Does evidence-based policing (EBP) taught within the initial entry routes for policing provide opportunities to impact professional practice?

Tony Blockley

Leeds Trinity University, United Kingdom

T.Blockley@leedtrinity.ac.uk

Abstract

Evidence-Based Policing (EBP) has often been used to describe innovations and developments in policing. Research and findings have emerged from adopting EBP, which traditionally utilises scientific processes to develop new knowledge and understanding for future workplace applications. Research using a traditional EBP approach is challenging, requiring significant investment in time and commitment by all parties involved. However, policing's focus is on keeping people safe, with resources and time often being limited. The challenges for those in policing are in the here and now; they need suggestions, innovations and resolutions quickly. Often, policing is seen to lurch into a solution-based approach to address critical issues that only create longer-term challenges or, after months, return to their original state. This article examines the opportunities to develop knowledge and understanding through learning within the Police Constable Entry Routes (PCER) and specifically through the research conducted by new police officers within the Police Constable Degree Apprenticeship.

Keywords: *Policing, Evidence-Based, Criticality.*

Introduction

Policing continues to undergo significant transformation, driven by a focus on professionalisation, increasing public scrutiny, and the demand for effective responses to emerging threats such as cybercrime, AI, and community trust (Sherman, 2015; Barbin et al., 2024). This marks a notable departure from its origins in 1829. In the 21st century, there is a growing emphasis on accountability, increased demand, and efficient resource management within a financially and politically constrained environment. This shift represents a move from the traditional reactive-based approach, heavily influenced by procedure, tradition, and culture (Huey & Mitchell, 2021). Consequently, the roles within policing are being redefined, with a diminishing emphasis on status and command and a growing recognition of the increasingly complex and nuanced nature of modern policing environments (Christopher, 2015). This necessitates officers, staff, and volunteers to have broader skills and knowledge than traditionally required. The ability to think critically, creatively, and analytically to resolve problems is more crucial than ever. Such skills are integral elements of both undergraduate and postgraduate educational programmes.

Education and training have been central to policing, shaping research-informed practices and leading to the development of Evidence-based Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing (Goldstein, 1979), the SARA model (Eck & Spelman, 1987), Community-Oriented Policing (Goldstein, 1987; Skogan & Frydl, 2004), CompStat (Vito et al., 2005), and Intelligence-Led Policing (Carter & Carter, 2009). Goos et al. (2009) argue that while the evidence supporting graduate entry for policing may be limited, leveraging higher education's strengths is the morally and ethically correct path, considering the policing environment's broader and more complex nature and the wider call for the recognition of the profession of the service. The educational argument is supported by experiences from other professions, such as doctors, nurses, clergy and teachers, which recognise degree-level education and entry as a purposeful strategy to attract individuals with advanced analytic skills, the ability to think independently and critically, and a theoretical understanding of the problems they address, all essential for effective problem-solving (Tilley & Laycock, 2017). Bierly et al. (2009) summarise education and research development, stating that evidence-based practices are expected to enhance knowledge, effectiveness, and economic efficiency. Thompson and Payne (2019) elaborate that legitimate knowledge derived

from research and experience provides an opportunity to generate new professional guidance relevant to operational practice methods.

Initial entry routes for new police officers in England and Wales are licensed by policing's national professional body, the College of Policing. Hosted under the umbrella of Police Constable Entry Routes (PCER). Of the four possible entry routes for new police officers, two are work-focused programmes for those employed in policing, the Police Constable Degree Apprenticeship (PCDA) and Degree Holder Entry Program (DHEP), and a third degree-level route for those aspiring to join the police service but not yet employed as police officers, the Professional Policing Degree (PPD). In 2024, an additional, non-degree, unaccredited entry route for new police officers was also instituted.

The PCDA and DHEP are taught by partnerships between a police force and higher education provider/s as work-focused programmes of study that are fee-free to the learner. The PPD is taught solely by higher education providers in a university setting to students aspiring to join the police service but having not yet been recruited. The learner pays university fees directly to their chosen university provider.

A so-called 'fourth entry route' for new police officers is the Police Constable Entry Programme (PCEP), which was developed to be taught in force and in the policing workplace over two years. The PCEP is mapped against the first two years of the PCDA. The programme is of no cost to the learner and has a training focus. The Home Secretary at the time of the PCEP design required no external educational accreditation. However, after the launch of the PCEP, several forces have sought opportunities for educational recognition.

