

# Crime & Justice

## Using Evidence for Less Crime and Better Justice

By  
Lorraine Mazerolle

GEIS Conference  
Melbourne, October 2018



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Better evidence for a better world



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# Police Patrols



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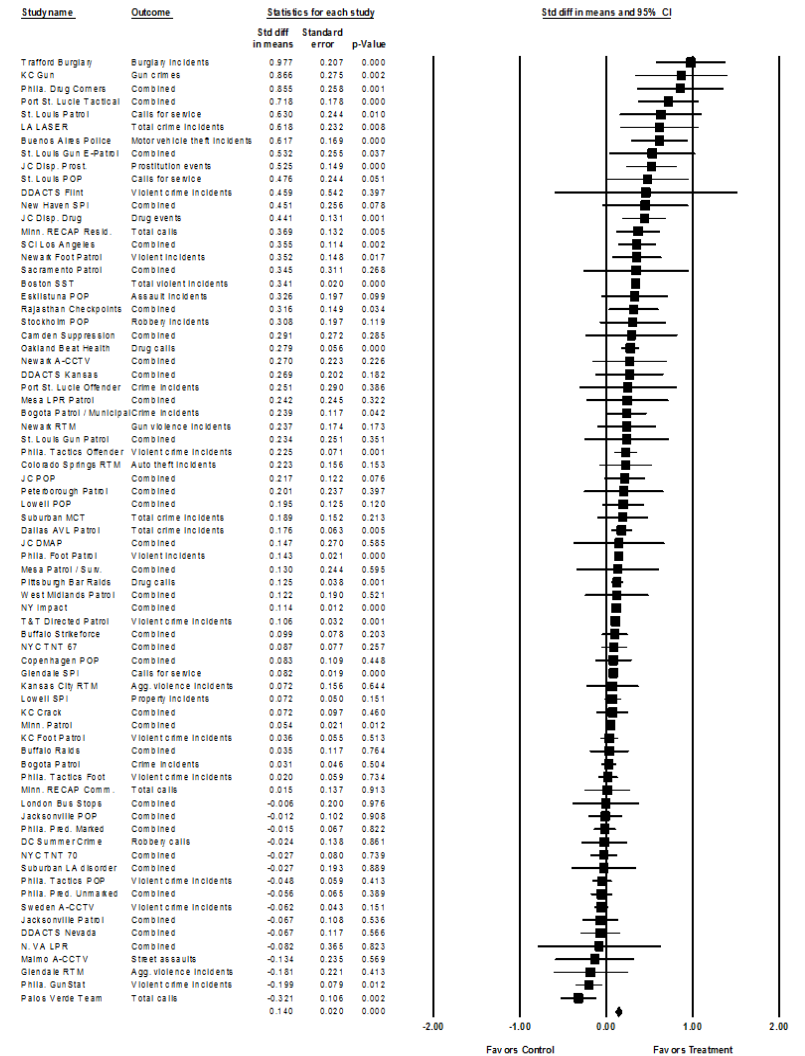
# Hot Spots Policing Trials

Campbell Review identifies 78 experimental and quasi experimental studies

62 of 78 tests show statistically significant crime prevention benefits

Source: Braga, Papachristos, & Hureau (2012) and update (2018)

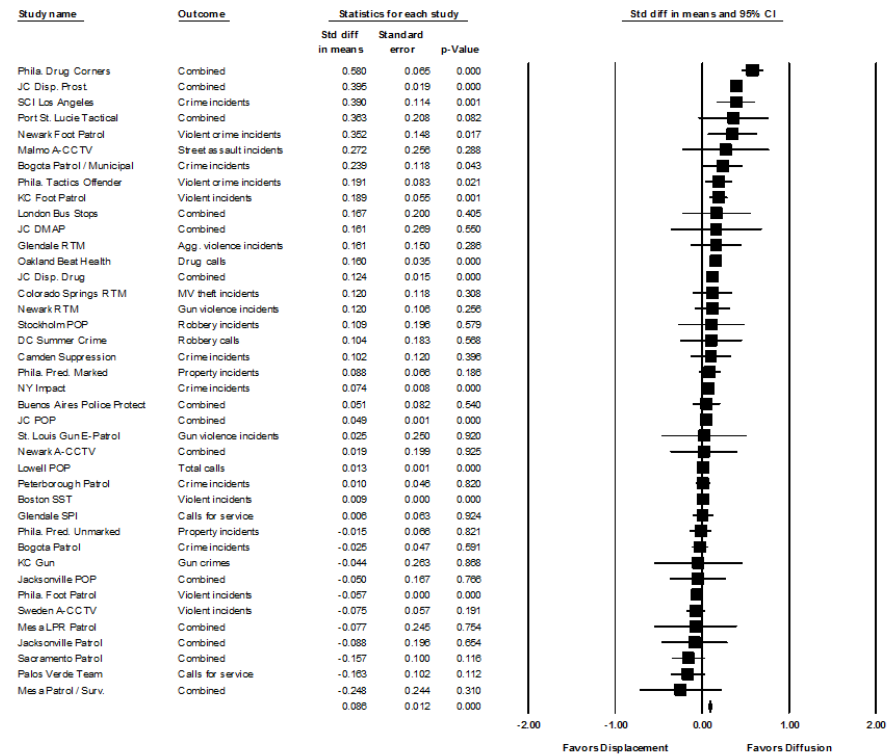
## Combined Effect Sizes for Study Outcomes



Random Effects Model, Q = 345.163, df = 72, p = .0000

# Deterrence without Displacement


Combined Effect Sizes for Displacement and Diffusion Outcomes




Random Effects Model,  $Q = 22850.673$ ,  $df = 39$ ,  $p = .0000$

# Campbell Collaboration – Focused Deterrence Search

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## The effects of 'pulling levers' focused deterrence strategies on crime



Authors: Anthony A. Braga, David L. Weisburd  
Published date: 2012-03-04  
Coordinating group(s): Crime and Justice

[Review](#) (6782 downloads)  

[Protocol](#) (1148 downloads)  

[Title](#) (903 downloads)  

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## About this systematic review

This Campbell systematic review assesses the effectiveness of focused deterrence strategies known as "pulling levers" in reducing crime. The review summarises findings from 10 studies, all of which report evidence from programmes in the US.



### What are the main results?

Pulling levers focused deterrence strategies are associated with a medium-sized crime reduction effect. Nine out of 10 studies reported a statistically significant positive effect. There is a strongly significant medium size effect average effect across all studies.

Gang or group intervention programs had the largest effect, followed by the drug market intervention programs, with the smallest but still statistically significant effect for the high-risk individuals programs.

All included studies use non-randomized experimental designs, which have a risk of over-stating impact. However, the effect size is large enough to have reasonable confidence in the effectiveness of these programs.

### Background

A number of American police departments have been experimenting with new problem-oriented policing frameworks to prevent gang and group-involved violence. These are generally known as the "pulling levers" focused deterrence strategies. Focused deterrence strategies honor core deterrence ideas, such as increasing risks faced by offenders, while finding new and creative ways of deploying traditional and non-traditional law enforcement tools to do so, such as directly communicating incentives and disincentives to targeted offenders. Pioneered in Boston to halt serious gang violence, the focused deterrence framework has been applied in many American cities through federally sponsored violence prevention programs.

