

# **Policing Responses for Crime and Social Problems in Auckland**

---

## *A Rapid Review of the Evaluation Literature: Final Report*

*9<sup>th</sup> December, 2020*

Elizabeth Eggins  
Lorelei Hine  
Lorraine Mazerolle

The University of Queensland

**This rapid review was produced by The University  
of Queensland GPD Team for New Zealand Police.**

**Permission has been granted from New Zealand  
Police to make this rapid review accessible through  
the GPD website.**

## Acknowledgements & Authorship

---

This review was funded by research grant awarded to Lorraine Mazerolle and Elizabeth Eggins (University of Queensland) via the New Zealand Evidence Based Policing Centre.

This report has been jointly compiled by a team of researchers at the University of Queensland, led by Elizabeth Eggins. The following table provides an appropriate acknowledgement of the intellectual contribution to each chapter of the report:

Chapter	Authorship
1. Introduction	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorraine Mazerolle, Lorelei Hine
2. Overarching Review Methodology	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorraine Mazerolle, Lorelei Hine
3. Policing Domestic and Family Violence	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorelei Hine, Lorraine Mazerolle
4. Policing Homelessness	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorelei Hine, Lorraine Mazerolle
5. Policing Mental Illness	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorelei Hine, Lynley Anderson, Lorraine Mazerolle
6. Policing Youth Crime and Delinquency	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorelei Hine, Rebecca Dunne, James McEwan, Natalya Seipel, Lorraine Mazerolle
7. Policing Organised Crime	Elizabeth Eggins, James McEwan, Lorelei Hine, Lorraine Mazerolle
8. Policing Cybercrime	Elizabeth Eggins, Lorelei Hine, Natalya Seipel, Lorraine Mazerolle
9. Policing Financial Crime	Elizabeth Eggins, Georgia Hassall, Lorelei Hine, Lorraine Mazerolle

# Executive Summary

---

## Background

This report provides a systematic rapid review of rigorous evaluations of policing interventions focused on seven social and crime problems of concern to the Auckland region in New Zealand: (1) domestic and family violence (DFV); (2) homelessness; (3) mental health; (4) youth crime and delinquency; (5) organised crime; and (6) financial crime; and (7) cybercrime.

## Research Questions

The New Zealand police sought answers to the following research questions:

- (1) What approaches have other policing services implemented and evaluated in response to the seven abovementioned social and crime challenges?
- (2) For those policing approaches that have been rigorously evaluated, what are the key characteristics of the approach, including the specific role of the police within the intervention and how resources/capabilities are prioritised?
- (3) For those policing approaches that have been rigorously evaluated, what are the geographical and social characteristics of the jurisdiction and how could these impact the implementation and effectiveness of the policing approach?

In answering these research questions, the New Zealand police requested a focus on synthesising the evidence for jurisdictions that share similar characteristics to New Zealand and Auckland. That is, former British colonies with Westminster political systems, with similar levels of wealth demographic composition.

## Methods: Search and Screening

We used a systematic review methodology to identify eligible studies meeting specific inclusion criteria. To be included in the review, a study needed to:

- (1) Report on an impact evaluation of a policing intervention aimed at controlling or preventing one of the seven social and crime problems, using a randomised controlled trial design or rigorous review of existing studies;
- (2) Be conducted or published between 2009 and 2018;
- (3) Take place in a high-income country with a Westminster model, with a similar population to New Zealand; and
- (4) Be written in English.

No limitations were placed on the type of outcome variable used to evaluate intervention effectiveness or the types of participants (i.e., offenders, victims, and practitioners). A search was conducted in the Global Policing Database (GPD) for each of the seven social and crime problems, followed by systematic screening to identify the corpus of eligible studies for each social or crime problem. Combined, the seven searches identified 75,429 records in the GPD. After screening, a total of 25 studies were eligible across the seven social and crime problems, with 4 focused on DFV, 2 focused on homelessness, 12 focused on mental health, 3 focused on youth crime and delinquency, 2 focused on organised crime, 2 focused on financial crime, and none focused on cybercrime. This level of attrition is common in systematic reviews of evaluation evidence in the crime and justice arena, reflective of the dearth of high quality evaluations in criminal justice interventions in the world.

Data was extracted from eligible studies according to the nature of the study setting, population,

intervention, outcome measures, and direction/magnitude of the effects of the intervention. To provide an understanding of the applicability of the studies to the Auckland context, studies were examined using the EMMIE framework (Johnson et al., 2015) to explore: (1) mechanisms underpinning intervention effectiveness; (2) moderators of intervention effects; (3) implementation considerations; and (4) economic considerations.

## **Results**

### ***Policing Domestic and Family Violence***

#### *Number of Studies Included*

Two RCTs and two reviews were included in the evidence synthesis.

#### *Effectiveness*

- Conditional cautioning with an integrated perpetrator workshop using a motivational interviewing framework can be effective for reducing crime harm and recidivism.
- Second responder models may increase the level of satisfaction with police, increase the level of DFV reporting to police, facilitate family improvements, increase quality of life, reduce the likelihood of victims retracting statements, decrease victim-perpetrator contact and decrease the severity of repeat DFV incidents. However, second responder models may not substantially reduce repeat DFV incidences beyond business-as-usual approaches. Second responder models may also increase psychosocial stress, and may reduce the likelihood of finalising formal witness statements. These latter counterintuitive findings may be due to (a) victims taking action to reduce their DFV risk, which can be associated with high stress (e.g., separation from partner, legal proceedings); and (b) the length of time that lapses between initial contact with victims and subsequent contacts to finalise witness statements.
- Police enforcement of protection orders is associated with lowered odds of DFV re-victimisation, yet the effect on threatened violence is less clear.

#### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- Studies included in this section were conducted in cities in the UK with lower population densities compared to Auckland, but similar organisational policing structures and similar problems associated with DFV arrest and victimisation.
- Conditional cautioning and second responder programs require productive partnerships between police and social welfare practitioners and similar resources to implement the intervention. During the design, implementation, and evaluation stages, these intervention approaches also require consideration of moderators that could vary the effectiveness of the approach (e.g., level of perpetrator risk, type of interaction with victims). While the costs of these intervention models have been estimated in the UK context, there has been no estimation of the broader cost-benefits of the approaches for the criminal justice system, victims, and perpetrators.
- Potential mechanisms underpinning the effectiveness of protection orders include: deterrence via increased risk of punishment/apprehension, increasing the effort for re-offending (e.g., no contact order), provision of clear rules for victim-perpetrator interactions. Factors that may moderate the effectiveness of protection orders include: level of perpetrator/circumstantial risk and severity of violence. The implementation and enforcement of protection orders by police may be (a) facilitated by clear policies for police and level of support for victims with order applications; and (b) impeded by administrative processes which may deter victim engagement, faulty DFV perceptions held by responding officers, and difficulty meeting evidentiary standards to enforce order breaches.

### ***Policing Homelessness***

### *Number of Studies Included*

Two quasi-experimental studies were included in the evidence synthesis.

### *Effectiveness*

- Police arrest for non-violent offences increases the odds of future criminal justice contact for homeless individuals, even when social supports are in place to reduce their vulnerability.
- Homeless individuals tend to view police less favourably when they use handcuffs versus no handcuffs.

### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- Both included studies were conducted in Canadian settings with far lower population density than Auckland, yet similar police organisational structures to Auckland. Both jurisdictions face similar problems in terms of high rates of homelessness in general as well as a disproportionately high risk of homelessness for Indigenous people and people with mental illness. These groups may also be at higher risk of coming into contact with the police while they are experiencing homelessness.
- Both studies were retrospective analyses of existing police approaches and provided no rigorous data about operational or implementation considerations.

## ***Policing Mental Health***

### *Number of Studies Included*

Three RCTs and nine reviews were included in the evidence synthesis.

### *Effectiveness*

- Taking witnesses diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) to the context or scene where the evidence was encoded may increase the amount and accuracy of memory recall to the level of neurotypical individuals. However, adapting interview protocols to remove social components for individuals diagnosed with ASD may not improve the amount and accuracy of information recalled unless there is a drawing component.
- Reviews of Crisis Intervention Team and Mental Health Co-Responder Models suggest that these partnership approaches may be effective for responding to individuals with mental illness. However, many of the studies in the included reviews were of low quality or conducted in the United States and may not be reliable to ascertaining effectiveness or generalisable to the Auckland context.
- Specialised mental health training may not reduce incident-level demand arising from individuals with mental health, yet may improve the way police record data about individuals they have contact with who display symptoms of mental illness.

### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- Studies included in this section were conducted predominantly in the UK, in locations with lower population densities than Auckland, but similar problems associated with mental illness and similar organisational structures for policing.
- Specialised interviewing for individuals with ASD requires specialised training, yet there is no information about the cost-benefits of this approach. Only limited information is known about factors that might moderate the effectiveness of the interview approach (e.g., characteristics of the individual's ASD presentation) or mechanism that might underpin the interview approach (e.g., context reinstatement).
- Very little can be garnered from the single study on specialised mental health training regarding cost-effectiveness, mechanisms underpinning effectiveness, or moderators of

effectiveness.

- Potential moderators of Crisis Intervention Teams and Mental Health Co-Response models may include officer and patient experiential and demographic characteristics. These interventions may be facilitated by effective multiagency collaboration (e.g., mutual agreements, established legal foundations) as well as police understanding of mental health problems; inversely, these models may be hindered by practitioner lack of awareness of the referral pathways and operational difficulties during this process (e.g., referral services may be understaffed or not operate 24/7).

### ***Policing Youth Crime and Delinquency***

#### *Number of Studies Included*

Four RCTs and one review were included in the evidence synthesis.

#### *Effectiveness*

- Family Group Conferencing, using a third party policing framework, may be effective for increasing parental awareness of legal responsibility and student willingness to attend school; and decreasing offending behaviour, self-reported antisocial behaviour, and self-reported impulsivity.
- Comprehension aids for and structure of Youth Waiver Forms (e.g., participant checking their understanding of the form during or after reading it, and varied levels of complexity of the written content of the forms) may increase youth understanding and recall of their rights when being cautioned or arrested by police.
- Formal Justice System Processing, compared with diversion, is associated with greater levels crime in youth.

#### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- Studies included in this section were conducted in Australia and Canada, in locations with lower population densities than Auckland. They have similar problems associated with youth crime and delinquency, and similar police organisational structures.
- Family Group Conferencing for truanting students is underpinned by third party policing and procedural justice mechanisms, or better outcomes via police partnerships with schools that utilise legal levers and communication that fosters trust, voice, neutrality and respect. Implementation may be facilitated by joint implementation, mutual goals, and the commitment to remain involved by school staff and partners. This model of intervention may be impacted by variation in participants' biopsychosocial histories and other factors (e.g., change in teachers or intervention staff).
- Potential moderators for Youth Waiver Forms include contextual (e.g., situational stress) and individual factors (e.g., intelligence and comprehension skill). Factors that may impede the effectiveness of the intervention include educational level, and lack of documentation regarding whether and how police assess youth cognitive abilities before being presented with a waiver form.

### ***Policing Organised Crime***

#### *Number of Studies Included*

Two RCTs were included in the evidence synthesis.

#### *Effectiveness*

- Third party policing initiatives aimed at combating organised drug crime in hotels, such as Operation Galley, may increase drug crime reports and problem notifications by hoteliers.

They may also increase drug search warrants, arrests, and charges.

- Educational programs delivered by police, workshop facilitators, and child safety to educate adolescents about the nature and consequences of gang membership may be effective for reducing delinquency and gang involvement and improving attitudes toward police.

#### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- Studies included in this setting were conducted in Australia and the UK, with different population densities to Auckland (Brisbane is lower, and London is higher). Both studies have similar problems to Auckland in terms of youth involvement in gangs (London) and organised drug crime (Brisbane), and also have somewhat similar organisational structures for policing.
- The key mechanism underpinning the effectiveness of Operation Galley is third party policing whereby hoteliers are motivated by provision of information regarding their legal responsibilities and the noncompliance liabilities. As such, the implementation of Operation Galley may have been facilitated by (a) a strong working relationship between hoteliers and police, as well as clear communication of roles and objectives within the intervention, and (b) hindered by the levels of vigilance required for hotel staff to implement the intervention, which may be considered outside of their role in the hotel and/or the business model of the hotel itself.
- The effectiveness of multiagency educational gang interventions may be impacted by the number of youth already involved in gangs, along with their trauma histories. Barriers to implementation can include: scheduling errors, lengthy sessions and timeframe mismanagement, inconsistencies with educational materials, and lack of signposting sessions for students. Implementation may be facilitated by natural and non-judgemental communication by facilitators and police officers as well as bespoke videos with local examples.

#### ***Policing Financial and Cybercrime***

##### *Number of Studies Included*

One RCT and one review were included in the evidence synthesis for financial crime. No eligible studies were located for police responses to cybercrime.

##### *Effectiveness*

- Corporate crime deterrence strategies via legal mechanisms may influence whether illegal behaviour or non-compliance is reported to police. However, many of the studies in this review were not from Westminster nations, and of those that were, none clearly explicated police involvement with the intervention, thereby limiting the ability to ascertain effectiveness or generalise to the Auckland context.
- Covert investigative techniques for identifying and eliciting confessions of involvement in financial crime were evaluated by mock jurors. Results show that cases with high financial incentives (\$35,000) were less likely to receive a guilty verdict than those with low incentives (\$5,000). The intervention showed no effect for juror perception of confession falseness, defendant character, or defendant-officer social bond.

#### *Operational, Setting, and Implementation Considerations*

- The included study was conducted in Canada, which has a much lower population density but similar police organisational structure.
- Very little can be garnered from the single study on police investigative techniques for financial crime regarding cost-effectiveness, mechanisms underpinning effectiveness, or moderators of effectiveness. While a cost model is not provided, it is implied that this

intervention is costly, with suspects being offered large sums of money for their involvement.

### **Concluding Observations**

- This review only covers robust impact evaluations of policing interventions to address seven specific social and crime problems in Auckland that met the review inclusion criteria. This review does *not* include studies that examine the causes and/or correlates of the social and crime problems, process evaluations, or qualitative studies, or quasi-experimental studies.
- We identified a dearth of robust impact evaluation evaluations in Westminster nations that have similar populations to New Zealand.
- Several policing approaches may be effective for addressing the crime and social problems facing Auckland.
- When studies were evaluated in a rigorous way, very few explicated or tested the theoretical mechanisms underpinning intervention effectiveness, the static individual or contextual factors that may moderate intervention effectiveness, or the cost-benefits of the relevant intervention. As a result, the evidence only permits limited hypotheses about the geographical and social characteristics that might influence how effective interventions would be when transported to the Auckland context.
- When studies were evaluated in a rigorous way, they tended to provide relatively more detail about the intervention setting and implementation of the intervention, however, the quality of this information also varied. As a result, the evidence only permits a shallow understanding of the exact police role, responsibilities, and resources required to implement the interventions.
- While the organisational policing structure and nature of the problems for the included studies tended to be similar to Auckland, a key contextual difference was the lower population density in the studies conducted outside New Zealand. However, the impact of population density may vary depending on the crime or social problem under consideration.
- When considering the transportability of an intervention to the Auckland context, the following factors are important considerations: human and physical resources required, the availability and amount of funding required, legal and regulatory frameworks, and training required for police and other practitioners.
- When considering changes to the policing of crime and social problems in Auckland, it will be of utmost importance that the changes are (a) prospectively designed using empirical evidence about the aetiology of the problem and the proposed theory of change underpinning existing evidence-based approaches; and (b) rigorously evaluated prior to wide scale implementation.



# Table of Contents

---

1	Introduction .....	2
1.1	Report Background and the Auckland Context .....	2
1.2	Research Questions.....	2
1.3	Report Overview.....	3
2	Overarching Review Methodology .....	4
2.1	Introduction .....	4
2.2	Review Methodology .....	4
2.3	Search Methodology.....	4
	Search Location: The Global Policing Database .....	4
2.4	Criteria for Including Studies in the Review .....	5
	Research Timeframe.....	5
	Geographical Settings.....	5
	Types of Populations .....	6
	Types of Policing Interventions.....	7
	Types of Study Designs .....	7
	Criteria for Determination of Independent Findings .....	7
2.5	Screening, Coding, and Synthesis .....	7
	Full-Text Eligibility Screening.....	7
	Full-Text Coding and Synthesis .....	8
2.6	References .....	9
3	Policing Domestic and Family Violence.....	11
3.1	Introduction .....	11
3.2	Defining Domestic and Family Violence Policing Interventions.....	11
	What is domestic and family violence?.....	11
	Definitions of relevant relationships.....	12
3.3	Search Terms .....	12
3.4	Search and Screening Results.....	12
3.5	Eligible Studies.....	13
	Systematic Reviews of Multiple Interventions.....	13
	Conditional Cautioning.....	14
	Second Responder Programs .....	18
	Police Enforcement of DFV Protection Orders .....	22
3.6	References .....	24
4	Policing Homelessness.....	25
4.1	Introduction .....	25
4.2	Defining Eligible Policing Interventions for Homelessness.....	25

What is homelessness? .....	25
4.3 Search Terms .....	25
4.4 Search and Screening Results .....	25
4.5 Eligible Studies .....	26
Prior Police Contact .....	26
Use of Handcuffs .....	27
4.6 References .....	31
5 Policing Mental Illness .....	32
5.1 Introduction .....	32
5.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Mental Illness .....	32
What is mental illness? .....	32
5.3 Search Terms .....	32
5.4 Search and Screening Results .....	32
5.5 Eligible Studies .....	33
Reviews of Multiple Policing-Focused Interventions .....	33
Specialised Interviewing for Autism Spectrum Disorder .....	34
Crisis Intervention Team Models .....	44
Mental Health Co-Responder Models .....	44
EMMIE Analysis for CIT and MHCR Models .....	45
Specialised Police Training .....	47
5.6 References .....	51
6 Policing Youth Crime and Delinquency .....	52
6.1 Introduction .....	52
6.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Youth Crime and Delinquency .....	52
What is youth crime and delinquency? .....	52
6.3 Search Terms .....	52
6.4 Search and Screening Results .....	52
6.5 Eligible Studies .....	54
Ability School Engagement Program (ASEP) .....	54
Youth Waiver Forms .....	61
Formal Juvenile System Processing .....	66
6.6 References .....	67
7 Policing Organised Crime .....	68
7.1 Introduction .....	68
7.2 Defining Eligible Policing Interventions for Organised Crime .....	68
What is organised crime? .....	68
7.3 Search Terms .....	69
7.4 Search and Screening Results .....	69
7.5 Eligible Studies .....	70

Operation Galley, Australia.....	70
Growing Against Gangs and Violence, London.....	76
7.6 References .....	81
8 Policing Cybercrime.....	82
8.1 Introduction .....	82
8.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Cybercrime .....	82
What is cybercrime? .....	82
8.3 Search Terms .....	83
8.4 Search and Screening Results.....	83
8.5 References .....	84
9 Policing Financial Crime.....	85
9.1 Introduction .....	85
9.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Financial Crime .....	85
What is financial crime? .....	85
9.3 Search Terms .....	85
9.4 Search and Screening Results.....	86
9.5 Eligible Studies.....	87
Corporate Crime Deterrence Strategies.....	87
Investigative Techniques .....	87
9.6 References .....	92

# 1 Introduction

---

## 1.1 Report Background and the Auckland Context

In September 2020, the New Zealand Police and New Zealand Evidence Based Policing Centre approached the University of Queensland to conduct a rapid evidence review of policing interventions pertaining to seven specific social and crime problems faced by Tamaki Makauru (the Auckland region). The intent of the rapid review was to enable the New Zealand police to use the best evidence available to inform their strategy for future of policing in the Auckland region.

A number of social and geographical characteristics that make the Auckland region unique, including:

- New Zealand's largest airport and port, serving as the gateway to New Zealand
- More high rise buildings than anywhere else in New Zealand
- More potential targets of terrorism than anywhere else in New Zealand
- Particular challenges with congestion
- A faster growing and more diverse population than anywhere else in New Zealand, with a significant and increasing proportion of the population born outside New Zealand

In addition, the Auckland region faces seven specific social issues and crime problems that impact police practice, including:

- (1) Continuing challenges with homelessness
- (2) Continuing challenges with family harm
- (3) Continuing challenges with mental health
- (4) An established base of organised crime activity
- (5) More cybercrime than elsewhere in New Zealand
- (6) More financial crime than elsewhere in New Zealand
- (7) More youth offending than anywhere else in New Zealand

The region is also impacted by wider trends impacting nations across the globe, including: globalisation, climate change, growing socioeconomic inequality, diversification and rapidly changing technology, and changing population demographics.

## 1.2 Research Questions

The New Zealand police sought answers to the following research questions through a rapid review of existing evaluation evidence:

- (1) What approaches have other policing services implemented and evaluated in response to the seven abovementioned social and crime challenges?
- (2) For those policing approaches that have been rigorously evaluated, what are the key characteristics of the approach, including the specific role of the police within the intervention and how resources/capabilities are prioritised?
- (3) For those policing approaches that have been rigorously evaluated, what are the geographical and social characteristics of the jurisdiction and how could these impact the implementation and effectiveness of the policing approach?

In answering these research questions, the New Zealand police requested a focus on

synthesising the evidence for jurisdictions that share similar characteristics to New Zealand and Auckland. That is, former British colonies with Westminster political systems, with similar levels of wealth demographic composition.

### **1.3 Report Overview**

This report provides a systematic and comprehensive review of evaluation evidence regarding policing interventions for seven specific social and crime problems, spanning the last decade. The next chapter describes the overarching methodology for the review, followed by seven chapters that correspond to each of the seven specific social and crime problems experienced in Auckland. Each chapter provides a summary of the systematic search and screening results, and a synthesis of identified studies conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand.

## 2 Overarching Review Methodology

---

### 2.1 Introduction

The growth of evidence-based policy and practice in criminal justice has led to a growth in experimental research and systematic reviews as a means for identifying best practice. Randomised experiments and systematic reviews are considered the “gold standard” methods in the area of evidence-based policy and practice (Mazerolle & Bennett, 2011). Randomised experiments provide the most robust methods for establishing causality and establishing the impact of an intervention (Blumstein, 2013). Systematic reviews of interventions, which may or may not include a meta-analysis, expand single study evidence by utilising a series of standardised methodological stages to capture and synthesise impact evaluations of interventions (Liberati et al., 2009). Systematic reviews provide concise and comprehensive summaries of high-quality research evidence and are valuable tools for policy-makers and practitioners aiming to identify interventions that are most effective for particular problems and populations (Wilson & Tanner-Smith, 2014).

While systematic reviews are considered the highest quality evidence, they are time and labour-intensive. As a result, scholars have developed alternative review methodologies to allow for expedited syntheses of empirical literature, including reviews of existing systematic reviews, overviews of reviews, scoping reviews, evidence maps, and rapid reviews (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005; Levac, Colquhoun, & O’Brien, 2010; Snilstveit et al., 2016; Peters et al., 2020). The review reported here adopts a hybrid approach that draws on a range of review method frameworks. The overall aim is to provide a rapid and broad synthesis of the highest quality available evidence for the effectiveness of policing interventions aiming to reduce the seven specific social and crime problems identified in Auckland, New Zealand.

### 2.2 Review Methodology

This review adopts a hybrid approach that draws on traditional systematic review methodologies and also alternative review methodologies that permit expedited reviews of evaluation literature (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005; Levac, Colquhoun, & O’Brien, 2010; Snilstveit et al., 2016; Peters et al., 2020). The initial stages of the review process utilised a standard systematic review methodology, beginning with a broad systematic search of academic and grey literature (unpublished) sources for each social and crime problem. All studies identified by the systematic searches were then progressed through standardised sequential screening stages to ascertain whether each study met the pre-specified inclusion criteria. At the point of inclusion, studies were categorised to establish the breadth and depth of the evaluation literature. From the point of study categorisation, this review adopts a narrative synthesis method, with each chapter of the report corresponding to each of the seven social and crime problems.

### 2.3 Search Methodology

#### Search Location: The Global Policing Database

We conducted a systematic search within the Global Policing Database (GPD), housed at the University of the Queensland. The GPD is searchable database designed to capture all published and unpublished experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing that have been conducted since 1950. Using innovative systematic review technologies developed at The University of Queensland, the GPD is being compiled by systematically searching, retrieving and screening published and unpublished literature that reports on impact evaluations of

interventions relating to police or policing from 1 January 1950. There are no restrictions on the type of policing technique, type of outcome measure or language of the research. A complex search string using a large number of search terms (free-text and controlled vocabulary) and several search fields (e.g., title, abstract, keywords) has been used to search more than 70 databases that collectively cover peer-reviewed and grey literature (see [www.gpd.uq.edu.au](http://www.gpd.uq.edu.au) for a full methodological protocol).

Specific search strategies were developed for each of the seven social and crime problems, in consultation with existing literature and representatives from New Zealand police and New Zealand Evidence Based Policing Centre. Because the systematic search underpinning the GPD utilises policing terms, the search terms for this review focused on capturing research with search terms representative of the seven social and crime problems. A filter for capturing robust evaluation research was also used to refine the search results and expedite the review. The exact searches and results are reported at the beginning of each chapter of this report that corresponds to the seven specific social and crime problems.

## 2.4 Criteria for Including Studies in the Review

Although the search for each of the seven social and crime problems were processed separately to identify eligible evaluation studies, all share five common inclusion thresholds. Each document extracted from the GPD must have initially satisfied the following inclusion criteria prior to an assessment of its relevance to the specific social and crime problem.

### Research Timeframe

To provide the most up-to-date synthesis of evaluation research pertaining to policing response to the seven specified social and crime problems faced by the Auckland region, this review only includes studies published in the most recent decade captured by the GPD (January 2009 – December 2018).