All of the entry routes for employed police officers, or those aspiring to join, contained within the PCER continue to shape policing education by embedding evidence-based knowledge and critical thinking as foundational elements, albeit at different educational levels of learning. Recent critiques, however, emphasise the need for inclusivity and adaptability of the PCER to address complex societal issues, such as systemic biases and the impact of emerging technologies like digital forensics. Bryant et al. (2014) highlight this as providing police recruits with relevant skills and knowledge to degree level will help them do a better job. However, others, such as Hough and Stanko (2020) and Paoline, Terrill, and Rossler (2015), suggest no differences between degree-educated and non-degree-educated officers. Hough and Stanko (2020) conclude that the considerations surrounding graduate-level entry and

its link to professionalisation are context-specific, recognising that internal staff can undermine the principles through their exercise of resistance and negativity. Still, opportunities and benefits are associated with degree-level officers' recruitment and subsequent deployment. The shift change encapsulates the development of advanced knowledge, critical thinking and problem-solving skills.

The education element of the PCER becomes particularly relevant to developing police constables to transfer knowledge and skills to deal with, manage, investigate, prevent and detect a myriad of incidents and crimes. Supporting victims with complex situations whilst assessing and managing risk, all under the scrutiny of the public (Capellan et al., 2020). The education process also provides other opportunities to develop individuals and inform the wider service. The degree-level entry routes for those employed in policing, in particular the PCDA and DHEP, encompass a range of research projects designed to meet the challenges facing policing and support the strategic priorities of individual forces. With considered design, projects can and should explore policing issues more thoroughly, utilising transparent research processes (Huey & Mitchell, 2021). Although the work-based research projects do not contribute to the sociological or criminological dialogue on the development of policing, they use the opportunities presented by degree-level learning to examine policing practice through the lens of new and prospective constables.

Context and Discussion

Evidence-based activities have their foundations in the healthcare professions and have been highlighted as crucial to medicine development for many years (Cochrane, 1972). At the time, Cochrane (1972) also disparaged clinicians who were critical of experimentally proven techniques and identified how doctors were often puzzled by the evidence presented from the basic sciences. However, evidence-based practice and interventions continue to be a fundamental cornerstone for contemporary health care, with the evolution of competency frameworks to assist in the standardisation of delivery throughout the education of healthcare professionals (Lehane et al., 2021).

The concept of evidence-based practice for policing was later developed by Goldstein (1979) in the field of Problem-Oriented Policing and again by Eck and Spelman (1987), resulting in the Scanning, Analysis, Research, and Assessment

(SARA) model. This model provided the initial foundations for adopting an evidence-based approach to policing.

The evolution of evidence-based practice underwent further development by Sherman (1998), emphasising rigorous scientific research, such as randomised control trials, to provide the best possible evidence to inform and guide policing practice. However, over several years, a range of authors (Welsh & Farrington, 2001; Brown et al.*,* 2018; Pepper et al., 2024) suggest that, due to the nature of criminal justice, more expansive use of various methodologies should also be considered suitable to inform professional practice across policing.

What was now termed evidence-based policing (EBP) was developed further by Farrington et al. (2002), who introduced the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS), and by Sherman, Neyroud and Neyroud (2016), with the Crime Harm Index. EBP sought to address some key areas of reducing community harm and improving social welfare efficiently and effectively. Evidence-based policing (EBP) continues to evolve, incorporating advanced methodologies such as predictive analytics, AI-driven crime mapping, and cross-disciplinary frameworks (den Heyer, 2022). Recent studies (Prince et al., 2021; Dakalbab et al., 2022) emphasise the role of EBP in addressing global challenges, including the rising threats of cybercrime, transnational crime, and public health-related policing. It is noted by Weisburd and Eck (2019) that EBP is not intended as a replacement for policing innovations, nor is it an alternative, but should be seen as complementary (Lum & Koper, 2017). The EBP approach and the proposed outcomes derived from the positivist scientific approach often do not match the intended outcomes (Hesketh & Williams, 2017).

Traynor (2002) argues that the greater use of EBP in the face of austerity, increasing risk, and emphasis on managerialism, including Randomised Control Trials (RCT), is an essential practice. However, Upshur (1999) argues that the lack of contextualisation, individual practitioner and user variables has been disregarded. This is further argued by Bullock and Tilley (2009), who suggest that EBP is unrealistic, reductive, prescriptive and detached from the realities of crime and policing. This argument follows that evidence for forming information and knowledge should be from various credible sources (Higgs & Jones, 2000). Adding to the argument proposed by Greene (2014) that EBP ignores the critical context whilst viewing issues and the service as static, Wood et al. (2017) suggest that the EBP agenda is shaped by views and assumptions favouring the interpretation of data in specific ways. Fleming and

Rhodes (2018) support this, highlighting the importance of experience when interpreting EBP in professional practice, with users seeing if the new knowledge makes sense and aligns with what they already know.

