

Translational Criminology

SPRING 2014

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

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CEBCP Mission Statement

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP), housed within the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University, seeks to make scientific research a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies by advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology through research–practice collaborations and proactively serving as an informational link to practitioners and the policy community. *Translational Criminology* advances this mission by illustrating examples of how research is converted into criminal justice practice.

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George Mason University photos by Alexis Glenn and Evan Cantwell

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WHERE INNOVATION IS TRADITION

FROM THE DIRECTORS

Welcome to the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP), housed in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University. The CEBCP has become one of the most active centers at Mason, supporting research, policy outreach, teaching, and graduate student training since 2008. We are proud to present you with the spring 2014 issue of our biannual magazine *Translational Criminology*. The magazine showcases examples of the core aspirations of the CEBCP: to advance the development of rigorous and practice-oriented science and to work with our partners to think carefully about the mechanics of knowledge exchange and research translation.

Building bridges between science and practice is a difficult and complex venture that is rarely accomplished simply by doing research or applying findings. Thus, in this issue, our contributors focus on a number of challenging issues in evidence-based crime policy. Jerry Ratcliffe from Temple University deliberates predictive policing and its future in the context of reforms and needs of law enforcement agencies. Two of our Latin American partners—Gustavo Beliz (Inter-American Development Bank) and Daniel Ortega (Development Bank of Latin America)—discuss their organizations' experiences in implementing more scientific approaches in decisions regarding economic and social development. Peter Neyroud and David Weisburd explore critiques of their previous discussions of police "ownership" of science and advance the debate. Capt. Tim Hegarty from the Riley County (Kansas) Police Department partners with Sue Williams, professor at Kansas State University to showcase how experiments and hot spots policing can be accomplished in smaller jurisdictions. Our partners from the Scottish Institute of Policing Research—Olivia Stevenson (University of Glasgow), Penny Woolnough (forensic psychologist at Police Scotland), and Hester Parr (University of Glasgow)—write about the geography of missing persons and using research to help develop policy in this area. Elizabeth "Betsi" Griffith tells readers about the new Bureau of Justice Assistance Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Initiative, which links evidence-based approaches with community justice needs. Finally, Lawrence Sherman and Chief Ed Flynn present the results and implications of their longitudinal follow-up of the Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment. Each of these pieces sheds light on a number of issues that are in need of more understanding and knowledge.

This year, we had and will have a number of exciting events for you to attend. On January 24, 175 first- and second-line police supervisors from more than 50 agencies attended the first training of its kind at Mason, focusing on evidence-based policing at the line supervisory level. This group of justice practitioners is one of the most important to translating research in everyday policing, and we were proud to partner with the Center for Justice Leadership and Management at Mason, the U.S. Police Foundation, the Northern

Virginia Criminal Justice Academy, and the Bureau of Justice Assistance to put on this excellent event.

On April 1, we will hold our seventh congressional briefing on the topic of Pretrial Justice: Research Evidence and Future Prospects, in collaboration with colleagues at the Pretrial Justice Institute. This event will be held in the Gold Room of the House of Representatives' Rayburn Building at the U.S. Capitol. Finally, on June 23–24, we will hold the CEBCP annual symposium, in partnership with the Inter-American Development Bank, with panels exploring the many research projects in which the CEBCP and our partners are engaged. Topics will include pressing criminal justice policy concerns including community crime prevention, police technology, experimental research in crime policy, firearms violence, and criminal justice in Latin America. The symposium also is where we will present the prestigious 2014 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame inductees, as well as the CEBCP's Distinguished Achievement Award, both celebrating the implementation of research in practice. We hope you will join us for these important events (more information can be found at www.cebc.org).

Finally, in this issue we celebrate the people who make the CEBCP what it is today. One of our most important assets is our collegiality and team spirit, which helps to make all of the events, activities, and *Translational Criminology* happen. View our entire team, including our executive staff, fellows, graduate research assistants, affiliate scholars, and advisory board members on page 25. You can also get to know CEBCP's work ethic by reading our *Code of Excellence*, which our team developed together to foster our professional working environment. As we turn the corner to our seventh year, we look forward to further growth and success in the years ahead.

David Weisburd, Executive Director
Cynthia Lum, Director

Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy
George Mason University



If you have an idea for a future article for *Translational Criminology* that illustrates research in practice, please e-mail the directors at cebcgmu.edu.

RESEARCH

- The criminology of places
- Juvenile crime hot spots
- Airport security
- Police discretion and deterrence
- Law enforcement technology
- Reentry services
- Systematic reviews
- Evaluation of crime prevention interventions
- Firearms and crime

PARTNERSHIPS

- Local, regional, state, and national government agencies
- Nonprofit research groups and foundations
- Law enforcement agencies in the United States and abroad
- Researchers from universities around the world
- Community groups and outreach workers
- Criminal justice national associations

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

TRANSLATION

- Evidence-Based Policing Matrix
- Matrix Demonstration Project
- Training and Technical Assistance
- License Plate Reader web portal
- Evidence assessments (TSA, FPS, Seattle)
- Systematic reviews

EDUCATION

- Graduate and undergraduate student mentoring
- Student-led research groups and projects
- Professional workshops for justice practitioners, researchers, and policy makers
- Presentations, keynotes, and webinars
- Training and technical assistance

OUTREACH

- Symposia
- Congressional briefings
- Research one-pagers
- *Translational Criminology* magazine
- *Translational Criminology* Springer Briefs
- CEBCP Video Library
- Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame
- Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy
- Advisory boards and consultation
- Crime and Place Working Group

cebcop.org

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy and the Inter-American Development Bank present

The 2014 CEBCP-IDB Symposium on Evidence-Based Crime Policy

We welcome everyone to our annual symposium on Evidence-Based Crime Policy, June 23–24 at George Mason University's Arlington Campus .

Panels will address research and policy on police technology, communities and crime, firearms and violence, crime analysis, development projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, and science and public policy.

Special events will include:

- A keynote address on June 23 by Daniel Ortega of the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF)
- A special recognition of, and keynote address by, Daniel Nagin, 2014 Stockholm Prize Winner on June 24
- The inductions of the 2014 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Members
- The presentation of the 2014 Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy

For more information, visit cebcp.org.



with support from the Inter-American Development Bank, and George Mason University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Provost's Office, and Office of University Life.



What Is the Future... of Predictive Policing?

BY JERRY RATCLIFFE

Jerry Ratcliffe is a professor and the chair of the Department of Criminal Justice at Temple University where he also directs the Center for Security and Crime Science. He is a member of the CEBCP's Crime and Place Working Group.

Law enforcement's current zeitgeist is predictive policing. Police chiefs roam training conferences for any insight into this next career-enhancing strategy, mayoral candidates promise it will save the city, and software companies insert the phrase into every advertising brochure for fear of not being on the bandwagon. So what is it, and what is it supposed to do? This article presents a brief discussion of the term, a synopsis of the necessary conditions, and a cautionary warning.

What Is Predictive Policing?

There is no accepted definition of predictive policing. The only constant appears to be an obligatory reference to having no relationship to the movie *Minority Report* (though perhaps like most Tom Cruise movies, it promises more than it can deliver?). A recent publication defined it as “the application of analytical techniques—particularly quantitative techniques—to identify likely targets for police intervention and prevent crime or solve past crimes by making statistical predictions.”¹ But many will find this definition too expansive given that it could incorporate forensic science, psychological profiling, and support to reactive investigations.

In general, predictive policing in the context of place is the use of historical data to create a spatiotemporal forecast of areas of criminality or crime hot spots that will be the basis for police resource allocation decisions with the expectation that having officers at the proposed place and time will deter or detect criminal activity. I write forecast because a prediction is definitive and specific, whereas a forecast is more probabilistic. With this definition, it could be argued that some police departments have been practicing predictive policing for a while now. For years, many law enforcement agencies have held Compstat-type meetings and are capable of creating crime (kernel density) surface maps that determine patrol areas.

But if that reassurance is not enough to satisfy your mayor or sheriff, what is necessary to get up and running with predictive policing?

What Conditions Are Necessary?

After discovering that near-repeat chains of Philadelphia street robberies were not only rare, but also had a very short half-life, Cory



Jerry Ratcliffe

Haberman and I cautioned that any police response system would require four significant requirements: an adequate surveillance mechanism, a responsive and capable analytical regime, a viable decision-making framework, and significant operational flexibility.² It is worth noting that use of computer software is not discussed because it is entirely possible that under the right circumstances a well-trained crime analyst could perform the first

two items without the aid of software. Expanding on the above list a little, numerous challenges with regard to predictive policing are present:

- **Access to data.** Do you require access to real-time crime data? Are crime and other required non-crime data sets reliable, geocoded, and fit for purpose? How reliable? Who is responsible for maintenance? Are ongoing costs considered?
- **Predictive algorithm.** Is the software easy to use? Is it time-consuming and analytically intensive? Does it require data sets that need costly maintenance and conversion? Are the limitations of the predictions widely understood and accepted? Are the predictions made in a format useable to police? How long is the forecast viable?
- **Decision-making system.** Is there a viable decision-making system that is capable—and willing—to use predictions to determine resource allocation decisions? Is it responsive enough to employ predictions effectively? Do predictions arrive in a time and format compatible with decision making? Is there management and frontline buy-in?
- **Appropriate and effective tactics.** Are swift resource deployment decisions actioned? Are the right tactics applied to the crime problem? Are officers enthusiastic about computerized crime forecasts?
- **Crime reduction.** Is the process evaluated for accuracy and effectiveness? Does your agency appreciate the difference between prediction accuracy and crime reduction effectiveness? Is predictive policing cost effective compared with other strategies? Are possible negative consequences discussed and monitored? Are lessons learned that could influence and drive longer-term solutions?