### Geographical Settings

Systemic differences across cultures can considerably impact the capacity to extrapolate from the findings of intervention research. The New Zealand police requested a focus on synthesising the evidence for jurisdictions that share similar characteristics to New Zealand and Auckland. That is, former British colonies with Westminster political systems, with similar levels of wealth demographic composition.

Therefore, the review only includes rigorous evaluations of policing interventions aimed at addressing the seven specified social and crime problems that were implemented in the nations listed in Table 1. This list was developed by first compiling a list of all nations adopting a Westminster political system. Second, each of these nations were ranked according to low, middle, and high income categories, as defined by the World Bank (2020). Third, each high-income country was ranked according to total population, land area, and population density.

**Table 1. Eligible Geographical Locations**

Westminster Nation	Wealth <sup>1</sup>	2020 Population <sup>2</sup>	Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	2018 Density <sup>3</sup>
New Zealand	High Income	4,822,233	270,467	18
Japan	High income	126,476,461	377,930	336
United Kingdom	High income	678,86,011	242,900	278
Canada	High income	37,742,154	9,984,670	4
Australia	High income	25,499,884	7,692,024	3
Israel	High income	8,655,535	20,770	410
Singapore	High income	5,850,342	710	8,175
Ireland	High income	4,937,786	70,273	69
Kuwait	High income	4,270,571	17,818	56

### Types of Populations

To provide a comprehensive synthesis of evaluation literature pertaining to the focal research questions, the review adopted a broad inclusion threshold for eligible study populations (or research participants). We acknowledge that a large proportion of the policing evaluation literature utilises geographical and organisation-level ‘participants’ (e.g., comparing multiple geographic areas with or without an intervention). Therefore, participants within eligible evaluation studies or reviews could include:

- (1) Police practitioners (sworn police, staff employed by public police);
- (2) Geographical locations (e.g., macro- and micro-places);
- (3) Organisations (e.g., governmental and non-governmental entities partnering with police);
- (4) Offenders or those at-risk of offending;
- (5) Victims of crime; or
- (6) Citizens, either non-affected citizens or citizens experiencing the specific social or crime problems under investigation in this review (i.e., mentally ill, homeless).

<sup>1</sup> <https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups>

<sup>2</sup> <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries>



## Types of Policing Interventions

To be eligible for inclusion in the review, each document must have reported on an impact evaluation of an intervention related to police or policing in some way, which is the inclusion threshold for the Global Policing Database. We define an intervention as some kind of a strategy, technique, approach, activity, campaign, training, directive, or funding or organisational change that involves the police in some way (other agencies or organisations can also be involved).

Police involvement is broadly defined as:

- Police initiation, development or leadership; or
- Police staff or populations are recipients of the intervention or the intervention is related; or
- Police practices are the focus or target of an intervention; or
- Police deliver or implement the intervention.

## Types of Study Designs

To synthesise the most rigorous research, this review only includes randomised controlled trials (RCTs) and rigorous reviews of eligible interventions. Although these designs are considered the gold standard for ascertaining intervention effectiveness, we anticipated that there may be none of this high-quality evidence for some of the specified social and crime problems. As such, if there were no RCTs or rigorous reviews identified for the specific social or crime problem, we included and synthesised quasi-experimental evaluations. Eligible comparison conditions/groups include: no treatment, placebo, “business-as-usual”, waitlist control, or an alternative treatment.

## Criteria for Determination of Independent Findings

We anticipated that the results from evaluation studies would be reported within multiple documents. At full-text coding stage, these multiple documents were grouped together, coded and synthesised as one study.

## 2.5 Screening, Coding, and Synthesis

All search results were exported from the GPD into *SysReview*, a Microsoft Access database designed for managing systematic reviews (Higginson & Neville, 2014). Prior to screening, all efforts were made to remove ineligible document types (e.g., book reviews) and duplicate records. The subsections below provide a summary of the screening and coding protocol that was followed for the review.

### Full-Text Eligibility Screening

Wherever possible, a full-text electronic version was obtained for all records identified by the GPD search. Trained research staff screened the full-text of each document in a two-stage screening process, using a standardised screening companion according to criteria listed below.

#### *Stage 1 Full-Text Eligibility Screening Criteria*

- Document and intervention are dated before 2009
- Intervention under evaluation is conducted in a high-income eligible country

#### *Stage 2 Full-Text Eligibility Screening Criteria*

- Document does not evaluate an intervention focused on the specified social or crime problem

The conceptual eligibility thresholds for each of the specified social and crime problems are provided

at the beginning of each chapter, which correspond to the seven social and crime problems under investigation for this review. Documents were excluded if the answer to any one of the criteria was unequivocally *No* on the first applicable criterion, and were classified as eligible for full-text coding and syntheses otherwise.

### Full-Text Coding and Synthesis

A team of trained research assistants coded each eligible study according to standardised guidelines to assist with qualitative syntheses within each review chapter. Specifically, data were extracted for each study according to the following domains:

- Citation information (type of document, publication date, authors etc.);
- Research design (including comparison condition);
- Geographical location of the intervention;
- Intervention description (e.g. setting, focus, treatment components, police role);
- Type of participants used to evaluate the intervention;
- Type of outcome measure(s) used to evaluate the intervention; and
- Direction and/or size of the intervention's effect on the specified outcome.

Each chapter provides a summary of the search and screening process and then summarises each eligible study according to the domains listed above. To provide an understanding of the applicability of the studies to the Auckland context, studies were examined using the EMMIE framework (Johnson, Tilley, & Bowers, 2015) to explicate: (1) mechanisms underpinning intervention effectiveness; (2) moderators of intervention effects; (3) implementation considerations; and (4) economic considerations. This method has been used in number of systematic reviews and for rating the evidence of systematic reviews in the area of criminal justice (see <https://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Welcome.aspx>).

Direct testing of possible contextual factors (moderators) or theoretical mechanisms influencing intervention effectiveness allows for more robust conclusions to be made about the applicability of evidence to different settings. Rigorous cost-benefit analyses also help to inform the suitability of changes to policy and practice. However, this information is rarely reported in detail, measured, or tested in evaluation research across the criminal justice discipline (Thornton et al., 2019). In the absence of this evidence, the following information is coded and synthesised in the review to facilitate informed decision-making about the suitability of an intervention for Auckland:

- (1) Details about the geographical location of the intervention;
- (2) Information pertaining to the resources required for implementing an intervention
- (3) Possible barriers or facilitators for implementation of the intervention;
- (4) Police organisational structure for the setting where the intervention was evaluated;
- (5) Nature of the problem and regulatory frameworks for where the intervention was evaluated;

## 2.6 References

- Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L. (2005). Scoping studies: Towards a methodological framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8, 19–32. doi: 10.1080/1364557032000119616
- Blumstein, A. (2013). Linking evidence and criminal justice policy. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12, 721–730. doi: 10.1111/1745-9133.12040
- Farrington, D. P. (2003). Methodological quality standards for evaluation research. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 587, 49–68. doi: 10.1177/0002716202250789
- Farrington, D. P., & Welsh, B. C. (2005). Randomised experiments in criminology: What have we learnt in the last two decades? *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1(1), 9–38. doi: 10.1007/s11292-004-6460-0
- Head, B. W. (2016). Toward more “evidence-informed” policy making? *Public Administration Review*, 76(3), 472–484.
- Higginson, A., & Eggins, E. (forthcoming). The Campbell Collaboration. In J.C. Barnes and David R. Forde (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of research methods and statistical techniques in criminology and criminal justice*. Wiley.
- Higginson, A., & Neville, R. (2014). *SysReview* [Systematic Review Management Software]. Brisbane, Australia: The University of Queensland.
- Johnson, S. D., Tilley, N., & Bowers, K. J. (2015). Introducing EMMIE: An evidence rating scale to encourage mixed-method crime prevention synthesis reviews. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11, 459–473. doi: 10.1007/s11292-015-9238-7
- Levac, D., Colquhoun, H., & O'Brien, K. K. (2010). Scoping studies: Advancing the methodology. *Implementation Science*, 5, 1–9. doi: 10.1186/1748-5908-5-69
- Liberati, A., Altman, D. G., Tetzlaff, J., Mulrow, C., Gøtzsche, P. C., Ioannidis, J. P. A., . . . Moher, D. (2009). The PRISMA Statement for reporting systematic reviews and meta-analyses of studies that evaluate health care interventions: Explanation and elaboration. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 151(4), W65–W94. doi: 10.7326/0003-4819-151-4-200908180-00136
- Mazerolle, L., & Bennett, S. (2011). *Experimental Criminology*. Oxford Bibliographies Online, Criminology Module. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396607/obo-9780195396607-0085.xml>
- Meares, D. P., & Barnes, J. C. (2010). Towards a systematic foundation for identifying evidence based criminal justice sanctions and their relative effectiveness. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, 702–710. doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.04.044
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Altman, D. G., & The PRISMA Group. (2009). Preferred items for systematic reviews and meta-analysis: The Prisma Statement. *PLoS Med*, 6(7), e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed1000097
- Peteres, M. D. J., Marie, C., Trticco, A. C., Pollock, D., Munn, Z., Alexander, L. . . . Khalil, H.

- (2020). Updated methodological guidance for the conduct of scoping reviews. *JBIC Evidence Synthesis*, 18(10), 2119-2126.
- Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Sherman L. W., Farrington D. P., Welsh B. C., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2006). *Evidence based crime prevention* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Snilstveit, B., Vojtkova, M., Bhavsar, A., Stevenson, J., & Gaarder, M. (2016). Evidence and gap maps: A tool for promoting evidence informed policy and strategic research agendas. *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology*, 79, 120–129. doi: 10.1016/j.jclinepi.2016.05.015
- Sutton, A., & Chorney, A. (2007). Crime prevention in Australia: Beyond ‘what works?’ *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 40, 65–81. doi: 10.1375/acri.40.1.65
- Sydes, M., Eggins, E., & Mazerolle, L. (2018). *What works in Corrections? A review of the evaluation literature*. Brisbane, Australia: University of Queensland.
- Thornton, A., Sidebottom, A., Belur, J., Tompson, L., & Bowers, K. (2019). On the development and application of EMMIE: Insights from the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction. *Policing & Society*, 29(3), 266-282. doi: 10.1080/10439463.2018.1539483
- Weisburd, D. (2000). Randomized experiments in criminal justice policy: Prospects and problems. *Crime & Delinquency*, 46, 181–193.
- Weisburd, D., Farrington, D. P., & Gill, C. (Eds.). (2016). *What works in crime prevention and rehabilitation: Lessons from systematic reviews*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Welsh, B. C., & Farrington, D. P. (2007). Evidence-based crime prevention. In B. C. Welsh & D. P. Farrington (Eds.), *Preventing crime* (pp. 1-17). New York, NY: Springer.
- Wilson, D. B. (2009). Missing a critical piece of the pie: Simple document search strategies inadequate for systematic reviews. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 5, 429–440. doi: 10.1007/s11292-009-9085-5
- Wilson, S. J., & Tanner-Smith, E. E. (2014). Meta-analysis in prevention science. In Z. Sloboda & H. Petras (Eds.), *Defining prevention science* (pp. 431–452). New York, NY: Springer.

## 3 Policing Domestic and Family Violence

---

### 3.1 Introduction

Police provide a frontline response to domestic and family violence (DFV) and the extant evaluation evidence across the globe highlights the breadth of approaches that have been evaluated to reduce recidivism and associated harm (see Mazerolle, Eggins, Sydes, Hine, McEwan, Norrie, & Somerville, 2018). We identified two randomised controlled trials that assessed the effectiveness of policing interventions for DFV in Westminster nations and three systematic reviews that captured evaluations of policing responses for DFV.

### 3.2 Defining Domestic and Family Violence Policing Interventions

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to, preventing, or reducing DFV or family harm. A focus on DFV was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated an aim of preventing or reducing DFV, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of DFV (see below), used DFV perpetrators or victims as the study sample, or if it used DFV-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is domestic and family violence?

Studies may differ in the terminology used for domestic and family violence. Similar to the Mazerolle et al. (2018) review, we define domestic and family violence in line with the broad definition provided by the Queensland *Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012*:

The Act (2012, s. 8) defines domestic violence as:

- (1) Behaviour by a person (the first person) towards another person (the second person) with whom the first person is in a relevant relationship that—
  - a) is physically or sexually abusive; or
  - b) is emotionally or psychologically abusive; or
  - c) is economically abusive; or
  - d) is threatening; or
  - e) is coercive; or
  - f) in any other way controls or dominates the second person and causes the second person to fear for the second person's safety or wellbeing or that of someone else.
  
- (2) Without limiting subsection (1), domestic violence include the following behaviour—
  - a) causing personal injury to a person or threatening to do so;
  - b) coercing a person to engage in sexual activity or attempting to do so;
  - c) damaging a person's property or threatening to do so;
  - d) depriving a person of the person's liberty or threatening to do so;
  - e) threatening a person with the death or injury of the person, a child of the person, or someone else;
  - f) threatening to commit suicide or self-harm so as to torment, intimidate or frighten the person to whom the behaviour is directed;
  - g) causing or threatening to cause the death of, or injury to, an animal, whether or not the animal belongs to the person to whom the behaviour is directed, so as to control, dominate or coerce the person;
  - h) unauthorised surveillance of a person;
  - i) unlawfully stalking a person (including via technology).

- (3) A person who counsels or procures someone else to engage in behaviour that, if engaged in by the person, would be domestic violence is taken to have committed domestic violence.
- (4) To remove any doubt, it is declared that, for behaviour mentioned in subsection (2) that may constitute a criminal offence, a court may make an order under this Act on the basis that the behaviour is domestic violence even if the behaviour is not proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

### Definitions of relevant relationships

A broad conceptualisation of DFV includes relationships beyond intimate partners. This review adopts this broad conceptualisation, defining an eligible relevant relationship in line with s. 13 of the Queensland *Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012*:

- (1) An intimate personal relationship, inclusive of:
  - a. A spousal relationship, inclusive of:
    - i. Spouses;
    - ii. De facto partners;
    - iii. Former spouses;
    - iv. Parents, or former parents, of a child or children (regardless of whether there is or was any relationship between the persons).
  - b. An engagement relationship; or
  - c. A couple relationship, including same-sex partners.
- (2) A family relationship, inclusive of:
  - a. Connections between two persons by blood or by marriage;
  - b. People who regard/ed each other as relatives, though would not be ordinarily understood as such by the law (examples include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders).
  - c. An informal care relationship (not inclusive of commercially hired carers).

### 3.3 Search Terms

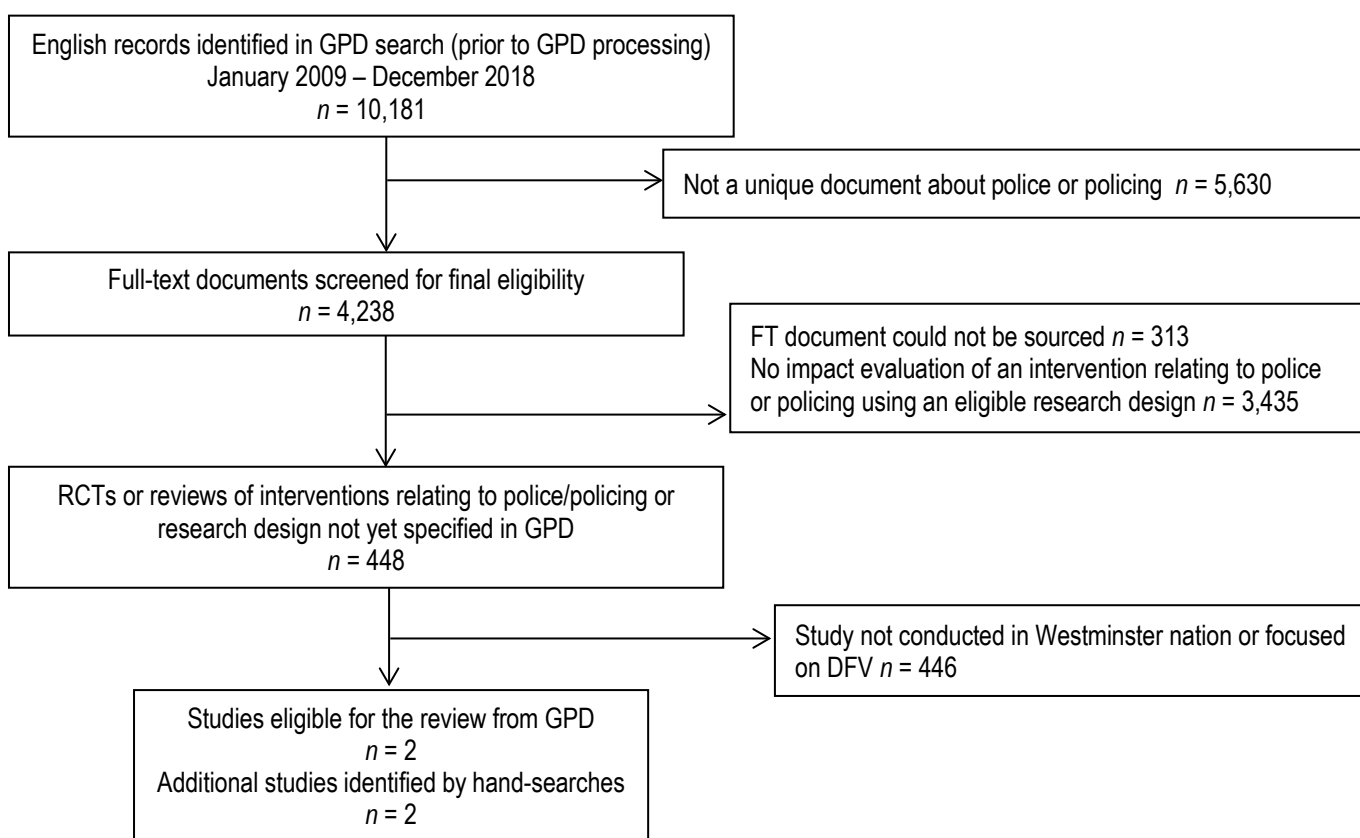
The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between 2009 and 2018:

Terms Combined with OR	Domestic/Family Terms	Violence/Harm Terms	
	domestic* wife wives husband* partner* intimate relationship* family familial families	abuse* aggress* assault* batter* coercive* chok* death* beat* harm* femicide* homicid* infanticide*	lethal* murder* manslaughter* injur* shoot* stab stabb* strangl* strangul* violen* weapon*
<b>Family and Harm Clauses Combined with AND</b>			

### 3.4 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 3.1. The search within GPD identified 10,181 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins

the GPD. Of these 4,551 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their titles and abstract. A total of 4,238 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 313 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>3</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 395 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 40 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 408 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 40 RCTs and reviews were imported into *SysReview* to assess their eligibility for this review. Two of these 803 studies were evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on DFV, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand. These two studies were supplemented by the review conducted by Mazerolle et al. (2018).



**Figure 3.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and DFV screening**

### 3.5 Eligible Studies

#### Systematic Reviews of Multiple Interventions

Two recent rapid systematic reviews capture policing interventions for DFV in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand (Mazerolle et al., 2018; Dowling et al., 2018a). Mazerolle et al. (2018) review of criminal justice responses to DFV synthesises a broad range of rigorous evaluations of policing approaches for addressing DFV offending and harms conducted in Westminster and non-

<sup>3</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.



Westminster nations. All but one study in this review was captured by the GPD systematic search conducted for the current review (Koppensteiner et al., 2017; Matheson et al., 2015). This study, reported in two technical reports, was indexed on an institutional repository and not included in the GPD systematic search strategy due to low relevance to police or policing. As a result, it was not captured by the search for the current review and highlights the importance of conducting harvesting and hand-searches when systematically reviewing evaluation research. Dowling et al. (2018a) review focuses explicitly on policing responses for DFV and includes a range of qualitative and quantitative studies in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. This review was perused to identify any studies that may not have been captured by the GPD systematic search and no additional eligible studies were identified.

### Conditional Cautioning

Police cautioning generally involves the arrest of alleged perpetrators, formal cautioning, and then a release with no further action. Policymakers have suggested that conditional cautioning is more appropriate for DFV, whereby cautions include conditions that can be prosecuted if breached (e.g., jail time, community service, or fines). In this context, researchers and police in Hampshire (United Kingdom) developed the Cautioning and Relationship Abuse Workshop (CARA, Strang et al., 2017). Upon arrest for a DFV incident, perpetrators were randomly assigned to either receive a simple caution with the condition of no reoffending for four months ( $n = 139$ ), or the CARA intervention ( $n = 154$ ). Perpetrators assigned to CARA were required to attend a 2-day group workshop using a motivational interviewing framework to facilitate perpetrators' awareness of their abusive behaviours, accepting responsibility for their behaviours and associated harm, and building functional and safe relational skills for use within their domestic and family relationships (e.g., healthy conflict resolution skills). To evaluate the intervention, Strang and colleagues (2017) used arrest and convictions for 365 days after random assignment and used the Cambridge Crime Harm Index to weight the severity of participants' offending. The authors found that the Crime Harm Index allocated to CARA perpetrators' offending was 27% less than perpetrators who received the simple caution comparison treatment at the 12-month follow-up (mean of 8.4 days of recommended imprisonment versus 11.4 days). For DFV offences, frequency and prevalence of re-arrest was lower for CARA participants (21% and 35% respectively) than the perpetrators assigned to the simple caution condition.

Table 3.1 below examines the Strang et al. (2017) study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Strang et al. (2017) evaluation of the CARA model was implemented in a UK setting with lower population density than Auckland, yet the organisational structure of police and the nature of DFV appears quite similar. Although there is no exact replica of the conditional cautioning approach in a legislative sense in New Zealand, the existing *Family Violence Act 2018* provides an existing framework that could be adapted to legalise conditional cautioning approach. Based on the information reported in the Strang et al. (2017) study, successful implementation of CARA model a productive relationship with a highly regarded and experienced service provider who delivers the intervention to perpetrators and reports to police. Although not statistically tested by Strang et al. (2017), previous research indicates that the effectiveness of perpetrator interventions can vary depending on the level of perpetrator risk and is a factor that needs to be considered when establishing eligibility for an intervention like CARA and when evaluating the program. Overall, the cost of the CARA workshop is quite low, yet a full cost-benefit analysis is required to understand the cost-benefit of the approach beyond just the workshop itself (e.g., cost-benefit for criminal justice system, families etc).



**Table 3.1 Conditional Cautioning in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Hampshire, United Kingdom	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	1.353 million 3,769 km <sup>2</sup> 359 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1.572 million 1,086 km <sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>Hampshire Constabulary:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Territorial police service which attends to the counties of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight</li> <li>• Overseen by a Police and Crime Commissioner (publicly-elected) and led by a chief constable and several other chief officers</li> <li>• Consists of three local divisions: Northern, Eastern and Western</li> <li>• Assistant chief constables each command a functional command section, as per the recent transition (2016) into a “borderless” model of policing, so that geographically closest response teams may be deployed as necessary.</li> <li>• Four command sections: Tasking and Development, Prevention and Neighbourhoods, Response and Patrol, and Investigations</li> <li>• Specialised officers form a joint unit with the Thames Valley police force (the Joint Operations Unit). This contains a road policing unit, dog support unit, and firearm unit, among others.</li> <li>• The service is comprised of police officers (constables), special constables (same arrest and jurisdictionary powers as constables), community support officers (non-warranted, uniformed) and staff.</li> <li>• Employs approximately 5,000 people total.</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the 12 districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<b><i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</i></b>	<p><u><i>Policy of mandatory arrest:</i></u> Whenever police have sufficient forensic evidence to justify an arrest, arrest is mandatory. Commonly, this is the primary response to calls for DFV.</p> <p><u><i>Conditional cautions statute:</i></u> Introduced by the 2003 <i>Criminal Justice Act</i> for England and Wales. If offenders sign a statement containing an admission of guilt, an agreement to complete conditions imposed, and an agreement not to breach the condition within a certain time period (often 4 months) nor commit other crimes, then they could avoid prosecution in court. The offender would then be referred to a third party service provider (in Hampshire, this was a domestic violence-focused charity called the Hampton Trust) who would then report back to police on whether the offender had met the conditions. If not, the offender would be charged for the original offence in court, and likely convicted due to the signed confession.</p>	<p><u><i>General DFV policies:</i></u> The New Zealand Government implemented the <i>Family Violence Act 2018</i> to respond to new understandings about the nature and impact of DFV. The purpose of the act is to update the definition of family violence and provide better guidance to DFV decision-makers. The <i>Family Violence Act 2018</i> incorporates a range of provisions related to victim support, protection orders, children impacted by DFV, police powers and interagency collaboration.</p> <p><u><i>Specific to conditional cautioning:</i></u> Difficult to find information about current DFV arrest policy. A literature review commissioned by the Ministry of Justice (Carswell, 2006) states that NZ had a pro-arrest policy, but unclear if this is still the case. Based on information available, police have discretion to arrest, put in a Police Safety Order, or take no intervention.</p>
<b><i>Nature of the problem area</i></b>	<p>Despite the frequent arrest of suspected perpetrators of DFV (due to mandatory arrest policies), suspects are often released shortly after their arrest due to “lack of ‘prosecutability’ to a likely conviction” (p. 163). Most DFV arrests in the Southampton area of Hampshire result in no further action (55% in 2012-2013) compared with 33% that were charged and 22% that were convicted.</p>	<p>Reports of DFV increased by 20% over the last three years. Māori are overrepresented as both perpetrators and victims of DFV.</p> <p>New Zealand favours the use of Police Safety Orders over arrest. Of the 110,000+ DFV incidents in 2015, approximately 14,000 Police Safety Orders were issued.</p> <p>Data from 2019 show 30% of intimate partner sexual violence victimisations were convicted in court, whereas 32% were dismissed, discharged or withdrawn.</p>
<b><i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i></b>	<p><b><u>Human Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two workshop facilitators from the Hampton Trust available for 5 hours on two Saturdays, 4 weeks apart.</li> <li>• Police officers who identify cases for conditional cautioning (training in model would be required).</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Space to conduct the workshops (in this case, an upscale hotel).</li> <li>• Morning tea and lunch for attendees.</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i>	<p><b><u>Facilitators:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The existing, highly credible, domestic violence service, the Hampton Trust.</li> <li>• The Hampton Trust had the resourcing/funding to be able to deliver the services.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Barriers:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Breaches of the conditions of the conditional caution – i.e., not attending the workshop session/s and/or rearrested within 4 months following initial arrest.</li> <li>• The Hampshire Police did not directly observe any workshops implemented by the Hampton Trust prior to implementation of the evaluation (they were faithful in the reputation of the Hampton Trust).</li> </ul>	-
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	Perceived quality of the existing workshops implemented by Hampton Trust.	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	Effect may differ by offender’s level of risk: low-risk or first-offence perpetrators may be more suited to the program (note that this is not statistically analysed and is merely a theory presented by the authors in their conclusion).	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	Intervention cost approximately £100 per offender per case to implement. This may be reduced to an even lesser cost if workshop size was increased by 2-3 participants. The authors conclude that the intervention is likely to be highly cost effective, but do not conduct a formal cost-benefit analysis.	-

## Second Responder Programs

Evidence suggests that DFV victims are most receptive to crime prevention strategies and other support closely after victimisation (Davis, Weisburd & Hamilton, 2008). Drawing on this, second responder programs have been designed whereby teams of police officers and victim advocates (e.g., social workers) make face-to-face contact with victims soon after the initial police response to a DFV incident and aim to reduce the likelihood of subsequent DFV offences and increase the support for victims through the provision of information and referral to other services (Davis et al., 2008).