In its simplest form, the approach consists of selecting a particular crime problem, such as gang homicide; convening an inter-agency working group of law enforcement, social service and community-based practitioners; conducting research to identify key offenders, groups, and behavior patterns; framing a response to offenders and groups of offenders that uses a varied menu of sanctions ("pulling levers") to stop them from continuing their violent behavior; focusing social services and community resources on targeted offenders and groups to match law enforcement prevention efforts; and directly and repeatedly communicating with offenders to make them understand why they are receiving this special attention.

These new strategic approaches have been applied to a range of crime problems, such as overt drug markets and individual repeat offenders, and have shown promising results in the reduction of crime.

### Objectives

To synthesize the extant evaluation literature and assess the effects of pulling levers focused deterrence strategies on crime.

### Selection criteria

Eligible studies had to meet three criteria: (1) the program had to have the core elements of a pulling levers focused deterrence strategy present; (2) a comparison group was included; (3) at least one crime outcome was reported. The units of analysis had to be people or places.

### Search strategy

Several strategies were used to perform an exhaustive search for literature fitting the eligibility criteria. First, a keyword search was performed on an array of online abstract databases. Second, we reviewed the bibliographies of past narrative and empirical reviews of literature that examined the effectiveness of pulling levers focused deterrence programs. Third, we performed forward searches for works that have cited seminal focused deterrence studies. Fourth, we searched bibliographies of narrative reviews of police crime prevention efforts and past completed Campbell systematic reviews of police crime prevention efforts. Fifth, we performed hand searches of leading journals in the field.

### Data collection and analysis

For our ten eligible studies, we complete a narrative review of effectiveness and a formal meta-analysis of the main effects of these programs on reported crime outcomes.

### Main results

Based on our narrative review, we find that nine of the ten eligible evaluations reported statistically significant reductions in crime. It is important to note here that all ten evaluations used nonrandomized quasi-experimental designs. No randomized controlled trials were identified by our search strategies. Our meta-analysis suggests that pulling levers focused deterrence strategies are associated with an overall statistically-significant, medium-sized crime reduction effect.

## Focused deterrence strategies (“Pulling Levers”) are effective in reducing crime



Shane T. McCoy / US Marshals  
Operation Triple Beam 2.0

*“Pulling levers” focused deterrence strategies appear to be effective in reducing crime*

### What is the aim of this review?

This Campbell systematic review assesses the effectiveness of focused deterrence strategies known as “pulling levers” in reducing crime. The review summarises findings from 10 studies, all of which report evidence from programmes in the United States.

Focused deterrence strategies tackle a particular crime problem by applying a varied menu of sanctions (“pulling levers”) as well as focusing social services and community resources on targeted offenders, and communicating with offenders about the attention they are receiving. These strategies have been successful in reducing crime.

### What did the review study?

“Pulling levers” focused deterrence strategies are a policing framework to prevent gang, drug market, and individual violence. The approach consists of selecting a particular crime problem, such as gang homicide; convening an interagency working group of law enforcement, social service, and community-based practitioners; conducting research to identify key offenders, groups, and behavior patterns; framing a response to offenders and groups of offenders that uses a varied menu of sanctions (“pulling levers”) to stop them from continuing their violent behavior; focusing social services and community resources on targeted offenders and groups to match law enforcement prevention efforts; and directly and repeatedly communicating with offenders to make them understand why they are receiving this special attention.

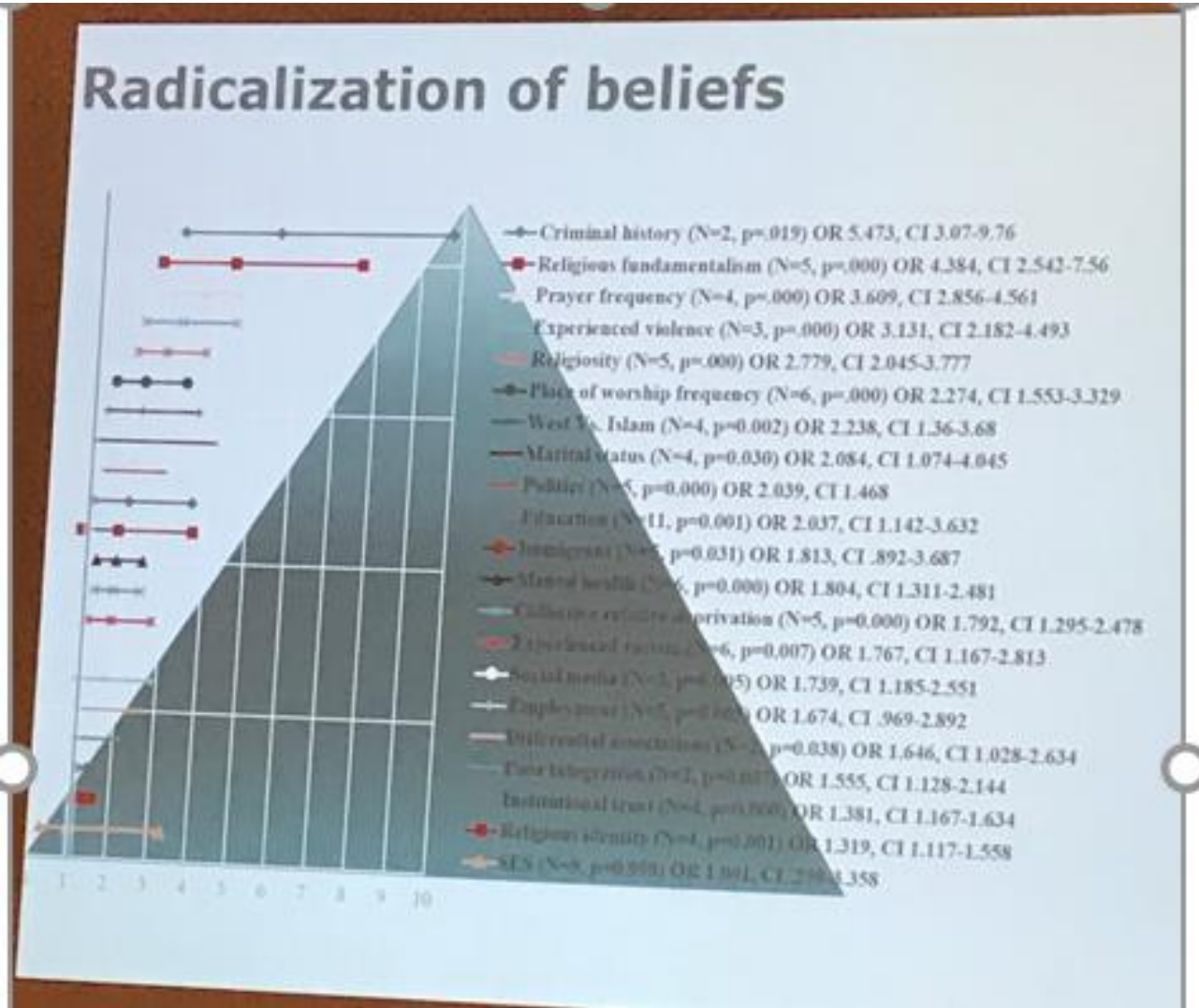
This policing framework has been applied in a number of American cities.

### What studies are included?

Included studies tested programs which had the core elements of a pulling levers focused deterrence strategy, using a comparison group to test the effect on crime outcomes.

