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SEBP
SOCIETY OF EVIDENCE BASED POLICING
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POLICE SCIENCE

Australia & New Zealand Journal of Evidence Based Policing

AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

SEBP

SOCIETY OF EVIDENCE BASED POLICING

We aim to make evidence based methodology part of everyday policing in Australia and New Zealand

Membership is free!

Who can join?

Full membership

Current serving officers or staff of an Australian or New Zealand police agency.

Honorary membership

Individuals 18 years and over who have an interest in police research, or in the work of the Society; members of professional organisations, research institutions, community groups, and voluntary organisations working within, or having an interest in, the criminal justice sector.

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Membership provides a range of benefits such as:

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- reduced subscription price to the *Journal of Experimental Criminology*
- the opportunity to network and learn from other practitioners.

About ANZSEBP

The Australia & New Zealand Society of Evidence Based Policing (ANZSEBP) is a police practitioner-led society, formed in April 2013 in Brisbane, Australia. The mission of the ANZSEBP is to develop and disseminate scientific research ('the evidence') and advocate for police to use it to guide best practice in all aspects of policing. The ANZSEBP Chairperson serves on the Executive Board of the British Society of Evidence Based Policing, ensuring that the ANZSEBP works collaboratively with international police practitioners and experts to advance evidence based policing.

The Society is made up of police officers, police staff, and research professionals, who aim to make evidence based policing practice part of everyday policing in Australia and New Zealand. The Society advocates that all aspects of policing, including police patrols, investigations, crime prevention, human resource management, and all other forms of service delivery, should be evaluated using sound, scientific methods.

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Notes for contributors

Articles for consideration should in the first instance be sent to the Secretariat, Inspector Mike Newman at **newman.michaelb@police.qld.gov.au** for initial consideration.

They should be no more than 6000 words long (not including references) and be Harvard referenced.
Articles should be based upon the aims and objectives of the journal and the evidence based policing approach.

Contributions
Articles on issues of professional interest are sought from Australasian police officers and police academics. Articles are to be electronically provided to the Secretariat, newman.michaelb@police.qld.gov.au. Articles are to conform to normal academic conventions. Where an article has previously been prepared during the course of employment, whether with a police service or otherwise, the contributor will be responsible for obtaining permission from that employer to submit the article for publication to *Police Science*. Contributors are expected to adhere to the Journal's publishing guidelines. These guidelines are available in this journal. All papers are peer-reviewed.

Membership comprised from: • State Police • Australian Federal Police • Australian Institute of Police Management (AIPM) • New Zealand Police • Australia and New Zealand Police Advisory Agency • Universities

Message from the Chairperson

Peter Martin *APM Ph.D.*

Chairperson, Australia and New Zealand Society of Evidence Based Policing
Deputy Commissioner, Queensland Police Service, AUSTRALIA
Adjunct Professor, University of Queensland, AUSTRALIA

I would like to welcome you to the second edition of our publication – *Police Science: The Australia & New Zealand Journal of Evidence Based Policing.* This edition has been specifically themed around a very important topic, an approach that is gaining momentum around the world. That theme is procedural justice. We have been pleased to receive submissions for this themed edition of the Journal from around the globe.

As you may be aware, our Society was formed in 2013 and comprises membership from police organisations in Australia & New Zealand, as well as others such as research professionals and others who aim to make evidence based approaches part of everyday policing in Australia and New Zealand. At the time of writing this message, our membership stands at over 1950 and includes representatives from every police jurisdiction in Australasia and other countries around the world. Our membership is also supported by academia and other persons interested in further the aims of the Society. I am confident that by the time this edition is published we will have over 2000 members. This is a significant achievement given our relative youth as an organisation.

Membership of the ANZSEBP is remains FREE. As a reminder, you can join the ANZSEBP by accessing our website at **www.anzsebp.com**. Membership entitles you, amongst other benefits, to:

- full access to the web site including, amongst other things, research resources
- reduced price conferences (e.g. the annual ANZSEBP Conference)
- reduced subscription to the Journal of Experimental Criminology
- reduced subscription to Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice; and
- the ability to network and learn from other practitioners.

As a Society we held our second conference in April 2016 at the Australian Institute of Police Management (AIPM), Manly, Sydney with the assistance of our partner, KPMG. We were fortunate to secure Professor Lorraine Mazerolle (University of Queensland), Deputy Commissioner Stephen Brown (Western Australia Police), Chief Superintendent Alex Murray (Chair of the UK SEBP) Stefanie Bradley (KPMG), and Justin Ready (Griffith University) to present at the conference.

A session was conducted during this conference that saw the participants from around Australasia assisting in the development of a five-year National strategy for the ANZSEBP. This session was adroitly led by Stefanie Bradley, Partner in Charge, People & Change, KPMG. The feedback received from this session has been developed into a draft Strategic Plan that will be further discussed at the next Executive Committee meeting planned for December 2016 at Airlie Conference Centre, Victoria Police, Melbourne. It is anticipated that the Strategic Plan will be released to member prior to the close of 2016.

Planning towards the 2017 conference is underway with the formation of a sub-committee, led by Executive Committee Member Superintendent David Cowan, Victoria Police. It will again be held at the AIPM, Manly Sydney from 31 May to 1 June 2017. The theme of this year's conference is *"Police Engagement with Communities; Police Legitimacy, Innovation and Capability through EBP".* A range of international and national keynote speakers have already been invited and calls will go out early in 2017 for short shots presentations to highlight evidence based research occurring in each jurisdiction.

In order to keep our members more informed, work is underway to revamp the website and introduce a quarterly newsletter. The newsletter will provide highlights nationally and internationally, along with updates around our membership, upcoming conferences, and journals. A special section has also been reserved for jurisdictions to highlight influential people in their organisation or exceptional research projects that are contributing to EBP.

I trust that you will enjoy each of these articles and find value and relevance that can be applied in the important work that you do.

Kind regards

Peter Martin APM Ph.D.

Chair, ANZSEBP

Message from the Editor

Professor Colin Rogers

University of South Wales, UK

Welcome to the second edition of the *Australian and New Zealand Evidence Based Policing Journal.* This themed edition has a number of interesting and informative articles revolving around the important topic of procedural justice.

At a time when police agencies across the world are struggling to deal with increased demands upon their resources, as well as attempting to tackle newer and different forms of criminality, they need to consider diverse approaches to maintaining a good level of service and interaction with communities. As is reflected in this edition of the journal, when police show they have an understanding of communities, and those communities believe the police to be fair, equitable and will listen to them, those communities show more support for the police and increases police legitimacy. This is vital for the democratic policing model and also to encourage the flow of information from communities to the police.

At the time of writing, many police agencies are having to realign their thinking about service delivery to the changing nature of society. Different challenges show themselves daily and the police have to be ready for them. We need, perhaps, a different way of thinking about how the police are educated, in order for them to be equipped, both in knowledge and 'hard' equipment, to be able to function effectively. For England and Wales one possible answer is the introduction in 2019 of a degree entry police organisation. From that date onwards it is proposed that individuals applying to be a police officer in England and Wales will need to have an approved police subject based degree. The approval for the degree will be administered by the College of Policing, and there will be some alternative routes available for those without a degree, but the funding for those is unclear at the moment.

The point is there is a realisation that police officers need to engage in a smarter way of thinking and of carrying out their duties which will enable them to be able to work in a complex framework of interaction and demands. It is believed that a university based vocational degree in policing will go some way to providing this in the future.

Therefore, it is timely that this edition, based upon procedural justice, discussed as theory and practical application, is published, as it helps police and others understand why it is important to work with and through communities not at them.

Professor Colin Rogers
Editor

Procedural Justice in a Police Organisation

An Interview with
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER PETER MARTIN APM, Queensland Police Service
Conducted by
LORRAINE MAZEROLLE, University of Queensland

Editor's Notes:

Dr. Peter Martin *is the Chairperson of the Australia & New Zealand Society of Evidence Based Policing and a career police officer, having served with the Queensland Police Service (QPS) for over 36 years, where he is currently the Deputy Commissioner of Police for Regional Operations. An Adjunct Professor at the University of Queensland, Australia, Martin earned his Ph.D. from Queensland University of Technology. He won the Australian Police Medal in 2008 and was inducted into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame at the George Mason University, Virginia, USA in 2010.*

Lorraine Mazerolle *is an Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow (2010–2015) and a Professor in the School of Social Science at the University of Queensland. She is the past Chair of the American Society of Criminology's Division of Experimental Criminology (2014–2015) and elected Fellow of the Academy of Experimental Criminology and the Academy of the Social Sciences Australia. She is the 2016 winner of the American Society of Criminology Division of Policing Distinguished Scholar Award, 2013 winner of the Joan McCord Award and 2010 winner of the Freda Adler Prize. Professor Mazerolle is the author of over 100 scholarly books and articles on policing, drug law enforcement, third party policing, regulatory crime control, displacement of crime, and crime prevention.*

Peter, what do you consider to be the key principles of procedural justice policing?

I consider the key principles of procedural justice to be: Respect – treating people with politeness and dignity; Participation – citizens are given the opportunity to explain their situation and express their views, and their input is taken into account before police make decisions; Neutrality – decisions are based upon consistently applied legal principles and the facts of a situations, not on an officer's personal opinions and biases; and Trust – officers are truly concerned with the person's well-being, and are seen to be trying to do their best for the person with whom they're dealing.

Procedural justice is not just 'common sense', nor achieving an operationally correct outcome. It is about the manner in which you deal with the public to achieve that outcome.

Why is procedural justice important for the community?

Police don't do one on one policing. I am privileged to by the Deputy Commissioner (Regional Operations) for Queensland with a population of about 4.7 million.

The Queensland Police Service is divided into five geographical policing regions. We have 11,971 police officers and police an area 2.5 times bigger than Texas. This equates to one officer for every 392 persons. We rely on the majority to behave responsibly and follow the law so we can focus our attention on those specific people who are not as socially responsible. I can't overstate the benefit of the community joining with us in crime prevention and how we can achieve that is reasonably simply. Every single opportunity that we engage with the community, some of the 5 million interactions that occur in the course of a year, we always look for opportunities, wherever possible, to leave the community with a good impression of us. Employing the principles of procedural justice during these interactions, ultimately elicits a range of responses from them.

Some of those responses will be that they will be more willing to join with us in crime prevention, they will be far more willing to engage with us productively in the normal day to day business of policing, they will be have greater likelihood that they will regard the community in which they live work and do business as inherently safer to do business.

A lot of work has found that procedural justice matters more than just how the public see the police – it can have longer-term effects. The way it works is through the concept of legitimacy. If the police are seen as legitimate, then the public are more likely to behave in a way that makes policing easier. Procedural justice has been found to be the most effective method of increasing legitimacy.

Why is procedural justice important to police officers personally?

Using the planks of procedural justice offers police an opportunity to engage in a more meaningful way with members of the public. By always keeping the principles of procedural justice at the forefront of our minds and wherever possible we try to weave those into the conversations we have with the community, we can improve their perceptions of police.

Because I believe that ultimately, every interaction, certainly the vast majority of interactions, are an opportunity to leave the community with a very, very good impression of us, personally and organisationally.

Can procedural justice be beneficial for policing organisations generally?

As a police organisation one of the key elements of policing is the relationship we have with the general public. It's not only important, it's one of the few things that truly, truly matter. What we do as a police organisation, the way that we respond to community complaints, the way that we deal with the community is absolutely directly related to the way they interact to us. It's around the philosophy of procedural justice.

Studies have shown that a citizen's views are shaped by their encounters with police. These police-citizen interactions have a direct bearing on the citizen's perception of that police officer specifically and their organisation more generally.

So the use of a procedurally just approach will not only have the citizen think more favourably of the police officer involved in that interaction, but there will be a diffused favourable benefit to their organisation as well.

What do you think happens in communities when procedurally fair policing is absent?

When procedural justice policing is absent in a community and there are low levels of community trust in police, the literature generally shows that these communities experience higher levels of crime and police have a more difficult time doing their job. Yet, I hasten to add that the large variations in community perceptions of police that are found in other countries around the world are not generally found to be the case in Australia.

We know from Australian research (see this volume) that citizens in communities across Melbourne (and Brisbane) are pretty universal in their high levels of trust and confidence in police. This doesn't mean that police in Australia can be complacent. We can't. There are always going to be pockets of our communities that we need to work extra hard at engaging. And when we do, we know that we can better control crime and disorder problems and create the capacities for our frontline police to be effective in all aspects of their work.

The bottom line is that the community ultimately funds all units of public administration including the police so the way that we deal with public is incredibly important and a key measure of our success as an organisation.

When did the idea of procedural justice become a critical concept for you personally?

Most police join the job with the best of intentions to make our communities safer places to live and work.

The core planks of procedural justice policing are not a new invention: they are the foundations of what good policing has been since the times of Sir Robert Peel. What is new is the clear articulation of the dialogue of procedural justice and the research that so clearly identifies the links between procedural justice, police legitimacy and police effectiveness.

As a police manager, I have really been interested in this for 20 years but I didn't initially know they had a term for it. I would say that the clarity around the theoretical concepts was made clear, specifically when you and I had the preliminary conversation around the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) around 7 or 8 years ago now.

How do you know that the dialogue of procedural justice works to bring about best outcomes, not just for police, but for citizens as well? That is, what evidence exists that backs up your comments above?

The Campbell Collaboration systematic review undertaken by the UQ team, with the follow up QCET trial really solidified the evidence around procedural just policing. Since that time, a number of replications and new work undertaken in this area has further reinforced the imperative that police need to engage the dialogue of PJ policing in all aspects of their day to day work.

Since QCET, how has procedural justice been adopted in your organisation, the Queensland Police Service?

A number of experiments have been undertaken with the QPS since QCET. Each of these have, in some way, tried to build on the procedural justice evidence.

The Mobile Police Community Office project identified that the more a police officer understands and identifies with procedural justice, the more likely they are to use a procedurally just approach when dealing with the community. The forensic crime scene investigators trial has proven the benefits of using a procedurally just approach at crime scenes.

This approach resulted in significantly more burglary offences being solved as a result of this method. As a consequence of these projects, an experiment has been undertaken with our recruits to ascertain the benefits of training police in procedural justice.

The data from this experiment is currently being analysed and will be available early in the new year.

How do we encourage the adoption of procedural justice across all units and in all police agencies?

The evaluation of the procedural justice training package is a good start to determine the efficacy of procedural justice training and its value across our organisation and other agencies.

Having procedural justice at the forefront of our minds as we implement any new strategy, tactic or project will assist with the adoption of procedural justice more broadly.

One thing we do know about procedural justice is that where senior officers use procedural justice, not just with members of the public, but with their own staff, then their staff are more likely to mirror this behaviour and use procedural justice in their interactions with the community. In this respect procedural justice can be infectious.

Canadian Society of Evidence Based Policing (CAN-SEBP)

Laura Huey

Laura Huey is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Western Ontario, the Director of the Canadian Society of Evidence Based Policing, a Senior Research Fellow at the Police Foundation, a member of the Board of SERENE-RISC and a Senior Researcher and University Representative for the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society.

She is also the London Police Service Research Fellow and sits on the Canadian Association of Police Governance Research & Policy Committee and the Board of the Canadian Association of Police Educators.

In keeping with CAN-SEBP's focus on research creation and sharing, our focus right now is on three things: 1. growing evidence based policing at the local level; 2. working with agencies and researchers to generate new research; and 3. embedding the ideas, theories and practices of evidence based policing into police education and training. Some of our recent initiatives in these areas include:

1. EBP workshops across Canada – we had our first event in September in Winnipeg (co-hosted with the Winnipeg Police Service) themed "Ideas, Innovation and Education". The workshop received such positive feedback that we are intending to organize another in Winnipeg next year. Our second workshop is scheduled for January 2017 with the Durham Regional Police (guest speaker: Renee Mitchell) and is themed "Police-Citizen Interactions: What Works?". And, we are currently in discussions to host events with partners in Calgary, Vancouver, Halifax, Saskatchewan and London, Ontario, with dates to be announced shortly.
2. educational/training materials – we are producing a series of materials available to course instructors – lecture notes & PowerPoint slides – so they can more easily embed both evidence based policing concepts and the latest research into their courses and help us grow future EBP practitioners. Currently available on our members' page are materials on EBP, harm-focused policing, focused deterrence and risk terrain modeling.
3. growing at the local level – we now have 4 regional coordinators tasked with promoting EBP and organizing events in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Halifax, Nova Scotia, London, Ontario, and Medicine Hat, Alberta. They have been instrumental in organizing events and growing our membership.
4. videos & other educational materials/opportunities – in February we announced a video clips series featuring EBP experts (both researchers & practitioners) talking about important ideas in research and the world of policing. We currently have 8 interviews for our website, our workshop presentations, our course materials and on our YouTube channel. We have another 6-8 interviews scheduled for the fall. Plus, our newly established education committee will be working on locating new and exciting educational opportunities for interested members.
5. developing research – we have also been hard at work in discussions and meetings with research groups, independent researchers, partnering agencies and various police services to generate projects in a number of key areas, from community safety initiatives to police receptivity to research. One of the projects we are directly working on – police leader education in Canada – recently received federal funding.

In all, CAN-SEBP has had a good year and we are looking forward to continuing to grow both nationally, and as part of the global federation of SEBPs.

United Kingdom Society of Evidence Based Policing (UKSEBP)

Alex Murray

Temporary Assistant Chief Constable Alex Murray graduated from Birmingham University in 1996 and joined West Midlands Police where he worked in CID and uniform roles in the cities of Birmingham, Coventry and Wolverhampton. In 2008, he graduated from Cambridge University, with a Masters degree in Criminology. His thesis developed the understanding of police legitimacy within Muslim communities. He is passionate about involving the community in reducing crime and has led West Midlands Police on preventing violent extremism.

He is the founder, and currently Vice Chair, of the Society of Evidence Based Policing and has introduced randomised control trials into West Midlands Police as a means of understanding what works in reducing harm and providing value for money. In 2014, he received the Superintendents award for Excellence in Policing and has been recognised by George Mason University's Centre for Evidence Based Policing. He is a visiting scholar at Cambridge University, has been associate director of the Cambridge Indian Police Service Training Programme and was part of the UK National Disaster Victim Identification Team.

Where is SEBP going?

Policing is facing two significant challenges across the UK and in many countries. The first is a sense of legitimacy. To what extent do communities trust the police to be just, protect the vulnerable and reduce crime?

The second is an issue of outcomes. In an era of spending restraint, it is increasingly necessary to demonstrate causal links between police action and outcomes.

Evidence based policing can rise to these demands –being evidence based is a great start in building trust, it assists in removing biases, accurately recording our actions and the results of them. It gauges levels of success and failure in a way that can assess cost (both in harm and money) and it creates a framework through which we can genuinely test innovative approaches to problem solving.

The aims of SEBP are clear and to the point and should remain:

We aim to communicate, use and produce the best research evidence.

Anything, though, can be evidence based and we should be explicit that SEBP is about criminal justice reform in an evidence based manner. This year SEBP in the UK became a registered charity and has received its first donations from philanthropists. The reason why SEBP became a charity is as follows:

1. There is an increasing realisation that criminal justice reform, and strengthening the capability of policing will assist in protecting the most vulnerable in communities (domestic violence, human trafficking and violence against women) Last year Haughen and Boutros wrote *The locust effect: Why the end of poverty requires the end of violence.* It is a challenging read and one that brings home the responsibility we have as police officers to obtain justice for the most vulnerable.
2. Development agencies and philanthropists are seeking to be more evidence based[i]
3. There is recognition that the people who have the strongest influence on policing are the police themselves. Transformation comes best from within and as a charity we provide the bridge between the outside and the police.

SEBP then as a charity, being non-governmental, evidence based and owned by the police and researchers – becomes a suitable vehicle through which to drive change in policing both in the West and developing countries. SEBP becomes an evidence based movement for justice reform. Tactically, though, there is no restraint in where SEBP should concentrate, ranging from issues of acquisitive crime through to how to engender trust.

