CAMBRIDGE
Police Executive Programme

HOW HAMPSHIRE POLICE REDUCED DOMESTIC ABUSE: THE CARA EXPERIMENT

Heather Strang & Lawrence Sherman

Last Sunday's **The MAIL Online**

https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6611567/Theresa-Mays-local-police-force-lets-wife-beaters-caution.html

Theresa May's local police force lets off wife beaters with a caution despite PM's pledge to get tough on domestic violence.

- **Thames Valley Police can use 'conditional cautions' rather than send to court**
- **The force is one of five in England allowed to contravene CPS guidance**
- **Suspects could be let off if they agree to go on courses for their behavior**
- **Prime Minister Theresa May promised a crackdown on domestic violence**

From Whence Did This Plan Come?

??????

From Hence…

and Southampton (Hampshire Police)

What did the evaluation find?

BBC News August 17, 2017

Counselling domestic abusers cuts offending by third, say researchers

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-40866722

- The aim was to persuade the men to acknowledge what had gone wrong in their lives - but, using motivational techniques, leave them with a plan and feeling they could change for the better.
- When the team analysed what happened over the following year, they found that 35% fewer men reoffended compared with the standard [control] group.

BBC News

- The researchers also looked at the crimes committed by each man who did reoffend - and found they were at a lower level than might otherwise have been the case.
- The reoffenders caused 27% less harm than the men who did not attend sessions - a calculation reached using a radical new way of assessing the true cost of crime to victims and society. [Cambridge Crime Harm Index]
- Hampshire Assistant Chief Constable Scott Chilton, who co-authored the Cambridge report, said: "For decades, police have been told to arrest and prosecute.

  "But I think that first and foremost our aim has got to be to get a better service to the victim. They often want the offender to get help because they are in a relationship, they have families together or they have a job."

Article & Metrics: Cambridge J. EB Policing

- 4,600 PDF downloads in 18 months

Camb J Evid Based Polic
DOI 10.1007/s41887-017-0007-x

CrossMark

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Reducing the Harm of Intimate Partner Violence: Randomized Controlled Trial of the Hampshire Constabulary CARA Experiment

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CARA Worked:

- Moderate one-year impact
- About one-quarter less harm for one year
- 293 cases: 139 controls, 154 to workshops
- About 85% treated as randomly assigned
- Measures:

  -- repeat offending as domestic abuse

  --all crime

  --Cambridge Crime Harm Index—prison days

(defined by Sentencing Council England-Wales)

A Short History Lesson

- Since 1990 Home Office has encouraged a pro-arrest approach to domestic abuse (‘positive action’).
- In 2000 HO no longer ‘requested’ compliance: instead police required to justify any decision NOT to arrest if sufficient evidence.
- Resulted in increase in arrests, but most disposed of by NFA (if no admissions) or simple caution.
- Despite some evidence that most DA victims satisfied with simple caution, growing concern not appropriate disposal.
- Also evidence ‘positive action’ not necessarily improving outcomes for victims – choosing not to report or withdrawing support for prosecution.

History (contd)

- Could conditional cautions be a better option? – ‘rehabilitative, reparative or restrictive conditions’.
- But domestic incidents not eligible (CPS guidance).
- 2010 Hampshire LCJB supported testing effects of CCs in DA via a randomised controlled trial.
- Jan 2011 Hampshire Chief Constable wrote to DPP and HO asking for permission for the test.
- July 2011 all permissions granted and the ‘CARA’ RCT got the go-ahead.

CARA Heroes

- Our Hampshire Police MSt students:
  - Robin Jarman (negotiated permissions & liaised with Hampton Trust to develop CARA Workshops)
  - Scott Chilton (liaised to make CARA evaluation happen)
  - Rob Braddock (Site manager)
  - Jo Rowland (context for CARA)
  - Nicky Cornelius (victims' perspective on CARA)
  - Tony Rowlinson (inside the black box of CARA)
- Chantal Hughes, Hampton Trust (Workshop programme developer)
- Our Cambridge team including:
  - Barak Ariel
  - Cristobal Weinborn

What did CARA look like? The Programme

- Eligibility:
  - Would previously have been simple cautions
  - Standard/medium risk on DASH
  - Adult males only
  - Who admit offence
  - No violence in preceding 2 years
  - IP incidents only
  - Victims agree

Core elements of CARA workshops

- 2 Workshops – 5 hour sessions 4 weeks apart
- Held in a hotel
- Groups of 4-7 offenders
- Workshops facilitated by Hampton Trust staff
- Facilitator behaviour / skill / experience essential – non-confrontational
- Factual material on DA used to stimulate discussion
- Exercises to stimulate self awareness
- Personal risk identification
- Evoking plans, goals and measures to sustain change
- Fluidity and interaction between elements
- Group effects/mood and tempo of the setting

Principles guiding the intervention:

Motivational Interviewing:

Collaborative conversation style for strengthening a person's own motivation and commitment to change

A 'guiding style' (directing / following)

More likely persuaded by what they hear themselves say.

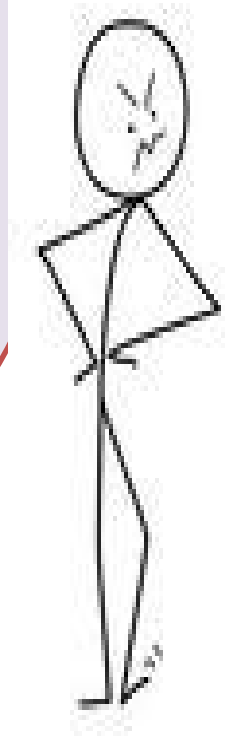
HOW Does CARA Work?

- How does Hampton Trust do it?
- Understanding the skill needed an “outside view” by a “pracademic”
- Cambridge MSt student Tony Rowlinson allowed to observe workshops (but not take notes)
- Excellent ethnographic analysis documenting what happens.