Explorations of EBP and its uses are contained within all the entry routes into policing. To a greater or lesser extent, though, the research theory is applied through developing a project relating to practice, particularly by those studying the PCDA or DHEP (not to exclude the PPD for those aspiring to join the service). Practitioner-led projects provide fantastic opportunities to explore real-world practice and make improvements (Bibilia & Nottingham, 2021). Understanding such a perspective provides insight into the relationship between RCTs and models of good practice (Ferlie et al., 2000), the former providing reliable evidence through systematic reviews and the latter with continuous professional development and individual learning (Berwick, 1996).

Within such practices, contextualisation is often overlooked. The context of the activity in terms of the police officer, the organisation, the practices and demands, user expectations and public opinion are all integral to the broader understanding and appreciation. In the realm of evidence, the RCT processes do not always capture the narrative through collecting, collating and interpreting high-level evidence, as these are sometimes removed from the social dynamics that directly impact expectations, behaviours and understanding—adopting the notion that evidence within EBP is not confined to a single experimental methodology but instead able to draw on the realities of operational policing, often from the front-line. In this case, it becomes a compelling argument for the value of studying EBP embedded within the PCER. Nottingham and Biblia (2021) note that practitioner-led research projects are designed to help improve professional practice by acquiring new knowledge that can be applied in real-world settings. It is equally essential that such research findings and impact are disseminated more widely (ibid.).

Expanding the Society for Evidence-Based Policing (SEBP) and the explicit support of the College of Policing, Policing and Crime Commissioners and Chief Constables highlights the impetus for utilising research to highlight and improve services (Cowen & Cartwright, 2019). However, there remains, in many cases, an uncomfortable relationship between academia and policing (Bradley & Nixon, 2009); recent developments and collaborations have demonstrated the ability to work

together and create significant findings and outputs for the benefit of policing (Foster & Bailey, 2010; Fyfe, 2017).

Benefits

Recent advancements underline the value of EBP, particularly its ability to integrate real-time data analytics and collaborative research with community stakeholders. These approaches enhance transparency, build public trust, and address racial equity and inclusion challenges in policing practices (College of Policing, 2024). Arguably, this contradicts Sherman (1998), who suggests that EBP should be considered more constructed and constrained and produced through experimental design. This should be set against the backdrop of police research conducted by those outside the policing organisations, with little knowledge of policing or the context of the profession. Consequently, such researchers are viewed with suspicion and kept at arm's length (Bradley & Nixon, 2009). Costley et al. (2010) note that one advantage of being an "insider researcher" is creating situated knowledge valuable to the organisation where the researcher works.

It is recognised that the question of evidence, the translation and use in the context of 'best evidence' can be challenging and a matter of opinion (Laycock, 2012; Lum & Kennedy, 2012; Davies et al., 2000). However, there is a case for developing and widening the remit of EBP to be inclusive, which may use officer surveys to evaluate crime reduction strategies (Santos, 2018), but also involves appropriate research involving practitioners to better understand modern policing challenges at a grassroots level (Knutsson & Tompson, 2017). Knutsson and Thompson argue that experimental EBP, synonymous with Sherman et al. (1998), is too limiting and screens out other potentially helpful research evidence.

Policing, in many respects, is not unlike education and social work in that the policies and decisions made outside the profession influence the activities within. Therefore, it is argued that due to complex and often diverse environments, a more nuanced and less scientific approach is needed to understand the practitioner's beliefs, experience and behaviours (O'Dwyer, 2003). Boulton et al. (2020) suggest that by adopting the scientific approach, EBP leans towards producing evidence to justify the outcomes and the implementation, which is based on a hegemonic assumption of what best practice should look like (Petr & Walter, 2009). Building on

this is the notion that the current knowledge base is limited, there is high-level strategic knowledge created through purist approaches to EBP and a lack of pragmatic ground-level understanding and that much research evidence of value that could inform policing and criminal justice policy is lost when the 'gold standard' criteria are strictly imposed (Lumsden & Goode, 2016).

Adding to the debate is the fact that police officers do not have access to a body of evidence about the behaviours and problems that they are expected to deal with, and that in these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the police often do not know what to do when dealing with problems (Goldstein, 1990; Bullock & Tilley, 2009). This supports Punch (2015), who suggests that a more comprehensive view of research is undertaken, including many of the operational issues facing policing today and, in the future, rather than focusing on high-level strategic issues.

