

Policing Approaches Prior to the Point of Arrest, Charge or Prosecution

A Rapid Review of the Evaluation Literature

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Executive Summary

Background

This report seeks to assist New Zealand Police to inform the development of a strategic resolutions policy framework and decision-making model for frontline police as part of Police's Reframe Te Tārai Hou Strategy. It provides a systematic rapid review of the evidence base for policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. This rapid review synthesises studies that assess the impact of this intervention on the following outcome measures: (a) offending and crime; (b) victimisation; (c) victim experience or satisfaction with the police encounter; (d) perceptions of safety or perceptions of police (e.g., procedural justice); or (e) quality of police decision making.

Systematic Search and Screening Methods

A search in the Global Policing Database (GPD) was conducted to identify relevant interventions related to police or policing. To meet eligibility for this component of the review, each study needed to meet the following criteria:

- (1) Include a quantitative impact evaluation of a policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence;
- (2) Evaluate the intervention using one or more of the following outcome measures: (a) offending and crime; (b) victimisation; (c) victim experience or satisfaction with the police encounter; (d) perceptions of safety or perceptions of police (e.g., procedural justice); or (e) quality of police decision making;
- (3) Utilise either a randomised experimental research design, review and/or meta-analytic research design;
- (4) Be conducted or published between 2009 and 2018 inclusive (most recent decade of research available in the GPD at the time of this search); and
- (5) Be written in English.

The initial search was conducted within the GPD and identified 1,853 potentially eligible records (citations) which were assessed for eligibility in a series of systematic screening stages. A total of 27 studies (reported in 41 documents) were deemed eligible for the review.

This level of attrition is common in systematic reviews of evaluation evidence in criminal justice and allied disciplines and reflects the scarcity of high-quality evaluations of criminal justice interventions across the globe.

Results

The eligible studies were predominantly conducted in the USA and the UK, with a few others conducted in northern Europe, Turkey, and Australia, and a notable dearth of evidence pertaining to eligible interventions conducted in Western nations such as Canada and New Zealand. The corpus of studies consider the impact of eligible interventions on a range of eligible outcomes, with most using official and self-reported measures of crime (e.g., arrest, recidivism, calls-for-service) or citizen perceptions of police (e.g., procedural justice, legitimacy). The effectiveness of the interventions was mixed, with some showing promising effects and others showing less equivocal results. Interventions were categorised broadly into the following approaches, corresponding to the chapters within the report:

- Proactive procedural justice encounters
- Strategies targeting social groups
- Training for police decision making
- Police discretionary activity during patrols
- Dissemination of information and resources by police
- Curfew checks with a diversion component

This rapid review provides a comprehensive preliminary understanding of the impact of policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence.

It should be noted that this review only provides a narrative synthesis of robust impact evaluations of specific interventions conducted between 2009 and 2018. There may exist eligible studies published since 2018, but at the time of the search, the 2019 and 2020 GPD data were not available. Caution must be exercised when comparing the results of the single studies because meta-analysis was not used to quantitatively synthesise the outcome data reported in the component studies.

Key Observations

The key observations from our review include:

- Although many of the interventions undertaken by police prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution are underpinned by legislation, the evaluation literature in this review does not consistently present nor discuss this context. This is a significant limitation in the reporting of policing evaluations and has implications for transportability of policing interventions across different jurisdictions and legislative frameworks.
- Interventions focused on policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence can take a broad range of forms and involve a wide array of components.
- Police use of procedural justice prior to arrest, charge, or prosecution shows promising results for improving perceptions of police during proactive police-citizen encounters, but evidence centres largely on outcomes pertaining to traffic stop encounters.
- Police use of diversion provides some promising results, particularly for diverting youth, which can lead to less future offending.
- We find some promising evidence for police using mental health diversion approaches or training (e.g., crisis intervention teams), which tend to reduce arrests and engagement with the criminal justice system and also improve officers' skills in de-escalation and ability to manage mental health crises.
- We find limited and mixed evidence in regard to policing interventions pertaining to domestic and family violence. Proactive enforcement of orders appear to improve victims perceptions of police but may not reduce recidivism and different types of sanctions seem to vary in their impact on arrests (e.g., arrest, citation, or police advice).
- The studies included in this rapid review on police training in relation to decision-making have positive effects for decision-making and crisis management skill, however none provide evidence of effectiveness on arrest rates, crime rates, or victim safety.

- We find evidence that favours discretionary police activity approaches that use ‘soft’ policing approaches at crime hot spots (e.g., being unarmed). However, this only addresses crime and none of the other eligible outcomes (e.g., perceptions of police).
- Information dissemination tactics (to the public) had mixed evidence for effectiveness. Information dissemination to the public such as such as labelling illegal disposal of garbage to inform citizens of correct disposal, had no effect on illegal garbage disposal. Yet, crime prevention advice distributed by police via newsletters, leaflets, and resource packages seem to offer some promise for reducing motor vehicle theft, reducing burglaries, and improving perceptions of police.
- We find little evidence regarding curfew checks and the results of the single eligible study suggests that hotspots assigned to receive a prevention-focused curfew intervention with diversion did not show a statistically detectable difference in rates of property crime compared to hotspots that did not receive the intervention.
- The included studies report very little information about how interventions were implemented within policing organisations, such internal dissemination of information about interventions, or implementation barriers or facilitators within police organisations. A small number of the included studies highlight the following themes:
 - The importance of gaining and maintaining intervention buy-in across the organisation, from senior management as well as officers ‘on the ground’;
 - The role of building organisational understanding of the intervention by disseminating information in multiple formats (e.g., verbal briefings, training, written summaries, observations/monitoring during implementation); and
 - Ensuring treatment fidelity of interventions by monitoring officer compliance with specified intervention protocols.
- Across all interventions captured by the report, there is a gap in evaluation evidence for outcomes relating to self-reported victimisation and victim satisfaction with police.
- There is also a gap in evaluation evidence regarding subgroup analyses for different ethnic and racial groups. One study (Murphy & Mazerolle, 2018) compares the effect

of a procedural justice intervention on immigrants relative to Australian-born citizens, but the majority of the included studies do not explore race and ethnicity.

- Overall, the rapid review provides general guidance as to what might be useful for police on the frontlines in helping to guide decision-making prior to the point of arrest, charge, or prosecution. The rapid review highlights avenues police have used to develop and test different decision-making processes and models for specific problems. However, we identified no evaluation of an overarching decision-making policy framework, as it pertains to multiple aspects of police and policing.
- A key area for future research is understanding the effectiveness of implementation both within police organisations and when implemented by police externally to address identified problems or when engaged in prevention activities. For example, examining the process and effectiveness of internal and external communication of policing interventions (e.g., why an intervention is being prioritised, to whom or where interventions are being prioritised, and the evidence to support their prioritisation). This line of research will assist with understanding the uptake and day-to-day implementation of changes or enhancements to policing policy and practice.

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1: Introduction

1.1 Report Background

In March 2021, 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 to inform the development of a strategic resolutions policy framework and decision-making model for frontline police as part of Police's Reframe Te Tārai Hou Strategy. This strategy is underpinned by the goal for New Zealand to be the safest country by striving for fewer victimisations, less harm, and fewer people in the courts and prison system. Within this, they recognise the need for police to reach the right balance for communities, victims and offenders by ensuring accountability, repairing existing harm, and preventing further harm from happening. To meet this end, the aim of Reframe Te Tārai Hou is to improve frontline police practice and decision making and the end-to-end case management process for better resolution outcomes and a safer New Zealand. Reframe Te Tārai Hou aims to deliver better outcomes for individuals, their whānau, and communities with improved capability, systems, and processes that create equitable outcomes for Maori, women, minority groups, and regionally across New Zealand, ensure people who have been harmed feel safe and heard, reduce the risk of future harm, improve public trust and confidence in the justice system, increase judicial confidence, improve evidential quality.

1.2 Research Question

The New Zealand Police sought answers to the following research question through a rapid review of the highest quality existing evaluation evidence:

What evidence is there for the effectiveness of specific interventions involving police activities prior to the point of arrest, charge, or prosecution that are a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence with regard to the following outcomes:

- *Offending and crime;*
- *Victimisation;*
- *Victim experience or satisfaction with the encounter;*
- *Perceptions of safety and perceptions of police; and*
- *Quality of police decision making?*

To define interventions involving police activities prior to the point of arrest, charge, or prosecution, we consulted with the New Zealand Police and New Zealand Evidence Based Policing Centre. After discussion, there was agreement on the policing interventions or approaches that this particular point may encompass: warnings; diversion; dispersion; cautioning; referrals; patrolling or hotspots policing (if proactively addressing a specific well-defined issue with the aim to prevent crime and therefore the need for charge/arrest); and decision-making models focusing on assisting police to make pre-charge decisions or resolutions.

1.3 Report Overview

This report provides a systematic and comprehensive review of evaluation evidence regarding interventions involving police activities prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that are a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. The next chapter describes the overarching methodology for the review, followed by six chapters that correspond to each of the identified intervention categories: (a) proactive procedural justice encounters; (b) strategies targeting social groups (e.g., youth); (c), training for police decision making; (d) police discretionary activity during patrols; (e) dissemination of information and resources by police; and (f) curfew checks with a diversion component. Each chapter provides a summary of the screening results and a synthesis of identified studies.

2: 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; Peters et al., 2020). Systematic reviews provide concise and comprehensive summaries of high-quality research evidence and are valuable tools for policymakers 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 specific interventions involving police activities prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that are a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence.

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. All studies identified by the systematic search were then progressed through standardised sequential screening

stages to ascertain whether each study met our 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 which summarises the key characteristics of eligible studies across six intervention categories: (a) proactive procedural justice encounters; (b) strategies targeting social groups (e.g., youth); (c), training for police decision making; (d) police discretionary activity during patrols; (e) dissemination of information and resources by police; and (f) curfew checks with a diversion component. For each included study, a synthesis is provided that summarises the (a) overall number of studies by research design (review, RCT); (b) nature of the intervention setting (i.e., geographical location); (c) intervention approach; and (d) type of outcome measures used to evaluate the intervention.

2.3 Search Methodology

Search Source: 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 65 databases that collectively cover peer-reviewed and grey literature (see www.gpd.uq.edu.au for a full methodological protocol).

Search Terms

We developed a wide range of search terms to capture relevant literature by drawing on existing research, as well as seeking input from police practitioners and researchers. Because the systematic search underpinning the GPD utilises policing terms, the search terms for this review focused on policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. The following search terms were used to search the title and abstract fields of eligible studies indexed within in the GPD:

Search Terms
Combined with OR
"decision making" "decision model*" "decision-making" discretion diversion divert* encounter* frisk* hotspot* "hot spot*" "hot-spot*" interact* patrol* proactive "procedural justice" "procedurally just" reactive refer* "restorative justice" sanction* caution* SQF stop* "street check*" "street pop*" "street-check*" warn*

2.4 Criteria for Including Studies in the Review

To be included in this review, each document extracted from the GPD must have satisfied all inclusion criteria, which are outlined in the subsections below.

Research Timeframe

To provide the most up-to-date synthesis of literature, the most recent decade of research was extracted from the GPD to progress through the systematic search and screening process (January 2009 – December 2018). At the time of conducting this rapid review, the timeframe from 2009 to 2018 (inclusive) included the most up-to-date data in the GPD.

Population

The primary purpose of this review was to provide a comprehensive synthesis of the evaluation literature pertaining to policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. The review included studies where the research participants or populations were macro-places (e.g., city-wide areas, states, countries), micro-places (e.g., specific businesses, streets), practitioners (police and partner organisations), citizens, (potential) offenders (convicted, charged, or arrested), and (potential) victims.

Types of Interventions

To be eligible for inclusion in the review, each document must have reported on an impact evaluation of policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. The protocol guiding the compilation of the GPD defines a policing intervention as some kind of a strategy, technique, approach, activity, campaign, training, directive, or funding / organisational change that involves police in some way (other agencies or organisations can be involved). Police involvement is broadly defined as:

- Police initiation, development or leadership
- Police are recipients of the intervention or the intervention is related, focused or targeted to police practices; or
- Delivery or implementation of the intervention by police.

For the purposes of this review, we define the intervention as a policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. The focus of the intervention could be on any type of crime. Social problems may include (but are not limited to) domestic and family violence, nuisance or disturbance calls, disorder, or mental health cases.

Example interventions may include:

- Warnings;
- Diversion;
- Dispersion;
- Cautioning;
- Referrals;

- Decision-making models that focus on assisting police to make pre-charge decisions or resolutions; or
- Patrolling or hotspots policing would be included if the activity is proactive in nature (i.e., to address a specific well-defined issue, with the aim of preventing or deterring crime so that a charge/arrest does not need to take place).

While arrest alone is not an eligible intervention, a study comparing the use of arrest to the use of a pre-charge intervention (as defined above), was considered eligible for this review. We acknowledge that non-arrest strategies (e.g., warnings) may occur after a person has been brought into custody. Further, we acknowledge that diversion has differing definitions based on jurisdiction; for example, in some jurisdictions (e.g., New Zealand), diversion is a post-charge (suspended), whereas in others, it may occur pre-charge (e.g., some states in the US). Additionally, in some jurisdictions, whether diversion occurs before or after charge/arrest may be left to the discretion of individual officers (e.g., in the case of the drug diversion program in Queensland, Australia).

Types of Outcomes

To be included in the review, the study must have used one or more of the following broad outcome categories to evaluate the intervention:

- Offending, crime (official data, self-report, observation).
- Victimization (official data, self-report, observation).
- Victim experience or satisfaction with the encounter.
- Perceptions of safety and perceptions of police (e.g., trust, confidence, procedural justice).
- Quality of police decision making (includes quality in relation to discretion and controls).