As a relatively new start-up within policing we are still small but are slowly growing in influence. Some of the tools we have tried have been clunky and put people off, but we are always making progress. Our new website at www.sebp.police.com has pushed membership over 2000 and we have an active twitter feed @society_ebp. We have started podcasting on sound cloud from the website and the first two episodes are up there:

Blow in that: How what you say saves lives and solves burglary (an interview with Lorraine Mazerolle exploring procedural justice)

Sewage: The next Best Policing Tool (an interview with Ruth Morgan highlighting some great advances in forensic techniques)

There are more podcasts on their way and soon we will be on itunes.

Regional co-ordinators having been mobilising officers in their force areas to use, communicate and produce great research evidence. They have run regional conferences partnering with local universities. More and more SEBP members become the people who partner with professional researchers opening up policing to experiments, scrutiny and exposure to research methods that enable us to understand the impact of our actions.

Nationally we have a conference in the winter attended by over 200 officers. On the 1st and 2nd March 2017 we have Queensland's own Justin READY over to present his findings on body worn video where he will be suggesting the policy can be as important as the technology (do you have a discretionary or compulsory record policy?) Professor Larry Sherman, really the father of the evidence based policing movement, will be summarising some of the latest discoveries from Cambridge run randomised control trials. Jason ROACH will be talking his theory of self-selection policing where he argues serial offenders give off obvious clues that allows the police to target them effectively, for example – a conviction of driving whist disqualified significantly increased the chances of an offender being a significant perpetrator in other areas[ii]. We are exploring the evidence around domestic violence risk assessment and what working for domestic violence perpetrators. We are also demonstrating the latest development in data driven insights that allow us to use big data to better predict where it is most effective to intervene.

The conference shows the impact that taking an evidenced based approach can make across all policing areas. Our message to police officers is pretty clear. It is fine reading about this stuff and being mildly interested in it, but unless we start using evidence – or producing it, policing will remain unchanged – and that is no longer an option. In his brilliant book, Black Box Thinking, Matthew Syed quotes Prof Dave LANE as saying

> *"In coming decades, success will not be just about intelligence and talent. They should never overshadow the significance of understanding what is going wrong and evolving. Organisations that foster the growth of knowledge will dominate"*

Being evidence based is all about learning, testing and evolving and I hope SEBP becomes one of the reasons why there is such a push into this area.

End Notes

i Fiennes, C (2012) It Ain't What You Give, It's the Way That You Give It: Making Charitable Donations That Get Results

ii Roach, J, Pease, K. Self Selection Policing, Palgrave Macmillan UK

American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP)

Jason Potts

Implementation of evidence-based policing (EBP) starts at the operational level[1]. However, there is an ongoing discussion about EBP disconnects between Chiefs, Captains, Commanders, and first line supervisors on patrol that not only occur at that level but the investigative level as well[1]. For example, if police managers have an ambiguous understanding of EBP and how their agencies utilize its precepts, then how do we expect to get buy-in from our front line officers? Further, the knowledge, principles and practical application of EBP for those who embrace it, often vary between police agencies, ranks and police units. Questions that are often asked, "How do we motivate that autonomous patrol officer to buy into and practice evidence-based policing concepts when he is alone at 3 AM on patrol?" How do we incentivize and create evidence-based policing reward structures for our officers and detectives?

We aim to show the benefits of EBP, and in turn provide EBP resources in digestible and cogent ways to facilitate positive outcomes for front line officers. We must create environments that embrace and utilize evidence-based practices to not only reduce crime rates but increase job satisfaction at every rank. In addition to increased job satisfaction, police research can help us achieve improved legitimacy and accountability[1]. First line police supervisors must create environments that enable adaptability and generate data to help law enforcement target, test and track police interventions – introduced by criminologist, Lawrence Sherman[2]. Continuously learning and adopting best-known practices advances the policing profession and motivates our officers to be more effective. Today's law enforcement officers are typically more educated and capable of re-engineering our profession than ever before. We believe our profession is at a tipping point – we at the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) hope to be the catalyst in this process.

To get police research into the hands of our police officers we intend to address two points:

1. Criminological studies that are written in a digestible format.
2. Police departments should adopt EBP into their mandatory training curriculum.

There currently exists valuable research on police practices such as hotspot policing, solvability factors and property crimes. Most of the data gathered from evidence-based research can be universally applied across law enforcement agencies to increase efficiency while maximizing their resources.

ASEBP recently opened up for membership. To become a member go to **http://www.evidencebasedpolicing.org/**. Membership is offered at an annual rate of $40. The following is offered through ASEBP membership:

- Reduced price to the ASEBP Conference (Arizona State University May 22-23)
- Access to 350 Academic Journals
- An online library of articles and conference presentations
- The ability to network and learn from other practitioners and police academics
- ASEBP quarterly news letter
- Discounts to the annual ASEBP conference
- Analysis of proposed legislation, regulations, and their impact on police
- Networking with law enforcement professionals, researchers, and educators from all over the United States – thus providing opportunities to both acquire and share information

In addition, ASEBP has created a social media campaign – Cops 4 Communities/Communities 4 Cops #C4C. This campaign is intended to create a collective narrative about the daily positive impact police have in their communities. We hope it brings the police and the community together while building relationships and trust. We aim to do this by highlighting the positive contacts the cops and the community have every day, which is not always shown in the media.

Our intention is to facilitate a different side of the story, we encourage others to let the #C4C, #cops4communities and #communities4cops hashtags create a link between all the positive contacts across the American Police profession. The following are our ASEBP and C4C social platforms:

- **Facebook** https://www.facebook.com/Cops4Communities-686910531475946/
- **Twitter** https://twitter.com/Cops4Community
  Tag our handle @cops4community
- **Instagram** https://www.instagram.com/cops4communities/
  Tag our handle @cops4communities
- **YouTube** https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCaf8Tu31G0v3V6zytvp0JVw
  https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCzjoOUmxvNYmAFTOMxmauSw

We look forward to having ASEBP play a significant part in evidence-based policing societies.

End Notes

1. Lum, C. (2014, February 5). The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy - Introduction to Evidence-Based Policing. Retrieved from https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=lCfZlxTm0Os
2. Sherman, L. W. (2013). The Rise of Evidence-Based Policing: Targeting, Testing and Tracking. Crime and Justice in America, 1975-2025, 43(1). Retrieved from http://www.crim.cam.ac.uk/courses/police/current/policebank/Sherman,%20L%20 Targeting,%20testing%20and%20tracking.pdf

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Trust in Police and the Neighbourhood Context: A Study of Policing in Melbourne

Corresponding Author: *Elise Sargeant*[1] ***Co-authors:*** *Lorraine Mazerolle*[2]*, Rebecca Wickes*[3]

Key words: procedural justice, police effectiveness, trust in police, neighbourhoods

Abstract

Trust in police is foundational to the capacity for police to do their job well. When people trust police they are more likely to cooperate, comply with directives and obey the law. Research in the US and the UK suggest that trust in police (including the implicit belief that police are effective and procedurally just) varies significantly across different neighbourhoods. In this paper we examine the neighbourhood context of trust in police across 149 suburbs in Melbourne, Australia. We find that perceptions of trust, procedural justice and police effectiveness are generally high, and do not vary a great deal across neighbourhoods in Melbourne. We conclude that city-level contextual factors and the unique structure of Australian policing help explain these findings.

Introduction

Public trust and confidence in police is central to the capacity of police to control and prevent crime. Trust and confidence is fostered when police use procedurally just approaches in their encounters with citizens (see Jackson & Sunshine 2007; Reisig, Bratton & Gertz 2007; Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Tyler 2005) and when police are effective in controlling and preventing crime (Sunshine & Tyler 2003). Research in the US (see Tyler 2005), the UK (see Jackson & Bradford 2010), and Australia (Hinds & Murphy 2007; Murphy, Hinds & Fleming 2008), demonstrates similar patterns in the way individuals develop their perceptions of police.

Whilst individual perceptions of police are important, a person's perceptions and experiences of crime and crime-related factors are likely to be contextualised by their residential neighbourhood. The context of a person's neighbourhood influences their fear of crime (Brunton-Smith & Sturgis 2011), their experience of victimisation (Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls 1997) and their belief that neighbours are willing to act to reduce problems of crime and disorder (see Silver & Miller 2004). Neighbourhood characteristics like the level of concentrated disadvantage and the prior rate of crime – are thus found to shape individual perceptions of fear, crime and the capacity of a community to respond to crime problems.

Recent research in the UK and the US finds that the neighbourhood context is also associated with perceptions of police. For example, London research exploring what Jackson et al. (2013) call "the social ecology of trust, legitimacy and cooperation" described the way neighbourhood factors (such as disadvantage, and the prior rate of crime) can account for variations in trust in police effectiveness and fairness. Similarly in a study of neighbourhoods in a mid-sized, mid-Western city in the US, Gau et al. (2012) found that people living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods appear to have more negative views of procedural justice.

In this paper, we explore neighbourhood variations in perceptions of trust in police in Greater Melbourne. We examine two dimensions of trust: trust in procedural justice, and trust in police effectiveness. Using data from the Australian Community Capacity Study (see Mazerolle et al. 2012) we consider neighbourhoods as "…interrelated ecological entities that exist in the context of its surrounds, its history and its culture (Morenoff, Sampson & Raudenbush 2001, p. 522; see also Sampson, 2013).

We find that perceptions of trust in procedural justice and police effectiveness are generally high. Yet we also find that these positive perceptions do not vary very much across neighbourhoods in Melbourne. This result is in stark contrast to what is found in cities in the US and the UK, where trust is highly variable across the city landscape. We conclude that city-level contextual factors and the unique structure of Australian policing help explain these findings.

Neighbourhood Influences on Perceptions of Police

Police are important to the way neighbourhoods function as they engage with local issues and local people (Sampson 2013). Growing evidence suggests that police-citizen interactions are shaped by the neighbourhood context. Where one lives can be a significant determinant of the nature of police-citizen relations. In disadvantaged, racially segregated communities, police-citizen relations are strained and citizen trust in police can be low – yet this is not the case in more economically advantaged places (Ingram 2007; Lum 2011; Klinger 1997; Renauer 2012; Sobol, Wu & Sun 2013; Sun, Payne & Wu 2008; Varano et al. 2009). Perhaps not surprisingly, studies have found people's perceptions of police tend to vary from one community to the next and these variations in perceptions of police are at least partly explained by neighbourhood context (see Dai & Johnson 2009; Jackson et al. 2013; Gau et al. 2012; Reisig & Parks 2000; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch 1998; Schuck, Rosenbaum & Hawkins 2008; Taylor & Lawton 2012; Wu, Sun & Triplett 2009).

When examining perceptions of police, it is common for research to measure *satisfaction*. A number of studies consider how the neighbourhood context influences individuals' satisfaction with police with mixed-findings. Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch (1998), for example, examined satisfaction with police in the context of neighbourhoods in Chicago, Illinois.

Using a survey of 8,782 people living in 343 neighbourhood clusters they found that 15 percent of the variation in an individual's satisfaction with police was attributable to their residential neighbourhood. They also found that differences in police satisfaction was explained by the neighbourhood's structural characteristics including, concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration and the rate of violent crime. In places with higher levels of concentrated disadvantage, immigrant concentration and violent crime, people were less satisfied with the police.

Reisig and Parks (2000) conducted a similar study of police satisfaction with police. Looking across 5,361 people living in 58 neighbourhoods in St. Petersburg, Florida and Indianapolis, Indiana they found that only 5 percent of the variation in public satisfaction with police was between neighbourhoods.

At the neighbourhood-level they found the homicide rate was negatively associated with satisfaction with police (that is, the higher the homicide rate, the less satisfied neighbourhood residents were with police) however this association was completed explained by neighbourhood concentrated disadvantage.

Dai and Johnson (2009) similarly employed a survey of 614 people living in 29 neighbourhoods in Cincinnati, Ohio to examine predictors of satisfaction with police. They also found 5 percent of the variation in public satisfaction with police could be attributed to the neighbourhood. They also found a significant and negative relationship between concentrated disadvantage and satisfaction with police, indicating that individuals who live in neighbourhoods with higher levels of concentrated disadvantage are more likely to have negative perceptions of police.

Most recently, Taylor and Lawton (2012) examined confidence in police (similar to satisfaction) in Pennsylvania. In this study of 1,289 people in 502 municipalities, they found that 46 percent of the variation in public confidence in police can be attributed to the municipality in which an individual resides. However they found no municipality-level predictors of confidence in the police. These mixed findings across studies make it difficult to create a conclusive picture about the link between neighbourhood context and satisfaction with police.

Recently studies have broadened to consider legitimacy and trust in procedural justice and effectiveness. Using data collected in London in the UK, Jackson et al. (2013) found two measures of police legitimacy (obligation to obey and moral alignment) varied significantly across neighbourhoods with 30 percent of the variation in the obligation to obey police and moral alignment attributed to the neighbourhood in which one lives. They also found neighborhood variation in perceptions of trust in police effectiveness (8 percent), trust in procedural justice (9 percent) and cooperation with police (23 percent).

Concentrated disadvantage was negatively and significantly associated with trust in police effectiveness; immigration concentration predicted trust in procedural justice and the obligation to obey police. Collective efficacy, or the degree to which neighbourhood residents trust one another to intervene in neighbourhood problems, had a positive influence on trust in police and moral alignment was the strongest predictor of trust in procedural justice.

Our Study

In this study we examine the extent to which neighbourhood context and neighbourhood structural characteristics explain neighbourhood variations in trust in police across Greater Melbourne. We ask two research questions:

1. Does public trust in police vary across neighbourhoods in Melbourne?
2. Are variations in public trust in police across neighbourhoods due to neighbourhood structural and social variables?

We then compare our results to prior research and consider the way in which the broader city context might shape the relationship between neighbourhoods and public trust in police.

Research Site and Police Jurisdiction

Our research site is Greater Melbourne in Australia which comprises the area in and around Melbourne – the capital city of the State of Victoria. At the date of the 2011 census the area of Greater Melbourne had a population of just under 4 million, and the State of Victoria had a population of 5.3 million (inclusive of Melbourne). The area of Greater Melbourne (approximately 227,416 square kilometres) is serviced by the Victorian Police Service. While Victoria Police divide this large space into four regions (three of which cross through the area of Greater Melbourne) with regional operations and Deputy Commissioners, this large area falls under the command of one Chief Commissioner. At the time of the research in 2010 there were 11,293.5 Full Time Equivalent (FTE) police officers in Victoria, equating to around 213 FTE police officers per 100,000 of the population (Victoria Police 2010). In 2010 the Victorian Police reported that 73% of people were satisfied with the police in Victoria (Victoria Police 2012).

Data Source and Sampling Procedure

We draw on data collected in Wave 3 of the *Australian Community Capacity Study* (ACCS) survey, 2010. The ACCS Wave 3 in Melbourne is a study of 4,943 people living in 149 neighbourhoods in the area of Greater Melbourne. The survey was designed to measure perceptions of police and community processes and is the first study in Australia to examine how perceptions of police vary across neighbourhoods.

The sampling method involved the random selection of neighbourhoods and households within neighbourhoods. In Melbourne the measure of neighbourhood or local community is the State Suburb Classification (SSC). The SSC or "suburb" is a census boundary as well as a local geographic area that people recognise and associate with. The use of the suburb to represent the "neighbourhood" is driven both by conceptual meaning and by data availability. At the time of the survey, suburbs were the smallest geographic unit at which we could obtain census and crime data. Moreover, a pilot study indicated that participants associated the word "community" with their local area or suburb (Mazerolle et al. 2007).

Suburbs were randomly selected from a sampling pool of 352 eligible suburbs in the Major Statistical Region of Melbourne (Mazerolle et al. 2012). Suburb sizes vary, with between 200 and 10,000 dwellings. A quota was established per suburb depending on a "coefficient of variation" calculated for each suburb (Mazerolle et al. 2012). A random sample of households was then drawn from the sample of suburbs (Mazerolle et al. 2012). Participants were randomly selected using the Electronic White Pages and Random Digit Dialing (Mazerolle et al. 2012). Interviews were undertaken using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The response rate was 27.17 percent (Mazerolle et al. 2012).

Variables

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables comprised two sub-scales of trust in the police: trust in police effectiveness and trust in procedural justice. Jackson et al. (2013) define trust as citizen's expectations of police in regard to police competence and motives.

In this way trust in police can be carved into two sub-constructs: competence-based trust (or trust in police effectiveness) – the belief that police do a good job at specific tasks – and motive-based trust (or trust in procedural justice) – the belief that the police "have our best interests at heart" (Jackson et al. 2013, p. 65).

To measure trust in police effectiveness in this study, items measuring police competence were included. These items assess the belief that police do a good job undertaking their core business (i.e. preventing, controlling and responding to crime incidents and community issues).

To measure trust in procedural justice, items measuring the belief that police are fair and care about the community were included (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Items measuring trust in police

Trust in Police Effectiveness	On the whole, how good a job to you think the police are doing in your community at… • Dealing with problems that concern you • Preventing crime • Keeping order • Solving crime
Trust in Procedural Justice	• Police try to be fair when making decisions (removed from scale following CFA) • Police treat people fairly • Police treat people with dignity and respect • Police are always polite when dealing with people • Police listen to people before making decisions • Police make decisions based upon facts, not their personal bias • Police respect people's rights when decisions are made

Using SPSS AMOS we examined the factor structure of trust in police. For the purposes of the factor analyses missing values were imputed using Expectation Maximisation. Modification indices indicated one item could be removed to improve model fit. Following the removal of this item the two-factor solution provided a satisfactory fit for the data (CMIN=577.26; DF=34; CFI=.979; RMSEA .057; AGFI = .962; TLI=.973). Mean scales were computed to form the two trust in police variables. Chronbach's Alpha's were .869 and .879 for trust in procedural justice and trust in police effectiveness respectively.

Compositional Variables

In order to examine the role of the neighbourhood in explaining perceptions of police it is necessary to control for compositional or individual demographic characteristics associated with perceptions of police. These included measures of gender, age, ethnicity, employment, housing situation and the number of dependent children. Gender was coded as 1=Female, 0=Male. Age was a continuous variable; we also included age squared to test for a quadratic relationship between age and trust in police.

To measure ethnicity/ancestry participants were asked to identify their primary cultural/ethnic background or ancestry. We collapsed responses to form three dummy variables representing three prominent minority ancestry categories (based on classifications in the Australian Bureau of Statistics).

The three dummy variables were European (European=1, Other=0), Asian (Asian=1, Other=0), and African and Middle Eastern (African and Middle Eastern=1, Other=0). The majority of the Melbourne sample identified as Australian (17.7 percent), British (45.15 percent) and Irish (8.76 percent) with fewer respondents falling into the European (16.60), Asian (7.53 percent), African and Middle Eastern (1.96) categories. Employment was coded as 1=Unemployed, looking for work, 0=Other. Housing situation was coded as 1=Own, 0=Other.

We also constructed a variable to measure the number of dependent children living at home under the age of 18. This was a continuous variable.

Neighbourhood structural characteristics and crime rate

We employed similar measures of neighbourhood structural characteristics as those used in studies in the US and the UK that examine the link between neighborhood context and perceptions of police (Dai & Johnson 2009; Jackson et al. 2013; Reisig & Parks 2000; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch 1998). Constructs of interest were concentrated disadvantage, residential stability and ethnic heterogeneity. To measure these constructs we sourced variables from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. These included: the proportion of people who were unemployed, the proportion of single-parent households, the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Indigenous Australians), the proportion of people who have lived in the neighbourhood for 5 years or less, and the proportion of people who speak a language other than English. In addition to structural characteristics, the log of the crime rate was calculated for each neighbourhood. These data were provided by the Victorian Police. The crime rate was measured as the combined violent crime and property crime count per 100,000 people in the population.

Neighbourhood social characteristics

Variables were constructed to represent two neighbourhood social characteristics: collective efficacy and disorder. Our measure of collective efficacy is identical to that first employed by Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls (1997). Participants were asked to indicate how likely it was that their neighbours would intervene in a number of scenarios. Likelihood was measured on a 5-point Likert scale from Very Unlikely=1 to Very Likely=5. Participants were also asked to indicate their level of agreement with four questions capturing neighbourhood social cohesion and trust. Level of agreement was similarly measured on a 5-point Likert scale from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree. A mean scale of the collective efficacy items was calculated (Chronbach's Alpha = .715) and the variable was aggregated to the suburb level by taking the mean score of participants in each suburb. Our measure of disorder comprised a number of questionnaire items capturing the degree to which respondents believe particular types of disorder are a concern in their local community Responses were coded as 0 for "No problem", 1 for "Some problem" and 2 for "Big problem". The disorder scale was then summed to form an index of disorder. Scores could range from 0 to 8. The disorder variable was then aggregated to the suburb level to represent the mean response per suburb.

