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Evidence to Advance Reform in the Global Security and Justice Sectors:
A Workshop-based Consensus Study Series

Core knowledge and skills needed for police to
promote the rule of law and protect the population

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report is situated within the broader NAS goal to provide evidence in the areas of policing practices and capacities to inform the State Department's capacity-building activities in an international context. My report is aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of local, in-country law enforcement agencies by providing an overview of what knowledge and skills need to be included in police education and training at different levels of the organization to reduce crime and uphold the rule of law. Knowing the content of other commissioned reports to inform this specific NAS review, my report does not cover anything about (1) organizational policies, structures, or practices that enable a police service to promote the rule of law and protect the population, (2) the training methodology best employed within police academies to promote the rule of law and protect the population in the international context, (3) policies and practices for police use of force, (4) policing practices that build community trust and legitimacy, or (5) the relationship between police agencies and forensics labs.

As commissioned, I provide evidence on what should (as well as some thoughts as to what should not) be included in police education and training curricula to create the core knowledge and skills needed to promote the rule of law and effectively protect the population in the international context. Given that all jurisdictions have their own laws and regulations that dictate the local powers of law enforcement officers, I do not cover the scope of the law curriculum for police officer training. Rather, I offer commentary on what should be taught within police education and training curriculums to increase the effectiveness of a frontline officer's efforts to promote the rule of law as it might apply to their organization's ability to protect the population. I also review what is known about the effectiveness of training programs that have been evaluated using robust methods. I identify strengths and limitations of data available to inform effective policing practices and what data should be collected and reported to ensure best practice in the future.

The National Research Council report edited by Pellegrino and Hilton (2012) on Education for Life and Work views "21st century skills as knowledge that can be transferred or applied in new situations" (2012, p. 2). They go onto say that "transferable knowledge includes content knowledge in a domain and knowledge of how, why and when to apply this knowledge to answer questions and solve problems … [and that] … this transferrable knowledge is what is defined as skills" (National Research Council, 2012, p. 2). This conceptualization of knowledge and skills is used throughout this report. For ease of reading, I use the shorthand term "education" to refer to the types of **knowledge** that police need better understand their jobs. I use the term "training" when I am referring to the types of **skills** that need to be learned and developed by police to do their jobs well.

My paper draws primarily from the Global Policing Database (GPD) (https://gpd.uq.edu.au), focusing on systematic reviews and evaluation evidence on police effectiveness and training programs that have been evaluated to a high level of scientific quality. The GPD is a web-based exhaustive repository of intervention research relating to police and policing practices, including training programs, from 87 countries around the world. The majority (n = 1822; 52.3%) of all GPD eligible studies (quasi, RCT and systematic reviews) originate from the United States and the top 20 countries see a high prevalence of European work, namely from the United Kingdom (n = 241; 6.9%). Australia also has a high contribution to GPD with 190 (5.4%) of the studies in the GPD while India (n = 42; 1.2%) is the only one of non-American, European or Oceanic status in the top 10. Countries from Africa, Asia, South America and the Middle East appear in the top 20, although are under-represented with less than 1% of the

publications per country. The majority of the studies in the GPD ($N = 3,586$) are quasi-experimental designs (82%), with randomized controlled trials (RCTs) comprising 12 percent ($N = 431$) of all documents systematically processed to date according to the GPD protocol. Six percent of the studies in the GPD are systematic reviews with or without meta-analysis, presenting a high quality of synthesised material. The GPD excludes single group designs with pre- and post-intervention measures as these designs are highly subject to bias and threats to internal validity. I also draw from the GPD and a specific rapid review undertaken by Bennett (2020) using the GPD to assess the impact of police training on police knowledge and skills. Bennett's (2020) review found 105 eligible training evaluation studies in the GPD, comprising 29 RCTs, two systematic reviews and/or meta-analyses, and 74 robust quasi-experiments.

I begin the report by arguing that the fundamental basis for all education of police, at all levels, should be about building knowledge about the "power few" or the "non-linear skewness" in distributions of crime (Sherman, 2007), also known as the law of crime and crime problem concentration (Weisburd, 2015). I describe how concentrations of resources to better identify and respond to those people, places and victims who generate most problems or are most at risk serves as a foundation for police learning. I then offer several well-established frameworks for categorizing different approaches to policing suggesting that police training, especially at leadership levels, needs to consider resource allocations to better balance police responses towards preventive and partnership oriented approaches to build community safety rather than concentrating resources on police-only responses that are reactive and lack focus on the "power few." The report then examines the knowledge and skills that need to be developed so that police better respond to high risk people, places and victims. I identify the basic curriculum needs in recruit, middle management and/or leadership training that seeks to increase the effectiveness of frontline policing and the data needed to implement best practice in policing. I conclude with some summary comments about the future of police education and training programs that build the core knowledge and skills to promote the rule of law and safeguard populations in the international context.

2.0 KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE LAW OF CRIME/PROBLEM CONCENTRATION

The number one thing that police need to learn and understand at all levels (recruit, in service, middle management and leadership) is the nature of how crime is concentrated. Described by Sherman (2007) as the "power few" and by Weisburd (2015) as the law of crime concentration, research has shown for at least five decades that crime across the world is highly concentrated in certain places (micro geographic, hotspots, communities, temporal), with certain high risk offenders (people) and that some people are more likely than others to be victims. John Eck and his colleagues gathered together studies from 1970 to 2015 that provided quantitative data on crime distributions to produce a series of systematic reviews demonstrating the consistent and clear concentrations of crime in places (Lee et al., 2017), offending (Martinez et al., 2017) and for some victims (O et al., 2017).

As these reviews have shown, crime is distributed in very similar patterns of cumulative concentration regardless of whether the unit of analysis focuses on places, offenders or victims. In the following sections, I concentrate on how this law of crime concentration needs to be the foundation for all police education curricula.

2.1 People

Police intuitively understand that a small number of offenders generate most of their crime problems. Yet most of the learning that police get about the concentration of people as offenders comes from on-the-job talk and a basic assumption that it is a general fact about criminal life that police absorb by osmosis. To my knowledge, most current police education spends very little time (if any at all) learning about the law of crime concentration despite it being an exceptionally well-researched area of criminology. In this section, I offer some very basic topic areas that should form part of all recruit education and be reiterated at each level of promotion examination.

First, research consistently shows that most individuals are law-abiding citizens who do not come in contact with the criminal justice system and that it is just a small proportion of people who commit a large proportion of crime (Blumstein et al., 1986; DeLisi, 2005; Hindelang et al., 1981; West & Farrington, 1977; Wolfgang et al., 1972). Put another way, a large proportion of crime is committed by chronic offenders who engage in a wide range of offending behavior (Kennedy, 1997). With police spending a large part of their time on those relatively small numbers of people who are committing crimes, it is often easy for police to forget that most people are indeed law abiding and never have much contact with police. Police education, therefore, needs to present research that will resonate with police on the concentration of crime among a few offenders, yet not forget to emphasize the law-abiding nature of most people. This focus on both the offender few and the law-abiding many should also be integrated into the curriculum on police legitimacy and procedural justice training (see this NAS report chapter on Police Legitimacy).