Types of Study Designs

To synthesise the most rigorous research, the review included research designs that allow for reliable conclusions about intervention effectiveness. Specifically, we aimed to include only systematic reviews and randomised experiments (or RCTs), as these designs are considered the “gold standard” for ascertaining intervention effectiveness. Eligible comparison conditions/groups include no treatment, placebo, “business-as-usual”, waitlist control, or an alternative treatment. While our narrative synthesis only includes evidence from systematic reviews and RCTs, we also provide a reference list of eligible quasi-experiments that utilised a statistically matched control group and/or pre-intervention baseline measures in Appendix A.

2.5 Screening and Coding Process

All search results were exported from the GPD into *SysReview*, a Microsoft Access database designed for managing systematic reviews (Higginson & Neville, 2013). 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 eligible records exported from the GPD. Trained research staff screened the full-text of each document using a standardised screening tool according to criteria listed below. If documents were not excluded, they were considered eligible for the review and progressed to coding and synthesis.

Full-Text Eligibility Exclusion Criteria

- Document is not unique (i.e. not a duplicate);
- Document does not report on eligible outcome measures;
- Document does not report on an eligible intervention;
- Document does not report on an impact evaluation of an eligible intervention using eligible outcomes [for RCTs];
- Studies in the review are ineligible research designs [for systematic reviews]; and
- Document does not use an eligible research design.

Full-Text Coding

A team of trained research staff coded each eligible study using to standardised guidelines to inform the 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.);
- Geographical location of the intervention;
- Sample race and ethnicity, including any subgroup analyses;
- Legislative or policy contexts underpinning the intervention;
- Research design (including comparison condition);
- Type of outcome measure(s) used to evaluate the intervention;
- Intervention description (e.g. setting, focus, treatment components, intensity); and

- Implementation challenges or process evaluations around internal police information dissemination and/or management of the intervention.

2.6 Search and Screening Summary

The PRISMA flowchart in Figure 2.1 (Moher et al., 2009) displays the attrition of identified records for the GPD processing and screening specifically for this review. The systematic search in the GPD identified 30,583 records (citations) prior to any systematic screening for presence of evaluations of interventions relating to police or policing. Of these 15,319 were screened as being potentially about police or policing on their titles and abstract. A total of 13,691 full-text English documents were located for final eligible screening in the GPD, with 826 unable to be located through institutional libraries¹. Of the located full-texts, 1,853 were screened as reporting on a quantitative impact evaluation of an intervention relating to police or policing, and deemed eligible for the GPD. Four hundred and eighty-one of these studies utilised “gold standard” systematic review and RCT or high-quality quasi-experimental research designs (i.e., used statistical matching techniques and/or baseline intervention measures), and were therefore imported into *SysReview* to assess their eligibility for this review. Twenty-seven studies (reported in 41 documents) were evaluations relating to policing activities prior to the point of arrest, charge or prosecution that is a direct response to a clearly defined social problem, suspicion of an offence, or an actual offence. Of these studies, a majority ($n = 21$) were RCTs and five were reviews. An additional 56 studies that utilised a statistically matched control group and/or pre-intervention baseline measures are cited in Appendix A². Due to the scarcity of information within the included studies that relates to information dissemination internally within police services, Appendix B also provides some supplementary references that explore the design and implementation of changes to police policy and practice.

¹ The vast majority of these records were conference abstracts.

² This includes one study harvested via a hand search of the literature, because its source was not indexed within the Global Policing Database at the time of writing.

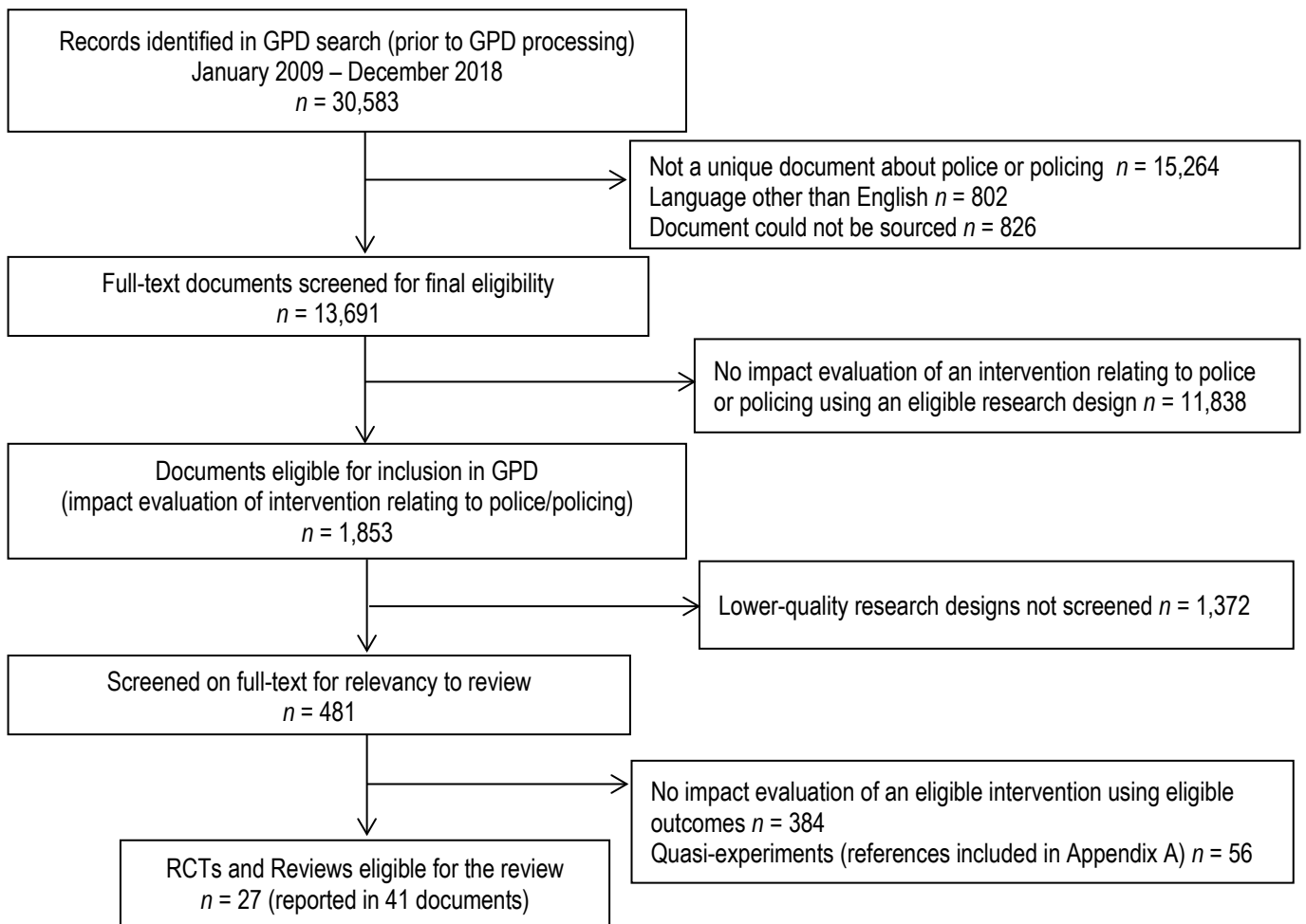


Figure 2.1. PRISMA Flow diagram for GPD search and policing activity prior to the point of arrest, charge, or prosecution.

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3: Proactive Procedural Justice Encounters

3.1 Introduction

For many citizens, a random breath test or other routine road policing/traffic stop may be their most frequent form of contact with the police (Murphy, Mazerolle & Bennett, 2014). The success of the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET, described below) has popularised the use of proactive procedural justice at these types of road policing encounters. Indeed, procedural justice policing has become a key decision-making process for frontline officers when interacting with citizens in a range of contexts (Bennett et al., 2019). Briefly, procedural justice is composed of four key principles: neutrality, trust, voice, and respect. The respect and trust components relate to the quality of communication and treatment provided by police to citizens, while neutrality and voice relate to the quality of police decision making. Specifically, these decision-making components seek to promote interactions where police are unbiased, fair, and allow citizens to ‘have their say’ (Bennett et al., 2019; Murphy et al., 2014). A growing body of research has shown benefits for a range of outcome measures, especially those relating to citizen perceptions of police (e.g., trust in police, police legitimacy, satisfaction with police), when all four procedural justice components are used in encounters with the public.

The search identified seven RCTs but no systematic reviews of proactive procedural justice interventions. These were reported in 17 documents and span four nations (USA, Australia, Scotland, and Turkey). The studies here focused specifically on the impact of proactive use of procedural justice in traffic encounters on outcomes relating to perceptions of the police, with a notable dearth of evidence across the eligible RCTs regarding the effectiveness of procedural justice encounters on other outcomes such as crime and victimisation. In addition to the seven RCTs reported in this section, the search identified two studies specifically examining the effectiveness of training officers in the use of procedural justice on victims’ perceptions of police and on police recruits’ decision-making skills. These studies are reported in the *Training for Police Decision Making* section (see Section 5.3).

3.2 Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET)

Eight documents reported findings from the QCET implemented in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia (Antrobus et al., 2015; Bates et al., 2015; Mazerolle et al., 2015; Murphy et al., 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Murphy, 2017; Murphy & Mazerolle 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2013). Mazerolle et al. (2015) provides a summary of findings across multiple outcomes and the other reports focus on specific

outcomes and practice-focused issues. The QCET study randomly assigned 60 roadside random breath test (RBT) operations to either business-as-usual ($n = 30$), or an experimental condition ($n = 30$), where police delivered a procedural justice script. This script emphasised the four components of procedural justice: neutrality, citizen participation, respect, and trustworthy motives. Police in the experimental condition also provided drivers with a community information bulletin prepared by the Queensland Police Service. The authors of QCET report that drivers who were subject to the experimental RBT encounter reported stronger and more positive perceptions of police (as operationalised by measures of fairness, respect, compliance, trust, confidence and satisfaction) than those who were subject to the standard (control) RBT encounter (Mazerolle et al., 2012; 2013). Bates et al. (2015) examined police and citizen perceptions of the encounters and found that police generally rated their own behaviour more positively than citizens did across both the experimental and control conditions, although overall, both police and citizen ratings of police behaviour were more positive in the procedurally just experimental condition than in the control condition. The authors theorise that officers who were allocated to the experimental condition are more aware of the importance of delivering road safety messages to the community in a procedurally just manner by virtue of their involvement in the intervention. Overall, the authors conclude that procedural justice elements applied to RBT stops can influence both police and driver perceptions of the efficacy and motives of police activities and the nature of the encounter.

3.3 Replications of QCET

Reported in three documents, the Scottish Community Engagement Trial (ScotCET) was a replication of QCET implemented in three policing districts in Scotland (Bradford et al., 2015; MacQueen & Bradford, 2015, 2017). In this study, 20 matched road policing units were randomly assigned to the experimental ($n = 10$) and business-as-usual control groups ($n = 10$). Unlike in Queensland, Scottish police were not legislatively allowed to conduct RBT operations, so drivers were stopped by police under a 'Festive Road Safety Campaign' launched over the Christmas and New Year period in order to encourage safe driving and to prevent drink driving. The stops involved routine safety checks on the vehicle (e.g., checking brake lights, tyres, etc.) and breath testing of the driver if it was determined the driver may be under the influence of alcohol. These standard stops comprised the business-as-usual condition, while officers in treatment units additionally received basic training in how to conduct the procedural justice encounter via a set of 'key messages' aiming to incorporate dignity, respect, equality, trust, neutrality, clarity, and voice. Similar to QCET, officers also handed out leaflets emphasising road safety as part of the experimental condition.

MacQueen and Bradford (2015) compared pre- and post-intervention measures of public trust and confidence in the police for citizen drivers exposed to the procedurally just traffic stop versus those exposed to business-as-usual traffic stops. The results indicated exposure to the procedurally just traffic stop did not improve trust in police, satisfaction with police, or perceptions of police legitimacy in comparison to citizens not exposed to the intervention. The authors highlight the potential difficulties with translating policing approaches to different cultural contexts. Using a different approach to examine the data and additional variables, Bradford et al. (2015) found that perceptions of procedural justice during the encounter had a strong association with perceptions of police legitimacy. However, the authors did not find that perceived police legitimacy was associated with drivers' actual intentions to comply with traffic laws.

The paper by MacQueen and Bradford (2017) examines the implementation processes in an attempt to understand why the promising results of the QCET intervention were not replicated in Scotland. ScotCET began with a purposive plan to involve operational police officers from the very start of the intervention. Officers were verbally briefed about the intent of the intervention where possible, but the research team also developed a communication strategy with the road police Management Support Unit to ensure that officers would receive the same detailed briefing. This written briefing was disseminated to all officers in the experimental condition, and included supplementary information about the study aims and objectives, instructions for implementation, an example for how the procedural justice encounter could be structured, and an aide memoir which contained the 'key messages' of procedural justice. The authors state that these materials were 'cascaded' down the level of command from the Management Support Unit through to the inspectors, sergeants, and constables. When reflecting upon the implementation 'failures' of ScotCET, the authors suggest that while they observed significant support and buy-in from senior officers, the reliance on a trickle-down of information within the organisational hierarchy may have led to treatment dilution, especially because senior officers were unable to systematically observe implementation on the ground to ensure adherence to the protocol. In other words, they hypothesised that mid- and street-level officers may not have fully understood the intervention protocol or its aims, or may have relied more on their own autonomy and discretion rather than on following the intervention protocol.

