



The British Psychological Society



### MAKING THE CASE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

No. 4 CRIME

#### MAKING THE CASE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

### Foreword

Crime is always in the news, and how to control it is a matter of intense political and public debate. Even so, many people are poorly informed about crime and justice. The issues are complex; measuring crime is far from simple because many crimes go unreported and unrecorded; keeping track of people's 'criminal careers' is bedevilled by the obvious fact that crime is a covert activity. Finding out what works in reducing crime – and what doesn't – requires careful and thorough research. And any balanced strategy to control crime needs to be underpinned by a proper understanding of the underlying social, cultural and economic causes of crime. This is because social justice and criminal justice are inevitably intertwined: it is hard to envisage a fair system of justice in an unfair society.

Social science research has made a major contribution to knowledge about crime and justice and we have a much better grasp of crime trends, the causes of crime and its prevention than we did 25 years ago. It is sometimes an uphill battle to make the voice of dispassionate research heard above the clamour of populist debate about law and order. But it is essential that politicians and policy makers have a solid evidence base to draw on in this critically important policy area, where facts are hotly contested and where media representations of the problems are sometimes distorted. 'Common-sense' solutions to 'wicked problems' – of which crime is surely a prime example – can create more difficulties than they solve.

Communicating the results of social research to policy makers is itself a complex and skilful process: it is not simply a question of publishing results and waiting for a policy response. Academic researchers need to gain the trust of policy makers, they need to present their results in language that will resonate with politicians and their advisors, and they often need to make their contribution at a time when policy is receptive to new ideas. Criminologists have achieved considerable success in achieving an impact, as this collection of case studies so clearly illustrates.

We are delighted to present this short booklet to you as the fruit of collaboration between the Academy of Social Sciences, the British Society of Criminology and the British Psychological Society. We are grateful to the BPS for financial support and to all those who have contributed material. This is the fourth booklet in the Academy's *Making the Case for the Social Sciences* series, which offers a 'taster selection' of social science research projects which have had an impact on public policy or social behaviour and so helped society to use some of the opportunities now available to address the challenges being faced.



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### Social exclusion and crime

Why do people become criminals in the first place? In 1961 **Professor Donald West** began a long-lasting investigation into the reasons why, called the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. **Professor David Farrington** of the University of Cambridge has worked on it since 1969, running it for the last 30 years and working with **Dr Jeremy Coid**. The Study has followed the lives of all the boys living in one working class area of London from the age of eight until now, checking any criminal records and interviewing them repeatedly, to investigate the development of offending and antisocial behaviour. Whilst they were still at school the research team also talked to the boys' parents and teachers about them, and recently they have interviewed the



participants' children to see if social problems are transmitted down the generations.

The Cambridge Study provides a great deal of important information about the development of offending and antisocial behaviour (including drug and alcohol use) from childhood to adulthood, and about the relationship between offending and other life problems such as accommodation, relationships and employment. It has also provided evidence about risk factors for offending, especially those measured in childhood such as impulsiveness, low school achievement, poor parental supervision and disrupted families. In addition, the research has provided information about the effects of life events, such as getting married, on the course of development of offending. It was recommended that early intervention dealing with the cause rather than the symptoms - could be successful in preventing offending.

The last government took up the message seriously in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, which made it clear for the first time that the aim of the youth justice system was to prevent offending by young people.

Professor Farrington advised the then Prime Minister Tony Blair on his Action Plan on Social Exclusion, which proposed riskfocussed prevention, including evidence-based programmes involving the family and community, such as nurse home visiting, parent training and treatment foster care. Similar interest in the research has been shown by Canada and the USA.

For more information visit: http://library.npia.police.uk/docs/ hofindings/r281.pdf





### Helping offenders give up crime

The difficulties that former prisoners face in reintegrating into society are well known. Nearly two-thirds of released prisoners reoffend within two years of release, costing the UK many £billions every year. Alleged failings of the prison and probation systems in contributing to this process are everpresent in the media and can give a pessimistic view of the prisoner reintegration process. One of the problems is that former prisoners who successfully break free of cycles of crime and punishment tend to keep a low profile and rarely go out of their way to tell their stories. Research on 'desistance from crime' has looked at success stories.