Second, David Farrington's work on the concentration of offending in families should be presented as a probabilistic (highly likely) scenario rather than a deterministic outcome of being in (or from) a complex family environment. Farrington et al. (2001), for example, investigated the inter-generational relationship of offending across three generations of relatives using data from The Pittsburgh Youth Study. They found that "if one relative had been arrested, there was a high likelihood that another relative had also been arrested" (Farrington et al., 2001, p. 579), that there was "an average of five arrested persons per family" (Farrington et al., 2001, p. 592) and that "arrests of the father predicted a boy's delinquency independently of all other arrested relatives" (Farrington et al., 2001, p. 579). To increase the potential of police to pivot their activities to more proactive than reactive work (see Section 3, this report), the emphasis here in police training curricula should not be on promulgating the assumption of deviant children coming from offending fathers, but rather on using this type of information to cultivate early intervention opportunities (such as diversion, see Section 4.2) for these at risk young people.

Third, police education programs need to include an explication of the Age–Crime Curve. Without getting too caught up in the finer details of the debate between career criminals and criminal careers, the basic facts need to be clearly understood by police: first, that there is a "nonlinear relationship between age and crime" (Farrington, 1986, p. 236) and that crime rates consistently increase from the minimum age of criminal responsibility (which is different in different countries) to reach a peak in the teenage years. Farrington (1986) and many others have consistently argued that "the most plausible theory is that the age-crime curve reflects decreasing parental controls, a peaking of peer influence in the teenage years, and then increasing family and community controls with age" (Farrington, 1986, p. 236).

Fourth, Terri Moffitt's (2003, 2015) presentation of the differences between adolescent limited and life-course persistent offenders needs to be understood by police in recruit education and likely be the topic of promotion exams for those aspiring to middle management roles. The most critical message is that police need to work in partnership with a range of other service providers (see Section 4) to divert low-level offending by young people away from being "snared" in the criminal justice system. Moffitt (2015) explains that the majority of young offenders "age-out" of offending but there are a few young offenders that are persistent/chronic offenders that engage in criminal behavior throughout the life course. Moffitt (2015) argues that life-course persistent offenders' antisocial behavior tends to emerge in childhood, whereas offenders that age out of crime (adolescent-limited offenders) exhibit antisocial behavior around the age of 14 or 15 alongside puberty. She shows that "life-course persistent antisocial behaviour emerges from early neurodevelopmental and family adversity risk factors, but adolescence-limited delinquency does not" (Moffitt, 2015, p.593) and that "life-course persistent antisocial development is almost exclusively male, whereas most female antisocial behaviour is of the adolescence-limited type" (Moffitt, 2015, p.593).

Drawing from this body of work, police need training and the development of skills to be able to work with government partners in providing integrated services to different types of at-risk people. Police training needs to emphasize the skills that help police to forge partnerships that collectively address the problems of early onset and potentially life-course persistent offending: proactive and partnership-based approaches need to be part of the skills development, teaching police the skills in working cooperatively with other service provider and frontline education and health workers to develop wrap-around services for these at-risk young people (see Sections 4 and 5 below).

2.2 Places

In 1989, Lawrence Sherman, Patrick Gartin, and Michael Buerger coined the term criminology of place when they discovered that 3 percent of micro places—that they called "hotspots"—produced 50 percent of all calls for service to police. David Weisburd, in his American Society of Criminology Sutherland Award address, highlighted that "the single most important empirical observation in the criminology of place is that crime concentrates at very small units of geography" (Weisburd, 2015: 135) and that this discovery is the foundation for crime prevention programs at places, including hotspots policing (Weisburd, 2015). Lee and his colleagues (2017), reporting on their systematic review, conclude that "there is no doubt that crime is concentrated at a small number of places regardless of how crime is measured, the geographic unit of analysis used, or type of crime" (Lee et al., 2017, p. 11). Their research is highly supportive of Sherman's (2007) "power few" argument and their findings support Weisburd's (2015) law of crime concentration in places. Concentration of crime in place should be part of police education, including modules that focus on resource allocation decisions when it is known that *at least* 20 percent of places generate about 50 percent of all problems and about 10 percent of places generate about 80 percent of all problems (Lee et al., 2017). It is also the case that as the size of the place unit declines (that is from community to street block to address to household) crime becomes even *more* concentrated. Lee and his colleagues (2017) explain that the worst 5 percent of street segments account for around 42 percent of the crimes, whereas the worst 5 percent of neighborhoods account for only around 20 percent of crimes.

This concentration of crime in places is fundamental knowledge that should be central in police education curricula. Place theories of crime will help police to better understand why

crime events occur at specific locations: why burglaries occur in one type of place and one type of street, but not another; why drug dealing is likely in one type of apartment block, but not another; why gang activity might be prevalent in one particular public park, but not another. John Eck and his colleagues (2005) explain that "different types of crime have different spatial relationships, dependencies, structures, and distributions, which are the result of different social and spatial processes over an area" (2005, p.67). Building crime analysis skills in policing agencies will better help target police resources to the places and people that are generating most of the problems.

The flip side of the law of crime concentration is that there are large numbers of streets, homes, apartment blocks and parks (up to 95%) in even the worst communities that are relatively crime free. Police need to understand as much about these crime-free areas of some of the most social disadvantaged neighborhoods to be equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary to implement strategies that work to build what is known as "collective efficacy" (Sampson et al., 1997). Evidence is now emerging that there is a clear role for police in working to strengthen microgeographic communities, increasing the willingness of residents to take action and develop collaborative efforts to solve local problems (Weisburd et al., 2020). Section 5 offers some evidence-based initiatives that form the basis of training in the skills needed to work with citizens to solve place-based problems.

The law of crime concentration also applies to the temporal distribution of crime in high-crime places. Ratcliffe (2002) shows that opportunity to commit crime is not evenly distributed spatially or temporally. From a policing resourcing perspective, allocating police to the right places (hotspots) at the right times (hot times) is fundamental good leadership practice that should be part of middle and upper level management education and training. Towers et al.'s (2018) work, looking at the temporal relationship of crime incidents to weather, holidays, school vacations, day-of-week, and paydays, examined 5.7 million reported incidents of crime that occurred in the City of Chicago between 2001 to 2014. They found that robberies, aggravated assaults, batteries, and criminal damage were significantly more prevalent on Saturdays and that assaults and batteries also went down significantly on many holidays (but not New Year's Eve) (Towers et al., 2018). Perhaps most importantly, they found that inclusion of temperature significantly improved the predictive power of the models for aggravated assaults, batteries, and criminal damage but only moderately helped to explain robberies, burglaries, and theft and was not helpful in explaining variations in motor vehicle theft, bogus checks, and "other" crime (including animal/elder/child abuse or neglect, harassment, parole violations, and criminal trespass).

2.3 Targets/Victims

Revictimization (or repeat victimization), where a small percentage of the population suffer large percentages of all criminal victimisation, is well understood in the criminological literature (Farrell, 1995). There are good reasons why police need to think very carefully about reducing repeat victimization. For example, Townsley and his colleagues (2000) show that by preventing repeat incidents of house breaks, the overall burglary rate could be reduced by at least 25 per cent. Section 6 of this report examines the types of policing interventions that should be part of police training curricula for reducing repeat victimization. But to better understand the fundamentals behind repeat victimization, police training should incorporate a module that explains Routine Activity Theory. First articulated by Cohen and Felson (1979), the micro level interpretation of the theory argues that crime emerges when a likely offender converges with a suitable crime target in the absence of a capable guardian. As a theory that helpfully explains the likelihood of crime events occurring, Routine Activity Theory is

perhaps one of just a handful of criminological theories that should be part of the education curriculum at recruit level.