1 Perry, W. L., B. McInnis, C. C. Price, S. C. Smith, & J. S. Hollywood. (2013). *Predictive Policing: The Role of Crime Forecasting in Law Enforcement Operations*. Washington, DC: Rand Corporation, xiii.

2 Haberman, C. P., & J. H. Ratcliffe. (2012). The Predictive Policing Challenges of Near Repeat Armed Street Robberies. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 6(2), 151-166.

These are not ivory tower, pedantic trifles, but rather key questions fundamental to the maximization of community safety, the effective use of public funds, and the success of predictive policing, however defined. There is rarely discussion of the strategy associated with predictive policing, with typically a blanket assumption of saturation patrol by uniform officers. Too few proponents appear to discuss resource implications, tactics, evaluation, or alternative responses (such as problem-oriented policing or intelligence-led policing). The policing context is therefore pivotal to the type of predictive model.

Types of Predictive Models

Currently, most predictive policing software programs are largely fixed in terms of the output prediction format and spatiotemporal unit of analysis. They will mostly provide a forecast of target areas for a predetermined range of fixed spatial units and temporal units. An improvement would be adaptive algorithms that range across different spatial and temporal units, within the same forecast, allowing police to select a strategy appropriate to the dimensions of the crime problem (as optimized by the software procedure).

Another possibility is the use of responsive systems. Progressive departments could predetermine their spatiotemporal response ability and allow the algorithm to identify optimal crime patterns. For example, an urban department may seek predictions for violent crime at the census block group level that would be amenable to foot patrol, while another might wish to optimize the boundaries of vehicle patrol areas or a problem-oriented policing team zone.

These typologies emphasize different aspects of predictive policing. Fixed systems seek to maximize prediction efficiency but require police to limit their strategy to suit the prediction output format. Adaptive systems seek to maximize prediction accuracy but require the police department to craft a tailored response. Responsive systems would maximize policing operability but would likely do so at the cost of predictive accuracy. An appropriate prediction for a tactical patrol unit should differ significantly from that for a problem-oriented policing team looking to set annual priorities, so in reality there is likely no one right way to generate crime forecasts. The predictive methodology cannot be decoupled from the policing framework because predictive policing is an applied science.

How Do We Determine Accurate and Effective?

If we are only focused on the predictive algorithm, then it is easy to assume this question is empirical. For example, the prediction accuracy index³ is a handy ratio measure of the number of predicted crime events and the prediction area; however, difficulties arise when algorithms are structured probabilistically and map an entire study area with values ranging from hotter to colder. Any cut-off point can, in the absence of a scientific rationale, appear arbitrary and subjective.

Furthermore, scientific notions of accuracy, within the policing context, are complicated by applicability. Seventy percent accurate



PHOTO BY THE PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

and actionable may be preferable to 80 percent accurate but beyond the managerial or resource capacities of a police department. But even 80 percent accurate suggests a 20 percent failure rate. If a software company makes over-enthusiastic accuracy and precision claims, street police officers will lose enthusiasm rapidly if they are regularly sent to areas with no apparent activity. Analogous to statistical false positives, I call this phenomenon a false expectation problem.

The efficacy of crime predictions are conflated with the policing response. If a police department adopts a predictive policing strategy but crime does not drop, is this a failure of the predictive algorithm, the choice of response tactic, or the implementation of the response? If this field is to move forward with a sound scientific foundation, it will need strong experimental conditions to demonstrate its value.

Forests or Trees?

When police departments moved from pin maps of individual incidents and began exploring chronic crime hot spots, they moved from mapping trees to finally seeing the forest. This provided a foundation for examining enduring crime problems that had plagued communities for months and years. Finally being able to see the forest's scale created space for developing less reactive strategies, such as problem-oriented policing and third-party policing, both evidence-based successful crime reduction approaches to crime "forests." A reversal now appears under way, but I would urge caution. Predictive policing may be the zeitgeist, but it is still in its infancy. The predictive side has not yet matured as a science and been subjected to sufficient replication and critique to be reliably trusted, and discussion of the policing strategy component is to date largely nonexistent beyond directed patrol. In our fascination to predict an individual tree, let's not forget that it is usually part of a much more important forest of crime.

3 Chainey, S., L. Tompson, & S. Uhlig. (2008). The Utility of Hotspot Mapping for Predicting Spatial Patterns of Crime. *Security Journal* 21(1-2), 4-28.

Efforts in Latin America and the Caribbean reflect the growing interest in evidence-based approaches in encouraging good governance and promoting development. Here, our colleagues from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) discuss their efforts to promote science in public policy. The Inter-American Development Bank will be partnering with the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy to put on its next annual symposium on June 23–24, 2014.

Promoting Rigorous Impact Evaluations on Citizen Security in Latin America and the Caribbean

Contributions from the Inter-American Development Bank

BY GUSTAVO BELIZ

Gustavo Beliz is a lead specialist at the Inter-American Development Bank and works on issues related to citizen security.

Latin America and the Caribbean (herein, “the region”) show crime rates that are among the highest in the world.¹ These indicators put economic development and democratization at risk because they affect the efficiency of public spending and investment, citizen welfare, and the social capital and credibility of institutions. In view of this situation, these countries have decided to allocate more financial and human resources for citizen security through public policies to prevent social and situational crime and violence, and to police judicial and rehabilitation reforms.



Gustavo Beliz

indicator of advanced development. Increasingly, government administrations are becoming more aware of the importance of carrying out rigorous research, which facilitates great collection of systematized data, as well as finding evidence in the areas of the efficiency and effectiveness of policies and programs. Also, this information helps analyze whether those policies and programs have been successful and whether they must be continued,

redesigned, or concluded.

Indeed, for example, it is worth pointing out a scientific evaluation that studied the impact of electronic monitoring on levels of recidivism in Argentina. The study focused on the arrest rates of two groups: those individuals who were released from prison and those who were also released but carried electronic monitors. To analyze these effects and ensure the random allocation of groups, the authors of this study capitalized on the fact that detainees in Argentina are normally allocated randomly to different courts. The findings show that the electronic monitoring had a major impact on the recidivism reduction: it halved recidivism rates compared with those released from prison without monitoring.²

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has supported the efforts of these countries by requiring stricter evaluations of its loan programs, including, for example, the Regional System of Impact Evaluation on Citizen Security Public Policies in Latin America



But, when it comes to impact evaluation of these programs, countries in the region—when compared with the United States or European states—are behind in both development and rigor. One

of the reasons acknowledged for this situation is the high cost that rigorous evaluations incur, especially when public surveys and other follow-up work must be conducted. Moreover, the frequent contexts of fiscal restraints often demand new budget allocations because of cost considerations. However, challenges in the data collection occur because the survey topics are not easy to quantify, and there are difficulties in the selection of the control and treatment groups—very often associated to ethical dilemmas. Furthermore, authorities are apprehensive about what evaluations might reveal.

Yet, the region has recently begun to move forward in developing more rigorous evaluations of citizen security programs, a strong

1 A recent United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime report (2011) reported the region had an average homicide rate of 23.8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants.

2 Di Tella, R., and E. Schargrodsky. (2013). Criminal Recidivism after Prison and Electronic Monitoring. *Journal of Political Economy* 121(1), 28-73.

initiative. The program aims to create a regional network that will systematically promote the execution of high-quality impact evaluations of citizen security programs.³ The main components of the program are the generation of common technical skills, the design and execution of impact evaluations in the region, and the establishment of a network in the area. The program is in full execution, beginning with seven impact evaluations of interventions of different cities and countries.⁴

The IDB also recently directed major efforts in measuring the cost caused by crime and violence. The aim is to consistently improve the quality of the data and related infrastructure needed for both the design of policies and citizen security programs, as well as the decision-making process in the budget area. This is especially important for countries debating public policies. Through these efforts, the IDB hopes to increase the value that systematic knowledge collection and robust and in-depth analysis have in decisions concerning tangible and intangible crime and violence cost. The studies engaged by the IDB show the estimation of intangible cost of violence against women, the economic consequences of drug-trafficking violence in Mexico, the crime impact on the cost of renting in



Brazil, and violence in Uruguay, among others.⁵ For example, this last study shows that the cost of crime against property and people was above US\$1.2 billion in 2010 in Uruguay, equivalent to 3.1 percent of the GDP. Crimes against property are the ones that account for a higher cost, and only those costs associated with the value of the stolen property totaled US\$158 million.

More and more development banks and other international organizations are improving social policy not only by funding programs, but, more importantly, by assessing the programs they fund. Such efforts create greater accountability in spending and governance, and build important foundations for economic and social development.

For more information on the Inter-American Development Bank's efforts, visit www.iadb.org/security.