Analytic Strategy

Multilevel models were constructed predicting trust in procedural justice, and trust in police effectiveness. Hierarchical statistical modeling is necessary in order to examine perceptions of police in the neighbourhood context, and to determine the proportion of variance in perceptions of police that is explained by the neighbourhood in which a person resides. Analyses were conducted in STATA. Descriptive statistics were first computed for the variables at the individual- and community-levels of analysis. Multilevel regression models were then constructed using the mixed command. Variables were entered in blocks to form a total of four models predicting each dependent variable. In Model 1 compositional variables were entered, followed by neighbourhood structural characteristics in Model 2. In Model 3 neighbourhood structural characteristics were removed and neighbourhood collective efficacy and community problems were added, then in Model 4 all neighborhood and individual level variables were entered together. The proportion of the variance explained was calculated for each model as well as for the null model.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2 below and include the demographic characteristics of the sample. Of particular note, results indicate that, on average, Melbourne respondents report positive perceptions of trust in police effectiveness and trust in procedural justice (i.e. on a 5-point scale results were above the mid-point). That is, Melbourne residents tended to believe police were trustworthy. This is consistent with prior research that shows Australians generally have quite high levels of satisfaction with police (Hinds & Murphy 2007).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Individual-level					
Trust in police effectiveness	4916	3.77	0.68	1	5
Trust in procedural justice	4929	3.77	0.63	1	5
Female	4943	0.62	0.48	0	1
Age	4890	51.25	16.04	18	99
Age Squared	4890	2883.40	1677.47	324	9801
Asian	4886	0.08	0.26	0	1
European	4886	0.17	0.37	0	1
African and Middle Eastern	4886	0.02	0.14	0	1
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	4843	0.01	0.09	0	1
Unemployed	4862	0.02	0.15	0	1
Own home	4813	0.86	0.35	0	1
Number of dependent children	4910	0.68	1.07	0	10
Neighbourhood-level					
Percent unemployed	149	2.91	1.06	0.51	6.46
Percent single parent	149	7.20	3.42	1.33	21.14
Percent Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	149	0.43	0.40	0.00	2.42
Percent at a different address 5 years ago	149	35.61	11.33	11.51	83.35
Percent speak a language other than English	149	17.19	13.87	0.38	65.22
Violent and property crime rate per 100,000	147	13735.01	9482.13	315.90	60680.76
Collective efficacy	149	3.63	0.25	3.06	4.23
Disorder	149	2.78	0.78	0.30	4.84

Multilevel Models

We begin with our models predicting trust in procedural justice. To address our first research question: "does trust in police vary across neighbourhoods?" we turn to the Intra Class Correlation coefficients presented in Table 3. These explain how much of the variation in the dependent variable can be attributes to the neighbourhood for each model. ICCs for the empty model tell us that that trust in procedural justice does vary across neighbourhoods in Melbourne, however the amount of variation is small. For trust in procedural justice, ICCs for the empty model indicate that only 2 percent of the variation in public trust in procedural justice can be attributed to the neighbourhood in which an individual resides. To address out second research question: "are variations in public trust in police across neighbourhoods due to neighbourhood structural and social variables?" we turn to the coefficients in Table 4. We find that the only neighbourhood variables that impacts on perceptions of procedural justice is collective efficacy. As observed in Table 3, the addition of collective efficacy and disorder explain an additional 9 percent in the variation of trust in procedural justice across neighbourhoods. Of the compositional or demographic variables, only age and homeownership are significant predictors of trust in procedural justice, with older people and homeowners being more likely to trust in procedural justice (see Table 3).

Table 3. Variance explained by the multilevel regression models of trust in police justice in Melbourne

Melbourne		
	Intraclass Correlation	**Variance Explained (%)**
Empty Model	0.021	
Compositional Model	0.019	10
Adding Structural Characteristics	0.017	16
Adding Social Characteristics	0.017	19
Adding Structural and Social Characteristics	0.016	23

Our research for trust in police effectiveness tell a similar story. Turning to Table 5 we see that for trust in police effectiveness, ICCs for the empty model are 3 percent, indicating that 3 percent of the variation in trust in police effectiveness can be attributed to the neighbourhood in which an individual lives. The addition of collective efficacy and disorder account for an additional 19 percent of the variation of trust in police effectiveness across neighbourhoods. Once again collective efficacy is the only neighbourhood variable significantly associated with trust in police effectiveness in the model (see Table 6). In addition to age we see that the coefficients for Asian Ancestry and Female are also significant. This shows that people of Asian Ancestry are less trusting of police effectiveness compared to others (controlling for European and African-Middle Eastern groups) and that females are more trusting in police effectiveness than males.

Table 5. Variance explained by the multilevel regression models of trust in police effectiveness in Melbourne

Melbourne		
	Intraclass Correlation	**Variance Explained (%)**
Empty Model	0.028	
Compositional Model	0.025	11
Adding Structural Characteristics	0.019	30
Adding Social Characteristics	0.019	30
Adding Structural and Social Characteristics	0.017	38

Table 4. Multilevel regression analysis of independent variables on trust in procedural justice in Melbourne

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig
Individual-level compositional variables												
Intercept	3.61	.05	***	3.77	.10	***	3.00	.26	***	2.96	.40	***
Female	.03	.02		.03	.02		.03	.02		.02	.02	
Age	.00	.00	*	.00	.00	*	.00	.00	*	.00	.00	*
Ancestry (reference category Other)												
Asian	-.07	.04		-.06	.04		-.06	.04		-.06	.04	
European	-.02	.03		-.02	.03		-.01	.03		-.02	.03	
African and Middle Eastern	-.08	.08		-.07	.08		-.06	.08		-.07	.08	
ATSI	.02	.10		.02	.10		.03	.10		.03	.10	
Unemployed	-.04	.06		-.03	.06		-.03	.06		-.03	.06	
Own Home	.08	.03	**	.07	.03	*	.07	.03	**	.07	.03	*
Number of Dependent Children	.02	.01		.01	.01		.02	.01		.01	.01	
Neighbourhood-level structural variables												
Percent Unemployed				-.02	.02					-.02	.02	
Percent Dependent Children under 16				.00	.01					.00	.01	
Percent ATSI				.01	.04					.01	.04	
Percent Living at a Different Address 5 years ago				.00	.00					.00	.00	
Percent LOTE				.00	.00					.00	.00	
Log Violent and Property Crime Rate				-.02	.02					-.02	.02	
Neighbourhood-level social variables												
Collective Efficacy							.16	.06	**	.19	.09	*
Disorder							.01	.02		.03	.02	

Discussion and Conclusion

Research in the US and the UK shows that public perceptions of police are influenced by the neighbourhood context. But does this pattern hold in an Australian city? Our results indicate that trust in police does vary across neighborhoods in Melbourne, but we see differences in the amount of variation compared to results from cities in the US and the UK. In the London study by Jackson et al. (2013), for example, up to 30 percent of the variation in perceptions of police can be attributed to the neighbourhood in which an individual lives. By contrast, we find that only 2-3 percent of the variation in public trust in police can be attributed to the neighbourhood context in Melbourne.

Our study also shows no evidence of a link between neighbourhood structural characteristics and perceptions of police, with collective efficacy being the only neighbourhood variable to have a significant relationship to either trust in police effectiveness and trust in procedural justice. These findings suggest that, in Melbourne, the neighbourhood context does not have a significant influence on shaping people's perceptions of police than what is apparent in US and UK cities. These results are somewhat surprising in light of what we know about policing organisations the world over. We know that police generally operate locally and that, as a consequence, they have a role to play in shaping communities and in addressing local problems (Ingram 2007; Lum 2011; Klinger 1997; Renauer 2012; Sobol, Wu & Sun 2013; Sun, Payne & Wu 2008; Varano et al. 2009).

In the Australian context generally, and in the case of these findings from Melbourne in particular, we suggest two factors influence why we find very little variation in citizen perceptions of trust in police: first, people in Australia hold the police across Australia in high regard (Hinds & Murphy 2007). Indeed, the Australian Productivity Commission finds that "…across the general population (whether or not people had contact with the police), the majority of people nationally (75.3 per cent) were 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the services provided by police in 2013-14, compared with 76.8 per cent in 2012-13" (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2015, 6.7). Moreover, the report shows that 76.1 per cent of people nationally 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that police treat people 'fairly and equally', compared with 75.1 per cent in 2012-13 (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2015, p. 6.8). This high level of support for police in Australia contrasts with declining public sentiment about the police in the UK. In a recent Public Confidence Survey results show that public satisfaction following contact with the police has been falling in recent years, with just two thirds of the public satisfied with police (Harvey, Shepherd & Magill 2014).

The report also finds an increasing willingness to complain about contact with police, yet not amongst young people and those from black and minority ethnic groups who were much less likely to complain (Harvey, Shepherd & Magill 2014).

Second, it is likely that the state-based policing structure in Australia, and in Victoria in particular, influences the way that citizen perceptions of police are relatively uniform across a city landscape. That is, the relatively frequent rotations of police from one division or station to another may mean that high performing and engaging officers are shared around, and perhaps officers who are less favourable in the eyes of the public are also shared around, smoothing the variability in citizen perceptions of police from one neighbourhood to another.

As a result of this state-based policing structure it may be that citizens perceive police services in Australia as much less localised compared to police services in the US or the UK.

We can also consider the context of neighbourhoods in Melbourne compared to neighbourhoods in the US for example. US cities have a unique history of neighbourhood development and segregation. Sampson (2013) suggests that in US cities like Chicago, neighbourhoods develop unique identities which can have a big impact on the way others see neighbourhoods. If police see each neighbourhood differently this may mean they are more likely to treat people living within different neighbourhoods differently – which may subsequently lead to more variations in perceptions of police. Melbourne is a relatively new city, compared to Chicago for example, which may mean that individual neighbourhoods have less of an entrenched cultural identity that we see elsewhere. As a result, police may be less likely to view and treat individual neighbourhoods differently.

While we see some differences between the results of our study in Melbourne compared to prior studies we also find at least one similarity. Similar to Jackson et al. (2013) we find collective efficacy is the most significant predictor of trust in procedural justice and police effectiveness. Bradford and Jackson (2010) explain that the link between collective efficacy and perceptions of police is underscored by societal norms and values. They suggest that when "citizens hold accountable group authorities that are perceived to let the norms, values and standards of public behaviour erode 'on their watch'" (Bradford & Jackson 2010, p. 5). Our finding that neighbourhood processes such as collective efficacy persist in explaining how people in communities perceive the police, regardless of the structural characteristics demonstrates how important it is for police to be perceived as maintaining and upholding societal norms and values – regardless of city context.

Table 6. Multilevel regression analysis of independent variables on trust in police effectiveness in Melbourne

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig	Coef.	Std. Err.	Sig
Intercept	3.77	.09	***	3.95	.13	***	3.31	.29	***	2.94	.43	***
Individual-level compositional variables												
Female	.12	.02	***	.12	.02	***	.12	.02	***	.12	.02	***
Age	-.01	.00		-.01	.00		-.01	.00	*	-.01	.00	*
Age (squared)	.00	.00	**	.00	.00	**	.00	.00	**	.00	.00	**
Ancestry (ref category Other)												
Asian	-.13	.04	**	-.13	.04	**	-.12	.04	**	-.13	.04	**
European	-.01	.03		-.01	.03		-.01	.03		-.01	.03	
African and Middle Eastern	.05	.08		.05	.08		.06	.08		.05	.08	
ATSI	.07	.10		.09	.10		.08	.10		.09	.10	
Unemployed	-.02	.06		-.01	.06		-.01	.06		-.01	.06	
Own Home	.03	.01	**	.03	.01	**	.03	.01	**	.03	.01	**
Neighbourhood-level structural variables												
Percent Unemployed				.01	.03					.01	.03	
Percent Dependent Children under 16				-.01	.01					.00	.01	
Percent ATSI				-.04	.05					-.04	.05	
Percent Living at a Different Address 5 years ago				.00	.00					.00	.00	
Percent LOTE				.00	.00					.00	.00	
Log Violent and Property Crime Rate				-.03	.02					-.03	.02	
Neighbourhood-level social variables												
Collective Efficacy							0.15	0.07	*	.24	.10	*
Disorder							-0.02	0.02		.01	.03	

Overall, we find that neighbourhood context appears to matter less for predicting public perceptions of police in Melbourne, Australia compared to prior research in the US and the UK. We find perceptions of trust in police vary across neighbourhoods, but not to a great extent. Trust in police in the Australian context, therefore, is an important state-level matter.

It appears that with the frequent rotations of police in and out of communities across a state, what the police do at the local level has little to do with the local views of police. Trust in procedural justice and police effectiveness in Australia, therefore, is likely shaped at the state level where politics, media and broad contextual factors influence the way people view the police.

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Engaging Muslim Communities to Tackle Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: What does the Evidence say and what can Police do?

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Abstract:

Police rely on information and assistance from the community in order to disrupt and prevent acts of terrorism. However such assistance will not be forthcoming or sustained unless the police undertake effective forms of community engagement. This is particularly the case in the context of police working with Muslim communities to tackle radicalisation and violent extremism. However Muslim communities in Australia and abroad feel targeted and stigmatised due to counter-terrorism policy and practice. This can make them distrustful of police and less willing to work in partnership with police. So what can police do then to enhance their outreach and engagement of Muslim communities? In this paper we examine this issue by reviewing evidence on the effectiveness of community engagement derived from research on the policing of Muslim communities. Based on this review we outline some key principles and recommendations that police should adopt to enhance their engagement efforts.

Introduction

Law enforcement responses to recent terrorists attacks in France and Brussels by individuals inspired, motivated and supported by the Islamic State (IS or the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria – ISIS) illustrate how raids and arrests need to be augmented by human intelligence and community dialogue (The Soufan Group 2016). An important lynchpin of human intelligence and community dialogue is community engagement (Cherney & Hartley 2015). This is even more essential given terrorist cells are often built upon community, friendship, familial and peer ties that can be hard to identify and disrupt without help from the broader community. For example the mastermind of the Paris terrorist attacks – Abdelhamid Abaaoud – was only finally tracked down by police due to a tip off from a member of the Muslim community (a friend of a female Muslim who Abdelhamid contacted for help), and who provided critical information about his whereabouts and intentions to commit a second attack (Daily Mail 2016; Washington Post 2016). Meaningful support like this though cannot be sustained without there being effective engagement efforts by police to improve relations and build partnerships with community members.

Community engagement to tackle violent extremism and radicalisation among Muslim populations has become an important part of police counter-terrorism efforts both in Australia and abroad (Birt 2009; Briggs 2010; Lambert 2011; Qatar International Academy for Security Studies 2012; Ramiriz et al 2013; Spalek 2013). For example the Australian Federal Police have a network of community liaison officers whose role is to build relations with Muslim communities through various activities e.g. attending Muslim festivals, such as Eid, and providing funding to community groups and Mosques for local community projects. The New South Wales police have a community engagement unit within its counter-terrorism command and have developed an engagement strategy targeted at Muslim communities (Dunn *et al.* 2015). Other state police have also established consultative forums such as the Queensland Police/Muslim Community Reference Group.

In this article we review what research indicates about police efforts to engage the Muslim community to tackle radicalisation and violent extremism. We examine the obstacles to and effectiveness of community engagement efforts in order to distil evidence-based lessons relevant to best practice. We explicitly focus on Muslim communities because we think there are some challenges police face in their outreach efforts that are particularly unique to this community and which need to be taken into account when undertaking forms of engagement. Also given the clear concerns about Australian Muslims being radicalised to commit violent acts in support of ISIS, community outreach to prevent such acts needs to be a priority. We are though not discounting the risks posed by white supremacists groups (e.g. in the context of Australia this includes the United Patriots Front and Reclaim Australia and in New Zealand the Right Wing Resistance – RWR) many of who direct their hatred towards Islam and Muslims.

Radicalisation can be defined as a process by which: "individuals are introduced to an overtly ideological message and belief system that encourages movement from moderate, mainstream beliefs towards extreme views" (Barlet & Miller 2012, pg 2). Violent extremism is one potential outcome of radicalisation (Hafez & Mullins 2015; Kahlil 2014; Schmid 2013). Hence is not inevitable that violence or actively supporting acts of terrorism will be an outcome of becoming radicalised (Barlet & Miller 2012). These definitions of radicalisation and violent extremism are one among many and the science on the risk factors for radicalization and violent extremism is not grounded in an agreed upon evidence-base (Hafez & Mullins 2015; Schmid 2013).

Like many aspects of policing, community engagement is more a craft than a science. The research evidence that exists on its features and effectiveness is characterised by a mix of quantitative and qualitative studies of varying quality and results. As yet there has been no randomised control trials (RCTs) conducted to test the overall effectiveness of particular police community engagement efforts aimed at Muslim communities. Lum et al (2009) conclude in their study on police counter-terrorism efforts that despite all the millions spent on counter-terrorism, as yet we know little about what is effective. Hence while such caveats about the overall quality of evidence need to be kept in mind when drawing conclusions from the existing evidence-base, we have tried to distil key lessons from this body of research for police policy and practice.

Why community engagement?

There are several reasons why community engagement should be regarded as an important plank of counter-terrorism. It is key to a "hearts and mind" approach to terrorism prevention (Murray, Mueller-Johnson & Sherman 2015). This in particular relates to enhancing the legitimacy of police counter-terrorism efforts among the very communities who can operate collectively to undermine the influence of radical ideology and propaganda, and actively assist authorities to prevent acts of violent extremism. When police and their actions are seen as legitimate it can have a range of flow on affects in relation to helping police to prevent and detect acts of terrorism. It can make it more likely people will pass on relevant information to police and work collaborative with police (Cherney & Murphy 2013; Huq 2013). Hence engaging in dialogue and consultation with the aim of building trust between police and Muslim communities is an essential part of any counter-terrorism response.

The problem though is that the social, political and institutional responses to terrorism can have the untended consequence of generating community hostility and backlash against anti-terror efforts (Blackwood, Hopkins & Reicher 2013; Briggs 2010; Breen-Smyth 2014; LaFree, Dugan & Korte 2009; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015; Peek 2011). Social responses can relate to the rise of anti-Muslim sentiment such as media and public resistance to the building of Mosques due to the perception they can act as conveyer belts to radicalisation and violent extremism. Political responses can include statements by politicians that Islam is not compatible with secular values and that "Muslim communities are not speaking out enough against acts of terrorism" (Cherney & Murphy 2016). Institutional responses include the enactment of counter-terrorism laws and police actions such as the surveillance of Mosques, police raids and searches of Muslim homes, the cancelling of passports preventing Muslims from travelling overseas, and informal questioning of Muslims in public. While police may have good reason to undertake many of the tactics outlined in the previous sentence, when they are placed in the broader context of the social and political responses to terrorism, cumulatively together they create an atmosphere where Muslim communities feel they are being targeted. That is they perpetuate the shared perception among Muslims that they are being singled out through counter-terrorism policy and discourse (i.e. political and media rhetoric) as posing a terrorist risk simply due to their Islamic faith (Cherney & Murphy 2016). Quantitative and qualitative studies conducted in Europe, Australia and the United States does show that such perceptions are prevalent among Muslim populations (Cherney & Murphy 2015; Choudhury & Fenwick 2011; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015; Mythen, Walklate & Khan 2009; Peek 2011; Schanzer et al 2016; Spalek 2013; Vermeulen 2014). These perceptions are not simply influenced by direct experience e.g. actual contact with police, but can be experienced vicariously through the stories and gossip relayed through people's social networks.

The outcome though can be community resistance and hostility towards counter-terrorism, which can undermine the very legitimacy of anti-terror measures, because it means there is little broad support or acceptance of their moral and legal basis. This threatens their overall effectiveness and can lead Muslims to withdraw their consent to cooperate in local grass-root efforts to counter radicalisation and repudiate violent extremism (Cherney & Murphy 2015).