2.4 Crime Concentration Data Matters

Repeat victimization policing (see Section 6) along with hotspots policing, problem-oriented policing, and intelligence-led policing (see Section 5) are all highly data-driven strategies that rely on the work of crime analysts to reduce crime by focusing resources on high crime places, high-risk offenders, and repeat victims (see Matthies & Chiu, 2014). Training police and civilian crime analysts needs to be a fundamental part of police training so that crime analysts are skilled implement data quality controls and use their own police administrative data—augmented with routine feeds of data such as weather, transportation, survey and land use data—so that they can assemble and analyze quality crime data. Indeed, as data linkage becomes more routine, big data more available and the demand for data scientists becomes acute, it is incumbent upon police to develop recruitment and training programs that will position police in the future to harness the power of their own data resources. The following provides a very brief and non-exhaustive summary of the types of data needed for police agencies and crime analysts to have the necessary information to make sound resource allocation decisions based on the law of crime concentration.

Police administrative data includes all information recorded by police agencies on their administrative systems. Police data are the most widely sourced administrative data used to produce crime statistics and includes calls for service, street checks, charges, arrests, property recovered, warrants, crime incidents and offences that have been reported to, detected and recorded by police (see MacDonald, 2002). It is well known, however, that police data have a number of limitations: first, not all crime comes to the attention of police, second, data can be incomplete both with missing records and missing fields, and third, they often contain errors (see Hand, 2018). Having the skills to be able to identify the errors, clean the data and link these data to health, education, main roads, transportation, and housing, to mention a few, will provide well-trained analysts with insights about crime concentrations.

Other administrative data includes all other agency data (such as education, health, housing, public amenities, land parcel, transportation) that can be used by police to either link their own administrative data or create data layers (such as land parcel use of bars and nightclubs, budget motels, schools, banks, movie theatres, convenience stores, gasoline stations) to better understand crime problems. Police agencies should have location identifiers in their records management systems as a foundation part of the crime analyst function and errors and missingness in these other administrative data sources need to be well understood and handled by a skilled analyst.

Self-report measures of criminal behavior include interviews, surveys and questionnaires of people to ask them about undetected criminal behavior. Even with self-reporting of crime, Thornberry and Krohn (2003) demonstrate that there is still a good deal of underreporting. Police agencies or other entities should commission self-report surveys of offending on a routine basis and then police should be trained to use these data to make sound resource allocation decisions.

Household and Victim surveys involve collecting data from households to ascertain prevalence of victimization at a single point in time, perceptions of police and other views of people in the community about crime issues that affect their lives. Shortcomings with household surveys are that people may be unable to recall dates and details about incidents

accurately; they may be reluctant to discuss victimization, particularly domestic violence or sexual assault; and some people may not consider some types of victimization crime or may not consider themselves victims. As with self-report surveys, analysts should routinely collect and use victim surveys to better allocate resources and respond to crime problems and high-risk victims.

3.0 CONCEPTUALIZING POLICE RESPONSES TO PROBLEMS

One of the big challenges facing police leaders is making decisions about allocating scarce resources in an increasingly complex world. From large police organizations to small police agencies, decisions have to be made both at the strategic and tactical level around police service delivery that both achieves public safety and promotes the rule of law (see this NAS report and the chapter on Organizational Policies). Yet it is a rare policing agency that can articulate how much of their human resources are oriented to reactive or proactive policing. Or perhaps how much of their activities are dedicated to partnership (versus police working alone) or focused (versus unfocused) policing. This section does not attempt to specify what proportion of time, activities or resources should be allocated to different types of policing orientations. To my knowledge, no study has ever attempted to offer an ideal type balance of activities and resources. As such, this section argues that police leaders need education to develop business approaches to resource allocations that start with clear conceptualization of different types of approaches in policing. They need to be knowledgeable, receptive and reflective about what approaches they are using (and why), and then have the business acumen to develop highly targeted recruitment and training programs. Strategically, police leaders need to implement curricula throughout their agencies to develop middle manager skills to use knowledge of crime concentration and what works in policing to better shape their resource allocation decisions. The goal is to have agency leaders consciously, not accidentally, balance their resources across different types of proactive/reactive, focused/unfocused policing activities.

The first area of conceptualization is for police leaders to critically differentiate between their agency's reliance on proactive and reactive policing in handling high-risk people, places and target/victims. Weisburd and Majmundar (2018) in the wide-ranging NAS Report on Proactive Policing differentiate proactive from reactive policing in the following way:

> Proactive policing includes all policing strategies that have as one of their goals the prevention or reduction of crime and disorder and that are not reactive in terms of focusing primarily on uncovering ongoing crime or on investigating or responding to crimes once they have occurred. Specifically, the elements of proactivity include an emphasis on prevention, mobilizing resources based on police initiative, and targeting the broader underlying forces at work that may be driving crime and disorder. This contrasts with the standard model of policing, which involves an emphasis on reacting to particular crime events after they have occurred, mobilizing resources based on requests coming from outside the police organization, and focusing on the particulars of a given criminal incident. (Weisburd & Majmundar, 2018, p. 1)

Weisburd and Majmundar (2018) then offer a conceptual table that classifies proactive policing into four types: place-based, which seeks to prevent crime in micro-geographic places (such as hotspots policing and predictive policing); problem-solving, which aims to identify and resolve recurring problems (including policing initiatives such as problem-oriented and third party partnership policing); person-focused, which prevents and deters

crimes committed by known offenders (such as a focussed deterrence and repeat offender programs); and community-based, which aims to foster community collaboration with police (such as community-oriented policing and broken windows policing). This conceptualization gives police leaders a knowledge framework to explore how much of their resources are dedicated to these types of proactive activities. Yet it is silent on how police leaders should balance their reactive activities of policing.

An earlier place-based classification of interventions by Weisburd and Eck (2004) offers an alternative conceptualization of police tactical and strategic initiatives that is adapted and instructive for this report. Table 1 presents an adaptation of the Weisburd and Eck (2004) framework.

Table 1: Conceptual Model of Policing

DIVERSITY OF APPROACHES	POLICING ACTIVITIES	
Wide Array Of Partners	Community-wide Partnerships	Partnership & Problem-oriented policing
Mostly Law Enforcement	Standard Model	Repeat Offenders Hot Spots
	Low Level of Focus	*High Level of Focus*

Source: Adapted from Weisburd and Eck, 2004

As this table shows, policing activities can be conceptualized across two dimensions: level of focus (low to high) and diversity of approaches (mostly law enforcement to wide array of partners and approaches). The standard model of policing falls in the lower left quadrant, including policing interventions that are solely delivered by police that lack a focus on the power few people, places and victims. Equipped with the knowledge that the standard model of policing is not effective in preventing or controlling crime problems, police leaders need to have the knowledge and skills to calculate how much of their resources are being allocated to these types of activities, why and where they are relying on standard model approaches, and what they would need to do to lead their agencies (or organizational units) into pivoting towards interventions that are in the other three quadrants.

