Evidence-based policing and Police-led research

Peter Neyroud
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 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
"Police Science is the scientific study of policing as an institution and policing as a process"
European Police Science: a broad science

- Political
- Social
- Technological
- Historical
- Comparative
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
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: Toward a New Paradigm

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

Neyroud and Weisburd (2014)
“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
### Leadership and evidence based practice?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Tasks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Ethical</td>
<td>• “Creating a shared vision”</td>
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<td>• Building Trust and “trustworthiness”</td>
<td>• “engender organisational commitment”</td>
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<td>• “legitimacy in the eyes of ones staff”</td>
<td>• “care for subordinates”</td>
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<td>• Understanding the need to be a “role model”</td>
<td>• “driving and managing change”</td>
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<td>• Communication</td>
<td>• “Problem-solving”</td>
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<td>• Decision-making</td>
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<td>• Critical thinking</td>
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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”
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
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:
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Counterterrorism</td>
<td>Lum et al.</td>
<td>2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drug law enforcement</td>
<td>Mazerolle et al.</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCTV</td>
<td>Welsh &amp; Farrington</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neighborhood watch</td>
<td>Bennett et al.</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>Problem-oriented policing</td>
<td>Weisburd et al.</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<td>Second responders</td>
<td>Davis et al.</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<tr>
<td>School-based drug prevention</td>
<td>Faggiano et al.</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<td>Police patrol for drunken driving</td>
<td>Goss et al.</td>
<td>2008</td>
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<td>Anti-bullying in schools</td>
<td>Farrington &amp; Ttofi</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Micro displacement</td>
<td>Bowers et al.</td>
<td>2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNA for police investigations</td>
<td>Wilson et al.</td>
<td>2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stress management</td>
<td>Patterson et al.</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Focused deterrence</td>
<td>Braga &amp; Weisburd</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hot spots</td>
<td>Braga et al.</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gun carrying</td>
<td>Koper &amp; Mayo-Wilson</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interrogation techniques</td>
<td>Meissner et al.</td>
<td>2012</td>
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POLICE CAN BE EFFECTIVE!
BUT THEY ARE NOT ALWAYS EFFECTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What works?</th>
<th>What’s promising?</th>
<th>What doesn’t work?</th>
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<td>Hot spots policing</td>
<td>Information-gathering interrogation method</td>
<td>Second responder programs</td>
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<td>Focused deterrence</td>
<td>Programs to increase procedural justice and enhance legitimacy</td>
<td>Stress management programs</td>
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<td>Problem-oriented policing</td>
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<td>Community policing to reduce crime</td>
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<td>Directed patrol for gun violence</td>
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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

Police RCTs (n.107) by % Treatment Integrity

Chart Area
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
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”.

What could go wrong?
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

You cannot change what you refuse to confront
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.

Random assignment

Prosecution

Turning

Comparing:
Reoffending, cost, victim satisfaction
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
## Crime Reduction Toolkit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention</th>
<th>Impact on crime</th>
<th>How it works</th>
<th>Where it works</th>
<th>How to do it</th>
<th>What it costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol ignition interlock</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>🌐</td>
<td>📍</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol tax and price policies</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>🌐</td>
<td>📍</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>£</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCTV</td>
<td>✔️</td>
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<td>NEW</td>
<td>✔️</td>
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<td>📍</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) for Domestic Violence</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>🌐</td>
<td>📍</td>
<td>⚫</td>
<td>£</td>
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Experience v Science: Telep et al.

Experience > Science in Decision Making

- Richmond (n = 418)
- Sacramento (n = 517)
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

Evidence-based decision

- Best available scientific evidence
- Managerial expertise and judgement
- Organizational facts and characteristics
- Stakeholders’ values and concerns
Government and Regulators...
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...