One of the first such studies in the UK was the Liverpool Desistance Study, initiated by **Professor Shadd Maruna** now of Queen's University Belfast and described in his book *Making Good* (2001). Professor Maruna interviewed and studied over 100 ex-prisoners at length to try to discover what made a difference between those who had successfully managed to 'go straight' and others who had not. He found that former prisoners who successfully desisted were often involved in efforts to help others, volunteering their time and talents in mentorship and leadership positions. The research suggested that, in addition to addressing prisoners' 'risks' and 'needs', reintegration might also seek to develop their 'strengths' and their sense of themselves as valued members of society with something to contribute. For example, they might be supported in positions where they can advise others on how to avoid repeating their mistakes and see that a different way of life is possible.

Senior staff at the National Offender Management Service based in the Ministry of Justice are said to be shifting into a 'desistance paradigm' in their work. 'Making Good' is the name chosen for a large-scale Youth Justice Board project recently introduced across England and Wales that focuses on community service-based rehabilitation. 'Making Good' is also the name of a Connecticut USA reintegration

project for former prisoners based on the Liverpool research, and of a new resettlement programme for prisoners affiliated to Loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. The desistance research has also directly influenced the revised Scottish National Outcomes and Standards for Criminal Justice Social Work Services in 2007. For more information visit: http://www.desistance.info/ and http://www.apa.org/pubs/books/431645A.aspx







### Changing practice, changing lives

Building on the work of Shadd Maruna and others, **Professor Fergus McNeill** of the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow, has used new evidence about how and why people stop offending to rethink policies and practices of offender supervision. His work resulted in reports entitled *Towards Effective Practice in Offender Supervision* (TEPiOS), and *Changing Lives: Desistance Research and Offender Management.* 

This work showed that successful supervision of offenders needs to be based on working in and through the relationships that lie at the heart of the process of giving up crime. Whilst group-work programmes which aim to develop offenders' skills are important, they are only a part of supporting desistance; supervision also needs to be about developing motivation to change, helping people imagine how they might change, and building hope that change can happen. Offender supervision must address the social context of desistance. The TEPiOS and Changing Lives reports have fed directly into rehabilitation strategies in the Scottish Prisons Service, in Scottish Criminal Justice Social Work Services, in the Risk Management Authority and in the National Offender Management Service. Both Maruna's and McNeill's works have been cited in the UK government's recent Green Paper, Breaking the Cycle. The TEPiOS review also formed the basis for a presentation at the Council of Europe in partnership with the Conference Permanente Européenne de la Probation (the agency of European probation organisations), which served to promote the work across Europe and has led to invitations to engage with policy and practice audiences in Belgium, Finland, Holland, Norway and Romania. The ESRC is now funding a follow-on project to help develop the practical implications of this work.

To access the report Towards Effective Practice in Offender Supervision see http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/pubs/Towards-Effective-Practice-in-Offender-Supervision/79

### Investigating homicide

Homicide is amongst the most serious crimes that the police have to investigate and presents unique challenges. Senior Investigating Officers (SIOs) are under intense pressure to identify offenders quickly and construct a compelling case for the prosecution. So they need to be able to make quick and effective decisions about how best to investigate the case.

Dr Fiona Brookman of the University of Glamorgan sought to understand the nature and circumstances of different forms of homicide and she examined the characteristics of difficult-to-solve homicides. By looking at a wide variety of sources, including the Home Office Homicide Index, homicide review reports and interviews with senior officers, she charted systematically the *modus operandi* and diverse circumstances in which homicide events took place.

