Translational Criminology

SPRING 2017

Promoting knowledge exchange to shape criminal justice research, practice, and policy

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FROM THE DIRECTORS

Welcome to the Spring 2017 issue of *Translational Criminology.* This issue is chock-full of examples of research—and the challenges of research—in practice. For example, David Bierie and Paul Detar discuss the promising use of research inside the U.S. Marshals Service, while Martin Nøkleberg, in contrast, laments about the difficulties of conducting research in places important to national security. Two Texas-based efforts are explored: Melinda Schlager and Rob Davis showcase their efforts embedding research into police training at the Caruth Institute for the Dallas Police Department, while Joe McKenna and Kathy Martinez-Prather share their knowledge in using research for school safety at the Texas School Safety Center at Texas State University. Four articles focus on facilitators of evidence-based policing. John Kapinos, a former police commander and former president of the International Association of Law Enforcement Planners, talks about the important role that third parties and outside consultants can play in police-researcher partnerships, while Jason Potts of Vallejo Police Department explores the activities of the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing to support research on the "front lines" of policing. Suzanne Coble and Michael Scott discuss the work of the Problem-Oriented Policing Center at Arizona State University in advancing evidence-based policing, while Gary Cordner, Geoff Alpert, and Maureen McGough share how the National Institute of Justice is trying to do the same through the NIJ LEADS Program. We also have two articles that take on tough and provocative topics: Jim Burch and Breanne Cave from the Police Foundation write about improving our response to officer-involved shootings, sharing an exciting initiative the foundation has with the Major City Chiefs Association to help and address this concern. And John Eck, Yongjei Lee, and Nick Corsaro share the results of their review of research about whether adding more police can reduce crime—a provocative question for police agencies and researchers alike. As always, all of *TC*'s contributors continue to provide thought-provoking ideas for those practicing evidence-based crime policy.

So much has transpired within the CEBCP since our last issue that we are excited to share with all of you. Most importantly, our next annual symposium will take place on June 26 at George Mason University's Arlington Campus. Registration is free but required (visit cebcp.org/cebcp-symposium-2017). The focus will be on Key Issues in Evidence-Based Crime Policy and will cover relevant topics in which CEBCP and our colleagues are engaged, including communities and crime prevention; body-worn cameras; mental illness and the criminal justice system; what works in policing, courts, and corrections; procedural justice and police legitimacy; license plate readers and police technology; and school safety. At the symposium, we will also induct new members into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame and present the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy. We hope to see all of you there.

For those of you who are keeping track, the CEBCP turns 10 in 2018. Here at the CEBCP, we take pride in providing to our many communities freely available symposia, congressional briefings, workshops, accessible translation tools, and high-quality research. *Translational Criminology* magazine itself is a unique resource that has allowed many to both show and learn about examples of research in practice. Most might be surprised to discover that while we have a large research grant portfolio supported by government agencies and private foundations, many of our translation and dissemination activities, as well as CEBCP's operating costs, have relied on a great deal of volunteer work by the CEBCP team, the generous help of our College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mason's Provost's Office, and partnerships with organizations such as the Police Foundation, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, the Campbell Collaboration, WestEd (who helped sponsor our most recent congressional briefing), and the Inter-American Development Bank.

However, in order to continue these efforts for the next 10 years, we need your help. This year we are launching our "100K for 10" Campaign for the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. With your help, we hope to raise more than $100,000 before we celebrate our 10th birthday at the 2018 symposium. Not only does the "for 10" symbolize where we have been, but we hope with your support, we can sustain all of our translation and dissemination efforts for the next 10 years. If you have enjoyed our synergistic activities, ideas, and free products and would like to see them continue, you can contribute directly to the CEBCP at Mason's giving site at advancement. gmu.edu/nss01.

Thank you all for your continued support of the CEBCP and for partnering with us for almost a decade. We couldn't—and can't—do it without you!

David Weisburd, Executive Director
Cynthia Lum, Director and Editor of TC

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy presents

The 2017 CEBCP Annual Symposium on Evidence-Based Crime Policy

We welcome everyone to our annual symposium focused on "Key Issues in Evidence-Based Crime Policy," June 26, 2017, at George Mason University's Arlington Campus.

The symposium will highlight new research findings in communities and crime prevention, body-worn cameras, evidence-based policing, mental health and the criminal justice system, license plate readers, school safety, and police legitimacy. A major theme will focus on tackling critical issues in policing.

At the symposium, the inductions for the 2017 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame will take place, as will the presentation of the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Registration is free, but required to attend.

For more information, visit
cebcp.org.
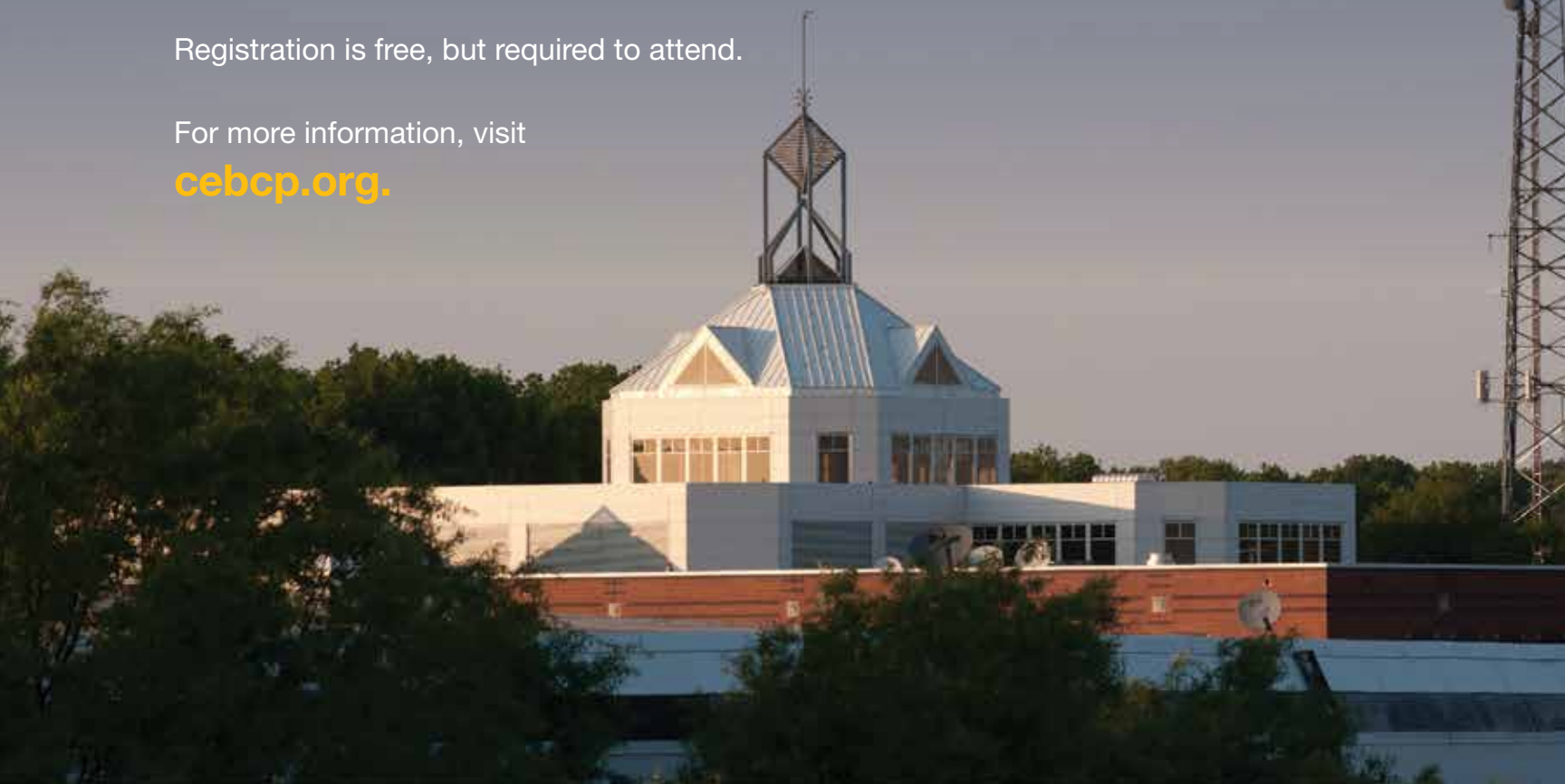
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100K for 10

CENTER FOR EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME POLICY

For almost ten years, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy has been committed to providing its university, local, regional, state, national, and international communities with high-quality research and research translation tools.

We need your help to continue our efforts for the next 10 years.

If you have attended our symposia, congressional briefings or training workshops, read *Translational Criminology* magazine or our handy research summaries, used the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix, video knowledge library or our other translation tools, then you know the value that CEBCP brings to the field.

With your support, we hope to raise more than $100,000 before we celebrate the center's 10th birthday at our 2018 symposium.

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Integrating Research and Researchers into the U.S. Marshals Service

BY DAVID BIERIE AND PAUL DETAR

David Bierie is a senior statistician in the U.S. Marshals Service and holds a PhD in criminology and criminal justice from the University of Maryland.

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I
n late 2016, a newly hired biostatistician was crouched in a Boston stairwell, adjusting her new body armor. She was watching over the shoulder of a Deputy U.S. Marshal as he covered a team of officers breaching an apartment door to serve an arrest warrant. Amidst the noise and commotion, the deputy was calmly peppering her with questions about predictive modeling and risk assessment. A few months earlier she had been an assistant professor at a major university, and now she was in the trenches of law enforcement. For many, this scene is likely perplexing— why in the world do the U.S. Marshals have PhD-level statisticians, why are they participating in raids, and why are deputies asking about statistical modeling?

The U.S. Marshals Service (USMS) is the nation's oldest law enforcement agency. Established in 1789 through the very first bill passed by the first U.S. Congress, the agency has been at the forefront of crime and justice ever since (Calhoun, 1989). The critical role the USMS has played throughout U.S. history is well known, be it bringing law and order to the Old West, the appointment of U.S. Marshal Frederick Douglass (one of the first black policing executives in U.S. history), deputies protecting Ruby Bridges as she bravely walked into her new school, or the myriad high-profile cases and arrests over the centuries (Turk, 2016). Likewise, the current productivity of the agency is well-known and well-respected in the law enforcement community. The USMS has one of the smaller budgets and staffing levels in the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ)—just 3,000 sworn officers and around 2,000 administrative staff. Yet the agency arrests more than 30,000 federal fugitives as well as another 70,000 serious violent felons via state and local warrants each year. That is more arrests than all other U.S. DOJ agencies combined.

What is less well-known is that the USMS is also the oldest statistical agency in the nation. For the first 100 years of their history, the U.S. Marshals were responsible for conducting the U.S. census for collecting, analyzing, and disseminating data. The interest and capacity to engage quantitative work certainly declined after the U.S.

David Bierie   Paul Detar

Census Bureau was established and this statistical role passed from the agency. But the long dormant interest has risen again in recent years as the agency tested the waters of, and then dove into, data science.