Participant reflections pre CARA workshop

I'm going through the motions of doing what I need to

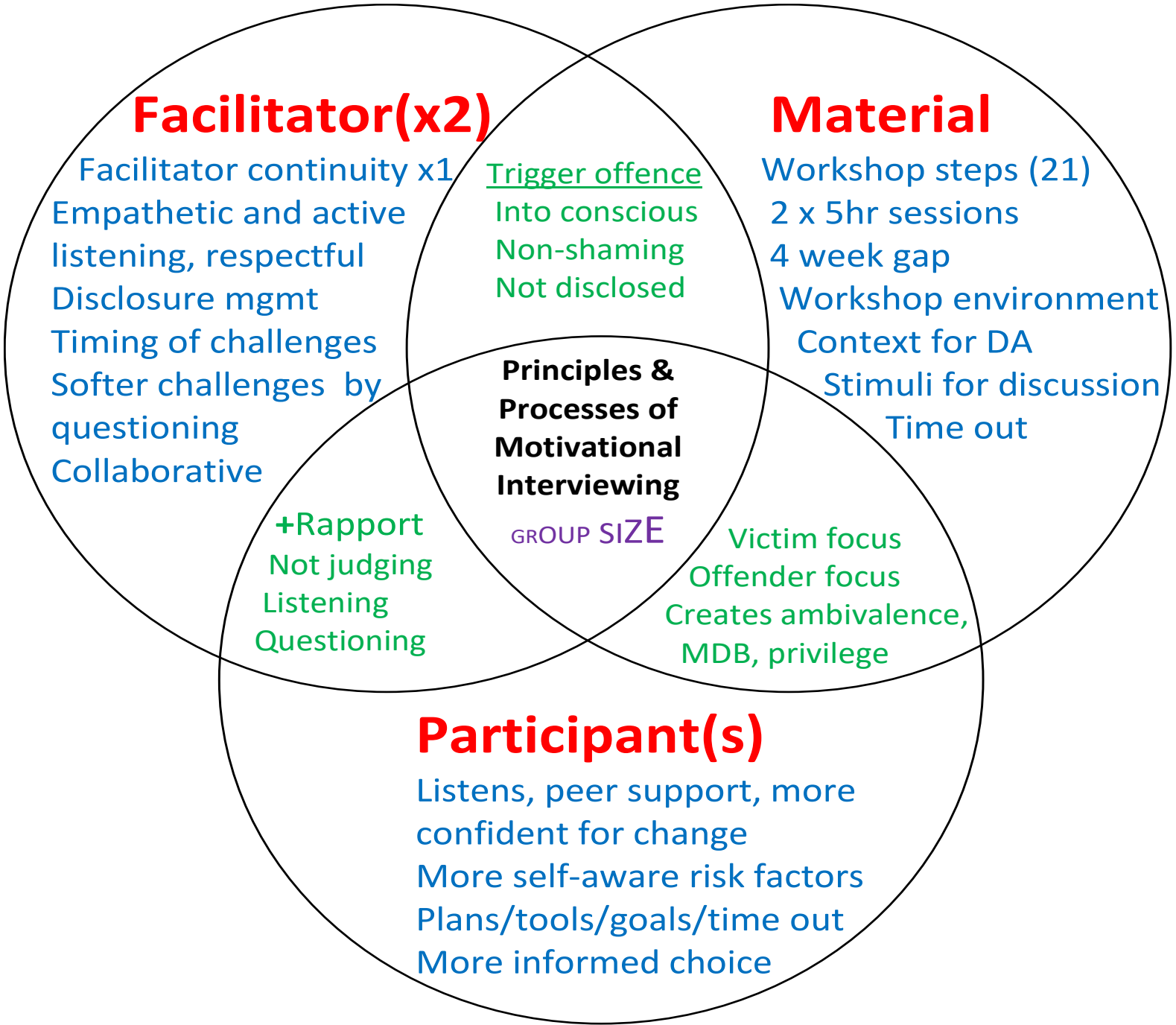
When I got into the police station I may as well have raped and murdered someone



I haven't done anything wrong but just going with it

If she hadn't called the Police I wouldn't be here

I'm no wife batterer. She needs to consider her attitude more


Facilitator(x2)
Facilitator continuity x1
Empathetic and active listening, respectful
Disclosure mgmt
Timing of challenges
Softer challenges by questioning
Collaborative
Material
Workshop steps (21)
2 x 5hr sessions
4 week gap
Workshop environment
Context for DA
Stimuli for discussion
Time out
Trigger offence
Into conscious
Non-shaming
Not disclosed
Principles & Processes of Motivational Interviewing
GROUP SIZE
+Rapport
Not judging
Listening
Questioning
Victim focus
Offender focus
Creates ambivalence, MDB, privilege
Participant(s)
Listens, peer support, more confident for change
More self-aware risk factors
Plans/tools/goals/time out
More informed choice

Miller & Rollnick 'Frames' Techniques

- ✓Feedback – Reflective listening & feedback
- ✓Responsibility – Encouragement to take responsibility
- ✓Advice – Engagement on steps forward, longer term goals
- ✓Menu – Engagement on strategies for moving forward & change
- ✓Empathy – Participants are treated with respect
- ✓Self efficacy – Participants are encouraged to believe in their ability to change

CARA Participant Reflections

Learning the short & long term affects of domestic violence has made me aware how my partner would have been feeling at the time

Change all, not violence only, didn't know name calling was abusive before

You know I kept commenting that I shouldn't be here, but I realise now that I need to take positives away

When you are made to do something you reflect

It has opened my eyes to the effects of my behaviour

CARA Participant Actions

Been to the doctors who have been more than willing to help me on a number of levels

Now if I feel that an argument is getting out of control I go away, calm down and then return

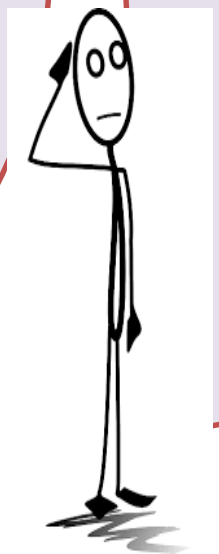
I now spend more time with my family not with my mates. I listen to her opinion more. The relationship is already better with less arguments"

CARA Participant Actions

After recognising the impacts on children have asked for parenting help

I now go to AA

I now attend ADAPT



I now attend a support group

I have learned to go out and come back within the hour. We have gone through the time out procedure and talk about things

I'm a stubborn bastard, but when I sit and think about it, even if I take a second to think - it can make a difference.

You two [facilitators] can get job satisfaction knowing that we have all changed a little. Even a little change can help.

If I'm honest, she shouts a lot less now as I don't get drunk and I listen to her.

When you are made to do something, you reflect.

What did CARA look like? The randomised controlled trial

- Control Group
  - Conditional caution alone
  - 4 months good behaviour
  - Then no prosecution
  - If re-offending, then both offences prosecuted
- Treatment Group
  - Conditional caution AND
  - Must attend both workshop sessions
  - 4 months good behaviour – same conditions as Controls

Slow progress with RCT:

- We hoped to get 50% of all DA arrests
- We got 5-8% over 3 years to reach 293 cases
- What happened to the rest?

Who Decided What in Southampton DA Arrests?