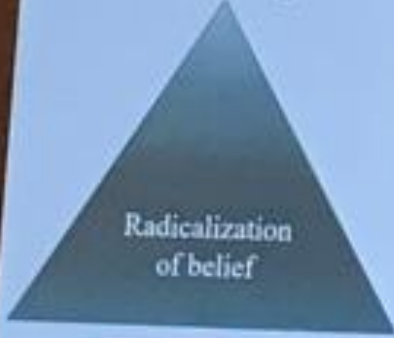
Ten studies were included which examined pulling levers focused deterrence interventions implemented in small, medium, and large U.S. cities.

# Risk Factors for Radicalization of Beliefs




# Different Risk Factors

## Some key differences



Radicalization  
of belief

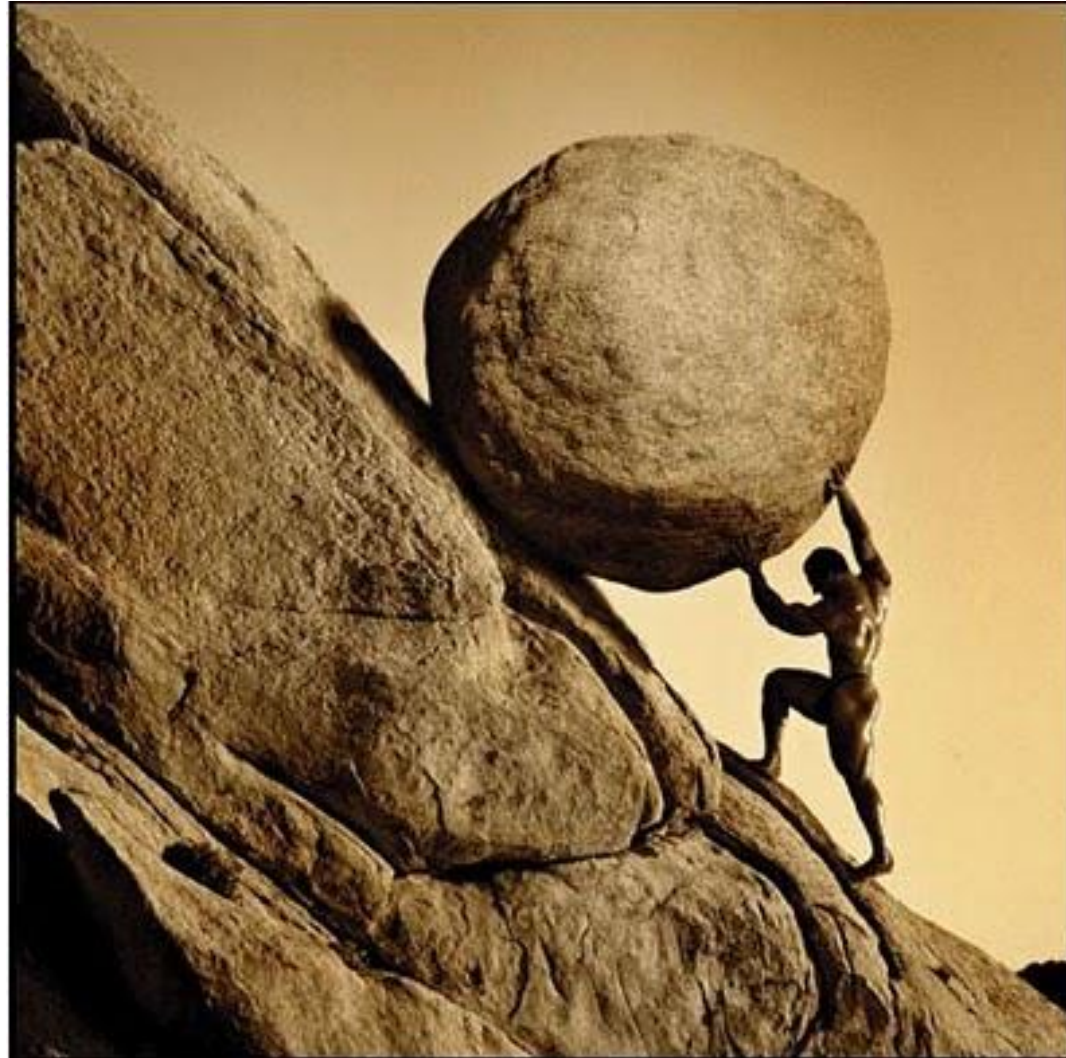
- **Higher education** has a larger impact on belief than on action
- **Employment, marital and immigrant statuses** have larger effects on belief than on action



Radicalization  
of action

- **Collective relative deprivation** has a larger effect on action than on belief
- **Poor integration and institutional trust** have larger effects on action than on belief.
- **Differential associations** have a stronger effect on action than belief

# Translating Research into Practice



# Three Messages

1. What do we learn from analysis of data?
2. What do we learn from systematic reviews?
3. What do we learn from experiments?

# Better Engagement with High Risk Young People



# Three Messages

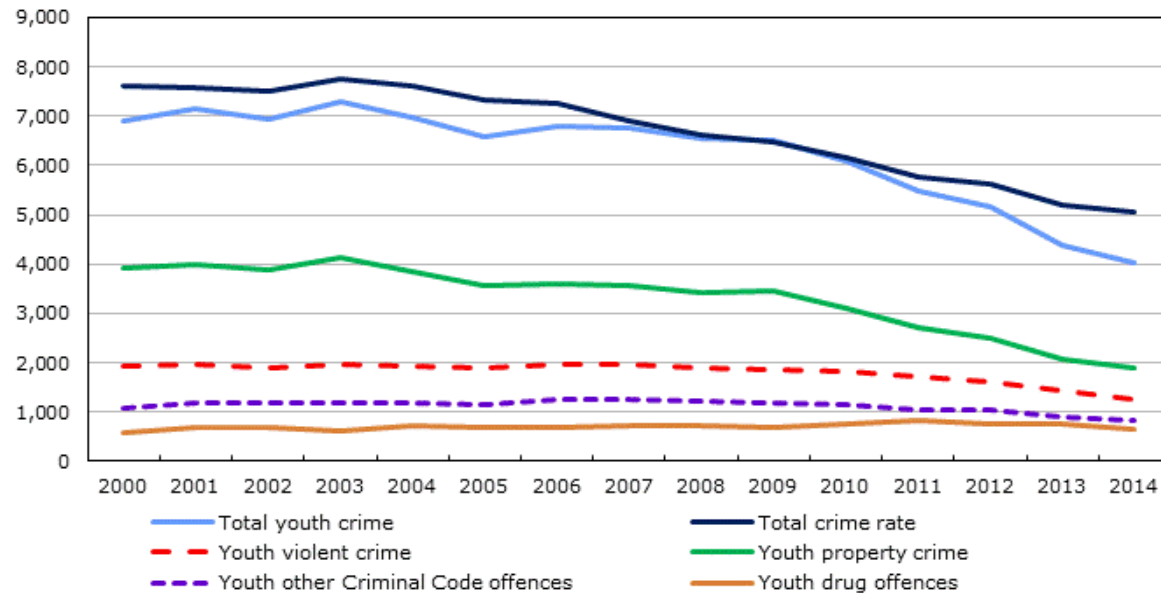
1. What do we learn from analysis of data?
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# Youth Crime Declining in Canada