3 More information on this program is located at www.seguridadyevaluacion.org.

4 Program *Centros de Atención Móvil a Drogadependientes – CAMAD* (Medical Care Centers to Dependent Drug Users), Bogotá (Colombia); Program *Sistema Táctico de Análisis Delictual* (Tactical System of Crime Analysis, Chile); Program *Sistema de Alarmas Comunitarias para la Provincia* (Community Alarm System for the Province), Córdoba, Argentina; Program *Municipios Más Seguro* (Safer Municipalities), Honduras; Program *Gestión Integrada Local para la Seguridad Ciudadana* (Local Public Safety Integrated Management Program), Uruguay; Program *Casas de Justicia* (Houses of Justice), Costa Rica; and Program *Granjas Penitenciarias* (Penitentiary Farms), El Salvador. See more at www.seguridadyevaluacion.org.

5 See blogs.iadb.org/desarrolloefectivo_en/2013/02/05/the-costs-of-crime-and-violence-in-latin-america-and-the-caribbean/

Crime Policy Learning at CAF

The PILAR Initiative

BY DANIEL E. ORTEGA

Daniel E. Ortega is the impact evaluation coordinator at CAF, Development Bank of Latin America. In this article, he writes about the challenges of science in public policy and governance in the developing world.

Every government is constantly making decisions on a grand or a small scale. With varying degrees of sophistication, these decisions are based on someone's notion of how the world works, on someone's belief about the ways in which each particular intervention will affect our society.

All too often these beliefs have no grounding in scientific knowledge, but are the result of habit-think passed down through the genealogy of policy practice. The developing world's greatest problem is not so much the lack of resources to implement the right policies,



Daniel E. Ortega

but the lack of knowledge about what those right policies are.

This is true in many areas: state capacity building, education, health, social assistance, and, importantly, citizen security. There is great need for a deeper knowledge base for policymaking, and international organizations like CAF, Development Bank of Latin America, can play a significant role in catalyzing the production and use of this base. However, a key challenge is that what appears to work well in one

context may not be feasible in another, and even if it were feasible, it may turn out to have much smaller or even counterproductive effects. Overlooking this factor has often led to unsuccessful adoption of policies from foreign places.

Thus, impact evaluation and experimentation in specific contexts is a powerful management tool for public policy, and it is increasingly being embraced by public officials in Latin America as a way to improve the effectiveness of their policy initiatives. A good understanding of the mechanisms through which policies affect outcomes is essential for translating results from one context to another. Through its PILAR (Policy, Innovation, Learning, and Results) Initiative, CAF is helping public-sector authorities experimentally evaluate the impact of their initiatives in policing in several countries in the region.

In Colombia, for example, the National Police launched its landmark *Plan Cuadrantes* in eight metropolitan areas in 2010, a major community policing initiative that required patrol officers to engage citizens in conversation, mediate in conflicts, and generally support their empowerment. This effort entailed a significant soft skills training effort of more than 9,000 sworn officers, which CAF helped turn into the first large-scale randomized controlled trial on policing in Latin America. With the cooperation of the National Police, the evaluation showed that the training was instrumental to reduce crime, especially in high-crime areas. This result led the authorities not only to expand the program to smaller cities, but also to include soft skill building in the basic police training curricula (García, Mejía, and Ortega, 2013).

Similarly, in Argentina the government put in place a rational use of force training program for the Federal Police as part of an effort to improve policing practices in favor of the safety of patrol officers and the community. The PILAR Initiative helped the authorities implement an experimental evaluation of the program's impact on police attitudes toward their personal safety in risky situations involving one or more suspects and the potential use of their firearm. Although, ultimately, the outcome of interest in this case would have been the number of times treatment and control officers were involved in instances of unnecessary use of force or firearm engagement, this was not feasible within the specified timeframe. Instead, the design incorporated a list experiment into a police survey, designed to elicit truthful responses to potentially uncomfortable questions. The result of this evaluation will help the authorities decide on whether to focus the training program on certain topics, extend its duration, or target officials of different tenure or formal education.



Finally, in Venezuela, the municipality of Sucre is the second largest (with a population of one million) in the city of Caracas and includes one of the largest and most violent urban slums in Latin America: Petare. In this municipality, 80 percent of its 500 annual homicides occur in less than 6 percent of the street segments, a diagnosis that sparked a collaborative effort with the local police to identify the area's hot spots and design a randomized controlled trial to evaluate the effectiveness of a hot spots policing strategy for reducing the incidence of homicide. Forty-six pairs of hot spots were selected for the experiment, and one in each pair was randomly allocated to receive increased police presence of up to four daily visits of 15 minutes—in line with the Koper (1995) principle—each for a period of three months. The lessons from the first phase of the experiment are still being analyzed, but, already, thanks to a careful monitoring system using geographic information technology, the program has been able to identify the exact degree of police compliance with the program in each hot spot and make the necessary adjustments for its next phase.

The general goal of the PILAR Initiative is to contribute to a culture of evidence-based policy making in criminal justice and other areas by helping policy makers embrace social experimentation and impact evaluation as a tool for improving their initiatives, regardless of their size or scale. In our view, this is the only way in which the stream of policy innovation that constantly washes over the region will leave a knowledge footprint deep enough to change the tide of underdevelopment.

For more information about the PILAR Initiative and the efforts of CAF in evidence-based policy making, please visit www.caf.com or e-mail dortega@caf.com.

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Translating Research to Practice and Building Capacity to Use Data, Research, Planning, and Problem-Solving

The Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Program

BY ELIZABETH GRIFFITH

Elizabeth “Betsi” Griffith is associate deputy director, Strategic Initiatives at the Bureau of Justice Assistance, U.S. Department of Justice.

The Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), the U.S. Department of Justice’s policy- and grant-making agency,¹ has in recent years prioritized the use of data, planning, and research knowledge to target and manage its resources to state, tribal, and local criminal justice systems, and build criminal justice professional capacity. The goals in BJA’s 2013 strategic plan include supporting effective criminal justice policy, programs, and collaborations within state, local, and tribal agencies and communities; promoting the use of data, research, and information to increase the effectiveness of criminal justice programs; improving criminal justice outcomes; and ensuring organizational excellence and accountability.

To accomplish these goals, BJA collaborates with the research community, employing a range of strategies.² These include reviewing and summarizing the research knowledge to create effective program models; using research partnerships to effectively target resources,³ implementing programs, and assessing fidelity and effectiveness; providing high-quality, relevant training and technical assistance in partnership with experts in the field; and creating tools to build field capacity to implement effective solutions, and listening and responding to gaps in knowledge, through dialogue with the field, supporting innovation, and sponsoring visiting fellows.

BJA is becoming more research- and planning-oriented because of our desire to maximize the results of our investments. The BJA director notes in our Strategic Plan:



Betsi Griffith

“BJA’s mission is executed with a keen awareness of our responsibility to manage taxpayer dollars wisely and support programs that are backed by strong research and data. This understanding reinforces our dedication to addressing public safety needs and holding ourselves accountable to the highest standards. Guided by the goals and strategies presented below, BJA will continue its work of improving the effective-

ness and efficiency of the nation’s criminal justice agencies.”

This commitment extends beyond our work within the agency to our efforts in working collaboratively with the criminal justice field to enhance practitioner capacity to use data and research. As a result, policy makers and practitioners at the state, tribal, and local levels will be able to best use the investments from BJA awards—discretionary and formula—to effectively target the highest priority issues in the most effective ways.

Our Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation (BCJI) program reflects these efforts to link research, planning, and implementation across the field.⁴ Launched in 2012, BCJI is a place-based, community-oriented process in which cross-sector partnerships are supported to address neighborhood-level crime issues. BCJI targets distressed neighborhoods where a combination of crime, poverty, unemployment, poor health, struggling schools, inadequate housing, and

1 BJA strengthens the nation’s criminal justice system and helps America’s state, local, and tribal jurisdictions reduce and prevent crime, reduce recidivism, and promote a fair and safe criminal justice system. BJA focuses its programmatic and policy efforts on providing a wide range of resources, including training and technical assistance (TTA) to law enforcement, courts, corrections, treatment, reentry, justice information sharing, and community-based partners to address chronic and emerging criminal justice challenges nationwide. BJA is part of the Office of Justice programs (OJP).

2 This includes the BJA Subcommittee of the OJP Science Advisory Board, which has informed our work on researcher-practitioner partnerships and implementation science. We also participate in OJP’s Crime Solutions and our Research Coordinating Council, and we meet regularly with our sister federal research agencies to coordinate work, develop joint research projects, and identify areas for translation of research and gaps for research needs.

3 This includes use of strategies such as crime analysis, crime mapping, surveys, evaluation and assessment, and use of risk-need-responsivity principles to support informed decision making when targeting crime issues and needs.

4 More information about BCJI can be found at www.bja.gov/ProgramDetails.aspx?Program_ID=70.

disinvestment keep many residents from reaching their full potential. Within these neighborhoods, BCJI sites target their analysis, planning, and strategies on crime hot spots or very small places (e.g., street blocks, corners, intersections) in which research has consistently shown that a disproportionate amount of all crime jurisdiction-wide occurs. Studies have also indicated that crime can be very stable in these hot spots over time, creating a significant opportunity to prevent crime by focusing on these locations. BCJI helps target resources to the communities that have not experienced the same crime reductions that many communities have over the past decade.