This has enabled SIOs to understand how material is generated during a homicide. For example, she found that certain kinds of homicide amongst men (such as those where the motive is revenge) are more likely to be planned, to occur amongst individuals who know one another, and to be committed with a firearm than those that arise more spontaneously from a confrontation. Consequently, the type of weapon chosen gives an indication of whether the murder was planned or not and can help to narrow down the victim–offender relationship. In their training SIOs are now shown that changes in the *modus operandi* and circumstances of homicide (even where slight) create varied levels of information (physical or otherwise) that can be investigated.

Her research has influenced new ways of thinking about investigative strategy. She has worked with Greater Manchester Police in shaping the training and development of SIOs. The work is cited as a key source of information in the *Murder Investigation Manual*, which is regarded as the definitive guide on homicide investigation by practitioners and policy makers alike and is used to underpin the training and development of SIOs.





### Crowds and public order policing

Psychologists **Professor Stephen Reicher AcSS** of the University of St Andrews, **Dr Clifford Stott** of the University of Liverpool and **Dr John Drury** of the University of Sussex have been studying crowds for nearly 30 years using a variety of methods: interviews, surveys, ethnography and experimental studies. They have found that, contrary to popular belief, people do not adopt a 'mob mentality' (i.e. lose their identity and lose control of their actions) once in a crowd. Instead, they act in terms of a shared social identity rather than their own personal identity.

These social identities appear to develop though the interactions that take place between crowd members and other groups and it is out of these that violence is generated and escalates. As a result, public order policing can be more effective if it is based upon the recognition of the diversity of sub-groups within a crowd, their specific beliefs and goals and how these can be facilitated. That way, the police can win the majority to their side and so aid crowd members themselves to police disruptive minorities.

Police forces have increasingly adopted these ideas as best practice and they were used with great success at the European Football Championships in Portugal in 2004. The notion of 'dialogue policing' has spread across Europe and Scandinavia and, in 2010, the UK adopted the 'social identity approach' for public order policing in the HMIC report Adapting to Protest – Nurturing the British Model of Policing. This new approach encourages the police to use targeted interventions which distinguish between crowd members rather than treat everyone as the same.

This research has also been applied to improve our understanding of crowd behaviour in emergency situations. The team's work – which has examined a variety of events from the sinking of *The Herald of Free Enterprise* to the 7/7 attacks in London – has shown that emergencies lead to an emergent sense of shared identity, self-organisation and

mutual self-help, so that the emergency services need to ask how they can assist people in what they are already doing rather than impose themselves on the public. A 2009 NATO report on psychological care for people affected by disasters and major incidents adopts the team's approach as standard and the researchers are now helping health authorities, emergency planners and the government devise new procedures for what to do if and when disaster strikes.







### Combating fraud

In 1990 the Home Office commissioned a study of the prevention of cheque and credit card fraud. Professor Michael Levi AcSS of Cardiff University led a team investigating this issue. Their report recommended more data-sharing, more specialist police units and improvements in police-industry partnership working. Stimulated by meetings between the Home Secretary, a Home Office Minister and senior bankers, this report got the industry working together more closely. As a result the Plastic Fraud Prevention Forum was created within what was then APACS and is now 'The UK Cards. Association', and credit information sharing flourished via the not-for-profit body CIFAS, which has subsequently expanded the sectors covered. As a result, payment card fraud fell very significantly by 1998.

The original report recommended the introduction of Chip and PIN, although high unit cost and industry economics meant that this took over a decade to introduce. The researchers had foreseen that 'the problem' would evolve from conventional

frauds on lost and stolen cards to the newer form of crimes-at-a-distance as in Card Not Present fraud. The rise of internet sales – which did not exist at the time of the original report – and telephone sales of services and goods have altered the pattern of risks and, in 2002, the industry and the Home Office set up a Dedicated Cheque and Plastic Crime Unit. Professor Levi and Morgan Harris Burrows consultancy demonstrated the cost-effectiveness of this police unit in 2004 and it has subsequently been wholly financed by the banking and card industry and integrated with its intelligence staff.