Limitations

Research can and is often seen negatively within policing, a distraction from 'real' policing (Foster & Bailey, 2010), the fears of bias, political influence and misrepresentation (Wilkinson, 2010), the researcher's reputation within policing and with participants (Fleming, 2010) and seen as a top-down driven strategy, without understanding of the 'real world' challenges, (Perez & Shtull, 2002). Historically, policing has been somewhat disinclined towards research, resulting in a reluctance or refusal to engage in the process (Holgersson & Knutsson, 2012), manipulating the results or suppressing the findings (Holgersson, 2014).

A broader challenge for any research is the time it takes and how the findings are received and more widely implemented. Often, research is considered in terms of evaluations that are not seen to derive from the experience of police officers; the choice alternatives are typically not recognisable in the results of set-piece research. Research results come long after they are needed, and innovation is seen as less worthy (Pease & Roach, 2017).

While EBP offers significant potential, its adoption faces practical challenges, such as resistance to change, limited resources, and a gap between academic research and operational application. Furthermore, the rapid pace of societal and technological changes requires a more agile approach to research integration, ensuring it remains relevant to current policing priorities. Policing can be very

demanding, and often, the challenge for research is to deliver the desired outcomes within the timescales expected (Foster & Bailey, 2010; Buerger, 2010; Lum, Koper and Telep, 2011). Wilkinson (2010) adds to the arguments by suggesting that when finally published, new events have changed policing agendas, with policing refocused on new priorities. This is exacerbated by the policing 'can-do' mentality, resulting in acting prematurely before the research outcomes are available and considering them in the broader context.

Research is often viewed with caution, partly due to the negative impact of historical research and the effect this has had on individuals and the service (Engel & Whalen, 2010). Also, the service struggles to have confidence in research-based practice due to the historical lack of active engagement and ownership in the process and the findings (Marks et al., 2009). Coupled with these challenges and the time it takes to conduct research, Moseley and Tierney (2005) identify that organisations generally do not allow practitioners the time to undertake a rigorous research process, as it does not constitute 'real work'. This is aggravated by low-priority research, particularly in a direct service environment, such as policing (Gira et al., 2004). However, Munro (2004) counters this suggestion, arguing that the aim of improvement and effectiveness that has grown in response to the increasing demand for accountability and transparency looks to sustain learning and growth through a creative and interactive process. Fleming and Wingrove (2017) support identifying the organisational climate to achieve this directional change, and that the service needs to be empowered to influence change from the lower ranks upwards when seeking the required structures and resources to implement EBP (ibid).

Foster and Bailey (2010) discuss frustration with the time it takes to implement change within policing, where a 'can-do culture' is focused on getting the job done versus a desire to hold back and think more critically before acting. This is exacerbated by the notion suggested by Lum (2009) and Gravelle and Rogers (2014) that the research can be flawed by design due to a failure to understand the policing context, and that the research falls short of implementation. The PCER provides the means to ensure that neither of these points applies and that any research completed is contextual, meaningful and relevant to the daily operationalisation of policing.

The development of educationally accredited initial routes of entry for policing provides an opportunity to develop a fully articulated knowledge base (Lum & Koper, 2017). Those collaborative efforts of practitioners and academics, or in the case of

PCDA and DHEP, practitioners as academics create opportunities to develop and advance knowledge (Veigas & Lum, 2013). This opportunity also ensures that the issues raised by Fleming (2010) are irrelevant within the PCER, as evidence-based research can translate into operational activity with tangible and measurable outcomes. This also removes the concerns of Perez and Shtull (2002), who argue that academic work is too theoretical and devoid of real-world pragmatism within policing. We should not lose sight of the role of police and academics in that they are both seekers of knowledge and understanding underpinned by evidence.

With evidence-based research projects undertaken within the PCDA and DHEP supporting the strategic priorities of individual forces and having a determined construct, it is possible to utilise and combine multiple studies to understand a problem in greater depth. The combination of differing methodologies within this context is an opportunity to engage in more pragmatic research that includes all users, including the consumers (Maruna, 2010). Adding weight to the argument, Tilley and Laycock (2017) suggest that the potential triangulation of this approach provides more significant weight to the combined findings and the mixed methods epistemology.

Value

It is challenging to generate an understanding of the value of research without the conclusion of longitudinal studies. However, some of the perennial problems and challenges communities face provide opportunities for practitioners to conduct research (Jaschke et al., 2007). Bierly et al. (2009) observe that evidence-based practices and, by definition, increased understanding are expected to assist the police in enhancing and developing their knowledge base, achieving greater efficiency and effectiveness. In the case of the policing practitioner, the course of action is often determined by their way of perceiving the world's reality, by their acquired working habits, experiences, and perspectives of the world around them (Jaschke et al., 2007). This opportunity reveals that the police can be 'co-owners' of research, thereby creating individual understanding and concurrence of the benefits of research-informed and evidence-based practices that can be shared within an organisation (Telep & Lum, 2014).