The BCJI model also incorporates research knowledge about community trust and collective efficacy by building in time and strategies to engage residents in the process and ultimately build their capacity to exert authority in their community by developing sustainable partnerships. To accomplish this, capacity must be built for data-driven problem solving and a trusting and effective collaboration between the partners, including residents. The foundation of data-driven problem solving and assessment of strategy ensures that the strategies are implemented with fidelity and the initial results are clear.

To build these critical capacities, the BCJI model builds in a planning period where a local partner⁵ works to engage community residents and build a collaborative team of criminal justice partners, a local research partner, and other cross-sector partners. These early discussions are intended to be purposeful and educational for those involved. The team uses this time to analyze crime drivers, finalize hot spot locations, and assess needs and available resources before developing a comprehensive, evidence-based response to specific problems in the hot spots.⁶ These assessments are summarized in a written strategic plan that guides implementation. Where innovative strategies with no existing evidence-base are selected, the plan should specify a clear theory of change. The team's research partner plays a key role in identifying strategies in coordination with national training and technical assistance partners. The community partners also play an important role in providing context to empirical findings and implementing evidence-based interventions.

Because of the critical nature of the plan and analysis as a basis for the strategies to be implemented, BJA limits funding during the

planning phase to a small portion of the overall funding. The funding during the planning phase supports activities such as community engagement, partner coordination, and plan development with the researcher and includes data analysis, strategic planning, and strategy development. Once the plan has been submitted and approved, BJA releases the remaining funding to support implementation. The sites then have an additional 24 to 30 months to use the remaining funds for implementation of the plan.

The concepts behind BCJI are not new. In the areas of researcher-practitioner partnerships and data-driven problem solving, BJA is building on expertise developed over the past several decades, most recently in Project Safe Neighborhoods and Smart Policing. This knowledge includes implementing existing tools such as checklists to support analysis, planning, and problem solving; expanding training on researcher-practitioner partnerships; and piloting a tool created to assess readiness and needs for implementing evidence-based strategies.⁷ The research partnership continues through implementation to support ongoing assessment of implementation fidelity, problem-solving, and refinement of approach, and collection of data for impact evaluations.

BJA is using such projects as BCJI to innovate in researcher-practitioner partnerships. Our initiatives expand the involvement of practitioners to include law enforcement, residents, community-based organizations, education, housing, and social services. These partners provide broader access to data that define the nature and extent of crime problems. They also create opportunities to develop approaches that, while potentially more comprehensive and complex, can also have bigger impacts in reducing and preventing crime and extending the value of enforcement efforts. A strategy that combines the critical, immediate enforcement response with prevention, intervention, and revitalization efforts will build the long-term capacity that sustains reductions in crime and transforms communities into places of opportunity and promise.

While innovative and evidence-based, this approach also creates new challenges. It requires a commitment to fully engage community residents and take time to build understanding and trust between the partners. This approach requires different communication strategies and problem-solving processes, especially in the work with the research partnership. It also challenges researchers, community members, and law enforcement officials to engage in dialogue to which they might not be accustomed. Despite these challenges, the investment is worth it. Building capacity to use research and data to engage in problem solving, and building trust and understanding

⁵ This lead partner is the fiscal agent and can be local or tribal government or nonprofit.

⁶ A comprehensive strategy offers a range of effective approaches such as enforcement, prevention, and intervention to address the identified crime drivers. It should also employ evidence-based strategies about impact of physical conditions through nuisance laws, crime prevention through environmental design, use of community gardens and land banking, and code enforcement.

⁷ The BCJI communities are supported throughout the grant period with strong training and technical assistance, led by the Local Support Initiatives Corporation and working with other partners such as Michigan State University, Vera Institute, and the Center for Court Innovation.

between the partners, can enhance the willingness to share critical intelligence and perspectives to understand and respond to crime dynamics. When efforts are developed in partnership rather than in isolation, strategies are more likely to be supported. Such efforts can also build a cadre of residents willing and able to take action and serve as neighborhood guardians to create a healthier environment for schools, recreation centers, gardens, and community and faith-based facilities.

This type of multifaceted capacity building can require expert assistance. Thus, BJA also sponsors an intensive technical assistance project called the Building Neighborhood Capacity Program (BNCP), which helps those involved develop the knowledge, skills, relationships, interactions, and organizational resources that enable residents, civic leaders, the public and private sectors, and local organizations to create comprehensive neighborhood revitalization plans.⁸

BJA developed BCJI and BNCP in consultation with key partners and experts on community-based problem solving. BCJI is part of the Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative (NRI), a federal place-based approach to help neighborhoods in distress transform themselves into neighborhoods of opportunity.⁹ Over the past four years, the U.S. Department of Justice has worked with NRI to coordinate and streamline approaches in programs such as BCJI, the Department of Education's Promise schools program, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Choice housing revitalization program. In recognition of the unique and important nature of these efforts, NRI was selected as one of the top five finalists for the Harvard Innovation Awards in Government for 2013. The new Promise Zones designation in 2013 builds on the NRI effort. In January 2014, five high-poverty communities were selected for the Promise Zones designation. The federal government will partner with these communities to create jobs, leverage private investment, increase economic activity, expand educational opportunities, and improve public safety. Three of the Promise Zones sites are also BCJI sites, reflecting BJA's efforts to integrate place-based projects at the tribal and local levels.

Our first cohort of BCJI grantees, funded in late 2012, is moving into the implementation stage, and a second cohort was recently selected.¹⁰ BJA and its training and technical assistance (TTA) partners are working closely with the sites to document their challenges and achievements, many of which can serve as lessons for other communities. The BCJI communities have identified a wide range of partners, developed creative ways to engage community and

seek input in the planning stage, and proposed strategies to address issues from problem properties to high-risk groups in the community to preventing youth involvement with crime. BJA and its partners support these communities by providing research summaries of effective approaches, creating reference materials and webinars, and seeking input from BCJI sites and experts.

To enhance our ability to manage such projects as BCJI, BJA engaged in a planning process to develop strong quarterly performance measures. The measures track overall crime data, steps in planning and implementation phases, and data about implementation strategies. Sites began collecting data at the end of 2013; in 2014, BJA will collect and validate data to refine the measures. In the future, BJA will issue periodic analysis of the data to help manage BCJI implementation and communicate successes. At the same time, BJA will also be launching new technology tools to support and coordinate TTA efforts across BCJI and other BJA-funded projects. We also plan a formal review of the performance of a cohort of grantees across domains, including grants compliance and financial reporting, performance measure reporting, and assessment of implementation success and fidelity through BJA's GrantStat process.

We have more work to do to enhance our use of data and research but efforts such as BCJI provide a good foundation on which to build stronger, more effective crime reduction strategies. They also help build local capacity to embrace the tools that the research field has developed to help us be more targeted and effective in reducing crime and making our communities safer. As a result, BJA and the criminal justice field can better accomplish their ultimate goals: to reduce crime, recidivism, and unnecessary confinement, and promote a safe and fair criminal justice system.



Seattle police officer with community partners

8 More information about BNCP can be found at www.buildingcommunitycapacity.org.

9 NRI engages the White House and the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Education, Justice, Health and Human Services, and Treasury in support of local solutions to revitalize and transform neighborhoods.

10 A map with the location of the BCJI grantees is located at www.bja.gov/Funding/12-13BCJIAwardsMap.pdf.

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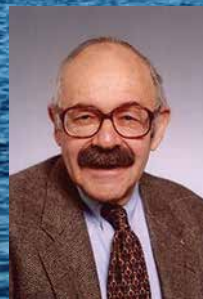


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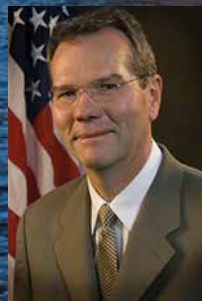
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Evidence-Based Policing at Work in Smaller Jurisdictions

BY TIM HEGARTY, L. SUE WILLIAMS, SHAUN STANTON, AND WILLIAM CHERNOFF

Tim Hegarty is a captain in the Riley County, Kansas, Police Department, where he currently oversees its Administration Division.

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The police profession has been traditionally hesitant to accept a leading role in reducing crime, evidenced by the slow adoption of emerging best practices in crime reduction. Smaller agencies, in particular, rarely accept the risks of attempting new strategies, either because they fear failure or because they believe that these strategies, usually developed in large urban areas, simply cannot be translated to the non-urban landscape.

The Riley County Police Department (RCPD) in Manhattan, Kansas, was no different. In 2008, a transition in leadership in RCPD brought about a change in thinking by publicly committing itself to a new mission of reducing crime and improving its citizen's quality of life. The question it faced was how.

For most of its existence, RCPD has relied on the traditional model of modern policing that decades of research show is ineffective for crime control: "random patrol, rapid uniformed response, deployment of officers to crime investigation once an offense has been detected, and reliance on law enforcement and the legal system as the primary means of trying to reduce crime."¹ So RCPD's leadership decided to focus on evidence-based strategies that were effective in reducing crime, particularly those that addressed high crime places. In this article, we describe our efforts at applying evidence-based policing in a smaller jurisdiction.