Focus group research by MacQueen and Bradford (2017) indicated that some officers felt the briefing messages were overly prescriptive, while others felt that they already employed the procedural justice components and thus did not need to be 'told how to do their job'. Indeed, the authors hypothesised that some officers reacted negatively at being asked to implement an

intervention for which they did not fully understand the aims and objectives. Another contextual factor relating to this observed lack of buy-in from street-level officers is the organisational climate at the time of implementation. Scottish policing was undergoing significant organisational changes (i.e., amalgamation from regional forces into one national police force) and discontent with the wider organisation, both internally and in the media, was prevalent at the time. Finally, the authors hypothesised that suspicion of or lack of trust in the managers and researchers themselves may have reduced street-level officer buy-in. While no single reason may fully explain the difference in results between the ScotCET and QCET trials, the findings presented by MacQueen and Bradford (2017) provide some useful insight into implementation considerations for future policing experiments in this area.

Another intervention by Sahin et al. (2017) is considered to be a partial replication of the QCET model. Overall, the intervention is similar in that it involved procedural justice scripts delivered by police officers to citizens, but citizens in this intervention were stopped during routine roadside speeding enforcement procedures and issued speeding tickets at the end of their encounter with the officer. In this study, police officers in Turkey were randomised to deliver the routine encounter ($n = 8$ officers) or the procedural justice encounter ($n = 6$). Officers in the experimental group were given training on how to deliver a procedural justice script, which they were encouraged to memorise (but could read from a postcard, if required). The script operationalised the same key components of procedural justice as in QCET and ScotCET (i.e., neutrality, trust, participation, dignity, and respect). Citizens subject to the experimental ($n = 254$) and business-as-usual control ($n = 246$) encounters completed a survey examining their perceptions of police post-encounter. Consistent with the results found in the QCET study, citizens who were subject to the experimental procedural justice encounter self-reported higher perceptions of police legitimacy, both in general (Cohen's $d = 0.16$) and specifically in relation to the speeding encounter for which they were stopped (Cohen's $d = 0.67$)³. The authors do not statistically assess differences that may be due to cultural or country variations between QCET and the Turkish replication, although they do note that past exploratory studies have indicated that Turkish citizens may feel more distrustful towards traffic police than standard police officers, stemming from wider perceptions of corruption and disrespectful traffic enforcement.

³ Cohen's d is a measure of effect. Effect sizes quantify difference between the two groups. In this case, a positive effect size would favour the effect of the experimental group. The strength of the relationship is indicated by the size of the effect. In other words, a larger number is indicative of a larger difference between the control and experimental groups.

3.4 Other Proactive Procedural Justice Studies

Analogous studies by other authors have examined the impact of procedural justice in the context of traffic encounters on outcomes around perceptions of police (e.g., trust, confidence, legitimacy). These studies are RCTs utilising vignettes whereby participants from the USA watched a videotape of a simulated traffic stop scenario that either contained all, some, or no components of procedural justice. Participants then responded to surveys asking them to rate their perceptions of police with regard to the witnessed encounter. These four studies are reported in five documents and are briefly summarised below (McLean, 2018; Maguire et al., 2016; Lowrey et al., 2016; Lowrey-Kinberg, 2017, 2018).

Maguire et al. (2016) conducted an RCT that examined whether positive, procedurally just police-citizen encounters had an effect on participants' perceptions of police (i.e., trust, willingness to cooperate with police, and obligation to obey police). Researchers sampled university students who were randomised to watch one of three video recordings of a simulated traffic stop: procedurally just officer communication (i.e., polite language, explains instructions on the speeding ticket, asks driver if he has any questions), procedurally unjust officer communication (i.e., officer speaks rudely, admonishes driver for speeding), or neutral officer communication (control condition). The authors concluded that observing positive, procedural justice-based police interactions resulted in enhanced self-reported willingness to cooperate with police officers, a greater sense of obligation to obey officers and the law, and a greater sense of confidence and trust in the police. These beneficial effects were observed in relation to participants' views toward the specific encounter viewed in the video, as well as views toward police more generally, with results showing significantly stronger for outcomes pertaining specifically to the encounter than for general attitudes toward the police. Observing negative police interactions negated these beneficial outcomes.

Similar to Maguire et al. (2016), McLean (2018) varied their vignettes by 'high' and 'low' procedural justice. Specifically, in the 'high' procedural justice condition, the officer in the video was polite, justified why he had pulled the citizen over, and allowed the citizen to have 'voice' in the encounter. In the 'low' procedural justice condition, the officer was rude, showed personal bias, and used profanity. The 'high' and 'low' conditions also varied by the outcome of the traffic stop (i.e., either the citizen was written a speeding ticket, or given a warning). Results suggest that citizens who witnessed the 'high' procedural justice condition were more likely to view the officer in the encounter as procedurally fair than citizens who witnessed the 'low' procedural justice condition, although the author cautions against drawing inferences from this result due to the small coefficient

($\beta = -0.07$). Despite the small coefficient, this study did measure perceptions of police pre- and post-viewing of the video, and suggests that the increase in perceptions may be directly related to watching the procedurally just encounter. Similar results were found for the outcome measures for trust in police and perceptions of police legitimacy.

Another study, reported in three documents (Lowrey-Kinberg, 2017, 2018; Lowrey et al., 2016), randomly assigned participants to view body-worn camera footage of a traffic stop for speeding where the police officer either took: a) a procedurally just approach; b) an over-accommodative language style; or c) a business-as-usual approach. While the procedural justice approach used a script containing the four components of procedural justice similar to the other studies (e.g., QCET, ScotCET), the over-accommodation condition consisted of the officer utilising intensified procedurally just dialogue with the addition of informal phrasing that aimed to minimise the imposition on the motorist and the salience of the formal authority of the officer. Participants in the procedurally just condition perceived the officer to be most professional and authoritative, followed by the control condition and then the over-accommodating condition. The authors found no difference between groups in general perceptions of police authoritative and professionalism. Further, those who viewed the procedural justice material reported higher levels of trust and confidence in the police officer and a greater willingness to obey and cooperate with the law than those in the over-accommodation and control conditions. However, whilst the procedural justice stimuli beneficially impacted attitudes regarding the specific encounter, it had no impact on attitudes toward the police more generally. The findings highlight the importance of procedural justice for enhancing citizen's attitudes toward police encounters, and how variations in linguistic formality and tone can degrade these beneficial effects.

In Lowrey-Kinberg's (2017) second study, participants were randomly assigned to watch one of three traffic stop videos from the perspective of a police body-worn camera. In the video, the police officer had one of three styles of communication: deferential, a rapport-building, or neutral. An online survey was used to measure participants' self-reported perceptions of procedural justice, willingness to cooperate, obligation or obey, and trust and confidence in relation to the police officer in the video, and towards police in general. The author found that participants who received the rapport-building style of communication had significantly more positive perceptions of the police encounter and attitudes towards the officer than those in the control or deferential conditions. In terms of general attitudes towards the police, the only difference between groups was seen in a greater obligation to obey the police as reported by the rapport-building condition when compared to

the deferential treatment group. Whilst there were no statistically significant effects for other general attitudes toward the police, there is still an indication that the intervention improved participant attitudes. The regression analysis of the other general attitude outcomes (willingness to cooperate, trust and confidence) yielded positive, statistically non-significant effects of the rapport-building intervention. There was also no difference between the deference and control conditions on these measures, such that the rapport intervention had the only significant generalised beneficial impact on participants' attitudes toward the police.

3.5 Summary of Included Studies

Table 3.1 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Proactive Procedural Justice – General Study Characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Antrobus et al. (2015); Bates et al. (2015); Mazerolle et al. (2015); Murphy et al. (2014); Mazerolle et al. (2012); Murphy (2017); Murphy & Mazerolle (2018); Mazerolle et al. (2013)	Brisbane, Queensland, Australia	Region of Birth – Australia 49.17%; Europe 39.5%; Asia 5%; Countries ‘close to Australia’ (e.g., New Zealand) 3.74%; Africa, Middle East & the Americas 2.6%. Murphy & Mazerolle (2018) compare immigrants and Australian-born citizens. Figure 1 shows that the experimental condition had a slightly stronger positive effect on building trust among overseas born participants. Figure 2 shows same pattern in experimental condition for young immigrants (under 26). Figure 3 shows procedural justice policing had a positive effect on changing willingness to report crime among immigrants.	Mentions policy aims to reduce road death toll. Random breath testing is underpinned by legislation, making it possible to utilise the RBT setting for the intervention.	RCT with business-as-usual control (standard RBT procedure/statement)
Bradford et al. (2015); MacQueen & Bradford (2015); MacQueen & Bradford (2017)	Scotland (whole country)	None reported	Key provisions of the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 brought into force merging eight police forces into a single national force eight months prior to commencement of trial (wider context rather than specific to intervention). Random breath testing is not permitted in Scotland (can only be done if the officer has reasonable suspicion that the driver has been drinking) and police roadside stops are conducted on the basis of broader issues, i.e. driver and vehicle safety. This resulted in more varied encounters than in the QCET intervention.	RCT with business-as-usual control (standard traffic stop)
Sahin et al. (2017)	Adana, Turkey	None, but does qualitatively speculate about the political, cultural and religious context differing between Turkey (the replication) and Australia (where the original trial was). In Turkey, it is speculated that the citizens have lower levels of baseline trust in police and view them with less legitimacy.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control group (routine encounter speeding stop)

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Lowrey et al. (2016); Lowrey-Kinberg (2018); Lowrey-Kinberg (2017)	Washington, DC, USA	Participant race – White 69.8%; Non-white 30.2%. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control (standard traffic stop)
Lowrey-Kinberg (2017)	Spokane, Washington, USA	Participant race – White 83.3%; Black 10%; Asian/Pacific Islander 3.6%; Other 30%. Participant ethnicity – Hispanic 6.6%; Non-Hispanic 93.4%. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control (standard traffic stop)
Maguire et al. (2016)	Washington, DC, & Fairfax, VA, USA	Participant race – White 64.4%; Black 8.3%; Asian or Pacific Islander 11.1%; Native American 0.4%; Other 9.1%; Multiracial 6.7%. Participant ethnicity – Hispanic 18.5%; Non-Hispanic: 81.5% Outcomes did not significantly differ by race or ethnicity.	None reported	RCT with alternative treatment groups (procedurally just, neutral, and unjust traffic stops)
McLean (2018)	USA (not further specified)	None reported	None reported	RCT with alternative treatment groups ('high' procedural justice incorporating all elements, or 'low' condition incorporating none)

Table 3.2 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Proactive Procedural Justice – Intervention Characteristics

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Antrobus et al. (2015); Bates et al. (2015); Mazerolle et al. (2015); Murphy et al. (2014); Mazerolle et al. (2012); Murphy (2017); Murphy & Mazerolle (2018); Mazerolle et al. (2013)	<u>Target:</u> Improve citizens' perceptions of police as being procedurally just <u>Intervention:</u> Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET), procedurally just script at random breath testing operations. Scripts containing key elements of procedural justice used (fairness, neutrality, trustworthiness, respectfulness, and community voice)	Perceptions of police; Community engagement and impact of the communication; trust and confidence in police; willingness to support police.	Operational officers were briefed by their commanding officer before each of the operations. They were given a cue card with the prompts laid out. How exactly they were briefed is not discussed. Intervention delivery/integrity was monitored by the senior officers and researchers who monitored whether they delivered the script as intended.

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Bradford et al. (2015); MacQueen & Bradford (2015); MacQueen & Bradford (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve citizen perceptions of police and likelihood of future compliance</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Scottish Community Engagement Trial (ScotCET), procedurally just series of key messages to include in interactions with drivers stopped during a national road safety campaign. Experimental group also received a leaflet to reinforce perceived fairness of interaction and broader safety campaign</p>	Perceptions of police (likelihood of future compliance, procedural justice)	Operational officers were involved in the entire implementation process. The senior officers and researchers developed a communication strategy to inform operational officers of the procedures in the experimental condition, developed with the Management Support Unit and involving a written briefing that was 'cascaded' down the chain of authority to the officers on the ground. The written briefing was accompanied by verbal briefings and provided information about the requirements for implementation including the key procedural justice messages and the aide memoir.
Sahin et al. (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve citizens' perceptions of police as being procedurally just</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Procedurally just script and polite and respectful demeanour of police at routine speeding ticketing operations. Scripts containing key elements of procedural justice used (neutrality, trust, participation, and dignity/respect)</p>	Perceptions of police (trust in the police, satisfaction with the police)	Treatment officers received training regarding how to deliver to the procedural justice script, however, this is not elaborated upon.
Lowrey et al. (2016); Lowrey-Kinberg (2018); Lowrey-Kinberg (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve encounter-specific attitudes toward officers in simulated traffic stop as well as general attitudes towards police</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Simulated traffic stop with control, procedural justice, and overaccommodation conditions. Participants were shown a video from a body-worn camera view of a traffic stop for speeding, with treatment conditions incorporating procedural justice (elements of respect, neutrality and citizen voice) and overaccommodation (additional dialogue that enhances the elements of procedural justice using informal and deferential communicative characteristics)</p>	Perceptions of police	N/A – lab-based video vignette study (no active implementation)
Lowrey-Kinberg (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve encounter-specific attitudes toward officers in simulated traffic stop as well as general attitudes towards police</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Participants were shown one of three videos of a vehicle stop. The neutral condition depicted a</p>	Perceptions of police	N/A – lab-based video vignette study (no active implementation)