Police

Decided 40% of cases

28% NFA

4.5% Sanctioned, CPS

7% conditional caution

Crown Prosecution Service

Decided 60% of cases

NFA 27%

Charged 33%

Convicted 22%

Custodial sentence 5%

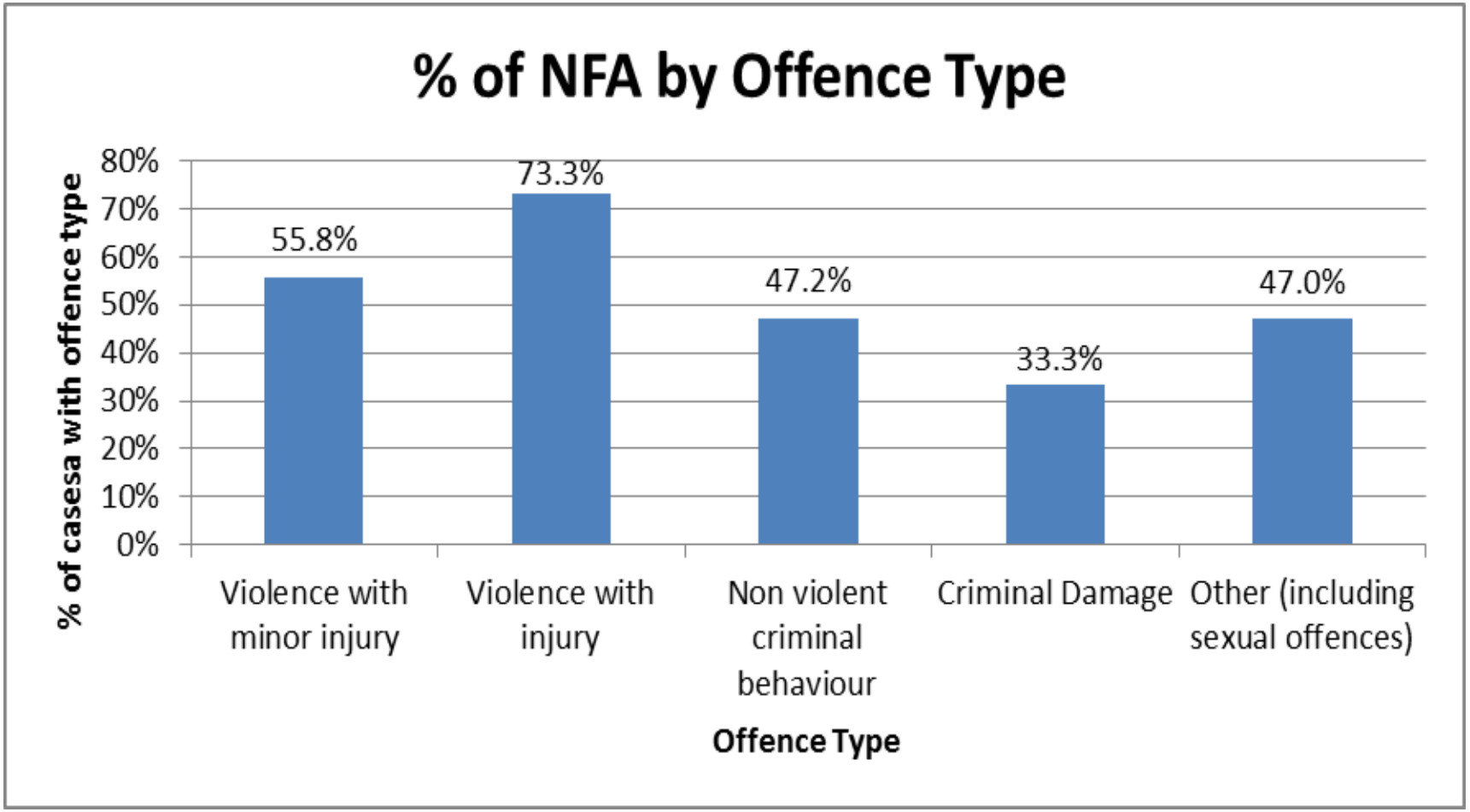
What Does NFA Mean?

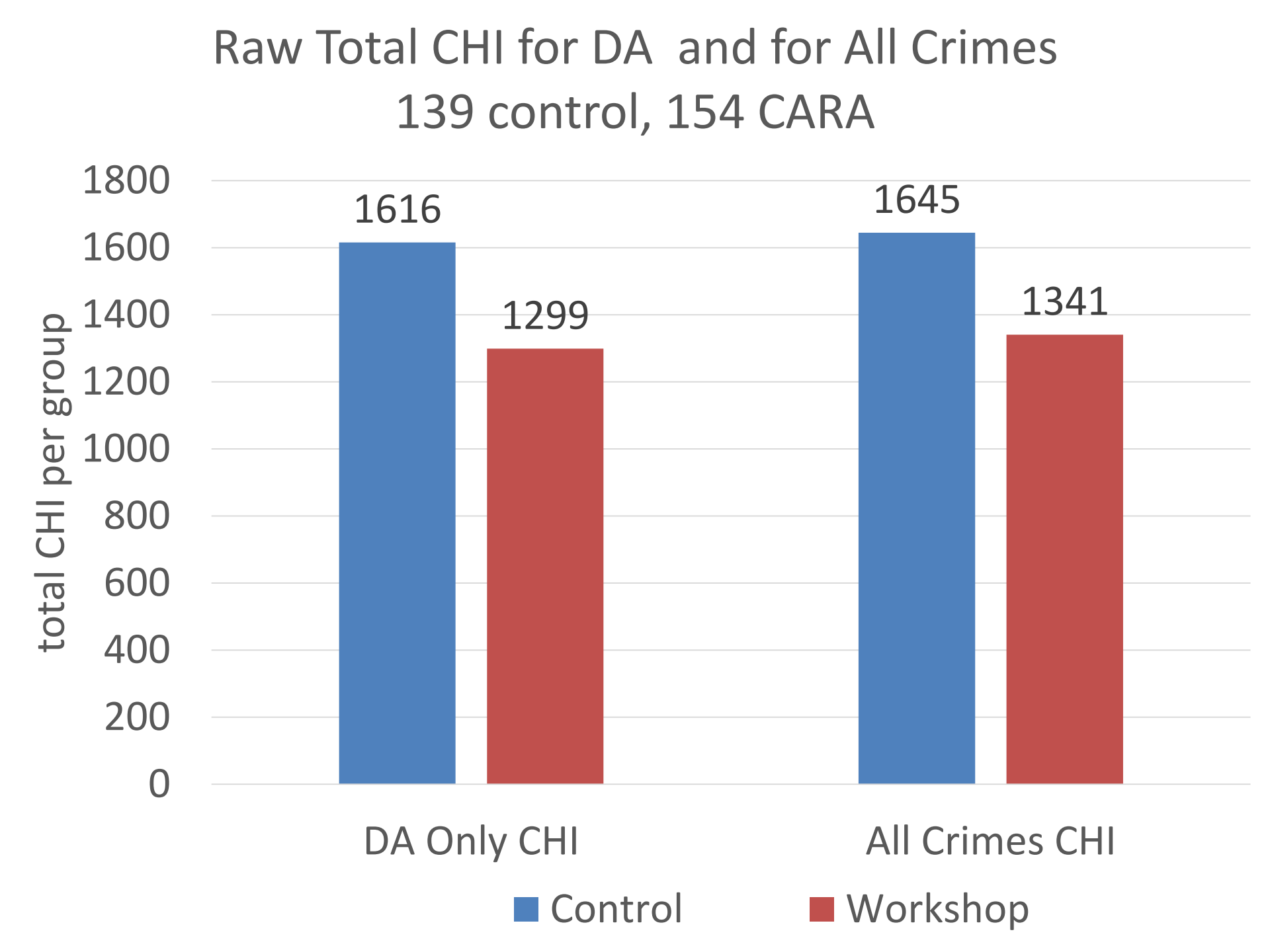
2 to 8 hours after arrest:

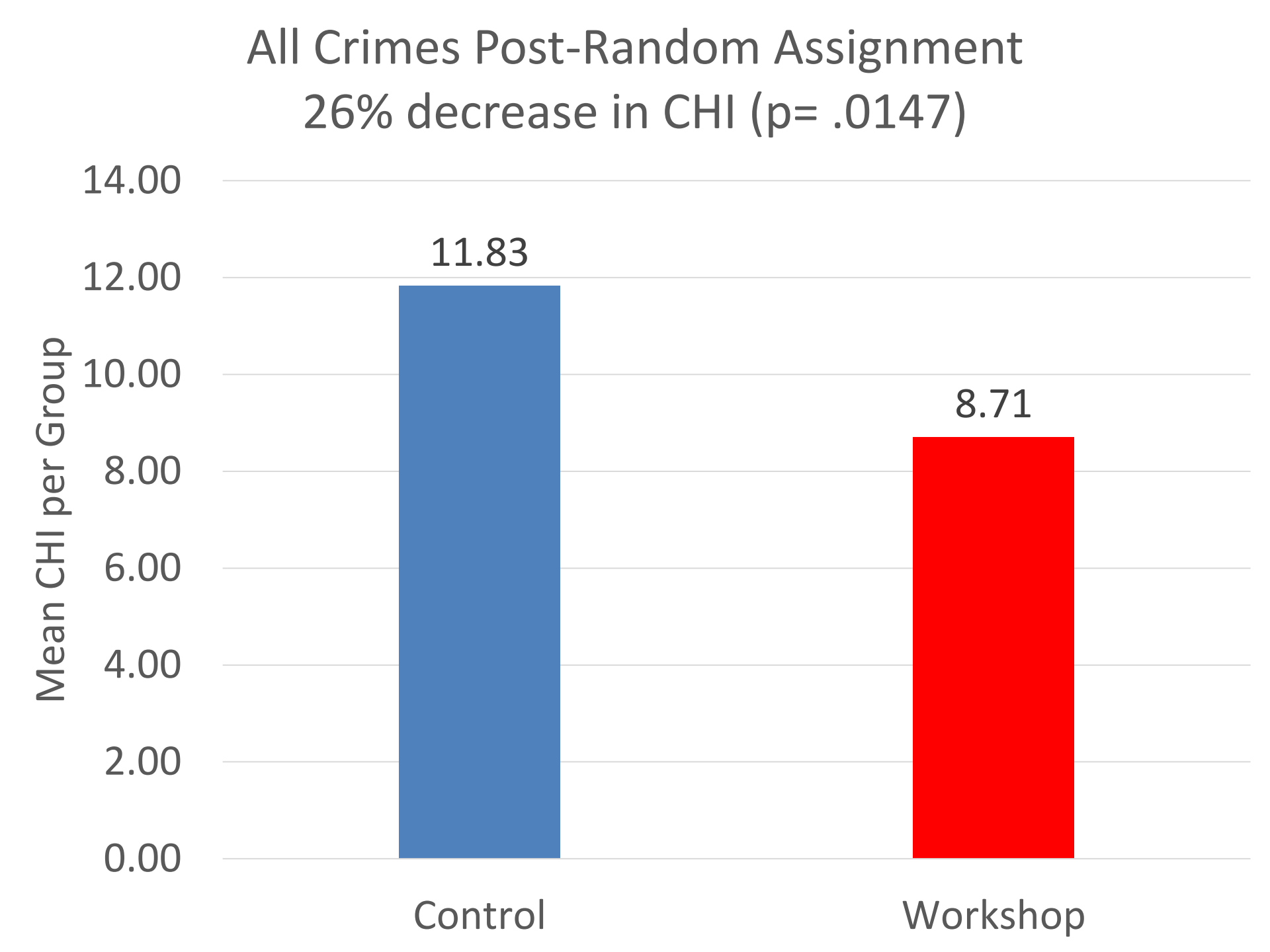
Just leave. Full stop.

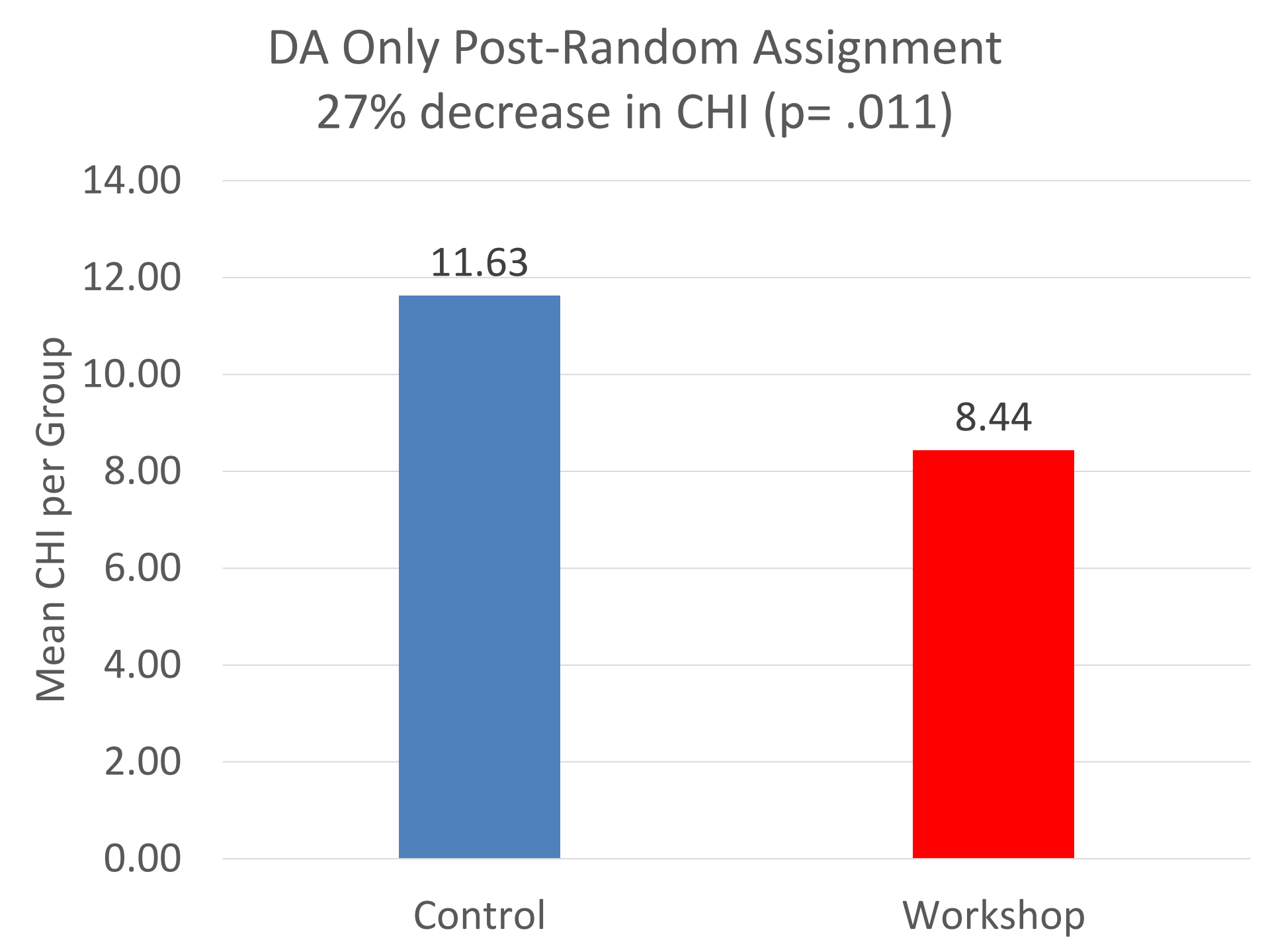
- No comment—by police
- No discussion—so it won't happen again
- No offer of help
- Just GO!