Moving Forward with Evidence-Based Policing

In early 2010, RCPD implemented Operation Impact, an initiative to reduce crime by focusing on high-crime macro places (neighborhoods). A research team from Kansas State University (KSU) assessed



Tim Hegarty



L. Susan Williams

the effect of Operation Impact on three categories of burglary: residential, commercial, and automotive.² They found a statistically significant reduction in total burglaries from 2009 to 2010 in each of the impact zones.³

In late 2012, RCPD refined its strategy to incorporate the latest crime and place research, which suggested that crime concentrates at micro places (smaller than neighborhoods, that is, street segments no more than a city block in length). Following an experiment conducted by the Sacramento, California, Police Department, which found that increasing police presence in high-crime micro places for short periods (12 to 15 minutes—the Koper Principle) results in reduced crime and calls for service,⁴ RCPD developed a similar strategy for Manhattan, Kansas, named Initiative: Laser Point, again in partnership with KSU researchers.

The RCPD study was innovative for two reasons. First, the hot spots policing literature had not been applied to smaller jurisdictions such as Manhattan (population 53,000). Lum and Koper note that only a single study in their Evidence-Based Policing Matrix was conducted in a true nonurban or metropolitan environment.⁵ Second, and more important, little research has assessed behavioral practices of police officers in hot spots. RCPD sought practical and experimental insights into these issues for both its own agency and other agencies of similar size and situation.

1 Weisburd, D., & J. Eck. (2008). What Can Police Do to Reduce Crime, Disorder, and Fear? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593 (2004), 43-65, quoted in Jerry Ratcliffe, *Intelligence-Led Policing*. Portland: Willan, 65.

2 Williams, L. S., & D. Kurtz. (2011). "Initial Assessment Report" Manhattan, Kansas.

3 Ibid.

4 Telep, C. W., R. J. Mitchell, & D. Weisburd. (2012). How Much Time Should Police Spend at Crime Hot Spots? Answers from a Police Agency Directed Randomized Field Trial in Sacramento, California. *Justice Quarterly* (published online).

5 Lum, C., & C. Koper. 2013. Evidence-Based Policing in Smaller Agencies: Challenges, Prospects, and Opportunities. *The Police Chief* 80, 42-47.

The Evaluation of Hot Spots Policing in Manhattan, Kansas

We identified 48 study hot spots, made up of street segments that experienced relatively high numbers of crime incidents over the previous 12 months. The hot spots were paired based on similar attributes, and RCPD officers confirmed the suitability of each matched pair. To avoid treatment contamination, we ensured that none of the hot spots adjoined another. Since previous studies have established the effectiveness of hot spots policing versus “business as usual,” we wanted to test basic police presence (visibility) versus police activity. Within each pair, we randomly assigned hot spots to one of two conditions: “V” (officer visibility only) or “VA” (officer visibility and activity). We then divided the hot spots into three groups of 16 (8 treatment and 8 control) according to the time of day in which the areas were “hottest.” Each group was assigned to one of the three shifts worked by RCPD’s uniformed patrol division so that each hot spot could be visited once in a 24-hour period. The group of hot spots remained the same throughout the experiment, but the order in which they were visited by officers was randomized each day by auto-generation.

To reduce selection bias, hot spots were assigned to specific patrol officers by matched pairs so that each officer visited both a V and a VA hot spot, and they were instructed that each address was to be visited one time in the order that it appeared each day on the randomized list. Supervisors were encouraged to involve as many patrol officers as possible but were free to make the visits happen as they saw fit. Generally, a supervisor would assign the hot spots to individual officers prior to the start of the shift, and the officers would conduct the visits during their uncommitted time.

In the V hot spots, officers were instructed to visibly park in the area, remain there for 15 minutes, and refrain from any proactivity unless required in the line of duty. Officers assigned to the VA hot spots were instructed to visibly park, get out of the car, and proceed with activities that included public contacts and order maintenance issues such as code enforcement, illegal parking, excessive noise, or alcohol-related violations.

Did Hot Spotting Reduce Crime?

The experiment was launched on October 2, 2012, and continued through December 31, 2012. Seventy-three individual patrol officers participated in more than 3,300 hot spot visits, logging approximately 825 hours. We compared crime incidents and calls for service in the V and the VA hot spots during the trial period and for the same months in the three years prior to the trial (the fourth quarter of 2009 through 2012).

A statistically significant average decrease in crimes and calls for service across all hot spots occurred during the trial, compared with that of the three previous years. Comparing the difference-in-difference between the fourth quarter of 2011 and the same period in

2012, there was an average decrease of about one Part I crime, two Part II crimes, and three calls for service per hot spot. These findings are similar to those reported in the Sacramento study, further strengthening the case for hot spot policing.⁶ However, there was no statistically significant difference in Part I or II crimes between the V and the VA hot spots, suggesting that simply providing a visible presence for 15 minutes may be enough to create a deterrent effect regardless of other activities.

There were two differences worth noting, however, between the V and VA areas. Recall that individual officers were assigned to both



kinds of areas. That is, when officers were given the assignment at the beginning of their watch, they received a matched pair—one V and one VA spot. On average, the V areas recorded about 12 percent more visits than VA areas. The Sacramento study found the opposite; their treatment areas recorded more visits than the control areas.

This finding might be explained by two important differences between the V and the VA areas. Recall that individual officers were required to visit both a V and a VA hot spot during each shift. On average, 12 percent more visits were recorded in the V areas compared with the VA areas. We speculate that officers may have visited the V area first because it required less effort and then had insufficient uncommitted time in the remainder of their shift to return to the VA areas. The fact that this difference in visits decreased as the study progressed supports this possibility: officers may have become more adept at balancing the study protocol with the normal demands of calls for service by the public.

We also found a significant difference in calls for service between the V and the VA areas. The V areas averaged about 17 calls for service, while VA areas reported about 24, nearly a 43 percent difference. While this difference merits further investigation, one possible cause is the fact that most officer-initiated activity is assigned as a call for service through the department’s computer-aided dispatch system, and the study protocol required officers in the VA areas to initiate activities.

Added Benefits of Evidence-Based Policing for Smaller Jurisdictions

The Laser Point Initiative not only reduced crime and calls for service, but also yielded other benefits. During Operation Impact, the RCPD relied heavily on high visibility traffic enforcement in high

6 Ibid.

Continued on page 18

Transforming the Police through Science

Some New Thoughts on the Controversy and Challenge of Translation

BY PETER NEYROUD AND DAVID WEISBURD

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The challenge of translating the lessons on research into practice in policing is, as the articles in *Translational Criminology* testify, considerable. The relationship between research and policing has become a major theme of recent papers, including our own paper, *Policing and Science: Toward a New Paradigm*, which we wrote as part of the Harvard Executive Session on policing and public safety (Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011).

We argued that police agencies needed to place a higher value on science, and policing must take ownership of science. Ownership, we suggested, was central to translation, because it required a new institutional relationship between the police and scientists in universities. In turn, that new relationship would lead to improvements to policing through more and better science about policing and embedding science in the education and training of police officers.

The paper generated immediate controversy, provoking a response from within the session, in which Malcolm Sparrow argued that we set an unachievable hurdle by insisting on widespread testing and scientific evaluation and had neglected the analytical craft of policing and problem solving (Sparrow, 2011). Since then, a growing number of articles have taken up the theme (Greene, 2014; Engel and Henderson, 2013; Sklanksy, 2013). Engel and Henderson's chapter for an important book, *The Future of Policing* (Brown, 2013), for example, described our paper as a "controversial piece."

Having helped to stimulate controversy, we think it is important to develop this debate further. None of the authors quoted above, nor even some others, such as Sampson (2012) or Manning (2011), who have commented on the relationship between research and policing—particularly quantitative, effectiveness research—have doubted the importance of research in understanding the police and contributing to the development of policing. On the contrary, while



Peter Neyroud



David Weisburd

Sampson and Manning had concerns about the claims of experimental research, they presented strong and cogent arguments for a wider conception of the gold standard in research.

We have now had a chance, courtesy of a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship,¹ to step back from the debate and think further about the potential and the challenges for science to transform policing. As a partnership between a practitioner turned academic and an academic who has worked closely with police agencies, our personal partnership reflects the new relationship that we have been writing about. As we have reflected and debated, we have realized that our original conception of ownership needed fleshing out. We needed to describe more clearly why this radical shift was so necessary at this time and that we needed to articulate better the steps to achieve what we propose.

With the opportunity that we have had over the past few years to work with police forces across the world, it is clear to us, as it has been to many commentators (Independent Commission on Policing, 2013), that public policing is in the midst of a perfect storm. There are three main drivers of the storm: the impact of financial austerity on an institutional structure that has embedded inefficiencies (Van Reenen, 1999); the challenges of demonstrating police effectiveness despite (or perhaps because of) falling recorded crime rates and in the face of changing patterns of crime; and the legitimacy of the police in the face of recurrent scandals and community concerns about the impact of core police strategies and tactics such as stop and search. The public police have become, after a period of apparent monopoly, one provider in an increasingly complex web of safety and security. In the process of that change, they are being forced to re-examine their purpose, structure, and strategy (Independent Commission on Policing, 2013).

¹ Both authors are very grateful to the Rockefeller Foundation for its support.