This conceptual model is also helpful for police leaders to consider how much of their resources are being allocated to activities that involve partners and other agencies, such as those that fall into the two upper quadrants. With an increasingly complex world, police leaders will need to be better equipped with the skills to work with partners and therefore shift resources and develop training of police to be effective in their work to prevent, control and respond to complex crime problems. The dependencies of police on external partners emerges as a significant theme in this report (see Section 7).

4.0 A FOCUS ON HIGH RISK PEOPLE/GROUPS

This section examines what the police need to know and the skills they need to develop in responding to high risk people and groups. Drawing on high quality evaluation evidence, I identify the basic curriculum components for recruit and middle management education and training in order to increase the effectiveness of frontline policing to reduce crime and uphold

rule of law. I focus on interventions that target high risk offenders, young offenders, domestic violence perpetrators, drug offenders and organized crime groups. The range of approaches covered is not meant to be exhaustive of all approaches used by police to target high risk people or groups. Rather, it is a selection of approaches that offer some insight into how criminological theories (such as deterrence theory, see Nagin, 2013) need to be understood to rationalize different policing approaches, the way material should be presented in recruit and middle management training curriculum, and what type of data would need collected to maximize the intervention effectiveness.

Note: I do not cover training in relation to police use of force because this is a topic for another chapter of this NAS report that asks: *What policies and practices for police use of force are effective in promoting the rule of law and protecting the population (including officers themselves)? What is known about effective practices for implementing those policies and practices in recruitment, training, and internal affairs?*

4.1 High Risk People/Groups Curriculum Scope

To address high risk people, police education should cover focused deterrence (Braga, 2008; Braga & Dusseault, 2018) and repeat offender programs (ROP) (Abrahamse et al., 1991; Martin & Sherman, 1986). The proactive case management approach of ROP (or high-risk offender units) is a worthwhile component to be included in detective training. This would require shifting the current emphasis of detective training on the "craft" of reactive investigations following an incident (Bacon, 2016; Gottschalk et al., 2009) to using a range of existing detectives skills to proactively identify, guide decision-making and then target high risk offenders. Police training in focused deterrence will need to build the skills and capacity of police to work in partnership with other law enforcement agencies, particularly in the planning stages of focused deterrence. Police will also need to learn how to foster and sustain partnerships with social services and community resources (Mazerolle, 2014). Critical to implementing focused deterrence programs will be creating the capacity in policing to communicate with high risk offenders/groups who are the target of the intervention in an effective and procedurally just manner.

Police education needs to be very careful in the way content is communicated for two specific types of interventions that target high risk people: targeted bail checks (Yeong, 2021) and sting operations (Newman, 2007). Given the short-term benefits of sting operations and the potential to run counter to the rule of law, police training needs to build in some checks and balances around the skills development around sting interventions. Similarly, police education needs to emphasize the potential negative backfire effects of targeted bail checks, such as an increase in the risk of imprisonment for young people and people of color (Yeong, 2021). As such, training in bail check interventions must cultivate the skills in police so that they approach bail checks with great caution and in a procedurally just manner, especially when targeting young people and people of color.

When targeting young offenders, police training should include a module on diversion of young people (see Wilson et al., 2018) to build the skills necessary so that police optimize diversion opportunities to reduce youth offending. This needs to be coupled with a sound education to develop a shared understanding of why diversion makes good crime prevention sense, drawing from research, such as that presented by Moffitt (2003), to reduce reoffending of young people by steering youth away from being "snared" in the criminal justice system. Police training in the application of diversion programs for adult drug offenders (Hayhurst et al., 2019; Payne et al., 2008) underpins more generally how the concepts of "net widening"

(Decker, 1985) and "snares" in the criminal justice system need to be well understood by police. Therefore, to better situate the practice in criminological theory, police education on diversion (both adult and young people) should focus on the broader individual and societal benefits of diversion.

Police education needs to be explicit about some types of interventions—like youth curfews (Wilson et al., 2016)—that do not work to equip police with knowledge to stop wastage of scarce police resources. At the same time, where the police are required to enforce curfew laws, police training needs to include the development of skills in procedural justice policing (see Antrobus et al., 2019). Another popular intervention addressing youth crime is School Resource Officers (SROs) (Na & Gottfredson, 2013), yet Homer and Fisher (2020) find Black students are more likely arrested by SROs than White and Hispanic students. As an alternative to SRO programs, Mazerolle, Bennett and colleagues (2019) and Homer and Fisher (2020) show some promise in reducing youth offending in programs where police are trained to work in partnership with schools to implement family treatment groups in combination with case management. These types of programs benefit the students involved and also their families (Homer & Fisher, 2020; Mazerolle, Bennett et al., 2019) and should be a central part of police training to address youth crime issues. The training, however, requires the development of some special skills: police need to develop the skills to work cooperatively with other entities and they need to develop good communication skills.

One controversial practice that should be part of the education and training curriculum of police—yet not promoted as an effective approach—is the class of police powers that enable police to stop and search (or stop, question, frisk: SQF). Not only are they controversial from an effectiveness perspective (MacDonald et al., 2016; Meares, 2014; Weisburd & Majmundar, 2018; White et al., 2016) but they also have the potential for intrusiveness, harassment, police abuse, and racial disparity (Miller et al., 2008; Tiratelli et al., 2018). Police education on the basic principles of the rule of law needs to use the stop and frisk tactic in the curriculum to build knowledge of fair policing. Training programs need to include a module in the curriculum that develops the skills in police officers so they implement very clear boundaries and procedurally fair practices around the proactive use of stops by police. At the core of this training must be the presentation of a wide range of scenarios around what probable cause looks like in the field. Given the capacity of stops to undermine citizen perceptions of police legitimacy, and snare young people and people of color into the criminal justice system, training around when, why, how, where and to whom the stops are fairly applied must be central in all police training.

Another controversial practice are police raids: a type of search involving forcible entry that may or may not involve a no-knock warrant (Council on Criminal Justice, 2021; Sherman et al., 1995). Given the limited benefits of raids (Phillips et al., 2016), coupled with the fear that raids cause in the community, police training needs to include in the curriculum skill development to ensure the execution of fair and legal search warrants. Similarly, surveillance in policing is one of the most important areas for police training such that it is administered in accordance with the rule of law and in such a way that the evidence gathered during surveillance is admissible in criminal cases.

Police training is needed that specifically builds skills around targeting high risk Domestic and Family Violence (DFV) offenders. While police training must be aligned with the laws of a jurisdiction pertaining to DFV, the training curriculum needs to be clear about the harms to victims that can be caused through mandatory arrest of DFV offenders (Sherman & Berk,

1984; Sherman & Harris, 2015; Xie & Lynch, 2017). Police will also need training in the law and application of protection orders (known variously as restraining orders, apprehended violence orders and family violence orders) and the fact that "protection orders are associated with a small but significant overall reduction in severe domestic violence re-victimisation … [yet they are less effective in cases of] less severe and non-physical forms of re-victimisation" (Dowling, Morgan, Hulme et al., 2018, p. 13). Florence Neyroud's (2018) systematic narrative review of 31 studies to explore the level of suicidal ideation within perpetrators of domestic homicide, mass shooting and suicide terrorism provides some insights that might be instructive in police curriculums to help police be more targeted in their DV risk assessments and monitoring of protection orders. Neyroud (2018) found that suicide ideation is three times more prevalent in domestic homicide perpetrators than the general population and previous suicide attempts are seven times higher in domestic violence perpetrators than in the general population (Neyroud, 2018, pp. 55–56). As such, police training should be implemented so that police have the skills to administer validated risk assessments (see for example Turner et al., 2019) and also apply a screening set of questions at the same time as protection orders are processed in order to help police better monitor the "power few" (Sherman, 2007) who are most at risk for harming their partner or families.