**Chart 2**  
**Police-reported crime and youth crime rates, by offence type,**  
**2000 to 2014**

rate per 100,000  
population

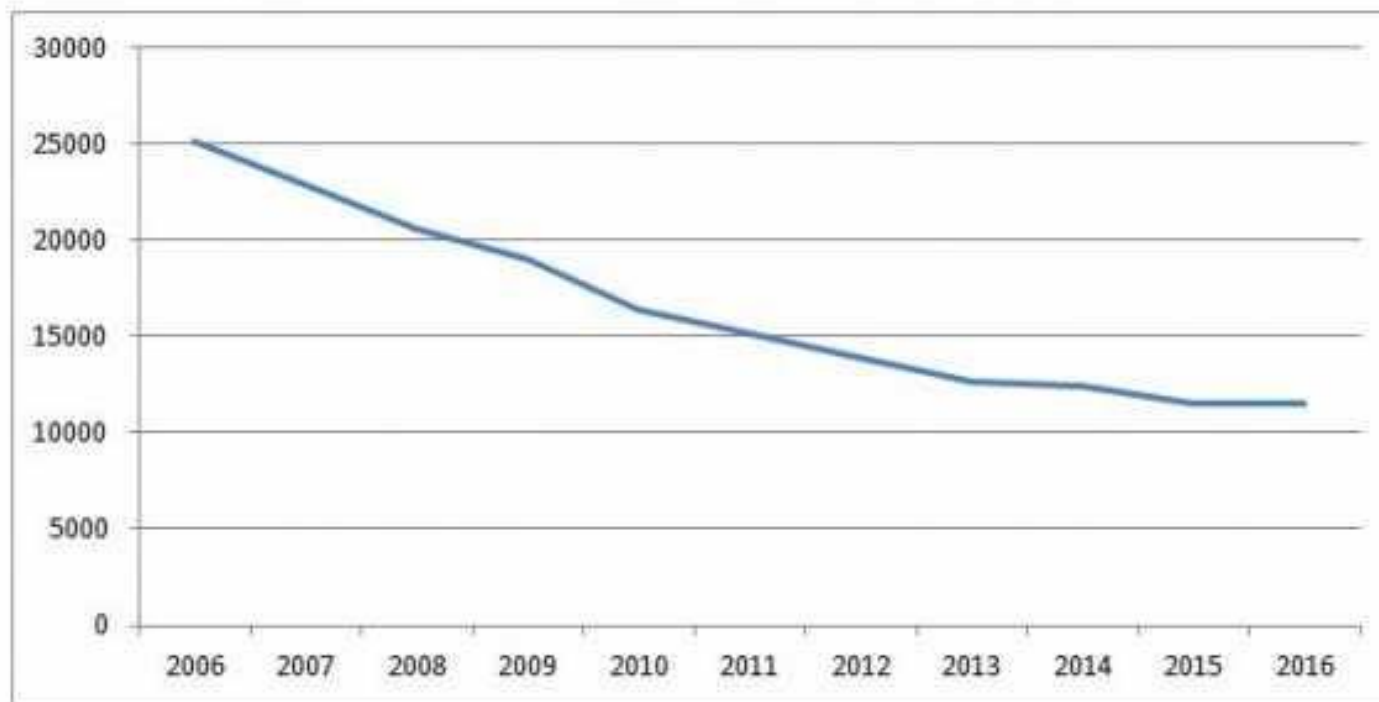


**Note:** Youth crime is the rate of youth (aged 12 to 17) accused in *Criminal Code* offences (excluding traffic). Total crime rate is the rate of incidents of *Criminal Code* offences (excluding traffic) reported by police. Rates are calculated on the basis of 100,000 population. Populations are based upon July 1st estimates from Statistics Canada, Demography Division. Rates in this chart are based on the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) and differ slightly from the rates in the tables and text of this report. (See 'Survey description').

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey.

# Youth Crime Declining in Denmark

*Antal mistanker/sigtelser for straffelovsovertrædelser mod 10-17-årige, 2006-2016.*



# In Australia? In Victoria?

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2013 \$1.50 HERALDSUN.COM.AU WE'RE FOR VICTORIA

# Herald Sun

## VICTORIA'S YOUTH CRIME CRISIS

OFFENDER 1 WEST GATE BANDIT	OFFENDER 2 HOME INVADER	OFFENDER 3 PARKVILLE RIOTER
<b>CRIMINAL HISTORY</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>MOOMBA RIOTING</li><li>HOME INVASIONS</li><li>ASSAULTS WITH HAMMERS/UMBRELLAS</li><li>THREATS OF RAPE</li><li>CARTHEFTS</li></ul>	<b>CRIMINAL HISTORY</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>MOOMBA RIOTING</li><li>ROBBERIES</li><li>BASHINGS</li><li>BMW THEFTS</li><li>*STILL FREE ON BAIL</li></ul>	<b>CRIMINAL HISTORY</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>SMASH-AND-GRABS</li><li>CARJACKING</li><li>HOME RAIDS</li><li>*STILL FREE ON BAIL</li></ul>

### » NO RESPECT » NO CONSEQUENCES

# NO WONDER WE DON'T FEEL SAFE

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heraldsun.com.au

**THREE** shocking cases of retail raiding and soft justice can be re-visited today, as Victoria's youth crime crisis spins out of control.

One of the three West Gate garage bandits, who led police on a dangerous chase in a stolen car on Monday after a string of jewellery store and tobacconist raids, was free on a supervision order despite a sa-  
**ANGUS THOMPSON, SHANNON DEERY AND MATTHEW JOHNSTON**

The Ajay member, 17, had faced charges over the Moolamba riots, ransacked a Brighton East home and as-  
**Another youth was behind last week after raiding homes while carrying weapons.**

He had also faced court over the Moolamba riots, robberies and thefts of babies — one of which crashed into a motorist's car on the West Gate Freeway on July 8, critically injuring a teenage girl before being cut.

A Parkville rioter is also back out on bail, despite involvement in smashing into jewellery stores and tobacconists, burgling Moolamba and Airport West properties, several suburban shopping centres smash-and-grabs, a carjacking, and leading police on a chase in the city.

None of the teens can be identified because they are under 18.

The revolution came in: **RATERS** of aggravated burglary by teens here almost tripled.

**OPPOSITION** Leader Matthew Guy called for non-citizens to be deported immediately for repeated as-  
**THE Youth Parole Board** denied a government bid to store seven 10-year-olds in an adult prison.

**ALMOST** a dozen youths were charged over raids on offshoots stores across Melbourne.

**CONTINUED PAGE 4**

## FUTURE MELBOURNE

### A HERALD SUN CAMPAIGN TO KEEP OUR CITY GREAT

Today we reveal new technology's potential for keeping us safe.