This model – of collective pooling of data and risk analysis – has been followed by the motor claims industry, which has set up an Insurance Fraud Bureau, which uses sophisticated software to pick out concealed patterns of inter-relationships to reduce motor claims frauds. However, different commercial interests mean that data-sharing in other areas of insurance has not yet enjoyed the same level of support.

### Gun control

Horizon-scanning social scientists had picked up the changing use of firearms in criminal activity some 15–20 years ago, but the post-Dunblane handgun ban didn't directly address this. **Professor Peter Squires AcSS** of the University of Brighton investigated the problem and what could be most usefully done to reduce the use of guns in criminal acts.

He and his team looked at what types of guns had been used to commit crimes and saw that the situation was not straightforward. A large number of 'crime guns' were not legally 'prohibited': they could be either converted weapons, such as CS cartridge or blank firers, legally bought in Europe and illegally altered here to fire live shot, or were otherwise perfectly legal air weapons. For example, 20 per cent of serious firearm injuries are typically caused by air weapons and 10 per cent of gun homicides in England and Wales in 2008–9 were caused by legal, licensed weapons. Furthermore, around 40 per cent of armed robberies involve only imitation weapons.

While the law concentrated primarily on real handguns – the sort used to kill the Dunblane schoolchildren – it missed a large proportion of the types of crime guns being misused on British streets. The pre-2006 UK gun controls usefully tightened controls on real guns but also prompted a usedisplacement into the motley collection of junk guns increasingly available since the 1990s.

The research showed that the law needed to be smarter and more evidence-based if it was to succeed in reducing overall gun crime. The 2006 Violent Crime Reduction Act brought in more appropriate prohibitions on imitation weapons, tighter controls on air weapons and other firearm misuse. Overall recorded gun crime has been falling year on year in England and Wales since then, although problems remain with firearm trafficking, especially in converted weapons.



### Drugs and drug-related crime

The Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR), now at Birkbeck, University of London, has carried out a 15-year research programme into illicit drug use led by Professor Mike Hough and Paul Turnbull. Early ICPR work found that problem drug users were financing their drug use through crime and that the criminal justice system could be used as a conduit to treatment. This provided an important part of the evidence base for strategies of 'coerced treatment', the best known example of this being Drug Treatment and Testing Orders (DTTOs). ICPR evaluated many schemes: for the government, for the EU and for independent funders. The research team interviewed several thousand problem drug users and professionals working with them, and were able to understand thoroughly the dynamics of drug dependence and drugrelated crime.

It was clear that ideas that illicit drug use leads irrevocably to other forms of crime were wrong. Instead, the research found that problem drug users typically start their criminal careers in their teens – before their drug careers began – and often had many convictions before they developed an addiction, typically as young adults. However, drug dependency amplifies offending, and offending (and criminal conviction) reduces opportunities for adopting alternatives to 'drug lifestyles'.

The research showed that the criminal process could be used to encourage or coerce dependent users into treatment, and that many users valued this coerced treatment as a route out of addiction. Those who complete DTTO programmes (and their successors) programmes often manage to tackle their addiction more effectively. However, coerced treatment has to be managed in a way that recognises that recovery from addiction is a slow process involving 'two steps forward and one step back'. It is also important not to overstretch or overstate the capacity of drug services to work constructively and effectively with criminally involved dependent users. Although drop-out rates from treatment can be high, the research shows that this difficult and complex problem can be tackled.



### Neighbourhood policing

In 2002 the Association of Chief Police Officers was puzzled why surveys were showing that the public perceived more disorder and fewer police around, despite significant reductions in recorded crime. So they asked **Professor Martin Innes** to examine what could be done.

Based upon a research programme involving extensive field observations and over 360 in-depth interviews with members of the public living in 16 communities in different parts of England, Professor Innes designed a more structured and systematic approach to community policing. He found that the police needed to understand and respond to what communities themselves thought was important. So he told them to make their presence in neighbourhoods more visible, accessible and familiar; to use community intelligence to target the signal crimes that cause most harm to levels of neighbourhood security (frequently antisocial behaviour and criminal damage issues); and to work with partners and the public collaboratively to produce solutions.