While such perceptions may not have a direct relationship to what the police are actually doing when coming into contact with Muslim communities, they do create suspicion towards police and a sense Muslim communities are undersiege (Blackwood, Hopkins & Reicher 2013; Cherney & Murphy 2015). Initiating meaningful engagement in such an environment can be challenging for police. One reason being is that Muslims can be defensive towards any mention of the problems of radicalisation and extremism within their communities. Evidence indicates that Muslims dislike the use of such language as terrorism, radicalisation and extremism, because they see it as only further stigmatising their community (Schanzer et al 2016; Weine 2015). Such defensiveness is an outcome of Muslims feeling targeted and stigmatised. The reaction by default is for Muslims to call attention to the injustices they feel which makes it hard to mobilise them collectively against radicalisation and extremism. Such collective mobilisation is made all the more harder because there is no notion of a centralised authority within Islam, which means no body can say they present the views of the majority of Muslims (Vidino 2010; 2011). Also Islam is characterised by different dominations (Shia, Sunni & Sufi) cultures and ethnic groups who often do not see eye to eye. Such divisions means that internal community politics can shape how Muslims collectively respond to particular social problems and can lead to consultation being labelled as superficial and selective, particularly if it is thought certain groups are being more favoured over others. Navigating such an environment can be daunting particularly for police who may have little understanding about the Islamic religion and how it shapes the lives of Muslims.

While outreach and engagement with Muslim communities presents challenges for police, there is goodwill within the Muslim community to work in partnership with authorities. Research in Australia and abroad shows that many Muslims regard extremism as one of the least admired characteristics of their faith (Esposito 2002; Mohammed & O'Brian 2011; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015). Data from Australia and overseas indicates that Muslims do trust the police and are willing to work with police (Hargreaves 2015; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015). Hence there is a reservoir of support that police can tap into by partnering with community members who are sincerely concerned about radicalisation and extremism. However choosing the right partners is less than straightforward (Birt 2009; Lambert 2011), and also those that are the most receptive and compliant may not always be the right ones to work with. This is particularly the case when one considers the fact that community leaders such as Imams may not be the best source of influence over young Muslims. This stems from a recognition that Imams may have limited capacity to influence the sense of belonging, frustration and grievance expressed by young Muslims that can feed radicalisation (Ali et al 2016; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015). Hence outreach to young Muslims – particularly youth - may need to involve other third parties or intermediaries who have greater perceived credibility – in other words "street cred" – which can involve people who have had former links with extremists groups or who are highly critical of government counter-terrorism efforts (Spalek 2014). This creates risks for police, but yet may offer the most effective way of reaching particular hard to reach groups who are already highly distrustful of police.

It needs to be recognised that there are also risks for Muslims who choose to work in partnership with police. They can be criticised by their own community that they are "sell outs". When Muslim leaders ask members of their community to work with police they are placing their own credibility at risk (Cherney & Hartley 2015). Their credibility can be undermined when police act in ways that are perceived as unfair and arbitrary. For example the behavioural markers for possible signs of radicalisation are varied, with their identification lacking a clear scientific evidence-base (McCauley & Moskalenko 2008). Also it can be difficult for frontline practitioners and authorities to determine what is potentially extremist and what is not (Brandon 2011; Fitzgerald 2016). There is the risk, as has occurred in countries such as the U.K. that "youthful" rebellious behaviour can be mistaken by authorities as a sign of radicalisation because it is simply expressed by a Muslim (Anderson 2015). In such circumstances it can be hard for leaders to convince other community members they are not being signalled out by authorities simply because of their faith.

The key to engagement is generating a certain level of trust and interdependence between police and Muslim communities. That is community consultation and dialogue needs to be underpinned by the aim of demonstrating that police have the best interests of the Muslim community at heart and that they do not have all the answers, or want to dictate what those answers should be. Of course the problem is that the need to pre-emptively strike against threats of terrorism means law enforcement responses may not always leave this impression. Hence it needs to be recognised that community engagement may at times be in tension with other operational necessities and can even be undermined when police conduct raids and arrests. Despite this there is still much the police can do to implement effective forms of community engagement that build trust and interdependence. We now consider this in the next section.

What does the evidence say about effective engagement?

The previous section set out to outline the key benefits of engagement and contextualise the broader environment in which it occurs to highlight how challenging it can be for police to form partnerships with Muslim communities. In this section we specifically examine a number of key studies that provide insights into what effective engagement may look like.

Research by Murray, Mueller-Johnson & Sherman (2015) in the U.K. provides evidence as to how police practices can affect violent extremism. They examined the relationship between police legitimacy and risks of violent extremism in U.K. neighbourhoods. They used police intelligence data on terrorism to classify neighbourhoods as high, medium, or low risk of vulnerability to violent extremism. Using public survey data on police performance they examined the level of confidence people had in their local police force. This included for instance survey questions that ask respondents to rate their level of satisfaction with the services police provided, whether they thought police did a good job, whether police could be relied on and treated people fairly and with respect, and whether police were responsive to local community problems. Murray, Mueller-Johnson & Sherman (2015) found that Muslim communities that were classified as at high risk of violent extremism exhibited low confidence in police and did not perceive the police as legitimate. The authors conclude that targeting police resources at areas with Muslim communities characterised by low confidence in police can be an important evidence-based approach to tackling violent extremism.

A recent large-scale study by Schanzer et al (2016) examined the use of community policing strategies in the United States to tackle violent extremism. The research drew upon multiple data sources and examined the topic of community engagement from the perspective of both the police and Muslim communities. Data was derived from a survey of state and local law enforcement agencies, interviews with municipal and country police in regions where violent extremism was ranked as a key concern, and nationwide sites visits to interview community members and law enforcement officials about outreach programs aimed at violent extremism. The authors concluded that when properly *framed,* resourced and implemented community-policing partnerships provide the foundation for addressing violent extremism (Schanzer et al 2016 pg 13, emphasis added). Framing referred to the fact that it was found that Muslim communities were suspicious of engagement programs particularly in relation to them leading to the further targeting of their community. The authors conclude that law enforcement need to be mindful of community sensitivities and that engagement should not simply be framed around countering violent extremism within the context of Muslim communities. Schanzer et al (2016) recommend that when working with Muslim communities, outreach cannot be exclusively focused on counter-terrorism issues. They advise police not to use the term "countering violent extremism" when engaging Muslim communities. The authors also found that outreach and engagement was poorly resourced by police and that it required specialist training that was often lacking or absent within police agencies. Poor implementation was also seen as inhibiting proper engagement and outreach. This included for example when police use community engagement as simply a way of improving intelligence gathering. They argue this undermines the aims of community engagement and recommend that community outreach programs should be kept separate from intelligence gathering and criminal investigation. Additional implementation issues related to the lack of coordination and integration of community, local, state and federal service providers to address violent extremism (Schanzer et al 2016).

Based upon their observations Schanzer et al (2016) distil a number of core principles, which they argue should underpin community engagement efforts. These principles can be summarised as comprising the following elements:

- Community outreach and engagement must be broad-based and should address a variety of community concerns and not just focused on violent extremism.
- Community engagement programs must be consistently delivered (i.e. not one off instances), participatory, creative and involve personal interaction occurring over an extended period of time.
- Trust cannot be built through community engagement unless initiatives are transparent (i.e. kept separate from intelligence gathering).
- Community engagement works best when there is open communication and give and take from all partners.
- Engaging Muslim communities cannot fall exclusively to the police.

One key conclusion from the Schanzer et al (2016) study is that community engagement when fashioned correctly can improve community cooperation and trust in police. The authors do concede though that the impact of police community engagement efforts can be hard to evaluate particularly in quantifying their affect on the prevention of terrorism.

The last study we review is one conducted in Australia involving the first author. This research involved one of the first Australian studies on the impact of counter-terrorism policing on Muslim communities. Its findings illustrate how improving trust and cooperation in counter-terrorism policing among Muslim populations is in the control of police to influence, and provides insights into what good community engagement practices might look like (see Cherney & Murphy 2013, 2015, 2016, forthcoming; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015). This study comprised a survey and focus groups with Muslims living in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne. These jurisdictions were chosen because the majority of Muslims living in Australia reside in these cities. The survey comprised 800 Muslim respondents, with 200 drawn from Brisbane, 300 from Melbourne and 300 for Sydney. The focus groups comprised 104 participants spanning youth (18-26 years of age), new arrivals to Australia (18+ years of age) and middle-aged participants (35-50 years of age). For more detail on the project methodology see Murphy, Cherney and Barkworth (2015). The research set out to explore a range of issues related to examining what influenced the willingness of Muslims to cooperate with police in counter-terrorism efforts.

The focus group data showed that Muslims living in Australia do feel they are suffering from a form of guilt by association – that is they feel they are collectively stigmatised due to the actions of a few. They felt under attack from the media and from politicians, which resulted in a number of coping strategies, some of which had a negative impact on how they perceived counter-terrorism efforts. For example some focus group respondents reported a certain level of distrust towards fellow Muslims (e.g. Imams) who decide to work collaboratively with police (Cherney & Murphy 2015).

What the survey data revealed though is that when Muslims believe police engage them in ways that emphases procedural justice, they are more likely to report they will cooperate with police in community-based efforts to tackle terrorism and are more likely to pass on terrorism related information to police. It must be remember this data comprised a self-reported willingness to cooperate, than actual observed cooperation with police. However this result is striking because we also found that when Muslims believe police use procedural justice they are less likely to feel under siege and targeted, they are more likely to trust the police and they are actually less likely to believe that terrorists have valid grievances (Cherney & Murphy forthcoming; Madon, Murphy & Cherney forthcoming; Murphy, Cherney & Barkworth 2015). The good news is that engaging Muslims in a procedurally just way is in the control of police to influence.

There are four key elements of procedural justice that police can adopt. These are: neutrality, fairness, respect and voice (Mazerolle et al 2014; Murphy 2009). In the context of policing, neutrality relates to whether police are seen to be acting in a neutral and unbiased fashion during encounters with members of the public. That is, police show they are not taking sides. Racial profiling, excessive force or action against Muslims that reinforces stereotypes (e.g. that all young Muslims are potential terrorists so should be treated with suspicion) signals to Muslims that they are being treated differently and that police are not acting in a neutral fashion. Fairness relates to the view that authorities are benevolent in their actions toward individuals; that they demonstrate to people that they have their best interests at heart when making a decision. Police officers who display concern for an individual or explain to them the reasons for their decisions can demonstrate fairness.

In other words they act in a way to show that they are generally concerned about them as individuals. People are also sensitive to signs that police treat them with 'respect'. Respectful and dignified treatment communicates to people that the authority values them. Police officers can display respect by being polite during interactions with the public. Finally, 'voice' is the fourth element of procedural justice. People value the opportunity to have a say in situations that affect them. Being able to voice one's concerns and provide one's opinion before any decision is made, and seeing that police are taking those concerns into account is viewed positively by citizens (Mazerolle et al 2014; Murphy 2009; Murphy, Hinds & Fleming 2008; Tyler, Schulhofer & Huq 2010). In the next section we do outline how these different principles of procedural justice can be put into practice in the counter-terrorism context.

What then can police do?

Taking account of the issues raised in the previous two sections and what recent research studies have concluded, what practices and principles should police adopt when implementing engagement programs aimed at Muslim communities. In this section we set out to address this issue by making a range of suggestions drawing on the evidence reviewed above. The recommendations below are not ordered based upon level of importance and we think police themselves need to decide which should be prioritised based on their local circumstances and history of engagement with Muslim communities. Some of what we propose below is quite specific, while other suggestions reflect broad principles that should underpin police outreach and engagement. The argument can be made that some of these recommendations do not simply pertain to police engagement programs targeting Muslim communities. We now outline each suggestion:

- Certain geographical areas or police divisions are populated by the majority of Muslim community members and hence require a targeted engagement plan.
- There must be acknowledgement that community trust is the basis of engagement and is key to its sustainability. This requires additional police resources so it can be built and maintained.
- Community engagement needs to be based on the foundation of enhancing community wellbeing before any emphasis is placed on intelligence gathering. An emphasis on intelligence gathering will only undermine community relationships and actually impede the flow of intelligence in the long-term.
- Police should work with Muslim organisations on projects that may not have a clear law enforcement function, but non-the-less help to improve trust and wellbeing. For example, officers in the Australian Federal Police community liaison team work with Mosques, Muslim organisations and groups to help them access funds for community projects and facilitate access to decision-makers within government so Muslims can voice their concerns to government representatives.
- Recognise that particular police practices may exacerbate tensions between Muslim communities and police. Police should identify if these policies require change or are being overused, and if their use demands a more consultative process with affected people to overcome community hostilities.
- The task of community engagement should not be left to specialist roles or staff. Staff at every level require education on the principles of community engagement that spans the police academy, general duties, middle management and police executive leadership.
- Basic cultural, language and religious education and training needs to be provided to general duties officers who work in communities with high Muslim populations.
- The principles of procedural justice should underpin police community engagement efforts and police should work to identify how procedural justice can be tailored to the counter-terrorism context.
- Police can demonstrate an interdependent relationship with Muslim communities by empowering community partners to be involved in training, consultation and problem-solving forums.
- Muslim community members should be given an opportunity to have input in police education and training. They should be given some autonomy to define this training. While this may make police uncomfortable and may see training become a sounding board for Muslim grievances, it can empower Muslim communities to have voice in influencing police practices.
- Police can project neutrality in their engagement efforts by engaging Muslims regardless of denomination or religious outlook.
- When officers display concern for Muslims (for example about the needs of Muslim youth) and explain that they want to do the right thing by them and their community, this helps to demonstrate fairness in their decision-making.
- Police should display respect for Muslims and Islam. This can involve police displaying an informed understanding of the Islamic religion. This can include police removing their shoes or carefully handling the Koran during encounters in homes and Mosques. This displays respect for Muslims and their religious practices (Cherney & Murphy forthcoming; Madon, Murphy & Cherney forthcoming).
- Muslims can interpret certain practices by police as disrespectful. For example this can include a failure to ensure that female Muslims have their headscarf or veil secured when police enter homes to conduct questioning of suspects or persons of interest. Within the constraints of operational demands such issues should be taken into account because they can have a larger impact (that is vicariously) beyond the immediate operation by fuelling community distrust in police.
- Police should try to give voice to Muslims in the context of responding to terrorism. For example police can consult with Muslim leaders about violent extremism and take on board their concerns. If police become concerned about a youths' potential for radicalisation, they can try to contact the family in the first instance to inform them of their concerns and how they would like to proceed. While such actions may not always be possible they do provide opportunity for voice.
- Community engagement requires police to be open to criticism and willing to engage individuals and groups (youth) who may have fractured relations with police. This may require police to work with individuals, third parties or intermediaries who may not necessary be prominent or even "acceptable" community leaders, but non-the less have credibility among hard-to-reach groups.
- Police involved in engaging Muslim communities need to possess a detailed knowledge of the local community politics and possible community divisions so as to ensure they don't alienate partners.
- Police should implement a specialist community recruitment consultative panel to enhance Muslim recruitment into the police.
- Police need to recognise that law enforcement responses to terrorism can undermine community trust and cooperation. Balancing the goals of intelligence gathering and terrorist disruption against community engagement may not always be possible. However thinking how this can be achieved is essential to engendering greater levels of trust between police and Muslim communities.

Conclusion

Addressing violent extremism requires more than police simply knowing about the markers or signals for radicalisation. While the ability of police to pre-empt and disrupt terrorist attacks does require knowledge about radicalisation and violent extremism and what risk factors may lead Muslims down such pathways, it also requires police to understand good principles of engagement.

This is essential to them building effective partnerships with Muslim communities. No longer can community engagement been seen as marginal to counter-terrorism. Rather it has a role to play in the prevention of terrorism and also managing the community fall out and angst that can result from counter-terrorism operations.

There is no doubt that police efforts to engage the Muslim community has its challenges and one cannot begrudge police for finding it a frustrating process, with it at times inhibited by the internal politics that can characterise the Muslim community. Community engagement demands patience and also requires police to be open to criticism and willing to engage in open dialogue where they are not imposing the agenda. There is little doubt that more research on police outreach and engagement efforts would be useful to identifying how it can be enhanced and sustained in the context of addressing radicalisation and violent extremism. However the existing evidence base on the topic does provide insight into how police can build meaningful partnerships with Muslim communities.

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Procedural Justice Training: The Elixir Vitae or a Cure that can Harm?

Introduction

When citizens are treated in a procedurally just manner by the police, they are more likely to corporate with law enforcement and have better perceptions of police (Tyler and Sunshine, 2003). Unfortunately, there is no evidence yet that procedural justice training changes officer behavior towards the public. In other words, while procedural justice is generally accepted as a good thing, how to get officers to behave in a more procedurally just manner is still unknown.

Notwithstanding this important knowledge gap, agencies around the world are now rushing to train officers on the dimensions of procedural justice; The Chicago Police Department (CPD) is a prime example. Beginning in July 2012, CPD—in conjunction with researchers from Yale University—developed a procedural justice training course in just four months, and then delivered it department-wide to 9,000 sworn employees over another 16 months (Sedevic, 2012). As the training was being implemented, researchers were tasked with evaluating its effect on officer attitudes.

Their evaluation demonstrated a link between the training and improving attitudes in three of the four dimensions of procedural justice[1]; however, it did not demonstrate a causal link between the training and behavioral changes on the street (Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, 2015). Skogan et al., (2015) also completed a secondary analysis evaluating whether attitude shifts were maintained over time; they determined that neutrality, voice, and respect did not decay over time, but officers still remained unwilling to trust the public. There was no empirical evaluation completed to determine if the training altered police behavior in the field or if the training improved the public's perception of the police. Despite the preliminary nature of these findings, agencies worldwide have been employing versions of the Chicago Model to teach procedural justice training, often at significant costs to taxpayers.

This is not to say that the training has not changed behavior; rather, the capacity of a single training regime to change behaviors on the street is as yet unknown. This however has not stopped agencies from around the globe from using the Chicago Model to teach procedural justice training in their organizations.

At the time of writing, these agencies are spending significant funds without understanding whether the training improves police behavior, improves public perception, or worse has the possibility to reduce morale and police proactivity, and potentially creating a backfire effect negatively affecting officer's behavior towards the public. The theory of procedural justice is soundly supported through the research, yet the mechanisms to achieve increased procedural justice action are not. It is premature to invest heavily in training without evidence that it achieves the organizational goals.

As the example above suggests, procedural justice (PJ) is increasingly viewed as a panacea to the current police legitimacy crisis in the U.S. Although the ideas behind procedural justice have a solid empirical foundation (Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, and Eggins, 2012; Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant, and Manning, 2013; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006), procedural justice training itself has not been so sufficiently tested – that is, subjected to rigorous, independent evaluation within and across multiple sites.

As such, it is premature to warrant mass reliance on this form of training as a solution to what may arguably be a larger set of social problems. I will argue here that we should not be scaling up the training for mass dissemination across the police profession until we have a substantial base of empirical knowledge that supports procedural justice training, not just procedural justice theory.

Of course, the horse may have already bolted. The first year report on the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing stated that 80,000 officers in the U.S. have already been trained in fair and impartial policing and procedural justice (COPS office, 2016)). These officers have been trained in a course that has unknown outcomes for officer behavioral changes, public safety, police proactivity or public perception.

We have already acknowledged in the criminology literature that interventions can cause harm: "to modify human behavior… have the power to bring about unintended harmful consequences" (Zane et al., 2015: p. 1). Anecdotal evidence, as explained later, does suggest some caution, and procedural justice training may need a more sound footing in empirical research to ensure improvement rather than harm before procedural justice training is delivered worldwide.

In this essay, I draw on my own experiences as a procedural justice trainer in two large U.S. agencies. These experiences are, as I show, highly illustrative of how police training is often delivered under real world conditions. I also draw on the Society for Prevention Research (SPR) standard for scaling up evidence based interventions, which provides useful guidelines for determining whether it is appropriate for an intervention to be scaled up to a larger population beyond the initial testing sample (Flay, Biglan, Boruch, Castro, Gottfredson, Kellam, Moscicki, Schinke, Valentine, and Ji, 2005; Gottfredson, Cook, Gardner, Gorman-Smith, Howe, Sandler, and Zafft, 2015). Employing the SPR standards as a guiding framework, I will argue that there is insufficient research evidence on procedural justice training to justify a larger roll-out and that evaluative research in this area is urgently needed.