**Herald Sun**  
heraldsun.com.au/futurerm08

**CROWN** **3**  
SUPPORTING PARTNERS

UNREP STANDING THE  
SUPER PREDATOR  
MYTH

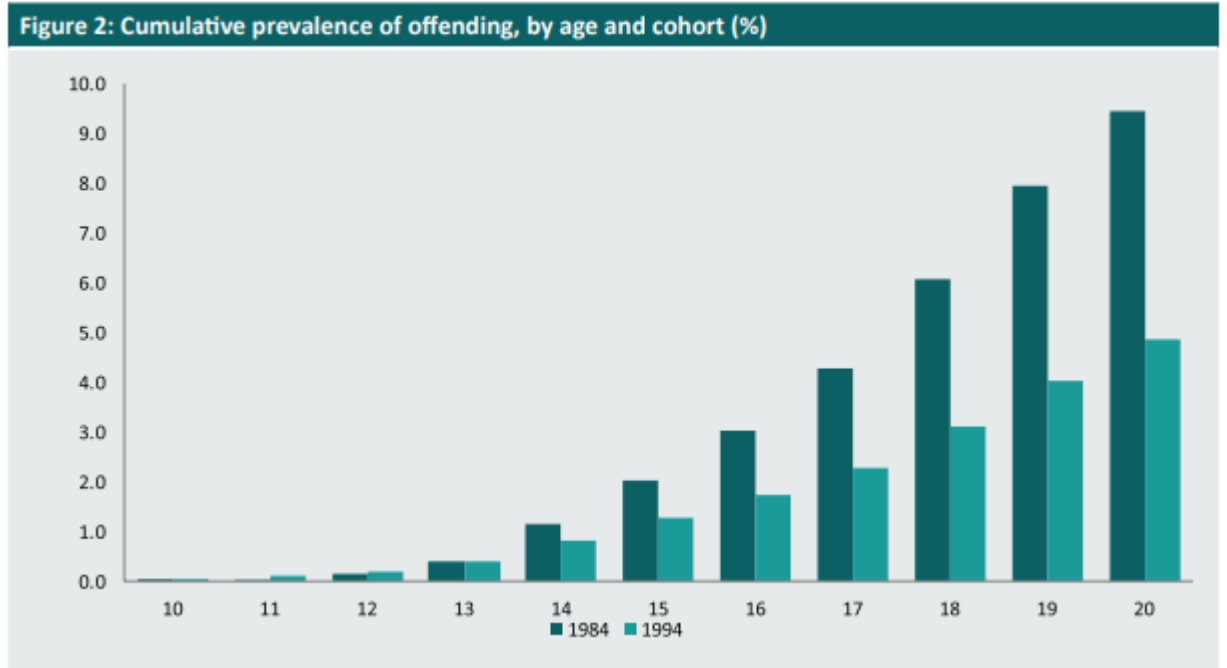
## THE RISE OF THE SUPER-PREDATOR AND THE DECLINE OF THE REHABILITATIVE IDEAL

*Here is what we believe: America is now home to thickening ranks of juvenile "super-predators"—radically impulsive, brutally remorseless youngsters, including ever more preteenage boys, who murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal deadly drugs, join gun-toting gangs and create serious communal disorders. They do not fear the stigma of arrest, the pains of imprisonment, or the pangs of conscience.*

—William J. Bennett, John J. DiIulio,  
and John P. Walters, *Body Count*

# Where have all the young offenders gone? Examining changes in offending between two NSW birth cohorts

Jason Payne, Rick Brown and Roderic Broadhurst



## SNAPSHOT for TWO NSW BIRTH COHORTS (born 1984 and 1994)

- The prevalence of violent offending was 2.6 and 1.8 percent, respectively—a decline of 32 percent
- The prevalence of property offending was 3.8 and 1.7 percent, respectively—a decline of 56 percent
- The prevalence of drug offending was 1.7 and 1.3 percent, respectively—a decline of 22 percent
- The prevalence of disorderly conduct offences was 3.3 and 1.9 percent, respectively—a decline of 42 percent

# Where have all the young offenders gone?

## Examining changes in offending between two NSW birth cohorts

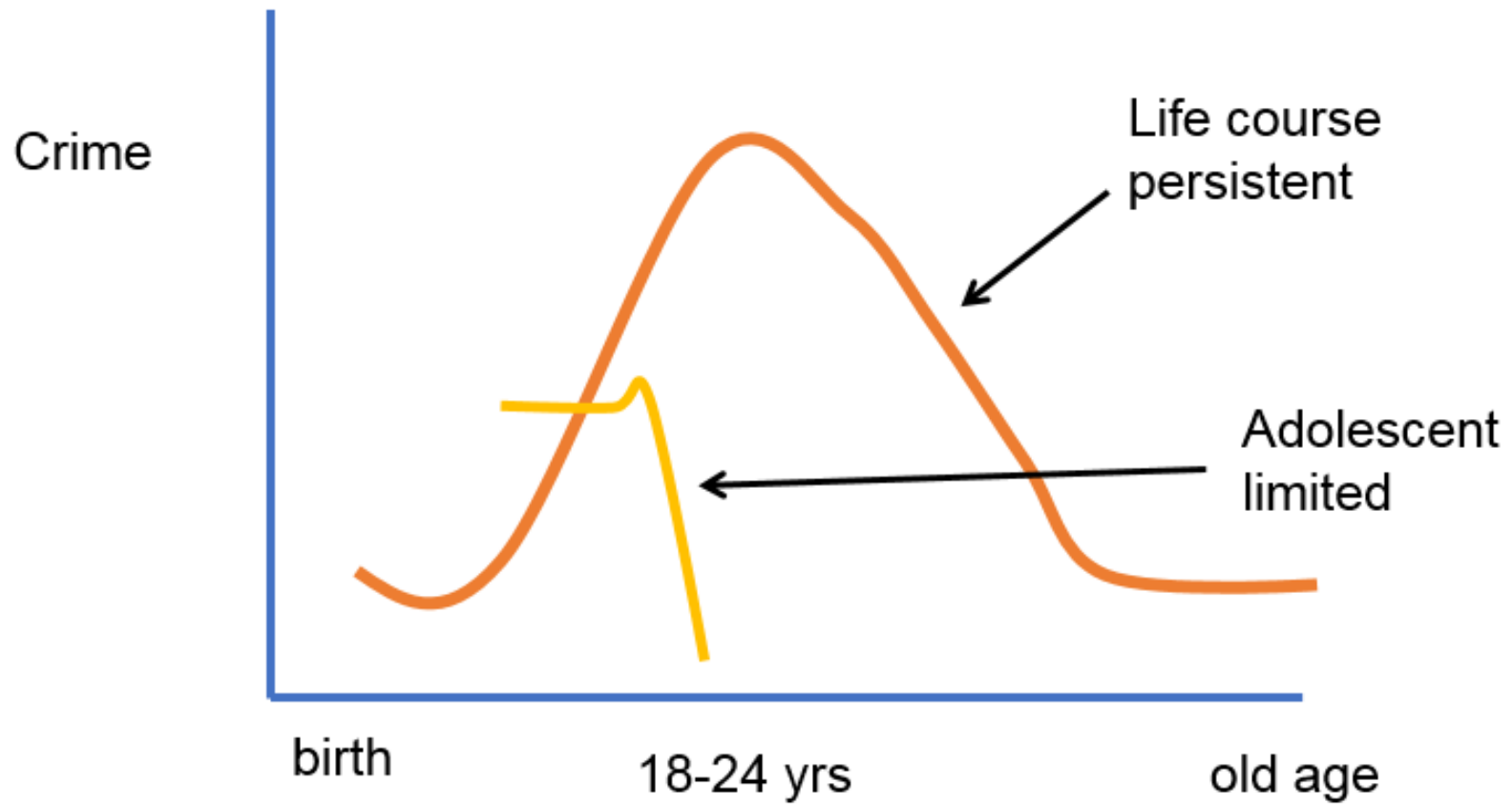
Jason Payne, Rick Brown and Roderic Broadhurst

**Table 3: Once-only, moderate and chronic (5+) offenders by age 21 (offence rate and proportion of offences)**

	1984				1994			
	Offenders (n)	Offences (n)	Average	% of offences	Offenders (n)	Offences (n)	Average	% of offences
1 offence	3,216	3,216	1.0	8.9	1,529	1,529	1.0	6.4
2–4 offences	2,853	8,480	3.0	23.4	1,438	3,892	2.7	16.4
5+ offences	1,818	24,574	13.5	67.8	1,365	18,380	13.5	77.2
Total	7,887	36,270	4.6	100.0	4,332	23,801	5.5	100.0

Group of ‘chronic’ offenders (those committing 5+ offences) in the 1994 birth cohort who committed crime at a higher rate and accounted for a larger proportion of offences (77.2%) than the 1984 birth cohort of ‘chronic’ offenders (67.8%)

# Moffitt's Taxonomy



# Reducing Criminal Justice SNARES.... What Works To Reduce Youth Offending?





# Three Messages

1. What do we learn from analysis of data?
2. What do we learn from systematic reviews?
3. What do we learn from experiments?