Koppensteiner and colleagues (2017) examined the effectiveness of a second responder program (Project 360) in the United Kingdom, comprised of a partnership between the Leicestershire police and victim engagement officers situated within the police force. Victims randomly assigned to the treatment condition were contacted by engagement officers by telephone within 24 hours after a reported DFV incident and provided information referrals to local services (e.g., assistance and guidance for making statements). Victims assigned to the comparison condition received the business-as-usual policing approach for DFV, entailing the provision of contact information to DFV services in their area or an integrated team of support workers within the Leicestershire police department. Compared to participants receiving the business-as-usual policing response, participants assigned to the second responder intervention were 43% more satisfied with police, were 42% more likely to report future DFV incidents to police, 42% more likely to take action to improve their situation (e.g., accessing health and social support services), and 26% more likely to report improvements in their family life and overall quality of life. Victims assigned to the second responder intervention were also 34% less likely to maintain contact with the perpetrator. Counter to expectations, the second responder program was associated with an increase in stress and poorer psychosocial health than victims receiving the business-as-usual policing approach. The authors suggest that this finding may be due to manifestations of victims in the second-responder program taking action to improve their situation (e.g., separation from partner). Although victims in the second responder program were 21% less likely to provide witness statements, they were 27% less likely to retract their statements. Finally, experience of repeat DFV offences did not significantly differ between victims participating in the second responder program versus the business-as-usual policing approach, yet there was a trend towards reduced severity of repeat offences for the second responder group.

Table 3.2 below examines the Koppensteiner et al. (2017) study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Koppensteiner et al. (2017) evaluation of the second responder model was implemented in a UK setting with lower population density than Auckland, yet the organisational structure of police appears quite similar. The existing *Family Violence Act 2018* provides a framework that could be adapted to legalise or regulate a second responder approach. Based on the information reported in the Koppensteiner et al. (2017) study, the second responder model requires specific human and other resources to facilitate co-location of engagement workers within police and efficient partnership working. Although not statistically tested by Koppensteiner et al. (2017), previous research indicates that the effectiveness of perpetrator interventions can vary depending on the level of perpetrator risk and is a factor that needs to be considered when establishing eligibility for a second responder intervention and when evaluating the program. Specific to the Koppensteiner et al. (2017) study, the mode of obtaining a statement from a victim may impact whether a final statement is secured. This is because a face-to-face approach requires more logistical considerations, which may create a time delay and thereby reduce the victim's willingness to make a statement as time passes. Therefore, ensuring immediate availability for taking statements in either format may facilitate victim statements. Overall, the cost of the second responder approach per victim engagement (£174) and the overall model over a 6-month period (£45,300) is quite low. However, this cost does not include some critical resources required for the intervention and a full cost-benefit analysis is required to understand the cost-benefit of the second responder approach (e.g., cost-benefit for criminal justice system, families etc).

**Table 3.2 Second Responder Model in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Leicestershire Police Force area, covering Leicester city, Leicestershire, and Rutland, UK	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	1.1 million 2,511.3 km <sup>2</sup> 439 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1.572 million 1,086 km <sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>Leicestershire Police Force</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The territorial police force responsible for Leicestershire and Rutland, UK.</li> <li>• Led by a team of chief officers: Chief Constable, Deputy Chief Constable, 2 Assistant Chief Constables, an Assistant Chief Officer of Human Resources, and an Assistant Chief Officer of Finance and Resources.</li> <li>• Under the oversight of the Police and Crime Commissioner for Leicestershire (elected position).</li> <li>• Consists of 9 neighbourhood policing areas, each headed by an inspector.</li> <li>• Is part of the East Midlands Special Operations Unit (EMSOU), which delivers specialist capabilities on as needed, and is led by a Regional Deputy Chief Constable.</li> <li>• Leicestershire Police employ over 3,200 staff, including sworn members (approximately 2,100), including police officers (constables), special constables (who have the same powers as constables), and un-sworn administration, finance, and business staff (approximately 1,100).</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<b><i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</i></b>	HM Inspectorate of Constabulary report ‘Everyone’s business: Improving the police response to domestic abuse’ identified a lack of police expertise regarding DFV. This led Leicestershire Police Force to fund the Project 360 intervention.	<p><b><i>General DFV policies:</i></b> The New Zealand Government implemented the <i>Family Violence Act 2018</i> to respond to new understandings about the nature and impact of DFV. The purpose of the act is to update the definition of family violence and provide better guidance to DFV decision-makers. The <i>Family Violence Act 2018</i> incorporates a range of provisions related to victim support, protection orders, children impacted by DFV, police powers and interagency collaboration.</p> <p><b><i>Specific to second responder programs:</i></b> When a Police Safety Order is issued, police will send a referral to a specialist support agency, who will contact the victim to discuss safety planning and other support.</p>
<b><i>Nature of the problem area</i></b>	Leicestershire Police Force received calls for 17,396 domestic violence offences between April 2013 and April 2014. Twenty percent of these reports involved repeat victims.	<p>Reports of DFV increased by 20% over the last three years. Māori are overrepresented as both perpetrators and victims of DFV.</p> <p>In New Zealand in 2013, approximately three in five victims of DFV experienced repeat victimisation. In 2019, about 82% of perpetrators had reoffended at least once.</p>
<b><i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i></b>	<p><b><u>Human Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One part-time supervisor.</li> <li>• Three full-time engagement workers.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Multimedia Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domestic Incident and Vulnerable Child Working Sheet where each incident is recorded by police and the automated system flags whether the victim is eligible for participation in the intervention.</li> <li>• Victim and perpetrator information from other police database/s (if needed).</li> <li>• Telephones for victim contact by engagement worker in 24 hours post-incident.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desk space, telephones and computers for each engagement worker and supervisor.</li> <li>• Meeting space for face-to-face contact with victim.</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i>	<p><b><u>Facilitators:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engagement workers have access to all police data related to the victims and perpetrators, which allows them to ascertain danger levels.</li> <li>Computer system updates new cases daily to facilitate rapid intervention.</li> <li>No referrals from a third party are required.</li> <li>Engagement workers felt that their integration with the police force gave them legitimacy when making initial contact with victims (i.e., victims were more responsive).</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Barriers:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Victims may be unwilling or uncooperative to support police action. A lack of trust or confidence in the police may be a barrier to victims reporting domestic violence incidents.</li> <li>Victim willingness (or lack thereof) to make a statement, especially after a passage of time between first telephone contact with the engagement worker and first face-to-face meeting, which may be several days later.</li> </ul>	-
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	Embedding engagement workers within the police force.	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	Whether the victim selects phone or face-to-face mode to make a statement can impact whether a statement is finalised. Face-to-face appointments can create a time delay due to additional logistical considerations, which may influence whether the statement is eventually made by the victim.	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	<p>For the six months of implementation between November 2014 and April 2015, the total estimated incremental cost was £45,300. This estimation includes the cost of three full-time engagement workers (£35,217), one part-time supervisor (£7,333), car hire, fuel and parking (£2,555), and security upgrades (£200). This estimation does not include the cost of office resources such as telephones, desk space and computers.</p> <p>Based on the above implementation costs, the project cost £174 per victim engagement (based on an initial caseload of 510 victims, of which 402 were contacted, and then 260 participated in the intervention).</p>	-



## Police Enforcement of DFV Protection Orders

While protection orders are usually issued with the civil jurisdiction (although jurisdictional differences do exist), police response to incidents of DFV may be influenced by the presence or absence of an existing order. In addition, police as key criminal justice practitioners can be involved in the enforcement and criminalisation process of breaches, such as investigating DFV incident and determining whether criminal charges should be laid (Dowling et al., 2018b). As such, a review of protection order studies by Dowling et al. (2018b) was included in the current review. This review identified 63 empirical studies (across a range of nations, including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United Kingdom) that examined the implementation and effectiveness of protection orders for addressing DFV. Four quasi-experimental studies met the authors' inclusion criteria for the meta-analysis, which were conducted in the United States and United Kingdom, and measured re-victimisation via police attendance, victim surveys, and other official data. The odds of all types of or violent re-victimisation were lower for those with police enforcement of protection orders than those without orders. The standardised effect sizes ranged from 0.30 – 0.80 across the included studies and are considered small in size<sup>4</sup>. For threatened violence, the effects of police enforcement was more equivocal. While police enforcement of orders was associated with lower odds of threatened violence, the combined effect across studies was not statistically significant. with lowered odds of threats.

Within their review, Dowling et al. (2018b) conducted an EMMIE analysis and their findings are briefly outlined in Table 3.3 below. This evidence was presented in a narrative review and provides tentative findings and hypotheses from the quasi-experimental evaluation studies Dowling et al. included in their review and other empirical research that were not evaluation studies. Overall, there are a range of potential factors to consider across all of these domains, and the research presented by Dowling et al. (2018b) does not provide an overarching 'best practice' framework for implementing protection orders. However, the themes below need to be interpreted with caution as they are not drawn exclusively from evaluation studies and have not been explicitly tested.

**Table 3.3 Summary of EMMIE analysis findings presented in Dowling et al. (2018b)**

Domain	Dowling et al. (2018b) Findings
<i>Mechanisms</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protection orders may deter reoffending by increasing the risk of punishment and apprehension.</li> <li>• Protection orders may increase the amount of effort required to reoffend. For example, 'no contact' orders may act as a large enough deterrent to decrease offending.</li> <li>• Protection orders may decrease reoffending by providing people with clear rules for victim-perpetrator interactions.</li> </ul>
<i>Moderators</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violence severity: May be more effective for more severe types of violence.</li> <li>• Short-term: May be more effective for short-term mitigation of violence.</li> <li>• Socioeconomic characteristics of victims: May be more effective for victims who have a higher socioeconomic status, are employed, are single.</li> <li>• Perpetrator characteristics: May be less effective for perpetrators with histories of stalking, domestic violence, or other criminal offending, as well as perpetrators who have mental ill health (e.g., depressive disorders, trauma).</li> <li>• Ethnicity: May be more effective for perpetrators and victims who are Caucasian.</li> <li>• Rurality: May be less effective for those living in rural or remote areas.</li> <li>• Children: May be less effective for those who have children together.</li> </ul>

<sup>4</sup> An OR > 1 = there are greater odds of the outcome with the intervention, whereas an OR <1 = lower odds of the outcome with the intervention.



**Implementation** Facilitators:

- Especially in the Australian context, processes have been implemented in police agencies that encourage police officers to lodge order applications.
- Other facilitators to applying for protection orders may be victim characteristics or demographics (e.g., marital status, injury).
- Applications may be more likely to be lodged and approved by courts if submitted with police or other third party assistance.

Barriers:

Time-consuming administrative components, red tape, lack of victim cooperation with police, victim withdrawal of application, cultural barriers, negative previous experiences with courts, lack of police buy-in (i.e., perception of limited impact of orders), police perception that forms of non-physical DFV may be less severe (e.g., coercive control).

Barriers to enforcement: Non-reporting of breaches, insufficient evidence for prosecution, perceptions that sentences for breaches are weak, complexity around coparenting/families with children, and high volumes of protection orders within the jurisdiction.

**Economics**

Very limited information. Evidence synthesised from one trial in the UK indicates that for every £1 spent, there was a negative return on investment of 23p. The majority of this money was spent on policing resources. A projection analysis suggested that the intervention may become cost effective in the long term, but more evidence is needed to explore this.

### 3.6 References

- Carswell, S. (2006). *Family violence and the pro-arrest policy: A literature review*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/family-violence.pdf>
- Davis, R. C., Weisburd, D., & Taylor, B. (2008). Effects of second responder programs on repeat incidents of family abuse: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 4(1), 1-38. doi: 10.4073/csr.2008.15
- Dowling, C., Morgan, A., Boyd, C., & Voce, I. (2018a). *Policing domestic violence: A review of the evidence* (Research Report no. 13). Retrieved from: <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/rr/rr13>
- Dowling, C., Morgan, A., Hulme, S., Manning, M., & Wong, G. (2018b). Protection orders for domestic violence: A systematic review. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 551. Retrieved from <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi551>
- Koppensteiner, M. F., Matheson, J., & Plugor, R. (2017). *Project 360: An intervention to address victim-police engagement in repeat domestic violence cases*. Economics Discussion Paper (No. 17/08). Retrieved from [https://www.le.ac.uk/economics/research/RePEc/lec/leecon/dp17-08.pdf?uol\\_r=d307e306](https://www.le.ac.uk/economics/research/RePEc/lec/leecon/dp17-08.pdf?uol_r=d307e306)
- Matheson, J., Koppensteiner, M., & Plugor, R. (2015). *Project 360: Preliminary report I*. Leicester, UK: University of Leicester. Retrieved from [https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/business/research/units/health-economics-research-group/about-the-research-group/policy\\_document\\_v9.pdf](https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/business/research/units/health-economics-research-group/about-the-research-group/policy_document_v9.pdf)
- Mazerolle, L., Eggins, E., Sydes, M., Hine, L., McEwan, J., Norrie, G., Somerville, A. (2018). *Criminal justice responses to domestic and family violence: A rapid review of the evaluation literature*. Retrieved from [https://www.courts.qld.gov.au/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0006/586185/systematic-review-of-criminal-justice-responses-to-domestic-and-family-violence.pdf](https://www.courts.qld.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/586185/systematic-review-of-criminal-justice-responses-to-domestic-and-family-violence.pdf)
- Strang, H., Sherman, L., Ariel, B., Chilton, S., Braddock, R., Rowlinson, T., ... Weinborn, C. (2017). Reducing the harm of intimate partner violence: Randomized controlled trial of the Hampshire Constabulary CARA Experiment. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 1(2–3), 160–173.

## 4 Policing Homelessness

---

### 4.1 Introduction

Research demonstrates that individuals experiencing homelessness are consistently associated with an increased risk of contact with the criminal justice system, including police (see Roy et al., 2016 for review). We identified no randomised controlled trials or systematic reviews that assessed the effectiveness of a policing interventions to respond to homelessness in Westminster nations. As a result, we examined rigorous quasi-experimental studies indexed in the GPD and identified two studies that evaluated the impact of a policing intervention for responding to homelessness.

### 4.2 Defining Eligible Policing Interventions for Homelessness

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to homelessness or associated disorder and crime. A focus on homelessness was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated a focus on homelessness, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of homelessness (see below), used people experiencing homelessness as the study sample, or if it used homelessness-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is homelessness?

The New Zealand government defines homelessness as “having no options to acquire safe and secure housing”<sup>5</sup>. The Australian Bureau of Statistics defines homelessness as when an individual lacks suitable accommodation and their current living situation is in an inadequate dwelling, lacks stable tenure, or prevents the person from controlling and accessing space for social relations. The United Nations provides two categories of homelessness: (1) primary homelessness where an individual is living on the streets without shelter; and (2) secondary homelessness where an individual who has no stable place of residence (e.g., frequent movement between different types of accommodation). Mackenzie and Chamberlain (1992) extend these with an addition category of tertiary homelessness where an individual resides in accommodation falling below usual community standards (e.g., a caravan park). Each of these definitions of homelessness were used to guide eligibility decisions for this review.

### 4.3 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between 2009 and 2018: beggar\* OR drifter\* OR derelict\* OR homeless\* OR “living on the street\*” OR “street person\*” OR “street people” OR vagran\*.

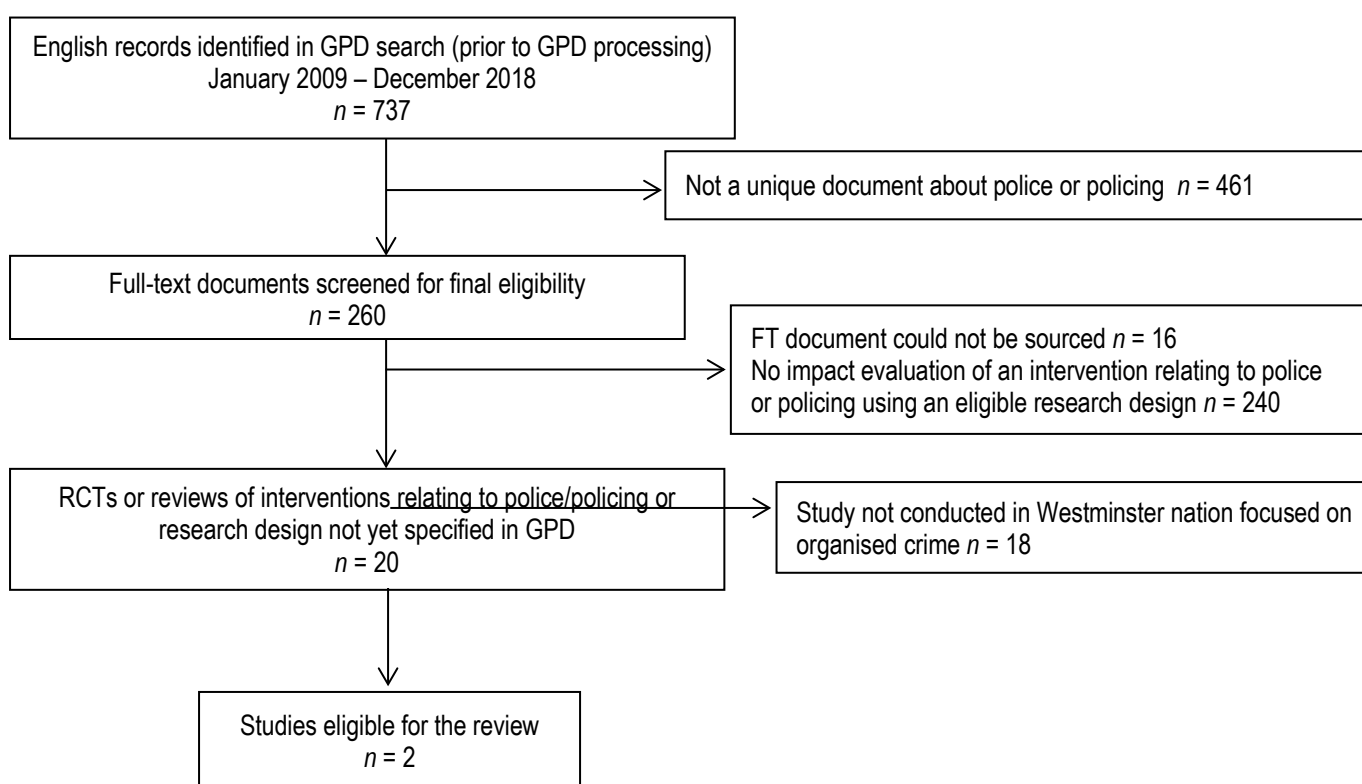
### 4.4 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 4.1. The search within GPD identified 737 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 276 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their titles and abstract. A total of 260 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the

---

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.parliament.nz/mi/pb/research-papers/document/00PLEcoRP14021/homelessness-in-new-zealand/>

GPD, with 16 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>6</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 12 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, none utilised a RCT design, 11 used weak to strong quasi-experimental designs, and only one was a rigorous review containing one or more evaluations of an intervention relating to police or policing. An additional 8 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 11 quasi-experimental studies and single review were imported into SysReview to assess their eligibility for this review. Two of these 20 reported on quasi-experimental evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on homelessness, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand.



**Figure 4.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and homelessness screening**

## 4.5 Eligible Studies

### Prior Police Contact

As part of a larger Canadian multi-site randomised controlled trial, Roy and colleagues (2016) examined whether prior contact with the criminal justice system (CJS) impacted the effectiveness of a supporting housing intervention for adults experiencing homelessness and mental illness. Participants were recruited from five Canadian cities between 2009 and 2011 from a range of settings (health settings, streets, homeless shelters) and needed to have reported an arrest during the

<sup>6</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.

six months prior to recruitment to be eligible for the study. Based on baseline data, participants fell into seven profiles corresponding to different levels of CJS involvement, conceptualised predominantly as prior contact with police via arrest. These seven profiles were: (1)  $\geq 2$  arrests and  $\leq 1$  charge for assault or public order offences; (2)  $> 2$  arrests or convictions for non-violent offences; (3) single assault arrest; (4) single theft arrest; (5) single drug arrest; (6) diversion after arrest for an unknown offence; (7) diversion with arrest for public order or assault. The seven subgroups were entered into statistical models – along with several sociodemographic variables often associated with CJS involvement – to determine if the type of prior CJS involvement impacted the likelihood and pattern of self-reported rearrest during the 24-month follow-up period after either receiving housing support or treatment-as-usual (access to existing housing and support services).

Participants receiving the housing support were not significantly more or less likely to be arrested in the 24 month follow-up period versus participants assigned to receive treatment-as-usual (exact figures not reported). The different degrees of CJS contact prior to enrolment in the RCT also did not significantly impact whether a participant was re-arrested in the 24 month follow-up period. However, when trajectories of arrest were used as the outcome variable, only individuals with either a single theft arrest or  $> 2$  arrests or convictions for non-violent offences were 5.47 and 6.67 times more likely (respectively) to have been arrested at three or all four of the six month follow-up time points during the 24 months after their assigned intervention. None of the CJS profiles were associated with an interrupted arrest trajectory (no further arrests after baseline), or an episodic trajectory (arrests in one or two of the four follow-up periods). When using the total number of arrests in the 24 months following baseline assessment as the outcome, the authors found that the only variable predicting the number of arrests was membership in the group of participants who reported  $> 2$  arrests or convictions for non-violent offences prior to their allocation to supported housing or treatment-as-usual. This study demonstrates the impact of police contact on future CJS involvement, even when vulnerable populations are engaged with other social supports to reduce their psychosocial vulnerability.

### Use of Handcuffs

Kremedine and Silverstone (2016) examined the impact of a range of variables on 213 homeless adults who had contact with police in the two years prior to recruitment. A total of 172 individuals completed their survey, representing almost 10% of all people experiencing homelessness in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. As part of their survey, participants were asked a range of questions in relation to their most recent interaction with police, including: physical force, use of a weapon, degree of satisfaction with the interaction, degree of police empathy and communication, degree of trust and confidence in the police, degree of emotional impact. The authors compared those who were arrested and handcuffed ( $n = 60$ ) versus those who were not arrested or handcuffed ( $n = 148$ ) and found that those who were handcuffed perceived significantly lower levels of empathy and quality of communication from police than those who were not handcuffed or arrested. Those who were handcuffed also reported significantly lower levels of trust and confidence in police than those who were not arrested or handcuffed. Further, those who were handcuffed reported a significantly reduced emotional state than those who were not handcuffed or arrested. The authors did not report the exact means for each outcome between the groups, but the differences between those who were handcuffed and those who were not appeared to range between 10 – 15 points out of a possible 100-point scale.

Kremedine and Silverstone (2016) also examined differences in empathy, communication, trust, confidence and emotional state based on whether police did nothing following contact ( $n = 103$ ) versus whether police arrested, handcuffed, ticketed or transported the homeless individual to a shelter or hospital ( $n = 105$ ). Again, the authors found that compared to those experiencing no police actions, those experiencing more invasive police actions (a) perceived significantly lower levels of

empathy and quality of communication from police; (b) reported significantly lower levels of trust and confidence in police; and (c) reported a significantly reduced emotional state. The authors did not report the exact means for each outcome between the groups, but the differences between those who received no action by police and those who received some action from police appeared to range between 10 – 20 points out of a possible 100-point scale. A notable limitation of this study is the collapsing of transport to a hospital or shelter with arrest, handcuffing or ticketing. Research with other vulnerable populations suggests that these diversionary actions can be more helpful than arrest (Schucan Bird, Vigurs, & Quy, 2016; Shapiro et al., 2015). However, the usefulness of these diversionary actions by police may also depend on the way police communicate and behave towards vulnerable people, such as incorporating elements of procedural justice (Watson & Angell, 2007; Wilson, Brennan, & Olaghere, 2018).

Given the lack of an prospective intervention and rigorous evaluation for the two abovementioned studies, we did not conduct a thorough EMMIE analysis. However, Table 4.1 provides a comparison between Auckland and the Canadian study settings. The evaluation studies were both conducted in Canadian settings with a far lower population density than Auckland, yet the nature of homelessness and organisational structure of police appears quite similar. This suggests that the effects of the two Canadian studies may apply to the Auckland context when exploring policing responses to homelessness.