The mixed results of proactive arrests for high risk drug offenders (Eggins, Hine, Higginson et al., 2020) suggest that police need training to limit this type of tactic, because there appears no clear benefit of the tactic, at least with the available evidence pertaining to drug offenders. By contrast, it is worth training officers to have the necessary skills to target, investigate and conduct drug seizures. With seizures targeting high risk places (rather than high risk people), it may be possible to reduce the harms to retail/street drug users. With the increase in drug availability in regional and rural areas (see Schalkoff et al., 2020), this type of place targeting of seizures with the intent of reducing the harms to retail users should form a part of skills training.

In building the education and skills necessary to target high risk organizations and groups (such as drug distribution, human trafficking, money laundering, terrorism, gun markets and child exploitation) police need to be trained in working with and utilizing the highly technical skills (such as forensic accounting, cyber and information technology expertise) available in multi-agency partnerships (see Mazerolle et al., 2021). Mazerolle and colleague's (2021) review found that it is important for police to take time to build trust and shared goals among partners, not overburden staff with administrative tasks, build in targeted and strong privacy provisions for intelligence sharing, and provide access to ongoing support and training for multi-agency partners. As such, police training curricula need to develop skills in techniques of setting up and running multi-agency partnerships and building the capacities to understand and structure privacy provisions around sharing of intelligence data.

4.2 Evidence on Training Police to Respond to High Risk People/Groups

Bennett (2020) identified 15 studies (7 RCTs and 8 quasi-experimental studies) that were impact evaluations of training for police tactical responses to high risk offenders, including active shooter training and training in crime scene investigations. Some of the studies included in Bennett's (2020) review demonstrate the importance of recruit training using virtual and simulated conditions to help foster skills and confidence in responding to dangerous situations.

Bennett (2020) identified an additional two RCTs within the Global Policing Database that examined the effectiveness of general training (as opposed to tactical training) for police

responding to high risk people (apart from DFV perpetrators). The first study by Jacquin et al. (2008) involved police participants randomly allocated to receive educational material on serial sexual killers or serial arsonists. The second study by Jacquin et al. (2008) trained all participants in general offender profiling and then trained half in inductive reasoning and half in deductive reasoning approaches. Jacquin et al. (2008) concluded that the inductive training program enhanced the profiling skills of participants, but only regarding physical characteristics. The deductive training program did not impact profile accuracy.

When looking specifically at the efficacy of training police in responding to domestic violence perpetrators, Smithey, Green, and Giacomazzi (2004) compared officers with no specific training to those who received training under the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project Training Model for Law Enforcement Response and assessed the impact of the training model on the time spent at DFV incidents with victims, the number of cases accepted for prosecution, and the number of cases resulting in convictions. They concluded that there was no significant effect of the training on these outcome measures: trained and untrained officers all spent an average of 30 minutes at incidents and the rate of case acceptance and conviction was the same between trained and untrained officers (Smithey et al., 2004).

4.3 Data to Assess Effectiveness in Police Responding to High Risk People/Groups

In Part 2 of this report I described the types of information that are needed to understand offending patterns and identify those people who are at high risk of being dangerous and persistent offenders. I reported that the types of information needed by police to help identify high-risk offenders would include factors such as age of first offence, early neurodevelopmental, and family adversity risk factors. Forecasting models, such as the one described by Berk and his colleagues (2009), use statistical learning techniques to predict future seriousness. The models presented by Berk and colleagues (2009) specifically focused on forecasting the likelihood of probation and parolees being "charged with homicide or attempted homicide within 2 years of beginning community supervision" (2009, p. 191). These models could incorporate other risk factors (such as early neurodevelopmental and family adversity risk factors) to predict other types of offending.

Similarly, Berk and Sorenson (2020) report research aimed at using stochastic gradient boosting, a genetic algorithm inspired by natural selection, and agglomerative clustering method to learn about the attributes of very-high-risk intimate partner violence (IPV) perpetrators and the circumstances associated with their IPV incidents reported to the police. Forging partnerships with university-based statisticians, and conducting specialized recruiting and/or training in police departments of analysts who have the level of statistical expertise to conduct this level of sophisticated forecasting, will be essential for any modern police agency in their efforts to deploy scare police resources to target those offenders likely to generate most harm.

In terms of data needed specifically for high risk domestic violence perpetrators, the Israeli Spouse Violence Risk Assessment Inventory (SVRA-I) offers some insights into the types of data that would be needed to identify high risk DFV perpetrators (Dayan et al., 2013). The tool comprises 45 risk signs for DFV perpetrators, classified as assault, threats, weapons, perpetrator symptoms, and perpetrator behavior toward the victim, which correctly predicted that perpetrators in the critical/high risk group were significantly more likely to reoffend than those classified as moderate (Dayan et al., 2013). Neyroud's (2018) review, which identified suicide ideation as a significant predictor for domestic homicides (as well as mass shootings

and suicide terrorism) could be added to risk assessment tools such as the SVRA-I. One way to operationalize data collection about suicide ideation among domestic violence perpetrators would be to require a series of suicide ideation screening questions as part of the risk assessment process for setting up protection orders. Using the power few approach (Sherman, 2007), those domestic violence perpetrators with protection orders and scoring high on suicide ideation would receive heightened levels of monitoring by police.

Another source of routine data collection and analysis, particularly for domestic violence perpetrators, could come from body worn cameras (BWCs). While Lum and her colleagues (2020) found in their systematic review of police BWCs that "the use of BWCs does not have consistent or significant effects on officers' use of force, arrest activities, proactive or self-initiated activities, or other measured behaviors" (2020, p. 2), they may provide useful data for the collection of evidence to assist in targeting high risk domestic violence perpetrators, with the goal to better protect victims of domestic violence.

5.0 A FOCUS ON CRIME-PRONE PLACES

This section presents the basic components of recruit and middle management training that need to be included to increase the effectiveness of frontline policing to reduce crime in high risk places. Rather than reiterate the scope of highly effective place-oriented interventions that have been previously described in the NAS proactive policing report (Weisburd & Majmundar, 2018), I focus this section of the lessons that should be drawn about education and training for policing that is focused on places. I examine the types of training and data needed for police to focus on high risk micro-geographic places, disengaged communities, places that attract mass gatherings and protests as well as policing online communities.

I note that this NAS report will include a dedicated chapter focusing on: *What policing practices build community trust and legitimacy in countries with low-to-moderate criminal justice sector capacity?* As such, I will not provide an extensive section in this report on the topic of Legitimacy Policing but rather emphasize the extensive body of research, and importance of training police in the wide range of related topics such as implicit bias (Fridell & Lim, 2016) and procedural justice (Mazerolle et al., 2013; Tyler, 2003), at all levels of the organization.