This reawakening was rooted in the same broad historic events driving similar interest and capacity in police agencies across the United States, including innovations in technology (i.e., computing hardware and database software throughout the 1980s and 1990s), and broad improvements in conceptualizing and executing data collection within agencies. The latter feat was tied both to the public's increasing expectation of performance-driven management and to agencies themselves seeking to quantify their contributions among downward pressure on government budgets. Most of these initial data systems were built to support routine reporting, budgetary tasks, and case management. These applications of data are not the same thing as data science or "analytics." Regardless, those simple applications also created the raw components needed to build such a thing. Finally, for the Investigative Operations Division (IOD), which oversees the fugitive investigative mission of the USMS, the most proximate turning point came from the passage of the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act in 2006 (AWA). This law not only directed the USMS to take on the role of investigating and enforcing the nation's sex offender registry laws, it also directed the agency to obtain sex offender registry and related data, and to analyze it in order to gain new insights into this mission. As such, the agency did something out of the ordinary: the IOD hired a team of quantitative researchers within the Sex Offender Investigations Branch.

In 2010, a few analytically minded positions were scattered across the agency performing statistical forecasting, performance manage-

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ment, and other statistical work. But the small team of social scientists hired to support the AWA mission were different. First, the team members were not just credentialed, but highly so; they were trained at the nation's highest ranked programs, had generated a breadth of peer-reviewed publications or other scholarly products, and had hands-on experience in operational settings. Second, the group was diverse, comprising two clinical psychologists, a forensic scientist, an operations researcher, a social worker, and a criminologist. Third, the team was placed in a fusion center (the National Sex Offender Targeting Center) with its members sitting alongside Deputy U.S. Marshals, law enforcement officers from other agencies, and intelligence analysts. The team was given resourcing, plenty of freedom, and told to be creative and productive in finding cutting-edge insights or tools that would help the branch use data to accomplish its missions.

Two key types of productivity emerged. First, the team was able to clean, analyze, and display operational datasets in new and useful ways. These applications helped managers and executives articulate sophisticated responses to complex questions posed by external stakeholders (e.g., Congress, GAO, OMB), justify budget requests, and interpret changes to key performance metrics. This series of smaller projects created quick wins and began shaping the trust necessary between law enforcement practitioners and the analysts who support them. More significantly, the team imagined and then created new operational tools. A primary example was the creation of analytic dashboards containing relevant, timely, dynamic, and easily understood information. This led to widespread dissemination of analytic information—and the idea that data could be useful—throughout the agency. Executives, supervisors in the field, and inspectors throughout the agency found myriad investigative and operational uses for their newly accessible data. This, in turn, made the agency more effective as new cases were identified from the data and operational parameters could be directly applied against the data to facilitate efficient planning of large operations. No longer did operational planning necessarily require dozens of phone calls, reams of paper, a highlighter, and hours upon hours of personnel time, but merely a few clicks on a mouse.

Second, the team created new knowledge for use by the agency as well as the academic community. The team produced a number of studies published in peer-reviewed journals. This included research on violence against police officers, myriad papers on sexual offenders, studies on fugitives, and several theoretical pieces offering advice on better ways to approach quantitative methods within criminology. Each of these papers answered relevant questions and contained methodological features or innovative datasets which made them groundbreaking.

For example, the agency (as well as law enforcement in general) needed to know whether offenders who had a criminal history of only child pornography possession were in fact a risk in terms of hands-on offending. Myriad academic papers addressing this

Two deputy U.S. Marshals with a statistician

question had reached a relative consensus that they were not, although there were murmurs among practitioners that they were seeing a different reality. In reviewing this literature, the team became concerned that most used self-report methods—researchers would ask offenders convicted of child pornography possession (with no arrests for hands-on offending) if they had ever molested children. Most reported they did not. But what if they lied? In contrast, the team gathered 127 cases of child pornography arrests where the offender had absolutely no history or indication of hands-on offending. All had been interrogated at arrest, and six offenders had admitted to hands-on offending. However, each arrestee was then polygraphed. As a result, 67 (55 percent) admitted to carrying out a total of 282 unique hands-on sexual assaults. Further, enough information was obtained to allow agents to find and assist many of these victims (Bourke et al., 2013). That's persuasive evidence. The study was groundbreaking because it derived from a dataset and methodology that was unequivocally more accurate and actionable to law enforcement practitioners than prior research. As such, it upended longstanding conclusions among scholars. The same commitment to finding relevant questions and attention to methodological rigor are driving themes in the studies and publications the group has produced.

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> for collecting, analyzing, and disseminating data.

In 2014, a second turning point in analytics was emerging in the USMS. The agency's top executives now consisted of the first two branch chiefs who oversaw this innovation in operational analytics. In addition, the DOJ Office of the Federal Detention Trustee, an office responsible for realizing cost savings and gaining efficiency in federal detention, was integrated with the USMS. This integration brought together a number of highly skilled statisticians and a pool of leaders who had a strong familiarity with, and respect for, data science. Collectively, an increasing number of executives embraced the idea that USMS leadership should be supported by staff members capable of informing business decisions through sound analytics. In short, the proof that highly skilled statisticians and social scientists could deliver enormous value to the USMS, and the presence of leadership that was open and interested in analytics, came together in one time and place during 2014. Building on this alignment of the analytic stars, the agency made an additional and enormous leap forward with respect to engaging data science: the agency created the Business Integration Center (BIC).

The concept of a BIC was taken from the private sector, as the name implies (see Davenport & Harris, 2007). The BIC is a separate branch (not a mere unit of a branch as in the experimental years described above), which means the team has its own budget and organizational roles needed to streamline and execute its mission. That mission is to act as the central analytic hub of the numerous other branches in each division of the USMS; to identify data, analyses, research, and policy that helps each branch maximize effectiveness and efficiency. To do this, the BIC is composed of a branch chief, at least one statistician, one business engineer, and a variety of support staff. Finally, and importantly, the agency didn't just create one BIC. It created one for each division.

Notably, then, the agency did not follow the more typical path of other federal agencies and merely establish one "office" of research to serve the entire USMS. Rather, each BIC is integrated into its division such that the team is working hand-in-hand with deputies, intelligence staff, and others. This integration, as noted above, is crucial. The teamwork and constant interaction of the BIC and other operational branches facilitate communication of complex research and statistics to the other members of the branches (i.e., translational criminology) and also ground the BIC in real and nuanced knowledge that comes from the field staff (i.e., receptive criminology). Both the operational and the research staff do better work because of the value they gain from one another. The BICs are positioned to anticipate problems and questions, thus leading to proactive analysis and data collection. Long since have the days passed when executives solely asked each other their opinion on an issue, but now often ask, "What do the data show?"

Thus, it should be no surprise that the USMS recently hired a highly skilled biostatistician, or that she found herself a few months later crouching in a stairwell with deputies translating cutting-edge knowledge about predictive modeling while she also received innovative information about policing in America. That is translational criminology in action.

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New Partnership Uses Research and Data to Improve Understanding of Officer-Involved Shootings

BY JIM BURCH AND BREANNE CAVE

Jim Burch is the vice president for strategic initiatives at the Police Foundation, and formally served as a senior executive in the U.S. Department of Justice.

Breanne Cave is senior research associate at the Police Foundation and graduated from George Mason University with her doctorate in 2016.

Jim Burch

Breanne Cave

One of the most important issues in policing is when officers use force, in particular, deadly force. Officer-involved shootings (OIS) can place incredible strain on the relationship between a police department and its community as well as present serious concerns for officer safety and mental wellness. Recent high profile cases of officer-involved shootings have raised the question of whether such shootings are on the rise. In the fall of 2015, the Major Cities Chiefs Association (MCCA), an association of more than 70 of North America's largest law enforcement agency executives, surveyed its member agencies and was concerned to find that fatal officer-involved shootings seemed to have increased over the last 10 years. What might be driving this upward trend?

To understand both the trend of officer-involved shootings and the factors that contribute to them in the United States, far better information is needed. Klinger, Rosenfeld, Isom, and Deckard (2016) noted that a lack of data and research "preclude sound understanding of the determinants" of police use of deadly force (p. 193), and argued for the need to establish a national police use of deadly force information system. They argued that such a system would include data from all cases in which police officers discharged a firearm at a person, regardless of whether an individual is struck, injured, and/or killed. Klinger and colleagues also recommended that agencies try to collect many other characteristics of officer-involved shootings, including specifics about the incident itself, the participants and weapons involved, the location of the event, and the outcomes of the shootings. The analysis of this detailed information might reveal situational and individual risk factors for officer-involved shootings, and in turn, how law enforcement agencies might reduce them. As with so many police operations, the need to for this type of data and analysis cannot be overstated.

The challenge in building such a database is not only collecting high-quality information about individual officer-involved shooting incidents, but relatedly, motivating agencies to participate in contributing to such a database. Officer-involved shootings are often highly publicized and investigations can be lengthy, setting up the possibility of releasing sensitive information before the investigative process is complete. Further, individual agencies and labor contracts sometimes stipulate how long certain types of data such as an individual officer's prior involvement in use-of-force incidents can be retained, and whether sensitive information can be released to outside entities.

Seeing this challenge, the Police Foundation and the MCCA have collaborated to build a detailed national database on officer-involved shootings. Our collective goal was to improve agency access to standardized and aggregated officer-involved shooting data and analysis from multiple jurisdictions to identify policy, procedure, and training factors that could reduce these incidents as well as the injuries and loss of life often associated with them. Thus, the idea was not only to facilitate the collection of data, but also the timely analysis and dissemination of the results back to participating agencies without identifying the agency involved in any particular incident or set of incidents. Agency participation, and the processes to collect and share data, was facilitated by the MCCA, of which all participating agencies are members. This database would initially include incidents from 2014 forward.

For the Police Foundation, this collaboration continues a tradition of work in this field, beginning as early as 1977, when the foundation began studying this issue as a result of a partnership between James Q. Wilson, the foundation's board chair, and former NYPD commissioner and then president of the foundation, Patrick V. Murphy. Since then, the foundation has been involved in numerous studies on officer-involved shootings, recognizing this issue as a significant, critical priority for law enforcement agencies.

Continued

Getting the Data Collection Right

Our biggest challenge (and responsibility to the agencies involved) was making sure we were taking an evidence-based approach to building an OIS database that could provide for rigorous and meaningful analysis and useful training and policy suggestions. Thus, we began with Klinger, Rosenberg, Isom, and Deckard's recommendations based on their research for what should be included in a national database on police use of deadly force, which included details on the officers, suspects, and bystanders, the locations, weapons, and actions of those involved. Additionally, we relied on Bolger's (2015) meta-analysis of correlates of police use-of-force decisions, which suggested the importance of collecting information about what happens during the encounter between citizens and the police. Paoline and Terrill's (2007) review provided additional suggestions as to the relationship between police education, experience, and use-of-force decisions by officers. Finally, Ridgeway's (2015) review of officer-involved shootings shed light on the salience of officer characteristics such as race and the time that police officers began their careers in predicting the likelihood that officers would shoot. Many of these were consistent with input provided to the effort by Klinger.

In addition to reviewing this research evidence, the Police Foundation team also reviewed data collection instruments from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, such as its Arrest-Related Deaths in Custody Program and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's use-of-force data collection (planned for release in 2017). Making sure our data collection efforts were informed by these repositories was important to improve the potential for cross-database analysis. Finally, we sought input from our research partners, advisors, and the committed agencies about the validity and feasibility of the information we were collecting. Klinger provided invaluable insights and assistance at this stage of the project design.