**Table 4.1 Comparison of settings for Homelessness studies and Auckland context**

	Canada*	Auckland
<b>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</b>	<p>37.59 million</p> <p>9,985 km<sup>2</sup></p> <p>4 people per km<sup>2</sup> (103 people per km<sup>2</sup> in Edmonton)</p>	<p>1.572 million</p> <p>1,086 km<sup>2</sup></p> <p>1,447 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>
<b>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</b>	<p>Canada generally follows a decentralised police structure with three levels of policing services: federal, provincial and municipal.</p> <p><b><u>Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP):</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Federal police with power and conditional responsibility to enforce local laws.</li> <li>• Strong international ties, with 37 Liaison Officers in 23 countries.</li> <li>• Organisational goals: strive to prevent crime; investigate crimes; enforce federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal law; keep Canadians safe.</li> <li>• Led by a Commissioner, who is assisted by Deputy Commissioners in charge of federal and international policing; specialised policing services; contract and Indigenous policing; Human Resources; and a Deputy Commissioner for each province.</li> <li>• Employs over 30,100 police officers, civilians, and public service employees.</li> <li>• Serves as local police in areas with no established local police force.</li> <li>• Most of Canada's provinces and territories contract police services to the RCMP.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Edmonton Police Service</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Municipal, overseen by the Edmonton Police Commission, consisting of 2 appointed councillors and 9 appointed citizens.</li> <li>• For general patrol purposes, the city is divided into 6 divisions.</li> <li>• Six bureaus: Community Policing Bureau; North Bureau &amp; South Bureau; Intelligence and Investigations Bureau; Corporate Services Bureau; Community Safety and Well-being Bureau; and Innovation and Technology Bureau.</li> <li>• Each Bureau has a Deputy Chief in charge, who, led by the Chief of</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>



---

**Canada\*****Auckland**

Police, form the leadership team.

- Approximately 2,500 employees (sworn and non-sworn). Over 1,780 officers.

**Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention**

The National Housing Strategy Act 2019 takes a human rights approach to a national housing strategy to legally recognise the human right to adequate housing and improve housing outcomes through nationally coordinated approaches. The Government of Canada and the Government of Alberta signed a 10-year bilateral agreement regarding the National Housing Strategy Act 2019 to ensure the funding, protection, renewal and expansion of Alberta's social and community housing. Alberta takes a 'housing first' approach to address the general issues of homelessness, which involves prioritising the re-housing of people experiencing chronic homelessness and ensuring continued support. Some bylaws in Edmonton may adversely affect and/or criminalise people experiencing homelessness (e.g., bylaws prohibiting camps/temporary structures, entry to parks after hours, or the lighting of fires). The use of fines to punish such actions penalises vulnerable individuals who may have little money and stability. This is exacerbated by imprisonment as punishment for non-payment of a fine, placing those who experience homelessness at risk of increased contact with the criminal justice system.

In response to their "New Zealand Action Plan for Human Rights" (2005), the New Zealand Government aims to work with industry and local government to:

- increase sustainable housing supply;
- improve housing assistance and affordability;
- improve access to home ownership;
- improve housing quality;
- develop the private rental sector;
- strengthen housing-sector capability; and
- meet diverse needs.

Auckland addresses homeless offenders through the New Beginnings Court, by ensuring consideration of underlying causes of offending (e.g., legal, social, and health-related), while still holding offenders accountable for their actions. The New Beginnings Court is voluntary, and homeless offenders can choose to withdraw and be processed through the normal court system at any point in the proceedings.

**Nature of the problem area**

At least 235,000 Canadians experience homelessness in a given year. In 2016, 28-34% of the national shelter population were Indigenous, despite this group making up only 4.3% of the overall population.

In 2018, Edmonton had the second highest number of people experiencing homelessness ( $n \approx 1,996$ ) out of all seven cities in Alberta. Sixty-three percent of this homeless population were Indigenous, despite only 6% of Edmonton's overall population being Indigenous.

People with mental illness experience a greater risk of homelessness or unstable housing, which in turn can increase their probability of coming into contact with the criminal justice system. This may be through targeted surveillance, legislation criminalising actions of those who may be experiencing homeless, denial of bail, and discharge from custody without support services in place to prevent into homelessness.

Auckland experiences high levels of homelessness with almost half of New Zealand's homeless population living in this city. Approximately 43% of the homeless population are Māori.

Housing shortages put people who are discharged from mental health, addiction or prison facilities, as well as children leaving state care, at a higher risk of homelessness. There is a bilateral relationship between mental health and homelessness and unstable housing. Homeless people in New Zealand are more likely to come into contact with police (especially if living in public spaces), and be charged with public order offences.

---

\* Roy et al. (2016) is implemented at the federal level, and Krameddine and Silverstone (2016) is in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



## 4.6 References

- Krameddine, Y. I., & Silverstone, P. H. (2016). Police use of handcuffs in the homeless population leads to long-term negative attitudes within this group. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, *44*, 81-90.
- Roy, L., Crocker, A. G., Nicholls, T. L., Latimer, E., & Isaak, C. A. (2016). Predictors of criminal justice system trajectories of homeless adults living with mental illness. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, *49*, 75-83.
- Schucan Bird, K., Vigurs, C., Quy, K., & Shemilt, I. (2016). *Police pre-arrest diversion of people with mental health issues: A systematic review of the impacts on crime and mental health*. What works: Crime reduction systematic review series, No. 7. London: EPPI Centre.
- Shapiro, G. K., Cusi, A., Kirst, M., O'Campo, P., Nakhost, A., & Stergiopoulos, V. (2015). Co-responding police-mental health programs: A review. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, *42*(5), 606-620.
- Watson, A. C., & Angell, B. (2007). Applying procedural justice theory to law enforcement's response to persons with mental illness. *Psychiatric Services*, *58*(6), 787-793.
- Wilson, D. B., Brennan, I., & Olaghere, A. (2018). Police-initiated diversion for youth to prevent future delinquent behavior: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, *14*(1), 1-88.

## 5 Policing Mental Illness

---

### 5.1 Introduction

People experiencing mental illness are disproportionately more likely to come into contact with the criminal justice system, whether they be as offenders, witnesses or victims (Parker et al., 2018). Research has suggested that police can spend between 10% to 30% of their time responding to mental health incidents (Chidgey et al., 2018), and appropriate handling of cases involving mental illness is considered highly important to ensure that citizens receive appropriate treatment (Parker et al., 2018). We identified three randomised controlled trials that assessed the effectiveness of policing interventions for mental illness in Westminster nations, and nine systematic reviews that captured evaluations of policing responses for mental illness which were harvested for studies eligible for this review.

### 5.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Mental Illness

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to citizen mental illness or associated disorder and crime. A focus on citizen mental illness was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated a focus on mental health or illness, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of mental illness (see below), used people experiencing mental illness as the study sample, or if it used mental-illness-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is mental illness?

Mental illness is a broad concept that includes official diagnoses, symptoms of mental disorders, or measures of psychosocial wellbeing or distress (e.g., suicidal ideation, stress, sleep disturbance). The American Psychiatric Association (APA) defines a mental disorder as any syndrome “*characterized by clinically significant disturbance in an individual's cognition, emotion regulation, or behaviour that reflects a dysfunction in the psychological, biological, or developmental processes underlying mental functioning*” (2013, p. 20). Classification of mental disorders are mostly widely drawn from the APA Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) or the World Health Organisation (WHO) International Classification of Diseases (ICD). However, mental health may be represented in studies in the following ways:

- Generalised mental health or psychological wellbeing without further specification
- Specific diagnosis as per the DSM or ICD
- Self-report measures of symptoms/wellness/distress completed by citizens
- Screening or standardised measures of symptoms/wellness/distress completed by health practitioners

All of the above conceptualisations of mental illness were used in this review to assess the eligibility of studies for inclusion.

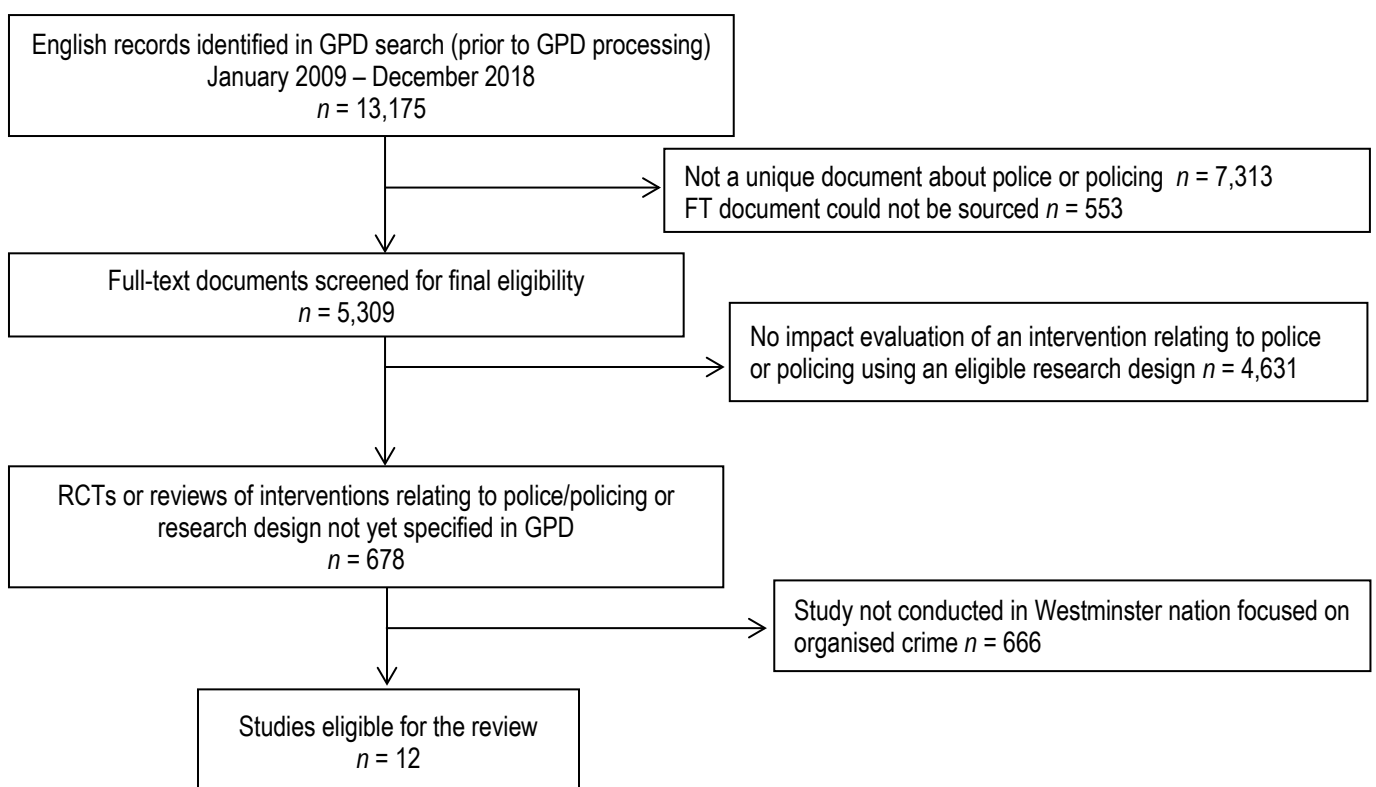
### 5.3 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between 2009 and 2018: mental\* OR psych\* OR suicid\*.

### 5.4 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 5.1. The search within

GPD identified 13,175 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 5,862 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their titles and abstract. A total of 5,361 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 553 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>7</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 488 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 158 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 520 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 158 RCTs and reviews were imported into SysReview to assess their eligibility for this review. Twelve of these 678 studies were evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on mental illness, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand.



**Figure 5.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and mental health screening**

## 5.5 Eligible Studies

This section synthesises the three RCTs identified by the GPD search and subsequent systematic screening, along with any eligible studies harvested from the nine scoping and/or systematic reviews.

### Reviews of Multiple Policing-Focused Interventions

Two reviews examined models of care for individuals with mental health concerns who come into contact with police. McKinnon et al. (2016) conducted a scoping review of research between 1980 – 2015 to identify health practices used during custody in the UK. Four studies included in the review

<sup>7</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.

involved police in some way. Of these four studies, one was captured by the 2009 – 2018 GPD search but had been excluded due to its lower quality research design. The other three studies were conducted prior to 2009, but upon examination were not quantitative impact evaluations. Chidgey and colleagues (2018) conducted a review of police responses to individuals displaying suicidal or self-harming behaviours, capturing 12 studies published between 2007 – 2017. Only two of these studies conducted in Westminster nations, both of which were captured by the GPD systematic search and not included in this review due to their lower quality research design. These reviews, along with reviews in other sections of this chapter, highlight the dearth of high-quality evidence for police responses to individuals experiencing mental health difficulties.

### Specialised Interviewing for Autism Spectrum Disorder

Context reinstatement refers to a strategy used to aid witnesses to recall memories in Cognitive Interviews, yet this widely accepted form of police interviewing may be ineffective for witnesses with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD). Maras and Bowler (2012) examined whether having an investigative interview in the same location of the event would affect memory recall of individuals with ASD in line with a context reinstatement procedure. Participants consisted of two groups: one group of adults in the United Kingdom (UK) formally diagnosed by qualified clinicians with ASD consisting of 23 males and five females ( $n = 28$ ), and comparison group of neurotypical individuals ( $n = 28$ ) consisting of 15 males and 13 females recruited through a local newspaper advertisement. For the purposes of this review, the comparisons between interview approaches among ASD participants is more valid for ascertaining effectiveness for either approach for individuals with ASD.

To test whether a change in room surroundings where participants viewed material would affect memory recall, the authors randomly assigned ASD participants ( $n = 14$ ) and comparison participants ( $n = 14$ ), matched by verbal IQ and age, to a 'same room' condition or 'different room' condition. The 'same room' condition consisted of participants being interviewed in the exact same room in which they viewed the material to memorise while the 'different room' condition consisted of a participants being interviewed in a notably different room in terms of location, size, and interior arrangement from which the material was initially seen. The material memorised by participants included four photographs depicting an 'everyday' scene which consisted of rich, quantifiable detail consisting of Persons, Actions, Surroundings, and Objects. Photographs were presented individually to participants for twenty seconds each via a Microsoft Office PowerPoint presentation on a 19" monitor. Each photograph was followed by a five second blank screen and seven second slide to instruct participants to take in everything occurring in the scene. Following viewing, participants were engaged with different tasks for one hour to avoid spontaneous context reinstatement.

Next, participants were interviewed individually for approximately ten minutes about their memory of the photographs depending on their assigned condition in either the same room or a different room in line with a context reinstatement procedure. This interview was conducted by the first author who had previously undertaken a Cognitive Interview training course provided by Surrey police and followed a standardised context reinstatement protocol as outlined by the Achieving Best Evidence guidelines (United Kingdom Home Office, 2007). All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and details recalled by participants were scored against an original transcript of the slides outlining the original photograph's units of details (any details reported by participants that were confirmed as present but not included in the original transcript were added). Each detail was further coded under the category of Person, Action, Surrounding, or Object. Details reported by participants were coded against the original transcript for the slides in order to confirm whether or not the detail reported by the participant was correct or an error, with one point given to each correct

unit of information in order to determine total number of correct details and errors. A second independent rater reviewed coding and transcripts, demonstrating good inter-rater reliability. Accuracy scores were calculated by dividing the number of correct details by the total units of details (both correct and incorrect) reported.

In terms of overall memory recall, the ASD participants assigned to the same room recalled greater correct and accurate details compared to ASD participants assigned to a different room. Of note is that ASD participants interviewed in the same room remembered as many details and as accurately as those in comparison groups. These findings suggest interviewing witnesses with ASD in the same place they witnessed the event or using a photograph of place as a context reinstatement aid could assist in detail recall.

Extending on the above study, Maras and colleagues (2014) examined the effectiveness of the Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> in facilitating memory recall over two points of time for high-functioning individuals with ASD. The Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> is an interviewing technique which involves participants completing a written booklet by themselves based upon Cognitive Interviewing mnemonics (memory aid techniques) related to context reinstatement to enhance memory recall. Participants formally diagnosed by qualified clinicians with 'high-functioning' ASD were recruited from autism support groups/societies and by word of mouth from the London and the South East area of the UK, consisting of 27 adult males and six females ( $n = 33$ ). Comparison participants were recruited through local newspaper advertisements, consisting of 26 men and nine women ( $n = 35$ ). Participants with ASD were matched to comparison participants on the basis of verbal IQ and age, and were randomly assigned to one of two interview conditions: use of a Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> booklet using context reinstatement mnemonics such as a sketch plan to recall an event, or use of a standard booklet designed to provide detail surrounding the events to recall an event (without mnemonics). For the purposes of this review, the comparisons between interview approaches among ASD participants is more valid for ascertaining effectiveness for either approach for individuals with ASD.

To test memory recall, participants were shown a video of a woman being attacked in a taxi cab. After 30 minutes of completing unrelated tasks, depending on their assigned conditions, participants were either given a Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> booklet or a standard booklet without memory aids to complete (time point one). After completion, participants were given an envelope containing a standard booklet and instructions to complete and return after one week's time (time point two). Participants assigned to the Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> condition were also provided evaluation questionnaires to complete after the standard booklet at time point two in order to discern which parts of the booklet were easy/difficult to complete and which parts (if any) were useful in aiding memory recall. To determine the overall number of correctly and incorrectly recalled details, each detail recalled by participants in their booklet was coded against a coding template of the video as either correct or incorrect, with each detail coded under the category of Person, Action, Surrounding, or Object. Each detail was only coded the first time it was mentioned – however for the sketch plan all details were coded for regardless of whether they were previously reported in order to allow for comparison between the sketch plan and written recall attempts. Accuracy scores were calculated by dividing the number of correct details by the total units of details reported. A second independent rater was utilised to review transcripts, having satisfactory inter-rater reliability.

Outcome measures were analysed at directly after and one week later<sup>8</sup>. A majority of ASD participants indicated that the Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> booklet had clear instructions and aided in helping participants put effort into remembering. However, the Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> booklet did not prompt the recall of more correct or accurate details from participants with ASD when compared to participants with ASD who completed the standard booklet without memory aids 30 minutes after viewing the mock crime. Within the Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> booklet, the sketch plan component did, to an extent, elicit more correct details from individuals with ASD when compared to the written sections, but with no associated increase in reported errors or reduction in accuracy. These findings suggest that Cognitive Interview mnemonics provided in a Self-Administered Interview<sup>©</sup> format may not necessarily be effective for witnesses with ASD, but other methods such as drawing may be useful in recalling details.

Table 5.1 and 5.2 below examine the two evaluation studies using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Both studies were conducted in a UK setting, yet one did not provide the specificity required to examine the population size and density (Maras & Bowler, 2012). The one that did provide a specific location was set in London, which has a much larger population size and population density than Auckland. However, given the interview is conducted with a known neurodevelopmental disorder with a known prevalence, it may be more important to ascertain police contact with ASD individuals in an interviewing context to assess the comparability of the study and Auckland settings. Based on the data reported in the two studies, the specialised interviewing approach would require specialised training and clear regulations for its use. Nothing is known about the cost-benefits of the interviewing approaches tested in the two included studies, and only limited information is known about factors that might moderate the effectiveness of the interview approach (e.g., characteristics of the individual's ASD presentation) or mechanism that might underpin the interview approach (e.g., context reinstatement).

---

<sup>8</sup> These results are not reported here as they compare participants with ASD and neurotypical participants, as so are not a valid comparison for determining if the Self-Administered Interview versus business-as-usual approach are effective for individuals with ASD.

**Table 5.1 Specialised Interviewing for Autism Spectrum Disorder (Maras and Bowler, 2012) in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	UK-based study: specific location not reported. Author received Cognitive Interview training (interview method applied to all participants) from the Surrey Police.	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	<p><b><u>United Kingdom</u></b> 66.796 million 248,532 km<sup>2</sup> 268.77 people per km<sup>2</sup></p> <p><b><u>Surrey</u></b> 1.189 million 1,663 km<sup>2</sup> 715.5 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>1.572 million 1,086 km<sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>United Kingdom:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Within the UK, England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland are regulated by their own legal systems.</li> <li>• There are some UK-wide agencies, which support the smaller, territorial police forces. These include the National Crime Agency, British Transport Police, and other specialised police forces.</li> <li>• Most law enforcement is carried out by territorial police (i.e. county-level regional police forces).</li> <li>• Territorial police are overseen by a Police and Crime Commissioner (publicly-elected official) and led by a chief constable, as well as other chief officers</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Surrey Police:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Territorial police service which attends to the county of Surrey.</li> <li>• Overseen by a Police and Crime Commissioner (publicly-elected official) and led by a chief constable and several other chief officers (covering Operations, Local Policing, and Specialist Crime).</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> </ul>



Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<p><b><i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</i></b></p>	<p><u><i>Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 (Part II)</i></u>: Special measures taken to ensure the protection of vulnerable (including youth) witnesses by the government. Subjected to phased implementation. Provisions for vulnerable witnesses include allowing video-recorded witness testimonies as opposed to live court appearances.</p> <p><u><i>Section 16, Youth Justice and Criminal Justice Act 1999</i></u>: Vulnerable witnesses are defined as children and witnesses whose quality of evidence may be impacted by a mental illness, social or intellectual impairment, and/or physical disability. The identification of vulnerable witnesses takes into account the witnesses' perception of their own ability/vulnerability status. Interviewing guidelines for vulnerable witnesses are stipulated by the Home Office.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul> <p><u><i>Mental Health (Compulsory Assessment and Treatment) Act (1992)</i></u>: Duly Authorised Officers (DAOs) are specialised frontline healthcare professionals. DAOs may call upon police assistance if required (e.g., if the DAO believes force may be required to enter a premises). Police (if entrusted to look after the patient during a period of leave) may return patients who escape or breach any condition of leave. Section 109 outlines police powers in public spaces. This includes in which situations police may take the person to another place (e.g., police station, hospital) and arrange for assistance from a DAO or medical practitioner, actions that can be taken by police depending on the medical practitioner's assessment of the person, and period of time police may detain the person for.</p> <p><u><i>Intellectual Disability (Compulsory Care and Rehabilitation) Act 2003</i></u>: Outlines police powers when dealing with incidences of individuals with an intellectual disability who have been charged with, or convicted of, an imprisonable offence. Section 109 sets out powers available in specific circumstances to the coordinator and police to admit or detain care recipients. Sections 112 and 113 outline the specified circumstances (e.g., requirement of warrant, emergency where the care recipient is endangering, or is at risk of endangering the health and safety of themselves or others) where coordinators/care managers may seek assistance from police to return a care recipient to a facility, or where police may exercise their powers in re-taking the care recipient with the ability to request assistance from the coordinator or care managers.</p>
<p><b><i>Nature of the problem area</i></b></p>	<p>The Cognitive Interview technique is taught to police interviewers in the United Kingdom, following the guidelines specified by the Home Office in "Achieving best evidence in criminal proceedings: Guidance on interviewing victims and witnesses, and using special measures". This technique is preferred for its ability to elicit more details from witnesses while maintaining recount accuracy.</p> <p>Although widely used throughout the UK, prior research found this</p>	<p>Auckland is characterised by a high volume of mental health demand with an average of 31 mental health events (one million total) occurring daily. This figure has steadily increased the past five years indicating a growing problem. Locally, the occurrence of mental health issues disproportionately affects populations such as the iwi Māori who have expressed that mental health is a major concern in their communities, and Pasifika peoples who carry a higher burden of mental health issues. Social issues such as a high rate of homelessness and socioeconomic</p>



Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
	<p>technique to be ineffective in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD). Previous findings showed that when using cognitive interviewing in this population, both the number of correct details provided and overall accuracy were reduced.</p>	<p>inequality exacerbate these issues.</p> <p>Challenges for service provision include a lack of support services and staff, lack of mental illness inter-agency collaborations, lack of interventions which address intersections of substance abuse and mental health, lack of legislation or legislative settings which enable police to appropriately respond, and delays in responding to lower priority mental health events.</p>
<p><b>Resources required to implement the intervention</b></p>	<p><b>Human Resources:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experts to train interviewers in Cognitive Interviewing.</li> <li>• Interviewers trained (or to be trained) in the cognitive interviewing technique.</li> </ul> <p><b>Multimedia Resources:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the experimental setting: to-be-remembered stimuli in the form of photographs of everyday scenes presented via Microsoft Office PowerPoint on a 19-inch computer monitor.</li> </ul> <p><b>Environmental Resources:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Space to conduct interviews which can be returned to: either the same room for repeated interviews (experimentally), or access to the location of the event which was witnessed (in real-world settings).</li> </ul>	<p>-</p>
<p><b>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</b></p>	<p>In the laboratory experimental setting it was feasible to interview participants in the same place where information was encoded (“Same Room” where the to-be-remembered scene was originally viewed), although in the event of an actual crime it may not be possible to return to the scene to gather witness statements at a later time.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p><b>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</b></p>	<p>For witnesses with ASD, returning to the same physical environment for interviewing where information was originally encoded facilitates the context reinstatement phase of cognitive interviewing. It enables them to report a similar amount of details with similar accuracy to witnesses without ASD.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p><b>Moderators impacting</b></p>	<p>None reported.</p>	<p>-</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>effectiveness</i>		
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	None reported.	-