Koziarski and Lee (2020) suggest that evidence-based practice is primarily focused on crime prevention, and extending the base for research has not attracted

similar interest, adding that Porter et al. (2015) suggest that policing's evaluation of performance is narrow and that this could lead to adverse outcomes. An evidence-based approach adopted to inform policy does not necessarily translate for adoption by policing practitioners (Thacher, 2008). The PCER and practitioner research opens the door for independent and transparent research into key issues impacting front-line officers (Willis & Mastrofki, 2016), linking directly to the argument proposed by Munro (2004) of sustaining learning and growth.

Kennedy (2014) notes that for academic researchers to be influential, they should spend time within an organisation alongside and operating with practitioners to gain first-hand experience of the activities, challenges and context. This supports the conditions set by Santos (2018), who states that practical research activities are achieved by surveying police officers to evaluate crime reduction strategies. The benefits of the PCDA and DHEP in this context are apparent: researchers and practitioners are after the same outcome: finding the truth. Gummeson (2000) describes how the insider view provides good access and, consequently, understands the organisation's norms and culture, translating into more significant learning opportunities due to its relevance. However, it should be noted that insider research may also have limitations due to internal relationships, potential conflicts associated with loyalty, and, as such, researcher bias (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007).

Conclusion

Expanding the scope of practitioner-based research studies to include interdisciplinary approaches and real-time feedback mechanisms offers opportunities to create more dynamic, inclusive, and actionable outcomes. By effectively using technology and fostering collaborative partnerships, policing can address current and emerging challenges by using an evidence-based approach as a cornerstone of modern policing practice.

Adopting the development and use of evidence-based research projects utilised within some PCERs provides an opportunity for long-term innovation and learning by those working on the front line of policing. Subsequent research outcomes can confirm, add to, or challenge established knowledge and achieve long-term sustainability of policing operating at the leading edge of society (Bradley & Nixon, 2009).

Braga (2013) suggests that a means to embed research is to 'buy in' the resource from a university, or, as Taniguchi and Bueermann (2012) suggest, employing an individual to undertake that role. Using learners studying a PCDA and DHEP provides an opportunity to address both options: using a university academic within the project as a supervisor and a police officer as the employee in the organisation. This collaboration allows for establishing a long-standing arrangement between partners, which benefits both the police force and the university. (Madensen and Sousa, 2015). Developing the notion proposed by Cockbain and Knutsson (2014) that research is performed for and with the police.

The generation of ideas and involvement in the planning and performance of the research provides the opportunity for buy-in, ownership, and, ultimately, value for the respective police force (Frisch, 2016). Such co-production, management and provision of research outputs through any programme of learning within the PCER assists in addressing the challenges of investment, organisational cost and the deliverables of research in the context of organisational development and learning (Blaskovits et al., 2018), creating a critical mass of user-focused research that builds a sustainable evidence base, which is refreshed regularly by those operating on the frontline of policing.

References:

- Berwick D. (1996). Harvesting knowledge from improvement (editorial). JAMA 1996;275:877–8.
- Biblia, S. & Nottingham, P. (2021). " Chapter 9: Planning Practitioner Projects" in Helyer, R., Wall, T. Minton, A. & Lund, A. (2021) The Work-Based Learning Student Handbook. 3rd Edition. Macmillan p185
- Bierly III, P.E., Damanpour, F. & Santoro, M.D., (2009). The application of external knowledge: organisational conditions for exploration and exploitation. *Journal of Management Studies*, *46*(3), pp.481-509.

- Blaskovits, B., Bennell, C., Huey, L., Kalyal, H., Walker, T. & Javala, S., (2018). A Canadian replication of Telep & Lum's (2014) examination of police officers' receptivity to empirical research. *Policing & society*.

- Boulton, L., Phythian, R., Kirby, S. & Dawson, I. (2020). Taking an evidence-based approach to evidence-based policing research. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*.

- Bradley, D., Nixon, C. (2009). Ending the 'dialogue of the deaf': Evidence and policing policies & practices. An Australian case study. Police Practice and Research: An International Journal, 10 (5), pp. 423-435.

- Braga, A. A. (2013). Embedded Criminologists in Police Departments. Ideas in American Policing, 17. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

- Brannick, T. & Coghlan, D., (2007). In defense of being "native": The case for insider academic research. *Organizational research methods*, *10*(1), pp.59-74.