More than 100 aspects of officer-involved shootings were identified from this process to build the online data collection tool. Such a large data collection is difficult to implement, as was confirmed when all MCCA agencies were invited to test the instrument, which revealed that the sheer number of variables being collected would be a disincentive to some agencies, despite their strong commitment and input in creating the system. To address this, we made the decision to eliminate some lower priority variables that agencies indicated they would have difficulty providing, such as the nature of training received by the involved officer(s). The team also built interactive features into the online data collection tool, enabling some questions to be skipped if not relevant to the incident, and used an electronic collection tool that requires the least amount of text entry possible. We also implemented an automated data validation and reporting process to identify cases with missing information and to provide agencies with feedback on the completeness of their data entries on a monthly basis.

Today, our goal is to analyze data from across agencies and all years, disseminating results back to the 52 agencies currently participating. To support better awareness of OIS incident frequency

across the MCCA agencies, participating agencies are asked to submit basic incident data within 72 hours of an incident and to provide more detailed information within six months following an incident. This allows the Police Foundation to provide agencies with a monthly situational awareness report that provides basic data about incidents reported to the database during the month and overall, as well as a quarterly report that provides descriptive analysis of key variables across all of the incidents, once that data is provided. These reports provide preliminary aggregate analysis for internal use only by the agencies and don't reveal individual agency data. Today, this analysis and dissemination is done manually. However, our vision for the future is to create an electronic dashboard that provides agencies with more real-time analysis and data visualizations.

Promising Use

Since the launch of this data collection effort in March 2016, quarterly reports have been provided to participating agencies on topics such as armed subjects, racial and demographic analysis of subjects and officers, and age and experience of officers involved in shootings. In addition, a companion and survey-linked web tool was developed that explains to agencies the research rationale behind the data being collected as well as how data is central to improving use-of-force policies. The website also provides explanations of each question asked and serves as a data dictionary to promote consistency in agency responses. Both the data collection tool and the companion website are fully responsive to mobile use and designed to minimize data entry, focusing instead on structured responses via drop-down menus and multiple choice selections where possible.

Preliminary analysis of the OIS incident data submitted to date has identified potential policy and training opportunities to improve outcomes. These findings focus on, for example, the extent and severity of officer injuries when confronting subjects using vehicles as weapons, the number of rounds-fired increases in OIS incidents involving less experienced officers, or the lack of less lethal options available to officers in special assignments outside of patrol. The Arnold Foundation recently provided funding support to the project that will enable the Police Foundation to answer further questions, including how OIS incidents unfold from start to finish, the gaps in current OIS data collection efforts in participating agencies, and how long it takes agencies to release key data points surrounding OIS incidents. The Bureau of Justice Assistance has also recently authorized funding to assist participating agencies by developing quarterly reports on key topics surrounding officer-involved shootings.

As of January 2017, 52 agencies in the United States and Canada have submitted data on 577 OIS incidents and data collection is continuing into 2017.

Conclusion

With the increased focus on police reform, agencies need to collect more and better data to make important decisions in a complex and dynamic environment. This is certainly the case with officer-involved shootings and use of force. Yet, such events—thankfully—do not happen frequently. However, when they do, they can have major impacts on community-police relations and officer wellness. Collaboration among agencies to pool knowledge and information about these shootings can provide important insights and learning opportunities into what might contribute to officer-involved shootings, and in turn, what might help to reduce them.

The collaboration by the Police Foundation and MCCA reflect the first evidence-based national approach to achieve these goals. Additionally, this type of collaboration can also respond more quickly and flexibly to individual agency needs compared to federal data collection efforts that are often impacted by bureaucratic and political challenges. Ultimately, the development of a common OIS/use-of-force data reporting format could create the opportunity for system-to-system exchanges and open data efforts that could eliminate the need for time-consuming surveys and reporting processes. The incredible willingness of the executives and the MCCA as an association to participate in such a study cannot be expected to continue indefinitely. As a research community, we must do our part to make data collection and research easier and less burdensome by collaborating and developing consensus solutions that work for agencies and researchers alike.

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The Caruth Police Institute:
A Model of Embedded Criminology

BY MELINDA D. SCHLAGER AND ROBERT C. DAVIS

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Melinda Schlager   Robert C. Davis

In 2008, when the W. W. Caruth Foundation of the Communities Foundation of Texas (CFT), the Dallas Police Department (DPD), and the University of North Texas at Dallas (UNT Dallas) announced the formation of the Caruth Police Institute (CPI), a new partnership between policing agencies and universities was born. Ten million dollars in funding for the institute was provided by CFT for the specific use of the DPD, administered through UNT Dallas. CPI was named after W. W. Caruth Jr., a well-known philanthropist in the Dallas area and founder of the Caruth Foundation. CPI was launched to support two primary purposes: to promote leadership development and opportunity for long-term, transformational change within DPD and to be a "think tank" to conduct research and develop best practices in policing.

More than eight years later, CPI thrives both as an innovator in educational programming for law enforcement and as an academic leader in evidence-based policing research. CPI has developed a menu of educational programs that supports the professional development of officers at all ranks and also hosts short programs on contemporary topics such as financial and cybercrimes, implicit bias, officer wellness through emotional intelligence, and police-community relations. Research in the areas of body-worn cameras, officer wellness, and police involvement in youth-based diversion programs is currently in progress. Now, more than ever, institutes like CPI are critically important to law enforcement operations and ideology; they are an effort to challenge the status quo of both police organizations and their practice, and the traditional academic approach to engaging with them.

Early Development of the Caruth Police Institute
The explosion in technology and communication has made it essential for police at all ranks to keep current with new developments and for organizations to have the flexibility to change to meet often competing demands. Until 2008, as in most large departments, leadership training at DPD had not been pursued in a consistent way. Once individuals reached the level of lieutenant, there were no in-house training programs to help staff develop effective leadership

skills. Only two senior DPD executives could attend the Senior Management Institute for Police in Boston or the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, each year. Other than that, DPD mid-level and senior staff might attend Texas-based management courses. However, there were no departmental incentives to attend, and the department did not assume the cost of the instruction.

Then as now, as a large urban police organization, DPD dealt with difficult problems in a complex environment. Rapidly changing demographics necessitated new community policing initiatives, and revamped recruiting strategies and reallocation of patrol resources. DPD was also in the process of developing its fusion center that would track crime trends and reallocate DPD resources in real time, based on need. In order to manage the complexities of modern major city policing and to capitalize on new capabilities like the fusion center, DPD needed a problem-solving capability.

To respond to this need, CPI was created, initially offering leadership courses for lieutenants that could also earn them undergraduate or master's-level credits at UNT or other universities. Using a case study approach, the courses included small business management, strategic planning, evidence-based and problem-solving approaches to policing, COMPSTAT processes, and theories of leadership. Single-day courses were also created for senior DPD leaders. When David Brown succeeded David Kunkle as chief, CPI developed a more diverse selection of courses for managers at all levels, and the courses became mandatory with the idea that eventually all managers would participate in a course designed specifically for their rank.

The initial vision for the problem-solving component of CPI housed university staff within DPD so that they could work with senior DPD leaders to integrate research and evaluation into agency planning and strategies. It was hoped that information gained through problem-solving, experimentation, and rigorous evaluation would make DPD

a repository of best practices in policing, and that this knowledge would be distributed to the field through various types of publications and conferences hosted by CPI.

CPI was designed to avoid problems associated with the two prominent models of policing research. While researchers based within police agencies are likely to best understand the context and the workings of police agencies, their work is likely to consist mainly of using simple and less than optimum research methods to develop quick solutions to urgent problems. Moreover, there may be temptations to bend results to curry political favor with the chief. On the other hand, while academic researchers have the virtue of being independent, their work may be too theoretical or slow to be of practical use to police administrators. Moreover, they may not understand the inner workings of policing well enough to frame research questions in the most useful way. CPI offered a third option.

CPI in Action Today

The creation of CPI was revolutionary, as it occurred at a time when the notion of embedded criminologists (see Braga, 2013; Braga & Davis, 2014) and researcher-practitioner collaborations was gaining traction. While police and academics have worked together for years, the CPI formation was one of the first efforts to embed research and educational efforts developed and facilitated by academics in a police department. As Buerger (2010) stated, the "gulf between research on the police and research with the police" was significantly narrowed (p. 135). CPI is currently staffed with a sergeant and lieutenant from the DPD as well as university personnel hired expressly to work for the institute. This blended staff model encourages open and transparent dialogue and helps to legitimize the institute within the DPD.

As an embedded institute within DPD, CPI is both internal resource and objective evaluator. CPI is asked to consult on police matters, provide guidance and information regarding national and international best practices in policing, and conduct internal and external evaluations of policing practice. Moreover, CPI continues to influence and impact law enforcement education and research in policing because of several attributes identified by Braga as being central to the success of embedded criminologists: location, access, relationships, and trust.

- **Location.** While CPI is an independent institute, its physical location within DPD allows for an in depth, on-the-ground approach to evaluating police problems. Being "in, but not of" the department allows CPI the unique opportunity to see police practice unfold in real time and take a birds-eye view of the practical effects of how policy and public opinion impact police operations. This emboldens the institute to develop programming and research that takes the nuances associated with police policy and practice into consideration in ways that traditional scholars are not always able to appreciate. More practically, CPI's first floor

location and its laid back atmosphere makes it a destination for officers and command staff alike who may stop in to ask a question, inquire about research on a particular topic, or simply use the library.

- **Access.** Residing in the department means that CPI is privy to the inner workings of a large, urban police department and its concerns. CPI also has access to personnel in the department in ways that traditional academics usually do not. Meetings with command staff and other department personnel happen frequently and CPI staff is often asked its opinion on various issues, particularly as they relate to training and program implementation. While CPI personnel are employed by UNT Dallas and the executive director reports directly to the president of the university, the importance of CPI's work also warrants it a place on the DPD organizational chart. To that end, the executive director also reports to the deputy chief in charge of basic and in-service academy training and follows that chain of command.

- **Relationships and Trust.** CPI's location and access would mean nothing if not for the relationships that CPI personnel have been able to develop with DPD. In many instances, the officers CPI taught in educational programs eight years ago are now the chiefs they confer with on a regular basis. Anyone who has worked even tangentially with police knows that they are slow to warm to outsiders, particularly academics. CPI has remained a constant for many in the department and, over time, has been able to build meaningful and lasting relationships with officers and staff alike. CPI has managed to gain the respect and trust of the department to the point that DPD feels comfortable discussing sensitive issues and concerns, and CPI feels comfortable providing objective and critical assessments.

Contributions

In ways big and small, CPI has contributed significantly to the function and progress of DPD. Thus far, CPI has trained more than 700 DPD personnel and has published multiple articles in peer-reviewed journals on its research. The institute was also instrumental in helping the department develop an internal communications plan and social media efforts, as well as leading the strategic planning process under Chief Brown. Furthermore, the Reduce Auto Theft in Texas Grant was managed by CPI, a grass-roots effort to prevent auto theft through increasing community awareness of auto theft prevention. Other efforts include assisting in modifying the current

Moving Toward a Research-Based Framework for School Policing

BY JOSEPH M. MCKENNA AND KATHY E. MARTINEZ-PRATHER

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Over the past two decades, the use of full-time law enforcement in schools has increased nationally. For instance, up until the late 1990s, the use of full-time law enforcement assigned to schools was limited. Only 1 percent of U.S. schools reported a full-time law enforcement officer in the 1970s (National Institute of Education, 1978). In 1997 however, law enforcement officers were present in 22 percent of schools nationally (Heaviside, Rowand, Williams, & Farris, 1998). During the 2003-04 school year, principals reported law enforcement in 36 percent of schools, increasing to 40 percent by 2007-08 (Na & Gottfredson, 2013).