**Table 5.2 Specialised Interviewing for Autism Spectrum Disorder (Maras et al., 2014) in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	London, United Kingdom	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	8.478 million 1,572 km <sup>2</sup> 5,432 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1.572 million 1,086 km <sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>City of London Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Territorial police responsible for the City of London, including the Inner and Middle Temples, with a headquarters in Guildhall.</li> <li>• The police authority is an elected Common Council.</li> <li>• 756 full time police officers, and further staff comprised off special constables, police community support officers, designated officers and support staff.</li> <li>• Five Basic Command Units (BCUs): Crime Directorate, Economic Crime Directorate, Uniformed Policing Directorate, Information and Intelligence Directorate and the Business Support and Chief Officer Directorates.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Metropolitan Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsible for policing the 32 London boroughs outside London.</li> <li>• Over 41,000 full time employees, including police officers, police staff, police community support officers, designated officers and special constables.</li> <li>• The police authority is the Commissioner of Police of the</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
	<p>Metropolis, who is accountable to the Queen, the mayor and the Home Office.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Five directorates that are each supervised by Assistant Commissioners: Specialist Operations, Met Operations, Frontline Police, Shared Support Services and the Directorate of Professionalism.</li> </ul> <p><i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</i></p> <p><u>Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 (Part II)</u>: Special measures taken to ensure the protection of vulnerable (including youth) witnesses by the government. Subjected to phased implementation. Provisions for vulnerable witnesses include allowing video-recorded witness testimonies as opposed to live court appearances.</p> <p><u>Section 16, Youth Justice and Criminal Justice Act 1999</u>: Vulnerable witnesses are defined as children and witnesses whose quality of evidence may be impacted by a mental illness, social or intellectual impairment, and/or physical disability. The identification of vulnerable witnesses takes into account the witnesses' perception of their own ability/vulnerability status. Interviewing guidelines for vulnerable witnesses are stipulated by the Home Office.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul> <p><u>Mental Health (Compulsory Assessment and Treatment) Act (1992)</u>: Duly Authorised Officers (DAOs) are specialised frontline healthcare professionals. DAOs may call upon police assistance if required (e.g., if the DAO believes force may be required to enter a premises). Police (if entrusted to look after the patient during a period of leave) may return patients who escape or breach any condition of leave. Section 109 outlines police powers in public spaces. This includes in which situations police may take the person to another place (e.g., police station, hospital) and arrange for assistance from a DAO or medical practitioner, actions that can be taken by police depending on the medical practitioner's assessment of the person, and period of time police may detain the person for.</p> <p><u>Intellectual Disability (Compulsory Care and Rehabilitation) Act 2003</u>: Outlines police powers when dealing with incidences of individuals with an intellectual disability who have been charged with, or convicted of, an imprisonable offence. Section 109 sets out powers available in specific circumstances to the coordinator and police to admit or detain care recipients. Sections 112 and 113 outline the specified circumstances (e.g., requirement of warrant, emergency where the care recipient is endangering, or is at risk of endangering the health and safety of themselves or others) where coordinators/care managers may seek assistance from police to return a care recipient to a facility, or where police may exercise their powers in re-taking the care recipient with the ability to request assistance from the coordinator or care managers.</p>
<p><i>Nature of the problem area</i></p>	<p>The nature of ASD puts people with this disorder at a heightened risk of victimisation. Sensory integration, attention difficulties, and memory difficulties may impact on a person with ASD with regards to their ability to provide accurate and detailed reports to police during</p>	<p>Auckland is characterised by a high volume of mental health demand with an average of 31 mental health events (one million total) occurring daily. This figure has steadily increased the past five years indicating a growing problem. Locally, the occurrence of mental health issues disproportionately affects populations such as the iwi Māori who have</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
	interviews.	<p>expressed that mental health is a major concern in their communities, and Pasifika peoples who carry a higher burden of mental health issues. Social issues such as a high rate of homelessness and socioeconomic inequality exacerbate these issues.</p> <p>Challenges for service provision include a lack of support services and staff, lack of mental illness inter-agency collaborations, lack of interventions which address intersections of substance abuse and mental health, lack of legislation or legislative settings which enable police to appropriately respond, and delays in responding to lower priority mental health events.</p>
<i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i>	<p><b><u>Multimedia Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-Administered Interview<sup>®</sup> booklet with instructions in sentence and bullet point forms. Five sections: “report all” section asking witness to write everything they remembered; recall detailed information on perpetrator (including on body diagram); “sketch plan” section asking witnesses to draw a layout of the scene; recall description of other persons present; and recall description of any vehicles present.</li> <li>• Envelope containing follow-up reporting booklet and prepaid return envelope to post it back to researchers.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Room in which to sit and complete the booklet.</li> </ul>	-
<i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i>	<b><u>Barrier:</u></b> The specific prompts may have led participants to guess the details that they were less sure of.	-
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	The Self-Administered Interview <sup>®</sup> is theorised as suitable for witnesses with ASD as it removes the social interaction normally present in an interview, provides a different sensory modality for witnesses, and allows witnesses to control the pace at which they recall information.	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	Characteristics of ASD diagnosis such as difficulties following complex linguistic directions or impaired executive functioning (e.g., working memory).	-

---

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	None reported.	-

---

## Crisis Intervention Team Models

The literature generally distinguishes between two main police responses to individuals experiencing mental health issues (Vigurs & Quay, 2017; Schucan Bird, Vigurs, & Quay, 2016): Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) and mental health co-responder (MHCR) models. The CIT model focuses primarily on training police to (a) identify individuals with mental health issues; (b) provide skills to manage and diffuse crisis situations; and (c) facilitate referrals and linkages to relevant services or treatment. It is important to note that the CIT model is intended to extend beyond training to include explicit partnership approaches with health services. However, many CIT evaluation studies focus only on the training component.

Taheri (2016) conducted a review of CIT models and their impact on a range of outcomes, including studies published between 1988 and 2013. The author included eight quasi-experiments in their review, with only one conducted in a Westminster nation (Australia). Six studies assessed the impact of CIT on arrests of individuals with a mental illness and a meta-analysis of these studies found that CIT had no significant impact on arrests of individuals with mental illness, although the results across the studies varied. Seven of the included studies assessed the impact of CIT on officer use of force and two on officer injury. A meta-analysis of the use of force studies with sufficient data ( $k = 5$ ) found that CIT had no significant impact on use of force outcomes compared to officers not trained in CIT ( $d = -0.301$ , 95% CI:  $-0.759, 0.149$ ,  $p = .191$ ), although the results across the studies varied which may have contributed to a lack of an overall effect in the desired direction. A meta-analysis of the two studies examining the impact of CIT on officer injuries was not possible due to data limitations, with either injury being rare or insufficiently reported<sup>9</sup>.

## Mental Health Co-Responder Models

In contrast to the CIT model, MHCR models partner mental health services and relevant practitioners with police to facilitate referrals to treatment for individuals with mental health issues who come in contact with police. One version of this approach is to co-locate police and mental health practitioners to facilitate onsite collaboration and support for individuals with mental health issues. Another version of this approach is active collaborative or linkages between police and mental health services, in the absence of physical co-location of practitioners. In this model, police and mental health practitioners work independently, but collaborate in specific ways to reduce mentally distressed individuals' disengagement with health services and engagement in the criminal justice system. For example, police consultation with mental health practitioners to assist with triaging and diverting of individuals presenting with mental health issues upon contact with police.

In 2020, Eggins and colleagues reviewed MHCR models and their impact on a range of outcomes, including: criminal justice outcomes for those with mental health issues; referrals to other services; demand or use of agency resources; perceptions of police, perceptions of MHCR models (police and other stakeholders); police and stakeholder perceptions, knowledge and/or attitudes about mental illness and/or individuals with mental illness; and adverse events. All of the 2009 – 2018 studies captured by Eggins et al. (2020) were captured by the GPD systematic search for the current review<sup>10</sup>, however only four were conducted in Westminster nations either represented as individual studies or reported within a review captured by the GPD search. Of these four studies, all were lower quality quasi-experimental designs not eligible for this review.

---

<sup>9</sup> See also Dewa et al. (2018) who conduct a review of pre-diversionary programs and include studies synthesised by Taheri (2016). All four of their included studies were conducted in the United States and are not eligible for this review.

<sup>10</sup> Kane et al., (2017); Kane et al., (2018); Heilbrun et al. (2012); Parker et al. (2018); Puntis et al. (2018).

## EMMIE Analysis for CIT and MHCR Models

In their review of police pre-arrest diversion for people with mental health problems, Schucan Bird et al. (2016) conducted an EMMIE analysis of CIT and MHCR models. Their findings are summarised in Table 5.3 below. This evidence was presented in a qualitative narrative format and provides tentative findings and hypotheses from quasi-experimental research. The authors consider a range of factors for each domain, and do not provide an overarching ‘best practice’ framework for implementing CIT or MHCR models. The themes below should be interpreted with caution as they have not been explicitly tested by study authors.

**Table 5.3 Summary of EMMIE analysis findings presented in Schucan Bird et al. (2016)**

Domain	Schucan Bird et al. (2016) Findings
<b>Mechanisms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enabling police to take appropriate action (e.g., by improving skills and attitudes around mental health and diversion programs, developing services that are easily accessible to police, or educating police on existence of and procedures for diversion).</li> <li>• Monitoring compliance of participants adherence to treatment recommendations.</li> <li>• Specialist and empathetic response to persons with mental health problems which may facilitate connections with services.</li> <li>• Early interception: the Sequential Intercept Model implies that early intervention is a mechanism through which diversion can improve outcomes for people with mental illness.</li> </ul>
<b>Moderators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Characteristics of intervention providers:</b> police officer demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, age, training and years of service), attitudes and experiences may moderate decision to refer people to mental health services.</li> <li>• <b>Characteristics of the people with mental health issues:</b> many demographic characteristics of participants are discussed as potential moderators. These may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Protective demographic moderators may include: older age, non-White and non-Hispanic ethnicity, obtainment of a high school diploma, employment, stable housing, and not using drugs.</li> <li>○ Police may be more likely to refer more severe mental health cases to diversion.</li> <li>○ Treatment effectiveness may be moderated by willingness to accept treatment.</li> <li>○ Prior contact with the criminal justice system as well as age at first prior arrest.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Implementation</b>	<p><b>Facilitators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multi-agency collaboration in the delivery of the intervention: including established legal foundations for diversion, information sharing, mutual understanding of the daily experience of working with people who are mentally ill.</li> <li>• Supporting the uptake of treatment and services: police understanding of and support for assisting people to undertake treatment.</li> </ul> <p><b>Barriers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police lack of awareness and acceptance of pre-arrest diversions: referral program should be a part of standard operating procedures to address this.</li> <li>• Difficulties for police officers making referrals (e.g., referral service is slow, does not have dedicated support staff, or does not operate 24/7).</li> </ul>
<b>Economics</b>	<p><b>Police-led Crisis Intervention Teams:</b> two studies summarised by Schucan Bird et al. examined the cost effectiveness of CIT. Findings suggest that diversion may have higher direct costs in the short term (£4,147 higher per client at 3 months), but lower costs in the longer term (£2,240 lower per client at 2 years). Direct costs accounted for in these models included resource use in the courts, public defenders’ and prosecutors’ offices, prisons, police, and mental health treatment (including inpatient, residential and outpatient treatment in both community and prison). Notably both studies indicate cost saving for the criminal justice system but higher costs for the health care system. The total cost of pre-arrest diversion may overall be more costly than post-arrest diversion. One study found that 90% of the pre-arrest diversion costs were incurred by the health care system whereas the majority of post-arrest diversion costs were incurred by the criminal justice system.</p> <p><b>Mental health co-response models:</b> two studies summarised by Schucan Bird et al. examined the</p>

---

**Domain****Schucan Bird et al. (2016) Findings**

---

cost effectiveness of co-responding models. Both studies found that the overall costs of implementation (e.g., police time spent on program delivery, mental health professional time spent on delivery, police equipment, ambulance use, and direct health care costs such as use of psychiatric hospitals) were lower than business-as-usual treatment. This included savings to direct health care costs. For example, one study found diversion equated to a lower cost per client (£445 lower), but also that higher incremental direct costs (by £393) for implementation were offset but £847 lower direct health care costs compared with the business-as-usual group.

---



## Specialised Police Training

One review and one RCT examined the effectiveness of specialised training for police in the context of responding to individuals experiencing mental health difficulties. Booth and colleagues (2018) conducted a systematic search of literature conducted from 1995 to identify studies assessing the impact of training interventions for police and other practitioners coming into contact with individuals with mental health difficulties. Of the 19 studies included in the review, only two were conducted in Westminster nations but were ineligible for this review due to lower quality research designs.

Scantlebury et al. (2017) conducted an RCT of specialised mental health training for officers in the United Kingdom. The one-day training program was designed in collaboration with the National Health Service, delivered by mental health professionals, with an audio-visual content providing input and perspectives of mental services and other relevant agencies. Twelve police stations were randomly assigned to either receive the specialised training ( $n = 6$ ) or routine training ( $n = 6$ ). The authors found that the specialised training and routine training police stations did not differ six months after the intervention in terms of the number of police incidents referred to the central control room or number of individuals with a warning marker for mental health. However, the authors did find that the number of incidences with a generic marker (tag) for mental health was significantly higher in the police stations receiving the specialised training. The authors concluded that although the training did not appear to reduce the incident-level demand, the training may improve the way police record data about individuals they have contact with who display symptoms of mental illness.

Table 5.3 below examines the Scantlebury et al. (2017) study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Scantlebury et al. (2017) evaluation of the specialised mental health training for police was implemented in a UK setting with much lower population density than Auckland. However, the organisational structure of police, nature of the mental health impacts of police practice, and regulatory frameworks appear quite similar between the UK study setting and Auckland. This suggests that the implementation of this type of training intervention might not be overly impacted by key contextual considerations. However, very little is known about the cost-benefits of the intervention, the moderators that could impact effectiveness of the intervention, or the theoretical mechanisms thought to underpin effectiveness.

**Table 5.4 Specialised Police Training in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	North Yorkshire, England	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	824,054 8,654 km <sup>2</sup> 134 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1.572 million 1,086 km <sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>North Yorkshire Police:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consists of 39 police stations operating within 6 Safer Neighbourhood Command areas.</li> <li>• Led by a Chief Officer Team, consisting of a Chief Constable, a Deputy Chief Constable, and 2 Assistant Chief Constables, and overseen by an elected commissioner – the North Yorkshire Police, Fire and Crime Commissioner.</li> <li>• Employs over 3,000 people, including police officers, police staff, community support officers, special constables, and support volunteers.</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>
<i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping</i>	<u><i>Mental Health Act 1983:</i></u> Provides police with the powers to remove and detain a mentally ill person if they appear to be in immediate need of	<u><i>Mental Health (Compulsory Assessment and Treatment) Act (1992):</i></u> Duly Authorised Officers (DAOs) are specialised frontline healthcare

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>the intervention</i>	<p>care or control, or for the interests of that person or protection of other people. If possible, the constable must first consult a medical or mental health professional prior to moving the person to a place of safety (e.g., police station).</p> <p>North Yorkshire Police policy is to partner with the National Health Service and other agencies to improve their response to mental health. Initiatives implemented include Street Triage Teams, Force Control Room mental health triage nurses, mental health training for frontline officers, and partnerships with charities.</p>	<p>professionals. DAOs may call upon police assistance if required (e.g., if the DAO believes force may be required to enter a premises). Police (if entrusted to look after the patient during a period of leave) may return patients who escape or breach any condition of leave. Section 109 outlines police powers in public spaces. This includes in which situations police may take the person to another place (e.g., police station, hospital) and arrange for assistance from a DAO or medical practitioner, actions that can be taken by police depending on the medical practitioner's assessment of the person, and period of time police may detain the person for.</p>
<i>Nature of the problem area</i>	<p>The College of Policing in the UK has identified that in England and Wales, 15% to 20% of police time is spent on issues that are linked to individuals with mental illness.</p>	<p>Auckland is characterised by a high volume of mental health demand with an average of 31 mental health events (one million total) occurring daily. This figure has steadily increased the past five years indicating a growing problem. Locally, the occurrence of mental health issues disproportionately affects populations such as the iwi Māori who have expressed that mental health is a major concern in their communities, and Pasifika peoples who carry a higher burden of mental health issues. Social issues such as a high rate of homelessness and socioeconomic inequality exacerbate these issues.</p> <p>Challenges for service provision include a lack of support services and staff, lack of mental illness inter-agency collaborations, lack of interventions which address intersections of substance abuse and mental health, lack of legislation or legislative settings which enable police to appropriately respond, and delays in responding to lower priority mental health events.</p>
<i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i>	<p><b><u>Human Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qualified and experienced mental health professionals to deliver the training (number of trainers per session not specified).</li> <li>• University of York researchers developed intervention in conjunction with mental health professionals.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Multimedia Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lecture-style sessions, small group break-out discussions.</li> <li>• Short films of scenarios and with experts. Talking head videos with 11 partner agencies and mental health services.</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<b><u>Environmental Resources:</u></b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Classroom setting.</li> </ul>		
<b><i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i></b>	A barrier to the evaluation was that researchers could not control whether officers from control or treatment stations attended incidents, and officers from both groups may have attended the same incident, making it hard to assess treatment effect.	-
<b><i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i></b>	Increasing the knowledge of frontline officers through training is theorised to reduce the probability that an individual would be involved in multiple incidents.	-
<b><i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i></b>	None reported.	-
<b><i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i></b>	None reported.	-

## 5.6 References

- Booth, A., Scantlebury, A., Hughes-Morley, A., Mitchell, N., Wright, K., Scott, W., & McDaid, C. (2017). Mental health training programmes for non-mental health trained professionals coming into contact with people with mental ill health: A systematic review of effectiveness. *BMC Psychiatry*, *17*(196). doi:10.1186/s12888-017-1356-5
- Chidgey, K., Procter, N., Baker, A., & Grech, C. (2018). Police response to individuals displaying suicidal or self-harming behaviours: An integrative review. *Health and Social Care in the Community*. doi: 10.1111/hsc.12668
- Dewa, C. S., Loong, D., Trujillo, A., & Bonato, S. (2018). Evidence for the effectiveness of police-based pre-booking diversion programs in decriminalising mental illness: A systematic literature review. *PloS one*, *13*(6), e0199368.
- Heilbrun, K., DeMatteo, D., Yasuhara, K., Brooks-Holliday, S., Shah, S., King, C., ... & Laduke, C. (2012). Community-based alternatives for justice-involved individuals with severe mental illness: Review of the relevant research. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, *39*, 351–419.
- Kane, E., Evans, E., & Shokraneh, F. (2017). Effectiveness of current policing-related mental health interventions in England and Wales and Crisis Intervention Teams as a future potential model: A systematic review. *Systematic Reviews*, *6*(85). doi:10.1186/s13643-017-0478-7
- Kane, E., Evans, E., & Shokraneh, F. (2018). Effectiveness of current policing-related mental health interventions: A systematic review. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, *28*(2), 108–119.
- Maras, K. L., & Bowler, D. M. (2012). Context reinstatement effects on eyewitness memory in autism spectrum disorder. *British Journal of Psychology*, *103*(3), 330–342.
- Maras, K. L., Mulcahy, S., Memon, A., Picariello, F., & Bowler, D. M. (2014). Evaluating the effectiveness of the Self-Administered Interview© for witnesses with Autism Spectrum Disorder. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *28*(5), 693–701.
- McKinnon, I. G., Thomas, S. D., Noga, H. L., & Senior, J. (2016). Police custody health care: a review of health morbidity, models of care and innovations within police custody in the UK, with international comparisons. *Risk Management and Healthcare Policy*, *9*, 213–226.
- Parker, A., Scantlebury, A., Booth, A., MacBryde, J. C., Scott, W. J., Wright, K., & McDaid, C. (2018). Interagency collaboration models for people with mental ill health in contact with the police: A systematic scoping review. *BMJ Open*, *8*(3), e019312.
- Puntis, S., Perfect, D., Kirubarajan, A., Bolton, S., Davies, F., Hayes, A., ... & Molodynski, A. (2018). A systematic review of co-responder models of police mental health ‘street’ triage. *BMC Psychiatry*, *18*(1), 256–267.
- Scantlebury, A., Fairhurst, C., Booth, A., McDaid, C., Moran, N., Parker, A., ... & Hewitt, C. (2017). Effectiveness of a training program for police officers who come into contact with people with mental health problems: A pragmatic randomised controlled trial. *PLOS One*, *12*(9), e0184377. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0184377
- Schucan Bird, K., Vigurs, C., Quy, K., & Shemilt, I. (2016). *Police pre-arrest diversion of people with mental health issues: A systematic review of the impacts on crime and mental health*. What works: Crime reduction systematic review series, No. 7. London: EPPI Centre.
- Taheri, S. A. (2016). Do Crisis Intervention Teams reduce arrests and improve officer safety? A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *27*(1), 76–96.
- Vigurs, C., & Quy, K. (2017). *Police responses to people with mental health needs: a systematic map of the literature*. What works: Crime reduction systematic review series, No. 6. London: EPPI Centre.

# Policing Youth Crime and Delinquency

---

## 5.7 Introduction

While misbehaviour is considered a normal part of adolescence, for some youth, this can escalate to delinquency and crime. Police can play a role in responding to youth delinquency, whether it be corrective, to limit future involvement in the criminal justice system, or to reduce a young person's future crimes (Wilson, Brennan, & Olaghery, 2018). We identified three randomised controlled trials and one systematic review (reported in 9 documents) that assessed the effectiveness of policing interventions for youth crime and delinquency in Westminster nations.

## 5.8 Defining Policing Interventions for Youth Crime and Delinquency

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to, reducing, or preventing youth crime or delinquency. A focus on youth crime or delinquency was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated a focus on youth crime or delinquency, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of youth crime and delinquency (see below), used youth offenders or youth at-risk of offending as the study sample, or if it used youth crime and delinquency-related variables as the outcome measure.

### What is youth crime and delinquency?

For the purposes of this review, a youth is defined as any individual under the age of 18 years. We considered youth who are delinquents or at-risk of delinquency or offending to be individuals with recorded contact with the criminal justice system (either official or self-report), labelled as such by study authors, or conceptualised as at-risk for antisocial behaviour by study authors.

## 5.9 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between 2009 and 2018: adolescen\* OR delinquen\* OR juvenile\* OR minor\* OR teen\* OR young OR youth\*.

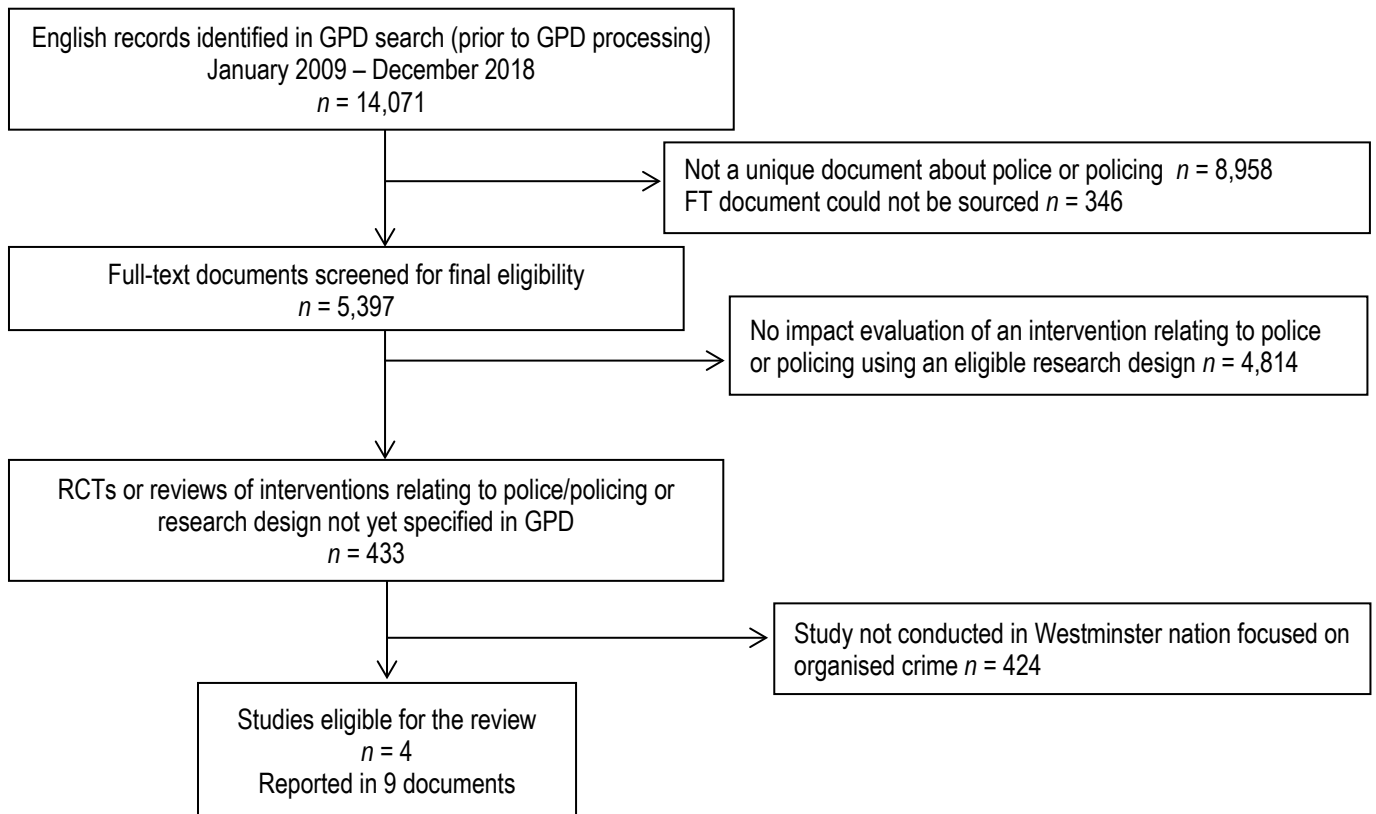
## 5.10 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 6.1. The search within GPD identified 14,071 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 5,743 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their titles and abstract. A total of 5,342 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 351 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>11</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 575 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 118 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 315 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 118 RCTs and reviews were imported into SysReview to assess their eligibility for this review. Four of these 433 studies (reported in 9 unique documents) were evaluations of

---

<sup>11</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.

interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on organised crime, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand. One of these eligible studies is synthesised in Chapter 7, as although it focuses on youth gangs, it was deemed important to highlight in the eligible studies for organised crime (Densley et al., 2017). Of note is that one rigorous Campbell Collaboration systematic review on police-initiated diversion did not locate any studies in Westminster nations (Wilson, Brennan, & Olaghere, 2018).