On leeches, and the black box of police training

While there has been little research on whether procedural justice training is an effective tool for improving police-citizen interactions, in reality there is little research to date on the impact of any police training. Policing has done a poor job of evaluating any of its training methods, from academy training and in-service training, to specialized training such as Crisis Intervention Training, Implicit Bias Training, or Diversity Training (to mention just a few examples). Policing as a profession continues to create new training programs to address contemporary problems without ever firmly establishing whether the training is the appropriate solution.

The situation is reminiscent of blood-letting—a long-trusted remedy to myriad ailments and a bulwark of the medical establishment (it would be difficult to argue the medical field was a profession until recently) irrespective that it didn't actually work. For the majority of the history of human medical interventions, if the patient survived then obviously the treatment worked, and if it didn't then they were too far gone for blood-letting to have worked.

The medical field continued to argue and defend blood-letting for centuries absent proper evaluation and feedback, harming patients through the millennia (Syed, 2015).

Training is policing's leech. We rarely evaluate, we rarely obtain structured feedback on outcomes measured on the street, and thus we never understand whether training is achieving our intended goals. Of the studies on police-citizen interaction training, I was able to find three relating to procedural justice training. CPD evaluated the effects of their training on the attitudes of their officers. This is however an output measure and not an outcome. Arguably, the citizens of Chicago want their officers to demonstrate procedurally just behaviors on the street, enhancing citizen-police communications.

The evaluation indicated that officer attitudes (as reported by the officers) changed, but not necessarily that their behavior changed. Similarly, Detroit PD evaluated the effects of a victim sensitivity course on public perceptions, and Greater Manchester Police evaluated a customer service training course and the effects on citizen's perceptions (Rosenbaum, 1987; Wheller, Levin, Quinton, Fildes, and Mills, 2013). Of the three evaluations only one, the Greater Manchester study showed any improvement in the public's perception of the trained officers.

Procedural justice is the notion that when police interact with the public in a manner that flows through certain key elements, the interaction can be perceived positively by the citizen. The notion of procedural justice has a flow. When officers make contact, citizens evaluate the officer on the four elements of procedural justice, did the officer take the time to listen to them *(voice)*, did the officer treat them with *dignity and respect* (respect), did the officer make a *fair and impartial* decision (neutrality), and was that decision based on trustworthy motives (trust) (Tyler, 2006). Citizens then decide whether this contact was conducted in a fair way.

This can be contrasted to those situations in which people feel they were not treated fairly, and that the police are therefore partial, biased and/or corrupt (Skogan, 2006). Fairness is determined by the process in which they were treated based on the four elements rather than the outcome they receive (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). When citizens determine that they were treated in a fair manner they perceive the police as legitimate. Police legitimacy is the citizens' belief that authorities are entitled to be deferred to and obeyed (Tyler, 2006). This causal process has led both academics and police executives to believe training officers in the dimensions of procedural justice will lead to improved police legitimacy, although this assumption has yet to be established. Chicago PD was the first agency to study the effects of procedural justice training on the attitudes of the police officers.

The training procedural justice training from Chicago PD was created hand in hand with procedural justice researchers Tom Tyler and Tracey Meares of Yale University, and constructed from the research that supports procedural justice theory (Sedevic, 2012). The training course was developed by two officers from the Education and Training Division first piloting the program then using feedback from the officers to finalize the training. Ten instructors were chosen for their credibility within the organization and were trained to teach the procedural justice course. These instructors received in-depth instruction on the research that supported the procedural justice tenets fortifying their knowledge as instructors. Chicago PD began instruction of July 2012 completing training of 9,000 sworn personnel over 16 months.

The goals of the training were to improve officers understanding of "the core components of procedural justice and legitimacy in order to build better relationships with the communities they serve" yet community relationships remains an unmeasured or unreported outcome of CPD's training (Sedevic, 2012). While the training was being implemented two studies were analyzed. One looking at effects of the training on recruits' attitudes and the other determining whether the effects of the attitude shift lasted over a period of time. Skogan et al. (2015) examined the survey data, finding that overall the recruits' attitudes improved over all four dimensions of procedural justice: voice, respect, neutrality, and trust, with trust improving the least.

When the recruits and a control group (who had not yet attended training) were surveyed over the course of several months, the attitude shift lasted for all but trust. Trust improved the least in response to the training and did not last beyond the immediate effects of training. Skogan et al. (ibid., p.332) warned researchers did not have data to connect the survey data to personnel records, thus there was no way to determine if the training had any impacts in shifting 'on-the-job' behavior.

Although the Chicago training demonstrated shifts in officers' attitudes, it did not measure whether there was a causal link between the training and a shift in the public's perception of the police.

Further examples illustrate this problem. For example, the California Partnership for Safer Communities (CPSC) used survey responses from fifty-five law enforcement leaders who attended a Principled Policing course (a combined procedural justice and implicit bias one-day course) as support for the effectiveness of the training. CPSC used survey data from officers stating they viewed the course as "excellent" or "very good" as an outcome measure to demonstrate the effectiveness of the course. This is a flawed assumption.

There is no research that shows there is a causal relation between enjoying a class and behavioral change. CPSC uses officer appreciation of a course as evidence that procedural justice training is a valuable tool for increasing community engagement, yet offer no evidence that improved community engagement –as an outcome—actually exists. CPSC claims that the procedural justice training is useful "for building officers' ability to employ the principles of procedural justice to increase public trust and confidence in police", yet offer no outcome measures that test the public's level of trust in the police before procedural justice training was implemented before and after the training (Stanford SPARQ and California Department of Justice, 2016).

By way of contrast, the Detroit Victims Experiment did explore this link. In this study—a randomized controlled trial focusing on officer training—Rosenbaum (1987) trained officers to be more sensitive to the needs of victims. Survey results showed the officers had more favorable attitudes, perceptions, and intentions towards the victims than the control group, but the victims' attitudes towards the criminal justice system did not demonstrate a difference between the trained officers and untrained officers.

This left Rosenbaum to conclude that "Neither victims' confidence in police effectiveness nor their satisfaction with police services was changed as a result of interaction with a trained police officer" (Rosenbaum, 1987, p. 513). Even though the officers' attitudes towards victims improved and they stated they felt greater empathy, understanding, and less judgment, it did not translate into meaningful change in the public's perception of the police. Further, the study failed to provide any proof that immediate shifts in attitudes translated into longer-term behavioral changes.

The only study to show a causal link between officer training and public perception was not a randomized controlled trial on procedural justice, but a training that focused on officer's communication skills and rapport building with crime victims.

Wheller and colleagues (2013) demonstrated an effect between training helping Greater Manchester police officers build rapport with the public through, showing empathy, giving positive acknowledgment, and using signposting (among other communication techniques). Rather than teaching the dimensions of procedural justice, Greater Manchester attempted to teach officers how to bring about feelings of police legitimacy through skill building. These methods were intended to reflect procedural justice dimensions by making the citizen feel listened to and understood.

The citizen's overall perception of the interaction was slightly more positive with officers who had been trained compared to untrained officers. Yet for all this effort, and positive perceptions of the interaction, there was no statistical significance for the citizens' willingness to cooperate and satisfaction with the way they were treated or the service provided. There will have been some cost involved, given that the Greater Manchester training program was run for 2-3 days for each treatment group. Additionally, two of the three training groups received a scenario-based component. In the end the researchers noted an improvement in just 1 in 10 officers.

How do we start improving training?

Of the little we do know about police training, it is evidence that scenario-based training has a higher impact on learning than lecture-based training (Louis, Marks and Kruse, 1996). Lecture-based teaching is the weakest mode of teaching for impact on skill attainment, application, and problem solving. Indeed, studies of adult education courses showed that theory presentation or lecture only has 15% impact on skill attainment, whereas practice and low risk feedback or scenario-based training has an 80% impact.

The highest impact on skill attainment is individual coaching, study teams, or peer visits with a rate of 90% impact on skill attainment. Based on my own experiences, as both trainer and course attendee, much of police training remains stuck in the PowerPoint lecture format which has been shown to have the lowest impact on skill attainment. The Chicago model taught five modules in a lecture-based learning environment using class activities to promote class participation. Detroit was taught in the same lecture-based environment. The trainers did not have students perform in scenarios or obtain feedback. The Greater Manchester training did have a scenario-based component for two of its three training sessions; however the training produced only a slight improvement in the public perception (Wheller et al., 2013). And even though Chicago added a scenario component, none of the police training on procedural justice, communication, or victim sensitization training has yet to show improvements in the public's perception of the police (Louis et al., 1996). If the goal of procedural justice training is to have an impact on police behaviors, then there remains a clear need to identify appropriate techniques, test and track those techniques in order to most effectively and efficiently deliver training.

Fortunately, a standard that could be applied does exist. Procedural justice training qualifies as an intervention under the standards of the Society for Prevention Research (SPR) because the intention of the training is to change human behavior. The Society for Prevention Research (SPR) advocates for prevention interventions to meet a standard of "tested and efficacious" or "tested and effective" before interventions are scaled up for mass dissemination. Efficacy trials are studies of interventions implemented under *optimal conditions,* usually monitored by researchers or supervisors assuring proper application of standards. Alternatively, effectiveness trails are interventions implemented under *real world conditions.*

An example would be the current state of procedural justice instruction where "train the trainer" courses are delivered, then the trainers teach the course absent any monitors to determine whether the training is delivered in the manner in which it was intended. SPR advocates for the implementation of both efficacy and effectiveness trials before any intervention is scaled up for mass dissemination. SPR promotes this standard based on the premise that interventions can have harmful effects, no effects, or cost-prohibitive effects and interventions should reach a standard before we waste valuable resources implementing them.

Evidence Based Interventions (EBI) are interventions that have been tested in research to provide "statistically and practically meaningful improvements in health and wellness or a reduction in disease" (Gottfredson, 2015, p. 894). The original article (Flay et al., 2005), which created the foundational SPR standards, suggested that problem solving be addressed through the following process: developing an intervention for the problem, creating a small pilot testing the intervention, efficacy testing of the intervention, effectiveness testing of the intervention, and finally broad dissemination. "Scaling up" as defined by SPR means to expand the intervention to a broader population to increase the impact of the intervention. Scaling up is only recommended after an intervention has gone through the process of becoming an EBI.

Once an intervention has been piloted with a small sample, then the intervention should be subjected to an efficacy trial. To trial an intervention SPR recommends a statement in the form of "Intervention X is efficacious for producing Y outcomes for Z population at time T in setting S" (Gottfredson et al., 2015, p. 896). Efficacy testing is testing the intervention under the best environment possible.

This stage of development requires the oversight of program managers, researchers, and practitioners to ensure that the intervention is administered and delivered in the way it was originally intended. For example, in the case of training program managers could verify that the training materials were covered in the same manner as in the pilot by sitting in on the classes as they were being taught. If there were multiple trainers then every trainer would be evaluated to determine consistency of delivery. Researchers would establish protocols for collecting outcome measures, the measures would be linked to the goals of the training, and the measures would be recorded using a tracking tool. The parameters of the research design would be established prior to commencing the trial, rigorously implemented, and then constantly confirmed through meticulous oversight.

Alternatively, an effectiveness trail could be studied under conditions that occur in the real world. Effectiveness trials are expected to be "delivered under the same types of conditions as one would expect in community institutions" (Gottfredson, 2015, p. 899). In the U.S. police training is usually conducted in-house, an agency may host a training for local agencies, or a state agency such as a Police Officer Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.) organization might host a training course. In the case of procedural justice training it appears that most U.S. agencies are delivering in-house training.

To evaluate police training SPR suggests the trial should have the manuals, the training and proper support in place before running the effectiveness trial. The environment during the trial should also be similar to what is expected for a scale up. Finally, a cost benefit component should be employed when the effectiveness testing is complete.

Testing under real world conditions to examine if an intervention is effective and cost beneficial is at the core of practically meaningful improvements, and the goal of EBIs. If you cannot achieve effectiveness under real world conditions then it is likely that taxpayer's monies are not being well

spent. As a result, the reason SPR advocates for EBIs to be scaled up only when they have met effectiveness standards is because the observed outcomes are likely to translate to outcomes of practical significance. This last stage is important, because this is where the rubber meets the road. Without a final translation into measurable change in outcomes, it is hard to justify the expense of public dollars on training that doesn't appear to have any affect.

SPR created these standards to generate protocols that ensure interventions are effective, cost beneficial, and improve outcomes for the majority of a population. Police interventions are always created on the taxpayer's dime. Police training is expensive, especially when policy mandates that officers receive training. The cost of paying an officer for a day of work while at training is a drain on resources and should not be taken lightly, especially when considering that training budgets are often the first to be abandoned when city finances are in crises. SPR standards are the embodiment of what we as academics, practitioners, and pracademics (professional practitioners trained as researcher academics) should be striving for, yet as any practitioner knows this is not what training looks like in the real world. In the real world, law enforcement training is often not well thought out, not implemented perfectly, and usually delivered by the most available person rather than the most qualified person. This will unfortunately be demonstrated in the following case study.

The Reality of Police Training: It Ain't Pretty but it's True

Like most police training, procedural justice training has yet to be evaluated under real world conditions. Real world conditions in policing could involve a lot of possible scenarios, most of which involve trainers who are not necessarily substantive experts in the subject I their own right. In other words, they are hired guns, brought in to teach a subject they have to research for the training rather than intrinsically know. Examples could include unwilling trainers who were pressured to train by executive management, trainers who lack street credibility, trainers who enjoy teaching however do not understand the material they are teaching in a meaningful and robust way. In rare cases, real world trainers understand the material in a substantial way, love to teach and excel at teaching. Most often real world training is put together by police officers with no curriculum building experience, no adult education training, and no understanding of the broader goals of the organization for the topic they are teaching. Rarely do police agencies have the resources like Chicago Police Department to dedicate to building a training program that achieves specific organizational goals. The training unit in most police departments is usually tasked with organizing, implementing, and delivering the annual training often while being understaffed and undertrained themselves in curriculum building or adult education. Furthermore, executive management often institutes training based on what other agencies are doing rather than in pursuit of concrete internal organizational goals.

In this section, I draw on my own experience of procedural justice training within two different police organizations. The first used the Chicago procedural justice training and adapted it to the organization. An officer with no experience or understanding of procedural justice was tasked with compiling a train-the-trainer training course which would be delivered to selected officers within the organization. In turn these officers would conduct the training for the rest of the organization. The CPD model was largely followed, and the only change made to the CPD training model was the inclusion of local context. The Chicago model consisted of 5 modules with the following content/themes: 1. an introduction to procedural justice and police legitimacy, 2. police cynicism, 3. procedural justice concepts and research, 4. racial issues and local history, and 5. a review of the course material (Skogan et al., 2015).

The procedural justice course was incorporated into the organization's annual mandatory 40-hour in-service training. Training officers were suggested by the training unit based on credibility in the organization and approved by the training department's captain. The officers on the list were contacted to see if they were interested in teaching.

The final list of procedural justice trainers consisted of a mix of 20 officers and sergeants from a variety of backgrounds and teaching experiences, as well as 5 citizens to teach module 4 on race and local history. Of the police trainers, one had never taught a training course before. The only training each of the trainers received was attending a day of the training taught by another agency who had attended the Chicago train-the-trainer course and had been teaching in their own organization for the last year. Although not involved in the training or coordination, I was viewed as someone knowledgeable on procedural justice. Some of the trainers therefore also attended the first session I led because the group viewed me as knowledgeable on procedural justice theory and wanted to watch me present the course to give them a better understanding of the research background on procedural justice. The first day of training was a perfect real world example of what really happens during police training.

The first day of implementation was difficult. Our most inexperienced instructor started the day off stating, "I know it's going to be rough sitting here listening to us talk about procedural justice for 7 hours, but let's make the best of it." This set the stage for the rest of our day, suggesting from the beginning that the training was not going to be useful. Arguably, it was not the instructor's fault. He was inexperienced, having never been taught classroom management skills, and was trying to relate to the group as an officer not realizing his statements could influence the class in a negative way. Problems were compounded by the fact that this class was filled with veteran officers each with between 10-25 years of experience. After only 2 hours of teaching, during a questions and answer session one of the sergeants in the room stated, "I find this class insulting." At this point all of the body language in the classroom reflected one of defiance; arms crossed, no eye contact, and after the statement was made the room collectively held their breath waiting to see what would happen. At that point an officer, who was running late due to court, walked into the classroom. As he walked in he pulled back physically and stopped, made eye contact with me, and said, "Wow" sensing the tension in the air. As he sat he said, "I don't know what you guys are talking about but this is going to be great".

Instead of responding defensively, we treated the students in a procedurally just manner. We opened up the discussion to let the class air their complaints (voice). We wrote down their exact words on the board paraphrasing them to make them feel listened to and understood (dignity and respect). We made no judgments about their comments (neutrality). And the classroom began to breathe again, lowered their voices, and took on a more relaxed posture (trustworthiness). After lunch we had the late student discuss what he observed in the classroom. He noted that the class was tense when he walked in, and stated that "it was like walking into a wall" (which was why he actually physically stopped).

He then said once the class was allowed to express their frustration, anger, and dissatisfaction with the course all of the tension left the classroom. Using this situation as a learning moment, we discussed how we (as instructors) modeled the dimensions of procedural justice by treating the class in a procedurally just manner.

The students observed what procedural justice looks like in action when they were in a situation where they felt they were being treated unfairly. Although they agreed the class turned around after they felt listened to, they still did not see why they needed to go through a full day of training. The day finished with the students being less resistant to the course, but it was undoubtedly a rough beginning.

Throughout the year following this session, feedback received from the other trainers was largely indicative of the poor beginning reflecting how the officers retained negative feelings about the training. For a considerable time afterwards, I would get stopped in the hallway by officers expressing their opinions of the course. The sentiment seems to be the same overall feeling that, 'if we are not doing anything wrong then why do we have to go to this training?' The officers feel the training was punishment for how officers were acting in other parts of the country and they found it very defeating. Other officers commented, "This course is the pussification of policing" and "This is a good course for recruits, but not for seasoned officers". Others told me "I will use this with normal citizens, but not suspects" and "This class is minor leagues: we are a professional organization, this training should be at the major league level".

At the second organization, many of the same problems were manifest. While organizational leaders deemed procedural justice a top priority for their organization, the executive message of support for procedural justice was never in place. The second organization developed their own training course based on communication skills that supported procedural justice outcomes, but it was not modeled after CPD. Like the first organization, they wanted to adopt the training from a credible source, recruit enthusiastic credible trainers, and develop a good course; but even with this mindset the training was discontinued after outside trainers piloted the first multi-session course once officers aired their displeasure with the instruction. Executive managers had good intentions that did not get translated into practical support and ultimately negated much of the potential benefit of procedural justice within the department.

While these examples are personal and anecdotal, they highlight a scenario familiar to many involved in police training. Officers responsible for training are frequently required to create and manage training in subject areas with which they are unfamiliar, in situations with which they do not agree, and often to colleagues who view training in areas they perceive as peripheral to their day-to-day role very negatively. The officers comments from the first organization indicate a possibility that the training not only did not have the desired outcome, but that it could have created a negative 'backfire' effect where officers respond negatively and reject the training principles.

Where should procedural justice training go next?

Policy, just like knowledge, is a difficult bell to unring, and there has been a rush to implement untested procedural justice training. Worse, we do not have the empirical knowledge on procedural justice training to know if the effects are positive, neutral, or deleterious. We know from Joan McCord's (2005) seminal research, 'Cures that Harm', that often well intended interventions don't have the behavioral outcomes the researchers seek. McCord reviewed five different interventions that had detrimental effects on the participants.

The five interventions were the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, Scared Straight, court volunteers, group interaction training, and an activities program. All these programs were intended to improve criminal justice outcomes and improve behaviors in people involved in the criminal justice system, yet none of them did. To this day, Scared Straight and D.A.R.E. are two programs that have become institutionalized in policing even though they have been repeatedly found ineffective in empirical studies (Hansen and McNeal, 1997). To date, the impacts of procedural justice training have not been fully vetted against the recommendation of SPR, but with the anecdotal information above, we should retain an open mind to possible negative outcomes.