- Brown, J., Belur, J., Tompson, L., McDowall, A., Hunter, G. & May, T. (2018). Extending the remit of evidence-based Policing. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*. 20 (1), pp. 38-51

- Bryant R, Cockcroft T, Tong S & Wood D (2014) Police training and education; past, present and future. In: Brown J (ed.) The Future of Policing. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 383–397.

- Buerger, M, E. (2010). Policing and research: two cultures separated by an almost common language. Police Practice and Research. 11(2), pp.135-143.

- Bullock, K. & Tilley, N., 2009. Evidence-based policing and crime reduction. *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*, *3*(4), pp.381-387.

- Capellan, J.A., Lautenschlager, R. & Silva, J.R., (2020). Deconstructing the Ferguson effect: a multilevel mediation analysis of public scrutiny, de-policing, and crime. *Journal of crime and justice*, *43*(2), pp.125-144.

- Carter, D.L. & Carter, J.G., 2009. Intelligence-led policing: Conceptual and functional considerations for public policy. *Criminal justice policy review*, *20*(3), pp.310-325.

- Christopher, S. (2015). The quantum leap: police recruit training and the case for mandating higher education pre-entry schemes. Policing, 9(4), 388–404.

- Cochrane, A. (1972). *Effectiveness and Efficiency*. London: Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust.

- Cockbain, E. & Knutsson, J. (eds) (2014). Applied Police Research: Challenges and Opportunities. Abingdon: Routledge.

- Costley, C., Geoffrey, E. & Gibbs, P. (2010) Doing work-based research#; approaches to enquiry for insider researchers. London: Sage Ltd.

- Cowen, N. & Cartwright, N. (2019). Street-level theories of change: Adapting the medical model of evidence-based practice for policing.

- Davies, H., Nutley, S., & Smith, C. (eds) (2000) *What Works? Evidence-Based Policy and Practice in Public Services*. Bristol: Policy Press.

- Eck, J., Spelman, W. (1987). Problem-solving:Problem-oriented policing in Newport News. Washington D.C. Police Executive Research Forum.

- Farrington, D.P., D.C. Gottfredson, L.W. Sherman & Welsh, B (2002) 'The Maryl& Scientific Methods Scale', in L.W. Sherman, D.P. Farrington, B.C. Welsh & D.L. MacKenzie (eds) *Evidence-Based Crime Prevention*, pp. 3–21. London: Routledge.
- Ferlie, E., Fitzgerald, L. & Wood, M., (2000). Getting evidence into clinical practice: an organisational behaviour perspective. *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy*, *5*(2), pp.96-102.
- Fleming, J. (2010). Learning to Work Together. Police and Academics. Policing, Oxford University Press. 4(2), pp. 139–145.

- Fleming, J. & Rhodes, R., 2018. Can experience be evidence? Craft knowledge and evidence-based policing. *Policy & Politics*, *46*(1), pp.3-26.

- Fleming, J. & Wingrove, J. (2017) 'We Would if we Could...but not sure if we can': Implementing Evidence Based Practice', *Policing* Vol 11 (2): 202-213

- Foster, J., Bailey, S. (2010). Joining Forces: Maximizing Ways of Making a Difference in Policing. Policing, 4(2), pp. 95–103.

- Frisch, N., 2016. Examining the success of an embedded criminologist partnership. *Translational Criminology*, *2016*(Spring), pp.24-26.

- Fyfe N (2017) Evidence based policing. In: Policing 2026 Evidence Review. Dundee: Scottish Institute for Policing Research, University of Dundee, 9–20.

- Gira, E., Kessler, M. & Poertner, J. (2004) Influencing Social Workers to Use Research Evidence in Practice: Lessons From Medicine & the Allied Health Professions. *Research on Social Work Practice*, Vol. 14 No. 2, p 68 – 79
- Goldstein , H. (1979). Improving policing: A problem-oriented approach. *Crime and Delinquency.* 25 (2), pp.236-258 DOI: 10.1177/001112877902500207

- Goldstein, H., (1987). Toward community-oriented policing: Potential, basic requirements, and threshold questions. *Crime and Delinquency*, *33*(1), pp.6-30.
- Goldstein, H. (1990). Problem Oriented Policing. New York. McGraw-Hill.
- Goos, M., Manning, A., & Salomons, A. (2009). 'Job Polarization in Europe'. American Economic Review 99(2): 58–63.
- Gravelle,J., Rogers, R. (2014). Researching the Police in the 21st Century. Basingstoke. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Greene JR (2014) New directions in policing: balancing prediction and meaning in police research. Justice Quarterly 31(2): 193–228.
- Gummesson, E., (2000). *Qualitative methods in management research*. Sage.
- Hesketh, I. & Williams, E. (2017). A new canteen culture: The potential to use social media as evidence in policing. *Policing: A journal of policy and practice*, *11*(3), pp.346-355.
- Higgs J. & Jones M. (2000) Will evidence-based practice take the reasoning out of practice? In Clinical Reasoning in the Health Professionals, 2nd edn (Higgs J. & Jones M. eds), Butterworth Heineman, Oxford, pp. 307–315.