**Figure 6.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and youth crime and delinquency screening**



## 5.11 Eligible Studies

### Ability School Engagement Program (ASEP)

Addressing truancy in adolescence is critical in curtailing poor educational outcomes and associated negative consequences such as unemployment, substance abuse and delinquent behaviour. In Brisbane (Australia) The Queensland Police Service (QPS) had identified a truancy problem that they believed was often associated with youth antisocial behaviour. As a result, the QPS collaborated with researchers at the University of Queensland to design and evaluation an intervention to generate greater awareness and compliance with truancy regulations and laws by students and their parents. The ASEP intervention was developed using a Third Party Policing theoretical framework and involved a partnership between QPS and the Department of Education, Training and Employment and was evaluated using a randomised controlled trial, the results of which are reported in a series of journal articles (Bennett et al., 2018; Cardwell et al., 2019; Mazerolle et al., 2017a, Mazerolle et al., 2017b, Mazerolle et al., 2019).

Participants were recruited between October 2011 and May 2013 from 11 schools in one school district in a highly disadvantaged metropolitan area in Queensland, Australia. Eligible participants were aged between 10 to 16 years, had a school attendance rate  $\leq 85\%$  in the last 30 weeks and had no legitimate excuse for their absences. Participants were randomised to the control condition ( $n = 51$ ) or the experimental condition ( $n = 51$ ). Students allocated to the control condition received the business-as-usual response which involved sending warning letters, the school principal meeting with the parents of the student, and in rare circumstances, referrals for prosecution. Students in this condition also received a resource packet with information about social service resources. Students allocated to the experimental condition participated in the ASEP program. The first phase of the ASEP intervention involved a Family Group Conference (FGC) including the truanting student, the parents of the truanting student, a school representative and a uniformed police officer. The FGC was run by a trained conference facilitator with experience in group conferencing for youth justice or child protection cases. The FGC followed restorative justice principles and began with the facilitator gaining an understanding of the student's truancy and reasons for engaging in this behaviour. The facilitator would then ask relevant participants to explain how they have been impacted by the student's truancy. This was followed by developing an action plan and a discussion about legal consequences to the parents and the student if truancy continues. The second phase of the intervention involved monitoring of the action plan by the ASEP police officer for approximately six months. On average, the ASEP police officer would have nine follow-up contacts with the student and their parents. The third phase of the intervention involved an exit meeting approximately 6 months after the initial conference to review the student's school attendance and make amendments to the student's action plan if required. Baseline measures were taken pre-intervention and participants were interviewed four times post intervention at three months, six months, one year and two years.

Mazerolle et al. (2017a) examined the effect of the ASEP intervention on school attendance and students willingness to attend school. Based on data official collected from the education department, the authors found that small to medium effect size indicating that the number of unauthorised absences six months after randomisation were significantly lower for ASEP participants (19.837 days) compared to business-as-usual participants (23.574 days). This same pattern of results was not found for self-reported truancy, however, the survey question regarding levels of self-reported truancy only enquired about the previous four weeks and so may not be a comprehensive assessments of truancy over the evaluation follow-up period. Face-to-face follow-up surveys with



the students six-months post-intervention indicated that ASEP students reported more attempts to attend school and greater likelihood of addressing reasons for non-attendance compared to students in the control condition. However, the authors found no meaningful difference between the experimental and control group in students' perceptions of the usefulness of the intervention in decreasing truancy.

Mazerolle et al. (2017b) assessed the impact of the ASEP intervention on parental perceptions of the likelihood of prosecution (as per regulations in Queensland), and whether this affected student's willingness to attend school. The authors found that although the experimental and control participants were not significantly different prior to randomisation to either condition, they significantly differed in their ratings after exposure to their respective treatments. Specifically, the ASEP model produced a significant increase in parental awareness of legal responsibility to ensure their child attends school from baseline to three months post-intervention. Yet, no statistically significant change was observed in the control condition. Further, students assigned to the experimental condition reported an increase in efforts to attend school six months post-intervention when parents believed prosecution for truancy was likely. That is, Mazerolle et al. (2017b) found a moderating effect of parental awareness of legal responsibility and belief that prosecution for non-attendance was likely on student willingness to attend school.

Bennett et al. (2017) investigated the impact of the ASEP intervention on subsequent offending behaviour. Based on official data from the Queensland Police Records and Information Database (QPRIME) from January 2001 to February 2015, they found that while there was no significant difference between the ASEP participants and control participants. However, the authors found a significant interaction effect whereby the ASEP and control participants differed in their offending behaviour over time. Specifically, students in the ASEP condition displayed a non-significant downward trend in their offending behaviour over time, yet students in the control condition showed a significant increase in their offending behaviour over time.

Mazerolle et al. (2019) assessed the effects of the ASEP intervention on self-reported antisocial behaviour. Longitudinally, self-reported antisocial behaviour in the experimental group decreased by 29% per time point, reaching 58% by the two-year follow-up. Conversely, there was no statistically significant change in self-reported antisocial behaviour for students in the control group. Therefore, as opposed to those in the control condition, students in the ASEP condition reported a greater decrease in self-reported antisocial behaviour over the five time points. Further modelling of effect sizes indicates that, at both Time 4 and 5, mean levels of antisocial behaviour were lower in the ASEP condition than the control condition (Cohen's  $d = -0.19$  at Time 4 and  $-0.27$  at Time 5). This translates to a small, significant effect of the intervention on self-reported antisocial behaviour. The authors also explore the moderating effect of willingness to attend school on self-reported antisocial behaviour. Results of these analyses suggested that greater willingness to go to school was only associated with lower rates of self-reported antisocial behaviour for students in the experimental condition and not the control condition.

Finally, Cardwell et al. (2019) examined whether participation in the ASEP intervention decreased the effect of self-reported impulsivity on antisocial behaviour over time. Results show that control group participants scoring in the top 25% on the measure of impulsivity (i.e., those with greater impulsivity) were over 4 times more likely to report more antisocial behaviour, compared with those in the control group who scored below the top 25% on impulsivity. The same relationship was not found for the experimental group, with the authors suggesting that the ASEP intervention may have tempered the effect of impulsivity on antisocial behaviour. Introducing an interaction term into the

model, the authors found no effect of impulsivity on change in antisocial behaviour for either group over time.

Table 6.1 below examines the ASEP studies study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. The ASEP intervention was implemented and evaluated in Brisbane, Australia, which has a larger population than Auckland, but lower population density. The organisational structure of policing, regulatory frameworks for truancy, and characteristics of truancy appear similar in both settings. This suggests that the ASEP model may be transportable to the Auckland context, even more so due to the established FGC approach in New Zealand in the context of child welfare. Substantial detail has been reported for the ASEP model's implementation process, moderators of effects, and its theoretical underpinnings. This information enables fidelity of implementation in other settings, a crucial factor for replicating effects.

**Table 6.1 ASEP Family Group Conferencing for Truancy in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Brisbane, Queensland, Australia	-
<i>Population size,</i>	2.24 million	1.572 million
<i>size of geographical</i>	15,826 km <sup>2</sup>	1,086 km <sup>2</sup>
<i>setting (km<sup>2</sup>),</i>		
<i>population density</i>	140 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>Queensland Police Service</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Centralised at the state level with a hierarchical rank structure and separate segments for different regions.</li> <li>Responsible for policing state laws, and will defer to the Australian Federal Police in cases subject to federal law.</li> <li>The Commissioner of Police is appointed by the Queensland Governor in Council.</li> <li>Employs approximately 15,080 employees, comprising of 11,110 police officers and recruits and 3,970 staff members.</li> <li>In Brisbane, the city is divided into two policing districts (North Brisbane District and South Brisbane District). Within these districts, there are ten patrol groups (6 in north and 4 in south).</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>
<i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping</i>	<i>Truancy laws in Queensland:</i> Structured as regulatory laws, involving a system of graduated sanctions, ranging from low intensity responses	Auckland police culture is one of early intervention and takes a holistic view of youth offenders, considering a youth offender in the 'context of

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>the intervention</i>	(educating parents about responsibilities, warning letters to parents) to more punitive responses (prosecution), aiming to coerce compliance.	<p>their life’ and promoting building family relationships. Auckland police partner with a number of organisations that facilitate early intervention and alternate resolutions (Marae, Iwi and community panels, Blue Light) and support specialist teams such as Youth Aid, and Youth Engagement Officers.</p> <p>The <i>Education and Training Act 2020</i> outlines that school boards must take all reasonable steps ensure students attend school. School boards must provide support to students if attendance issues arise. Parents or guardians are legally responsible for their child’s attendance at school, and may be fined or in rare circumstance, prosecuted, for truancy.</p> <p>In 2017 the Auckland Police Service implemented a short-term, intensive intervention to target youth truancy. They introduced targeted patrols in locations known to attract truanting youth, in order to deter truancy and increase school attendance, thereby improving education outcomes and reducing crime.</p>
<i>Nature of the problem area</i>	<p><u>Target school characteristics:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 of the targeted schools fell below the average score on the Community Socio-educational Advantage index.</li> <li>• 9 of the targeted schools were considered Low Socio-economic National Partnership Schools.</li> <li>• 6 of the targeted schools were identified as substantially lower than the national average on most domains of literacy and numeracy.</li> </ul> <p><u>Area characteristics:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Almost 50% of families in the area had no working parent, and almost 40% were receiving welfare benefits.</li> <li>• Youth in the school district were involved with the criminal justice system at a high rate.</li> <li>• One of the most highly disadvantaged metropolitan areas of Brisbane.</li> </ul>	<p>There is a larger proportion of youth under 25 in Auckland than in the rest of New Zealand, with a forecasted 24% of the population being younger than 19 by 2028. Currently, 31% of offences are committed by youth aged 15-24.</p> <p>Auckland City Education Services received 1,936 referrals of truanting youth in 2019. Māori are overrepresented in truancy referrals and account for approximately 38% of referrals. Forty-eight percent of truancy referrals cited social issues (e.g., unstable home environments and family transience) as the reason for truanting. Regular school attendance was down nationwide in New Zealand from 64% in 2018 to 58% in 2019.</p>
<i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i>	<p><u>Human Resources:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One or more uniformed police representatives (ASEP officers to work with facilitator and school, bring participating families together for conferences, and to monitor the compliance of all</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
	<p>involved with the action plan for 6 months).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One or more education representatives (e.g., school staff).</li> <li>• A trained ASEP facilitator (to conduct/coordinate family group conferences).</li> <li>• The student who is truanting, and their family member/s.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Procedurally just script/discussion plan for conferences, covering:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The legal consequences for noncompliance with the action plan/for ongoing truancy (escalating consequences, prosecution, etc.) as per the local legislation regarding truancy and the responsibilities of families and students.</li> <li>• The effects of truanting behaviour.</li> <li>• The factors that contribute to truancy – which can be identified and addressed through referral to relevant services or through provision of targeted support.</li> <li>• A framework on which to develop and agree upon a child-focused action plan.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Information Access/Technology:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ongoing monitoring of the school attendance of the student, accessible by the police officer who is monitoring compliance (i.e. Sustained communication channels between the school and assigned ASEP police officer).</li> <li>• Telephone communication between the involved parties.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A mutually agreed upon location to host the family group conference (e.g., room at the school or library meeting room).</li> </ul>	
<p><b><i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i></b></p>	<p><b><u>Facilitators:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School staff members who were dedicated for 3 years to the team/project assisted in ensuring treatment fidelity. Schools alone may have limited resources, so a facilitator to successful implementation is a joint project delivery.</li> <li>• Mutual goals are a facilitator to successful partnership.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Barriers:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The specific focus of ASEP meant that solving some students'</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	<p>issues related to truancy was outside of the scope of implementation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The project was short term, and longer term contact may be needed to show positive effects after 2+ years.</li> <li>• Careful monitoring was required to ensure that experimental conditions were implemented correctly.</li> <li>• Unknown confounders (e.g., change in teacher) may have influenced results.</li> </ul> <p>Uses theory of Third Party Policing to guide mechanisms for intervention. This theory suggests that police "motivate partners through communicating legal responsibilities and the concomitant consequences for noncompliance" (p. 796). Police mobilise the third party's legal powers which are seen to be useful for controlling crime, thus increasing the deterrence of crime/delinquency/disorder.</p> <p>Uses theory of procedural justice (trust/respect/voice/neutrality) to build legitimacy with participants.</p>	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	<p>Adult (parent) awareness of the likelihood of prosecution for school nonattendance moderated student willingness to go to school.</p> <p>Willingness to attend school moderated self-reported antisocial behaviour over time.</p> <p>Impulsivity may moderate self-reported antisocial behaviour.</p>	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	Not reported.	-

## Youth Waiver Forms

Young offenders are a vulnerable population who often struggle to comprehend their rights and responsibilities when being cautioned or arrested by police, and these legal parameters are commonly presented in the form of waiver forms. A randomised controlled trial by Eastwood and colleagues (2015) evaluated the extent to which checking for understanding influenced the comprehension of youth waiver forms commonly utilised by local Canadian police organisations in a sample of youth aged between 15 and 17 years ( $M = 16.03$  years, 48% Male). Participants in the study were exposed to a series of waiver forms and recorded the extent to which they understood the contained legal conditions at differing time points. Students sampled from local high schools ( $N = 32$ ) were randomly assigned to either check waiver understanding following exposure to each waiver section or to check understanding following exposure to the entire waiver. Understanding was measured through text responses describing the legal requirements contained within the waiver and by a simple yes or no checkbox.

Both experimental conditions were prepared and delivered through Visual Basic 5.0 software, and participants' perceived waiver comprehension and free recall of waiver contents were recorded within the software throughout exposure to either set of waivers. Pairs of students completed the experiment concurrently, following admission of informed consent, and each of these pairs were divided to form the experimental and control groups. Participants who were assigned to check waiver understanding after exposure to each section demonstrated significantly greater comprehension of the legal requirements than those who were only required to check understanding following exposure to the entire waiver. Generally, no participant in either condition reported being able to comprehend more than 85% of the waiver contents, and only 22% of the sample comprehended over 50% of the waiver contents. These findings suggest that systematically checking for understanding throughout the delivery of a legal waiver to young offenders may increase the comprehension of the contents and provide a more equitable understanding of legal requirements and conditions. However, this beneficial effect of sectioned comprehension checks was weak, and inconsistent from waiver to waiver. Of note is that the high school student sample utilised may lack generalisability, in that young offenders may exhibit lower comprehension skills than the general high school population. However, the general lack of understanding across conditions in such a general sample highlights the need for further development of youth waivers so that they are more readily understood.

A subsequent randomised controlled trial by Eastwood and colleagues (2016) further examined the comprehension of youth waivers in a sample of Canadian high school students sampled from grades 9 through 11 ( $N = 367$ ). Participants were randomly assigned in a classroom setting to read one of three youth waivers, and then answer multiple choice questions and provide free recall information regarding the contents and implications of the waiver. The participating students provided personal and parental consent before initiation of the experiment. The three waivers consisted of the original waiver form previously utilized by Canadian authorities, a simplified form that has replaced the original waiver in most Canadian jurisdictions, and a form created by the authors that was designed to be highly comprehensible for young people (novel form). The novel form was the most readily understood, followed by the simplified form and then the original form which yielded the lowest recall. A greater proportion of participants who demonstrated perfect recall of waiver details were in the novel form condition (74.07%) than in the simplified form (22.22%) or original form (3.7%) conditions. These benefits were more prominent for contents regarding free legal advice, lawyer presence and right to silence, but less pronounced for contacting a lawyer or an adult for support. Participants exposed to the simplified form did recall significantly more incorrect details than those

exposed to the original form, however the authors note that this effect size was small. The novel form elicited the least incorrect details recalled of the three waivers. The simplified and constructed forms elicited greater recognition of interrogation rights, and were associated with lower rates of omission of rights in recall. Approximately half (46.87%) of the entire sample demonstrated full recognition of the rights and responsibilities contained in the waiver. The findings emphasise the utility of modified youth waiver forms for enhancing the equitable processing of young offenders. The benefits of the simplified waiver form, and even more pronounced strengths of the author constructed waiver form, demonstrate that the communication of legal rights and responsibilities can be continually refined and enhanced. As in the prior study by Eastwood and colleagues (2015), the generalisability of findings from a general high school sample to a vulnerable population like young offenders is problematic. The benefits of a simplified waiver for understanding may be less pronounced or non-existent when evaluated utilising a vulnerable population of young offenders, and needs further examination. The work of Eastwood and colleagues (2015, 2016) demonstrates the potential for greater waiver comprehension through slight changes to the method of waiver delivery and the way in which waivers are structured.

Table 6.2 below examines the two youth waiver form studies using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Both studies were conducted in Canada in locations with differing population sizes to Auckland, yet with smaller population densities. The studies report little information about the nature of the crime problem leading to the intervention, at that point in time, which means that it is difficult to compare the settings in terms of the nature of the problem. No information is reported about cost-benefits, and the mechanisms underpinning intervention effectiveness and moderators of intervention effects are only theorised rather than tested by the study authors. Although there is no regulatory framework in Auckland that explicitly details youth waiver forms, the existing legislative structure may be amendable to a change to regulate this approach in New Zealand.



**Table 6.2 Youth Waiver Forms in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Montreal, Canada Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	<p><b><u>Montreal:</u></b> 1.705 million 431 km<sup>2</sup> 890.2 people per km<sup>2</sup></p> <p><b><u>Newfoundland and Labrador:</u></b> 519, 716 370,514km<sup>2</sup> 1.4 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>1.572 million 1,086 km<sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>City of Montreal Police Service</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Municipal police, 4,600 officers, 1,600 general staff.</li> <li>• 3 stations across 4 geographical zones: East, West, North, South</li> <li>• Units including: K9 section, Mounted unit, Nautical patrol, Crisis management, Strategic planning, Emergency Response Team (SWAT), Forensics, Airport Unit.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Royal Newfoundland Constabulary</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provincial civilian police authority for Newfoundland and Labrador.</li> <li>• Reports to the Minister of Justice and Public Safety.</li> <li>• Governing Body: Her Majesty in Right of Newfoundland</li> <li>• Responsible for: St. Johns Metropolitan area, Corner Brook, Labrador West.</li> <li>• Works alongside the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.</li> <li>• Specialised Units: Mounted Unit, Marine Unit.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Royal Canadian Mounted Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canadian Federal and National Police Authority, enforces federal laws.</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms</li> </ul>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provides provincial law enforcement services in all provinces except Ontario and Quebec, and is contracted for local police services in several territories.</li> <li>Over 30,000 employees, approximately 19,000 are sworn.</li> <li>Report to Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, and parent agency Public Safety Canada.</li> <li>Separated into 15 divisions based on geographic zones/provinces.</li> </ul>	<p>of population out of the twelve districts.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</b></p>	<p><i>Canadian Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA, 2002)</i>: States that the provision of legal rights to a young person by a police officer must accommodate the specific needs and capabilities of youth, and ensure their rights are effectively communicated. Case law in Canada has now dictated that the waiver of legal rights is only valid if the full implications are comprehended by the accused. The YCJA provides expanded protection for youth facing interrogation by police, and the evaluation and development of youth waiver forms aims to enhance these protections.</p>	<p>Auckland police culture is one of early intervention and takes a holistic view of youth offenders, considering a youth offender in the ‘context of their life’ and promoting building family relationships. Auckland police partner with a number of organisations that facilitate early intervention and alternate resolutions (Marae, Iwi and community panels, Blue Light) and support specialist teams such as Youth Aid, and Youth Engagement Officers.</p> <p>There are no specific laws or policies shaping the use of Youth Waiver Forms in Auckland. The only requirement is that rights must be explained to a youth offender in terms that they understand via the Rights Caution (<i>Oranga Tamariki Act 1989/Children’s and Young People’s Well-being Act 1989</i>, Part 4; section 218).</p>
<p><b>Nature of the problem area</b></p>	<p>Young people, and young offenders in particular, often lack the cognitive capacity to fully comprehend the weight of their legal rights and responsibilities, such that less complex forms and more comprehensible methods of delivery are used to prevent miscarriages of justice.</p>	<p>There is a larger proportion of youth under 25 in Auckland than in the rest of New Zealand, with a forecasted 24% of the population being younger than 19 by 2028. Currently, 31% of offences are committed by youth aged 15-24.</p> <p>The New Zealand Ministry of Justice reports 1,518 youth appeared in court in the 2019-2020 financial year. Males and Māori youth are both overrepresented.</p>
<p><b>Resources required to implement the intervention</b></p>	<p><b>Human Resources:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Specific instruction of police officers in how to deliver the waiver in a comprehensible manner, including checking for understanding throughout delivery.</li> </ul> <p><b>Multimedia Resources:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A waiver form that utilises empirically supported (simplified) phrasing and is relevant to the local legislation.</li> <li>Materials for youths to free-recall the information they have just</li> </ul>	<p>-</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i>	<p>received (written in this study, but could be done verbally)</p> <p><b>Facilitators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ensuring that officers are aware of the cognitive capabilities of young people.</li> <li>Waiver forms that are of maximum comprehensibility for young people.</li> </ul> <p><b>Barriers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The evaluation utilised normal school samples, so the benefits that have been identified may not transfer to the young offender population</li> <li>While officers are encouraged to assess the cognitive abilities of the youth being presented the waiver forms and provide further explanation at their language level when necessary, there is no documentation on how this is carried out or police accuracy in identifying varied needs/providing tailored explanations.</li> <li>Participants were not able to ask for clarification, which could have aided in comprehension if offered.</li> </ul>	-
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	<p>The use of free-recall (repeating back the information in their own words) for each section, as well as a checkbox (yes/no) for comprehension checks.</p> <p>The nature of the waiver form itself (comprehensibility), regardless of comprehension checks.</p>	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	<p>While these moderators were not explored, the authors suggest that individual factors (such as intelligence and comprehension skills) and contextual factors (such as situational stress, pressure and motivation to comprehend) could impact comprehension in samples of apprehended youths. There is some effect of grade (age) upon comprehension, with younger students recalling less information</p>	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	<p>None reported.</p>	-

## Formal Juvenile System Processing

Petrosino et al. (2014) conducted a systematic review of juvenile system processing for youth 17 years and younger who had not been officially adjudicated for any crime. Juvenile system processing was defined by the authors as traditional handling of juvenile offenders by courts and to be included in the review, they study needed to compare this formal processing to non-system condition, including diversion without or without additional services. The authors included studies published between 1994 and 2008 in all languages found through a search of 44 electronic databases, two Internet search engines, and the bibliographies of over 50 prior reviews of similar research. The authors included 29 randomised experiments in their review, with two being conducted in an eligible Westminster country (Australia), focused on juvenile property and juvenile shoplifters respectively. Both of these experiments reported on the reintegrative shaming experiments (RISE) studies conducted in the late 1990s to early 2000s. Rather than examine these two studies separately, which can result in a biased effect estimate when there are sufficient studies to conduct meta-analysis, an overview of Petrosino et al. (2014) results is provided here.

Overall, Petrosino et al. (2014) meta-analysis found that the juvenile system processing, compared to diversion, had a negative result on the crime levels post intervention. Fifteen of the 27 studies found crime increased post-intervention in the intervention group, with an overall effect size of  $-0.11$  ( $d$ ), which shows a small increase in crime in the treatment group. At the longest follow-up, at an average of 12 to 13 months, the effect size did not drastically change, with an effect size of  $-0.15$ . Seven studies measured crime incidence, which allows an understanding of whether the intervention impacted high-rate offenders, and again, the majority of studies found a negative effect size of  $-0.23$ . Petrosino et al. (2014) also examined the severity of offending post-intervention for nine experiments and found an overall negative effect size of  $-0.13$ . Five experiments captured self-report data, with an average follow-up length of 11 months, and again juvenile system processing had a small negative effect size of  $-0.15$ .

The authors conclude that the findings of their review require policymakers to reconsider their handling of juvenile offenders. They also note that there are limitations to their meta-analysis. The studies captured by their review did not have a standard length of time for a follow-up, and the time between the experiment and the initial post-experiment data capture was short, with an average of 10 to 11 months. This is not particularly different than the time between the experiment and the longest follow-up (12 to 13 months). Petrosino et al. (2014) attribute this to the presence of only one follow-up, or two in quick succession (e.g., at six months and 12 months). They also comment that two of the more recent studies were methodologically compromised, due to their randomisation procedure or participant retention. However, removing both of these studies had minimal effect on the overall effect size, but both studies found that juvenile system processing had a crime-reduction effect, rather than the negative effect that most of the other studies experienced. A final consideration is the prior offence record of the participants. For the three studies that used first time offenders, juvenile processing had a positive effect on crime reduction. In comparison, any previous offending history, regardless of severity, showed that juvenile system processing had a negative effect. A final limitation of this review is the date coverage, with evidence from the last decade yet to be synthesised.