What Happens After Arrest? NFA




Raw Total CHI for DA and for All Crimes
139 control, 154 CARA
total CHI per group
1800
1600
1400
1200
1000
800
600
400
200
0
1616
1299
1645
1341
DA Only CHI
All Crimes CHI
Control
Workshop


All Crimes Post-Random Assignment
26% decrease in CHI (p= .0147)
Mean CHI per Group
14.00
12.00
10.00
8.00
6.00
4.00
2.00
0.00
11.83
8.71
Control
Workshop


DA Only Post-Random Assignment
27% decrease in CHI (p= .011)
14.00
12.00
10.00
8.00
6.00
4.00
2.00
0.00
Mean CHI per Group
11.63
8.44
Control
Workshop

Effect Size Analysis (Cohen's d)
Small to Medium Effect

All Crimes:

d = -.286 (95% CI -.517 , -.056; p<.02)

DA Only

d = -.299 (95% CI -.530 , -.068; p<.01)

Full 293-Case Sample

- Frequency DA Charges

Control = 23.7 per 100

CARA = 18.8 per 100

21% fewer repeats

- Prevalence DA Charges

Control = 20%

CARA = 13%

35% fewer repeaters

So, 2-Workshop CARA Works

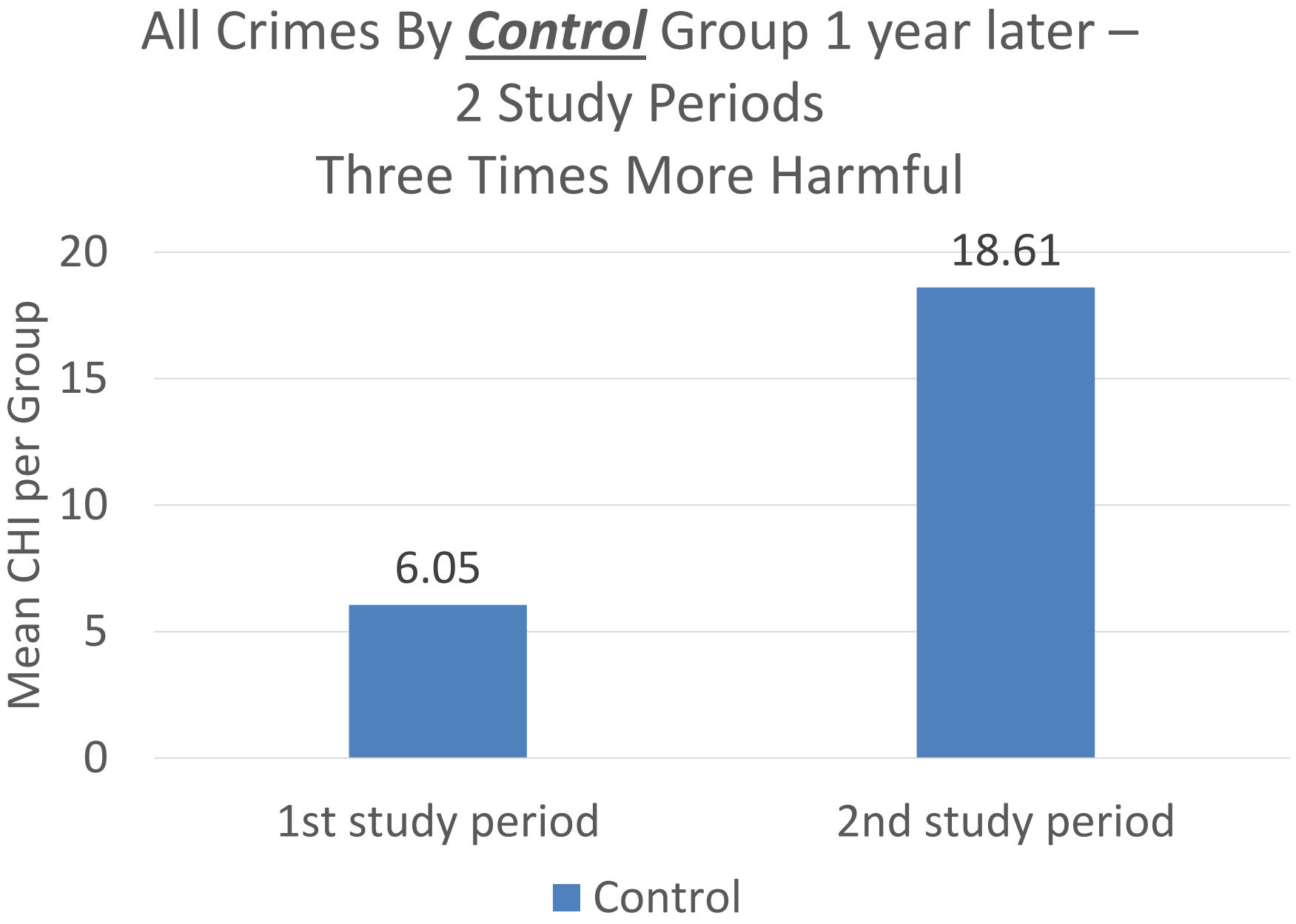
- 12-month effect is a widely used standard
- Consistent with the theory
- No one expects a complete life change in two Saturdays
- But no evidence for a 26-week minimum for DA offender programmes (HO standard)
- CARA disproves the 26-week hypothesis
- Compared to NFA? Probably much better
- Need to test with NFA cases—voluntarily?

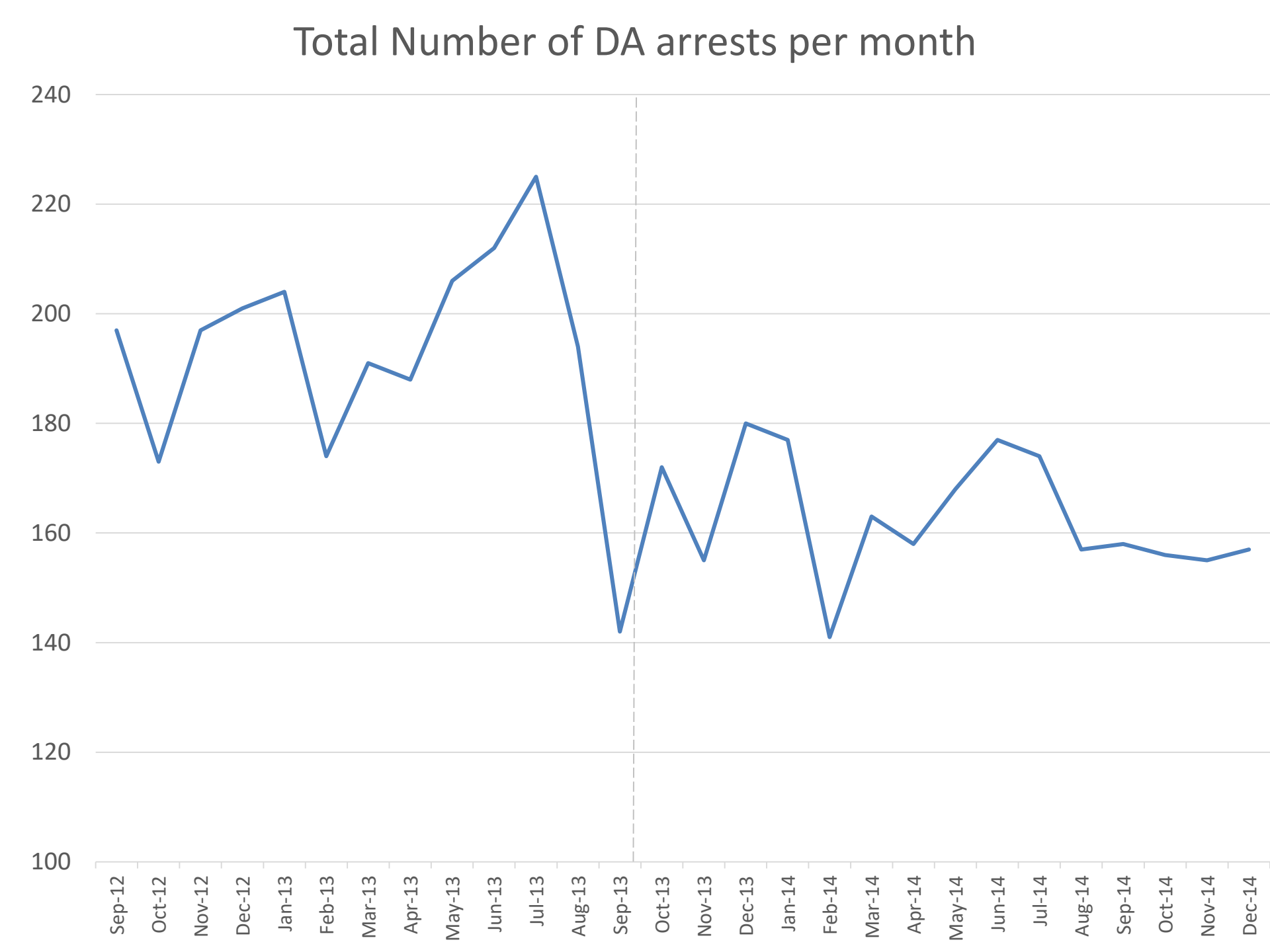
So WHY should CARA be an improved criminal justice response for victims of domestic abuse?