Students have also reported an increase in law enforcement presence in schools. According to the National Crime Victimization Survey, 54 percent of students reported that security or law enforcement was present in their schools in 1999, while almost 70 percent reported law enforcement presence in 2013.

Although school-based law enforcement programs have existed for more than 65 years (Na & Gottfredson, 2013), there are still many challenges when integrating police into the educational environment. For instance, Fisher and Hennessey (2015) suggested that policing schools contributes to increased involvement of youth in the justice system. Conversely, others suggested that school policing yields positive outcomes, which include crime prevention, staff and student safety education, and improved police-student relationships (Uchida & Putnam, 2001). These mixed findings may be due to several factors. First, the internal validity of the extant evidence is considered weak by most methodological standards (Petrosino, Fronius, & Guckenburg, 2012), so it is difficult to rule out other contributing factors that may impact results. In their review of the literature, Petrosino et al. (2012) located 11 quasi-experiments and not a single randomized controlled trial. Thus, the evidence base needs to be strengthened with more rigorous evaluations in order to provide practitioners with evidence-based methods and strategies for using police in the school setting.

In addition to a lack of quality studies, no evaluation examined in the review was able to explain how the results, whether negative or positive, were achieved. Discrepant findings could be the result of variation in implementation between the programs, apart from the different interventions that were tested. Thus, equally important to knowing if the program works is knowing how and why the program was successful or unsuccessful (Petrosino, 2000a; 2000b). This type of knowledge guides the replication of successful programs, helps practitioners implement policing programs based on varying needs and environments, and facilitates more rigorous evaluations by researchers seeking to understand both the impact and reasons why a program may or may not be successful.

Preliminary Texas School Safety Center Research

The Texas School Safety Center (TxSSC) at Texas State University was authorized by the 77th Texas Legislature in 2001 with the purpose of serving as the central location for school safety and security information, including research, training, and technical assistance for all K-12 and community colleges throughout Texas. The TxSSC is charged with conducting school safety training and developing resources in variety of areas related to school safety including specialized training for school-based law enforcement officers that focus on the nontraditional roles of police. Therefore, with these gaps and needs in mind, in 2013, researchers at the TxSSC focused on better understanding how police were being used in schools, and specifically how the benefits of these programs noted in prior research could be maximized. With a clear need to establish a rigorous evidence base to assist practitioners in implementing these programs, a series of preliminary qualitative studies was conducted by researchers from the TxSSC (McKenna, Martinez-Prather, & Bowman, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). In these studies, officers working in Texas schools were interviewed to gain a better understanding of what activities and roles they were engaging in, what training they had received to support their work in the school setting, and what responses were most common when addressing student misconduct.

Several notable findings were discovered in these studies. First, when examining officer activities and roles in Texas schools, it was clear that officers were engaging in duties that were consistent with the traditional triad model. The triad model is a combination of three primary roles: enforcing the law, counseling/mentoring students, and teaching staff and students about safety issues. However, officers also reported many activities that fell outside of the roles detailed in the triad model. Specifically, officers reported engaging in activities consistent with that of a social worker (e.g., conducting home visits and encouraging parental involvement) and a surrogate parent (e.g., providing lunch money and clothing). Additionally, who decided what the officer's roles and duties would be varied considerably and included police command staff, school administrators, and individual officer discretion.

Second, nearly half of those interviewed had not received any specialized training for working in a school setting, and there was preliminary evidence that the types of training received influenced how an officer responded to student misconduct. For example, those officers who received no specialized training in school policing were more likely to use legal interventions when responding to misconduct.

Finally, and similar to training, the roles and activities that officers engage in also showed early signs of influencing how they respond to student misconduct. Specifically, officers with more law enforcing roles were more likely to use legal responses when responding to student misconduct. Officers who took on mentor or educator roles were more likely to use counseling responses. These qualitative studies have recently been supported by a large TxSSC survey where 564 officers working in Texas schools reported the activities and roles they fill in their schools as well as how they would respond to specific misconduct situations they might encounter. Results again show that the roles of officers, and, to a lesser extent, specialized training, influence how they respond to specific situations of student misconduct.

A Research-Informed Framework for Implementing School Policing Programs

Collectively, these studies, along with prior research in the area of schools policing, have highlighted specific areas that must be included in an implementation framework that practitioners can use to guide the implementation of school policing programs. Although previous work has conceptualized what an effective framework for implementing school-based policing ought to look like (e.g., U.S. Department of Education, 2014), these guidelines are often presented broadly, making recommendations difficult to apply in practice. Further, general guidelines currently available to practitioners focus on the program at the expense of the framework used. For example, stating that a successful school-based policing program should incorporate training for officers does not provide practitioners with a mechanism to do so, even if they understand why it may be important. Moreover, lack of an effective program framework makes

replication in other schools and communities challenging. This lack of a guiding framework also makes evaluation of school policing programs difficult. As Gill, Gottfredson, and Hutzell (2015) noted in their report of Seattle's School Emphasis Officer Program, the evaluability of school policing programs depends on a clear logic model with defined goals and outcomes.

A one-size-fits-all program is likely ineffective because each school has different needs and environments; therefore, a structured, evidence-based framework should better meet the needs of schools and provide a foundation for more rigorous research. With that, the TxSSC has developed the initial version of a research-based framework for implementing school policing programs, which includes: 1) designating a program liaison responsible for coordinating discussion between various stakeholder and monitoring program performance; 2) establishing clear program goals; 3) providing specialized training for school-based officers to support achievement of these goals; 4) providing detailed training for school staff on the goals of the law enforcement program, when and how officers should be utilized, and the reinforcement of evidence-based strategies and practices for handling student misbehavior; 5) collecting and analyzing data to monitor progress toward program goals; and 6) continuous opportunities to make adjustments to the program (see Figure 1).

Expected short-term outcomes of using this framework include improved communication between educators and officers, increased positive student interactions with police, and integrated community stakeholders. Short-term outcomes such as these are expected to influence long-term school and student outcomes, such as improved school climate, decreased need for/use of exclusionary discipline, reduced victimization and delinquency, and increased positive perceptions of police. The next step in developing this framework will be to implement it in its entirety with campuses in Texas and

Program Planning

Select Program Liason → Set Goals, Measures

Program Maintenance

Officer and Staff Training

Data Collection

Analysis and Review

Figure 1. A research-based framework for implementing school policing programs.

Adding More Police Is Unlikely to Reduce Crime: A Meta-Analysis of Police Agency Size and Crime Research

BY JOHN E. ECK, YONGJEI LEE, AND NICOLAS CORSARO

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Perhaps the most common question police ask researchers is "How many police do we need?" In times of city budget cuts, elected and police officials worry that cutting police numbers will drive crime up. Researchers have attempted to be helpful.

Since the 1970s, social scientists have tried to provide empirical evidence on how police agency size—number of officers—influences crime. Through 2014, there were 62 such studies examining police agencies in the United States. Reading through these studies one would be whipsawed by their conclusions. One study would show hiring more police reduces crime, and the next study would show the opposite. Over time, the sophistication of the research methods has increased, yet the findings continue to oscillate. After the year 2000, however, studies seemed to show that adding police has a modest crime reduction impact, though there were several contradictory studies. Had researchers finally found the answer?

Because the question of police agency size is so important and because there are so many studies with varying conclusions, we felt it was important to systematically and rigorously examine all studies and their findings to determine if there was some general conclusion we could draw from more than 40 years of scientific research.

How We Conducted Our Study

We looked at all the studies published in English that examined police agencies in the United States and that attempted to determine the relationship between numbers of police and crime volume. There were 62 such studies published between 1972 and 2013. Most of these looked at several crimes, so these studies contained multiple separate findings. There were 229 such findings in these 62 studies that we analyzed using meta-analytic methods.

What We Discovered

There is no consensus among the studies and findings about the usefulness of adding more police. About 32 studies had at least one finding that showed that adding police can reduce crime, and about 30 studies had no findings suggesting that adding police would reduce crime (some had findings that adding police was associated with more crime). This disagreement among studies is constant over time, though since 2000 it appears there are more studies indicating hiring police is beneficial than there are studies saying the opposite. This sort of analysis is called a vote count, because it treats every study as equally valid: One simply tallies the votes to draw a conclusion. Unfortunately, some studies are better than others, some findings are more valid than others, and within many studies there were contradictory findings. So another approach is needed.

When we combined the findings from all the studies and adjusted for confidence in their conclusions,[1] we found **the effect on crime of adding or subtracting police is miniscule and not statistically significant.** Practically, this means police agency size has no impact on crime. Further analysis showed that this is true over time, it is true regardless of the type of statistical analysis used by the researchers, and it is true regardless of how police force size vis measured.

Changing police agency strategy to address crime is far more effective than hiring more officers. We compare our findings about police force size to findings from studies that have systematically reviewed policing strategies. Hot-spots policing, focused deterrence, and problem-oriented policing are more effective than hiring more police. Research indicates that even developing a competent

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[1] This was not a subjective assessment. "Confidence" is measured statistically by the statistical variation in a study's findings (standard error): lower variation means higher confidence.

neighborhood watch program is more effective against crime than hiring more police. This is shown in Figure 1. The height of each bar represents the "effect size."
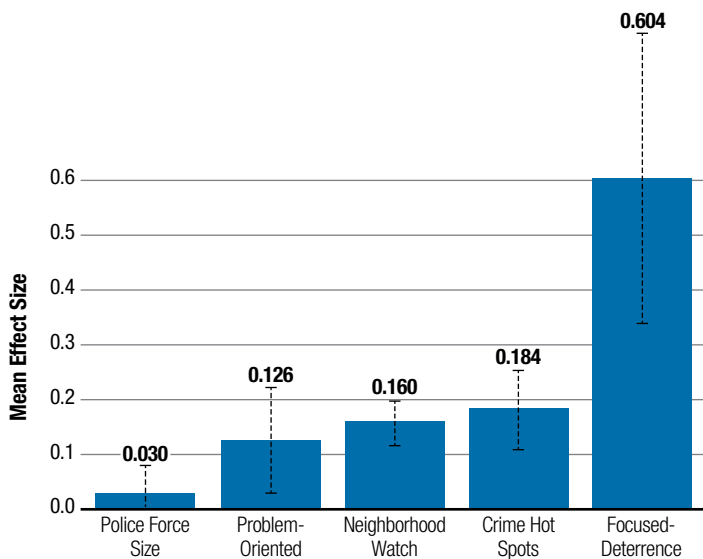

Figure 1: Changing policing strategy is far more effective than adding police.

Note: The types of crimes examined for the different strategies differ. Focused-deterrence evaluations looked at violent crime and drug dealing. Crime hot spots studies include measures of disorder. Neighborhood watch studies are influenced heavily by property crimes. Problem-oriented policing evaluations looked at a variety of different types of crimes and disorder. Further, these strategies are not mutually exclusive—a police agency could use any combination. In fact, examination of crime hot spots experiments show that when this strategy involves problem solving, it is more effective at fighting crime than when it only involves patrolling or aggressive enforcement (Braga et al., 2014).