5.1 High Risk Places Curriculum Scope

Weisburd and Majmundar (2018) describe proactive tactics that are typically focused on micro places (but also at times on problem communities, problem people and high-risk victims). These include tactics such as hotspots policing, problem-oriented policing, third party policing, intelligence-led policing, broken windows policing, civil remedies, and predictive policing. These are all interventions that require a high degree of sophistication in crime analysis in order to identify and predict geospatial areas with an increased probability of criminal activity (Meijer & Wessels, 2019). Previously, I have mentioned the importance of training of crime analysts in policing. There is already an enormous number of outstanding crime analysis training materials (for example, Boba, 2001) and training programs and university courses established across the world. It would be beneficial, however, to develop a national (and perhaps international) certification for programs to ensure quality training, create capacities within police agencies to fund officers to be certified properly as crime analysts, and support existing professional networks of crime analysis to facilitate crime analysis as a valued career path in all police agencies.

Ratcliffe (2016) also makes some important points about intelligence-led policing (ILP), explaining that ILP is not a tactic but rather "a leadership model that allows police commanders to understand crime problems and offending patterns in a more strategic manner, and thus make more informed decisions to combat criminality" (2016, p. 157). This suggests that police leadership training needs to include a focus on ILP at the strategic rather than tactical level.

Entertainment precincts is a term used in the United Kingdom and across Australia to describe geographically defined areas that attract large numbers of people at particular times to drink, dance, and to watch professional sports and/or performing arts. Eggins, Hine, Dunne and colleagues (2020) conducted a rapid review that examined policing approaches in entertainment precincts, specifically focusing on reducing alcohol-related harms. From that review I suggest that police training for those officers responsible for geographic areas that include entertainment precincts should include the following elements: methods for interacting with intoxicated and violent civilians, methods for diffusing fights, methods for de-escalation of volatile incidents, and effective approaches to building positive working relationships with business owners.

When targeting high risk places, a central part of police work is working in partnership with other agencies to regulate, control and prevent crime (Mazerolle & Ransley, 2006). Police need training, therefore, in ways to foster good working relationships with property owners, building inspectors, environmental regulators, education department representatives, community groups, insurance companies, business leaders, and local government personnel.

A large part of police organizations and police work is in road policing focusing on high risk accident places. Road policing includes a number of approaches and the adoption of different types of technologies. The range of interventions that police need training in include Random Breath Testing (RBT for alcohol), Random Drug Testing, seat belt crackdowns, sobriety stops, speed enforcement, crackdowns to reduce hooning, red light cameras to target running of red lights and roadblocks to address problems such as gun violence. Mazerolle, Eggins and colleagues (2019) review of road policing from the GPD identified 138 eligible studies (including 12 RCTs, 9 systematic reviews and 117 robust quasi-experimental evaluations of different road policing initiatives. They concluded that "regardless of whether or not an individual is arrested, police traffic stops can reduce the likelihood of future alcohol impaired driving behaviours. Increasing targeted police patrols has a generally beneficial impact on traffic fatalities and alcohol-related crashes" (Mazerolle, Eggins et al., 2019, p. 3). Bates and her colleagues (2012) also concluded that automated methods tend to be effective in localized, site-specific and targeted police interventions. Targeting interventions to the micro places during the high-risk times that generate the most road trauma (as measured by death and serious injury) requires leadership and middle management education and training in the power few and the law of crime concentration. As with many of the place-oriented training modules, police will need training in developing the expertise in crime analysis to provide the necessary information for resource allocation in high harm places and at high harm times.

The frequency and potential volatility of protests and mass gatherings require effective police training to develop the skills and techniques necessary for police to work with organizers and respond appropriately. The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) (2018) report describes the range of highly place-focused gatherings that would fall into this area of police training curricula, including planned rallies, spontaneous crowds, civil disturbances, peaceful demonstrations, political protests arising from international or national summits and

conferences, sports events, rock concerts, festivals, as well as large-scale celebratory gatherings. In the US, PERF (2018) argue that police training should include a module on the policing implications of the First Amendment so that police are equipped with the knowledge to understand the constitutional protections afforded to peaceful demonstrators, including the rights to free speech and peaceful assembly, "the differences between constitutionally protected activity and criminal acts; rules for maintaining officers' displayed name or badge number when wearing civil disturbance gear; agency policies on the use of hard protective gear and equipment vs. soft gear during mass demonstrations." (PERF, 2018, p. 29). They note that some agencies have existing training programs delivered in partnership with civil liberties groups (PERF, 2018), where the goal is to create and sustain positive police community relations (Gorringe et al., 2012). Indeed, Gorringe and colleagues (2012) suggest police training in crowd control should include the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM), which teaches skills in avoiding indiscriminate use of force, in meeting the legitimate aims of crowd members, and in using regular and positive communication. The theme of multi-agency cooperation and joint training also emerges in relation to crowd control. For example, the PERF (2018) report suggests that police "training together can help agencies achieve a coordinated response with all agencies in agreement about tactics and rules of engagement. Interagency training can also serve as a training of trainers and allow agencies with advanced skills (in areas such as mobile field force) to share their knowledge" (2018, p. 34).

When we think about police training to target high risk places (including micro geographic places and communities), it is also incumbent on police to consider the problematic online communities, such as those communities that are set up to transmit child exploitation material (CEM), and the wide range of cyber scams. Eggins and her colleagues' (2021) systematic review of policing online CEM finds that "the evidence suggests that training in the area of CEM can have a variable impact on police arrest and investigative practices, and a positive impact on police practitioners' knowledge of national and international legislation. Other promising approaches include having a specialised policing taskforce to increase CEM arrests and investigations, strategically using polygraph to increase offender disclosures, and using automated software to identify CEM" (Eggins et al., 2021, p. 12; see also Davidson et al., 2020).

5.2 Evidence on Training Police in Responding to High Risk Places

Bennett's (2020) rapid review of training programs drawn from the Global Policing Database identified one experiment on a training program of police that sought to increase the capacity of police to undertake geographic profiling. Bennell et al. (2007) examined whether police officers can predict the location of serial offenders based on the number of crimes and topographical detail. The training intervention was implemented in the United Kingdom, focusing on building skills in the decay heuristic to predict the home location of serial offenders to their crimes. The authors concluded that the experimental participants made significant improvements in their predictive accuracy when trained in geographic profiling techniques (Bennell et al., 2007).

Bennett (2020) also identified four studies (one RCT and three quasi-experimental studies) that evaluated police training around community engagement. The RCT, reported in two documents (Graziano, 2007; Graziano et al., 2014), assessed the impact of the Chicago Internet Project (CIP), which conducted training to facilitate a police–community partnership via monthly meetings to encourage problem-solving activities. The results showed that more citizens and police from the beats in the training experimental condition were more likely to

communicate ideas for solutions to community problems than those in the experimental condition (Graziano et al., 2014).