## 5.12 References

- Bennett, S., Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Eggins, E., & Piquero, A. R. (2018). Truancy intervention reduces crime: Results from a randomised field trial. *Justice Quarterly*, *35*(2), 309-329.
- Cardwell, S. M., Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., & Piquero, A. R. (2019). Changing the relationship between impulsivity and antisocial behaviour: The impact of a school engagement program. *Crime & Delinquency*, *65*(8), 1076-1101.
- Densley, J. A., Adler, J. R., Zhu, L., & Lambine, M. (2017). Growing against gangs and violence: Findings from a process and outcome evaluation. *Psychology of Violence*, *7*(2), 242-252.
- Eastwood, J., Snook, B., Luther, K., & Freedman, S. (2016). Engineering comprehensible youth interrogation rights. *New Criminal Law Review*, *19*(1), 42-62.
- Eastwood, J., Snook, B., & Luther, K. (2015). Measuring the reading complexity and oral comprehension of Canadian Youth Waiver Forms. *Crime & Delinquency*, *61*(6), 798-828.
- Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Antrobus, E., Cardwell, S. M., Eggins, E., & Piquero, A. R. (2019). Disrupting the pathway from truancy to delinquency: A randomised field trial test of the longitudinal impact of a school engagement program. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, *35*(4), 663-689.
- Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Eggins, E. (2017a). Reducing truancy and fostering a willingness to attend school: Results from a randomised trial of a police-school partnership program. *Prevention Science*, *18*(4), 469-480.
- Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Antrobus, E., & Eggins, E. (2017b). The coproduction of truancy control: Results from a randomized trial of a police-schools partnership program. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *54*(6), 791-823.
- Petrosino, A., Turpin-Petrosino, C., & Guckenburg, S. (2014). The impact of juvenile system processing on delinquency. In J. Murray (Ed.), *Labelling Theory* (pp. 113- 147). New York: Routledge.
- Wilson, D. B., Brennan, I., & Olaghere, A. (2018). Police-initiated diversion for youth to prevent future delinquent behaviour. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, *14*. doi: 10.4073/csr.2018.5

## 6 Policing Organised Crime

---

### 6.1 Introduction

Spurred on by both its resilience to law enforcement and globalisation, organised crime has become an increasingly important focus for national and international police agencies alike, as well as their many partner organisations (Calderoni et al., 2019; Penna & Kirby, 2013). We identified only two unique impact evaluation studies that assessed the effectiveness of policing interventions for organised crime in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand. The eligible policing studies in this chapter cover two different intervention approaches, with one focused on drug crime facilitated through hotels in Australia and the other focused on gang-related crime in London.

### 6.2 Defining Eligible Policing Interventions for Organised Crime

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to, preventing, or reducing organised crime. A focus on organised crime was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated an aim of responding to, preventing, or reducing organised crime, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of organised crime (see below), used organised crime offenders as the study sample, or if it used organised crime-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is organised crime?

Defining organised crime requires consideration of what is an organised group. Similar to Calderoni et al. (2019), this review uses the definition in Article 2 of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (United Nations, 2000) to define an organised crime group:

*“Organised criminal group” shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.*

Calderoni et al. (2019) also note the following defining characteristics of organised crime:

- Crime that is non-ideological nature (i.e., not politically or religiously motivated)
- Crime that is profit oriented (illegal profits)
- Crime that has continuity (i.e., repeated commission of an multiple of crimes)
- Crime that involves threat or violence
- Crime that involves internal organisation, with or without a formal hierarchy (e.g., division of tasks between members)
- Crime that often links and interacts with the social environment (e.g., “corrupting public officials, providing extra-legal protection, controlling legal activities, influencing politics”)

### 6.3 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between January 2009 and December 2018:

cartel\*  
“crim\* associat\*”  
“crim\* group\*”  
“crim\* network\*”  
“crim\* organ\*”  
gang\*  
“organis\* crim\*”  
maffia  
mafia  
mob\*  
racket\*  
syndicate\*  
traffick\*  
bikie\*  
motorbike\*  
motorcycle\*

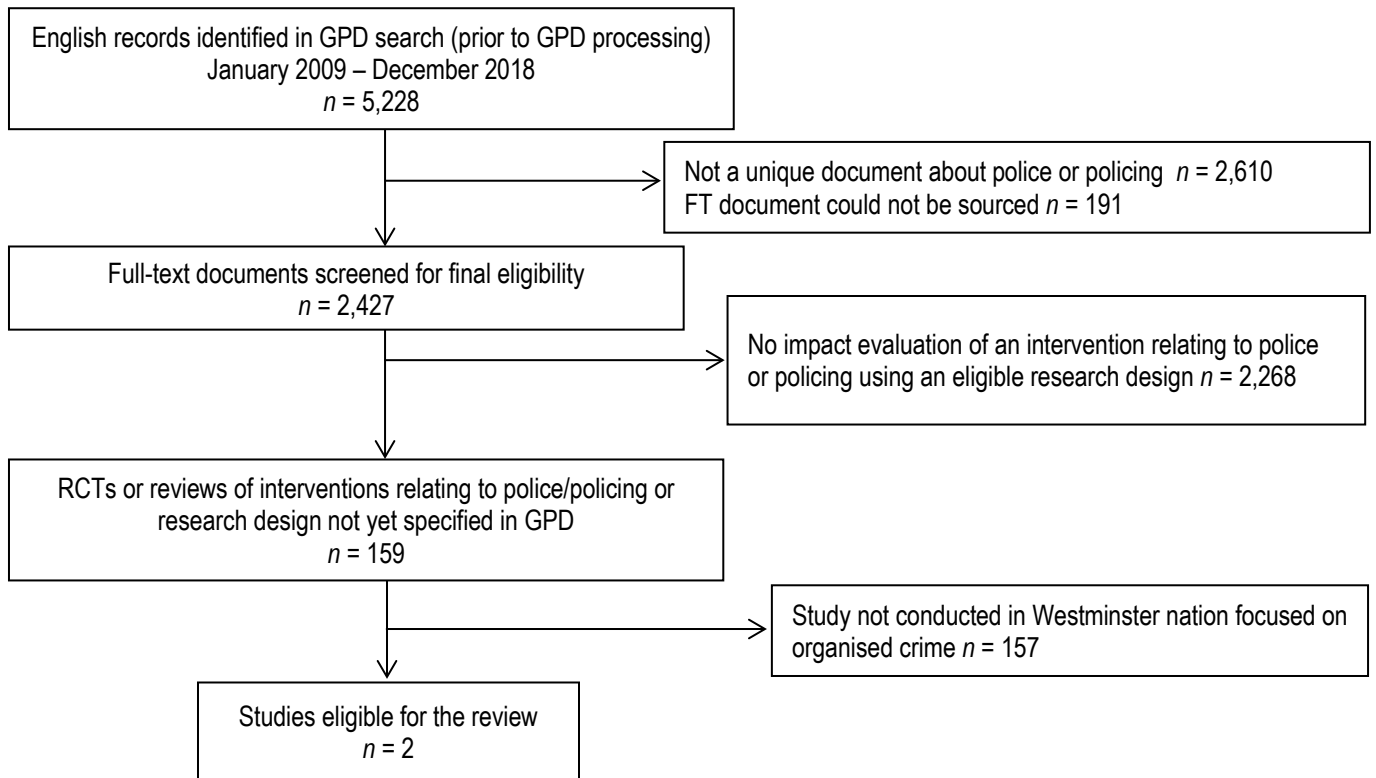
### 6.4 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 7.1. The search within GPD identified 5,228 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 2,618 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their title and abstract. A total of 2,427 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 191 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>12</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 109 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 15 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 144 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 15 RCTs and reviews were imported into SysReview to assess their eligibility for this review. Two of these 159 studies (reported in three documents) were evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on organised crime, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand.

---

<sup>12</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.





**Figure 7.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and organised crime screening**

## 6.5 Eligible Studies

### Operation Galley, Australia

In 2016, the Brisbane City Criminal Investigation Branch of the Queensland Police Service identified a potential organised crime problem in inner-city hotels and short-stay accommodations in Brisbane. Detectives determined that drug suppliers and traffickers had been using hotels in order to increase their anonymity and mobility, as well as to bring them closer to Brisbane’s entertainment precincts. These circumstances made police detection of drug supply, trafficking and use more challenging, and also posed a risk to Brisbane’s hotel employees, customers, and wider tourism image. In consultation with the University of Queensland, the Queensland Police Service implemented Operation Galley, a third party policing initiative that employed procedural justice, in order to address this problem.

A randomised controlled trial by Morton and colleagues (2018) evaluated the impact of Operation Galley on drug-related outcomes in hotels in Brisbane City, Spring Hill and Fortitude Valley. Hotels were randomly assigned to either business-as-usual policing or two variants of Operation Galley. One of these variants involved the hotel receiving a letter requesting the staff to report behaviours deemed suspicious, written in-line with the procedural justice framework. The letter included contact details for reporting, a detailed description of Operation Galley, and information regarding the legal responsibility of hotel staff using a Third Party Policing framework (Mazerolle & Ransley, 2006). The more intensive, full delivery of Operation Galley involved hotels receiving the same letter with the addition of pre-arranged meetings between hotel staff and a Combined Agency Response Team (CART) made up of detectives in partnership with the Queensland Fire and Emergency Services personnel. This response team explained the legal obligations of hotel staff regarding hotel drug



crimes and aimed to increase the engagement of the hotel staff with the program. Pre-intervention measures occurred between the 1st of November 2015 and the 26th of March 2017. The operation ran from 27th of March 2017 until the 4th of June 2017, and post-intervention measures were taken from the 5th of June 2017 until the 1st of November 2017. During this follow-up period, hotels undertaking the more intensive variant of the operation received another visit from a detective to refresh staff on the contents of the operation.

During the intervention period, hotels assigned to receive Operation Galley with in-person meetings demonstrated significantly greater drug problem notifications, drug crime reports, drug arrests and charges and search warrants than those that received only the letter or business-as-usual policing. The increase in search warrants associated with full delivery of Operation Galley compared with alternative conditions was somewhat sustained into the post-intervention period. Hotels that received the letter did not differ greatly from those that received business-as-usual policing, and the authors noted that the letter is not sufficient to produce a beneficial working relationship between hotel staff and police. Drug activity notifications and enforcement activities surrounding hotels that received the full delivery of Operation Galley declined following the intervention period, which may indicate a decrease in drug market activity associated with the operation. Secondary outcomes including consumer sentiments from TripAdvisor and hotel staff perceptions indicated that the operation had negligible effects on guest ratings of hotel, but positive impacts on self-reported staff surveillance intentions. However, hotel staff also reported that they often struggled to correctly identify suspicious behaviours associated with drug crime. The findings suggest that increased interaction between hotel staff and police can enhance the detection and disruption of drug crimes and subsequently erode adjacent drug markets. Further, the findings support the utility of problem-oriented, proactive policing approaches. Finally, these findings highlight the importance of building and maintaining relationships between police and third parties such as hotel staff for the detection and prevention of crime.

Further results from the Operation Galley project have been published in a journal article which is outside the year scope for this review (i.e., published in 2019). This article explores in detail the effectiveness of the intervention on drug search warrants, crime reports, and notifications (see Morton, Luengen & Mazerolle, 2019). Similarly, whilst not identified by the organised crime search terms, but indexed in the GPD, we include here Operation Safer Hotels, a randomised controlled trial replication of Operation Galley implemented in Perth, Western Australia. This replication found similar results to the original Brisbane study regarding the gathering of drug crime intelligence (see Parmar, Wilkinson, Williams & Barnes, 2018).

Table 7.1 below examines the original Operation Galley study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. The study was conducted in an Australian city cities with a higher population than Auckland, but lower population density. The organisational structure of policing is also similar, and the emphasis in New Zealand on disrupting drug trade closely aligns with the intention of Operation Galley. Strong productive police partnerships with hoteliers and related businesses, underpinned by regulatory frameworks and procedural justice, are crucial for approaches adopting the Operation Galley model.

**Table 7.1 Organised Drug Crime in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Brisbane, Queensland, Australia	-
<i>Population size,</i>	2.24 million	1.572 million
<i>size of geographical</i>	15,826 km <sup>2</sup>	1,086 km <sup>2</sup>
<i>setting (km<sup>2</sup>),</i>		
<i>population density</i>	140 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>Queensland Police Service (OPS):</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Centralised at the state level with a hierarchical rank structure and separate segments for different regions.</li> <li>Responsible for policing state laws, and will defer to the Australian Federal Police in cases subject to federal law.</li> <li>The Commissioner of Police is appointed by the Queensland Governor in Council.</li> <li>Employs approximately 15,080 employees, comprising of 11,110 police officers and recruits and 3,970 staff members.</li> <li>In Brisbane, the city is divided into two policing districts (North Brisbane District and South Brisbane District). Within these districts, there are ten patrol groups (6 in north and 4 in south).</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>
<i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping</i>	<u>State drug legislation (Queensland):</u>	<u>General organised crime:</u> Transnational organised crime strategy which is based on detection and disruption of organised crime groups (includes

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<p><i>the intervention</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policing illegal drug possession, distribution, trafficking and production/cultivation and illicit organised structures (ie. clandestine drug laboratories/economies)</li> <li>• Drug driving</li> <li>• Drug diversion programs</li> </ul> <p><u>Federal drug legislation (Australia):</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regulates narcotic manufacture/Medicinal cannabis cultivation</li> <li>• Narcotic import/export</li> <li>• Regulates prescription medication</li> </ul> <p><u>Developments:</u> There are moves to further drug diversion initiatives and rehabilitative interventions to address drug crime in a public health sphere.</p>	<p>crime groups dealing in various enterprises including illicit drugs). Multiple levels of government agencies respond to organised crime. New Zealand Customs and Immigration New Zealand controls the borders, and law enforcement and regulatory agencies in New Zealand work together and collaboratively in order to detect and disrupt organised crime networks (increasingly targeting money laundering and illegal proceeds). Current strategy includes reducing the harms organised crime and methamphetamine trade – in particular the focus of the ‘Resilience to Organised Crime in Communities work programme’ addresses demand and prevents social harm caused by organised crime.</p> <p><u>Specific to organised drug crime:</u> Generally any person/organisation who supplies/manufactures (including import/export) of Class A or B drugs, or cultivation of prohibited plants (e.g., Class C drug like cannabis) under sections 6, 9, 12AB of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1975 if done so in a circumstance which describes Section 98A under the Crimes Act 1961 may be charged with participating in a organised criminal group. This may include someone who commits the offence of using or permitting use of premises or vehicles in commission of offence under against the Misuse of Drugs Act 1975, or imports/exports drugs (see section 12, 12D, 2E, 12F).</p>
<p><i>Nature of the problem area</i></p>	<p>Hotels in central metropolitan areas are consistently associated with organised and disorganised illegal narcotics activity. Queensland police identified drug dealing as a key issue in Brisbane City hotels via an Intelligence led policing approach. Drug dealing and manufacturing occurred at high rates in hotels, possibly due to such spaces providing anonymity and rapid mobility compared to offenders’ personal residences. The use of hotels for drug crime also provides drug suppliers a central location that allows closer proximity to their customers in nightlife precincts and large events.</p>	<p><u>General organised crime:</u> Both the number of gang members and the number of organised crime groups in New Zealand are increasing. As New Zealand’s economic centre and primary gateway to the country, Auckland represents a focal point as the entry and exit point for organised crime groups in and out of New Zealand. Therefore, globalisation explains part of the increase of gangs and organised crime in New Zealand, alongside the production and accessibility of different and new drugs. The New Zealand Police have identified a lack of information sharing between agencies, a lack of frontline knowledge and capability in addressing organised crime, non-streamlined legislation and court processes, increases in international crime, and police/government corruption, as barriers to addressing organised crime.</p> <p><u>Specific to organised drug crime:</u> Increasing availability and accessibility of technology enables gangs and organised crime groups to recruit members/associates and to sell drugs. As such, outdated technology used by Auckland Police represents a barrier to addressing</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
		these issues.
<p><i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i></p>	<p><b><u>Human Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hotels who are willing to participate on an organisational level</li> <li>Hotel staff who are willing to communicate with the police</li> <li>Police officers who can build and maintain personal relationships with key hotel staff members.</li> <li>Fire and Emergency services personnel to work in tandem with police and hotel staff, and provide information regarding the health, safety and fire hazards associated with hotel drug crime.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Multimedia:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A letter for each hotel that utilises a procedural justice-based script, in which hotel staff are requested to report guests' suspicious activities or behaviours through a dedicated Operation Galley phone number or email address. The letter also describes the objectives of the intervention, and the criminal and civil liabilities of the hotel and its employees in regard to on-site drug offending.</li> <li>The intervention requires dedicated lines of communication for the operation, including a phone number and email address for hotel staff to report instances of suspicious activity.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A location within the hotel that is appropriate for a meeting between police, emergency services personnel and hotel staff, such as a conference room.</li> </ul>	-
<p><i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i></p>	<p><b><u>Facilitators:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A strong working relationship between hotel staff and police.</li> <li>Clear, effective communication of roles and operation objectives to hotel staff by police officers.</li> <li>Clearly defined markers of suspicious behaviour for hotel staff to identify and report.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Barriers:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hotel staff need to be alert and vigilant in order to detect drug activity, which could be viewed as outside of their role in the hotel</li> </ul>	-

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<p data-bbox="241 336 394 424"><i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i></p>	<p data-bbox="517 228 1211 284">and the business model of the hotel. This is a common challenge faced by third party policing initiatives.</p> <ul data-bbox="472 292 1211 320" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="472 292 1211 320">• Hotel staff may struggle to correctly identify signs of drug crime.</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="454 336 1240 515"><u>Third Party Policing:</u> Police partners are motivated to engage in policing activities through the detailed explanation of legal responsibilities and the liabilities associated with noncompliance. In this case, the observational/surveillance capabilities of hotel staff are utilised for the detection of specific criminal activities in a context that requires increased attention.</p> <p data-bbox="454 539 1211 655"><u>Procedural Justice:</u> The operation utilises procedurally just elements of trust and fairness in how the police communicate and build partnerships with hotel staff, in terms of working relationships and the communication of responsibilities.</p>	-
<p data-bbox="241 695 394 783"><i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i></p>	None reported.	-
<p data-bbox="215 823 421 935"><i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i></p>	None reported.	-

## Growing Against Gangs and Violence, London

A randomised controlled trial by Densley and colleagues (2017) evaluated the impact of the Growing Against Gangs and Violence (GAGV) program on gang membership and delinquency across several cohorts of year 8 students in London. The GAGV program is a curriculum delivered across six lessons that cover “stop and search” police encounters, and the consequences of knife crime, gun crime, cyber bullying, sexual violence and gang participation. The implementation of GAGV includes paid facilitators working with police officers to deliver program content via presentations and group activities, supported by local child safety entities who provide referral pathways and other up to date resources. The present evaluation of GAGV involved a three phase RCT across the 2013-2014 academic year. The participants were students in sixteen year 8 cohorts drawn from four London schools. Two cohorts within each participating school were randomly assigned to receive either the GAGV program ( $n = 198$ ) or to a control condition ( $n = 193$ ) that received no intervention, and these groups did not differ on key demographic, academic or criminal justice history variables. Outcome measures were taken at baseline, after delivery of the program (92.5% completion of outcome measures), and again one year later (64% completion of outcome measures). Follow up analyses found no statistically significant effects of GAGV on gang involvement or delinquency. The authors note that despite statistical insignificance, the identified effect sizes indicate that the GAGV program was somewhat effective in reducing gang involvement and delinquency. Students in the GAGV condition demonstrated slight improvements in attitudes toward police and adherence to street rules at follow up assessment. The findings suggest that further exploration of the GAGV program is required, as the authors note that the influence of such interventions are often “sleepier effects”, in that prosocial attitudes and anti-gang sentiments take time to develop and manifest in young cohorts. It is also noted that the base rates of gang membership may have been too low to detect significant beneficial changes at follow up, and that attrition at follow up assessments may have impacted results.

Table 7.2 below examines the Densley et al. (2017) study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Densley et al. (2017) evaluation of GAGV was conducted in London which as a much larger population and population density than Auckland. However, the organisational structure of policing is similar to Auckland and both settings face issues with youth gangs, with a strong regulatory framework for organised crime and gangs in Auckland. Very little information is reported on the cost-benefits for the GAGV approach, the theoretical mechanisms underpinning effectiveness, or moderators of GAGV effects. Some information is available for what would be required to implement the intervention, with non-judgmental communication by implementers (including police), and careful management of the scheduling and materials noted as important during the implementation process. Based on this information, the GAGV approach may be amenable to implementation in Auckland.

**Table 7.1 Organised Gang Crime in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	London, England	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	8.478 million 1, 572 km <sup>2</sup> 5,432 people per km <sup>2</sup>	1.572 million 1,086 km <sup>2</sup> 1,447 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>City of London Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Territorial police responsible for the City of London, including the Inner and Middle Temples, with a headquarters in Guildhall.</li> <li>• The police authority is an elected Common Council.</li> <li>• 756 full time police officers, and further staff comprised off special constables, police community support officers, designated officers and support staff.</li> <li>• Five Basic Command Units (BCUs): Crime Directorate, Economic Crime Directorate, Uniformed Policing Directorate, Information and Intelligence Directorate and the Business Support and Chief Officer Directorates.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Metropolitan Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsible for policing the 32 London boroughs outside London.</li> <li>• Over 41,000 full time employees, including police officers, police staff, police community support officers, designated officers and special constables.</li> <li>• The police authority is the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, who is accountable to the Queen, the mayor and the Home Office.</li> <li>• Five directorates that are each supervised by Assistant Commissioners: Specialist Operations, Met Operations, Frontline Police, Shared Support Services and the Directorate of Professionalism.</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul>
<i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping</i>	<i>The Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005:</i> Federal legislation that simplified and extended powers of arrest. Formed the basis of the	<i>General organised crime:</i> Transnational organised crime strategy which is based on detection and disruption of organised crime groups (includes

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>the intervention</i>	Serious Organised Crime Agency, which was a consolidation of other entities that aimed to enhance responses to organised crime.	<p>crime groups dealing in various enterprises including illicit drugs). Multiple levels of government agencies respond to organised crime. New Zealand Customs and Immigration New Zealand controls the borders, and law enforcement and regulatory agencies in New Zealand work together and collaboratively in order to detect and disrupt organised crime networks (increasingly targeting money laundering and illegal proceeds). Current strategy includes reducing the harms organised crime and methamphetamine trade – in particular the focus of the ‘Resilience to Organised Crime in Communities work programme’ addresses demand and prevents social harm caused by organised crime.</p> <p><i>Specific to gang crime:</i> The <i>Crimes Act 1961</i> criminalises participation in an “organised criminal group”, or a group consisting of three or more people who share a common objective of committing serious violent offences or obtaining material benefits from the commission of offences. This is punishable by imprisonment for a term of 4 years or more. The <i>Prohibition of Gang Insignia in Government Premises Act 2013</i> prohibits the display of gang insignia in public and government buildings and government buildings. Police may (without warrant) arrest the person displaying gang insignia in these prohibited areas and seize and remove gang insignia, by use of force if necessary.</p>
<i>Nature of the problem area</i>	London has history of organised crime and gang violence that accounts for a large proportion of violent crime. Street gangs accounted for 65% of firearm related homicides in London and surrounding areas. In 2009, it was estimated that over 50,000 young people in England had been involved with youth gangs, and these rates are more concentrated in metropolitan areas.	<p><i>General organised crime:</i> Both the number of gang members and the number of organised crime groups in New Zealand are increasing. As New Zealand’s economic centre and primary gateway to the country, Auckland represents a focal point as the entry and exit point for organised crime groups in and out of New Zealand. Therefore, globalisation explains part of the increase of gangs and organised crime in New Zealand, alongside the production and accessibility of different and new drugs. The New Zealand Police have identified a lack of information sharing between agencies, a lack of frontline knowledge and capability in addressing organised crime, non-streamlined legislation and court processes, increases in international crime, and police/government corruption, as barriers to addressing organised crime.</p> <p><i>Specific to gang crime:</i> Inequality and poverty is suggested to drive crime and gang membership as low socioeconomic communities. It is suggested gangs target these communities. Being younger is also correlated with higher rates of crime. Increasing availability and accessibility of technology enables gangs and organised crime groups to</p>



Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<p><i>Resources required to implement the intervention</i></p>	<p><b><u>Human Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paid facilitators who are trained to deliver the curriculum.</li> <li>• Police officers to assist facilitators in the delivery of classroom-based presentations and activities. Notably, police officers who are involved must be capable of rehearsing “stop and search” scenarios with students in a non-confrontational context. This role can incorporate community support officers.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Multimedia Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multimedia presentation using slides, video content, and other classroom-based content to deliver the curriculum.</li> <li>• A projector or screen for slide presentations and videos with associated computer connection.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental Resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A classroom or equivalently structured space in which to deliver the curriculum.</li> </ul>	<p>recruit members.</p> <p>-</p>
<p><i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i></p>	<p><b><u>Facilitators:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Natural, non-judgemental communication by facilitators that iteratively builds upon previously discussed topics.</li> <li>• The bespoke video content utilising local examples were well received, as they used familiar, relevant locations and events.</li> <li>• Police officers who are able to engage with young people in an approachable way, in order to further enhance the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the involved students.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Barriers:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School scheduling errors led to larger than ideal class sizes that may negatively impact the delivery of the program.</li> <li>• The length of some sessions may have been too long and the evaluation found students struggled to sit still for the full duration.</li> <li>• Facilitators struggled with managing the timeframe of delivery, and keeping on schedule whilst engaging students with meaningful, high quality interaction was a significant challenge.</li> <li>• Variation in the quality of materials: there were inconsistencies</li> </ul>	<p>-</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	None reported.	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	<p>The amount of students who are already involved in gangs at any given school receiving the program. The process evaluation noted that some disruptive behaviours were observed during delivery that were thought to be associated with pre-existing gang involvement.</p> <p>The trauma histories of students receiving the intervention: There were some admissions of sexual trauma in certain GAGV cohorts, and the program is not necessarily designed for that level of vulnerability in a school classroom setting.</p>	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	None reported.	-

## 6.6 References

- Calderoni, F., Superchi, E., Comunale, T., Campedelli, G. M., Marchesi, M., & Frualdo, N. (2019). PROTOCOL: Organised crime groups: A systematic review of individual-level risk factors related to recruitment. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*. doi: 10.1002/cl2.1022
- Densley, J. A., Adler, J. R., Zhu, L., & Lambine, M. (2017). Growing against gangs and violence: Findings from a process and outcome evaluation. *Psychology of Violence, 7*(2), 242-252.
- Mazerolle, L. & Ransley, J. (2006). *Third Party Policing*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Morton, P. J., Luengen, K., & Mazerolle, L. (2019). Hoteliers as crime control partners. *Policing: An International Journal, 42*(1), 74–88.
- Morton, P., Mazerolle, L., Luengen, K., & Newman, M. (2018). Operation Galley: A partnership approach to reducing hotel drug crime. *Police Science: Australia & New Zealand Journal of Evidence Based Policing, 3*(1), 7-10.
- Parmar, J., Wilkinson, R., Williams, S., & Barnes, G. (2018). Operation Safer Hotels: An intelligence gathering strategy at Perth hotels. *Police Science: Australia & New Zealand Journal of Evidence Based Policing, 3*(2), 26-30.
- Penna, S., & Kirby, S. (2013). Bridge over the river crime: Mobility and the policing of organised crime. *Mobilities, 8*(4), 487-505.
- Winfrey, L. T., Jr., Esbensen, F. A., & Osgood, D. W. (1996). Evaluating a school-based gang-prevention program: A theoretical perspective. *Evaluation Review, 20*(2), 181-203.