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Maguire et al. (2016)	<p>standard vehicle stop. The deferential stop depicted an officer using principles of deferential politeness (formal greeting, respectful tone, deferential communication) that further established the status disparity between citizen and officer. The rapport condition depicted an officer communicating in such a way that emphasised the officer and citizen share a social group, through features such as an informal greeting, phrase shortening and in-group address forms.</p> <p><u>Target:</u> Examine effects of procedural justice on encounter-specific attitudes toward officers in simulated traffic stop as well as general attitudes towards police</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Participants were shown a video from a body-worn camera perspective of a speeding traffic stop. The neutral condition consists of plain language stating facts (the driver was speeding, requesting the driver's documentation, issuing a speeding ticket). The procedurally unjust condition contains the same elements of interaction as the neutral delivered in a rude or aggressive manner. The procedurally just condition also contains the same elements of interaction as the neutral but incorporating key aspects of procedural justice: respect (polite dialogue), citizen voice (an invitation for the driver to ask questions), and fair decision-making/trustworthy motives (an explanation for why the officer issued the ticket)</p>	Perceptions of police (trust, confidence, obligation to obey)	N/A – lab-based video vignette study (no active implementation)
McLean (2018)	<p><u>Target:</u> Examine how procedural justice impacts an individual's perception of and trust in the police</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Scenario of traffic stop of individual pulled over for speeding with varying condition of high or low procedural justice (officer speaks politely, gives voice to the citizen and reasons for the stop related to public safety, or officer uses profanity, no voice given, and reasons for pulling the citizen over are based in personal biases not law)</p>	Perceptions of police	N/A – lab-based video vignette study (no active implementation)

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4: Strategies Targeting Social Groups

4.1 Introduction

Specific social groups within society, such as culturally and linguistically diverse people, young people or people experiencing mental illness, may have an increased chance of coming into contact with police (and the criminal justice system more broadly) than other groups (Parker et al., 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2018; Fischer, 2021). This review located a total of 10 (reported in 11 documents) reviews and RCTs which fall broadly within police diversion strategies that target social groups, reported in the subsections here. Specifically, these interventions target youth offenders, domestic and family violence offenders, and people experiencing mental illness.

4.2 Police-Initiated Diversion for Young Offenders

While misbehaviour is considered a normal part of adolescence, this can escalate to crime and delinquency for some youth. 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 potential future crimes (Wilson, Brennan, & Olaghery, 2018a). Police diversion from formal justice system processing, such as issuing warnings or cautions rather than making an arrest, is considered an appealing and lower-cost alternative by many law enforcement officers.

Our search identified one systematic review but no RCTs examining the effectiveness of police-initiated diversion for low-risk youth offenders. This review by Wilson, Brennan and Olaghery was published in 2018 with the Campbell Collaboration. The review aimed to examine experimental and quasi-experimental interventions pertaining to police-initiated diversion at any time prior to a formal charge for low-risk youth (defined as children who were suspected of involvement in crime or delinquent behaviour, but not necessarily labelled as “delinquent”, and primarily aged 12 to 17, although the review authors included studies where less than 20% of the sample was aged between 17 and 22). This review included delinquency as its primary outcome, measured using either official (e.g., arrest), self-, parent-, or school-reported data. Wilson, Brennan and Olaghery (2018b) identified 31 treatment-comparison contrasts across 19 studies that met these eligibility criteria.

While only three of the 19 studies included in this review were published between 2009 and 2018 (reported in two documents; Haines et al., 2012; Little, 2015), the meta-analytic findings that combines all 19 studies provides the most robust indicator of effectiveness. However, we discuss the nature of the three studies meeting the current review criteria – in addition to the meta-analytic findings – to explicate specific intervention components. The meta-analytic findings utilised 67

effect sizes⁴ across 31 comparisons between diversion and traditional processing, and found that police-initiated diversion of youth offenders from formal justice system processing modestly reduced future delinquent behaviour, relative to traditional processing (mean odds ratios = 0.77 and 0.82 respectively, 95% CI= 0.63 – 0.95 and 0.66 – 1.00, respectively). The authors of the review were unable to undertake subgroup analyses by race/ethnicity, as these were largely unreported by the included studies. Further, this review does not provide any commentary regarding the legislative contexts or implementation nuances for the included studies.

The three studies meeting our review criteria used rigorous quasi-experimental research designs whereby the authors statistically matched the treatment and control groups for equivalency. Two were conducted in Lewisham, London in the UK (Haines et al., 2012) and the third in Queensland, Australia (Little, 2015). All three studies examined the effectiveness of a cautioning intervention versus formal court processing on court contact (Haines et al., 2012) and recontact with the justice system (Little, 2015). In alignment with the overall meta-analytic findings from Wilson, Brennan and Olaghere's (2018b) review, the findings from these three studies suggest that police-initiated diversion is a promising intervention that may be able to reduce future delinquent behaviour in young people. Specifically, Little (2015) examined whether traditional caution involving a police officer, the young person, and their parent/s, whereby the officer provides an explanation of the legal and social consequences of continued delinquency (versus formal court processing) for youth aged 10 to 16 years resulted in recontact with the justice system up to 24 months from initial intervention. Meanwhile, both studies reported in Haines et al. (2012) compared court contact outcomes for youth aged 10 to 17 years who had been exposed to either a caution alongside referral to other services, or formal court processing. Both papers reported that police-initiated diversion was effective in reducing future criminal justice system contact for youth.

4.3 Mental Health Diversion Strategies

Introduction

Individuals suffering from mental illness encounter police at disproportionately high rates, and mismanagement of these individuals can result in incarceration instead of referral to beneficial treatment services (Parker et al., 2018). The undue criminalisation of mental illness could be prevented by providing more effective policing strategies and diversion options to frontline officers,

⁴ Effect sizes quantify difference between the two groups. In this case, a positive effect size would favour the effect of the experimental group. The strength of the relationship is indicated by the size of the effect. In other words, a larger number is indicative of a larger difference between the control and experimental groups.

such as the implementation of Crisis Intervention Teams (Lamb & Weinberger, 2002). The search identified two RCTs and four reviews of quasi-experimental evaluations which report on eligible mental health diversion strategies. The RCTs both evaluated different training programs on participants' knowledge and proficiency of de-escalation, whereas the reviews covered more diverse interventions such as CITs and diversion. The studies address outcomes including arrest, placement in custody, calls for service, drug use and police de-escalation proficiency. Included evaluations were largely based on samples drawn from the USA, except for one from the UK. The evaluations have been categorised by intervention type: diversion at the point of arrest, CIT or training on mental health crisis management for police.

Diversion at the point of arrest

A scoping review by Parker et al. (2018) examined models of interagency collaboration for individuals suffering from mental illness who come into contact with police. The review included impact evaluations and articles that generally described collaboration models published prior to mid-2017. Of the 125 included studies, one was a quasi-experimental evaluation utilising a non-equivalent control group design with baseline assessment considered rigorous enough for eligibility in the present review (Scott et al., 2016). Similarly, a systematic review by Kane et al. (2018) identified 23 evaluations of mental health-related policing interventions published between 1980 and 2016. Of the included studies, one was eligible for inclusion in the present review (Bonkiewicz et al., 2014). The two eligible studies from each of these reviews (Scott et al., 2016 and Bonkiewicz et al., 2014) are briefly summarised below.

Scott et al. (2016) evaluated the impact of a Diversion At the Point of Arrest (DAPA) liaison program on subsequent self-reported drug misuse (Drug Abuse Screening Test, Short Form – DAST) for offenders in Belfast (UK). The program involved mental health assessment at the earliest point of contact in an offender's progression through the criminal justice system, and referral of offenders experiencing mental illness to local social and health services. The screening process was undertaken by two Community Mental Health Nurses, liaising with local justice and healthcare entities, through assessment of custody record forms. Criteria for referral consisted of mentions of mental illness or learning disability, unusual or 'eccentric' offending leading to police contact and violent crime, and any offender meeting this criterion was invited to receive further assessment. Offenders could also be directly referred to the treatment by custodial officials or the Resident Magistrate. Forty-three percent of offenders ($n = 68$) who received an assessment under this service agreed to participate in the evaluation on the basis that they would be willing to meet with the researcher for a follow-up

assessment six months after intake. The authors were not able to compare research and non-research participants in their analyses, so there is the potential that self-selection into the research may confound results, as this group may have been more willing to engage in services, more willing to make improvements to their wellbeing, or be more agreeable. The research participants who were referred to the service ($n = 68$) were compared with a sample of similar offenders in a neighbouring city who did not have access to the same treatment ($n = 90$).

Follow-up assessment at six months revealed no significant difference between the treatment and control participants in self-reported drug misuse, and rates of self-reported drug misuse increased from baseline to follow-up in both groups, noting that self-reported drug use was the only eligible outcome measure for this review. These findings do not provide support for the DAPA program as a means to reduce self-reported drug use. However, it is worth noting the limitation of self-report as a measure of drug use, in that both groups mean scores on the measure were lower than expected for the population at baseline, possibly as a result of dishonesty and the social desirability effect. Alternatively, if participants were not abusing drugs at a high rate prior to the intervention, potential benefits of the program for drug use reduction could be difficult to ascertain from the data.

Bonkiewicz et al. (2014) evaluated the impact of the Lincoln (Nebraska) Police Department's Post-Crisis Assistance Program (PCAP) on future mental health calls for service and the likelihood of arrest or placement in emergency protective custody compared with a matched sample that experienced business-as-usual policing. The PCAP program consisted of police officers providing information regarding available mental health services to people who experienced a mental health crisis, and subsequent referral to the Mental Health Association of Nebraska (MHA). Following the police contact, the mental health organisation would make contact with the individual within 24 to 48 hours to provide support and further mental health referrals relevant to the individual's situation. Peer specialists, who themselves had experienced long term mental illness, were utilised to make contact with referred individuals in order to provide further credibility to the referral process. This evaluation utilised the Lincoln Police Department, MHA and Nebraska Criminal Justice Information System databases, identifying civilians recorded as having had a MHC between July and December in 2012. The comparison group ($n = 573$) consisted of individuals who were statistically matched on demographic, psychopathological and criminal history variables to those who received the PCAP intervention ($n = 166$). At six-month follow-up, participants who received the PCAP referral exhibited fewer subsequent mental health calls for service, a reduction in arrest risk ranging from 19% to 27%, and a reduction in the risk of being taken into protective custody ranging from 9% to

17%. The authors concluded that the PCAP referral reduces both the likelihood of being placed into custody and the incidents in which self-admission to emergency protective custody with mental health clinicians is an option⁵. Generally, the PCAP referral process yielded promising results for individuals experiencing mental health crises who encounter the criminal justice system, as it may be able to prevent the ongoing distress of being placed in custody or arrested in the future.

Crisis Intervention Teams

Crisis Intervention Teams (CITs) aim to divert people experiencing mental health crises from arrest to appropriate treatment services by empowering law enforcement with trained support personnel (Taheri, 2016). There were two reviews of CIT evaluations, one of which found promising evidence in support of CITs for preventing arrest (Dewa et al., 2018). The other found mixed evidence regarding the benefits of CITs, and emphasised a need for further research (Taheri, 2016).

Dewa et al. (2018) reviewed evaluations of pre-charge diversion programs for reducing the criminalisation of mental illness in police encounters. The review included evaluations of pre-charge diversion programs that aim to redirect people experiencing a mental health crisis from arrest at the first point of contact with police, and connect them to appropriate treatment and support. In order to be included, studies had to utilise a comparison group based on treatment as usual, an arrest outcome measure and an intervention that is initiated by police contact that is in response to a mental health crisis. The review identified four eligible studies evaluating CITs in USA localities, two of which were eligible for the present review (Compton et al., 2014; Watson et al., 2010). Three studies found no significant impact of CIT on the likelihood of arrest, however the study by Compton et al. (2014) found that encounters with CIT-trained officers were associated with lower rates of arrest (13% versus 24%) and higher rates of referral (40% versus 29%) compared with those with non-CIT trained officers. All four studies found statistically significant, beneficial effects of CIT training for referral to mental health services compared with non-CIT programming, in that the training seems to have assisted officers with identifying offenders in need of mental health support. This may lead to better detection of individuals in crisis in the community, allowing for early referral to support services and the prevention of future crisis events.

⁵ Self-admission to custody refers to situations in which a police officer identifies an individual who meets the criteria for admission to emergency protective custody with mental health clinicians, but is not extreme enough to warrant forceful placement in custody, and so the individual opts to self-admit. In these cases, the officer would transport the consenting individual to the mental health treatment service.

Taheri (2016) identified evaluations of CIT interventions using a comparison group with assessment of arrest and/or use of force outcomes. The review identified six studies that utilised arrest outcomes, four of which were US-based studies eligible for the present report (Acker, 2010; Compton et al., 2014; Stewart, 2009; Watson et al., 2010), and two of these were also included in the review by Dewa et al. (2018) (Compton et al., 2014; Watson et al., 2010). These studies are not synthesised individually as they do not meet the criteria of the present review, and but their combined meta-analytic results are presented. The authors conducted a meta-analysis of these studies, finding a small effect size in favour of the CIT training group⁶. That is, compared to the control group, CIT training was associated with a lower likelihood of arrest in encounters with mentally ill individuals across all included studies (Cohen's $d = 0.180$, 95% CI = -0.136, 0.496, $p = 0.495$). Moderator analysis⁷ of these results found that when evaluations utilised a statistically matched control group research design, the effect of CIT training on arrests was stronger (Cohen's $d = 0.390$, $p < 0.001$), compared with evaluations that utilised less rigorous unmatched control group designs (Cohen's $d = 0.092$, $p > 0.05$). Further, studies that used officer self-report arrest outcome data had a more beneficial effect of CIT training on arrests (Cohen's $d = 0.413$, $p = p < 0.001$) than studies that used official data (Cohen's $d = -0.118$); in other words, CIT-trained officers were less likely to make an arrest compared to non-CIT trained officers, as reported by themselves. This finding suggests that further evaluation is required to fully understand the benefit of CIT training for arrest outcomes, especially because self-report measures of arrest can be influenced by social desirability. However the authors note that the difference in findings between outcome measures should be taken cautiously due to the small number of studies included in the analysis.