There have also been several robust evaluations of procedural justice training programs (see also this NAS report chapter dedicated to legitimacy policing), including Skogan et al. (2015), who evaluated a large organizational change strategy. They found that the training increased officer affirmation of the four principles of procedural justice (Skogan et al., 2015). Rosenbaum and Lawrence (2017) evaluated the effectiveness of the Quality Interaction Program on recruits' behaviors (including respectfulness towards community members, procedural justice during traffic stops, communication) during simulated policing scenarios and found that the training was effective, especially for interactions with young people. Similarly, Wheller and his colleagues' (2013) evaluation of the Greater Manchester procedural justice training experiment found that officers in the experimental group had better attitudes to delivering quality of service, had more empathy and rapport with victims, and understood the importance of fair decision making (p. 24). Ian Thompson's (2016) experimental evaluation of the impact of procedural justice training on first year constables found that those officers who received the training were assessed as more procedurally just in the field under observation than those who did not receive the training. Platz and her colleagues (2017) conducted an experimental evaluation of a training program that sought to assess the impact of a values education program on recruit attitudes toward police workplace diversity and equality. They found that the program served as a buffer against an academy culture that eroded support of diversity over time (Platz et al., 2017).

Managing protests is an area of police training where Herold (2021) has identified very little evaluation evidence, pointing out some deficits in mass demonstration management and police use of force practices published earlier by the Police Executive Research Forum (2014). Yet training is central for protecting public safety during crowd events. The primer by the US Department of Justice (2013) suggests that the best way to start building the necessary skills is to educate staff on the expected roles, responsibilities, and performance when participating in these types of events, followed by simulated exercises that "allow personnel from various agencies to test the efficacy of the operational plan, to build collaborative relationships, and to ensure that personnel are aware of their roles and responsibilities" (US Department of Justice, 2013, p. 81).

5.3 Data to Assess Effectiveness in Police Responding to High Risk Places

Ratcliffe argues that there is a need for evaluation skills being developed in police agencies so that police have the skills necessary to assess the value of interventions not just targeting high risk places, but all types of police interventions. He states:

> a high level of analytical dexterity is necessary to conduct robust and rigorous quantitative evaluations of crime reduction operations, using skills that are more commonly found in academic departments than police departments. These methods are usually taught in advanced postgraduate classes in criminal justice and criminology (if taught at all), and they require specialised software. Thus, while everyone agrees that the ability to do advanced types of evaluation analysis should be vested within police agencies, the practicality of getting that skill level into departments remains a challenge. This is a challenge to which the police service must rise, and academia must assist. (Ratcliffe, 2016, p. 174)

6.0 A FOCUS ON PROTECTING VICTIMS

This section examines what the police need to know about protecting highly vulnerable victims. It draws on high quality evaluation evidence that should shape the basic curricula of recruit and middle management training in order to increase the effectiveness of frontline policing to reduce repeat victimization and uphold the rule of law. I focus on evidence that will inform police education and training to better respond to domestic violence, sexual assault, child, elderly people, people with disabilities and those with mental health illnesses.

6.1 Protecting Victims Curriculum Scope

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2021) estimates that approximately 1 in 4 women and 1 in 7 men will experience physical violence by the intimate partner at some point in their lifetimes (see also Devries et al., 2013). Therefore, the police hold a critical role in protecting victims of domestic violence. Dowling, Morgan, Boyd and Voce's (2018) systematic review of policing domestic violence found little evidence on the relative effectiveness of specific types of training or different training practices in domestic violence. The evidence that does exist seems to suggest that specialized training in domestic violence helps to improve officers' empathy with victims, understanding of the severity of domestic violence, and recognition of the need for police to ensure victims' safety (Dowling, Morgan, Boyd, & Voce, 2018). However, Eileen Luna-Firebaugh (2002) found evidence of a gradual reversion to pre-training attitudes over time, suggesting that the positive influences of training wears off without reinforcement.

One of the police interventions that should be part of police training to protect victims of domestic violence includes the second responder model. This is victim-focused approach where a police officer and/or victim advocate (such as a social worker) makes face-to-face contact with victims soon after an initial police response to a DFV-related incident (Davis et al., 2008). Evidence suggests that victims are most open to help and crime prevention strategies immediately following victimization (Davis et al., 2008). The United Kingdom has also trialled second responder programs (see Koppensteiner et al., 2017), finding that the intervention led to a significant increase in victim satisfaction with police services and a greater willingness to report future incidents to police.

Police working as a partner in multi-agency responses is again a theme in best practice approaches, this time directed toward protecting victims of DFV. One such partnership includes the Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACs) that aim to reduce harm to high-risk domestic violence victims (Robinson, 2006). Representatives from various agencies contribute information during the MARACs, producing a positive, measurable impact in victims' lives (Robinson, 2006). Similarly, Breckenridge and colleagues (2016) evaluated integrated responses to DFV, identifying some common benefits such as "a broader range of services that are offered beyond the initial crisis period, improvement of the professional knowledge base and service provider relationships, facilitation of responsive and prompt decision-making, increased cross-program or agency collaboration on case management, and provision of multiple entry points for clients to access support" (2016, p. 3). In Section 7 I identify police training in multi-agency partnerships as an important, cross-cutting theme that is needed in police training curricula.

Child victims are a high priority area for police in their efforts to protect vulnerable people. Education in understanding the negative life consequences for children who are harmed is a fundamental part of what I have described in Section 2 of this report. Police need the

grounding in criminological theories, and one high priority area for education is in preventing harm to children and the potential for intergenerational transmission of crime. Eggins, Mazerolle and colleagues (2020) in their rapid review of criminal justice responses to child abuse found that "collaboration between child victim advocates, law enforcement and multi-disciplinary teams in child sexual abuse investigations may benefit case outcomes by increasing the satisfaction in non-offending caregivers of victims and the likelihood of successfully prosecuting child sex offenders" (2020, p. 28). Again, the dominant theme of cross-agency collaboration demands attention in police training to be focused on the processes and practices of working across agencies.

Another skill that cuts across many aspects of policing is interviewing. Martine Powell (2013) offers a range of insights into police interview training concluding that "good questioning comes from specialised training programs incorporating ongoing spaced practice exercises, exemplars of best practice, expert instruction and feedback" (2013, p. 713). These skills are central for police to develop because research finds that effective interviewing of victims can "increase the volume of information a complainant provides and has the potential to increase the credibility of this evidence" (Bull, 2014, p.1). This is particularly the case for sexual assault victims (Westera et al., 2019).

Livingston (2016) conducted a systematic review to estimate the rates of police contacts with people mental disorders, including calls for service and arrests. He identified 85 studies, finding that one in four people with a mental disorder has a history of police arrest and that one in 100 police dispatches to calls for service involves people with mental disorders (Livingston, 2016). With this high prevalence of police contact with people with mental disorders, it is critical that police receive training in being able to recognize and assess people that they encounter who may be experiencing some type of mental disorder. Kane, Evans and Shokraneh (2018) conducted a systematic review to explore commonly used mental health interventions in policing including Crisis Intervention Teams (CIT), which included mental health specialist staff working alongside police, liaison and diversion strategies, and street triage. They found that a mix of outcomes for liaison and diversion strategies, quick and appropriate responses from street triage teams, and wide variability in the application of CIT, with generally favorable results. Kane and his colleagues (2018) concluded that there is a clear need for greater training of evidence based practices that work to support police in their efforts to better understand and respond to people with mental illnesses that they encounter in the field.