In our original paper (Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011), we argued that a radical reformation of the role of science in policing was necessary if policing was to be improved. We would now go further and argue, in the light of our subsequent analysis of the challenges facing public policing, that it is fundamental renewal rather than improvement that is required. The advancement of science in policing is essential if police are to retain public support and legitimacy, become more effective, and cope with recessionary budget reductions and post recessionary fiscal strain.

We now recognize that the way we set our original conception of science in policing was too restrictive—a charge leveled at us by our critics (Greene, 2014). The need for a broad conception of science can be seen by looking at some case studies of key areas of science in policing. We have divided these into four broad areas:

- Natural sciences
- Engineering sciences
- Informational science
- Social science of evaluation

It is clear to us that almost all the significant innovations, tactics, or strategies in policing need to be studied by viewing them through more than one of these lenses. For example, as the National Academy of Sciences report on forensic science demonstrated, the reliability of law enforcement's development of fingerprint evidence suffered from a failure to use a mixed methods approach. The same could be said for the way Tasers, or conducted electricity devices, were initially introduced, relying on the medical evidence of physical harm, rather than experimentally testing the relative effectiveness in preventing injury or qualitatively assessing the public acceptability of the devices. Body-worn cameras were heading in the same direction until Ariel and Farrar (2013) conducted a randomized controlled trial in Rialto. But there remains an urgent need for more qualitative and quantitative research in the impacts and effectiveness to ensure that the police do not, yet again, fall victim to science-free gadgetry.

The cases of fingerprints and Tasers expose the problems presented by the gap between practice and an effective police leadership of science. At present, the current leadership of police science is largely in the hands of the technology vendors, government agencies, and academics. The police currently remain unable and unprepared for a leadership role in police science. Police science is not securely embedded in the education or culture of policing, and police tend to be the end-users or consumers rather than those who determine the priorities for science, setting the standards for research, or participating in its production.

This raises the question of how to build sustainable policing in which science is integrated into the whole institutional and professional system and structure. In our time at the Rockefeller Foundation Center in Bellagio, we began to identify three connected themes that are key to the police reform we are proposing. The first is simply that the police must value science and its potential contributions to policing. Valuing science means seeing it as a key concern of the

police. The second is that they must have knowledge of the scientific enterprise. Police today have little knowledge about scientific methods and evidence about policing, which is one reason they often fail to adopt and develop innovation wisely. Finally, we decided that the police taking ownership of science, a principal in our earlier formulation, did not express clearly what was needed to be done. We have changed this theme to the police taking a leadership role in science, which recognizes more clearly that the police are only one of the key players in developing and using police science.

The more we have thought about this, the more we feel that our original proposal suggested too narrow a change in the policing enterprise. We now argue that we need to go much further than just changing the relationship between police and higher education. We are not alone in drawing this conclusion (Lum et al., 2012; and Lum and Koper, 2012). We would now propose a fundamental re-examination of the police themselves: the process of recruitment, induction, socialization, training, development, continuous professional development, qualifications, knowledge base, promotion processes, organizational structure, professional status, internal discipline processes, and organizational cultures. Each and all of these need to be reformed to effect the transformation we argue is required. However, it is not enough to reform the police; academics and government need to behave differently.

Just as the police have not valued science, it is clear to us that the academic world of police science does not value policing, which is of low status in the world of criminology. For example, until 2014 there had been no Division of Policing at the American Society of Criminology or policing networks in the other major criminology societies. Police journals are generally rated as having low impact in journal assessments, discouraging scholars from submitting work. Furthermore, academics generally have little experience of policing and yet control the production of knowledge in police science. Partly as a result of this, police science does not provide the central contribution to the development and renewal of policing that it should. In contrast, we argue that there should be a very different model of police science, embedded in policing and valuing police practice, with a new emphasis on building a shared leadership between the police and the scientists.

It also is now clear to us that the task of realizing the potential of science in policing depends on wider changes beyond the police and the scientists. There needs to be much greater integration, which, we suggest, requires institutional changes. In the United Kingdom, the emergence of the new National College of Policing as a professional body for policing offers one model of change. The college has been encouraged by government to take a lead role in identifying what works in police science. However, this is still a comparatively narrow role that does not yet extend to coordinating the development of police science across higher education and a strong partnership with academic criminology. In the United States, we suggest that the time has come to build a National Institute of Police Science and begin a

significant investment in research and program development so that science can begin to play a role in overcoming the crises that face American policing in particular and policing in the developed world more generally.

We will continue this debate in a special edition of the *Oxford Journal of Policing* on science and policing to extend, expand, and critique these ideas. The journal can receive proposals for articles and comment pieces for this edition at pwn22@cam.ac.uk.

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Evidence-Based Policing at Work in Smaller Jurisdictions, continued from page 15

crime areas, resulting in some resistance from community members. Laser Point deployed officers more widely throughout Manhattan than Operation Impact and relied more on neighborhood order maintenance and positive public contacts than traffic stops. In the end, Laser Point produced greater crime reduction benefits than Operation Impact but without any public perception of overly aggressive enforcement tactics. At a time when trust between the police and the community is so essential, deployment strategies such as Laser Point suggest that the police can reduce crime without jeopardizing their legitimacy.

Laser Point also demonstrated that a smaller agency can undertake meaningful research and evaluation of new strategies at little cost to the department and with great returns.

This experiment was developed and implemented entirely by the RCPD, with design and statistical consultation from KSU researchers. Like in Sacramento, external funding was used to support the project. Furthermore, the study protocols were implemented by police supervisors and patrol officers, providing much-needed structure and consistency to the experiment. Because the agency has been proactive with previous evidence-based programs (for example, Operation Impact) and ongoing training addresses officer engagement, the transition and process went smoothly. Future challenges might include maintaining officer interest in hot spots policing, as well as developing and testing new interventions that might be used in different hot spots.

The partnership between RCPD and KSU researchers produced valuable assessments that furthered our understanding of police practices and policies. During budgetary hard times, such partnerships are especially important.

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Arrests for Misdemeanor Domestic Abuse: A Crucible of Evidence-Based Policing

BY LAWRENCE W. SHERMAN AND EDWARD FLYNN

Lawrence W. Sherman is a professor of criminology at the University of Maryland and director of the Police Executive Master's Degree Program at Cambridge University, where he also directs the Jerry Lee Centre for Experimental Criminology. In the 1980s he led the first randomized trial of arrest for any offense, the Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment, and its more rigorous 1987-88 replication in Milwaukee. He began his work in policing in 1971 as a crime analyst for the New York City Police Department.

Edward Flynn has been chief of the Milwaukee Police Department since 2008. He has also served as chief executive of police departments in Arlington County (VA), and Springfield, Braintree, and Chelsea (MA), and the Massachusetts secretary of public safety. He spent more than 15 years in the Jersey City Police Department, rising through the ranks of police officer, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and inspector, and is a member of the Harvard University Kennedy School's Executive Session on Policing and Public Safety.

The publication of the 23-year follow-up of the Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment in the *Journal of Experimental Criminology* (Sherman and Harris, forthcoming) creates a crucible for evidence-based policing. The pioneering work of two generations of Milwaukee police officers deserves nothing less. It remains to be seen whether democracies can accept these facts as they are, rather than as we might wish them to be.

As the journal article reports, we now have clear evidence that *arrest of intimate partners for misdemeanor violence has doubled the death rate among all 529 African American victims of domestic violence* in the experiment, compared with all 262 whose partners were only warned and allowed to remain with the victim. Because all the victims had an equal chance of having their partners arrested (by random assignment), the most likely explanation for this difference is that it was caused by physiological processes that may have been generated by their seeing their partners arrested.

The difference in deaths is not small. Only 5 percent of the African American women whose partners were warned (when they were about 30 years old) had died of any cause by their early 50s. But for those whose partners had been arrested, the death rate from all causes was 10 percent (Sherman and Harris, forthcoming). Put another way, 52 victims died (from all causes) after their partners were arrested, while only 26 would have died if the rate had been the same as for victims whose partners had been warned. That means 26 victims (by 2012) died prematurely because of some processes that the experience of a partner's arrest may have set into motion.



Lawrence W. Sherman



Edward Flynn

A similar pattern, but with only a seven percent relative increase in the death rate, was found among white victims as well. That difference is much smaller and could have been due to chance. But the overall effect on both black and white victims in the experiment was that 9.28 percent of victims died more than 23 years after their partners were arrested, compared with 5.66 percent after their partners were warned. Put another way, the overall death rate among 1,125 victims was 64 percent higher when their partners had been arrested than when they had been warned.

This significant difference in victim mortality rates was not about murders. Only three of the 91 victim deaths in the sample were caused by murder. The only difference in murder was among the suspects, who were three times more likely to be murdered if they had been arrested than if they had been warned

(Sherman and Harris, 2013).

Most of the victim deaths in Milwaukee were caused by the main causes for everyone: heart attacks, cancer, and other internal illnesses—not accidents or suicides. There were simply more of these deaths after a partner arrest than after a partner received a police warning.

Why that was the case remains a medical mystery, at least until more data can be collected. But recent medical research points to depression, loneliness, and post-traumatic anxiety as mechanisms that accelerate these causes of death. We hope that further interviews with the Milwaukee victims could help improve our understanding of what effect the decision to arrest—as required by Wisconsin law—has had on their lives.

