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## Research, Policing and Crime Reduction

Edward R. Maguire, Ph.D. American University

Summit on the Economics of Policing Ottawa, Canada January 17, 2013

## The Police Research Industry

Consists of many scholars, think tanks, research institutes, and professional associations all working to increase knowledge and improve policing.

## Different Types of "Evidence"

- Evidence used in criminal cases
- Evidence used to determine what programs, practices and policies are effective



## Sources of Evidence



Training
Experience
Intuition
Peers
Professional associations
Scientific evidence

## Why Rely on Scientific Evidence?

- To put in place more effective policies, programs, and practices
- To use public funds more efficiently and more judiciously
- To avoid iatrogenic effects or "cures that harm"

## Cures that Harm

Example 1: "Scared Straight"

" Programs like 'Scared Straight' are likely to have a harmful effect and increase delinquency relative to doing nothing at all to the same youths."

## Cures that Harm

Example 2: Juvenile Justice Processing

" Juvenile system processing... across all measures appears to increase delinquency. Given the additional financial costs... and the lack of evidence for any public safety benefit, jurisdictions should review their policies regarding the handling of juveniles."

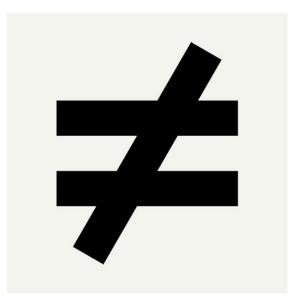
## Cures that Harm

### Example 3: Police Interventions

- When police behave in a procedurally unjust manner, they undermine the perceived legitimacy of their institution, as well as the legitimacy of law more generally.
- Similarly, when police treat gangs in a manner that is procedurally unjust, they may increase the level of gang cohesion, which increases crime and violence.

## **Quality of Evidence**

Not all evidence is created equal



## **Quality of Evidence**

" Our findings... suggest that design does matter and that its effect in criminal justice study is systematic. The weaker a design, as indicated by internal validity, the more likely was a study to report a result in favor of treatment and the less likely it was to report a harmful effect of treatment."

Source: Weisburd, D., A. Petrosino, & C. Lum (2003). "Assessing Systematic Evidence in Crime and Justice: Methodological Concerns and Empirical Outcomes." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 578: 50-70.

## Scientific evidence is like a puzzle.



# We need to put the pieces together.



## Synthesizing the Evidence

- Locating the evidence
  - Including the "fugitive" literature to avoid publication bias.
- Accounting for differences in findings
  - It is common for studies of the same topic to generate different findings.
- Accounting for differences in quality
  - What do we do with lower quality studies? Exclude them? Give them less weight?

Four Milestones in Evidence-Based Policing

- 1. Sherman's "Evidence-Based Policing" report
- 2. The University of Maryland's "What Works" report
- 3. The Campbell Collaboration
- 4. CrimeSolutions.gov

## 1. Sherman's "Evidence-Based Policing Report

"Of all the ideas in policing, one stands out as the most powerful force for change: police practices should be based on scientific evidence about what works best."



#### **Evidence-Based Policing**

By Lawrence W. Sherman

#### Abstract

The new paradigm of "evidence-based medicine" holds important implications for policing. It suggests that just doing research is not enough and that proactive efforts are required to push accumulated research evidence into practice through national and community guidelines. These guidelines can then focus inhouse evaluations of what works best across agencies, units, victims, and officers. Statistical adjustments for the risk factors shaping crime can provide fair comparisons across police units, including national rankings of police agencies by their crime prevention effectiveness. The example of domestic violence, for which accumulated National Institute of Justice research could lead to evidence-based guidelines, illustrates the way in which agency-based outcomes research could further reduce violence against victims. National pressure to adopt this paradigm could come from agency-ranking studies, but police agency capacity to adopt it will require new data systems creating "medical charts" for crime victims, annual audits of crime reporting systems, and in-house "evidence cops" who document the ongoing patterns and effects of police practices in light of published and in-house research. These analyses can then be integrated into the NYPD Compstat feedback model for management accountability and continuous quality improvement.

Mast of us have thought of the statistician's work as that of measuring and predicting... but faw of us have thought it due statistician's duty to bry to bring about charges in the things that be [or she] measure.

-W. Edwards Deming

Idea In American Philing present commencing and insight from locating criminologists on issues or interest is schedular, practilionen, and policymaken. The papers published in this sentis are from the Police Foundation locium sentis of the same name. Polints of view in this document are these of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Police Foundation.

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Lawrence W. Sherman is professor and chair of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Maryland at College Park. He was the Police Foundation's director of research from 1979 to 1985.