Training for police on mental health crisis management

The CIT approach is also implemented by way of training police officers to de-escalate encounters with distressed individuals. Novel approaches to de-escalation training have grown from the CIT foundation and utilise different training components, but often have the same goal of reducing arrest, use of force and injury (Hacker, 2017). Police training for mental health crisis de-escalation was evaluated in two RCTs. The RCT by Duckett (2017) evaluates a traditional CIT training approach, and found it to be effective at relaying concepts of crisis management to police officers. A novel

⁶ Effect sizes quantify difference between the two groups. In this case, a positive effect size would favour the effect of the experimental group. The strength of the relationship is indicated by the size of the effect. In other words, a larger number is indicative of a larger difference between the control and experimental groups.

⁷ This examined whether the meta-analytic results varied by features of the studies such as the geographical region, research design, whether the study was published in a journal or grey literature, and whether the arrest outcome measure was self-reported by individuals or taken from officially-recorded data.

approach to police de-escalation training delivered online was evaluated by Hacker (2017), and found promising preliminary evidence in support of the programme with a mixed police-civilian sample (see below).

Duckett (2017) evaluated the impact of CIT training on police officer's knowledge of de-escalation skills as measured by the De-escalation Skills Scale in a sample of Memphis Police Department (USA) officers. The outcome measure assessed participants' knowledge of techniques and approaches for reducing the likelihood of violence in an encounter with a person experiencing a mental health crisis. The CIT training was based on the Memphis Model, which was the first iteration of the approach and forms the basis for the majority of contemporary CIT programs due to its successes in past evaluations. Indeed, the Memphis Model is known as the gold standard of mental health frameworks for police officers and other community support workers. The Memphis Model is considered the basis for the alliance of police officers and mental health workers in the field, and the core of the model is preventing harm by strengthening these partnerships in practice. Participants were block-randomised to receive the CIT training in one of two weeks of the training program based on precinct and shift coverage requirements. Participants who completed the training in week 1 ($n = 29$) demonstrated significantly greater knowledge of de-escalation at the end of the first week than those in the waitlist-control group ($n = 29$), and both groups demonstrated equivalent improvements in knowledge from pre to post training. The findings highlight the potential of CIT training for enhancing an officer's tactical repertoire to potentially reduce the likelihood of violence in mental health-related encounters.

Hacker (2017) evaluated the impact of DEFUSE, an interactive internet-based mental health and de-escalation skills training program for law enforcement, on the knowledge and behavioural proficiency regarding mental health crisis encounters. The DEFUSE program is described as a cost-effective education program that is based on a stress inoculation framework, providing skills training and behavioural rehearsal aiming to defuse potentially violent law enforcement encounters with individuals in crisis. Specifically, stress inoculation involves preparing for high-stress situations by learning and rehearsing de-escalation skills and other practical strategies so that these situations are less confronting and can be better managed.

The study sample consisted of both law enforcement (21%) and civilian participants who were randomly assigned to either the DEFUSE training program ($n = 12$) or a waitlist-control treatment ($n = 12$). Participants had to be older than 21 years of age, have received no CIT training and not be a mental health professional to be included in the study. Outcome measures include assessments of

stigma towards mental illness, empathy, perceived self-efficacy in handling interactions with individuals in crisis, de-escalation and referral decision making and responses to hypothetical policing encounter scenarios presented in the form of vignettes. Participants who received the DEFUSE training demonstrated significantly greater proficiency, empathy, knowledge, and confidence in handling individuals in crisis and less stigma towards mental illness than those who were in the control condition. These findings suggest that the DEFUSE program holds potential utility for enhancing police officer decision making and general engagement with mentally ill individuals. However, the study sample is relatively small ($N = 24$) and largely made up of non-law enforcement participants (79% civilian), such that further research utilising a larger, more representative sample of police officers may be required to establish the extent to which the program is effective.

Summary of Included Studies

Table 4.1 Randomised Controlled Trials and Systematic Reviews Evaluating Mental Health Diversion Strategies – General study characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Parker et al. (2018)	Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK (Scott et al., 2016)	None reported	None reported in relation to the specific intervention synthesised, however the paper does discuss legislation and policies in the UK in a broader sense, including an example of information sharing agreement models such as the Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) which are established under the UK Criminal Justice Act 2003.	Systematic Review
Kane et al. (2018)	Lincoln, Nebraska, USA (Bonkiewicz et al., 2014)	None reported	None reported	Systematic Review
Taheri (2016)	Bloomington, Indiana (Stewart 2009); Pinella County, Florida (Acker 2010); Chicago, Illinois, USA (Watson 2010); and Georgia (Compton et al. 2014); USA	Included studies samples are either all White or unspecified No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported	None reported	Systematic Review
Dewa et al. (2018)	Georgia, USA (Compton et al., 2014) and Chicago, Illinois, USA (Watson et al., 2010)	None reported	None reported	Systematic Review
Duckett (2017)	Memphis, Tennessee, USA	Caucasian 55.4%; African American 37.5%; Mixed racial background 3.6%. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported	None reported	RCT with waitlist control
Hacker (2017)	11 states (not specified), USA	Caucasian: 87.5% No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported	<u>None reported</u>	RCT with waitlist control

Table 4.2 Randomised Controlled Trials and Systematic Reviews Evaluating Mental Health Diversion Strategies – Intervention characteristics

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Parker et al. (2018)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce the criminalisation of mental illness</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Mental health Diversion At the Point of Arrest (DAPA) program. Mental health assessment at earliest point of contact with criminal justice system and referral of offenders experiencing mental illness to local health and social services. Screening was done by two Community Mental Health Nurses through assessment of custody records. Records must mention mental illness or learning disability, unusual or 'eccentric' offending leading to police contact, and violent crime for the offender to be invited to receive further assessment. Offenders could also receive a direct referral to the treatment by custodial officials or the Resident Magistrate.</p>	Self-reported drug misuse (Drug Abuse Screening Test, Short Form – DAST)	None reported
Kane et al. (2018)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce the criminalisation of mental illness</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Post-Crisis Assistance Program (PCAP). Officers provided information for available mental health services and a referral to the Mental Health Association of Nebraska to people who experienced a mental health crisis. Within 24-48 hrs the Mental Health Association peer-specialists contacted the individual to support and provide appropriate further referrals if necessary.</p>	Arrest, Placement in protective custody, Mental health-related calls for service	None reported
Taheri (2016)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve outcomes for civilians in crisis encounters relating to mental illness</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Crisis Intervention Teams- pre-charge mental health diversion. Intervention at the point of police contact. Connecting people with mental illness with appropriate treatment and support. Specially trained officers respond to mental health crises and act as a link to mental health services. CITs focus on de-escalation techniques and avoiding arrest.</p>	Arrest	None reported
Dewa et al. (2018)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve outcomes for civilians in crisis encounters relating to mental illness, and reduce the criminalisation of mental illness</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Crisis Intervention Teams – pre-charge mental health diversion. Intervention at the point of police contact. CITs connect people with mental illness with appropriate treatment and support. Either specially trained officers respond to mental health crises and act as a link to mental health services (officers receive 40hrs training using the Memphis CIT model prior to joining the team) or mental health professionals responding with police and providing phone consultations to officers with questions in the field. Both types of intervention teams focus on de-escalation techniques and avoiding arrest.</p>	Arrest, referral, resolution	None reported
Duckett (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce escalation to violence due to officer mismanagement of crisis situations</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training. Law enforcement officers participated in one of the two weeks of training. The CIT training sessions occurred over a one week period (40hrs) and included lectures on topics like clinical issues related to mental illness, medication, and suicide prevention; on-site visits to the local Veterans Affairs medical center (VAMC) and other community resource centers; and practical training through scenario-based situations with feedback from staff and experienced CIT officers. A large component of CIT training is de-escalation skills training, which starts with the simple basic verbal skills and basic de-escalation strategies, then moves through stages of an escalating crisis and advanced verbal skills to the more complex concepts of practical applications and complex crisis intervention strategies.</p>	Knowledge of de-escalation skills	None reported, although the CIT training was part of the police department's normal training requirements and officers were paid their usual salaries for the week.

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Hacker (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce escalation to violence due to officer mismanagement of crisis situations</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> DEFUSE Online training program. 2 hour program that teaches about mental illness and provides skills for de-escalating in mental health encounters. Mental illness awareness module emphasises the importance of proper treatment, reminds officers they are often the first professional to contact the person with acute symptoms of mental illness, and shows the critical role officers have in diverting from the criminal justice system to treatment by using didactics and video and graphic representations of real people with mental illness. The module also presents six common symptoms of mental illness (sadness, anxiety, anger, mania, delusions and hallucination) and links that knowledge to choosing the appropriate skill set to use.</p> <p>The de-escalation module teaches six skills for de-escalation (gather data and document, set expectations, figure out feelings of the subject, demonstrate understanding, self-monitor, and use the environment). Officers learn these skills through a combination of modelled interactions, re-phrasing of the concept, and roleplay rehearsal. Feedback is offered before proceeding.</p>	<p>Knowledge of de-escalation skills, Behavioural proficiency in handling mental health crisis scenarios, Referral decision making</p>	<p>None reported</p>

4.4 Alternatives to Arrest for Domestic and Family Violence Cases

Domestic and family violence (DFV) is a pervasive, challenging criminological issue that requires sensitive and effective criminal justice interventions (Brame et al. 2015). Police officers are faced with difficult decisions to warn or arrest offenders in responding to incidents of DFV, and subsequently must protect victims throughout the processing of cases that make it to court (Brame et al. 2015).

The review identified two RCTs of policing interventions for DFV that are implemented either before arrest or prosecution. The evaluations both incorporated outcome measures of reoffending and were undertaken in the USA. One was an evaluation of policing responses that occur at the point of first contact with a DFV incident, and the other evaluation examined pro-active enforcement of no-contact orders by police, aiming to protect victims throughout their progression from charges to court proceedings (Brame et al., 2015; Clodfelter, 2015). The evaluation of police-level sanctions for DFV did not yield strong evidence in support of any specific sanction, and proactive no-contact order enforcement benefitted victims' perceptions of police but was not found to impact recidivism against victims at six months post-intervention.

Brame et al. (2015) evaluated the impact of proactive enforcement of no-contact orders on victim safety and offender behaviour in cases of DFV in South Carolina, USA. No-contact orders aim to protect victims from abusers throughout the progression of their case from arrest to sentencing. The proactive enforcement involved police contacting victims to ensure that they understood the terms of their no-contact order, what to do if the order is breached, and also to monitor the situation to gather evidence of any harassment and prevent further harm. A sample of 466 misdemeanour DFV cases were randomly assigned to either proactive enforcement of no-contact orders ($n = 237$) or business-as-usual routine enforcement ($n = 229$), and outcomes were monitored for six months. The study assessed the impact of the treatment on offender recidivism (official records), victim safety, victims' perceptions of the contact order and their abuser, and victims' contact with law enforcement. There was no impact of proactive enforcement of no-contact orders on offender recidivism or victim safety compared with controls. Victims who were subject to the proactive enforcement were more likely to be aware of the no-contact order, have greater contact with law enforcement and victim support services and be more likely to perceive interactions with their batterer as harassment or stalking. The findings did not identify the hypothesised benefits of proactive enforcement on recidivism or victim safety, and the authors suggest that implementation problems may have weakened the intervention fidelity. There were problems with contacting victims to participate in the program, police personnel

turnover and a lack of funding that likely impacted the quality of the experimental manipulation. Brame and colleagues (2015) also suggested that victim advocates could elicit more effective contact with victims.

In contrast with Brame et al. (2015), the RCT by Clodfelter (2010) evaluated the impact of domestic violence sanctions on domestic violence recidivism in North Carolina. A selection of domestic violence cases was randomly assigned to one of three sanctions, arrest ($n = 207$), citation ($n = 220$) or police advice ($n = 212$). The arrest sanction involved the perpetrator being taken into custody at a local jail. The citation condition involved police issuing the perpetrator and victim with a summons to appear in court at a later date. The police advice condition involved the officer attempting to assist the perpetrator and victim by advising either party to leave the location or through referral to one of several local social services, however the officer was not granted the legal powers to force these options. Six months after the domestic violence incident, the citation group had the highest rate of subsequent arrest (19.1%), followed by the arrest group (17.9%) and the police advice group (11.1%), however these differences were not statistically significant. The findings of this study do not permit equivocal conclusions regarding the effectiveness of different sanctions for domestic violence reoffending. Future research should aim to present results with greater specificity and utilise multiple measures of reoffending, as official records of rearrest often underestimate the true amount of revictimisation.