Perhaps the most striking finding was the effect of partner arrest on the 330 victims who held jobs on the date of the domestic abuse incident. The *death rate was more than four times higher for employed victims whose partners had been arrested* than for employed victims whose partners had been warned. Among African American victims who held jobs, the difference was even greater. Not one of them died

after their partners had been warned, but 11 percent of African American victims with jobs died if their partners had been arrested. Why the victims' employment magnified the effects of arrest so much is a key question that may help to understand why the effects of partner arrest were so lethal in this sample.

How Much Evidence Is Enough for Action?

Understanding these results more fully will take more time. But more time is just what policing does not have. Police around the world each day respond to hundreds of thousands of domestic abuse situations. The new research is crucial for policing these situations in an evidence-based way.

First proposed in a Police Foundation Lecture (Sherman, 1998), "evidence-based policing" is defined most simply as an idea that "police practices should be based on scientific evidence about what works best." Since then, many political leaders, professionals and academics have claimed to use the mantle of an evidence-based approach but often without acknowledging all the evidence. A prime example of this has long been the evidence on recidivism—not victim death rates—after misdemeanor domestic violence arrests. The initial 1981-82 experiment in Minneapolis (Sherman and Berk, 1984) on recidivism is often cited as the evidence for mandatory arrest laws without any reference to the four replications of that experiment that challenged the Minneapolis result in a major way. The replications were done in cities of diverse size and ethnicities: Colorado Springs (Berk et al., 1992), Miami Metro-Dade (Pate and Hamilton, 1992), and Milwaukee and Omaha (Sherman and Smith, 1992).

These four replications of the Minneapolis experiment showed that the effects of arrest on recidivism depend on whether the suspect is unemployed. While arrest may cause less short-term recidivism than a warning for *employed* suspects, it consistently fails to do so for *unemployed* suspects. In three of the four replications, including Milwaukee, arrest actually caused *more* future domestic violence for unemployed suspects than giving the suspect a warning. In Milwaukee and Miami, arrest more than doubled the rate of domestic violence recidivism for suspects who were unemployed. While an analysis combining results of all domestic violence arrest experiments found a small overall reduction in recidivism (Maxwell et al., 2002), it was based on short-term recidivism. Milwaukee is the first, and so far only, experiment for which long-term death rates have been tracked.

The Milwaukee Domestic Violence Experiment, conducted under the leadership of the late Police Chief Robert J. Ziarnik and the late Captain Tony Bacich, is arguably the most rigorous test ever conducted of the effects of arrest. Because of the very high integrity of its random assignment—more than 98 percent of eligible suspects were either arrested or warned according to an equal probability "lottery"—any conclusions from its 1,200 cases are statistically likely to rule out any other explanation. If any difference in outcome is



associated with arrest, we can conclude with great confidence that the difference is most likely to have been caused by the decision to arrest, and not by any other cause we can measure at present. While it is possible that further research could find that, for example, the arrest group had higher rates of smoking or other lifestyle risk factors just by chance, the original study did not measure smoking, so more research would be needed to increase the medical precision of the results. But any difference of this kind is exactly what the random assignment makes so unlikely, especially with such a large sample.

The news that arrest not only increased recidivism for unemployed suspects in Milwaukee, but also doubled the death rates for black victims raises important questions about state laws mandating arrest on probable cause of misdemeanor domestic assault. These laws have been on the books in a majority of U.S. states for a quarter-century. This research suggests it is time to have a national conversation about these laws. At the very least, it is essential for the same kind of mortality studies to be undertaken in Charlotte, North Carolina and Miami, where similar experiments were also funded by the National Institute of Justice in the late 1980s.

The new evidence thus creates a crucible for evidence-based policing. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* offers three definitions of the word "crucible":

1. A vessel of a very refractory material (such as porcelain) used for melting and calcining a substance that requires a high degree of heat
2. A severe test
3. A place or situation in which concentrated forces interact to cause or influence change or development

The strong political consensus that arrest is positive action that sends a message to domestic abusers is just as powerful a fact as the harm apparently caused by arrest for some victims. When two powerful facts collide, democracies usually face a crucible of reason: a "severe test" of whether the "concentrated forces interact to cause or influence change." Such crucibles occur repeatedly on environmental issues, health care choices, and other complex matters. The Milwaukee experiment may be the first such crucible in the history of evidence-based policing. We welcome the great potential it may hold for the protection of domestic violence victims, and the long-term professionalization of policing.

Learn more about this study and domestic violence research at the Jerry Lee Crime Prevention Symposium on May 19-20, 2014, in Washington, D.C. For more information about the symposium, write to Whytnee Foriest at wforiest@umd.edu.

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Geographies of Missing People

Improving Police Education and Response to Missing Persons

BY OLIVIA STEVENSON, PENNY WOOLNOUGH, AND HESTER PARR

Olivia Stevenson is a Human Geography Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, with expertise in knowledge translation, family geographies, and the geographies of suicide.

Penny Woolnough is a forensic psychologist, senior research officer for Police Scotland, and a pioneer of behavioral profiling for police-led missing person investigations.

Hester Parr is principal investigator for the Economic Social Research Council-funded project “Geographies of Missing People: Processes, Experiences, Responses” at Glasgow University.



Olivia Stevenson



Penny Woolnough



Hester Parr

Imagine for a moment that you are a police officer charged with investigating a missing person case. What questions would you ask? What procedures would you follow? What tools and techniques might you use that would increase the likelihood of a positive outcome?

In the United States and the United Kingdom, the police are the principal agency charged with responding accordingly to reported missing person cases. Estimates suggest that each day 2,300 missing person police reports are filed in the United States (Krajicek, 2005) and 858 in the United Kingdom (SOCA, 2013). Consequently, missing persons are one of the biggest demands on police resources and present complex challenges (see Fyfe et al., 2014):

“[T]he majority of crime we deal with we know...something has happened, and we can work from that event to gather our evidence and focus our enquiries around that, but [in missing persons] I don’t know if they are alright...or any of the circumstances around the disappearance.” (Detective Constable, Metropolitan Police Service, 2012)

In recognition of these challenges, Gibb and Woolnough (2007) developed the first normative spatial profiles to specifically aid police missing person investigations (ACPO, 2006; Gibb and Woolnough, 2007).¹ Based on the premise that missing persons behave in similar ways depending on particular elements of their circumstances, they analyzed closed U.K. police-recorded missing person cases to identify variables (e.g., age, sex, suicide attempts, previous missing episodes, and mental condition). This information could then be used to

predict the outcome characteristics of cases (e.g., distance traveled, their location, and timescales in which they will be traced or found) presenting geographical and temporal profiles associated with these predictions. This work is used by police and search-and-rescue agencies throughout the United Kingdom and overseas to help expedite the safe, efficient, and cost-effective location of missing persons (ACPO, 2006).

Although spatial profiling work has helped advance the way in which the police approach missing person inquiries, it was clear that many questions surrounding police processes and the profound experience of being missing for all parties involved still exist (see Parr and Fyfe, 2013; Parr and Stevenson, 2013a). In particular, little was known about the in-depth experiences and issues of adults reported as missing: Why did they leave? Where they go? What happens to them while they are missing? What influences their return? Little was also known about the experiences of the families of missing persons and their role in searching for their missing loved ones. While research is vital in answering some of these questions, a strong research partnership with the police was necessary to connect analysis to the field and help facilitate the translation of knowledge for operational policing.

Geographies of Missing People: Processes, Experiences, Responses

Toward this end, an academic-police team, led by Hester Parr², came together to address these issues and gaps in knowledge in an innovative qualitative study. The study, *Geographies of Missing People:*

¹ This work was awarded an International Association of Chiefs of Police Excellence in Law Enforcement Research Honorable Mention Award in 2009.

² For details of the team, visit www.geographiesofmissingpeople.org.uk/meet-the-team.

Processes, Experiences, Responses, funded by the U.K. Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) (Ref ES/H030166/1), is the first study to explore the complex processes involved in being reported as missing via a focus on the experiences of missing persons themselves. This approach provides new insights into the decision making, planning, mobility choices, environmental resourcefulness, and pathways to return among missing adults. These insights provide new opportunities for prevention and intervention.

We worked with two U.K. police forces (Police Scotland and the Metropolitan Police Service, London) and the U.K. charity Missing People to interview 104 missing persons, their families, and law enforcement authorities, as well as conduct case reconstructions (Table 1). Our data collection focused on gathering information about the scope and capacities of organizations to track missing adults (age 18 or more) over space and through time, the experiential geographies of missing persons, and policy and operational understandings of “missingness.”

Table 1. Data Collection

CASE STUDY APPROACH
Interviewing returned people reported missing in each police area, focusing on their missing journey
Interviewing local police officers and carrying out case reconstructions to examine police organizational responses to specific missing person cases
Interviewing families of people reported missing to understand how families mobilize and deploy their own resources to search for missing loved ones
TOTAL INTERVIEWS
11 interviews with key partners and national agents
45 interviews with returned missing people, age 18 to 79 reported missing in 2009 to 2011
12 case reconstructions and 23 interviews/focus groups with police officers
25 interviews/focus groups with family members of returned missing persons (includes 11 with family members of longer-term or outstanding missing persons)
104 (lasting between 60 and 120 minutes)

Returned Missing Persons

Many circumstances lead to adults being reported as missing, including mental health crises, drug and alcohol issues, relationship breakdowns, domestic abuse, and debt. Although our research evidence supports this finding, it reveals much more, especially about the sites and places missing adults use in ways that may help to better guide searches for them (Stevenson et al., 2013). The study participants had varied characteristics and missing histories (Table 2), but most adults reported leaving from home or psychiatric hospitals and all were located or traced.