- ✓ Victims frequently state they don't want to leave the relationship and they want their partner to get help
- ✓ A simple caution [or NFA] doesn't challenge perpetrators to reflect on the impact of their behaviour on their family
- ✓ Engagement with victims from police and third sector agencies is stepped up as a result of a conditional caution for a longer period of time, therefore enhanced risk management
- ✓ Arresting and charging people for domestic abuse is <u>not</u> the only way to tackle domestic abuse and prevent further offending

Remaining Issue: Classifying Offenders

- Pre and post 1/11/2013 (n=146; n=147)
- Cases dropped off
- Fewer Arrests
- Fewer CARA cases—but more serious controls
- Somewhat reduced numbers in workshops
- Perhaps a different mix of clients?
- In any case, initial effect very large
- Later in experiment—not so large


All Crimes By Control Group 1 year later –
2 Study Periods
Three Times More Harmful
Mean CHI per Group
20
15
10
5
0
6.05
18.61
1st study period
2nd study period
Control


Total Number of DA arrests per month
240
220
200
180
160
140
120
100
Sep-12
Oct-12
Nov-12
Dec-12
Jan-13
Feb-13
Mar-13
Apr-13
May-13
Jun-13
Jul-13
Aug-13
Sep-13
Oct-13
Nov-13
Dec-13
Jan-14
Feb-14
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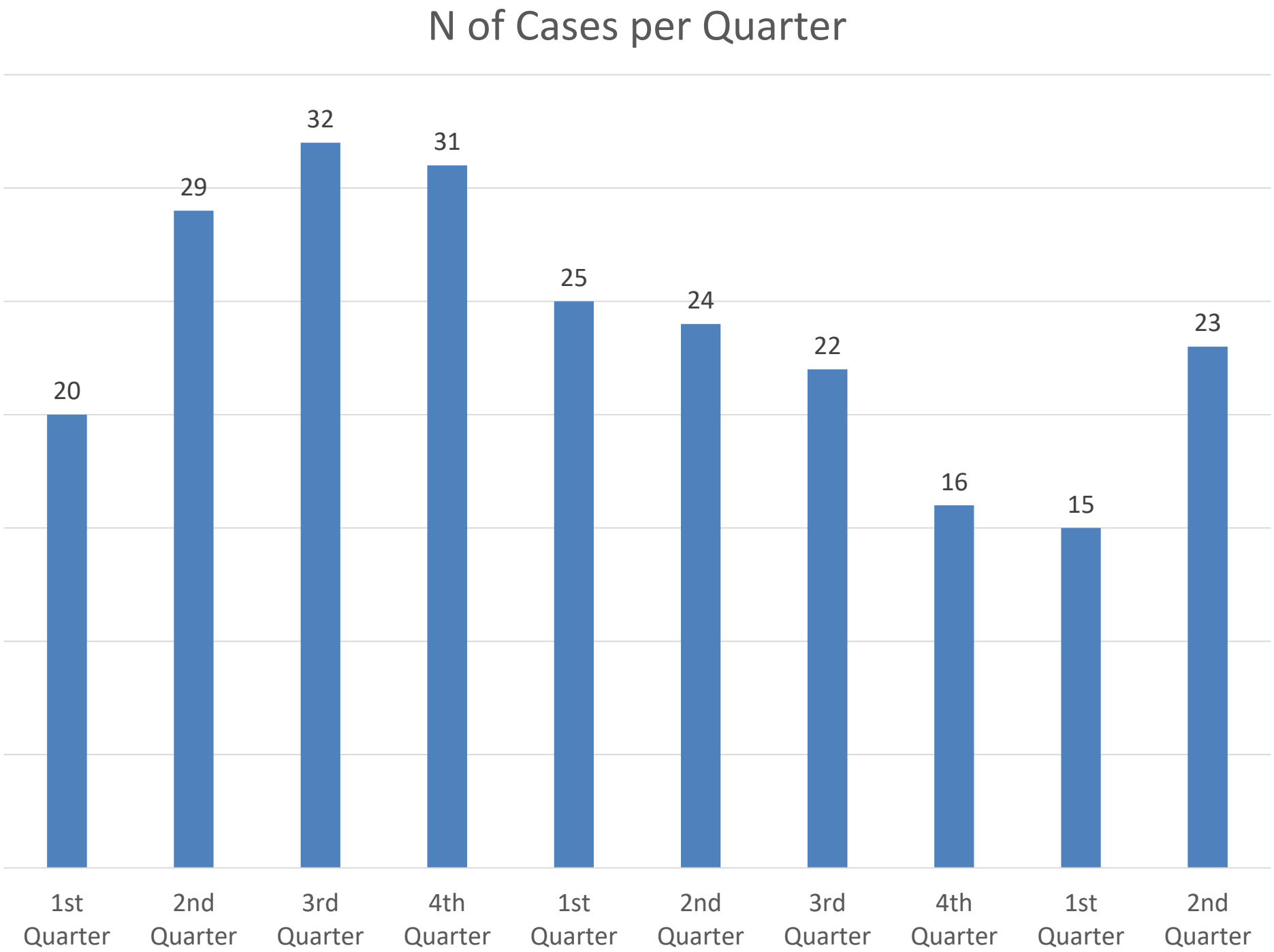
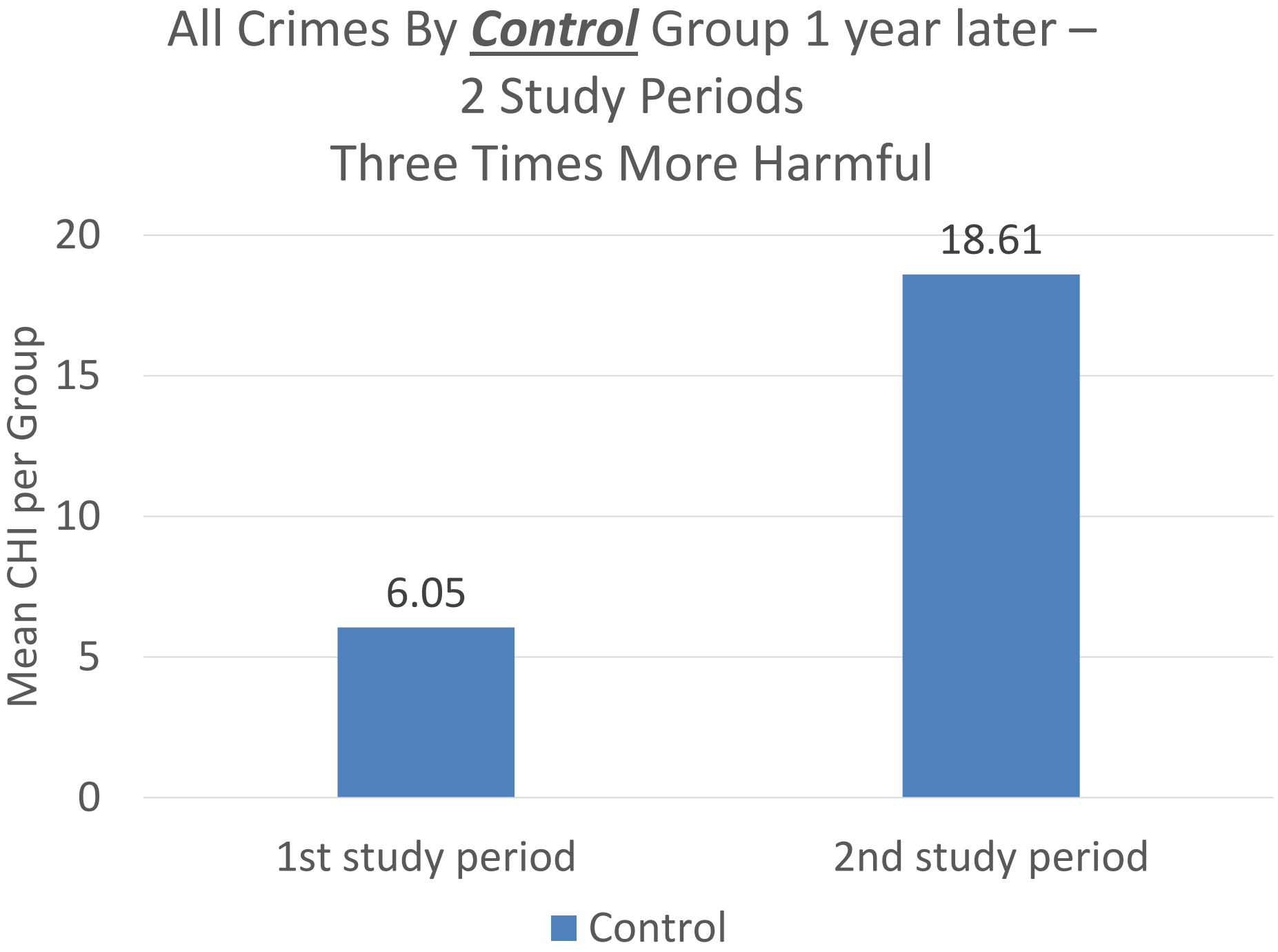
Jul-14
Aug-14
Sep-14
Oct-14
Nov-14
Dec-14