- Holgersson, S. (2015). An Inside Job. In E. Cockbain & J. Knutsson (Eds.), Applied police research,106–116. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge.

- Holgersson, S. & Knutsson, J., (2012). Differences in performance among Swedish uniformed police officers. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, *6*(2), pp.210-217.

- Hough, M. & Stanko, E.A. (2020). Designing degree-level courses for police recruits in England and Wales: some issues and challenges. *Policing: A Journal of Policy & Practice*, *14*(1), pp.31-42.

- Huey, L. & Mitchell, R., (2021). *Implementing Evidence Based Research: A How-to Guide for Police Organizations*. Policy Press.

- Huey, L. & Quirouette, M., (2010). 'Folks Should Have Access... How You Do it is the Difficult Thing': exploring the importance of leadership to maintaining community policing programmes for the homeless. *Policing & Society*, *20*(2), pp.172-186.

- Jaschke H-G, Bjørge T, del Barrio F, Kwanten C, Mawby T & Pagan M (2007) Perspectives of police science in Europe. Final report. Centre for European Policing (Cepol).

- Kennedy, D., (2014). Working in the field: Police research in theory & in practice. In *Applied Police Research* (pp. 25-36). Routledge.

- Knutsson J & Tompson L (eds) (2017) Advances in Evidence-Based Policing. London: Taylor & Francis.

- Koziarski, J. & Lee, J.R., (2020). Connecting evidence-based policing and cybercrime. *Policing: An International Journal*.

- Koziarski, J., & Lee, J. R. (2020). Connecting Evidence-Based Policing and Cybercrime. Policing: An International Journal, 43(1), 198–211.

- Lehane E, Agreli H, O' Connor S*, et al.* (2021). Building capacity: getting evidence-based practice into healthcare professional curricula. *BMJ Evidence-Based Medicine.* 26 (5) pp. 1-7 DOI: 10.1136/bmjebm-2020-111385

- Laycock G (2012) Happy birthday? Policing 6(2): 101–107.

- Lum, C.(2009). Ideas in American Policing (11). Police Foundation. Washington.

- Lum C & Kennedy LW (2012) In support of evidence-based approaches: a rebuttal to Gloria Laycock. Policing 6(4): 317–323.

- Lum, C., Koper, C., Telep, C. (2011). The Evidence-Based Policing Matrix. Journal of Experimental Criminology. 7 (1), pp 3-26.

- Lum C & Koper CS (2017) Evidence-Based Policing: Translating Research into Practice. Oxford: Clarendon.

- Lumsden K & Goode J (2016) Policing research and the rise of the 'evidence-base': police officer & staff underst&ings of research, its implementation and 'what works'. Sociology, iFirst.

- Madensen, T. & Sousa, W. (2015). 'Practical academics: Positive outcomes of police-researcher collaborations'. In E. Cockbain & J. Knutsson (eds.) (2015) *Applied Police Research: Challenges and Opportunities*, London: Routledge.

- Marks, M., Wood, J., Ally., Walsh, T., Witboo, A. (2009). Worlds Apart? On the Possibilities of Police/Academic Collaborations. Policing. A journal of Policy and Practice. 4 (2), pp. 112–118.

- Maruna S (2010) Mixed method research in criminology: why not go both ways? In: Piquero AR & Weisburd D (eds) Handbook of Quantitative Criminology. New York: Springer, 123–140.

- McKay, J. & Marshall, P., (2001). The dual imperatives of action research. *Information Technology and People*.

- Moseley, A. & Tierney, S. (2005) "Evidence-based practice in the real world" Evidence and Policy, vol 1, no 1, pp 113-119

- Munro, E. (2004) The Impact of Audit on Social Work Practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol., 34, p 1075 – 1095.

- Nottingham, P. & Bibilia, S. (2021) "Chapter 10: Implementing Practitioner Research Projects" in Helyer, R., Wall, T. Minton, A. & Lund, A. (2021) The Work-Based Learning Student Handbook. 3rd Edition. London: Macmillan p 204

- O'Dwyer, B., 2003. Conceptions of corporate social responsibility: the nature of managerial capture. Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal 16 (4), 523–557.

- Paoline, E. (2003). Taking Stock: Toward a Richer Understanding of Police Culture. Journal of Criminal Justice. 31(3), pp. 99–214.

