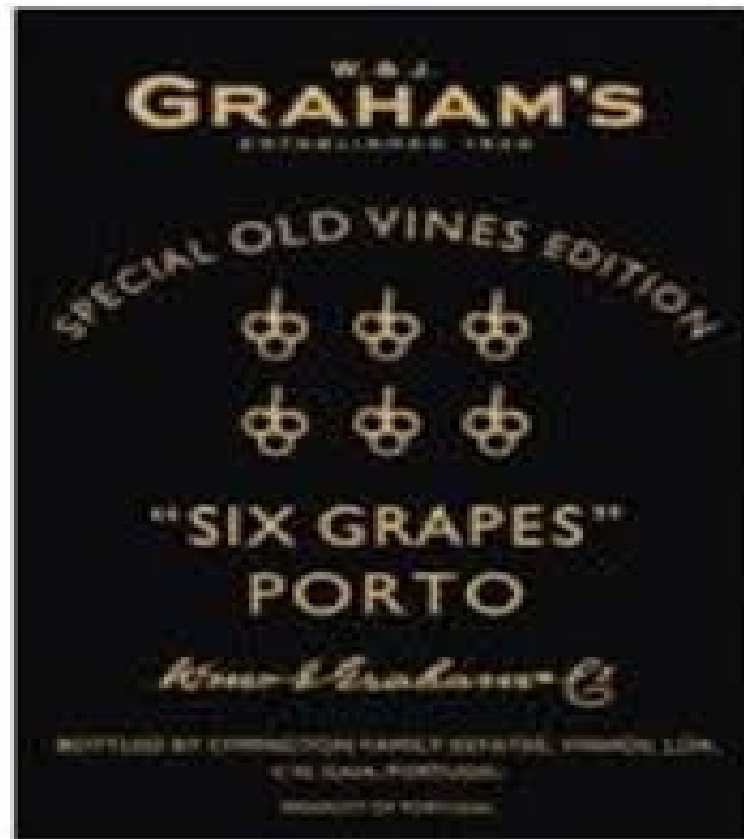
And local practitioners...



All good things – Port and EBP – need maturing



The real skill is bringing different methods together..



And then enjoying the product...