N of Cases per Quarter
20
29
32
31
25
24
22
16
15
23
1st Quarter
2nd Quarter
3rd Quarter
4th Quarter
1st Quarter
2nd Quarter
3rd Quarter
4th Quarter
1st Quarter
2nd Quarter


All Crimes By Control Group 1 year later –
2 Study Periods
Three Times More Harmful
Mean CHI per Group
20
15
10
5
0
6.05
18.61
1st study period
2nd study period
Control

Effect of Volume on Workshops

Mean Size of Workshops

24% smaller

First 146 Cases

(first 11 workshops A)

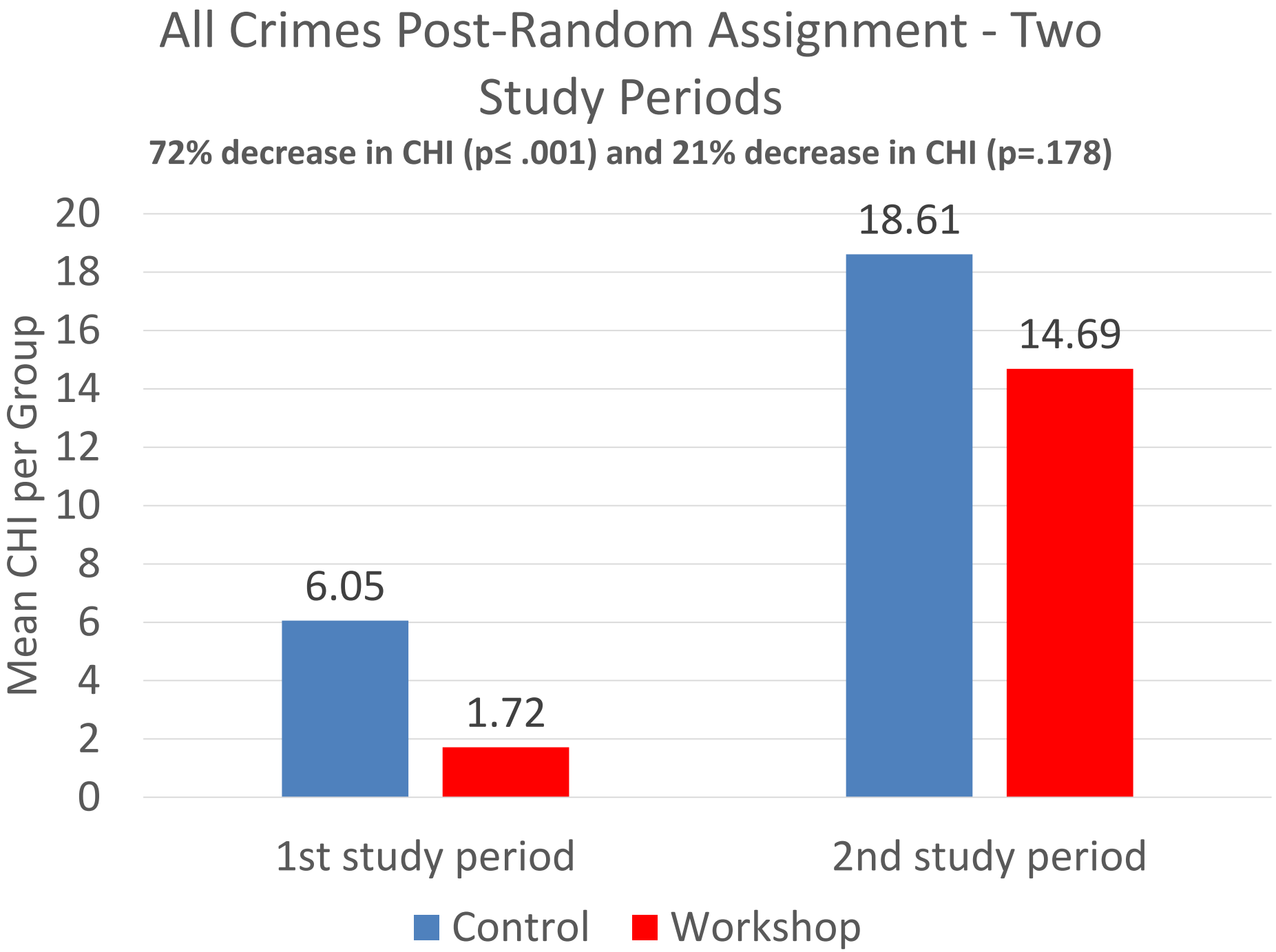
5.5 offenders

Last 147 Cases

(last 18 workshops A)