The Home Office trialled this approach in eight police forces in England between 2003 and 2005 as the National Reassurance Policing Programme.

### It was so successful that the government decided to roll out Neighbourhood Policing to all areas of England and Wales.

By 2008 all neighbourhoods had their own dedicated team of neighbourhood policing officers. Professor Innes and his team at Cardiff University are now regularly asked to advise governments and agencies about police reform and improvement both nationally and internationally. They have worked with the Cabinet Office and Home Office in the UK, and run similar programmes in Holland and Australia.

For more information, visit: www.upsi.org.uk



## How can crime be reduced simply, quickly and cheaply? A focus on Alley-Gating

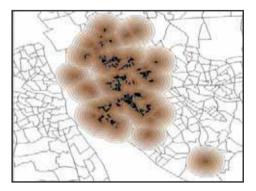
There is a lot that can be done to reduce crime by making it more difficult, more time-consuming, less rewarding and riskier for offenders to commit crime. This is based on the idea that opportunity to commit crime is a cause of crime. The effectiveness of this approach can be demonstrated by making minor modifications to the design of houses, installing alarms, security lights, cutting back bushes, shrubs and trees so that neighbours and passers-by have a good view of people's front doors, driveways and footpaths leaving nowhere for offenders to hide. Installing gates to alleyways behind



ABOVE: what an unprotected alleyway can look like. RIGHT: The difference that having gates can make. They make alleyways cleaner, safer and more secure.

terraced houses (alley-gating) is a prime example of this. In Liverpool, over 70 per cent of burglaries were committed by offenders breaking in at the back of properties. More than 5,000 gates have now been installed to protect them and a research team led by **Professor Alex Hirschfield**, Director of Huddersfield University's Applied Criminology Centre (ACC), undertook an in-depth evaluation of their impact.





The alley gates were found to have made a huge difference not only in levels of burglary but also in reducing people's fear of crime.

ACC researchers produced a computer map of the location of all the gates and the streets and houses protected by them. They then overlaid a map of the crime and found that the gates reduced burglary by over a third without displacing it to neighbouring areas and saved more in preventing crime than they cost to make and install. Although alley-gating does not directly address 'criminality' it does show that there are faster and less expensive ways of cutting crime.



### Repeat victimisation

A one-liner in bad taste goes: 'An old lady gets mugged every five minutes... and she's getting fed up of it'. The confusion which makes the 'joke' possible is that society can rack up a big problem by a lot of people suffering harm once or a few people experiencing it often. A team including Professors Andromachi Tseloni and Ken Pease, then of Manchester University. showed the large proportion of crimes that occur for the second of these reasons. They analysed the data used in the British Crime Survey and found no area where over half the people fell victim to crime, but many areas where victims suffered many times. High crime areas are as they are mostly because a minority of residents are chronically victimised rather than because a majority of people suffer one offence. Crime can be thought of as similar to bullying. Once a suitable target has been found, there is no reason to stop until the bully/criminal thinks there is a risk of detection, or the victim has run out of things to steal.

As preventing repeat attacks is more readily achieved by police and their local authority partners, the research team explored its usefulness in the Kirkholt burglary prevention project, which concentrated on preventing homes which had just been burgled from being burgled again. Within a year, burglaries overall had been reduced by 75 per cent. The method was widely tested over 20 years and a systematic review showed much reduced burglary in most places. The projects also led to research on the predictive mapping of crime: nearby homes are at much higher risk in the period after a burglary in the area. If the repeat prevention methods had been rolled out nationally, even an average success rate would have saved £200 million in direct costs at 2011 prices. Also, since an area's crime level often causes people to move home, reducing burglary improves quality of life, reducing indirect costs.