Similar issues are relevant for policing people with disabilities. Morgan (2021) in her article about policing under disability law, asserts that disabled people have disproportionately high level of exposure to police violence (2021, p. 9) and are more likely to be the target of zero tolerance policing interventions (2021, p. 21). Alyssa Wright (2018) examined Californian police training practices, regulations, and officer experiences in dealing with people with disabilities, reporting that just six hours were spent on disability and mental health-related training. Lew and her colleagues (2014) describe how these six hours of instruction cover topics such as understanding and identifying various types of disabilities, learning state and federal disability laws, and involuntary commitment processes. Wright (2018) argues that training police to better serve people with disabilities needs to include up-to-date definitions and terminology, cultural sensitivity training, effective methods of de-escalation and problem-solving, as well as regular refresher courses.

In developing police training programs to better respond to elderly people as potential victims, Rachel Tuffin and her colleagues (2006) describe how the UK National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) could reduce perceptions of antisocial behaviour and increase public confidence in policing and feelings of safety. While the NRPP was designed for all people in the community, it was particularly well suited for elderly victims or elderly people who felt vulnerable in their community.

6.2 Evidence on Training Police to Protect High Risk Victims

Bennett (2020) identified a total of 17 studies (reported in 18 documents) as eligible impact evaluations of training for police interactions with people with mental health problems. In one study, Taheri's (2016) meta-analysis showed that CIT trained officers transported more mentally ill persons to community-based services rather than arresting them compared to untrained officers. Similarly, Scantlebury and colleagues (2017) found that the training program had a positive effect on how the police perceived and recorded incidents involving people displaying mental health problems. Teagardin (2011) and colleagues (2012) found that police trained in being able to recognize persons with Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) had more confidence interacting with persons with ASD.

Bennett (2020) identified three RCTs that tested training regimes in investigative interviewing: trained officers were more likely to conduct interviews in line with the training than untrained officers (Hartwig et al., 2006), trained interviewers used one or more of the tactics learnt in training (Sooniste et al., 2017) and trained police were more effective at increasing the use of open-ended questions than untrained police (Powell et al., 2008).

In the area of domestic and family violence, Huisman, Martinez and Wilson's (2005) case study of a domestic violence training program notes that the non-police trainers were to some extent perceived by police as lacking credibility. Bennett (2020) concludes that there is a significant gap in the experimental policing research regarding RCTs around training police officers to respond to domestic and family violence and sexual crimes. The quasi-experimental studies included in Bennett's (2020) rapid review of police training found that the interventions evaluated were focused on training around interacting with victims of sexual assault and rape (including children) and outcomes relating to police behaviors and knowledge, as well as perceptions of victims and sexual crimes. Given the amount of harm that can be experienced by vulnerable people, like child victims, victims of sexual assault and victims of domestic abuse, robust evaluations of police training programs in these areas should be a high priority investment by police agencies.

6.3 Data to Assess Effectiveness in Police Protecting Vulnerable People

Data linkage and communication across government agencies and service providers are critical for police to be able to identify those people who have multiple contacts with different services and are likely to be people most at risk of victimization. Yet, despite huge advances in data gathering and information systems, there remains a reluctance to link administrative data or to create systems that are fully integrated and capable of identifying multiple touch points of people coming into contact with police and other agencies, such as child protection, housing, disability services and health. Fusion centers have been in action for many years and used to share information around homeland security issues. Yet similar efforts have not been the norm for sharing data about our most vulnerable people in society. A related data need is for developing more robust and accurate case tracking systems, particularly for vulnerable people.

7.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This report has focused on the content of police education and training curricula to create the core knowledge and skills needed to promote the rule of law and effectively protect the population. I began this report by arguing that a fundamental basis to police education is for police to learn how to target resources to identify and respond to high risk people and groups, problematic places, and victims who are most at risk. I highlighted some data needs that would facilitate police better responding to high risk people, places and vulnerable victims and I identified different studies that have evaluated police training programs using robust evaluation methods. I also offered a framework for categorizing different approaches to policing to teach police leaders how to consider resource allocations. I note the dearth of evidence generated from low and middle income countries that inform my summation of training content and data needs. This is a key concern and creates important challenges for translating the ideal content of training into countries that are grappling with the very basics of lawful enforcement. Overall, I offer five concluding remarks.

First, I began the report with plea for basic criminological theory to underpin all recruit and middle management education, drawing from a shared conceptual model of policing interventions that would guide leaders to more strategically allocate their scarce resources. I find it quite remarkable that police education is largely devoid of using criminological theory to explain why different policing interventions are used and why they might (or might work) to better respond to crime problems. Criminological theory helps police to understand the mechanisms that create crime problems and offers insight into how interventions might disrupt the conditions that create crime opportunities. Educating the next generation of police, therefore, needs to foster intellectual curiosity that comes, I argue, from a fundamental understanding of theories that help to explain the where, why, how, who and what of crime problems. The importance of theory underpinning police training is relevant not just for developed countries, but also those low and middle income countries.

Second, several cross-cutting themes have emerged as being universally important for police education and training. These include crime analysis, working in multi-agency teams, and foundational communication skills. I have argued that recruiting people with sound analytic skills, training police and civilian staff members in sophisticated methods to identify the "power few" and partnering with academics with specialist skills in data analysis (including identifying data deficits and data cleaning) and evaluation methods, forecasting and predictive modeling will create the necessary capacity to address crime problems and police resource allocation decisions into the future. I also identified the range of different problems—such as terrorist groups, human trafficking networks, DFV victims, victims with mental health problems or disabilities—that are best targeted using multi-agency teams. Rather than assume that police have the knowledge and skills to work well in these teams, training in techniques for working in complex teams is needed and will likely lead to more effective outcomes. Similarly, good communication skills underpin virtually all police activities. Some of these communication skills are taught in existing training modules (such as procedural justice training and specialist hostage negotiation training) but would be well served as foundational at all levels of police training. The quality of the teaching and training staff is an obvious starting point to ensure the delivery of curriculum as intended. This requires careful consideration of training and education staff recruitment and the promotion structures within the organization to both retain quality staff and bring in outside experts where needed.

Third, I have purposely not ventured into describing the suite of laws that police need to learn and be constantly updated on. These laws differ across jurisdictions and across different types of political systems in the world. My argument has been focused on context and the manner that the laws are applied to accomplish effective police practice. As agents that enforce laws, police will at times be called upon to enforce laws that, when applied by police, do not work to control crime or, at worst, can cause harm. I have noted some of these interventions in this report such as targeted bail checks, raids, mandatory arrest for domestic violence and SQF. We know that when some police powers are used, they fail to accomplish the goals of reducing harms. Yet if police understand the evidence about what works (and what doesn't), if they have a sound understanding of criminological theory and the mechanisms that cause crime problems, then police have a better chance of using their discretion and police powers in ways that are fair and effective.

Fourth, I noted the small number of robust evaluations that have been conducted to test the efficacy of training programs. Bennett's (2020) review of 105 eligible evaluation studies in the Global Policing Database comprised just 29 RCTs, two systematic reviews and/or meta-analyses, and 74 robust quasi-experiments, with none in this corpus of studies from Latin America. Given the extensive cost of training, it is curious as to why so few training programs have been evaluated using robust methods.

Finally, if policing is going to move into a profession that values evidence as the foundation that guides police policy, practice and training, it is incumbent upon police to regularly refresh curricula and to ensure that police educators and trainers are equipped with the latest scientific discoveries. What might be the foundations for education and training in 2021 might change or be refined over time. Science does not sit still, and nor should the education and training of police in the future.

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