Braga, A. A., Papachristos, A. V., and Hureau, D. M. (2014). The Effects of Hot Spots Policing on Crime: An Updated Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Justice Quarterly* 31(4): 633-63

Unfortunately, there is no way to translate effect size into some easily interpretable description (e.g., we cannot say that an increase of one point in effect sizes drops crime by some number). But we can compare the relative effect sizes to get a judgement about how much more effective some approaches to crime are, relative to others. And we can give an indicator of how confident we can be about the effect sizes. In Figure 1, we see that police force size has a tiny effect size relative to all other effect sizes. It is less than one quarter of the next largest effect size. The whiskers (dashed lines) on each bar show a 95 percent confidence range. This means that we can be 95 percent sure that the true effect size is between the top and bottom of the whisker. Because the police force size whisker crosses the zero axis at the bottom, we cannot be sure that the true effect size for adding and subtracting police is not zero. This is what we mean by the effect size is not significant.

For the other four alternatives, the whiskers do not touch zero, so there is less than a 5 percent chance the true effect size is zero. Because the effect sizes of problem-oriented policing, neighborhood watch,and

hot-spots policing all have overlapping whiskers, we must treat them as equally effective. Focused deterrence is the most effective strategy, though unlike its alternatives, it is extremely crime specific (addressing gun killings by groups and some group-related drug dealing).

Why Our Results are Probably Right

There are several reasons our results are probably correct. First, we looked at all the research over four decades. We looked for systematic changes in the findings over time. Perhaps older findings showed no effect while recent findings show more positive results. Contrary to our first impressions, there has never been a period of research where the overall set of findings were different from our general conclusion. We did not cherry-pick the studies nor did we look at some small fraction of the research. It is common for people, including police and researchers, to select the studies they find most agreeable and highlight their results. We left no study out of our review, and we treated all studies and all findings the same way.

We also carefully looked at how different research methods influenced the findings. Perhaps some research methods were better at detecting the influence of police force size on crime than others. We found no evidence that different research methods or measures changed the findings.

Another reason we are probably correct is that economic theory predicts that the usefulness of hiring an extra worker goes down as more workers are hired. At some point, a business gains nothing from hiring more workers. This well-established theory, illustrated in Figure 2, is consistent with our findings.

This curve shows the hypothetical relationship between police agency size and crime. On the far left, if there were no police, crime would be high: adding even a few police would have a large impact on reducing crime. As police agencies get larger, adding the same number of police has less and less impact on crime. So, at the right, adding more police has no detectable impact.

This downward sloping curve assumes that the strategy of policing does not change (for example, the police always use random patrolling and simply add more police). However, changing to a more effective strategy (from A to B) makes police more effective, regardless of police force size.

Our findings suggest that most police agencies in the United States operate in this region. Modest fluctuations in police agency size have tiny, undetectable impacts on crime. Switching to a better policing strategy has far more impact on crime.
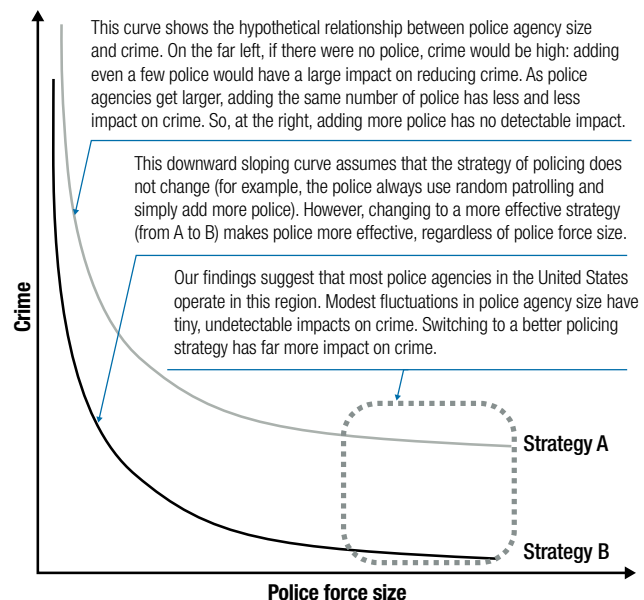
Figure 2: The economics of adding more police and the effects of changing strategy.

Continued

There is historical evidence that massive reductions in policing can dramatically increase crime. In the United States, the best example is the 1919 Boston police strike. So it is likely that going from zero to many police will have an impact. This is shown in curve A on the left in Figure 2. That is not the typical situation cities face, however. Rather, police staffing changes are likely to occur on the far right of curve A. Our findings are consistent with this interpretation.

To substantially impact crime, a police agency must change how it does business. This is equivalent to shifting from curve A to curve B. The comparison of effect sizes (Figure 1) support this argument.

Third, historically, jurisdictions do not change their police force size relative to their populations very much. Despite political statements about surging police, this almost never happens, based on evidence we report. Most hiring is to replace officers who leave the agency, and most reductions are due to attrition. Most increases and decreases are in dribs and drabs compared to the number of police already employed. Therefore, the typical magnitudes of changes to police agency sizes are too small to make much difference in crime numbers or rates.

In short, we are confident in our findings because they are supported by economic theory, by the empirical data we reviewed, and by common-sense interpretation of the reality of police hiring practices. Any other interpretation of the impact of police on crime must contradict theory, evidence, and common sense.

The principle limitation is that the outcome examined was the impact on crime. Police agency size might have impacts on officer health and safety, on police uses of force, or on the quality of the contacts with the public. The research we reviewed did not address these or other outcomes.

What Policy Makers Can Do

- **If crime is a problem, then change the policing strategy.** Once that is established, hire police necessary to carry out the strategy.
- **Do not worry if your police agency shrinks a bit due to budget shortfalls.** Crime will not skyrocket. When tax revenues increase, replace those officers if they are needed.
- **Base hiring decisions on how many police are needed to carry out the functions of a police agency.** If there are insufficient police to competently investigate serious crime, then hiring more might be sensible. If there is evidence that officer safety is imperiled because there are too few police, then consider hiring more. If you want to have more police out of their cars in the community engaged with the public, then consider hiring more.
- **Consider hiring civilians as force multipliers for critical services.** Crime analysts, for example, are essential for most advanced policing strategies. A few highly trained non-sworn employees conducting crime and intelligence analysis may be more useful than hiring more police, for example.
- **Adopt evidence-based policing strategies shown to impact crime and other public demands on the police.** This is not simple or easy, but it is effective. Superficial adoption, or temporary adoption, will not help. This needs to be undertaken with the long-term objective of fundamentally changing the way policing is carried out if it is to have a sustained impact on crime.

To read more about this study, see Lee, Y., Eck, J. E., & Corsaro, N. (2016). Conclusions from the History of Research into the Effects of Police Force Size on Crime—1968 through 2013: An Historical Systematic Review. Journal of Experimental Criminology 12*(3): 431-451.*

The Caruth Police Institute, *continued from page 11*

basic academy curriculum to include more scenario-based learning opportunities, consulting on a rewrite of field officer training operations, and helping foster public/private partnerships to raise funds for a study to assess DPD's current personnel allocations and to assist them with creating a more flexible staffing protocol. Still other collaborations include a grant-funded initiative wherein CPI and DPD are working together to rethink how mental health calls are managed including evaluating police response, creating a multidisciplinary team with Dallas Fire and Rescue, and training officers to better recognize mental health problems in the community.

Moving forward, CPI's mission will continue to be one that promotes providing leadership professional development opportunities for police and conducting meaningful research on policing issues that matter. Yet, to remain relevant, the institute needs to continue to evolve and change with the times and with environmental demands. As CPI

expands to provide its services to other law enforcement and criminal justice personnel regionally and nationwide, it will focus on doing so using a community-centric approach that encourages open and honest discussion by police and the community about law enforcement education and research. In this way, CPI will continue to be an innovator in education and research and to play the unique role in the police/academic paradigm it was originally intended to fill.

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EVIDENCE-BASED POLICING
Translating Research into Practice

Cynthia Lum
and Christopher S. Koper

The Role of Consultants in the Applied Research Process

BY JOHN KAPINOS

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In the fall 2016 issue of *Translational Criminology,* CEBCP professors Charlotte Gill and David Weisburd and their colleagues discussed the results of a recent project in Seattle, which involved the study of multiagency comprehensive problem-solving approaches to address crime and disorder in selected neighborhoods ("When Is Innovation Not Enough? The Importance of Organizational Context in Community Policing"). The article described a project that was not fully realized due to several situational and organizational factors. These involved the inability of the Seattle Police Department to fully support the needs of the project at that time, as well as difficulty in coordinating the effective participation of several other partner agencies and organizations within the City of Seattle.

The project, which began in 2014, was planned to have teams from the Seattle Police Department, with support from other city agencies and nonprofit organizations, implement efforts to reduce youth crime in identified communities. The members of the research team would then study the results of the designed interventions for effectiveness. However, the project implementation was stymied by a period of disruptive organizational change within the police department and the lack of effective coordination with the other supporting agencies. With these handicaps, the efforts to gain targeted reductions in youth crime were judged to be ineffective. The project team reported that the key lessons learned involved the realities of organizational and political constraints, and how they impact the implementation of community policing activities.

However, one additional lesson can also be gleaned from their experience—the possibility that implementation may have been facilitated by including an outside expert or consultant—a "translator" of sorts. For example, the observations of the project team highlighted the need to better understand the internal and organizational constraints of police agencies that may impede participation in research projects. In the case of Seattle, the project coincided with a period of dramatic change in the police department, involving a Department of Justice consent decree process and much fluidity in the agency structure and leadership. This dynamic resulted in the

John Kapinos

assigned project teams becoming isolated and unsupported within the organization. Efforts to involve the various partner agencies in the project suffered from the lack of prior history of cooperative work with the police department on mutual initiatives. The report on the project identified the need for a comprehensive strategic planning process to improve the success of similar projects in the future.

Researchers may not be able to determine how these challenges can be addressed during active research projects, but consultants knowledgeable about police organizations could. Many such consulting firms and individuals possess extensive knowledge and experience in the areas of strategic planning and project management in policing, as well as experience working within the public safety and local government environments. Drawing on such capabilities to facilitate the planning and management of a comprehensive project allows the other participants to focus on what they do best; the researchers focusing on project design and data analysis, and the agency participants on implementation activity.

For example, at the outset of a project, several concerns must be identified, confronted, and addressed before a collaboration can be successfully initiated. From the perspective of the academic researcher, appropriate agency partners must be identified and assessed for their capacity to engage in the project. Assuming that partners have been chosen and a basic understanding and agreement on the nature and extent of the project has been reached, a technical assessment of agency capacity for data collection should be conducted. This may not require outside consultant services, but it could be very helpful for a third-party consultant to be brought in for this task, allowing the researchers to focus on project design tasks. Consultants with knowledge of various typical agency databases and software tools can work with the agency to assess their capacity to compile, analyze, and produce the data necessary for the project.

In addition to providing an assessment of technical capability, the consultant would be able to evaluate the "soft" assets of the partner agency; that is, the human resources that will be dedicated to the project. In many cases, agency politics sometimes intrude on the decisions as to which personnel are chosen to participate in a project. In looking at organizational configuration and staff capabilities, an experienced consultant is positioned to make recommendations as to

those units and staff members that should be part of the research effort. Experienced consultants may also be able to provide insights for the researcher's benefit as to any cultural or political barriers that may exist within partner jurisdictions, which may impede the effective implementation of the research initiative.