Summary of Included Studies

Table 4.3 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Domestic and Family Violence Strategies – General Study Characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Brame et al. (2014)	Lexington County, South Carolina, USA	Offender race (Black: yes/no) is used as a control variable in one of the regression analyses, although sample demographics for ethnicity and race are not provided. Analysis suggests that after controlling for race and the other confounding variables, the effect of the treatment was not statistically significant.	The no-contact and protection orders are underpinned by policies, which the authors comment are often not enforced. This forms the basis of the intervention which aims to explore proactive enforcement of the no-contact orders.	RCT with treatment-as-usual control (routine reactive enforcement of NCOs)
Clodfelter (2010)	Charlotte, North Carolina, USA	For the three treatment groups: Separation – Black 70.8%; White 27%; Other 2.2%. Citation – Black 68.2%; White 27.9%; Other 2.9%. Arrest – Black 70.5%; White 26.8%; Other 2.7%. Chi-square analyses showed no statistically significant differences across race for the three groups.	<u>None reported</u>	RCT with alternative treatment (arrest, advising / separation, and citation)

Table 4.4 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Domestic and Family Violence Strategies – Intervention Characteristics

Study	Intervention and problem targeted	Outcome measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Brame et al. (2014)	<p><u>Target:</u> Increase victim safety and reduce recidivism by offenders with no-contacts orders (NCOs)</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Proactive contact with victims (ensuring understanding of the non-contact order, communicating how to collect evidence to assist police if the order is breached, and monitoring compliance with the order). Contact was scheduled to occur prior to first court appearance, and if they could not be in-person then could be conducted by telephone. If the offender’s case continued after first appearance, additional contacts were scheduled. These contacts were in addition to any that could have occurred with law enforcement, prosecutors, and other court personnel regardless of the intervention.</p>	Domestic violence reoffending and revictimization, victim perceptions of no-contact orders, victim-police contacts, victim perceptions of offender behaviour	The intervention was mainly implemented by one dedicated officer whose job it was to oversee the treatment group. The paper does not discuss how the officer was recruited for the role, but it does talk about the officer faced other competing duties in their job which threatened implementation at times.
Clodfelter (2010)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce domestic family violence recidivism</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Police officer sanction for domestic violence offending (Arrest, “advising and possibly separating the couple”, or issuing a citation to appear in court)</p> <p>Eligible calls for service must be a misdemeanour offence in which any of the treatments could be assigned, the offender must not have outstanding warrants or restraining orders, and only adults in a heterosexual spouse or spouse-like relationships were eligible to be included in the study. Any danger to the officers or victim or if the victim insisted on the arrest of the offender excluded the case from the study.</p>	Domestic family violence recidivism (rate of arrest in the following 6 months)	There is some discussion around non-compliance amongst officers assigned to the groups (e.g., citation group making arrests when they were not supposed to as part of the citation condition). While the protocol of the intervention did permit some non-compliance (e.g., officers in the citation condition could still make arrests if it was deemed necessary because of an offender’s level of violence), the paper does not explore why non-compliance may have occurred in other circumstances or in other treatment groups.

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5: Training for Police Decision Making

5.1 Introduction

Police officers require proficiency across a vast array of skills and knowledge bases, such as investigative practices or firearms training, in order to perform their duties effectively. Covering such a diverse range of tasks requires effective, evidence-based training programs that are tailored to the specific features of the police officer role (Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2017). Evidence suggests that historically the bulk of police training is directed toward concrete skills such as patrol tactics, firearm skills and investigative practices, whereas training for soft skills and social elements of the role such as communication, mediation and community policing receives less attention⁸ (Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2017).

A total of five studies were identified as evaluations of police training programs, all of which were RCTs. The specific contents and goals of the training programs was diverse, covering critical incident proficiency, investigation skills, communication skills, procedural justice practices and de-escalation skills. We have broadly grouped the programs into subsections around procedural justice training and critical incident/crisis intervention training. The most common outcomes of the identified training evaluations include de-escalation skills and decision making, and several included specific task-related outcomes relating to management of crisis situations, communication with crime victims and investigative practices.

5.2 Procedural Justice Training

As described in Section 3, procedural justice policing has become a key decision-making process for frontline officers when interacting with citizens in a range of contexts (Bennett et al., 2019). Officers employing procedural justice are directed or trained to employ the four key principles: neutrality, trust, voice, and respect. The two studies within this subsection examine the effect of training in procedural justice on police encounters with burglary victims and these victims' perceptions of police (Antrobus & Pilotto, 2016) and on police recruits' decision-making skills (Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2017).

The RCT by Antrobus and Pilotto (2016) evaluated the impact of forensic skill training on evidence collection, perpetrator identification, case closure, and victims' perceived procedural justice and

⁸ While questions around why historically police training programs have focused on certain skills instead of others are interesting and warrant further investigation, it is outside of the scope of the studies included in this review to provide comment on this.

satisfaction with police. Participants were randomly assigned to either the training program ($n = 36$) or a business-as-usual control group ($n = 36$). The training aimed to enhance the evidence collection capabilities and legitimacy of forensic officers through increased knowledge and use of procedurally just techniques in encounters with burglary victims. The first component of the training was general upskilling in practical crime scene evaluation regarding burglary-specific practices such as fingerprint collection and victim interviews. This component was incorporated into the intervention as it was identified by senior police that these skills required further development among officers. Participants then engaged in a training session with documentation regarding the importance of procedurally just encounters, focusing on the procedural justice elements of dignity, trustworthiness, neutrality, opportunity for voicing concerns, and respect. The dataset consisted of 872 residential burglary crime scenes from across the Brisbane (Australia) region, 401 of which were attended by trained officers. The authors collected data for up to six months post-training, although this is analysed as a singular follow-up timepoint rather than longitudinally. Participants who received the training demonstrated significantly greater evidence collection skills, and higher rates of perpetrator identification and case closure than untrained control group participants. Victims who engaged with trained participants also reported viewing these officers as overall more procedurally just than the control officers. Similarly, victim satisfaction with the procedures utilised by the officers was higher in the experimental group (50.6%) compared to those who encountered the untrained control group officers (32.9%). While the effect of the individual crime scene investigation and procedural justice components of the training could not be disentangled in the analyses, I findings suggest that implementing procedural justice training in tandem with specific upskilling can significantly benefit officers' ability to solve high-volume crimes such as burglary, and also improve victim interactions and perceptions of the police.

An RCT by Rosenbaum and Lawrence (2017) evaluated the impact of Chicago's Quality Interaction Program (QIP) on police recruits' communication skills, attitudes toward procedural justice and procedurally just behaviour, and decision making in response to hypothetical scenarios. The QIP training was collaboratively developed by Chicago Police Department and the University of Illinois and is one of the first publicised classroom-based procedural justice training programs to be evaluated. The program is built on a community-oriented procedural justice evidence base which focuses on enhancing police-community relations, and aims to improve the quality of police-community interactions by enhancing the interpersonal skills and decision making of recruits. The QIP adopts a non-traditional style of classroom training, relaying skills through repetitive role play scenario exercises that aim to produce sustained practical change in the same vein as repetitive

firearms training. The focal mechanism of this method is that recruits can transfer practiced, ideal behaviours to activities in the field, rather than draw upon passively experienced lecture-style content. Participants were randomly assigned to either receive the QIP training ($n = 34$) or a business-as-usual standard training ($n = 36$). Participants who received the QIP training responded to hypothetical, role play scenarios of police-citizen encounters with more reassuring and respectful behaviours than those in the control group. In response to a hypothetical scenario with misbehaving youth, QIP-trained participants demonstrated more procedurally just decision making and a lower reliance on arrest or use of force compared with control group recruits. Despite these positive behaviours observed during the role play scenarios, the QIP training had no effect on recruits' self-reported attitudes toward procedural justice or communication skills relative to controls⁹. The findings suggest that procedural justice training can produce beneficial behaviour change and enhanced decision-making skills in police recruits. Further, the findings suggest the potential of non-traditional, practical training methods that involve rehearsing a desired behaviour for producing improved policing practices.

5.3 Critical Incident and Crisis Intervention Training

Andersen and Gustafsberg (2016) evaluated the impact of a critical incident training program on officers' use of force decision making skills and critical incident performance in Finland. The training program involved strategies to enhance psychological and physiological control in high-stress situations, such that the effects of stress could be attenuated and more objective choices to use, or not use, force would be more likely. The delivery of the program was in both group and individual settings, and included educational components covering the physiology of stress, which formed the basis of group strategy training using biofeedback. Officers were randomly assigned to receive either the critical incident training ($n = 6$) or engage in a business-as-usual program of physical fitness training and standard target shooting practice ($n = 6$). The critical incident trained officers performed significantly better on measures of situational awareness, physiological control and overall incident management and made significantly more correct use of force decisions than those who received the business-as-usual treatment. The findings suggest that this method of critical incident training can significantly benefit officers' behaviour in critical situations, however further research utilising larger samples and real-world outcome measures may be required.

⁹ The self-report measures focused on respectful treatment of and communication with citizens. These were general questions such as: "how much do you agree that people should be treated with respect?". So the outcome measures were not seeking perception specifically in relation to the intervention. There is an assumption that regardless of training, the control group would be able to answer these general questions, but there were no statistically significant difference between or within groups for these measures.

As outlined in detail in Section 4.3, two RCTs of police officer training for mental health-related crisis encounters were identified as eligible for the review. The evaluation of CIT by Duckett (2017) found that CIT training significantly increased officers' knowledge of de-escalation skills compared with an untrained control group from pre to post training. Another evaluation by Hacker (2017) found that participants assigned to receive an online mental health and de-escalation skills training program were more proficient in responding to hypothetical mental health crisis scenarios than those in an untrained control group.

5.4 Summary of Included Studies

Table 5.1 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Training Interventions for Decision Making – General Study Characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Antrobus & Pilotto (2016)	Brisbane, Queensland, Australia	Country of birth – Control group 68.67% Australia, with 1 Indigenous participant. Treatment: 66.28% Australia, with 3 Indigenous participants. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control group (officers were not required to attend every incident and were able to assess the necessity of their presence related to their available time, collected the standard 2 DNA samples per incident, and did not have access to additional resources)
Andersen & Gustafsberg (2016)	Finland (federal police)	100% White officers. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control group (training as usual: shooting targets, physical activity training, etc)
Rosenbaum & Lawrence (2017)	Chicago, USA	Control group: African American 22.7%; Asian 1.3%; Latino 29.3%; White 46.7%. Treatment group: African American 28.1%; Asian 3.1%; Latino 28.1%; White 40.6%. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control group (standard academy curriculum)
Duckett (2017)	Memphis, Tennessee, USA	Caucasian 55.4%; African American 37.5%; Mixed racial background 3.6%. No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with waitlist control
Hacker (2017)	11 states (not specified), USA	Caucasian: 87.5% No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported.	None reported	RCT with waitlist control

Table 5.2 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Training Interventions for Decision Making – Intervention Characteristics

Study	Intervention and problem targeted	Outcome measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Antrobus & Pilotto (2016)	<p><u>Target:</u> Enhance investigation and victim-interaction skills, as well as the legitimacy of forensic officers through increased knowledge and use of procedural justice.</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Crime scene investigators in the treatment group were trained in 2 sessions. The practical training consisted of general upskilling in practical crime scene evaluation skill with a focus on burglary-specific practices like fingerprint collection and victim interviews. The training also covered procedurally just encounters (dignity, trustworthiness, neutrality, opportunity for voicing concerns, and respect). Officers were required to attend every case for which they were given a work ticket, had fewer time restrictions than normal, and were instructed to spend as much time as was necessary at each case</p>	Case closure, Victim satisfaction, Victim’s perceived procedural justice	Implicitly, the police were on board with the idea of the intervention; they had anecdotally identified that there was a gap where junior officers could be upskilled so that they could perform at the higher level other officers performed at. There was an in-person training session and handout to upskill police in procedural justice for use in the experimental condition.
Andersen & Gustafsberg (2016)	<p><u>Target:</u> Enhance use of force decision making and overall incident management proficiency</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> International Performance Resilience and Efficiency Program (iPREP) method of Critical Incident Training. The intervention group (officers on the Finnish Federal Special Response Police Teams) received 3 days of iPREP training, with core components of education about physiology of the stress response system, fuelling for peak performance, and energy management; how to use visualisation and mental focus to enhance situational awareness and sensory perception; and biofeedback to practice engaging in controlled breathing exercises to enhance central nervous system control when stressed. All participants undertook the same pre- and post-tests (6 days apart) regardless of intervention presence.</p>	Use of force decision making, Situational awareness, Physiological control, Quality of incident management	None reported
Rosenbaum & Lawrence (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Enhance procedural justice and communication skills, with the aim of reducing over-use of force and arrest</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Chicago’s Quality Interaction Program (QIP) in addition to the existing recruits’ curriculum. It provided individualised feedback and allowed for student engagement, practice, and repetition. Using five key components (Procedural justice, interpersonal communication skills, decision-making skills, cultural awareness, and stress management), the program</p>	Decision making (use of force, arrest) in hypothetical scenarios, Attitudes toward procedural justice, Observed behaviour (e.g., respect) in hypothetical scenarios	The recruit training was jointly developed with the police department and the university. This study reports on some process challenges, including the difficulty the implementers had with convincing the police department’s legal counsel that the merits of an RCT would outweigh any potential lawsuits by recruits in the control group who felt that they ‘hadn’t been properly trained’. The team overcame these concerns by talking through the logistics/benefits with the legal counsel, highlighting that control participants would receive the routine approved