## 7 Policing Cybercrime

---

### 7.1 Introduction

With the establishment of the National Cyber Security Centre (NCSC) and the National Cyber Policy Office in 2011, it is clear that New Zealand is prioritising the risks posed by cybercrime. In their 2019 report, the NCSC recorded 339 cyber incidents, totalling over \$27.7 million in total financial loss, a similar result to the 2015/2016 report. New Zealand takes a proactive approach to cybercrime with an emphasis on interagency collaboration between various agencies (e.g., Cybercrime Unit, Computer Emergency Response Team). Despite the growth and diversification in cybercrime and a thorough systematic search, our review identified no RCTs or reviews of studies focused on policing cybercrime. This finding aligns with a recent review by Eggins et al. (in press) which examined the effectiveness of criminal justice intervention for child exploitation material and also found no RCTs and poor quasi-experimental evidence across all sectors of the criminal justice system.

### 7.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Cybercrime

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to, preventing, or reducing to cybercrime. A focus on cybercrime was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated an aim of responding to, preventing, or reducing cybercrime, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of cybercrime (see below), used cybercrime offenders as the study sample, or if it used cybercrime-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is cybercrime?

The New Zealand police define cybercrime to be technology enabled, electronic, or online offences that involve the internet, a computer, smartphone, or other electronic devices<sup>13</sup>. Cybercrime is generally comprised of two categories:

#### (1) Pure cybercrime

Offences are defined in *Crimes Act 1961*, sections 249 to 252. This act defines cybercrime “as a criminal act that can only be committed through the use of ICT or the Internet and where the computer or network is the target of the offence. This is regardless of what the criminal goal is – whether political, financial gain, espionage or any other reason”. Specific offences include:

##### a. Computer intrusion

Also referred to as hacking, or “gaining unauthorised access directly or indirectly to a computer system” which includes desktop computers, laptops, smart phones, tablets, servers or any other electronic device regardless of whether its connection to the internet. Examples include physical access, but also someone gaining access to online accounts (e.g., banking, social media, remote work systems).

##### b. Attack on a computer system

Defined as “any type of offensive act that targets computer data, information, infrastructure, network, cloud or any personal computer devices”, whether intentionally

---

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.police.govt.nz/advice-services/cybercrime-and-internet/cybercrime>

or recklessly. Examples include: installing malware, undermining a company or entire country's infrastructure, or damaging/deleting/modifying or other interference with data or software on a computer system. Specific examples include: SQL Injection attacks (SQLi); Cross-Site Scripting (XSS); Man-in-the-Middle (MITM) attacks; Malware attacks; Denial-of-Service (DoS) attacks; and Brute-Force and Dictionary attacks.

c. **Malicious software**

Otherwise known as malware, these programs enable performance of tasks in covert without detection by the user of the technology device. Examples include recording actions on a computer when in use (e.g., key strikes, recording from a webcam, using an internet connection as a proxy, direct covert access to a computing device).

(2) **Cyber-enabled crime**

Defined as “*any criminal act that could be committed without ICT or the internet, but is assisted, facilitated or escalated in scale by the use of technology*”<sup>14</sup>. This includes: online scams, identity theft, threats to life or public safety, and possession/production/distribution of child exploitation materials.

### 7.3 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between January 2009 and December 2018:

computer\*  
cyber\*  
device\*  
digital\*  
electronic\*  
hack\*  
internet  
malware  
online  
“social media\*”  
telecommunicat\*  
ransomware\*  
technolog\*  
virus\*  
\*web

### 7.4 Search and Screening Results

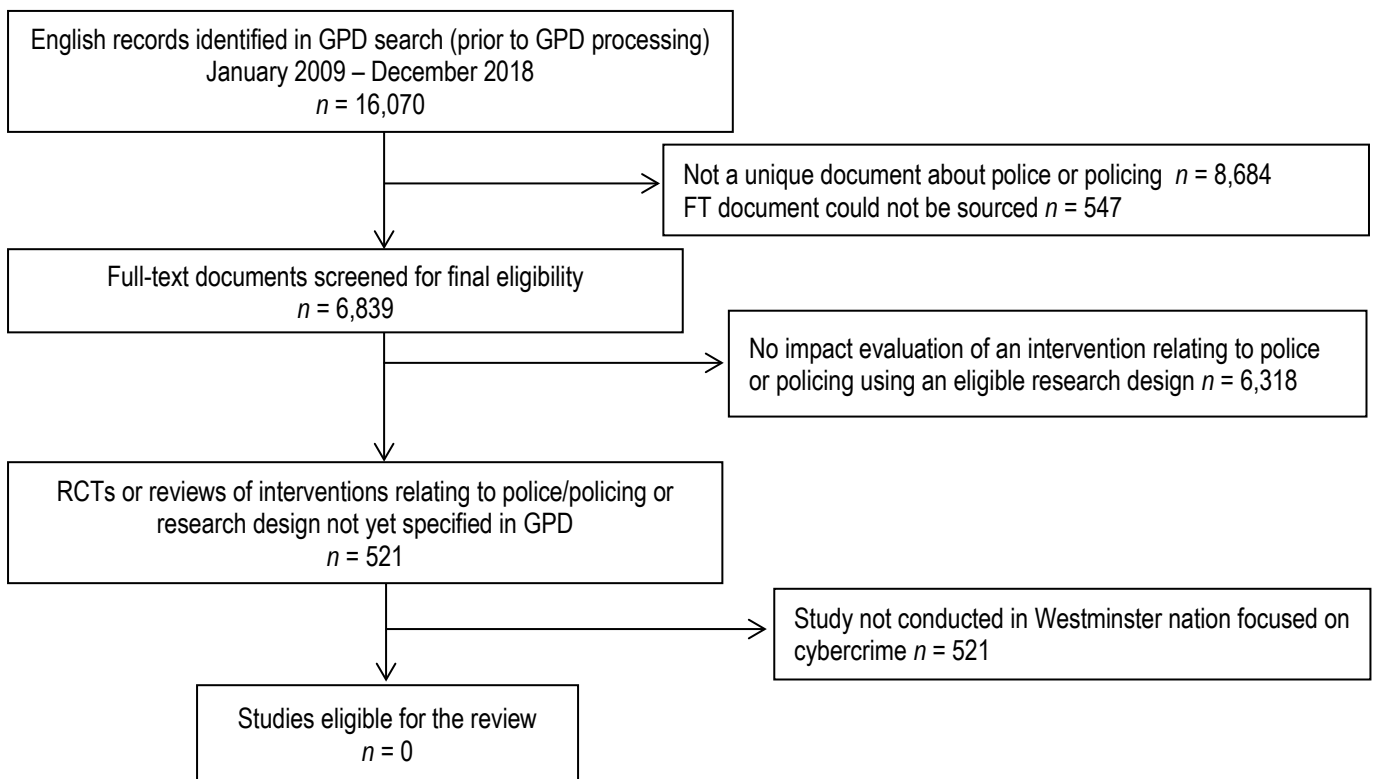
The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 8.1. The search within GPD identified 16,070 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 7,386 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their title and abstract. A total of 6,839 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 547 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>15</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 427 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 115 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous

---

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.police.govt.nz/advice-services/cybercrime-and-internet/cybercrime>

<sup>15</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.

reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 406 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 115 RCTs and reviews were imported into *SysReview* to assess their eligibility for this review. None of these 521 studies (reported in three documents) were evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on cybercrime, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand. As an additional quality assurance measure, 15% of the RCTs and reviews from the GPD that were conducted in Westminster nations were independently double screened for eligibility and 100% agreement for their exclusion was reached.



**Figure 8.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and cybercrime screening**

## 7.5 References

Eggs, E., Mazerolle, L., Higginson, A., Hine, L., Walsh, K., Sydes, M., ... Williams, J. (in press). Criminal justice responses to child exploitation material offending: A systematic review and evidence and gap map. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice*.

## 8 Policing Financial Crime

---

### 8.1 Introduction

Given that the true volume of financial crimes are likely not reported or detected by police, and that financial crime incorporates many acquisitive crimes, police play a key role in addressing this issue (Gilmour, 2020). We identified one randomised controlled trial that assessed the effectiveness of a police investigative technique for financial crime in a Westminster nation (Canada), and one systematic review that captured evaluations of policing responses to corporate crime activity.

### 8.2 Defining Policing Interventions for Financial Crime

To be included, each eligible impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing captured by the GPD search must have been focused on responding to, preventing, or reducing to financial crime. A focus on financial crime was determined based on whether the GPD study explicitly stated an aim of responding to, preventing, or reducing financial crime, contextualised the study in way that aligned with the definition of financial crime (see below), used financial crime offenders as the study sample, or if it used financial crime-related variables as the outcome measure.

#### What is financial crime?

The Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission defines financial crime to be “*activities ranging from fraud through to the active manipulation of the stock market, or laundering the proceeds of crime*”<sup>16</sup>. The New Zealand Financial Intelligence Unit focuses on the following activities related to financial crime: suspicious banking activity or transactions, suspicious property transactions, movement of cash across borders, money laundering, and funding of illegal activity (e.g., terrorism, drug market, or child exploitation). Other ways that financial crime might be defined include:

- Fraud
- Tax evasion
- White collar crime
- Stealing and using others’ credit cards, pre-approved credit lines, or other identification documents to apply for loans or bank credit
- ‘Ponzi’ or pyramid investment schemes where offenders promise unrealistic and high rates of return on victims’ investments
- Insider trading
- Wash trading (form of stock market manipulation)
- Pooling and churning (form of stock market manipulation)
- Pump and dump schemes (form of stock market manipulation)

### 8.3 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of all studies indexed in the GPD with a publication date between January 2009 and December 2018:

bank\*  
cash  
corrupt\*

---

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.acic.gov.au/about-crime/crime-types/financial-crimes>

counterfeit\*  
“credit card\*”  
embezzl\*  
financ\*  
forge\*  
fraud\*  
fund\*  
invest\*  
launder\*  
money  
scam\*  
shares  
stock\*  
trade\*  
trading  
transaction\*

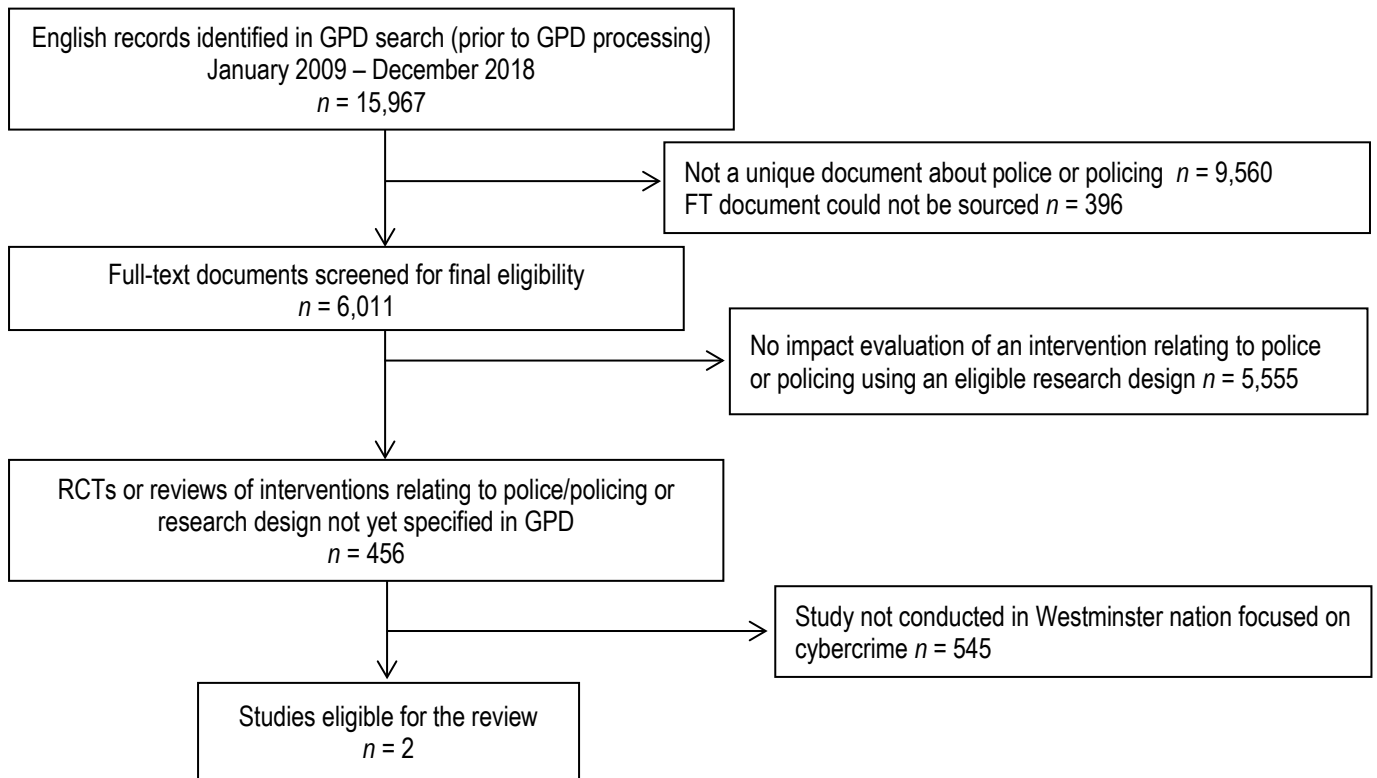
#### 8.4 Search and Screening Results

The results of search and subsequent screening are summarised in Figure 9.1. The search within GPD identified 15,967 English language records prior to any systematic processing that underpins the GPD. Of these 6,407 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their title and abstract. A total of 6,011 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 396 unable to be located through institutional libraries<sup>17</sup>. Of the located full-texts, 363 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Of these, 54 utilised a RCT design or were a rigorous reviews of interventions relating to police or policing. An additional 402 documents had been screened in the GPD as potentially reporting on an impact evaluation of an intervention pertaining to police or policing, but were yet to have a research design confirmed. These studies, along with the 54 RCTs and reviews were imported into *SysReview* to assess their eligibility for this review. Two of these 456 studies were evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing, with a focus on financial crime, and conducted in Westminster nations similar to New Zealand.

---

<sup>17</sup> The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.





**Figure 9.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and financial crime screening**

## 8.5 Eligible Studies

### Corporate Crime Deterrence Strategies

Simpson and colleagues (2014) conducted a comprehensive Campbell Collaboration systematic review of formal legal and administrative interventions and their impact on individual and company-level crime and/or compliance. A total of 106 experimental and quasi-experimental studies were included in the review and were categorised into six overarching intervention categories: laws, punitive sanctions, non-punitive regulatory actions, regulatory policies, other types of sanctions, and multiple intervention types. Of these 106 studies, 24 were conducted in Westminster nations, yet upon closer inspection none of these clearly explicated police involvement in the intervention. Overall, the review found that legal interventions may have a small deterrent effect on whether a company is compliant, but the evidence was unclear at the individual level. The evidence suggested that regulatory approaches can have a modest deterrent effect on individual offending, but has mixed effects on company-level offending. Implementation or more than one type of intervention tended to have a small effect on both individual and corporation non-compliance. The authors caution that the overall evidence captured by the review was low, but suggest that deterrence via legal mechanisms may influence whether non-compliance or illegal behaviour is reported to police or other legal authorities.

### Investigative Techniques

Connors et al. (2019) evaluated features of the Canadian “Mr. Big” police technique through a series of randomized experiments. In “Mr. Big” operations, undercover officers pose as criminals to befriend suspects of high-profile crimes. The undercover officers employ the suspect to undertake

fake criminal activity in exchange for real money, drawing them into a fictitious crime organisation to ultimately elicit a confession. Using a sample of university student and community members from Canada, the authors studied the impact of financial incentive amounts and crime task severity in “Mr. Big” stings upon mock juror decision-making. In Experiment 1, participants were randomly assigned to read one of four possible “Mr. Big” case outlines, in which the 1) financial incentive was either low (\$5,000) or high (\$35,000) and 2) the crime task severity was either low (unidentified package disposal) or high (body disposal). Responding via Qualtrics (online survey), the participants indicated their verdict as a mock juror, evaluated the truthfulness of the defendant’s confession, and evaluated the defendant’s character. Findings showed that cases with high financial incentives were less likely to receive a guilty verdict than those with low incentives, while there was no effect of crime task severity upon juror verdict. Financial incentive amount and crime task severity were not found to effect the remaining outcomes, confession falseness and defendant character.

In Experiment 2, participants were shown a video of a simulated Mr. Big trial in which financial incentives (high = \$1,000 of a possible \$80,000 payout; low = \$500, of a possible \$1,000 payout) and defendant IQ (normal = 100; low = 70) were altered. Outcomes were again gathered via online survey, and included juror verdict, perception of confession falseness and voluntariness, defendant’s overall character, defendant’s criminal propensity, shock relating to the technique, and perception that the officer-defendant relationship encouraged the confession. Again, defendants with high incentives were less likely to receive a guilty verdict. Mock jurors in the high incentive condition also thought the confession was more likely to be false and the defendant was less likely to have a propensity for violent crimes. Incentive amount did not have an impact upon defendant character ratings, mock juror shock, or the perceived influence of the officer-defendant social bond.

Table 8.1 below examines the Connors et al. (2019) study using the EMMIE framework and summarises the comparability of the study setting in relation to Auckland. Connor et al. (2019) evaluation was implemented in Canada, with no further specification, which makes comparing Auckland to the study setting difficult. Very little information is reported and/or assessed regarding the cost-benefits for the approach (aside from a substantial cost), the theoretical mechanisms underpinning effectiveness, moderators of effectiveness, or resources required to implement the intervention. While the structure of policing in Canada is similar to Auckland, the approach evaluated in the Connor et al. (2019) study is reserved for specific high-profile crimes which may mean that the approach is not widely generalisable for all financial crimes in Auckland.

**Table 8.1 Financial crime in the Study and Auckland Context**

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>Study location</i>	Canada (federal intervention)	-
<i>Population size, size of geographical setting (km<sup>2</sup>), population density</i>	<p>37.59 million</p> <p>9,985 km<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Population density:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overall country: 4 people per km<sup>2</sup></li> <li>• By province/territory: Prince Edward Island: 26 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Nova Scotia: 18 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Ontario: 15 people/km<sup>2</sup>; New Brunswick: 11 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Quebec: 16 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Alberta: 6 people/km<sup>2</sup>; British Columbia: 5 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Manitoba: 3 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Saskatchewan: 2 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Newfoundland and Labrador: 2 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Yukon: 0.1 people/km<sup>2</sup>; Northwest Territories &amp; Nunavut: 0.05 people/km<sup>2</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1,572 million</p> <p>1,086 km<sup>2</sup></p> <p>1,447 people per km<sup>2</sup></p>
<i>Jurisdiction's organisational policing structure</i>	<p><b><u>Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP):</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Federal police with power and conditional responsibility to enforce local laws.</li> <li>• Strong international ties, with 37 Liaison Officers in 23 countries.</li> <li>• Organisational goals: strive to prevent crime; investigate crimes; enforce federal, provincial/territorial, and municipal law; keep Canadians safe.</li> <li>• Led by a Commissioner, who is assisted by Deputy Commissioners in charge of federal and international policing; specialised policing services; contract and Indigenous policing; Human Resources; and a Deputy Commissioner for each province.</li> <li>• Employs over 30,100 police officers, civilians, and public service employees.</li> <li>• Serves as local police in areas with no established local police force.</li> <li>• Most of Canada’s provinces and territories contract police services to the RCMP.</li> <li>• “Mr. Big” operations are typically undertaken by the RCMP, due to the immense cost and level of manpower required.</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>New Zealand Police</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralised organisational structure, divided into 12 districts.</li> <li>• Headed by the Commissioner and each of the districts has a District Commander and a team of Area Commanders.</li> <li>• Range of teams and units, including road, maritime, canine, air, dive squad, financial crime, neighbourhood policing, search and rescue.</li> <li>• Focuses on wide range of crime and community problems, including: maintain law and order, crime prevention, responding to crime issues/reports, missing persons, identifying lost property, and road crashes/general road policing.</li> <li>• Partnerships for issues including: schools, DFV, anti-corruption, child protection, neighbourhood issues, and Māori relations.</li> <li>• Core role does not include: acting as security guards for public events or mental health patients, or undertaking the work of social workers, child safety, or mental health practitioners.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Auckland City Police District</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smallest district in terms of geographical size and largest in terms of population out of the twelve districts.</li> <li>• Has three area commanders/headquarters.</li> </ul>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<p><b><i>Laws or policies in jurisdiction shaping the intervention</i></b></p>	<p>There have been problems with gaining convictions from “Mr. Big” gathered evidence – The Supreme Court of Canada has excluded confessions made to undercover officers, most notably in R. v. Hart, and concerns have been raised about the cost of these operations. The Supreme Court of Canada, when delivering their final ruling in the R. v. Hart (2014) case, emphasised the importance of strict guidelines for the use of “Mr. Big” operations, and the law does not provide sufficient protections to accused people who confess as part of a “Mr. Big” operation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employs nearly 1,000 staff (mostly constabulary). Many staff (e.g., those in the Air Support Unit, Dog Section, and Maritime Support Unit) also work in the neighbouring districts.</li> <li>• Units/teams include Neighbourhood Policing Teams and the Adult Sexual Assault Team.</li> </ul> <p>Section 1 of the <i>Anti-Money Laundering and Countering Financing of Terrorism Act 2009</i> was implemented to detect and deter money laundering and terrorism financing. In particular for police, section 41 and section 48B allow delegated police to receive reports, and subpart 4 outlines available search and seizure powers to police with section 117 covering search warrants and section 188 covering powers under the search warrant to act upon reports of activity. The <i>Anti-Money Laundering and Countering Financing of Terrorism Act 2009</i> also outlines financial intelligence functions of the Commissioner of Police (or delegated senior police employee/ constable see section 144). Section 142 outlines the requirement for the Commissioner to produce guidance material such as money laundering and terrorism financing typologies and information for reporting entities regarding the obligations and enforcing requirements of reporting entities to provide activity reports. Section 142 further outlines requirements of the Commissioner to analyse activity and reports (which includes determining whether any should be referred to investigative branches of the New Zealand Police and to other law enforcement agencies), produce risk assessments and cooperate with relevant agencies. New Zealand Financial Intelligence Unit provides financial intelligence relating to suspicious transactions/activity, money laundering, terrorism financing and other serious offences.</p>
<p><b><i>Nature of the problem area</i></b></p>	<p>“Mr. Big” operations are reserved for high-profile crimes (e.g., homicide) that are cold cases where there is not enough evidence to charge any suspects.</p>	<p>Auckland’s susceptibility to financial crime stems from its position as the economic centre of New Zealand. Barriers to addressing financial crime stem from lack of police resources (skills, training, resources and intelligence), improper utilisation of non-sworn staff, and an ever-changing technological landscape prompting frontline workers to feel unknowledgeable. Increasing globalisation and the transnational nature of crimes presents barriers in investigating and tackling overseas offending.</p>
<p><b><i>Resources required</i></b></p>	<p>Each operation is targeted to the individual suspect, but a general</p>	<p>-</p>

Domain	Study Setting	Auckland
<i>to implement the intervention</i>	<p>implementation pattern exists.</p> <p><b><u>Human resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Includes a primary undercover operative.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Multimedia resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Video equipment to covertly videotape the interrogation.</li> </ul> <p><b><u>Environmental resources:</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Location for staged meetings with suspect.</li> </ul>	
<i>Barriers and/or facilitators in implementation</i>	<b><u>Barrier:</u></b> Risk of false confession during non-custodial covert interrogation.	-
<i>Mechanisms underpinning effectiveness</i>	Intervention is hypothesised to work through building motivation and trust of the suspect through monetary and/or luxury item incentives.	-
<i>Moderators impacting effectiveness</i>	Lower IQ and general intelligence of defendant, juror moral prejudice.	-
<i>Economic data or factors related to implementation of the intervention</i>	Exact costs are not presented, but this is a costly intervention. The suspect receives monetary payments for their work, ranging from hundreds to thousands of dollars. They are usually offered a large payout of \$85,000 CAD for a large job.	-

## 8.6 References

- Connors, C. J., Patry, M. W., & Smith, S. M. (2019). The Mr. Big technique on trial by jury. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 25(1), 1-22.
- Gilmour, P. M. (2020). Exploring the barriers to policing financial crime in England and Wales. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1093/police/paaa081
- Simpson, S., Rorie, M., Alper, M. E., Schell-Busey, N., Laufer, W., & Smith, N. C. (2014). Corporate crime deterrence: A systematic review. *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 10(4). doi: 10.4073/csr.2014.4