Additionally, as noted with the Seattle project, there may be a need for some extensive strategic planning among various participants prior to the onset of the project. Comprehensive studies may involve a degree of interaction and cooperation among government, private, and nonprofit agencies that is far beyond the norm for these organizations. Many, in fact, will end up having little history of working with each other on a regular basis, or even fully understanding what the other participants are trying to accomplish with initiatives. This is particularly true of police agencies and some social service agencies. In fact, some have historically seen their respective missions as being somewhat at odds with each other. The writer recalls a situation in a prior agency some years back where the police department advanced a proposal to place a satellite office in a regional community center, so as to be more accessible to local residents. This proposal was resisted by social service providers in the same facility, who argued that a police presence might discourage their clients from coming to the center.

Before entering a comprehensive working partnership for implementation of a research effort, the participants must essentially establish a new ad-hoc organization and articulate a specific mission for the endeavor. Experienced and capable consultants will be able to facilitate a strategic planning process to develop agreed-upon goals and objectives for the project, as well as create action plans, implementation timetables, and success metrics. By staying in the role of outside facilitator, the consultant thereby allows the various participants (including researchers) to focus on identifying and articulating their needs and visions without having to also concern themselves with managing the entire process.

As the project is underway, consultants can provide useful services as project managers. This may involve managing implementation and activity schedules, arranging data gathering and transmission protocols, and coordinating interviews and focus groups (and facilitating as needed). Consultants could assist in identifying and tracking appropriate performance metrics, especially those that may be of most value to the participating agencies. It is well noted that academic research operates on a much different timetable than does most governmental activity: research may take years to come to full fruition with conclusive results. Governmental agencies live in a public political environment that has a much shorter action horizon, with results desired within budget or election cycles. The consultant could help with the identification of items of "low hanging fruit" that could provide the agency participants with helpful results at

earlier stages of the research process, while allowing the researchers to continue to work toward longer-term definitive results.

As the project progresses to conclusion, the consultant would be able to provide valuable feedback on reports as well as assistance in helping to facilitate the translation of research findings to the agency participants. This would involve taking the broad academic findings and drilling down to identify and describe specific recommendations and action items that the agencies can use as takeaways from the initiative. This allows the researchers to maintain an appropriate focus on the reporting of the research findings, without having to be concerned as much with having to pull out conclusive results and recommendations that they may not be fully comfortable in advancing. As an interlocutor, the third-party consultant might be able to suggest some "quick-win" items for the benefit of the partnering agencies.

Translation of research (in all directions) is a focus of much concern in both the academic and public sector today, and for research to be supported, definitive results and measurable benefits will be desired and expected. The various strategies to facilitate effective translation, such as having researchers embedded in agencies, and the development of "pracademics" within organizations, are excellent approaches, but are not always available or achievable within a short time frame. Incorporating outside, knowledgeable, and experienced consultants at the outset of many research projects, especially those that involve various disparate partners, could help facilitate the overall success of the initiative.

Problem-Oriented Policing as a Form of Translational Criminology

BY SUZANNE COBLE AND MICHAEL S. SCOTT

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Criminology was founded on collaboration between researchers and practitioners. However, over the years, criminological research has often neglected the active participation of practitioners, resulting in their alienation from it and failure thereby to apply it to much of their practice. But through policing frameworks that integrate and adapt both the substance and methods of criminology (as one form of social science) with the pragmatic business of improving the police response to public safety problems, this condition has begun to improve. Problem-oriented policing (POP) can be understood as an application of translational criminology that successfully bridges this gap between researchers and practitioners. In particular, the Herman Goldstein Awards for Excellence in POP exemplify how police translate criminological theories and methods into practical efforts to prevent and control police problems. The seven Goldstein Award finalist projects of 2016 illustrate how police are both informed by and contribute to the body of criminological research and knowledge, thereby reviving the partnership between researchers and practitioners upon which criminology was founded. At all stages of the scanning, analysis, response, assessment (SARA) model, these projects demonstrate specific ways in which police are currently using research findings, theories, and methods to increase policing fairness and efficacy.

Police Use of Criminological Theory

Even if rarely explicitly mentioned, criminological theories are evident in policing practices, particularly in the "analysis" and "response" stages of the SARA model. As one might expect, those criminological theories that pertain specifically to policing—such as hotspots and community policing, deterrence, and broken windows—are all mentioned explicitly or implicitly. For example, the police from Arlington and Austin, Texas, and Glendale, Arizona, all recognized the utility in increasing police presence among high-risk individuals or in high-crime areas (hotspots/ deterrence), and both Arlington and Austin police deployed officers on foot at the identified hotspots.

In the case of Austin, foot patrol officers focused on engaging community members in order to improve trust and police-community relations, and these officers went through special training to reorient their activity and mindset away from strict enforcement (community policing). Similarly, Portland and London (Newham) police, as well as

those in Austin, recognized that quality-of-life crimes and physical disorder were associated with both increases in violent crime and fear of crime among residents in targeted areas (broken windows). Austin police also applied the broken windows theory to part of their response, improving the physical appearance of the neighborhood in order to decrease fear of crime and increase community engagement among residents. Many of the finalist projects also invoked situational crime prevention or crime prevention through environmental design theories in responding to the identified problems.

Glendale police encouraged convenience-store managers to increase their staffing and move commonly stolen merchandise to less-accessible locations within the stores, while Arlington police helped Walmart stores with their shoplifting problems by encouraging them to increase signage, electronic monitoring, and sensor security in stores to deter potential thieves. Though these theories specifically speak to police activities, the Goldstein Award finalist projects exemplify their application to the activities of the various stakeholders in policing problems.

Other criminological theories less commonly associated with policing activities are also implicated in the Goldstein Award finalist projects. First, informal social control and its related theories of social disorganization and collective efficacy influenced the identification of problems and formation of responses in several of the projects. Austin police focused on a disadvantaged neighborhood, describing a number of social disorganization conditions present in the neighborhood, and part of the new response was to increase collective efficacy among residents. Similarly, social disorganization is implicit in the identification of both family violence in New Zealand and rough sleeping (public camping) in London.

Second, labeling and related theories were implicated in responses of five of the seven projects. Austin police recognized a need to "rebrand" the Rundberg neighborhood in a more positive light, while New Zealand police initiated a campaign to decrease the stigma associated with men seeking counseling. Glendale police also used the power of labels to publicly shame convenience stores through negative media in order to induce compliance with suggested store policy and practice changes. Labeling theory also guided High Point, North Carolina, police's multilevel response to intimate-partner violence offenders,

recognizing that they respond differently to police intervention and punishment depending on their "stake in conformity" and the severity and chronicity of assaults. Similarly, with the assistance of Arlington police, Walmart stores implemented the Restorative Justice Program, a civil response to first-time offenders that allows them to avoid immediate arrest by enrolling in a corrective education course and paying a fine.

Police are not restricted to using criminological research and theory to inform their practice; they can engage with research from a variety of disciplines to identify, analyze, and respond to problems. High Point police employed a public health approach in their project, emphasizing harm-reduction principles. New Zealand police explicitly referred to "literature on the impact of natural disasters" in predicting an increase in family violence, even before this increase occurred. As such, research may be applied proactively to identify imminent problems that can then be addressed preventatively. These examples indicate that various criminological and other social-science and medical theories, even those seemingly unrelated to policing, can guide police practices and interventions within the POP framework.[1]

Police Use of Criminological Methods

Police often rely on common criminological research methods at all stages of the SARA framework. Using outcome measures such as reported-crime, arrest, or calls-for-service data, many police departments employ crime-trend, spatial, and repeat-location analysis when "scanning" for specific problems or hotspots. Similarly, more in-depth analysis is also performed in the "analysis" stage in order to clarify the who, what, when, where, and why of the identified problem. Austin police used longitudinal time series and GIS mapping to identify the Rundberg neighborhood as a problem area, and the specific hotspots within the neighborhood that could be targeted. They also surveyed area residents about their fear of crime and police relations; performed systematic observations of disorder; interviewed offenders arrested at hot spots; and did qualitative analysis of violent-crime reports at hot spots to determine specific characteristics of the locations that were inducing criminal activity. Glendale police also combined crime-trend analysis with offender interviews and a crime-prevention-through-environmental-design survey to determine the characteristics of both targets and offenders involved in convenience-store incidents. These in-depth, mixed-method approaches to problem analysis yielded comprehensive information about the quantity and quality of crime and disorder in the targeted areas.

During the "response" phase, many of the finalist police departments used intelligence gathered from offenders or others to improve or change the response as needed. For example, both Glendale and Austin police interviewed offenders apprehended at hot-spot locations to find out more about the problem and adjust the response. In both cases, police learned from offenders why particular stores and neighborhoods were appealing to them as crime targets.

For the "assessment" phase, all the finalist projects used pre-post comparisons of traditional outcome measures—calls for service, incidents, arrests, recidivism—to determine the responses' effectiveness. Glendale and Portland police conducted the most rigorous assessments of the responses to their problems: convenience-store thefts and abandoned-houses, respectively. These projects identified multiple comparison groups, clarified the pre-post test time intervals, and specified the statistical analyses performed. In both projects, analysts also specifically assessed displacement and diffusion effects, exemplifying the unity of theory with method in the assessment of practice. Even though the majority of projects failed to clarify the statistical methods used in their studies, it is clear that the methods employed to scan, analyze, and respond to problems, and to assess those responses, are drawn from methods commonly used by criminologists in their own research. Furthermore, those projects involving a close collaboration between researchers and police clearly benefitted from the partnership, especially during the analysis and assessment stages.

Many of the projects also assessed success not merely in terms of crime and disorder reduction, but with more prosocial outcomes. For example, Arlington police measured the number of first-time offenders who successfully completed Walmart's Restorative Justice Program, and included some qualitative interviews with those enrolled in the course in order to demonstrate how they benefited from the program. Likewise, Austin police cited rising test scores and decreases in student discipline in neighborhood schools to show the positive impact their community policing approach had on these at-risk youths. Assessment of such prosocial outcomes confirm the benefits that many problem-oriented policing interventions have beyond the immediate problems they address. Benefits to the wider community are often greater and more long-lasting than in traditional police approaches.

Conclusion

The Goldstein Award finalist projects provide clear examples of research applied to police practices. Not only do police rely on criminological theories to inform their understanding of the problems they face and the development of effective responses, but they employ a variety of common research methods to analyze these problems and assess the quality of their interventions. The problem-oriented policing framework encourages and, in many ways, requires the principles of the scientific method in its performance. As such, these projects make evident that there is no inherent barrier between research and practice. Rather, practitioners can, and do, apply the research generated by scholars and academics to the problems they face in their jobs. Perhaps one means then of translating criminology to policy and practice is to implement frameworks such as problem-oriented policing that demand the use of criminological theories and methods in everyday practice.

Information about how to submit a project to the Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing and past submission reports can be accessed at www.popcenter.org.

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[1] In 1997, Santa Ana, California, police relied on both cultural anthropological and ecological theories and research methods to help them understand disorder associated with street cruising and then assess the impact of their new efforts in responding to the problem (Santa Ana Police Department, 1997).