Police training in the real world often looks exactly as described – messy. The experiences described above (while acknowledged as anecdotal) suggest that procedural justice training is reflective of fairly standard real world conditions. Absent training by the Chicago originators –an unrealistic proposal for most police department – procedural justice training has most likely not yet meet either the efficacy or effectiveness standards to begin scaling it up for mass dissemination. And just to reiterate, there is limited research on police training and public perception and no research on procedural justice training effects on officer behavior or public perception (Rosenbaum, 1987; Skogan et al., 2015; Wheller et al., 2013). So where next?

Research should be conducted to determine if the training can (1) affect officer behavior and (2) if these behavioral changes can affect the public's perception of police legitimacy. Once this is demonstrated then effectiveness trials should be run under real world conditions to establish *how* to achieve these outcomes through different approaches to training. By this I mean, how should training be conducted at the police agency, or in the academy, or by the state training agency in the manner in which they regularly run training? There is no reason to adopt training that has only been shown to be efficacious in optimal conditions (such as with the source academics highly experienced with the area) when most police training is performed under less than optimal conditions. In fact, this approach would seem appropriate for all existing police training and not just procedural justice. The lack of evidence that training within the law enforcement world is effective at *all* is a demonstrable gap in attempts to professionalize policing.

To meet the SPR standard procedural justice training should be tested on two levels, efficacy and effectiveness. The Chicago model of procedural justice training was evaluated using a quasi-experimental design which is a level 4 design based on the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (Farrington, Gottfredson, Sherman, and Welsh, 2002), though the dependent variable was not necessarily the outcome variable that police leadership might have selected. Skogan and colleagues' (2015) research design allowed for a rigorous evaluation of whether the training changed officer's attitudes towards the four dimensions of procedural justice but their evaluation did not make a determination as to whether changes in attitude led to a change in police behavior.

Furthermore, it was not possible to determine the next step – if behavioral changes had been successfully made, if those changes had any effect on the public's perception of police legitimacy. The SPR standard of "Intervention X is efficacious for producing Y outcomes for Z population at time T in setting S" is met if the outcome we are seeking from the officers is public attitude shifts. If police are actually looking to improve public perception, then the Chicago training has not yet met the efficacy standard. Even if one day we can show empirical support for procedural justice training, past practice shows training will not be delivered as it was intended. For this reason alone police need to implement effectiveness trials before scaling up.

Training cost millions of dollars annually when we take into consideration the number of police agencies and officers across the United States and in the world. Police leaders and policy makers have an obligation to be good stewards of taxpayer's monies.

As a result, there is an obligation to spend money on training only when effectiveness can be demonstrated, or the least implement an evaluation of new training. The SPR standard is predicated on research making it a valuable framework to evaluate police training programs before they are translated into a broad policy. This is the standard towards which policing should strive—not just for procedural justice training—but for all police training.

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End Notes

1 Neutrality – consistency and evenhandedness in decision making, Voice – Giving citizens the opportunity to express their opinions about a problem, Respect – treating citizens with dignity, acting politely, Trust – when officers treat citizens as if they can be trusted. Trust was the dimension that did not improve.

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Procedural Justice and Evidence Based Policing in Democratic Societies: A Mutually Supportive Framework

Professor Colin Rogers

Introduction

Sherman (1998) informs us that evidence based policing is the use of the best available research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate agencies, units and officers. In other words, evidence based policing uses research to guide practice and evaluate practitioners. However, Evidence Based Policing, much like the National Intelligence Model used in England and Wales (John and Maguire 2006) depends upon good quality information being utilised by specialists in order to produce intelligence to support and inform people and policing strategies. Much of this information is provided by communities and individuals, either as witnesses, victims or informants, and the quality of this information is vitally important. However, the flow of this information may be affected by many exterior activities. For example, police shootings of apparently unharmed individuals may affect community perceptions of the police, and they may withdraw from contact with them. Conversely, positive interactions with the police may enhance relationships. This article suggests that there are factors that may positively impact upon the relationship between police and public that will encourage the flow of information into police agencies. This in turn will provide enhanced information and intelligence to support better Evidence Based Policing. However, we must first situate the police in the wider democratic society as it allows us to better understand the police function overall.

Defining Democratic Policing

Defining democratic policing has occupied some authors for a number of years. Berkley (1969) suggests that the phrase 'democratic policing' is in fact a contradiction in terms, with the police being both instructors and servants of society. The antithesis of democratic policing is referred to as the police state. Democracy has of course many meanings and definitions, but there are certain underlying themes and elements.

Consensus

One such theme is that of consensus which is a precondition for a particular government or governance. All politically civilised societies owe their continuing existence to a consensus concerning the foundations of society. Citizens agree upon a common purpose, the procedures which these purposes are to be affected and their institutions which are intended to preserve them. Without consensus therefore no democratic system would long survive. In general, the work of the police commences when this consensus fails to work. The less consensus the more police power will generally occur, with each tending to crowd the other both having difficulty in sharing the same space.

Aligned to consensus is the idea that democratic policing allows consent which is a crucial concept for how we think about public policing in most Western Societies. Countries such as USA and the UK and Canada have historically been source countries for police expertise and training for developing countries based upon the premise that they are supported by consensus and consent of the public. By comparing police systems based on consent and consensus with alternative, state-centred social ordered systems, consent based policing system generally appears in a favourable light. Whilst the consent of some groups to being policed has sometimes been lacking or unsatisfactory (Goldsmith 2001), the rhetoric of consent of people to being policed still retains a certain value.

However, the idea of a model of policing based upon near full consent of the governed is sometimes now open to question. Broad social changes, as well as changes to police management mean that there needs to be a reappraisal of the idea of consent based policing. As Fukuyama (1999; 2005) suggests, largely through the impact of mass media and the rise of materialistic individualism, there has been a rise in sceptism and distrust among citizens in western societies towards institutions representing political authority and public service. This means that organisations such as the police may need to rethink how and why they engage with the public.

Freedom

Another vital element of democracy is that of 'Freedom', which suggests that individuals in society need freedom to participate in politically motivated discussion and are able to hold those government officials to account. For Cicero (2013), freedom is participation in power.

Equality

Police do not meet the citizen on equal footings. Police are equipped with additional legal powers, both formal and informal, but they also carry weapons – the tools of their trade.

No matter how efficient the police may be and no matter how careful they are to observe civil liberties of long standing, it will always have to fight its way against an undercurrent of opposition and criticism from some of the very elements which it is paid to serve and protect and to which it is in the last analysis responsible. This is an enduring problem of a police force in a democracy.

This is reinforced by Manning (2008), who argues that a dominant and violent police force, if it becomes too dominant, is a threat to a democratic society. This implies that violence or force can be and may be applied as needed, but that the degree of force should be moderate and moderated to the minimum required to control. This again is the cause of abiding problems of policing in a democracy. In addition, there is the problem of situating the definition of democratic policing in a temporal context (Sklansky 2008). Democratic policing meant something different in the 1950s and 1960s than it does today, partly because policing was different then and partly because, more fundamentally, our notions of democracy were different.

As Liang (1992) reminds us, democratic police are not neutral, non-political forces absent of their own motivations, interests and ideological readings of events. They can employ narrow, self-servicing tactics when under threat but often compromise in the interest of maintaining public trust and support. Punch (2011) perhaps puts it more forcibly when he says that one of the most important decisions the state can make is to take the life of one of its own citizens. By implication, the gravest judgement a police officer may have to make, on behalf of the state but also society, is to kill someone.

Policing is no longer monopolised by the public police that is the police entrusted by government. Policing is now widely offered by institutions other than the state, most importantly by private companies on a commercial basis and by communities on a volunteer basis.

The great advantage of public policing in democratic countries is that it is accountable to every citizen through the mechanisms of representative government.

One of the foremost documents regarding democratic accountable policing is the 2008 publication by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation Europe (OSCE). This important publication highlights the key principles of democratic policing, in particular police Accountability and Transparency. Here, democratic policing is considered to require that the police be and consider themselves to be accountable to;

- The citizens
- Their representatives
- The state and
- The law.

Therefore, police activities ranging from behaviour and attitude, strategies for police operations, appointment procedures and even budget management must be open to scrutiny by a variety of oversight institutions. Furthermore, a central feature of democratic policing is the understanding that the consent of the people is required. Prerequisites for the gaining public support should be *'providing transparency in police operations and mutual understanding with the public the police serve and protect'* (OSCE 2008:13). Community engagement is vital to this process.

Community Engagement

Effective engagement with the community should provide the police with a more detailed understanding of the demographics of the community it serves, and this should regularly provide updates of the community's needs, priorities and preferences. Whilst engaging in this activity it is important that the police consult all sections of the community in the process so that an accurate and clear reflection of all their needs is obtained. It further provides the police with the opportunity to share information regarding crime and disorder issues with partnership agencies and to receive feedback from the community regarding the engagement process itself, allowing them to tailor engagement strategies accordingly. Effective engagement with communities therefore is vital if policing is to be delivered successfully, and should not be considered an 'add on' (Home Office 2004). Every community is different, and needs and preferences will vary, consequently there is no 'one size fits all' model for community engagement (Myhill 2006). Further this is a long-term commitment and ongoing process that will help increase public confidence in the police, and the majority of effective strategies that improve confidence are apparently those that increase the amount of community engagement (Rix et al 2009).

In addition, when obtaining an understanding of the demographics of each community the police should be able to identify those individuals who may be considered as vulnerable or are in danger of being marginalised. There is a clear need for the police to engage with '… hard to reach and vulnerable' members of our communities (Crawford et al 2005:33) as their vulnerabilities mean they could be easy targets for general and specific crimes especially as, historically, they are less likely to report these to the police (Gillen 2009). If the expectations of the community are managed ineffectively by the police and partner agencies then there will be a negative impact on communities and indeed individuals (Myhill 2006), particularly for vulnerable, marginalised groups and individuals. Lessons in this vital area can be learned from other agencies. The NHS in the UK for example, are a public agency that endeavours to engage closely with its consumers in order to ensure the service provided is effective, economical and efficient. Clearly, this type of democratic policing lends itself easily to the Evidence Based Policing approach.

Evidence Based Policing

Until quite recently the development and use of intelligence and information was seen as the domain of specialist proactive units and associated with the gathering of particular types of information by covert means. However, we have seen a shift away from former approaches dependent upon detection and prosecution (pure law enforcement) and towards the disruption of ongoing criminal activity (utilising community resources) (John and Maguire 2006).

Information from the community is the life blood of policing both in terms of developing community safety and in terms of investigating crime. Information will only be forthcoming if the community has confidence in the police service or other agencies. Developing and maintaining good links with the representatives of that community is a critical factor in obtaining criminal intelligence and other information vital for the evidence based policy. (Harfield and Harfield, 2008). In addition, when one considers the democratic policing model, one can see interaction with communities is a major concept. One of the fundamental principles of the democratic policing models favoured by most western democratic style countries is that of community involvement in the way they are policed. Indeed, the community policing model so favoured in the rhetoric of the police in England and Wales, for example, depends upon such engagement and involvement in order for it to be efficient and effective.

However, the process of community engagement has not been without its problems or criticism (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). Lack of understanding of community needs, direction and sometimes an unwillingness of engage have all been problems for the police in this area. Yet, community policing, the physical manifestation of the democratic policing model, and engagement should create networks that aim to bind all sections of community together (Tilley 2008), as terrorism, transnational and organised crime all have a community base. The inability to implement community engagement effectively may well hinder police effectiveness in these vital areas. One way in which community ties can be strengthened by the police is to engage in an approach known as procedural justice.

Procedural justice

Procedural justice is said typically to comprise four essential components: citizen participation (voice), fairness and neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthy motives. (Tyler and Huo, 2002) If citizens perceive that the police act in a procedurally fair and just manner, by treating people with dignity and respect and by being fair and neutral in their actions, then the legitimacy of the police is enhanced. Legitimacy is important for encouraging compliance and cooperation and highlight the importance of community engagement in crime management. It is considered to be particularly key for voluntary cooperation and compliance because it reflects an individual own values rather than a reliance on outcomes to regulate behaviour.

Numerous studies have identified how perceived fairness in policing is important for shaping people's willingness to obey police and cooperate with legal authorities. Mazerolle et al (2013) for example found, in their Australian study, that the police have a lot to gain from even very short positive encounters. In their research on interactions between police and drivers they found that not only did citizens feel well treated by police during the experiment but these positive encounters also produced more positive feelings about the police in general, leading to higher perceptions of police legitimacy.

Research has found police-citizen encounters that involve the use of procedural justice enhance the quality of police-citizen interactions, leading citizens to be more satisfied with the interaction and outcomes (Tyler and Fagan, 2008)

Procedural justice encourages the idea of networks of trust. Here, knowledge is information that can be trusted. Trust allows social actors to form reasonable expectations about the behaviour of their counterparts and facilitates collaborations between them. It can take the form of an attitude or a relationship, for example, when people say they trust the police because they treated them well last time they interacted with them (Brodeur and Dupont 2008). Indeed, a central purpose of community style policing has been to increase police legitimacy in neighbourhoods that have lost confidence in the police and to increase the legitimacy of formal governance and improve community satisfaction in policing services (Ratcliffe 2008).

Legitimacy

Legitimacy is thus a property of an authority that leads people to feel that the authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed. (Sunshine and Tyler 2003). As we have seen, in modern democratic societies police legitimacy rest on public consent. Policing by consent encourages public trust in police thereby facilitating an ongoing interchange of information between the public and the police and voluntary compliance with the law. Given that effective community style policing relies so heavily on citizen support such findings have important implications for how the police can enhance public satisfaction. The police should develop strategies that enhance the procedural justice aspects of their encounters with the public.

A study by Hinds and Murphy (2007) concluded that there is support for the argument that views about police legitimacy influence public satisfaction with police and people who view police as more legitimate are more likely to be satisfied with police services. However, police legitimacy is acceptance of the scope of the occupations claim, not an absolute or unchanging matter. There are cycles of expanding and contracting powers and tasks, and in some senses they have widened the functions in which the police engages with community even whilst it has to enforce the law in some areas more stringently.

The task that confronts any agency in any criminal justice system in any society concerns how they can secure the establishment of relations, whilst still making it possible to complete collective goals of that agency. The task will be greatly assisted if the agencies are widely regarded in that society as in the fullest sense, the right to rule; that is to say, their authority is regarded as truly legitimate. (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012).

Conclusion

It would appear that because they are interested in securing compliance with the law, and in the case of evidence based policing, encourage the flow of information and intelligence, the police need to establish and maintain conditions that lead the public generally to accept their decisions and policies. The research evidence suggests that those police agencies that engage in the Procedural justice approach are more likely to be seen as legitimate. This in turn means police can rely upon the support of community members to produce good quality information to support them in their work.

Evidence Based Policing relies upon information and intelligence from a number of diverse sources, but one area where the police can have great influence is in their approach to dealing with individuals and communities. An approach based upon procedural justice ideas clearly provides the opportunity for increased perceptions of legitimacy of the police, and also greatly improves the opportunities for gathering more and better information and intelligence to support evidence based policing.

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Police Procedural Justice Training: The Enter Inform Engage Model

Alistair Fildes & Ian Thompson

Abstract

Police procedural justice, fundamentally, is about how the police deal with the public. If officers act in a manner that is seen by the public as respectful, neutral, trustworthy, and encourages their participation in decision-making, then officers are demonstrating police procedural justice. We know that procedural justice interventions can positively change officer attitudes and behaviour towards the public, and officers can be trained to act in a manner that is seen by the public as procedurally just. However, there are still substantial gaps in our knowledge of how best to train officers to demonstrate police procedural justice. This article details the literature on police procedural justice training, the rationale and method of training police recruits to demonstrate procedural justice by developing their interpersonal skills, with a particular focus on using verbal de-escalation skills and role-plays. The article concludes with the lessons learned in developing a procedural justice training package.

Introduction

Over the last five years there has been growing interest in applying the lessons of procedural justice theory into policing practice. Procedural justice is criteria the public use to assess the fairness of legal authorities (Tyler 1990). If police officers demonstrate actions that are seen as neutral, respectful, trustworthy, and encourage public participation in decision-making, then the officers have demonstrated police procedural justice. It has been found that police procedural justice can foster a range of positive law enforcement outcomes like public compliance, cooperation, and satisfaction with police (Hinds & Murphy 2007; McCluskey 2003; Sunshine & Tyler 2003). These benefits have driven a range of studies to look at different approaches to training officers to demonstrate police procedural justice.

Procedural justice training packages have adopted a range of approaches – procedural justice scripts for use in road stops (MacQueen & Bradford 2015; Mazerolle et al. 2013), presentations on procedural justice principles and its benefits (Shaefer & Hughes 2016; Skogan, Van Craen & Hennessy 2015), and learning interpersonal skills related to the principles (Rosenbaum & Lawrence 2011; Wheller et al. 2013). These studies illustrate that there are a range of actions officers can be trained in that are procedurally just. Nevertheless, there are varying levels of detail in these studies regarding the content and instructional methods used in such training, a limitation mirrored in the police training literature more generally (Skogan & Frydl 2004). The result is police organisations have less information available on the appropriate content and methods for training officers in police procedural justice.

This article seeks to address this gap by setting out the key content and training methods employed in a police procedural justice training package currently being evaluated in Queensland Police Service (QPS). The package is based on two suppositions. First, procedural justice training should be based upon developing officers' interpersonal and verbal de-escalation skills. Second, that any training of these skills requires officers to perform role-plays of typical police-public interactions, thereby enabling officers to practice and receive feedback on their performance. The article examines the research on police procedural justice training and related skills-based training that was used to inform the development of the QPS package. From there, the article explains the key elements of the QPS training package, and in particular the Enter, Inform, and Engage (EIE) model, as well as brief summary of the evaluation currently underway. Finally, the article concludes with a discussion of the 'lessons learned' on developing a procedural justice training package, which will be of interest to both police and civilian personnel, as well as academics interested in translating research into practice.

Literature review

The purpose of the literature review is to examine what is known about police procedural justice training, and explain the rationale for the QPS training package. The first section summarises the key content, training methods, and findings from the police procedural justice training literature. The second section builds on these findings and discusses the types of interpersonal skills training that were incorporated into the QPS training package.

Procedural justice training

Procedural justice training evaluations can be split into three types: a) the use of procedural justice scripts by police officers, b) raising awareness of unconscious bias on police behaviour (Shaefer & Hughes 2016; Skogan, Van Craen & Hennessy 2015), and c) training in a suite of interpersonal skills aligned to the principles of procedural justice (Wheller et al. 2013). The focus of these studies has been measuring changes in officers' attitudes toward procedural justice, or its effect on officer behaviour towards the public.

Procedural justice scripts have been used in two studies – by Mazerolle et al. (2013) and MacQueen and Bradford (2015). The Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) by Mazerolle et al. (2013) tested whether police procedural justice could have an effect on public attitudes and behaviour through a short police-public interaction (random alcohol breath testing in a road-side traffic stop). Procedural justice was operationalised as a short script of key messages to deliver to drivers; the experimental group of officers delivered the script and the breath test, and the control group conducted the breath test only. The effect of the experiment on public attitudes was measured by a short survey distributed to all drivers participating in the experimental and control groups. The study found that drivers dealt with by the experimental group of officers had more positive perceptions of the interaction, and the police more generally, than the drivers that received the normal breath test from the control group. The study is significant because it demonstrates that police officers can be trained to deliver police procedural justice, and that it can increase positive public perceptions of the police.

QCET was replicated outside Australia as the Scottish Community Engagement Trial (ScotCET) (MacQueen & Bradford 2015). The experiment was conducted within police road-side safety tests of drivers. As with QCET, the experimental group had officers delivering a procedural justice script and the safety test, whereas the control group of officers only conducted the safety test. A survey was given to drivers subject to either the control or experimental group. In contrast to QCET, the ScotCET intervention had a negative effect on public perceptions of the police. Drivers that received the experimental group reported less trust in police and satisfaction with their conduct relative to the drivers in the control group.

As noted by the authors, one explanation for the decrease in public trust and satisfaction could be that the procedural justice script inflated the amount of time needed to complete the interaction, leading to the public becoming frustrated with the officers. However, as the experimental and control groups of officers were not monitored to the same degree as QCET, it is possible that the script was delivered by the officer in a manner that was not seen by the driver as procedurally just. This finding highlights the importance of ensuring officers are appropriately trained in demonstrating procedural justice, otherwise the risk is that such interventions will fail.