# Diversion

- Involves the redirection of offenders away from conventional criminal justice processes to minimise contact with the formal criminal justice system

BUT can also....

- Involve diversion into a program, including education and treatment programs to provide opportunities to address offending

# Summary of diversion programs that can be employed for use/possession offences in Australia, by type and state/territory

	Police diversion for cannabis	Police diversion for other illicit drugs	Police/court diversion for young offenders	Court diversion for minor drug or drug-related offences	Other non-AOD specific programs
ACT	2	1	1	1	1
NSW	1	0	1	1	0
NT	1	1	2	1	0
Qld	1	0	1	2	0
SA	1	1	1	1	2
Tas	1	1	1	1	0
Vic	1	1	4	1	4
WA	1	1	2	5	0



Crime and Justice Coordinating Group

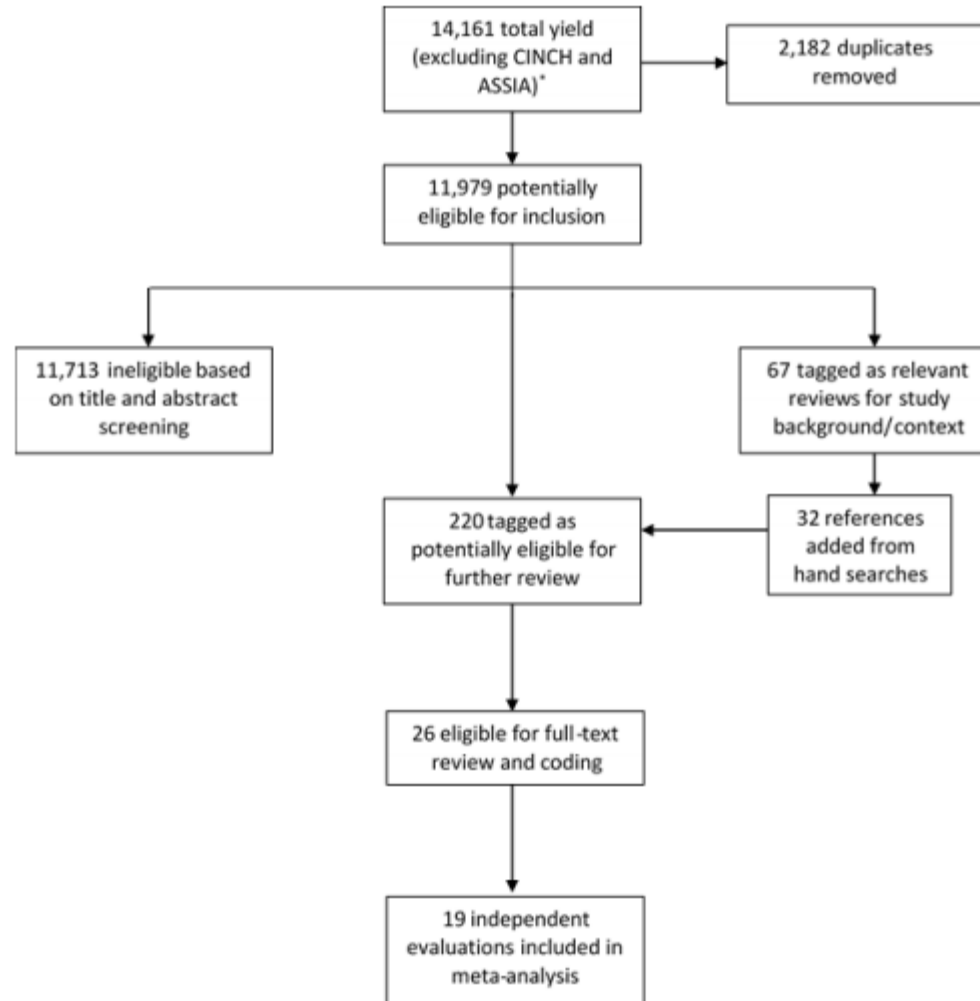
# Police-initiated diversion for youth to prevent future delinquent behavior: a systematic review

David.B. Wilson, Iain Brennan, Ajima Olaghere

A Campbell Systematic Review  
2018:5

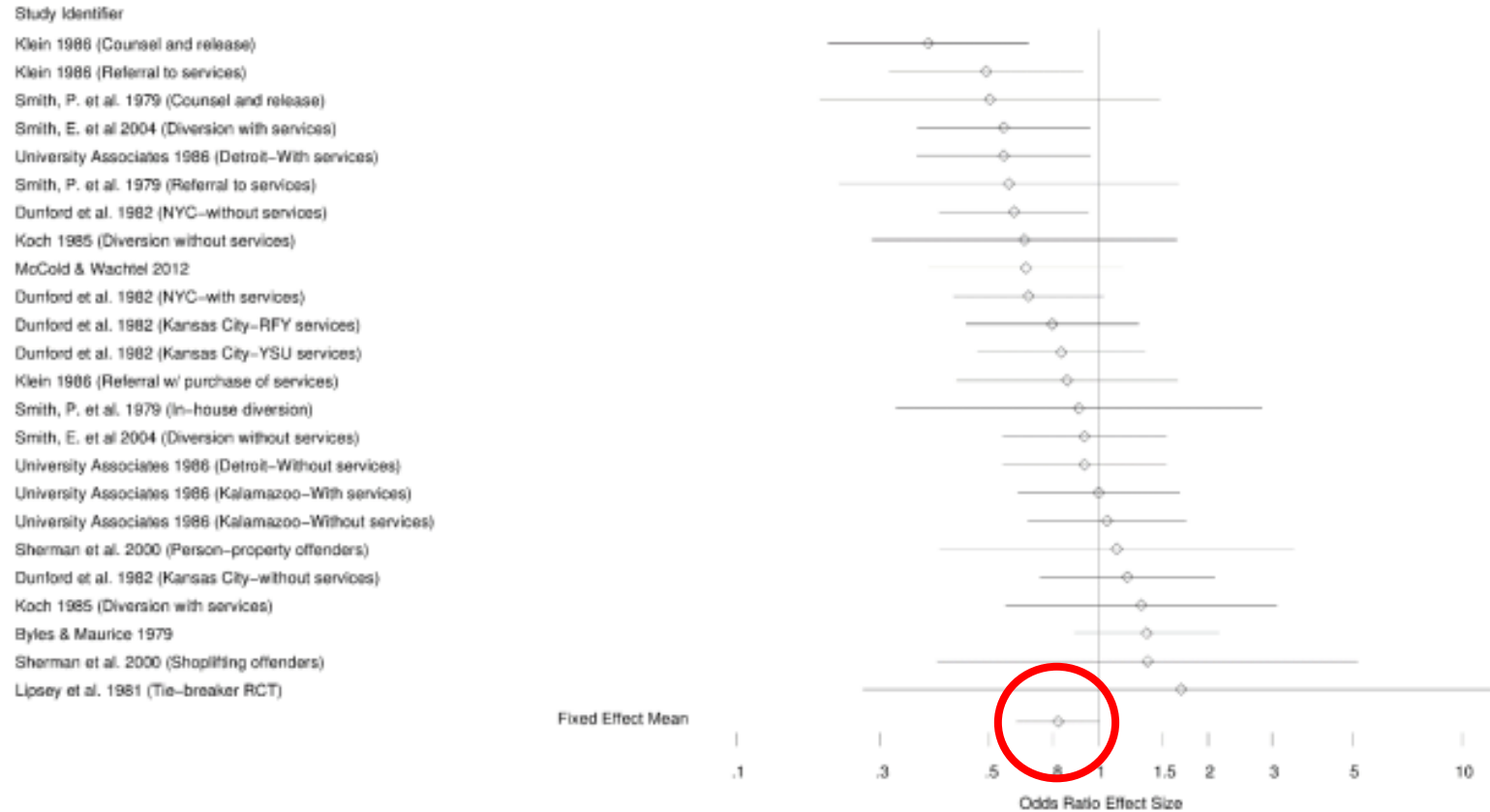
Published: June 2018  
Search executed: January 2017