NIJ's LEADS Programs

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The National Institute of Justice (NIJ)—the U.S. Department of Justice's (DOJ) research, development, and evaluation agency—has expanded its Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science (LEADS) initiative to two complementary programs, LEADS Scholars and LEADS Agencies. Both programs share the objectives of providing support for practical, applied police research and encouraging the adoption of evidence-based policing.

The LEADS Scholars Program was developed in 2014 in partnership with the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) as a way to recognize and support the professional development of research-minded, mid-rank law enforcement officers who had either successfully infused research into program and policy development and/or partnered on policing research. The National Institute of Justice solicited applications from officers throughout the country and during the program's first three years selected 27 LEADS Scholars.[1] These officers have participated in annual IACP conferences including NIJ-sponsored sessions and meetings of the IACP's Research Advisory Committee, attended "Research for the Real World" workshops at NIJ, met with DOJ and IACP leadership, served as peer reviewers for scientific proposals, and been introduced to networks of police leaders and researchers. They have also been diligent in sharing research-related ideas and experiences with each other, at times sharing data and assisting each other in research development.

To complement these efforts, the LEADS Agencies Program is being launched in 2017. The success of the LEADS Scholars Program made it clear that there are many law enforcement officers around the country dedicated to advancing the police profession through science. To provide further encouragement, NIJ recognized that it should broaden its focus to include agencies as well as individuals. The new LEADS Agencies Program aims to demonstrate how law enforcement agencies can answer their own high-priority research questions, enabling them to implement evidence-based decision making in timely response to their real-world problems.

Research within the Profession

The LEADS Scholars and LEADS Agencies Programs add another layer to the traditional approach of police-researcher partnerships that has been widely promoted over the past 20 years (McEwen, 2003; Alpert et al., 2013). The premise of LEADS is that law enforcement personnel and agencies are in a position to do their own analysis, science, and research on certain high-priority issues and questions.

Needless to say, there are important situations in which independent outside research is necessary, as well as many instances in which police agencies need guidance and assistance in order to conduct studies that produce credible results. But it also seems to be true that there are situations in which agencies are capable, or should be capable, of doing their own analysis and research. Moreover, such a capability is consistent with calls for a more robust version of police science and a more rigorous and serious conception of police professionalism (Stone & Travis, 2011; Weisburd & Neyroud, 2011).

It helps to be reminded that this is not a new idea. August Vollmer, police chief in Berkeley, California, from 1905 to 1932 and the father of modern American policing, argued long ago for a scientific approach to police work.[2] His protégé O. W. Wilson identified "planning and research" as a central component of police administration, emphasizing that "research is needed before the relative merits of many alternative police procedures may be accurately appraised" (1957, p. 7). More recently, the value of analysts within law enforcement agencies has been widely recognized.

Researchers in the Ranks

The LEADS Scholars are "researchers in the ranks" without necessarily having an assignment in a planning and analysis unit. Their opportunities to conduct in-depth research are often limited, but the same is true in other professions known for practitioner-researchers, such as medicine, law, engineering, and education. The scholars apply their research skills to specific problems when they can, and otherwise work to infuse their agencies' decision making with a scientific, evidence-based orientation. For example:

- **Captain James Nolette** in Fayetteville, North Carolina, works in an agency that has consciously adopted several evidence-based practices, including GPS monitoring of convicted felony offenders, semi-permanent 10-hour patrol shifts, and targeted policing based on Risk Terrain Modeling. His approach is "I try not to reinvent the wheel…Before making a major decision, I look for the research and whether its results can be recreated or the process tweaked so that it can be successful within my department" (Nolette, 2016).
- **Corporal Josh Young** in Ventura, California, led his department's randomized experiment with body-worn cameras, including the first-ever look at the technology's impact on prosecution outcomes. He recently cowrote a "contagious accountability" article based on seven separate tests of the effect of body-worn cameras on citizen complaints (Ariel et al., 2016). He is also one of several LEADS Scholars who are co-founders of the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing.[3]
- **Sergeant Greg Stewart** in Portland, Oregon, has used his research and data skills in several assignments, such as developing a risk assessment tool for domestic violence offenders, supervising the agency's crime analysis unit, and helping officers employ more rigorous techniques when completing the two "As" (analysis and assessment) in the SARA problem-solving process.
- **Captain Shon Barnes** in Greensboro, North Carolina, guided his department through a quasi-experiment when it was first exploring the utilization of predictive policing.
- **Sergeant Jeremiah Johnson** in Darien, Connecticut, drew on published research to convince his agency that cross-training a subset of patrol officers to function as detectives would increase investigative capacity.
- **Major Wendy Stiver** in Dayton, Ohio, and Captain Ken Clary of the Iowa State Patrol are exploring the possibility of a joint study of the impact on police personnel of routine exposure to subcritical trauma. Their focus on this "under the radar" issue was crystallized while attending an NIJ-sponsored safety and wellness session at the 2016 IACP conference.
- **Sergeant Nicole Powell** in New Orleans, Louisiana, is analyzing several years of her agency's body-worn camera data to determine any impact on citizen complaints, and also designing a study to test the effects of changes in investigative practices on clearance rates for homicides and non-fatal shootings.
- **Captain Edward Pallas** in Montgomery County, Maryland, now director of his agency's Training and Education Division, is actively working to integrate high-quality research and evidence-based practices in the police academy.

LEADS Agencies

A lot has changed since the days of Vollmer and Wilson. According to two recent multi-agency surveys, about half of today's law enforcement officers have college degrees (Hilal & Densley, 2013; Paoline et al., 2014). Crime and intelligence analysts have been added in many agencies, data systems are now automated and incredibly more efficient, and powerful software is routinely available. It would seem that all the necessary ingredients are in place within police organizations to support decision making based on research and evidence, not just anecdotes, personal experiences, and opinions.

We all know, however, that uncertainty and competing interests are often factors in real-world decision making. Police executives must contend with a host of practical considerations, such as political pressures, community demands, and organizational culture that constrain their ability to make decisions based purely on the available evidence. Also we know that police department analysts and planners are often so busy with a multitude of day-to-day assigned tasks and responsibilities that they rarely have the time to do the kind of research that might best inform evidence-based decision making.

In its initial phase, the LEADS Agencies Program will engage with a small number of agencies to explore and test the feasibility of a more evidence-based approach to policing. When push comes to shove, it is possible that the evidence is not there, agency research capacity is too limited, or practical realities are just too constraining. The vision of "researchers in the ranks" might not be as attainable in policing as in other professions (Willis, 2016). But it is equally possible, and hopefully more likely that, as Herman Goldstein (1990) argued more than 25 years ago, police departments tend to underutilize the creative and intellectual talents of their rank-in-file members.

The Bigger Picture

There are many individuals and organizations already working hard in the direction of making policing more scientific and evidence-based. To name just a few, George Mason's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy and the new Center for Police Research and Policy, a joint effort of IACP and the University of Cincinnati, are actively engaged in numerous research projects with law enforcement agencies. The Center for Problem-Oriented Policing and NIJ's CrimeSolutions.gov are both repositories of information about what works and what is promising in modern policing. The Smart Policing Program funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the NIJ-funded National Police Research Platform are both aimed at measuring and testing contemporary police practices. The Police Foundation is actively involved in developing and promoting evidence-based policing, and the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies is striving to anchor more and more of its standards on a solid foundation of scientific evidence. An American Society of Evidence-Based Policing has been organized with close connections to similar associations recently established in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. NIJ's LEADS Agencies Program hopes to work in concert with these and other institutions and initiatives in order to contribute to the further professionalization of American law enforcement.

Anyone interested in more information about the LEADS Agencies Program is encouraged to contact Gary Cordner (gcordner@gmail.com) or Geoff Alpert (GEOFFA@mailbox.sc.edu).

Police Research on the Front Lines

BY JASON POTTS

Jason Potts is a sergeant with the Vallejo Police Department where he has served for 17 years. He is also a National Institute of Justice LEADS Scholar, an ASEBP board member, and a Police Foundation Fellow.

The American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) was established in the summer of 2015 by a group of like-minded police officers focused on bringing research evidence to the front lines of policing. As a police officer with 17 years of experience, I realized as a rookie officer that much of what is done in policing is based on anecdotal experiences and instincts—swiftly indoctrinated into the front-line officer's mindset (Lum, 2009). Furthermore, promising concepts such as procedural justice, hot-spot policing, focused deterrence, police legitimacy, and de-escalation are often not adequately conveyed to patrol officers either in their initial training or while on patrol (Sherman, 2013). And, if members of our command staff are exposed to these concepts at national conferences and among their peers, they may not necessarily adopt or successfully communicate them to the rank-and-file and first-line supervisors, who often have the greatest influence on organizational culture at the operational level (Engel & Worden, 2003).

Thus, front-line officers with similar experiences and perspectives founded the ASEBP under the umbrella of the Police Foundation and with the support of its president and former police chief, Jim Bueermann. Our intention was to advance policing for front-line law enforcement officers by advocating for, and exposing officers to, the value that research and science could bring to our profession. Following suit from the first Society of Evidence-Based Policing developed in the United Kingdom, leaders of the ASEBP hope to add to the momentum of evidence-based policing and stress the incorporation of research evidence into law enforcement training and practice.

Bringing research to the front lines of policing, however, is easier said than done. There are approximately 18,000 police departments and 750,000 police officers in the United States. While popular culture seems to think of "the police" as monolithic, there is a great deal of diversity in American policing organizations. Law enforcement agencies and their jurisdictions vary widely as to organizational culture and deployment styles, budgetary constraints, social demographics, relationships with their communities, and the educational and training requirements expected of officers. Additionally, most departments in the United States have fewer than 10 officers. Needless to say, convincing this large and diverse group of individuals and organizations that research should be incorporated into decision making is no small task. Not only is the world of research and science different from the officer's world of procedures and the law, but in today's complex and challenging policing environment, officers may not have the time, motivation, or interest to learn what research says about their profession, and may also be cynical to outside knowledge (Lum & Koper, 2017).

Jason Potts

At the same time, research knowledge can be invaluable to the officers and supervisors on the front lines of policing. We ought to empower our front-line supervisors to create environments that ensure adaptability while continuously encouraging and embracing the best practices that advance the policing profession and maximize the talents of our line-level officers. Research may also better inform shifts in police culture from a focus on outputs (e.g., arrests and citations) to measuring and working toward outcomes. In other words, what gets measured gets done (Moore & Braga, 2003). Additionally, the opportunities to infuse research into the culture by proving what works and what doesn't in police technology are enormous. For example, we need to know what impact body-worn cameras will have on officer and citizen behavior, whether drones or unmanned aerial systems are effective for disaster management or accident and crime scene investigations, and if license plate readers are effective.

Front-line officers can play a central role in generating this research underlying evidence-based policing. While this may seem overwhelming to officers unfamiliar with research, the learning curve is not that steep. Officers are already adept at solving problems, weighing costs and benefits, and digging deeper into situations to find out the truth. With the right research partners and mentors, officers can also engage in research projects on the front lines to determine whether the things they are doing are indeed effective.