Study	Intervention and problem targeted	Outcome measures	Internal Dissemination Details
	<p>engaged recruits through a sequence of modelling (view filmed/videotaped/actors performing a task), rehearsal (practice the behaviour frequently), and feedback (trainer and other trainees provide feedback on rehearsed behaviours). This was achieved through case studies, scenarios, role-playing, and simulations. The training was split into 4 hour periods and delivered over several months.</p>		<p>training and would not be disadvantaged.</p>
<p>Duckett (2017)</p>	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce escalation to violence due to officer mismanagement of crisis situations</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Law enforcement officers participated in one of the two weeks of Crisis Intervention Team training. The CIT training sessions occurred over a one week period (40hrs) and covered clinical issues related to mental illness, medication, and suicide prevention; on-site visits to the local Veterans Affairs medical centre (VAMC) and other community resource centres; de-escalation skills; and practical training through scenario-based situations with feedback from staff and experienced CIT officers.</p>	<p>Knowledge of de-escalation skills</p>	<p>The CIT training was part of their normal training and officers were paid their usual salary for the week - but doesn't really talk about buy-in or how they communicated the requirements for training to police</p>
<p>Hacker (2017)</p>	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce escalation to violence due to officer mismanagement of crisis situations</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> DEFUSE Online training program. 2 hour program that teaches about mental illness and provides skills for de-escalating in mental health encounters. Mental illness awareness module emphasises the importance of proper treatment, reminds officers they are often the first professional to contact the person with acute symptoms of mental illness, and shows the critical role officers have in diverting from the criminal justice system to treatment by using didactics and video and graphic representations of real people with mental illness. The module also presents six common symptoms of mental illness (sadness, anxiety, anger, mania, delusions and hallucination) and links that knowledge to choosing the appropriate skill set to use.</p> <p>The de-escalation module teaches six skills for de-escalation (gather data and document, set expectations, figure out feelings of the subject, demonstrate understanding, self-monitor, and use the environment). Officers learn these skills through a combination of modelled interactions, re-phrasing of the concept, and roleplay rehearsal. Feedback is offered before proceeding.</p>	<p>Knowledge of de-escalation skills, Behavioural proficiency in handling hypothetical mental health crisis scenarios, Referral decision making, Empathy and stigma regarding mental illness</p>	<p>None reported</p>

5.5 References

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6: Police Discretionary Activity during Patrols

Much experimental and systematic review work has established a link between an increased volume of both the number of officers and the amount of time spent at crime hot spots during patrols and lower rates of crime and disorder in these hot spots (Braga, Papachristos, & Hureau, 2014). While many of these studies simply examine measures of police volume and/or time rather than the activities officers undertake while on patrol, a small pool of evidence is developing with regard to police discretionary activities performed by patrol officers at hot spots. A total of three RCTs were identified by the search which fall within this category. These 3 studies specifically examine the effect of particular discretionary activities while officers are on patrol.

Of the three studies included in this section, two were conducted in the USA, and the third in England. All studies analysed the impact of the intervention on crime outcomes, and used crime hot spots as the unit of randomisation. The interventions, while all similar, each varied in their level of instruction provided to patrol officers with regard to discretionary activity. Specifically, in the study by Rosenfeld et al. (2014), which aimed to target firearm violence in St. Louis, Missouri (USA), officers in hot spots were assigned to one of three groups: a business-as-usual/no special instructions control group, a 'slow patrol' with instructions to avoid self-initiated activities, and a 'directed patrol' with instructions to engage in one or more self-initiated activities. In other words, officers in the 'directed patrol' group were allowed discretion during their patrols to engage in any activity they saw necessary, whether this be vehicle checks, pedestrian stops, building checks, or arrests.

Unlike the approach taken by Rosenfeld et al. (2014), Gill et al. (2018) explicitly instructed officers in the experimental group to engage in 'non-enforcement problem-solving'. This study was aimed at reducing youth crime in Seattle, Washington (USA) and randomised hot spots to either a policing-as-usual approach, or to a more involved intervention requiring officers to conduct scanning and risk assessments in the hot spot area to determine the most appropriate non-enforcement (i.e., non-arrest) interventions for that area. These non-enforcement interventions were focused on increasing youth supervision, changing the environmental factors of the hot spot, and enacting formal and informal policies to ensure compliance and collective efficacy among local business owners and stakeholders. Finally, the third study, conducted in Peterborough, England, removed the ability for the experimental group to make arrests completely. That is, Ariel et al. (2016) took what they term a 'soft policing' approach whereby officers in the experimental group were uniformed, unarmed police community support officers (i.e., civilian police staff) who did not have arrest powers. The aim of

this intervention was increase police visibility without punitive action in order to reduce crime. The control group in this study provided a reactive policing approach whereby officers in control hot spots reactively responded to calls-for-service. While all diverse in the instructions these studies gave to police, they can all be brought together under the overarching theme of discretionary activity and crime reduction at hot spots.

Across the three studies, our results (see below) appear to favour the effect of ‘softer’ policing approaches and discretionary activities in hot spots on calls-for-service and official crime measures. However, these studies do not examine the effects of the interventions on other outcomes such as victimisation, victim satisfaction, perceptions of safety, perceptions of police, or the quality of the police decision making during these encounters. Below, we outline the results of each study with regard to its effect on crime.

Rosenfeld et al. (2014) examine the effect of the intervention on firearm violence, comparing police data on this type of crime for the 9 months prior to the intervention with the 9 months during the intervention. Raw frequencies of crime counts from this study show that firearm violence decreased in all three conditions, but saw the largest drop in the ‘directed patrol’/self-initiated activity condition (by 63.5%) compared with the ‘slow patrol’/no self-initiated activity condition (by 45%) and the business-as-usual control group (by 43.7%). Multilevel regression modelling confirmed these results, showing that the greatest (and statistically significant) decrease in firearm violence occurred in the ‘directed patrol’ group where officers were instructed to engage in self-initiated activities. Additional analyses in this paper examined whether the type of self-initiated activity had an effect on firearm violence, and found the strongest evidence for the use of arrest and occupied vehicle checks. There were some threats to fidelity in this study, as the number of self-initiated activities increased in the study period for both the ‘slow patrol’ condition (where officers were instructed not to self-initiate) and the ‘directed patrol’ condition. Similarly, the authors caution on the fact that officers were not told *which* self-initiated activities to engage in, and this portion of the study was not experimentally manipulated, meaning that results may be influenced by endogeneity bias or selection effects. They indicate that further RCT research could examine which enforcement tactics may be most effective in hot spots.

The study by Gill et al. (2018) measured 60 months of calls-for-service and police-recorded crime data in the control and experimental hot spots to assess whether crime decreased at these locations before and after the ‘non-enforcement problem-solving’ activities were implemented. The intervention was implemented in two hot spots – a public plaza in the shopping/downtown district,

and a retail street with frequent foot traffic and both local and chain storefronts. These hot spots were chosen due to the known high volume of youth crime, and were matched to control hot spots with similar characteristics in terms of both the built environment and crime levels. While officers were instructed to perform the same intervention in both hot spot locations, results differ for the plaza and retail street. Calls-for-service were 3% higher in the experimental plaza hot spot than in the matched comparison area (*Standard Error (SE)* = 0.116). In the retail street hot spot, calls-for-service were down 29% in the experimental condition relative to the matched comparison street (*SE* = 0.053). Similarly, risk of a crime incident was 4% higher in the experimental plaza than the control plaza (*SE* = 0.133), but much lower for the experimental retail street compared with its control (*SE* = 0.123). Gill et al. (2018) suggest that inherent differences between the two treatment areas may explain the differing patterns of results. Police in the retail street area may have continued with standard enforcement-deterrent activities that were already present, which could have produced stronger short-term benefits with the addition of the problem-solving intervention. In contrast, officers in the plaza area were more engaged with the development of non-arrest strategies with social services rather than high-visibility enforcement. The authors hypothesise that the benefits of these strategies would appear over a longer term, move officers' attention away from enforcement activities, and not directly interact with the problem-solving intervention to yield such short-term benefits for crime prevention. The differing patterns of results across experimental zones demonstrates the interactive effects of different police practices on intended outcomes, and further research could aim to better the understanding of these relationships.

Finally, Ariel et al. (2016) compared their 'soft policing' approach using uniformed, unarmed police community support officers without arrest powers to regular reactive police who possessed arrest powers in order to determine whether the 'soft' approach reduced crime. Hot spots were randomly assigned to the experimental ($n = 34$) and control ($n = 38$) policing activities, and the authors measured the number of calls-for-service 24 months prior to the intervention and for 12 months during the experiment. The main effects of the intervention show a 64.8% reduction in crime and a 19.79% reduction in calls-for-service per hot spot for the treatment group relative to the controls. The authors convert these findings to effect sizes¹⁰, and report that they are comparable between the two policing approaches for both crime (Cohen's $d = -0.189$ (95% CI $-0.653, 0.27$)), and calls-for-service (Cohen's $d = -0.211$ (95% CI $-0.676, 0.252$)). These results hold true after accounting for

¹⁰ Effect sizes quantify difference between the two groups. In this case, a positive effect size would favour the effect of the experimental group. The strength of the relationship is indicated by the size of the effect. In other words, a larger number is indicative of a larger difference between the control and experimental groups.

minor displacement of crime to locations nearby the target hot spots. The authors theorise that the evidence from this study begins to unpack the idea that the threat of arrest/sanction may be more about an officer's symbolic power than the immediate threat or use of force. The community support officers presented a visual message of power to potential offenders, because while they could not arrest an offender, had a direct line of contact through their radio to summon police with arrest powers, and could testify in court if they witnessed a crime. Further, the authors suggest that the presence of community support officers regularly walking around neighbourhoods in close proximity to people may act as a deterrence strategy in that it can send a message that officers are familiar with the geographical area and constituents, as well as the crimes that usually take place. Indeed, the 'soft policing' approach seemed to provide the desired effect on spatial crime and calls-for-service, despite these officers not possessing weapons or the ability to arrest offenders.

6.1 Summary of Included Studies

Table 6.1 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Police Discretionary Activity during patrols – General Study Characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Ariel et al. (2016)	Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, England	<u>Cambridgeshire: 81% White, 12% Asian and approximately 3% Black</u> <u>No subgroup analyses reported.</u>	The intervention and evaluation were possible because of the Police Reform Act for England and Wales of 2002, which introduced the police community support officers. Under the legislation, the officers are civilian police staff who deal with minor offences and issue on-the-street fixed penalty notices.	RCT with business-as-usual control (reactive policing)
Gill et al. (2018)	Seattle, Washington, USA	None reported	A Department of Justice consent decree (filed 2012) resulted in changes to the police department's stop-and-frisk policies; project officers were nervous about enforcing disorderly conduct in over 25s as they believed the changes limited their authority to detain individuals for minor infractions. This was mentioned as part of planned interventions to stabilise an area prior to implementing non-enforcement strategies.	RCT with business-as-usual control
Rosenfeld et al. (2014)	St Louis, Missouri, USA	<u>Paper presents percent Black population by police district, but not by treatment condition. No subgroup analyses by treatment were examined.</u>	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control

Table 6.2 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Police Discretionary Activity during patrols – Intervention Characteristics

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Ariel et al. (2016)	<p><u>Target:</u> To increase police visibility without punitive action in order to reduce crime</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Community engagement and foot patrol by uniformed, unarmed Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) with few arrest powers. PCSO powers include power to deal with minor offences like public begging or confiscating tobacco from under-16s, as well as issue on-the-street fines for PCSO witnessed offences (such as cycling on the pavement, littering, and graffiti).</p>	Crime (calls for service, crime reports, & assaults against officers)	The paper briefly mentions that the researchers informed the PSCOs about the theory regarding why the intervention would work (i.e., that potential offenders would be discouraged from crime just by their presence alone). However, the paper does not outline how this information was disseminated to the officers.
Gill et al. (2018)	<p><u>Target:</u> To reduce youth crime</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Non-enforcement problem-solving approach. Officers in the treatment group received a 1.5 day training session covering problem-solving using the “CHEERS” model, the rationale behind non-enforcement, and an overview of other organisations or government entities with which to develop situational prevention and youth support strategies. In the first few months of the intervention, officer teams developed a logic model for their sites to identify and develop strategies to address risk factors driving youth crime. Officers were encouraged to develop interventions with increased supervision and structure for youth, changing rules, policies, and environmental factors to aid compliance, and promoting informal collective efficacy among community stakeholders.</p>	Crime (calls for service)	Before implementation, the project team held a 1.5 day training session to cover the basic elements of the problem-solving model officers were required to use. The officers were given the rationale for the non-enforcement approach and overview of the project, including non-police organisations that they might have chosen to engage during implementation. The description of training provided does not go into details regarding training pedagogy. Note that the officers were assigned to the project, so the project team did not need to recruit officers who may interested in participating.
Rosenfeld et al. (2014)	<p><u>Target:</u> To reduce firearm violence</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Officers in hotspots were assigned to one of three groups: business-as-usual control group, ‘slow patrol’ directed to avoid self-initiated activities, or ‘directed patrol’ instructed to engage in one or more self-initiated activities (meaning they were given greater discretion surrounding activities including arrest, pedestrian, building, and vehicle checks, foot patrol, and problem solving). Both treatment groups patrolled often more than the control group.</p>	Crime (firearm violence)	None reported

6.2 References

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7: Dissemination of Information and Resources by Police

7.1 Introduction

The ability of police to communicate and provide information to the public is important for building public confidence and encouraging civilian engagement in crime prevention (Wunsch & Hohl, 2009). Disseminating information and/or resources to the community may be a low-cost method of police-public communication as well as a tool to prevent future offending. Under this broad intervention category, we consider interventions involving targeted dissemination to come in many forms, such as flyers, information packs, or targeted distribution of signage. Indeed, of the four RCTs identified for this review, two utilised a newsletter or leaflet approach to quickly disseminate neighbourhood-specific information on a wide scale (Roach et al., 2017; Hohl, 2011; Hohl et al., 2010; Wunsch & Hohl, 2009), while one study used a place-based garbage bag labelling program (Dur & Vollaard, 2017), and the final study addressed burglary prevention through provision of home security devices alongside local crime information (Johnson et al., 2017). All but one of these identified studies were based in the UK and all were focused on citizen generally rather than those who had experienced contact with police. The included evaluations covered a range of outcome measures, including perceptions of police and police activities, perceptions of crime and disorder, re-victimisation, and reoffending.