Source: <u>http://www.policefoundation.org/content/evidence-based-policing</u>

## 2. The "What Works" Report

" A much larger part of the national crime prevention portfolio must be invested in rigorous testing of innovative programs, in order to identify the active ingredients of locally successful programs that can be recommended for adoption... nation-wide." U.S. Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs National Institute of Justice

#### National Institute of Justice

Research Jeremy Thavis, Director

#### **kausard**Findings

Discussed in this Brief: A congressionally mandated evaluation of State and local crime prevention programs funded by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Key issues: What works to prevent crime, sepacially youth violeen? Out of all the hundreds of different strategies used in communities, families, schools, labor markets, places, poloe, and criminal justion, which cries succeed, and to what estern? What does the scientific endence suggest about the effectiveness of federally funded crime prevention?

Key findings: Very few operational crime prevention programs have been evaluated using scientifically recognized standards and methodologies, including repeated tests under similar and different social settings. Based on a review of more than 500 prevention program evaluations meeting minimum scientific standards, the report concludes that there is minimaily adequate evidence to establish a provisional list of what works, what doesn't, and what's promising. The evidence is current as of late 1996 when the literature

continued...

#### Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising

by Lawrence W. Sherman, Denise C. Gottfredson, Doris L. MacKenzie, John Eck, Peter Router, and Snawn D. Bushway

in

Many etime prevention programs work, Others don't Most programs have not yet been evaluated with erough scientific evidence to draw conclusions. Erough evidence is a suitable, however, to certate provisional lists of what works, what doesn't, and what's promising. Those lists will grow more quieldy if the Nation invests more resources in scientific evaluations to hold all crime prevention programs accountable for their results.

hat Works?

· For infants: Frequent home visits

by nurses and other professionals.

home visits by preschool teachers.

For delinquent and at-risk

dear, consistent norms.

"thinking skills."

parent training.

· For schools:

· For preschoolers: Classes with weekly

preadolescents: Family therapy and

-Organizational development for

Coaching of high-risk youth in

innovation. --Communication and reinforcement of

-Teaching of social competency skills.

These are the major conclusions of a 1997 report to Corgress, which was based on a systematic review of more than 500 scientific evaluations of crime prevention practices. This Research in Brief summarizes the research methods and conclusions found in that report.

Brief

In 1996, a Federal law required the U.S. Attorney General to provide Congress with an independent review of the

- For older male ex-offenders: Vocational training.
- For rental housing with drug dealing: Nuisance abatement action on landlords.
- For high-crime hot spots: Extra police patrols.
- For high-risk repeat offenders:
   —Monitoring by specialized police units.
- Incarceration.
   For domestic abusers who are
- employed: On-scene arrests • For convicted offenders: Pehabilitation
- programs with risk-focused treatments.
   For drug-using offenders in prison: Therapeutic community treatment

programa

Source: www.ncjrs.gov/works/index.htm

## 3. The Campbell Collaboration



Source: http://www.campbellcollaboration.org

## 3. The Campbell Collaboration

#### News

#### Legitimacy in Policing

The key feature of a legitimate police force is that people feel obliged to voluntarily comply with or obey the police. Police require such voluntary cooperation from the general public to be effective in controlling crime and maintaining order. What is the impact of police efforts that seek to enhance citizen perceptions of police legitimacy?





Source: http://www.campbellcollaboration.org

## 4. CrimeSolutions.gov



Source: http://www.crimesolutions.gov

## 4. CrimeSolutions.gov



Overview of the review process in CrimeSolutions.gov

Source: http://www.crimesolutions.gov

## 4. CrimeSolutions.gov

Evidence Rating	Icon*	
	One Study	More than One Study
Effective	<b>1</b>	4
Promising		Ż
No Effects	ø	Ø

Overview of the ratings in CrimeSolutions.gov

Source: http://www.crimesolutions.gov

## Evidence-Based Practices in Policing

### **THREE EXAMPLES**

## **Problem-Oriented Policing**

- <u>Source</u>: A systematic review of 10 rigorous scientific studies from the U.S. & U.K. that examined the effects of POP on crime and disorder.
- Findings: 8 of 10 studies found that POP reduced crime or disorder. POP "is associated with a statistically significant decline in crime and disorder "

## "Pulling Levers" Strategies

- These focused deterrence strategies use POP principles in specific ways to disrupt group-based violence.
- A systematic review found that "focused deterrence strategies are associated with an overall statistically-significant, medium-sized crime reduction effect."

## Hot Spots Policing

The evidence shows that hot spots policing is an effective crime prevention strategy.

The research also suggests that "focusing police efforts on high-activity crime places does not inevitably lead to crime displacement, and crime control benefits may diffuse into the areas immediately surrounding the targeted locations."

Source: www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/download/2097

## Ongoing Challenges with Evidence-Based Policing

- Accumulating and synthesizing the evidence
- Communicating and translating the evidence
- Adopting evidence-based solutions and overcoming the implementation gap
- Updating the evidence

## Thank you!



## Ed Maguire maguire@american.edu

#### www.edmaguire.net

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