Such research does not have to be lengthy, complicated, or expensive. For example, BetaGov, a nonprofit research organization led by Dr. Angela Hawken, has shown that some short, randomized experiments to test police practices can be completed in three months, and at no cost to participating agencies (see betagov.org/html/about-betagov.html). BetaGov provides a project manager, a lead researcher, and a statistician. For example, with the help of BetaGov, I am leading a three-month automatic license plate reader (ALPR) experiment with the Vallejo Police Department. The study is in the developmental stages with BetaGov and will attempt to measure the effectiveness of ALPR technology. Specifically, this evaluation hopes to determine whether ALPR can increase stolen vehicle recovery, affect officer behavior (e.g., shift mileage, increased pursuits, arrests, collisions, and complaints), and improve the ability for officers to detect stolen vehicles without the help of ALPR. To explore these questions, the study will use five patrol cars outfitted with ALPR, the alerting function of which will be randomly scheduled to be turned on and off, and will feature specific settings when turned on. The study will measure officer behavior and outcomes when the ALPR alerts are turned on, compared to when they are turned off.

Perhaps one of the more well-known examples of an officer-led research study that made major contributions to the field was that of Renee Mitchell, PhD, sergeant of the Sacramento Police Department and president of the ASEBP. With the help of research partners at George Mason University, she implemented an in-house randomized control trial focused on understanding a hot-spots policing strategy employing the Koper timing principle, which is spending 12 to 16 minutes at the hot spot to maximize the residual deterrent effect (Koper, 1995). Officers visited hot spots for short periods of time every couple of hours and, overall, generated a substantial reduction in serious crime at experimental hot spots compared to control hot spots (see the evaluation by Telep, Mitchell, & Weisburd, 2014).

Another example of front-line research was undertaken by Josh Young (2014), another founding member of ASEBP and a former Ventura Police Officer. Like Mitchell, he wanted to show that front-line officers could effectively integrate research into their daily activities. As part of his master's thesis at Cambridge University, he carried out a 12-month randomized controlled trial replicating Rialto, California, Police Department Chief Tony Farrar's Rialto study. His study revealed that officers could substantially increase their use of body-worn cameras while decreasing their use of force and the number of complaints they received (Young, 2014; Ariel et al., 2016).

Such studies by officers on the front lines help to build the evidence base for policing. With the help of other researchers and mentors, law enforcement officers are taking more ownership in generating research (Weisburd & Neyroud, 2011), and by doing so, moving closer to institutionalizing the use of research processes and outcomes into practice (Lum & Koper, 2017). But these efforts are not without challenges, as both Mitchell and Young would attest. The goal of the Societies of Evidence-Based Policing across multiple countries has been to provide support for those on the front lines of evidence-based policing. This support takes numerous forms, from empowering and showing the benefits of evidence-based policing in practice to providing resources in "digestible" (Lum et al., 2012) and cogent ways. Members of the society also receive a quarterly newspaper, online library access to articles and conference presentations, the ability to network with others working in the arena of evidence-based policing, and reduced conference fees. On May 22 and 23, 2017, the ASEBP will hold its first conference at Arizona State University.

As founding members of the ASEBP, Mitchell, Young, and I are committed to showing that research, including randomized control trials, can be implemented on the front lines of policing, particularly in the mid-level supervisory ranks. Our hope is that building this evidence on the front lines will result in better policing for our peers, along with exponentially increased advocacy for evidence-based policing. Of course, there are still many challenges, given the complex and dynamic nature of policing, and the failure of "quick fixes." Some might argue that problems facing policing, such as mental illness or poverty, are beyond the purview of the average police officer who is often left to navigate the demands of daily policing. In my own experience, I find that many police officers, at best, are disinterested in research-based policing and, at worst, have disdain for it. Therein lies both the benefits (e.g., to prove or refute) and challenges (e.g., to convince cynical police what works and what doesn't) in research. It is ASEBP's hope that evidence-based policing will continue to inform sound, practical decisions, advocating and illustrating to front-line police the benefits. Finally, if criminogenic research is written in digestible forms, and is part of the training curriculum with outcome incentives realigned, then it is ASEBP's belief that the police profession can cultivate research that successfully targets, tests, and tracks incoming data (Sherman, 2013).

For more information on the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing or to become a member, visit americansebp.com/home.

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Research Note: Gaining Access to Security Environments in Norway

BY MARTIN NØKLEBERG

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Gaining access to carry out research is one of the most important concerns in social science. The researcher's ability and success of negotiating access can affect the quality and quantity of information provided and the possible questions that can be explored. Thus, in criminal justice research, a great deal of time is often devoted to the process of negotiating with authorities to get access to data. Interestingly, this task remains mostly an untold story that is rarely critically analyzed while research methods and results take precedent. One reason for this omission is that these stories are often difficult to tell, and they may place the organization from which the data was obtained in a bad light. Additionally, negotiation can continue throughout a research project and is a complex process that is not easily articulated. But stories about how researchers gain access are often unique to research studies and the context in which they take place, and provide important lessons in research implementation.

This is the case for research conducted in environments in which security might be concerned, and especially in the case of national security, such as airports or maritime ports. My research focuses on understanding security governance and flow of people and goods through security spaces. As people and goods travel, they make use of different infrastructures, which generate flow patterns that intersect at nodes. Similar to routine activities and crime pattern theories, these flows and nodes create new risks and vulnerabilities, as well as security opportunities, for crime. Such notions of flows, nodes, and vulnerabilities can be applied to airport and maritime ports. Security infrastructure at these places often involves multiple organizations that have to collaborate in order to effectively create conditions to address particular vulnerabilities. Understanding this collaboration landscape as well as the legitimacy of this type of security governance is a central question in studies of port security. Here, I tell the story of trying to gain access to conduct this research in the port and airport of Oslo, Norway, a story likely shared by those conducting research in similar environments in the United States.

Gaining Access to Conduct Research in Places of National Security

Because the security infrastructure at ports involves multiple organizations, there are many layers of negotiation that may need to be accessed simultaneously and in multiple settings to do research. In the case of my project, these organizations included the Norwegian

Martin Nøkleberg

Police, the Civil Aviation Authority, the Coastal Administration, Avinor (airport owner), and port authority. With regard to the organizations that granted me access, the decisive factor was that my request was handled by individuals who not only understood the purpose of research but also were interested in what I would find. This was less the case with the police, with whom gaining access was much more challenging, especially in a national security context.

Researchers have discussed tactics that may be implemented to gain access to research sites (Shenton and Hayter, 2004; Wanat, 2008; Feldman, Bell, & Berger, 2003). But do these strategies apply to security and policing organizations that are much more closed and sometimes secretive environments? Early studies in policing research suggested that success in gaining access to do research in policing organizations was related to development of both formal and informal relations with the gatekeeper of a particular police organization (see Fox & Lundman, 1974). More recently, Demarée, Verwee, and Enhus (2013) stressed the importance of formal meetings and verbal approval, as well as the task of building trust and networking with key stakeholders to gain access.

However, such strategies may be less successful when negotiating access to airport or port security organizations. Building a relationship with a local gatekeeper may help, but ultimately the organization itself must decide whether to provide a researcher access. This requires working through organizational bureaucracy and gaining permission from top levels of leadership. This challenge is particularly relevant in the Norwegian context as formal access has to be granted by the National Police Directorate (POD), which has the overall responsibility for the police on both local and national security matters.

Further challenges are present in the context of aviation and maritime security, which are more politicized than local policing. While "everyday" crime data might not be as hidden or restricted to researcher access, port and national security data may be understandably considered by the organization as more confidential and secret, increasing the perceived risks for the agency to engage in research on this information. But at the same time, those operating in the context of national security may overestimate the security risks. Thus, even if confidential data is not needed, gaining access to airports and ports to conduct research may be difficult. For example, my project involved understanding how various actors collaborate to create security at ports and airports, which requires gaining access to agencies with information that may be subject to confidentiality rules (see a similar experience by Lum and colleagues, 2011, in their study

of U.S. airports). Similar to Lum et al. (2013), my emphasis was on the perceptions of work and collaboration of actors working with those who were policing airports and ports, topics arguably not related to confidential data on airport security. Despite this, an exemption from confidentiality was needed just to speak to officers about nonconfidential topics.

In Norway, POD may grant exemptions to restricted access for the purposes of research, allowing representatives to speak more freely when being interviewed. However, applications to POD are often forwarded to the Council for Confidentiality and Research for review. This process takes time; one normally can expect to wait three months before the application is processed. For those with limited time, such as a PhD student, this might influence the progress of a research project.

After waiting four months, my application for exemption to study law enforcement collaborations in airport and port security was rejected on the grounds that the information I was interested in was deemed too sensitive and had the potential of exposing security measures of the police. Two things were particularly interesting regarding the refusal. The first was that POD did not forward my application to the Council for Confidentiality and Research for a statement, which had been the norm in similar applications for police research. Secondly, POD made references to the Security Act, implying that the object of research (airport/port) itself and/or the information concerning these objects is subject to the Security Act. Consequently, any information from airports and ports had the potential of being classified and protected, thus making it not accessible. Interestingly, other public agencies are subject to similar confidentiality constraints, as the police and information obtained from these organizations might also be restricted by the Security Act. However, the Security Act is not often invoked when doing research with those agencies.

To draft an appeal to the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, I solicited support from leadership at the university, including the dean of research at the Faculty of Law, the head of the Criminology Department, and dissertation supervisors. Again, after four months, my appeal was rejected based on similar arguments provided in the first rejection. This was the final step, and no further action regarding this particular application of exemption from confidentiality could be taken. The only option would be to develop a new project and send in a new application to POD.

A year after beginning this process, I submitted a new application for exemption, applying the lessons learned from my previous rejections, advice from local police agency stakeholders, and my experience in gaining access to other related organizations. In my new application, I revised the proposal to more explicitly focus on the subject of my research: collaboration at airports and ports, rather than more amorphous discussions of security and crime. Given my previous experience, my expectations for being granted access were low. To my surprise, POD granted me exemption from confidentiality within two weeks of receiving my application.

The exemption did, however, come with restrictions. POD stressed that facts about specific cooperation on specific operations and emergency responses that might reveal preventative measures, mechanisms, or plans were deemed sensitive and not exempt. However, general information such as how collaboration might be perceived, how it unfolds in particular settings, and the mapping of relevant law enforcement partners was acceptable for research inquiry and would not be subject to confidentiality. While this research focus had been my intention all along, the rewording and clarity in my new application increased the translation and reception of my research for the police.

Lesson Learned

Gaining access to doing research in law enforcement agencies is difficult, and in areas of national security, even more so. How researchers frame their projects while negotiating access can influence the outcome of requests for access. For example, words such as interdisciplinary and interagency cooperation are frequently applauded and appreciated by POD, while words such as "security strategies" or "mentalities" are not. Using neutral concepts can also help. Security is a contested concept, with many connotations; mentioning "security" and "airport" in the same sentence might create negative reactions to research. Additionally, as found by other translational researchers, building relationships during the negotiating process with gatekeepers who have experience doing research and understanding research terminology can be helpful both in gaining access and implementing research projects.

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Endnotes

1. For more on the LEADS Scholars program and the 27 LEADS Scholars, see https://nij.gov/topics/law-enforcement/Pages/nij-iacp-leads-program.aspx.
2. See Vollmer (1936).
3. See http://americansebp.com/home/.

Research-Based Framework, *continued from page 13*

scientifically test its impact on the outcomes expected above with the goal of providing practitioners a research-based framework that can guide the implementation of school policing programs. With the number of officers working in schools continuing to increase, it is therefore critical that we develop an implementation framework that meets the needs of practitioners and researchers in this diverse environment.

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