Translational Criminology

FALL 2014

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

Inside this issue…

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FROM THE DIRECTORS

We want to begin by thanking everyone who participated in our successful symposium this past June. With our partners from the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as panelists who gave of their time and expertise, the 2014 CEBCP-IDB symposium covered a wide array of challenging issues in evidence-based crime policy including school safety, gun violence, technology and law enforcement, crime analysis, community crime prevention, policing and deterrence, and the funding of science in crime policy. We would especially like to thank our keynote speakers, Daniel Ortega of the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF) and Daniel Nagin of Carnegie Mellon University, who capped off each day with provocative ideas for the future.

Our next symposium takes place overseas, in partnership with the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR). This event builds upon our 2013 symposium with SIPR, focusing on knowledge exchange, translation, and research in policing. Supported by the Scottish Police College and the Scottish government, we look forward to exchanging ideas with our colleagues in Tulliallan and Edinburgh, Scotland. Back in the United States, we invite everyone to join us for our next Congressional Briefing on school safety and school violence in partnership with our colleagues at WestEd, tentatively scheduled for February 2015.

All these events reflect one of the CEBCP's core values: engaging in strong partnerships with a variety of researchers, practitioners, and policy makers from around the globe. In this issue of *Translational Criminology*, we highlight the importance of partnerships in both generating research evidence and translating knowledge to practice. Ed Davis and Laurie Robinson discuss the IACP's Research Advisory Committee as a model for institutionalizing police-researcher partnerships. Richard Rosenfeld, Geoff Alpert, and Peter Martin focus on specific partnerships in policing in the United States and Australia and what makes them successful. Rosenfeld reflects on his work with the St. Louis Police Department and offers advice to younger scholars seeking to work with practitioners. Alpert and Martin discuss the challenges and possibilities of international relationships. And Christopher Koper, Cynthia Lum, and James Willis provide results from a partnership with two police agencies to evaluate the impact of technology on policing.

During the symposium, we also had lively discussion and debate about the role of science in policy and practice. Keeping with this theme, we asked three of the symposium's speakers, Stuart Buck from the Arnold Foundation, Thomas Abt from the Office of the Governor of New York, and William Modzeleski, formerly of the U.S. Department of Education, and Anthony Petrosino and his colleagues at WestEd to continue these conversations in this issue. Buck discusses the importance of funding replications of studies to strengthen what we think we may know about justice programs and practices. Abt writes about New York State's GIVE (Gun-Involved Violence Elimination) Initiative and the role that states can play in guiding evidence-based practices. And Modzeleski, Petrosino, Guckenburg, and Fronius lend their thoughts on the role of research in highly profiled and political issues such as school safety and violence. Their expertise reflects a strong theme in the CEBCP—to continue to question what *is* evidence-based crime policy, and what does it mean for science to impact justice-related decision making.

Finally, we are pleased to present our readers with reflections from two of our award winners, Jeremy Travis and Clark Kimerer. Travis's thought-provoking speech that he gave upon accepting the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy reflects his years of experience in negotiating and fostering a relationship between science and criminal justice practice. Kimerer's Hall of Fame statement shows how both critical and careful thought as well as open-mindedness are key in developing leadership in evidence-based policy. Their wise words provide guidance to leaders who confront challenges every day about using, implementing, and translating research in practice.

We hope you will continue to enjoy *Translational Criminology* as much as we enjoy creating it. We also invite scholars, practitioners, and policy makers to collaborate for future submissions.

David Weisburd, Executive Director
Cynthia Lum, Director

Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy
George Mason University

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Around the CEBCP

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) is housed within the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University. We seek to make scientific research a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies. The CEBCP carries out this mission by advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology through research-practice collaborations, and proactively serving as an informational and translational link to practitioners and the policy community. The CEBCP was founded in 2008 and is home to the Crime and Place Working Group, *Translational Criminology,* the Matrix, Dave Wilson's Systematic Review Toolkit, The LPR WebPortal, and countless videos and print resources.