Reports of much of the early work can be accessed at:

www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssgf/kp%20pdfs.htm

## Identifying effective interventions for victims of domestic violence

Domestic violence is a major problem with a long history, but it is only in fairly recent times that government has decided to address the problem. It was vital that the approach taken to tackle it was shown to be the best. **Dr Amanda Robinson** of Cardiff University evaluated the three main approaches that are used collectively in the UK to combat domestic violence: Specialist Domestic Violence Courts, Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences and the use of specialist support workers.

She found that the first few Specialist Domestic Violence Courts were very successful and informed the government's first National Plan for Domestic Violence. As a result there are now 141 of these courts. Her work also helped shape the Sentencing Guidelines Council's *Definitive Guidance* (2006).

Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARAC) have also been commonly used to consider the future risk to victims of domestic violence. These too were shown to be a useful and successful system. Her findings fed into the government's National Plan for Domestic Violence 2007 Annual Progress Report and the MARAC Implementation Guide and the conferences are now used in more than 200 areas across the UK. The MARAC system is also being considered by the EU as an example of good practice to be rolled out across its member states.

Finally, the Home Office asked her to assess how well the Independent Domestic Violence Advisor system worked in different settings. She found that these specialist support workers, who provide information, advice and advocacy on behalf of victims, were key to the success of the Specialist Courts and the Multi-Agency conferences.

This work fed into the Home Affairs Select Committee 2008 report on *Domestic Violence, Forced Marriage and 'Honour' Based Violence*, as well as the Stern Review on rape in 2010. As a result, the government's recent Action Plan for Tackling Violence supports full coverage of these initiatives across England and Wales by 2011.



### Dealing with young offenders

How agencies should best deal with young offenders to reduce offending was the problem facing criminologists **Professor Kevin Haines** and **Dr Stephen Case** of the Centre for Criminal Justice and Criminology at Swansea University. They decided to explore the problem together with a local group to look at the issues in context and developed a research partnership with Swansea Youth Offending Service.

The research team evaluated a 'Promoting Positive Behaviour in Schools' initiative aimed at reducing exclusion, and a 'Promoting Prevention' programme to reduce youth offending. They interviewed key stakeholders and consulted with young





people to develop appropriate survey tools to measure life experiences and interactions with local services.

The research identified influences on both negative and positive outcomes for young people that had been largely neglected by traditional 'risk factor research'.

These included promoting children's rights, accessing services, school organisation and ethos, parental responsibility, experience of substance use and providing positive leisure activities by youth justice agencies.

As a result the local Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership made preventing youth crime a key priority and developed an approach that was consistent with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which aimed to divert children committing minor crimes out of the youth justice system. Broadly in line with national figures, first-time entrants into the Youth Justice System decreased by 56 per cent between 2007/8 and 2009/10 and re-offending rates amongst children convicted of crime decreased by 44 per cent. However, the clear success of the scheme meant that custody rates for young people went down by 79 per cent, which was the largest decrease anywhere in England and Wales.

The Welsh Assembly Government welcomed the 'Swansea approach' and used the model as a case study within its youth inclusion strategy document Extending Entitlement. 'Children First' has been adopted as the cornerstone of Welsh Youth Justice Policy, and the 'Swansea approach' has recently attracted the interest of the Irish Youth Justice Service. The model has also recently constituted a case study for the Independent Commission on Youth Crime and Antisocial Behaviour report and was presented as evidence to the coalition Government's Centre for Social Justice review of youth justice in September 2011.



### Investigating anti-social behaviour

Anti-social behaviour has been high on the political and policy agenda for over a decade. **Dr Andrew Millie** of the University of Glasgow and the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research tried to understand the meaning and causes of antisocial behaviour and what good might come from prioritising dealing with it.