**Figure 1: Reference flow diagram**



A combination of 26 databases and websites were searched. References of relevant reviews were also scanned to identify studies. Consultation with experts in the field. Searches executed by two reviewers. Search conducted between August 2016 and January 2017

# Main Results



*“Police-Initiated Diversion for Youth to Prevent Future Delinquent Behavior: A Systematic Review” by David.B. Wilson, Iain Brennan, and Ajima Olaghere (DOI 10.4073/csr.2018:5)*

# Main Findings

- The overall result across all studies translates into a 6 percentage point reduction in reoffending from a benchmark rate of 50 percent
- Police-led diversion of low-risk youth who come into contact with the justice system is MODESTLY more effective in reducing a youth's future contact with the justice system compared to traditional processing

# Three Messages

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2. What do we learn from systematic reviews?

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# Ability School Engagement Program (ASEP)



Source: *How We Got Hooked for You*

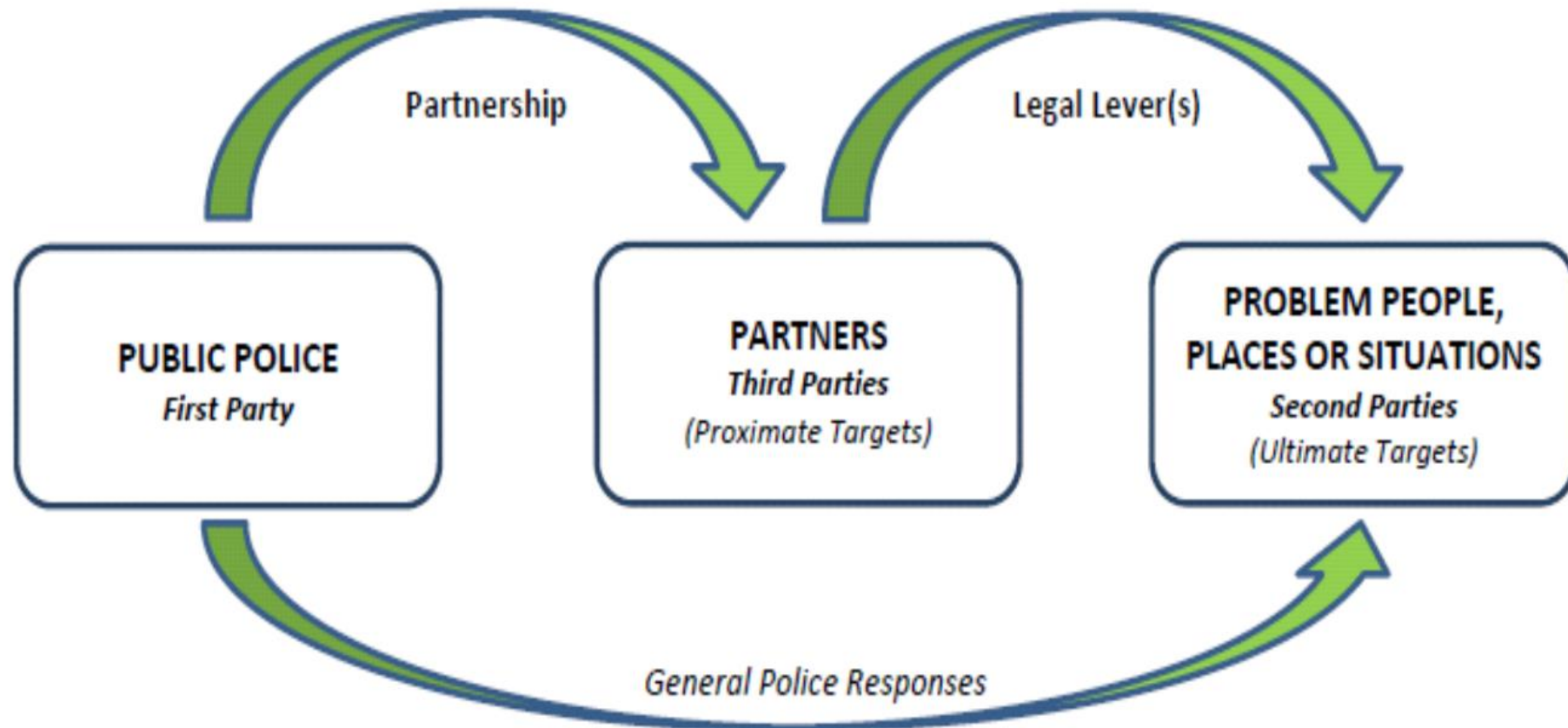
# Tensions with Police



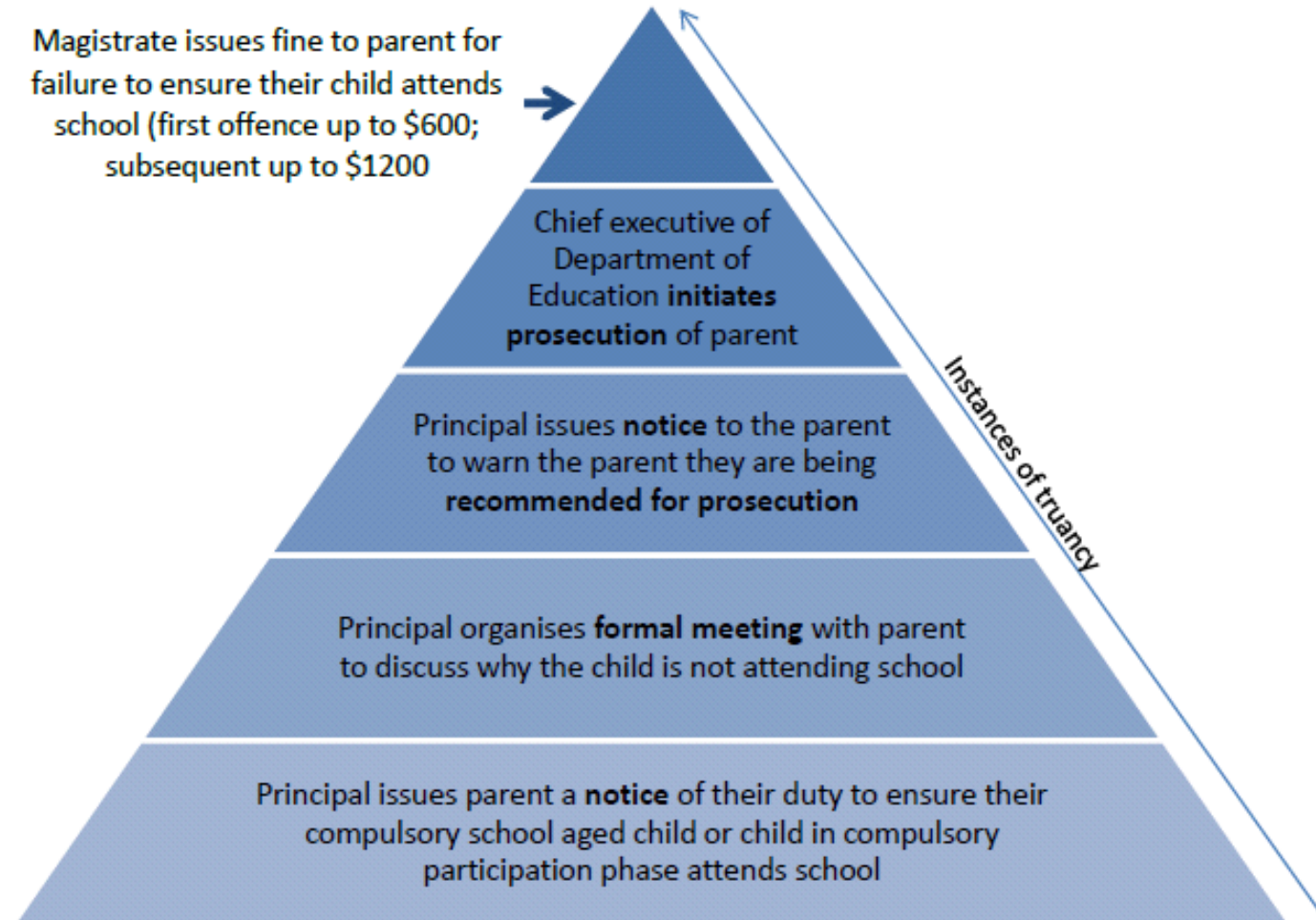
**Police and schools decided to form a  
partnership.....**



# Third Party Policing Partnership



# Truancy Laws



# Communicating the Laws – Procedurally Just Dialogue



# Main Results

- ✓ Lengthened “time to failure” for recidivist offending