The second type of study is based on raising awareness of the effect of unconscious bias on officer behaviour, a topic for two studies – Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy (2015), and Shaefer and Hughes (2016). Skogan et al.'s (2015) study evaluated police procedural justice training in the Chicago Police Department. Training consisted of a set of modules based on increasing officers' knowledge of procedural justice and the influence of unconscious bias on police behaviour towards racialised groups. The effect of the training was measured using surveys of officers' attitudes to procedural justice, constructed as officers' preference for police to demonstrate procedural justice (e.g. 'if people ask why we are treating them as we are, we should stop and explain').

The first set of analysis compared the responses of officers before and immediately after receiving the training. The second set of analysis, with similar questions to the first survey, compared trained and untrained officers. The first analysis found that training increased officers' preference for procedural justice; the second analysis found that an officer's ethnicity predicted officers' preference for procedural justice to a greater degree than whether they had received the training – African-American officers were more aligned to procedural justice principles than other ethnic groups. The findings indicate that though procedural justice training can have a positive effect on officers' attitudes to procedural justice short-term, the effect of training may not persist longer-term, a finding backed by other studies of training of police-public interactions (Quinton & Morris 2008; Skogan & Hartnett 1997).

A study inspired by the training programme evaluated by Skogan et al. (2015) was Shaefer and Hughes' (2016) evaluation of the procedural justice training package 'Honing Interpersonal Necessary Tactics' (H.I.N.T.). With a training format similar to the Chicago study, Louisville Metro Department developed a training programme discussing the value of legitimacy and procedural justice, the policing of non-white groups in the United States, and developing emotional resilience for operational police work. The training used the same method and questions as Skogan et al. (2015) to evaluate the training; the effect of training was evaluated by comparing the survey responses of officers before and after training. As with Skogan et al.'s (2015) study, the training increased officers' preference for procedural justice, providing further evidence that procedural justice training can improve short-term officer attitudes to procedural justice.

The third type of training study was conducted in Britain (Wheller et al. 2013). Instead of scripts, the Greater Manchester Police procedural justice experiment trained officers in a set of generic communication skills, inspired by an earlier study conducted in Chicago Police Department (Rosenbaum & Lawrence 2011). The study consisted of training an experimental group of officers in how to communicate with victims of crime, with the control group receiving no training. Officers were trained in a number of skills related to procedural justice: establishing a rapport; demonstrating empathy; and avoiding the use of negative language, such as declining requests without providing a reason. As part of this training, officers then had one opportunity to practice these skills in a role-play.

The effectiveness of the training was measured by its effect on officer behaviour and public attitudes. The effect on officer behaviour was measured using a role-play exercise performed three months after training. Officers from both the control and experimental groups performed a role-play of dealing with a victim, which was then scored by an independent party. Public attitudes were measured by a victim satisfaction survey conducted by the police force, with victim satisfaction scores collected for both the experimental and control groups. Both the role-play and victim satisfaction measures used a 'quality of interaction' scale to evaluate officers' use of procedural justice. It was found that the experimental group of officers scored significantly higher than the control group in the 'quality of interaction' scale for the role-play and victim satisfaction measures. The findings suggest that training officers in communication skills related to procedural justice can lead to changes in officer behaviour, and that such training can have a positive effect on police-victim interactions. However, it is important to note two points. First, the training was designed specifically for police-victim interactions only and not other types of police-public interactions. Second, the experimental group of officers had no more than two attempts to perform the role-play – the first directly after the training, the second approximately three months later as part of the evaluation.

In summary, the research indicates that there are a variety of ways officers can be trained to demonstrate procedural justice, and such training can have a positive effect on officer attitudes and behaviour towards the public. Nevertheless, police work requires officers to deal with a range of situations; from interviewing witnesses, gathering evidence from victims, to managing suspects. It is not possible to develop a series of detailed scripts to deal with all these types of interactions, or to assume officers can be or are equipped to apply the principles based on their knowledge of the procedural justice model. Instead, it is proposed that training officers requires not only knowledge of procedural justice, but also giving them the skills to act in a manner that the public sees as procedurally just.

Procedural justice skills

The challenge in training officers in procedural justice skills is that the there are no comprehensive definitions of what these are. Wheller et al. (2013) used a set of interpersonal skills based on building rapport, demonstrating empathy, and refining officer's choice of language when speaking to victims. However, each of these skills was not explicitly linked to an element of procedural justice (e.g., establishing rapport as a means of building trust or demonstrating respect). Jonathan-Zamir et al. (2015) have begun to address this issue by indexing officer behaviours according to their link to procedural justice (e.g., offering comfort to a person as a means of building trust).

This article proposes that such behaviours and skills need to be goal-oriented, explicitly linked to elements of the procedural justice model, and taught in a manner that facilitates officers' competence in these skills. Making these behaviours goal-oriented places more of a priority on officers' demonstrating procedural justice effectively, as opposed to performing these behaviours with less regard for how effective they are. The first goal is ensuring the public understands the officers' decisions. The second goal is encouraging the public to voluntarily comply with police officers' requests.

The first goal is ensuring the public understands the decisions police officers make. Officers need to be able to structure and manage their conversations in such a way that provides opportunities for them to explain their decisions. The approach chosen for the training package were the four methods of structuring conversations identified by Brown and Atkins (1997): *signposts, frames; foci;* and *links.* First, *signposts* are used to outline the structure of a conversation and enable the listener to anticipate and organise the forthcoming information.

Second, *framing* the conversation into discrete topics gives clear boundaries as to where one topic ends and another begins. Third, *foci* are used to emphasise a key point the listener should pay attention to. Fourth, *linking* the discussed topics back to the original purpose of the conversation builds the listener's knowledge of the overall topic. It is proposed that managing the conversation using these methods will help officers be seen as respectful, neutral, trustworthy, and that they are encouraging the listener to participate.

The second goal is encouraging voluntary compliance from the public. It is proposed that a key barrier to obtaining public compliance is the emotional states of those the police are dealing with. Whether an officer is dealing with an angry suspect, or a distressed victim or witness, officers need to be able to verbally de-escalate the emotions of others. A verbal de-escalation model similar to procedural justice was included in the training package – the Behavioural Influence Stairway Model (BISM) (Vecchi, Van Hasselt & Romano 2005). The BISM is a model used by police negotiators to verbally de-escalate situations in a non-coercive manner. The advantage of the BISM is that it uses many of the same procedural justice skills used in the Wheller et al. (2013) study, but places the skills in a sequential order for the stated purpose of obtaining voluntary compliance. By demonstrating active listening, empathy and rapport, officers can begin to exert a degree of influence over another person, ultimately leading to the person choosing to comply.

Training officers in the skills to achieve these two goals may be beneficial in terms of demonstrating police procedural justice, but this partly depends on how competent officers are in using these skills. In addition, officers will be expected to apply these skills in a variety of situations. It has been found that experiential learning techniques – like role-plays – are suited to producing practical understandings of skills that can be applied across situations (Saskatchewan Department of Education 1991) and can have a positive and significant effect on learning (Burch et al. 2014), and produce practical understandings that can be applied to other contexts (Saskatchewan Department of Education 1991). Role-plays are already used in officer training, typically in use of force training (Chan 2003; Fyfe 1996). Incorporating role-plays into the training package would give officers the opportunity to practice their skills in a safe environment, and be able to receive feedback on their performance.

The aim of the procedural justice training package is to provide officers with the knowledge and skills to demonstrate procedural justice across all types of interactions, and to provide opportunities for officers to practice these skills. With research into procedural justice skills in its formative stages, it was decided to design skills training around two goals – ensuring the public understands the officers' decisions, and encouraging the public to voluntarily comply. In this way, the training package introduces a goal-based model of police officer interpersonal skills that is aligned to procedural justice principles, and makes extensive use of role-plays to enable officers to practice and receive feedback on their performance.

The QPS Recruit Procedural Justice training package

The training was designed specifically for police recruits, a factor that will be discussed later in the evaluation section. The training took place over one and a half-days, with the first day spent training recruits in the knowledge and skills, and the final half-day dedicated to practicing the skills in role-plays. The training package has three parts: procedural justice knowledge; procedural justice skills, and practicing these skills using role-plays.

First, procedural justice knowledge explains in layman's terms the concept and its probable effects, framed around the benefits to the public, police officers, and the police organisation as a whole. Second, procedural justice skills are structured around the Enter, Inform, and Engage (EIE) model: what behaviours to demonstrate when entering an interaction; how to manage an interaction to create opportunities to explain their decisions and inform the public; and verbal de-escalation skills to effectively engage with that person. Finally, role-plays provide the opportunity for participants to practice these skills in a safe environment, and also receive feedback from trainers and their peers on their demonstration of these skills.

Procedural justice knowledge

The first part of the training is introducing the procedural justice concept and its benefits, as well as the factors that could prevent officers from using procedural justice. The material consists of a mix of Powerpoint presentations and group discussions. A key theme in this part was framing procedural justice not only as a good in itself, but also as a method of obtaining voluntary compliance from the public. This is illustrated by making a distinction between voluntary compliance and coerced compliance. Voluntary compliance can be encouraged through the use of procedural justice, whereas coerced compliance is achieved with verbal commands or the use of force. Presenting procedural justice as a means of obtaining compliance has been criticised as minimising the inherent moral value of the principles (Murphy 2014), however the primary concern was ensuring all recruits 'bought-in' to the concept, not just those who saw procedural justice as aligned to their own beliefs of ethical behaviour. In any case, observations of the training found that almost all of the recruits actively engaged with the material by asking questions and contributing to the discussions.

It was important to acknowledge that there are a number of factors that could prevent officers from using procedural justice. Such factors include criticisms that the principles are 'common sense', or is essentially about 'being nice' to people. In the package, procedural justice is framed as dealing with situations in a more nuanced way by de-escalating situations to achieve safer outcomes. In addition, recruits are given discussion points on what factors could affect how procedural justice is delivered by police, and how such actions are received and interpreted by the public.

Examples of hindrances include officer fatigue, potential danger, and pressure to respond to calls for service; barriers to receipt and interpretation include members of the public suffering from mental health issues or intoxication. The first part concluded with the proviso that procedural justice would not work in all situations, and that the safety of officers and the public remained of paramount importance.

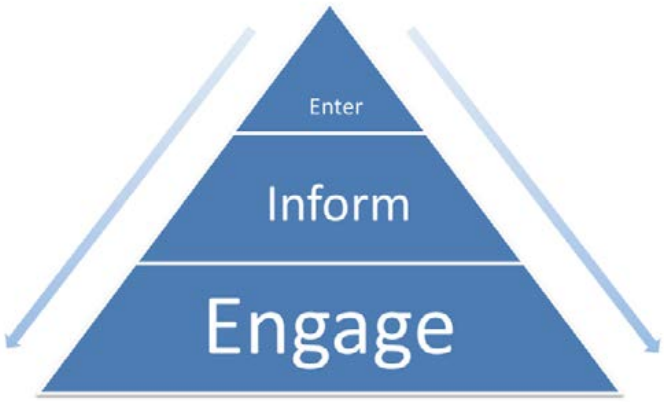
Procedural justice skills – the Enter, Inform, and Engage model

The Enter, Inform, and Engage (EIE) model was developed for the training package as a means of structuring the procedural justice skills. The model was designed to match the sequence of actions officers use when dealing with the public: they *enter* an interaction by announcing themselves; *inform* the public why they are there; and use their interpersonal skills to engage with the public and obtain the information they require.

The section on informing the public included the procedural justice skills for explaining decisions, and engaging the public contained the material on verbally de-escalating situations.

The EIE model is presented as a pyramid (Figure 1), illustrating the amount of time officers could expect to spend demonstrating the three elements – *enter* taking the least time, and *engage* taking the most time. The amount of time spent on each element is also mirrored in the time taken in training to teach these skills. In this article *enter* and *inform* has been combined into a single section, and engage is discussed in a separate section.

Figure 1: The Enter, Inform, and Engage model



EIE – Enter and Inform

The *Enter* element consists of a short presentation and discussion on how to enter into police-public interactions in a respectful manner (e.g. introducing oneself and asking their name in return), and what factors may be seen as disrespectful (e.g. wearing sunglasses thereby the person cannot see the officer's eyes). The *Inform* element is presented as a means of managing conversations with the public and creating opportunities to explain oneself without unnecessarily acting in a procedurally unjust manner. The four skills of *Sign, Focus, Frame,* and *Tie* are introduced, adapted from Brown and Atkins (1997) and discussed earlier in the *procedural justice skills* section, as a Powerpoint presentation.

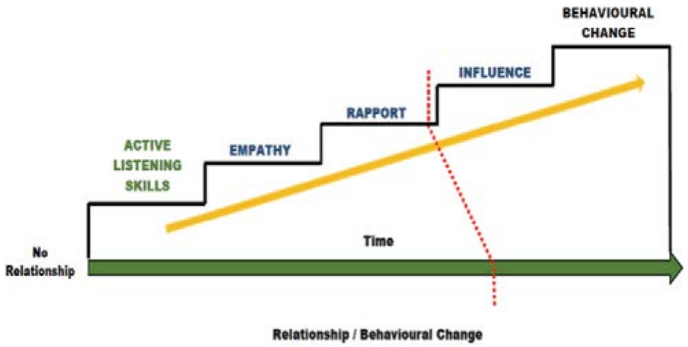
- *Sign* (as in signposting) is the means of outlining the key points to be discussed with a member of the public, and charting a path through the conversation (e.g.; 'we'll talk about X, then we'll talk about Y). It is explained that signposting allows the member of the public to know what is going to happen, that they will be given the opportunity to *participate,* and that this may help the officers to be seen as *trustworthy* due to them being transparent about what is going to happen.
- *Focus* is used to highlight one or two key points when signposting, and was to be used sparingly so members of the public did not forget (e.g. 'the most important point is you need to stay here until we have finished talking'). *Focus* is linked to demonstrating *respect* because it is used to clearly communicate what is most important to the officer in the interaction.
- *Frame* is for setting boundaries for topics and for progressing through conversations (e.g.; 'so we've talked about X, now let's talk about Y. What happened when Y?'). If *Signposting* are the topics for discussion, then *Frame* is the means of moving the discussion from one topic to the next. This was especially useful as other methods of moving the discussion forward may be seen as disrespectful, such as by interrupting or demonstrating disengaged body language. *Framing* may help the public feel they are *participating* as the officer is guiding them the conversation in a respectful manner.
- *Tie* is used to link the discussion topics back to the overall purpose of the conversation, thereby adding to the person's overall knowledge of the subject. The *Tie* is typically used at the end of the conversation to make clear how this information helps the police (e.g.; 'the information you've provided is helpful to me in dealing with this problem'). It is explained that they should only be used sparingly, and when such statements are credible, otherwise it may make the officer seem insincere. The *Tie* may help in making members of the public feel they have *participated,* and that the officer is *respectful* by being appreciative of the information.

EIE – Engage

The Engage part of the model is the Behavioural Influence Stairway Model (BISM). It is explained to the recruits that police work requires them to deal with people experiencing a range of emotions; the anger of a suspect, the distress of a victim, or the frustration of a witness. BISM is presented as a means of identifying the emotion, dealing with that emotion in a manner that the person feels understood and listened to, and ultimately obtaining voluntary compliance from that person. The BISM is based on obtaining voluntary compliance through non-coercive means, just as procedural justice encourages the public to voluntarily comply.

The BISM (see Figure 2) consists of five steps: active listening; empathy; rapport; influence; and behaviour change. The model is a stairway, meaning that officers must successfully demonstrate the first step before progressing to the next[1]. The first step is active listening, consisting of eight skills: emotion labelling; reflecting; paraphrasing; effective pauses; minimal encouragers; 'I' messages; open-ended questions; and summarising. The second step is demonstrations of empathy, in particular the difference between empathy and sympathy. Third, points of common interest between the officer and the member of the public are discussed as a means of establishing rapport. Fourth is recognising the 'tells' that indicate officers have a degree of influence over another. And fifth is phrasing behaviour change requests in a manner that will be effective and procedurally just. The BISM material is delivered in the form of a presentation and group discussions.

Figure 2: The Behavioural Stairway Influence Model (Vecchi, Van Hasselt & Romano 2005)



The eight techniques of active listening are:

- Emotion labelling – identifying the basic feelings being expressed verbally or non-verbally by the person, formulating a response that captures the essence of what is being expressed, and adding a question at the end of the response (e.g., 'is that correct?') to ensure the officer is not making incorrect assumptions. In this way the officer demonstrates respect by attempting to understand what the person is experiencing and feeling.

- Reflecting – repeating key phrases or words said by the person as a means of encouraging the person to continue speaking. It is a way of demonstrating *neutrality* by using a person's own words to avoid placing any judgement on the individual, and demonstrates *participation* and *respect* by showing the officer is listening to the person.
- Paraphrasing – similar to reflecting, paraphrasing puts what the person says in the officer's own words. It is used to impart than the officer understands what is being said. As with reflecting, paraphrasing demonstrates *participation* and *respect* by conveying the officer is listening, though there is the risk the officer's choice of words may be heard as judgemental and lacking *neutrality*.
- Effective pauses – social conditioning means that people find it difficult to tolerate pauses in conversation. The longer the pause the more likely it will be that the person will feel the need to fill the gap and speak. Effective pauses are a way of demonstrating *participation* by encouraging the person to continue speaking.
- Minimal encouragers – to avoid interrupting a person speaking, minimal encouragers are used to acknowledge what someone is saying (e.g.; 'mmm', 'oh', 'really'). As with effective pauses, minimal encouragers demonstrate *participation* by spurring on the person to continue talking.
- 'I' messages – a way for officers to express their perspective to a person in a non-threatening way (e.g.; 'I am unclear what to do when you reject the alternatives, as I don't know how to help you') 'I' messages are a method of demonstrating *trustworthy* motives, though they are likely to be unsuitable for potentially violent situations.
- Open-ended questions – based on the PEACE model of Investigative Interviewing (Milne & Bull 2003; Milne & Powell 2010), open-ended questions encourage people to talk. These types of questions allow officers to go into greater detail without applying any judgement, thereby demonstrating their *neutrality.*
- Summarising – similar to paraphrasing, summarising takes place at the end of the conversation, clarifying a person's core issue, and demonstrates *respect* by conveying that the officer has been listening to what was said.

In addition to the active listening techniques, material is presented on barriers to communication that can interfere with officers' demonstrations of active listening. Examples include rehearsing responses, suddenly changing the topic of the conversation, and agreeing with everything the person says rather than using minimal encouragers.

The final part of the active listening section is the 'back-to-back' activity. This activity is a typical police-public role-play where one person is a member of the public, another plays the officer, and the third person observes. The observer uses a form included in a workbook to mark the active listening skills that are demonstrated. The two role-players sit back-to-back so that both have to concentrate on verbally demonstrating the eight active listening techniques, rather than using their body language to communicate. The activity is first performed by the trainers, and then in groups of three the recruits take turns playing each role.

Following on from active listening skills, the next step in the model is demonstrating empathy. The purpose of empathy is to move beyond merely listening and acknowledging what a person says, and establishes that the officer can relate to their situation. However, there is a risk that an officer could relate to another's situation to such a degree that it could be interpreted as pity. The distinction is made between empathy and sympathy. Whereas sympathy is defined as an attached emotional understanding to another (e.g. 'I know how you feel'), empathy is seen as an emotional understanding without the same attachment (e.g.; 'I've felt like that before'). Building empathy demonstrates that officers are *respectful* and *trustworthy* by showing they care about another person's situation.

The third step of the BISM is developing a rapport. It is explained that, when in a conversation, both parties are acquiring and accumulating information about each other, which provides opportunities to find common ground – whether it be similar interests or experiences. Successfully establishing rapport can create a level of *trust* between the officer and the member of the public, and encourage them to be more honest and straightforward with the officer.

The fourth and fifth steps are building influence and making behaviour change requests. Signs that officers are building influence with another include the person engaging the officer in more conversation, mirroring the officer's body language, or demonstrating reciprocal behaviour. Behaviour change requests are phrased in a manner that is not coercive – requests are qualified (e.g.; 'can you', 'would you'; 'will you'). By this point, and if the behaviour change requests are successful, then it is expected that the officer will have demonstrated procedural justice throughout the interaction, and have resolved the situation in a safer manner.