In 2005, he worked with **Professor Mike Hough** and **Dr Jessica Jacobson** at the Institute for Criminal Policy Research on a study for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation of public attitudes and policy responses to anti-social behaviour. At the time most policy sought to enforce standards of behaviour through a wide range of measures, most famously the Anti-Social Behaviour Order or ASBO. The researchers found that there needed to be greater balance with preventing anti-social behaviour. As a result, policy now lays greater emphasis on prevention and mediation and, in many cases, enforcement is seen as a last resort.

In 2010 Dr Millie worked with other social scientists on a Home Office study of perceptions of anti-social behaviour. Whilst acknowledging that it can be a serious concern in certain neighbourhoods, this study also found that some behaviours labelled as 'anti-social behaviour' are really stereotypes that are seen as symbolic of wider or more serious social problems. He found that not all behaviour perceived to be anti-social is necessarily 'anti-social behaviour', a clear example being young people congregating. He has since shown that behaviour can be interpreted differently depending on the context in which it takes place: for example, reactions to young people congregating in a shopping mall may be quite different to them congregating at a skate park. The behavioural expectations in these two contexts would be guite different. Behaviour that could be labelled as 'antisocial behaviour' in one context, could be tolerated or even celebrated in another.



### Reducing violence in institutional populations

Violent and bullying prisoners and psychiatric patients cause many problems for other residents, as well as the prison and hospital authorities, but little work on how to manage such behaviours had been done. So Professor Jane Ireland AcSS, a Chartered Forensic Psychologist working for Mersey Care NHS Trust (High Security) and the University of Central Lancashire, used surveys and interviews, including with staff, to look at the needs of these groups and what sort of proven treatments existed that might be sensitive to their complex needs. From this research she developed a yearlong programme of thrice weekly sessions called 'Life Minus Violence - Enhanced' (LMV-E) to give these individuals new skills to cope with conflict. LMV-E is a long-term skills focussed Cognitive Behavioural Treatment (CBT) programme covering working with others, development, emotional management skills, understanding how aggression develops, understanding consequences, developing interpersonal skills and relapse prevention.

The programme has been used within secure psychiatric hospitals and some UK prisons since 2007. It has proved both popular and successful, with 20 residents in one institution alone taking part. It has demonstrated clear clinical evidence of behaviour and attitude change, leading to this forensic group of clients being able to move into lower security (and therefore less security and staff intensive) settings and to the reduction in the numbers of other residents becoming victims of violence.

Professor Ireland's wider work on reducing bullying among prisoners has been taken up by other settings, including the Canadian Correctional Service who asked her to develop it to cover gang-related violence. It has also been applied in Romania, whose prison service asked her to expand it to cover sexual and selfinflicted violence. The work also led to the first NHS policy on combating patient-topatient bullying.





### Statistics and the Criminal Justice System

It has often been difficult for lawyers to make proper use of statistics and probability in their arguments in court because they have little opportunity to study the subject and because of the lack of communication with statisticians.

### This has led to serious problems with criminal justice where statistics have been misunderstood and misused.

One famous case in recent times is that of Sally Clark where the likelihood of two siblings suffering a Sudden Unexplained Death in Infancy (SUDI) – as her two babies had – was misrepresented as extremely small, with a frequency many times less than was actually the case. Mrs Clark was convicted of murder but this verdict was overturned at a second Appeal during which the judges took the opportunity to criticise the statistical evidence.

A more recent case was that of Barry George, accused of shooting the television presenter *Jill Dando*. At the first trial, evidence was produced of a single firearm discharge residue (FDR) particle that had been found in the pocket of a coat belonging to Mr George and which was said to be associated with the crime. However, the Appeal Court heard scientific evidence that the finding of this particle was equally likely whether or not Mr George was the person who had shot her, so that the evidence of the FDR particle provided no support for the proposition that Mr George was the person who had shot III Dando.

In order to help prevent further miscarriages of justice, **Professor Colin Aitken** of the University of Edinburgh has been working with the Statistics and Law working group of the Royal Statistical Society to improve the judicial use of statistics and probability. They have provided a workshop on interpretation of evidence for lecturers of forensic science, in

conjunction with the Forensic Science Society, and have responded to consultation papers, such as the one in 2009 on expert evidence from the Law Commission of England and Wales. They are also producing a series of reports on the communication and interpretation of evidence for judges, lawyers, forensic scientists and expert witnesses, funded by the Nuffield Foundation.