7.2 Labelling Intervention

The RCT by Dur and Vollaard (2017) evaluated the impact of a labelling intervention aiming to reduce improper garbage disposal outside private premises in Heerlen, Netherlands. The intervention involved labelling garbage bags placed in the incorrect location, in terms of garbage type (i.e., illegal disposal, incorrect type of garbage in a certain bin), and placement (i.e., leaving the bag on the ground instead of inside the bin) with bright orange notices informing that they had been “Found by law enforcement” and that they could receive a 90 euro fine. Neighbourhoods were randomly assigned to either receive the label intervention ($n = 28$) or a business-as-usual control group ($n = 28$). The evaluation did not identify any impact of the intervention, in that both experimental groups had equivalent rates of illegal disposal of garbage bags and household items, garbage containers being out of order and numbers of detected offenders before and after the study period. The findings suggest that the intervention may not hold potential for reducing the improper disposal of household garbage.

7.3 Newsletter and Leaflet Interventions

Two RCTs implemented in the UK trialled newsletter/leaflet approaches to reduce theft from unattended motor vehicles (Roach et al., 2017) and to increase perceptions of the police (Hohl, 2011; Hohl et al., 2010; Wunsch & Hohl, 2009). Both studies relied on structured models to inform best practice intervention for their respective aims.

Specifically, the aim of the campaign by Roach et al. (2017) was to utilise leaflets as a form of nudge to produce prosocial behaviour change, which in this case was promoting the locking of vehicles when parked in private driveways to prevent theft. The program was developed in response to high rates of vehicle theft in the area, particularly as over 25% of all thefts were from unlocked vehicles. The content of the leaflet was based on the MINDSCAPE approach to nudge intervention. For example, the leaflets targeted social norms (“you do not want to have the only vehicle in the neighbourhood that is unlocked”), affect (“your children’s belongings may be taken”) and incentives (“insurers may not cover cases of theft from unsecured vehicles”). Another element of the MINDSCAPE approach is that the messenger should be salient, which was achieved by having highly visible police officers deliver the leaflets.

Conversely, the second study evaluated the impact of newsletters on public perceptions of the police (Hohl, 2011; Hohl et al., 2010; Wunsch & Hohl, 2009). The contents and design of the newsletter were based on the Good Practice Model, which provides a general framework for disseminating high quality communication to the public. The newsletter utilised elements of the model such as use of strong police branding to be instantly source-recognisable, relevance and localisation of information to the specific readers ward of residence, inclusive and approachable communication that avoids jargon, and direct lines of contact with local authorities.

Both newsletter interventions reported positive results in terms of a reduction in motor vehicle theft and an increase in community perceptions of police. In Roach et al. (2017) study, four geographic areas containing between 400 and 1,200 households (with an average ~1,500 residents per locality) were randomly assigned to either the leaflet drop intervention ($n = 2$) or a no leaflet control condition ($n = 2$). While the randomisation of only four geographic areas may weaken the experimental manipulation, the authors aimed to strengthen this by matching the areas on sociodemographic, population and crime dimensions. At four months following deployment of the leaflet drop, the intervention areas had significantly less thefts from insecure (unlocked) vehicles (12.75% of all vehicle theft) compared with control areas that received no leaflet drop (50.25%). The two areas that received leaflets had reductions of theft from insecure vehicles of 7%-9% across the

study period, while one of the control areas had a reduction of 18% but an increase in overall theft from vehicles. The authors concluded that the decline in theft was most likely a result of the leaflet intervention, and that a deliberately constructed nudge delivered by highly visible police can be an inexpensive yet effective crime reduction strategy for communities.

In Hohl et al. (Hohl, 2011; Hohl et al., 2010; Wunsch & Hohl, 2009) study, participants across three London wards ($N = 2836$) were randomly assigned to either receive a police newsletter or a no-intervention control group. Across both treatment and control groups, 38% of participants reported feeling informed about the local activities of police prior to deployment of the newsletter. Following the intervention, 49% of those who received the newsletter reported feeling more informed of local police activities, compared to only 37% of the control group. The newsletter also increased the likelihood that participants would rate the police “good or excellent” by 8.4% following deployment, compared with no notable change for control participants. There was a significant decline in perceptions of police effectiveness in both treatment and control wards, and a comprehensive media analysis conducted by the authors suggests that this was likely due to highly publicised accusations of racism in the Metropolitan Police Service at the time of outcome assessment. The newsletter deployment demonstrated no consistent benefits for perceptions of police fairness or perceptions of crime and disorder. The findings suggest that enhancing police channels of communication with the public can benefit perceptions of police. Further replication of this research may benefit the strength of the evidence base, if it can avoid highly publicised confounding events that impacted the clarity of these findings.

7.4 Resource Packages

Johnson et al. (2017) evaluated the impact of a target hardening strategy on police contact, burglary awareness, the likelihood of reporting future crime, satisfaction with the police, perceptions of crime prevention responsibility and official measures of repeat burglary victimisation in a sample of burglary victims and their neighbours. The strategy known as Operation Swordfish involved police visiting victims of burglary, and their neighbours, and providing a target hardening pack. This approach utilises a “super-cocooning” tactic that aims to spread an intervention to all relevant parties who may be able to prevent future victimisation. The target hardening pack consisted of home security devices and information for direct victims (the gold package), and the neighbours received similar packages with slightly fewer devices (silver and bronze packages). The packages also contained information about local burglaries, specifically identifying security vulnerabilities that local burglars had been exploiting which could then be strengthened. Neighbourhoods in the West

Midlands (UK) were randomly assigned to either the Operation Swordfish treatment ($n = 23$) or a business-as-usual control condition ($n = 23$). Individuals in these areas could participate in the study if they or their neighbours were the victim of a burglary during the study period. Participants in the Operation Swordfish neighbourhoods reported being slightly more satisfied with the actions of police officers than those in the control neighbourhoods (70% versus 57%, respectively). Participants in both groups who were aware of burglaries in their area were equally apprehensive about being burgled (approximately 70% of respondents in both groups). The operation also had a modest effect on subsequent burglary re-victimisation up to two years post-victimisation. Homes in treatment neighbourhoods were less likely to experience subsequent burglaries than those in control neighbourhoods. This benefit was more pronounced in low crime areas than in high crime areas. The findings suggest that a specific target hardening approach founded on enhancing police-civilian connection can successfully enhance public perceptions of the police and reduce victimisation. The involvement of the victim's neighbours in the operation allowed for the space-time patterns of burglary to be incorporated into the program design and was likely a key element underlying the benefits identified in the evaluation.

7.5 Summary of Included Studies

Table 7.1 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Dissemination of Information and Resources – General Study Characteristics

Study	Location	Sample Race and Ethnicity	Legislative Context	Research Design and Comparator
Dur & Vollaard (2017)	Heerlen, Netherlands	None reported	Implicitly, there is a local (city) ordinance regarding the illegal disposal of household garbage that carries a penalty (a fine). The intervention aimed to highlight the rule violation.	RCT with business-as-usual control (illegally disposed garbage bags are put into the correct container after inspection)
Johnson et al. (2017)	46 policing neighbourhoods in Birmingham, UK	None reported	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control
Roach et al. (2017)	County Durham and Darlington, England	None reported	None reported	RCT with business-as-usual control (no leaflet distribution)
Wunsch & Hohl (2009); Hohl et al. (2010); Hohl (2011)	Bethnal Green North, Canning Town South, Upper Edmonton, Kenton West, Mayesbrook, New Cross, and Roehampton, London, England	<p>Test Wards – White/British/Irish 56%; Mixed 2%; Indian 2%; Pakistani/Bangladeshi 12%; Caribbean 8%; African 11%; Other 8%.</p> <p>Control Wards – White/British/Irish 57%; Mixed 2%; Indian 12%; Pakistani/Bangladeshi 2%; Caribbean 8%; African 10%; Other 8%.</p> <p>No subgroup analyses by ethnicity were reported</p>	Home Office Policing Green Paper (2008) introduced a national confidence measure and set targets for significant improvements in public confidence for every police force area. Not used explicitly but more a background directive. It was operationalised 's 'reassurance polic'ng' a'd 'neighbourhood polic'ng'.	RCT with business-as-usual control

Table 7.2 Randomised Controlled Trials Evaluating Dissemination of Information and Resources – Implementation Characteristics

Study	Intervention and Problem Targeted	Outcome Measures	Internal Dissemination Details
Dur & Vollaard (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce improper disposal and placement of household waste</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Garbage bag labelling. Police labelled garbage bags placed in the incorrect location with garbage type (including illegal disposal, garbage in the incorrect bin) and placement (leaving the bag beside rather than inside the bin) with bright orange stickers stating “Found by law enforcement; fine minimally 90 euros”</p>	Crime scene investigation skill proficiency, Case closure, Victim satisfaction, Victim’s perceived procedural justice	None reported
Johnson et al. (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Reduce burglary revictimization</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Operation Swordfish. Target hardening strategy for burglary. Police visited burglary victims and their neighbours and provided a target hardening pa-k - “gold package” for direct victims with home security devices and information, & “silver package” and “bronze package” for four closest and subsequent four neighbours respectively. These packages contained fewer devices than the package in the tier above. All packages contained information about local burglaries, focusing on security vulnerabilities to strengthen.</p>	Police contact, Likelihood of reporting future crime, Satisfaction with the police, Perceptions of crime prevention responsibility and Official measures of repeat burglary victimisation	This paper talks about officer compliance with regard to adherence to implementing the intervention as planned. The Chief Inspector was in charge of coordinating implementation. If officers failed to complete the assigned tasks, they were reassigned. Also, officers made physical checks to make sure the intervention was delivered as it said it was. The results from the checks was fed back into the teams "to encourage compliance" (p. 510), but how this information was disseminated is not further examined.
Roach et al. (2017)	<p><u>Target:</u> Prevent theft from unlocked vehicles</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Informational leaflets designed to “nudge” vehicle owners to secure (lock) their cars distributed via letterbox drops. Leaflets did not tell owners to lock their car, instead they used the MINDSCAPE criteria to nudge vehicle owners to secure their vehicles. The MINDSCAPE criteria used were messenger (leaflets delivered by visible officers); incentives (prominence of loss-avoidance); norms (‘they don’t want to have the only car in the street that is victimised’); defaults (locking the car is ordinary); salience (increase relevance of message by including photos of affected streets); commitments (commitment by police should be reciprocated); affect (reminder that their children’s belongings could also be taken); priming (reinforce that parking at home means locking the car as normal); ego (locking your car will make you feel better).</p>	Theft from unsecured vehicles	None reported
Wunsch & Hohl (2009); Hohl et al. (2010); Hohl (2011)	<p><u>Target:</u> Improve public perceptions of the police and of crime and disorder</p> <p><u>Intervention:</u> Newsletters based on the Good Practice Model. Included strong police branding for source-recognition; location-specific relevance and information localisation; inclusive, approachable, and jargon-free language; and direct contact details of local authorities.</p>	Perceptions of the police: Feeling informed of local police activity, Perceptions of effectiveness, Police fairness.	None reported

7.6 References

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8: Curfew Checks with a Diversion Component

The search identified one RCT and no quasi-experimental studies examining curfew checks as a form of preventive police action to reduce the likelihood of known offender rearrest. The RCT by Santos and Santos (2016) evaluated the impact of a prevention-focused curfew checking program for property crime offenders on subsequent property crime and arrests. The program was based in situational crime prevention theory and involved police officers visiting perpetrators on correctional curfew at random intervals to check that curfew conditions were being met and to ask about any other crimes occurring in the area. The officer would dress less formally than in standard patrol and would not respond punitively to curfew violations. Rather than arrest an offender, if there were curfew violations, the officer would talk with the offender and their family about the importance of following the parameters of their probation. Ultimately, the goal of this intervention was to enhance formal surveillance and offenders' perceptions of surveillance. The paper did not draw on any legislative frameworks for this intervention, however, the intervention was self-developed by the police agency. The agency held weekly accountability meetings with its detectives who were tasked with implementation. These meetings were attended by the agency's crime analyst and project coordinator, and focused on discussing the nature of the intervention and any issues that arose to ensure adherence to the planned study.

Hot spots in Port St. Lucie, Florida (USA) were randomly assigned to receive the intervention ($n = 24$) or business-as-usual policing ($n = 24$). Offenders targeted by the intervention were largely White (70%), with smaller numbers of Black (27%) and Hispanic (3%) offenders. The authors did not report any subgroup analyses by race or ethnicity. The study had inconsistent findings in terms of intervention effects. The intervention hot spots had fewer burglaries and thefts from vehicles at follow-up, however this was not statistically significant, and the control hot spots demonstrated a similar decline in crime across the study period. Arrests increased in both conditions across the study period, however the control condition had a stronger incline. Multivariate analysis found no complex effects of the intervention on arrests relative to the control hot spots. Comparisons for recidivism were outside of the randomised design as there was a lack of individual arrest data for offenders in the control hot spots. The findings suggest that further research is required in order to find support for this intervention, as there were systematic changes in outcome measures across experimental groups that may suggest confounding influences.

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