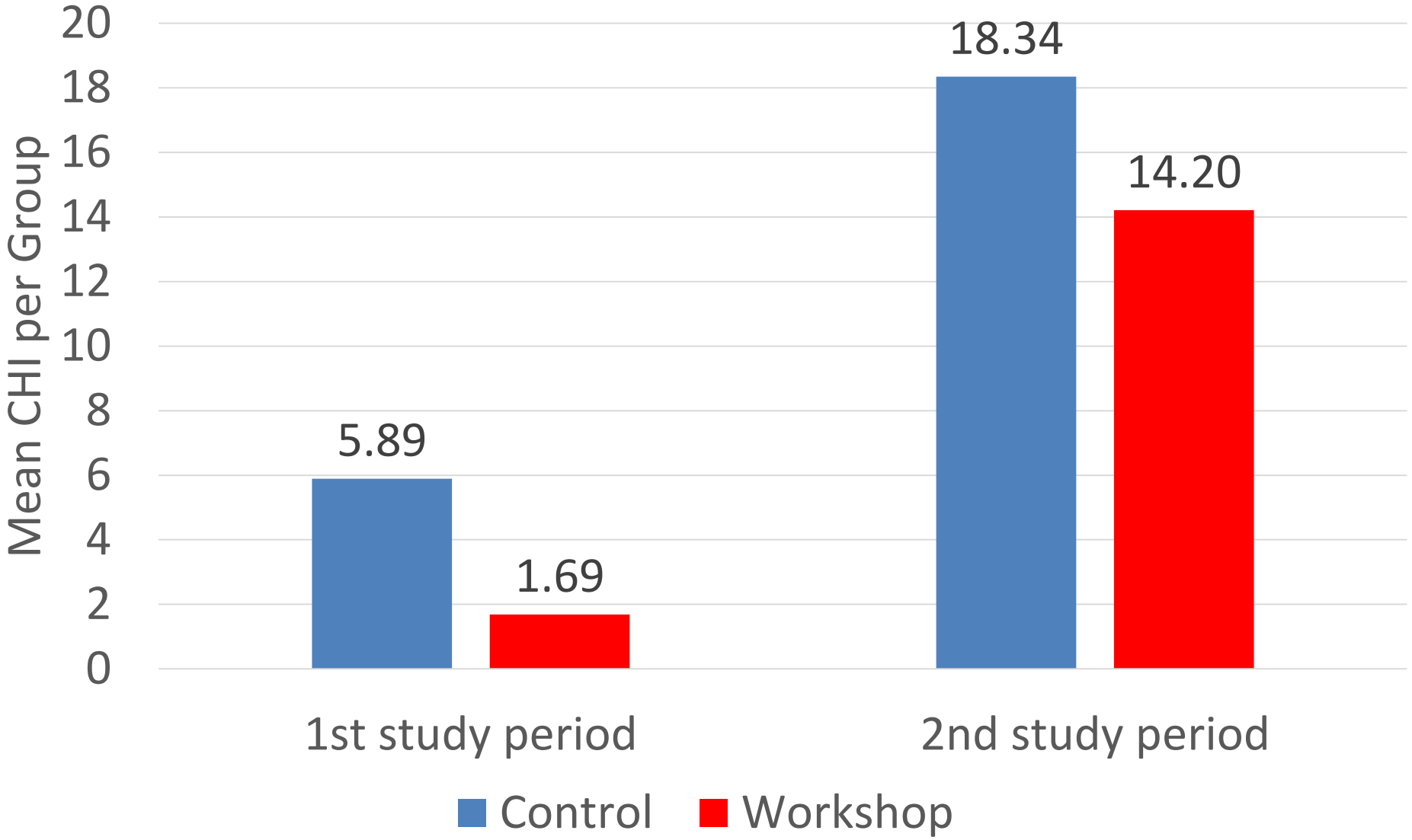
4.2 offenders

Supt. Tony Rowlinson


All Crimes Post-Random Assignment - Two Study Periods
72% decrease in CHI (p≤ .001) and 21% decrease in CHI (p=.178)
Mean CHI per Group
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
6.05
1.72
18.61
14.69
1st study period
2nd study period
Control
Workshop

DA Only Post-Random Assignment - two study periods

71% decrease in CHI (p≤ .001) and 23% decrease in CHI (p=.147)



Does CARA work better on less harmful offenders?

- Can't tell
- Good question for replication
- Met is planning to test on frequent repeaters
- May not work as well—but no backfire evident in CARA (unlike US arrest experiments)

So, What's the Upshot?

- A lot of progress around CARA since the RCT
- Funding secured by Hampshire Police via Office of P & C Commissioner for three years
- Rolled out to whole of Hampshire beyond test area
- Hants OPCC both commissions and performance-tracks the CARA service
- Recognition by Hampshire Police of need to recognise 3rd Sector perspective in interests of a good partnership
- Police funding arrangement allowed Hampton Trust to plan financially for service delivery

Evaluation impact

- Rigorous evaluation made the difference!
- But strong evidence base only the start for a policy shift
- Unanticipated bumps in the road – welcome removal of need for CPS approval for referral to CARA, requiring only police discretion, resulted in drop in referral, not an increase – reluctance of police to make a positive decision to do something different
- Continuing 'in principle' opposition from media and others concerned about message in anything other than full-enforcement punitive response to DA, regardless of benefits to victims.

What else?

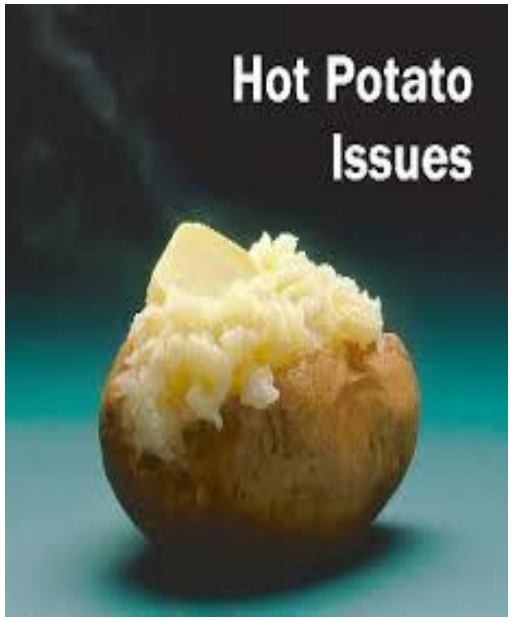
- ‘Pilots’ in West Midlands and Leicestershire Police (including to Punjabi- and Polish-language communities in WMP)
- DPP has agreed that 7 police forces can submit proposals to use conditional cautions for DA with CARA-like conditions
- Hampton Trust now working with Avon & Somerset Police
- Northants Police have DPP permission
- Cambs and Norfolk/Suffolk have sought permission from DPP
- Hampton Trust establishing a national oversight group - a CARA manual and monitoring practice
- AND

What Else?

- Home Office/MOJ Consultation Response and Draft Bill '*Transforming the Response to Domestic Abuse'* (Jan 2019)
- Pp60-61: 'The evaluation [of CARA] showed that the combination of a conditional caution and a workshop has a positive effect on reoffending rates…

  'You said: There needs to be an alternative that can support rehabilitation of the offender. Victims usually just want the behaviour to stop: the conditional caution would provide some options in relation to lower level offending. This could encourage victims to report sooner..

  'We are committed to building evidence on the effectiveness of early rehabilitative intervention to tackle domestic abuse offenders.'



- 'Soft option'?
- Not holding offenders accountable? (is NFA better?)
- Shifts focus from securing victimless prosecutions
- Too difficult to implement?

Things are changing

- CARA can be accused of all of these BUT
- Focus no longer on cj response alone – shortcomings of charge and prosecution too apparent.
- Growing demand for programmes that work to reduce harm to victims of DA by emphasising offender behaviour change
- Demand for high quality evaluations goes with this
- CARA has shown the way.