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Number of current team members in the CEBCP

The Department of Criminology, Law and Society is now accepting applicants for its PhD and MA programs for 2015–16. To learn more about our highly ranked graduate programs, visit **cls.gmu.edu.**

ADVISORY BOARD

The center welcomes two new members to its distinguished advisory board: **Bernard Melekian,** former director of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, and **Kathleen O'Toole,** chief of the Seattle Police Department. Chaired by Peter Neyroud of Cambridge University and formerly the National Policing Improvement Agency in the United Kingdom, the advisory board's 15 distinguished scholars and practitioners provide guidance, advice, and fresh ideas to the center.

GROWTH OF THE CEBCP

Stacked bar chart showing growth of the CEBCP from 2008 to 2013: 2008 = 12, 2009 = 16, 2010 = 21, 2011 = 24, 2012 = 26, 2013 = 32. Categories: Interns and Postdocs, Research Assistants, Research Associates, Affiliated Faculty, Senior Fellows, Executive Assistants, Executives.
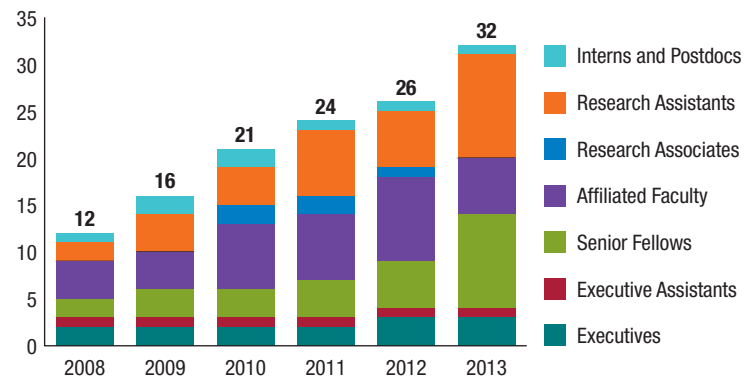
ACCOLADES AND AWARDS

David Weisburd was selected as the 2014 recipient of the American Society of Criminology's highest honor, the Sutherland Award. **Cynthia Lum** was named a fellow of the Academy of Experimental Criminology.

Did you know that the center's research assistants are award-winning? Currently on our team are five Mason provost scholars **(Stephen Happeny, Bill Johnson, Matt Nelson, Sang Jun Park,** and **Heather Vovak),** one presidential scholar **(Breanne Cave),** two College of Humanities and Social Sciences Dean's Challenge Award winners **(Breanne Cave** and **Jordan Nichols),** and two Division of Experimental Criminology Student Paper Award winners **(Matt Nelson** and **Alese Wooditch).** Two of our former researchers are now assistant professors: **Julie Hibdon** at Southern Illinois University and **Cody Telep** at Arizona State University.

Congratulations to **Zoe Vitter** who received an MA degree this summer!

> "The CEBCP has developed into the key interface between the research and academic community, and the practitioners in the criminal justice field. The center is a leading force in bringing all stakeholders together to promote change and advancement in the criminal justice system."
>
> —John Kapinos, Fairfax County Police Department

UPCOMING EVENTS

A special "Thank you!" to all of the speakers, participants, and CEBCP graduate assistants who made this year's symposium with the Inter-American Development Bank a success.

October 20–22: The **Scottish Institute for Policing Research** and the CEBCP will join forces once again for a **special symposium** this year in Tulliallan, Scotland.

November 18–22: American Society of Criminology 2014 Conference in San Francisco: **The Crime and Place Working Group** has organized **15 panels** on place-based criminology. Also, join us for special events for the **Division of Experimental Criminology** and the **Division of Policing.**

Spring 2015: The CEBCP will partner with **WestEd** on its next congressional briefing. The topic will be **school violence and safety.**

JOURNALS CEBCP FACULTY EDIT

OUR COMMUNITY

3,062

The number of people who subscribe to CEBCP's mailing list

Modeling Successful Researcher-Practitioner Partnerships: The International Association of Chiefs of Police Research Advisory Committee

BY ED DAVIS AND LAURIE ROBINSON

Research Advisory Committee co-chairs Ed Davis is commissioner of the Boston Police Department (retired), and Laurie Robinson is a Robinson Professor at George Mason University. A special thanks to John Firman and Dianne Beer-Maxwell for assisting with this article.