- Paoline III, E.A., Terrill, W. & Rossler, M.T., (2015). Higher education, college degree major, & police occupational attitudes. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*.

- Pease, K. & Roach, J., 2017. How to morph experience into evidence. In *Advances in evidence-based policing* (pp. 84-97). Routledge.

- Pepper, I., Rogers, C. & Turner, J. (2024), The adoption of evidence-based policing: the pivotal role of first-line police leaders across Engl& & Wales, *International Journal of Emergency Services,* 13 (1), 111-122. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJES-05-2023-0020

- Perez, D., Shtull, P. (2002). Police research & practice: an American perspective. Police Practice and Research: An International Journal, 3(3), pp. 169–187.

- Petr, C.G. & Walter, U.M., (2009). Evidence-based practice: A critical reflection: Evidenz basierte praxis: Eine kritische reflexion. *European Journal of Social Work*, *12*(2), pp.221-232

- Porter, L., Webb, S., Prenzler, T. & Gill, M., 2015. The role of leadership in promoting ethical police behaviour. *Coventry: College of Policing*.

- Punch M (2015) What really matters in policing? European Police Science and Research 13(Winter): 9–18.

- Santos, R.G., (2018). Police organizational change after implementing crime analysis and evidence-based strategies through stratified policing. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, *12*(3), pp.288-302.

- Sharp, D. (2005). Who Needs Theories in Policing? An Introduction to a Special Issue on Policing. The Howard Journal, 44(5), pp. 449–459.

- Sherman LW (1998) Evidence-Based Policing. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

- Sherman LW (2015) A tipping point for 'totally evidenced policing' ten ideas for building an evidence-based police agency. International Criminal Justice Review 25(1): 11–29.

- Sherman L, Neyroud PW & Neyroud E (2016) The Cambridge Crime Harm Index: Measuring Total Harm from Crime Based on Sentencing Guidelines. *Policing* 10(3): 171–183.

- Skogan, W. & K. Frydl (eds.). 2004. *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*. Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices. Committee on Law and Justice, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

- Sparrow M (2011) Governing Science. Harvard Kennedy School Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management.

- Taniguchi, T.A. & Bueermann, J., 2012. The Embedded Criminologist. *Ideas in American Policing Series, Police Foundation, Washington, DC.*

- Telep, C.W. & Lum, C., 2014. The receptivity of officers to empirical research and evidence-based policing: an examination of survey data from three agencies. *Police Quarterly*, *17*(4), pp.359-385.

- Thacher D (2008) Research for the front lines. Policing and Society 18(1): 46–59.

- Thompson, J. & Payne, B., 2019. Towards professionalism and police legitimacy? An examination of the education & training reforms of the police in the Republic of Ireland. *Education Sciences*, *9*(3), p.241.

- Tilley, N. & Laycock, G. (2017). 'The Why, What, When and How of Evidence-Based Policing'. In: Knutsson, J. & Tompson, L. (eds), Advances in Evidence Based Policing. London: Routledge.

- Titchen A. (2000) Professional craft knowledge in patient-centred nursing and the facilitation of its development. University of Oxford DPhil thesis. Oxford: Ashdale Press, 2000.

- Traynor M. (2002) The oil crisis, risk and evidence-based practice. Nursing Inquiry 9(3), 162–169.

- Upshur R.E.G. (1999) Priors and prejudices. Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics 20, 319–327.

- Van de Ven, A.H., 2007. *Engaged scholarship: A guide for organizational and social research*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

- Veigas, H. & Lum, C., (2013). Assessing the evidence base of a police service patrol portfolio. *Policing: a journal of policy and practice*, *7*(3), pp.248-262.

- Vito, G.F., Walsh, W.F. & Kunselman, J., 2005. Community policing: The middle manager's perspective. *Police Quarterly*, *8*(4), pp.490-511.

- Weisburd, D. & J. Eck. (2019) "What Can Police Do to Reduce Crime, Disorder, and Fear?" *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593 (2004): 42 - 65.

- Welsh, B.C. & Farrington, D.P., 2001. Toward an evidence-based approach to preventing crime. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *578*(1), pp.158-173.

- Wilkinson, S. (2010). Research and Policing—Looking to the Future Policing, Policing. A Journal of Policy and Practice. 4(2). pp. 146–148.

- Willis, J. & Mastrofski, S.(2016) 'Improving policing by integrating craft and science: what can patrol officers teach us about good police work?' *Policing and Society.*

- Wood D, Cockcroft T, Tong S & Bryant R (2017) The importance of context and cognitive agency in developing police knowledge: going beyond the police science discourse. The Police Journal.