Following a report from a House of Commons Select Committee, a Forensic Science Regulator has been appointed by the Home Office with a remit to ensure that the provision of forensic science services across the criminal justice system is subject to an appropriate regime of scientific quality standards. He is supported by a Forensic Science Advisory Council and a set of specialist advisory groups including one on evidence assessment; this advisory group has, in turn, a sub-group on statistical principles in evidence evaluation and interpretation.

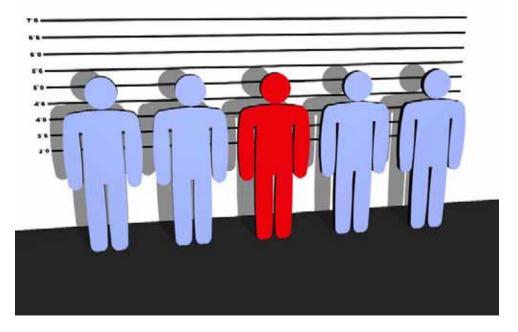




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### Video identification parades

For decades it was standard practice for the UK police to obtain evidence from eyewitnesses to crimes by asking them to attend a 'line-up'. This involved the witness being shown a line of people consisting of the suspect and eight or nine similar looking people (foils). Researchers found that not only could this be a stressful experience for the witness but that over half of such lineups had to be cancelled before any evidence was collected simply because it was so difficult to get the witness, suspect and sufficient numbers of foils together in the same place and at the same time. These cancellations cost many millions of pounds a year.



To overcome these problems, a team of psychologists, including **Professor Graham Pike** and **Dr Nicola Brace** of the Open University, **Dr Richard Kemp** then of the University of Leicester and **Professor Tim Valentine** of Goldsmiths, London, worked together with the police and the Home Office to find a better way of obtaining eyewitness identification evidence.

They undertook practical experiments, which included showing volunteers mockups of crimes to help judge what type of images (static, moving, face-only or whole body) best help witnesses identify criminals accurately whilst avoiding misidentifications of innocent people. They also showed volunteers staged crimes followed by either traditional or video ID parades at police stations to see which method was more accurate. Interviewing 50 police officers about the issues involved and examining over 20,000 previous ID procedures helped complete the picture. The researchers concluded that the solution was to use video identification parades, demonstrating that they have many advantages over lineups, especially because the witness does not have to confront the suspect so it is a less stressful experience. Video ID parades are also much fairer because foils can be selected from a large computerised database.

They are also relatively easy to arrange so that very few are cancelled and they are much less costly and use fewer resources.

Due to using video parades the police are able to gain more identification evidence more fairly – for both suspect and witness. As a result national legislation was changed in 2003 to make these the standard method used by the police.

## SOCIAL SCIENCES

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The Academy is composed of over 700 individual Academicians, who are distinguished scholars and practitioners from academia and the public and private sectors, and most of the UK's Learned Societies in the social sciences plus individual and organisational affiliate members.



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The British Psychological Society is the representative body for psychology and psychologists in the UK. It was formed in 1901 and has more than 45,000 members. Through its Royal Charter, the Society is charged with overseeing psychology and psychologists. It has responsibility for the development, promotion and application of pure and applied psychology for the public good.

### BSC British Society of Criminology

2–6 Cannon Street, London EC4M 6YH Telephone: 07896 347183 E-mail: info@britsoccrim.org www.britsoccrim.org

The British Society of Criminology aims to further the interests and knowledge of both academic and professional people who are engaged in any aspect of work or teaching, research or public education about crime, criminal behaviour and the criminal justice systems in the United Kingdom. The Society has been in existence for 50 years and has a wide-ranging membership based here and overseas.