  - ✓ Lengthened “time to failure” for repeat school absences
  - ✓ Increased self-reported willingness to go to school
  - ✓ Increased parental understanding of the law -> increased school attendance
    - ✓ Reduced self-reported anti-social behavior
- (one year & two years post random assignment)



# How do you translate, upscale & move forward?



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# Evidence Dilemma



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# School Based Police Officers \$10 million per year in Queensland



# **'Policing Schools' Strategies: A Review of the Evaluation Evidence**

**Anthony Petrosino**  
*WestEd*

**Sarah Guckenburg**  
*WestEd*

**Trevor Fronius**  
*WestEd*

- N = 11 quasi experimental evaluations
- Mainly weak designs, pre-post with no comparison group
- No crime control benefits found
- Possible backfire effect – increase in arrests for minor student misbehaviour



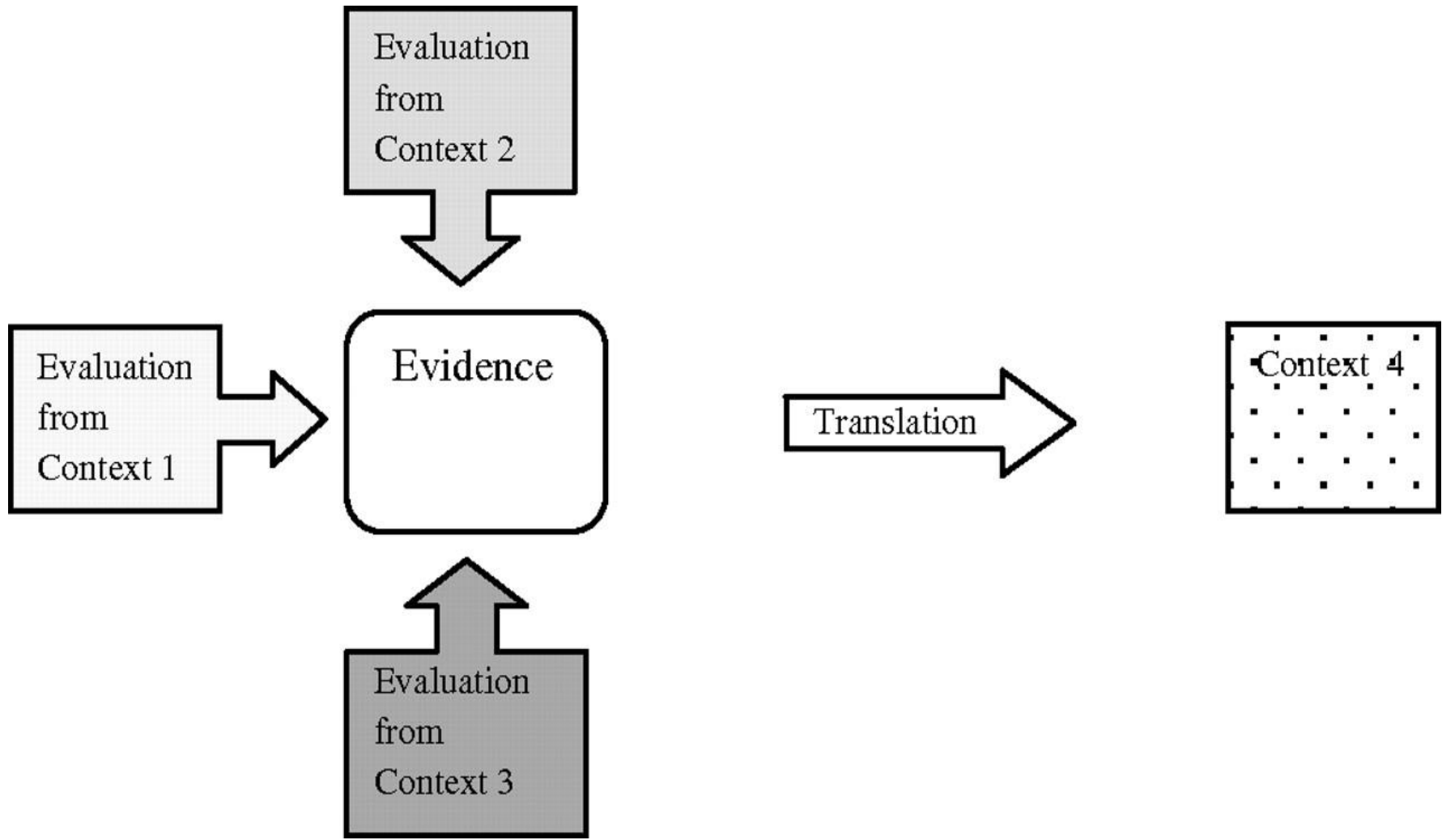
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# ASEP in New Contexts

- What benefit do you get by reallocating the role of School-Based Police Officers to take on an ASEP role?
- Does ASEP work at scale? 102 young truants -> 1,000 young truants
- Does it work better/worse for younger age truants than older age truants?
- Gender differences?
- Cultural differences?



# Move the Needle



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# Campbell Collaboration

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