Role-plays

The knowledge and skills training takes one day; the remaining half-day is spent practicing the EIE model in a series of police-public role-plays. Four scenarios were used, ranging from the simple (e.g., taking a complaint from a member of the public) to the more complex (e.g., public nuisance). Similar to the 'back-to-back' activity discussed earlier, the role-plays are conducted in groups of three, with recruits taking turns to be the member of the public, the officer, and the observer. The observer also completes a form to record instances of the skills demonstrated by the officer, which is then used to give feedback on the officer's performance. Trainers also circulate between the groups giving feedback. Multiple role-plays are run throughout the day, and so by the end of the half-day the recruits have a collection of observer notes on their performance. These notes are then used by the recruits to create an action plan of what skills they do well, and what skills they will aim to develop.

Evaluation

The QPS Recruit Procedural Justice training package is being evaluated as a randomised control trial. The target group chosen was recruits at the end of their twenty-six week academy training. After successfully graduating from the academy as a First Year Constable, they begin a twelve month field-training programme which includes an eight week 'mentor period' under the guidance of a Field Training Officer (FTO). The FTO acts as a mentor to the First Year Constable, as well as an assessor of the Constable's performance in the field. As part of the evaluation, the FTOs' will be using a rating instrument to evaluate First Year Constables' demonstration of procedural justice. The rating instrument is an electronic form that will be completed at the end of every interaction the First Year Constable has with the public.

Twenty-six matched pairs are part of the trial, equating to a total of fifty-two recruits assigned to either the control or experimental group. Both trained (experimental) and untrained (control) officers will be evaluated by FTOs using the rating instrument. The effectiveness of the training on officer behaviour will be assessed by the differences between the trained and untrained groups recorded in the rating instrument.

Conclusion

This article has set out the rationale for developing procedural justice training around interpersonal skills, and using role-plays to ensure police officers have the opportunity to practice these skills before they are applied in the operational environment.

The evaluation is currently ongoing, though there are a number of lessons learnt from the development of this package.

First, make the most of available organisational resources. For example, it was found there were elements of the existing recruit training curriculum, like the distinction between empathy and sympathy, that could be included in the training package. This helps in two ways. Not only can it reduce the amount of new material required to develop such a package, but it can also assist in ensuring officers and trainers may be less likely to actively resist the material. Presenting the package as an extension of what officers already know means, as one officer stated – 'none of this [the training material] looks strange'.

In addition, available resources can also include staff. A range of civilian and police personnel were asked to act as 'critical friends' on the package, giving feedback on a range of issues. Personnel were identified based on their interests and strengths; for example, one staff member was particularly good at estimating how long elements of the training would take to deliver. This allowed changes to be made to the content that made the timings more accurate, the alternative being that trainers would rush through the material if they found it took longer than expected.

A decision made early in the development of the package was particularly fortuitous – having a desk in the training department. Not only did this assist in identifying staff to act as 'critical friends', it also helped the primary author to understand how the package could fit with the existing training curriculum. Being based in the training department provided the opportunity for the primary author to meet officers from another training department that were working on verbal de-escalation skills. It also allowed ideas to be 'sense-checked' on a variety of civilian and police personnel.

The final lesson relates to role-plays. It was decided to use existing role-play scenarios from the recruit training curriculum. The reason for this decision was recruits would be familiar with the material, and thereby would spend less time concentrating on the facets of the offence, and more time on practicing the procedural justice skills. In the observations of the training conducted by the primary author, this certainly seemed to be the case. Having role-play material that officers are familiar with, instead of new material that recruits could reject as unrealistic, did help in ensuring the time spent on role-plays was used constructively.

In conclusion, it has been argued that is necessary to not just explain the benefits of procedural justice, but to translate this work into a set of skills police can use when dealing with the public. In this training package the skills are goal-oriented – to manage interactions in a manner that creates opportunities for officers to explain their decisions, and to manage the emotions of the public using verbal de-escalation skills. Shifting procedural justice skills to being goal-oriented provides a purpose to using the skills beyond the officer's own ethical values, and attempts to make them necessary rather than a 'nice to have'. If procedural justice approaches are to succeed, it is essential that these approaches are incorporated into frontline practice, and police officers are given the opportunity to employ skill-sets that encourage better relations between the police and the public.

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End Notes

1 It should be noted that not all eight of the active listening techniques must be demonstrated in order to progress to the second step, as the techniques may not be appropriate in all police-public interactions. For example, 'I' messages when dealing with an aggressive suspect may be interpreted as condescending.

Acknowledgements

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Increasing the Access to Evidence to Inform Evidence-Based Policing: The Global Policing Database

By Elizabeth Eggins[1], Angela Higginson[2] & Lorraine Mazerolle[1]

The proliferation of evidence-based policing depends, in part, on the accessibility of robust research evidence to guide decision-making. Lawrence Sherman, one of the most prolific proponents of evidence-based policing, discusses ten strategies to create a tipping point for 'totally evidence-based policing', defined as an established and consistent pattern of using research evidence to inform policing police and practice (see Sherman, 2015).

Of these ten strategies, two identify the need for developing and maintaining public registries of existing and ongoing police research. Similarly, Mazerolle et al. (forthcoming) argue that evidence accessibility is a key driver for evidence-based policing to become a disruptive innovation. This short article will profile the Global Policing Database, one particular repository that aims to increase the accessibility of policing research.

Profiling the Global Policing Database: What is it and how does it fit with existing repositories of policing research?

The *Global Policing Database* (GPD) is an initiative of the University of Queensland, Queensland University of Technology, and the London's Mayor's Office of Policing and Crime (MOPAC), with funding support from the Australian Research Council and the United Kingdom College of Policing. The GPD uses a comprehensive and robust systematic search and screening methodology to capture the largest corpus of published and unpublished experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations of policing interventions conducted globally since 1950 (see Higginson et al., 2015).

The GPD is one of six open access repositories of policing research that collectively offer comprehensive information about what is known about the effectiveness of police practices (see Mazerolle & Martin, 2016 for a review). The six repositories include: the Campbell Collaboration (see www.campbellcollaboration.org), the Lum-Koper Matrix (see http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/), the Crime Solutions (see http://www.crimesolutions.gov), the Crime Reduction Toolkit (see http://whatworks.college.police.uk/toolkit/Pages/Toolkit.aspx), the Problem Oriented Policing Centre (see www.popcenter.org), and the Global Policing Database (see www.gpd.uq.edu.au).

Whilst all the repositories contain robust policing research, they differ slightly in terms of their focus and the methodologies for sourcing research evidence and the GPD can be distinguished from other repositories in three key ways.

First, the GPD is not limited to interventions that police themselves undertake to control or prevent crime problems. Rather, the GPD includes interventions where police are the primary implementers, a partner in the intervention, or the recipients of the intervention. Moreover, 'intervention' is broadly defined to include any type of strategy, activity, campaign, directive, funding or organisational structures/procedures that involves police in some way.

Second, the GPD is not limited to studies using crime and disorder outcomes. Rather, the GPD places no limits on the type of outcome measures used to evaluate police interventions. Thus, the GPD includes research that evaluates police interventions using outcomes such as crime, disorder, psychological and physiological measures of wellbeing, and perceptions of police. Third, the GPD is truly global in nature by placing no limits on the language of the research that is included. These three features make the GPD a comprehensive resource of evaluative police research that can be used by a large range of policymakers, practitioners and researchers to advance evidence-based policy and practice in policing.

How is the GPD compiled?

The GPD systematic search of close to 50 databases identified over 365,000 abstracts for the period 1950 to 2014 (see Figure 1). Each abstract is screened for relevance to police or policing and, if relevant, then progresses to full-text screening to identify quantitative impact evaluations of policing interventions. Research that fulfils the predefined inclusion criteria (see Higginson et al., 2015) are then categorised according to the country of implementation, document language, evaluation research design, problem targeted, type of research participant, type of outcome used to evaluate the intervention, and type of policing intervention, and research design.

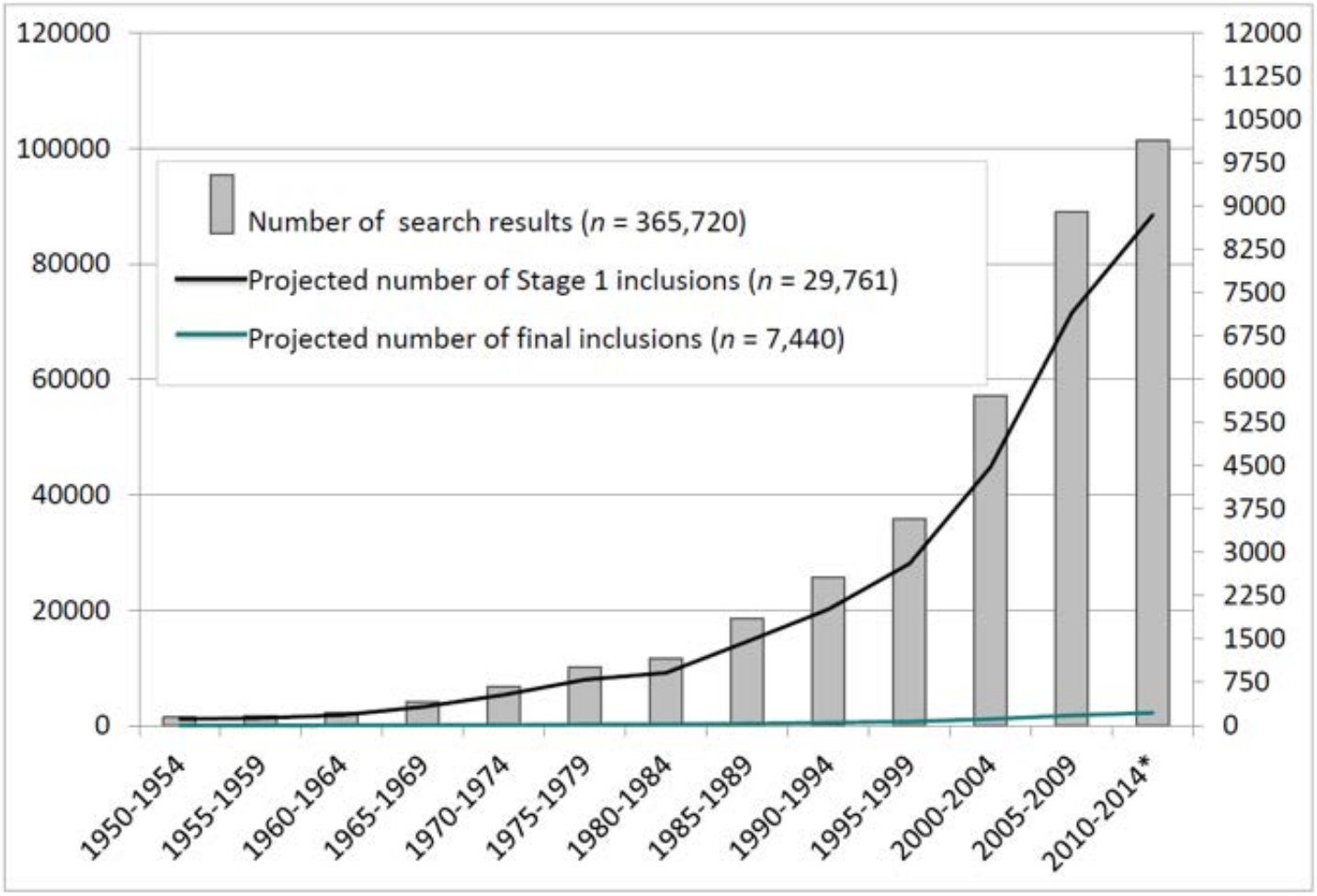
The citation information, abstract, and categorisation for eligible research is then added to the GPD as a record. These manual categorisations of eligible studies map onto the searching platform for the online GPD (see www.gpd.uq.edu.au), with the additional option of also using a free-text search to identify and examine research.

The Beta version of the GPD was released in mid-2015 and includes 80 eligible studies from January to June 2014 (soon to be updated with 200 more records) and offers police, policy-makers, and researchers the opportunity to access the foundations for what will ultimately be a comprehensive database of evaluation research related to all aspects of police and policing.

The research team continues to systematically compile the GPD moving backwards from mid-2014 to 1 January 1950. Figure 1 demonstrates the exponential growth in research related to policing since the mid-1990s and demonstrates the monumental efforts required to compile the GPD.

As of September 2016, over 105,000 abstracts have been screened for relevance to police or policing (back to the year 2005), and close to 10,000 full-text documents have been screened for initial eligibility (mixed coverage for 2014–2010). Upon completion, the GPD is anticipated to index over 5,000 studies that quantitatively assess the impact of policing interventions using robust research methodologies.

Figure 1: Number of GPD Search Results by Year (1950–2014)



*Includes Jan-Jun 2014 data only (systematic search conducted Jul-Aug 2014)

What has the GPD already captured and how can the GPD be used?

Mazerolle and colleagues (forthcoming) provide an in-depth analysis of the research with the Beta Version. In short, the Beta Version exemplifies the comprehensive and innovative nature of the GPD. Current evaluation research indexed in the GPD encompasses 18 countries and includes evaluation research across a wide range of areas relevant to police and policing, including: routine police practices (e.g., investigation, arrest, traffic enforcement, tools and technologies), human resources and organisational practices, proactive policing approaches (e.g., procedural justice policing, hot-spots policing), and police training programs.

Research within the open access GPD Beta Version can be identified and examined by using the free-text search option on the website or by examining research within the specific categories applied by the GPD research team (e.g., by country of implementation or problem targeted). Alternatively, police practitioners, policy-makers and researchers can contact the GPD research team to search within the large corpus of research identified by the systematic search to save time and resources in identifying research evidence. For example, the GPD systematic search and screening data has been used to expedite robust reviews of evidence (see Higginson et al., forthcoming), with increasing expressions of interest from policing researchers across the globe.

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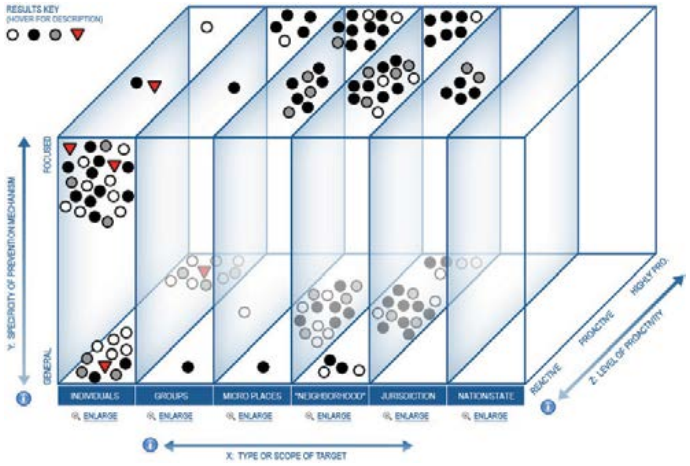
The Evidence-Based Policing Matrix

Cynthia Lum & Christopher S. Koper

A defining aspect of evidence-based policing is translating available high-quality research into accessible and usable forms. The Evidence-Based Policing Matrix is an interactive web-based tool designed to provide law enforcement officials with easy access to the research knowledge on effective crime prevention measures (see http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/). Developed by Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper at George Mason University with collaboration from Cody Telep at Arizona State University, the Matrix is a research-to-practice translation tool that allows agencies and researchers to view the field of rigorous police evaluation research in one location and use it to develop effective crime control measures. It is updated yearly.

The Matrix categorizes and visualizes evaluated police tactics according to three common dimensions of crime prevention – the nature and type of target, the degree to which the strategy is reactive or proactive, and how tailored a strategy is to a particular problem. Further classifying crime prevention strategies according to their effectiveness then reveals generalizations about tactics that the police can deploy. For example, the Matrix reveals that police are more likely to make an impact on crime when they use tactics that are place-based (rather than focused only on individuals), proactive (for example, using crime analysis to anticipate problems), and tailored to a particular problem at hand.

The Evidence-Based Policing Matrix with Studies Included



Mapping the studies in this way allows the viewer to obtain five pieces of information about an intervention in a single visualization. Four can be derived from each study's symbol (a dot or triangle). The location of the symbol indicates the evaluated intervention's target, specificity, and proactivity. The effectiveness of the intervention is shown by the color of the symbol—black for effective, gray for mixed findings, white for nonsignificant findings, and red for a backfire or harmful effect. The fifth piece of information results from the relative position of dots to each other, as this shows clusters of evaluated interventions at intersecting dimensions within the Matrix.

Thus, one can see whether an intervention is surrounded primarily by black dots (other interventions showing effectiveness), white or gray dots (other interventions not necessarily showing effectiveness), or even red triangles (interventions with backfire effects). The one item not shown is the methodological rigor of the study, but this can be easily seen by expanding a particular section of the Matrix or a specific study.

The online interface also allows the user to view practitioner-friendly summaries of each evaluated intervention, along with additional resources about similar types of interventions. For example, to examine the specific details of all of the studies in the "Individuals" portion or "slab" of the Matrix, users can click into the Individuals slab (http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/individuals/) and view all of the interventions that have been evaluated that focus on individuals. This allows users to quickly understand the totality of the evidence for interventions focused on individuals; a brief description of each intervention is shown along with indicators for the characteristics of the intervention (reactive/proactive, general/focused), the methodological rigor of the study, and the study results. Further, a detailed and structured summary of each study can be accessed by either clicking on a dot in the overall Matrix illustration or by selecting specific studies within a Matrix slab.

The Matrix has become a starting point in disseminating information from a large body of research in a free and user-friendly online format to police officers. Further, by filtering for research with at least a moderate threshold of methodological quality, the Matrix provided the law enforcement community with the most reliable information on evaluated crime prevention efforts by the police. After the initial online development of the Matrix, the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) funded the Matrix Demonstration Project (MPD) (see cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/matrix-demonstration-project). The MDP has become a vehicle for training and technical assistance on evidence-based policing and the Matrix. It has also spurred the development of tools (developed with police partners) for implementing and institutionalizing evidence-based practices.

For example, one translation tool developed from the Matrix is the *Evidence-Based Policing Playbook* which the Police Foundation (U.S.) converted into part of their *Evidence-Based Policing App.* The Playbook contains evidence-based and operational ideas for law enforcement officers to use and adapt during their daily patrol to reduce, prevent, and deter crime. The Playbook and the App are built on the premise that research in evidence-based policing has to be used to be valuable and that tools to convert complex and nuanced research findings into simple operational directives and guidance are essential to carry forth evidence-based policing. Other translation tools inspired by the Matrix and developed through the MDP include (among others) the *Case of Place* strategy for addressing problem places, evidence-based training for use in academies and in-service training, and examples of how to use the Matrix to assess an agency's deployment portfolio.

Subject:	Procedural justice
Date:	9 August 2016
Prepared by:	Louise O'Neil, Librarian, Organisational Capability Command, QPS

The eight articles chosen contribute to research on an important development in policing: the concept of procedural justice. They represent a wide range of contexts, from attitudinal and behavioural intentions of police recruits, organisational decision making, the role of police training in improving police community relations and a community survey approach for measuring procedural fairness.

All demonstrate support for the continuing development of evidence based research, policy and practice in the field of police-community relations.

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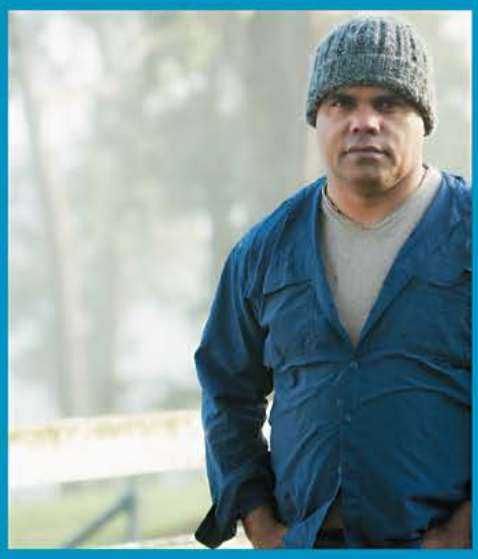






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