Table 2. Interviewee Characteristics³

AGE (n=45)	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n=45)	MENTAL HEALTH (n=45)	DURATION MISSING (n=45)	ONCE/ REPEAT (n=45)
2% 18–21	44% employed	53% diagnosed	26% 0–16 hrs	60% once
40% 22–39	49% unemployed	22% diagnosed (undisclosed)	27% 16–48 hrs	40% repeat
53% 40–59	2% unknown	9% self diagnosed	27% 48 hrs–7 days	
2% 60–79	5% other	16% undisclosed	20% >7 days	
2% Unknown				

The duration for repeat missing episodes relates to the most recent missing experience. The adult interviewed may have been away for other time periods in previous missing events that are not represented in this table, but do inform the adults’ narratives of experience.

Ninety-three percent of adults reported some police involvement as part of being missing, and interview data about their return was particularly insightful in this regard: what officers say and how officers explain “missingness” was deemed as key to whether returnees experienced prolonged traumatic effects, with some people stating this as a direct result of police interaction:

“They didn’t give me any explanation only I was declared missing. I wanted to go back into the police station to talk to them and ask questions ‘why they reacted in the manner which they did?’... I didn’t start asking questions [as] it might lead to them charging me. In that regard it’s become the hardest period of my life and left some sort of illness, I was heavily depressed.” (Mayowa, former missing person, 2012)

Messages about the noncriminality of being missing were critical to generating a positive experience of police handling. When police are perceived as unsympathetic, returnees can be left feeling guilty, which has ramifications for wider social relations and well-being

“It felt like a lecture I was being given by the police... and that wasn’t helpful. Whereas if they had said, ‘Right let’s talk about where you have been’ and just 10 minutes would have made all the difference.” (Max, former missing person, 2012)

This research provides evidence for rethinking effective police practice and handling with regard to return interviews in light of safeguarding requirements and prevention strategies. (Stevenson et al, 2013). Incorporating such knowledge into operational policing has

³ For further information, visit www.geographiesofmissingpeople.org.uk/downloads/Stevenson-et-al.pdf.



implications for preventing trauma in individuals and providing effective referral may help reduce repeat missing person episodes, which currently account for a third of all U.K. cases (SOCA, 2013).

Families of Missing Persons

In relation to families, the findings indicate the police and family search tends happen in parallel rather than in partnership (Parr and Stevenson, 2013a). The family interview data offer insights into what factors would increase positive partnership work. These include ensuring that there is a single point of contact with the police so families can access and receive regular updates on an inquiry; families feel their character witness statements are taken seriously; and effective communication conveys detailed reasoning for police search parameters. The research suggests that families of missing persons are better understood as partners than problems and that police perspectives should shift away from only managing expectations of families.

“What I find so difficult is understanding the process of their searching because it doesn’t seem to be a set out, ‘Here’s our hypothesis, here’s our methodology, here’s the rationale for why we are just going to do this and this is what we’re hoping.’ They didn’t ever provide anything... So, kind of, as a partner of a missing person you want something tangible.” (Sasha, family member, 2013)

The findings provide a range of practical insights for those having a professional responsibility for and to missing families (Parr and Stevenson, 2013a).

Improving Police Education and Response to Missing Persons

The translation of the research findings into practice has been a core component of the project. Working with an advisory group comprising policy and practice stakeholders from Police Scotland, the U.K. Missing Persons Bureau (National Crime Agency) and the charity Missing People, we have been involved in extensive knowledge exchange activities. We⁴ have engaged in the development of training materials for police officers involved with missing persons. In particular, this has included the design and delivery of training on taught courses to specialist Police Search Advisors via the U.K. Police National Search Centre (PNSC) and the Sergeants Leadership Development Programme at the Scottish Police College. The structure of the training was designed to provide officers with an enhanced knowledge to complement existing quantitative understanding of missing persons and an understanding of going missing from missing persons’ perspectives, as well as address the needs and roles of families in investigations and search. The evaluation responses from various ranked officers who were asked how they would use the training materials in their policing practice responded that the materials were useful for influencing search areas, supporting search strategies, and acting as a reminder that “mispers have not committed a crime by being missing and I will ensure my officers treat mispers respectfully and with sympathy.” (Police sergeant, 2013)

Building on this, Glasgow University has invested in a staff post to enable the legacy of the ESRC research in partnership with the U.K. Police College. New work is taking place to embed this in four police education modules:

- Public Protection Level 1
- Public Protection Level 2 (policing vulnerable people)
- Standard Search Missing Persons Search
- Mental Ill Health

The training will mainly be delivered via online e-learning modules accessible to police officers via the U.K. College of Policing. The U.K. PNSC is also embedding the findings in redesigned documentary resources for more specialist search officers. A key intervention here is the use of narrative interviews as creative learning resources: 10 audio stories of missing persons’ experiences have been recorded with actors (see www.geographiesofmissingpeople.org.uk/downloads/missingvoices.pdf and Parr and Stevenson, 2013b). Such story resources are intended to enable deep learning, and better facilitate empathetic responses among police officers who have to deal with numerous missing person cases.

The research is being applied in ways that are intended to foster attitudinal change in policing cultures toward missing persons and their families. Our recommendations for placing missing persons’ voices at the heart of policing practice are also being used in national

⁴ The academic team for this project included co-investigator and director of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, Professor Nicolas Fyfe. We thank Fyfe for design and delivery of learning specifically from interview data with police officers on missing issues, which was used for education and training events during 2013.

policing strategy, as is currently the case in Police Scotland. The U.K. Missing Person Bureau and the charity Missing People have publicly stated their support for embedding the findings into practice.

This study shows that partnerships involving researchers, police, and related agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and missing persons and their families can yield important insights into understanding missing person cases and responding to them effectively. Linking research findings with training, statistical analysis with qualitative knowledge, and police actions and perceptions of missing persons and their families are all important in translating this research into action.

The innovative nature of the Geographies of Missing People project resulted in a Scottish Policing Award in 2013 for research excellence in applied policing. For full information on the project and its resources, visit the project website www.geographiesofmissingpeople.org.uk.

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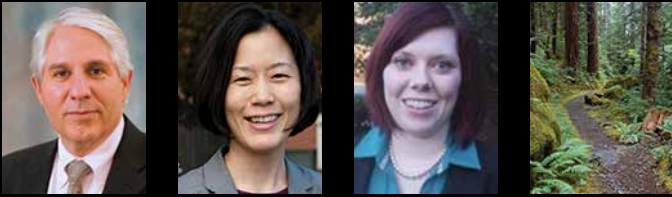
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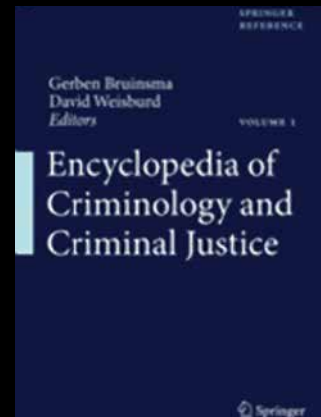
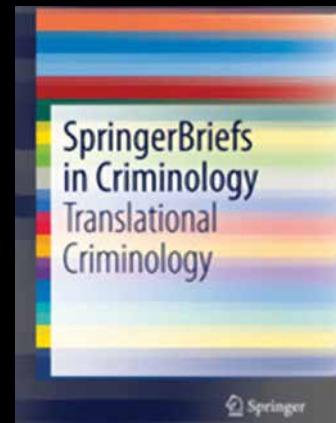
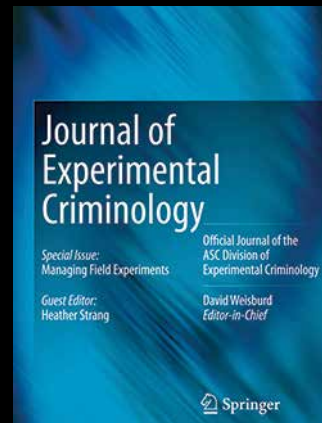
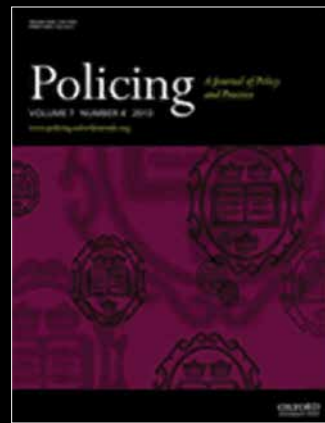
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We welcome your contributions!

The background is a solid teal color with several abstract geometric lines. A prominent white curved line starts from the top left and curves towards the right. A thick teal line runs diagonally from the top left towards the bottom right. A series of thin, parallel teal lines form a bundle that runs diagonally from the top center towards the bottom right. Other teal lines intersect at various angles, creating a complex geometric pattern.

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