I n October 2003, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), in partnership with the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice, held a roundtable, resulting in the publication *Unresolved Problems and Powerful Potentials: Improving Partnerships between Law Enforcement Leaders and University Based Researchers.*[1] Of the 49 recommendations emerging from this event, the most innovative was the call for IACP to create a Research Advisory Committee (RAC) that would address the global issue of improving police and researcher relationships, as well as research outcomes.

Just one year later, the IACP took that action, formally amending its constitution to allow for the creation of the RAC. Modeling the goal of strong researcher-practitioner partnerships, a co-chair leadership approach was selected. Ronal Serpas, then chief of the Nashville, Tennessee, Police Department (now superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department and the IACP third vice president) was chosen as the practitioner co-chair. Charles Wellford of the University of Maryland, noted worldwide for his achievements in law enforcement and justice research, was selected as the academic co-chair. Working with IACP leadership, the co-chairs then selected 30 committee members, consisting of a balance of law enforcement leaders and noted academic researchers.[2]

The RAC's mission was established at its first meeting:
The committee shall provide input, advice, and direction to the association, law enforcement practitioners, law enforcement researchers, and the criminal justice system on all aspects of law enforcement policy research and evaluation.

To achieve this mission, five principal objectives were set out:
- Work toward the goal of establishing and sustaining effective research partnerships among law enforcement agencies and organizations, and the research community. Special attention will be given to identifying examples that demonstrate the importance of such partnerships (especially with university-based researchers) and preparing intermittent reports to the field on law enforcement

Ed Davis

Laurie Robinson

and research partnerships that are especially noteworthy.
- Prepare for the association an annual law enforcement research agenda.
- Develop strategies to improve the ability of law enforcement agencies to receive grants to support research included in that agenda.
- Review and provide advice on the law enforcement research activities of the NIJ and other agencies in the U.S. Department of Justice.
- Support or help design educational sessions at the IACP conference and other conferences on law enforcement research findings and impact.

Today, 10 years after its creation, the RAC is an active and influential committee within IACP's organizational structure. The 2014 RAC co-chairs, Ed Davis, commissioner of the Boston Police Department (retired), and Professor Laurie Robinson of George Mason University, continue to carry on the mission and objectives set out in 2004.

Partnering for Success
The RAC models the behavior that it encourages the field to emulate by building sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships. The RAC began its work with several years of support from the NIJ, providing guidance to the institute and the field to rely more on research to drive policy development. In addition to the NIJ, the RAC has also partnered successfully with the private sector (Sprint Corporation and, more recently, the Arnold Foundation) to create a national excellence in police research award. Looking to the academic

community for leadership and guidance, representatives of the American Society of Criminology and the Academy of Criminal Justice Science sit as permanent liaisons to the RAC as it carries out its mission. In 2007, the RAC in partnership with the NIJ developed and released a set of companion guidebooks, *Establishing and Sustaining Law Enforcement-Researcher Partnerships*, with one being geared toward researchers [3] and the other geared toward law enforcement leaders.[4] The goal of these guidebooks is to help encourage more collaborative police research.

Articulating a National Research Agenda

In collaboration with the NIJ, the RAC launched a nationwide survey of law enforcement leaders in 2007 to assess current and emerging research priorities. The results of that survey were published in 2008 in the RAC's report *Improving 21st Century Policing through Priority Research: The IACP's National Law Enforcement Research Agenda*.[5] While research priorities change every year, this study helped focus future research by articulating the eight overarching areas of research issues: leadership, management and administration, training and education, justice and other system studies, technology, response to crime and victimization, emergency preparedness, and emerging issues. A few years later, this report was followed by *Law Enforcement Research Priorities for 2011 and Beyond*,[6] which presented recommendations on facilitating law enforcement's use of research findings, participating in research, and enhancing the utility, quality, and quantity of law enforcement research.

Translating Research into Action

An immediate concern of the RAC was the gap between research findings written for an academic audience versus a practitioner audience. To make research more accessible to law enforcement, the RAC created the first committee-driven recurring column in *Police Chief Magazine* titled *Research in Brief*. Beginning in 2012, the column has presented high-quality research from researcher-practitioner teams, always including an action agenda for police leaders to help them implement the research into action through policy reform.[7] Recent topics have ranged from eyewitness identification to hot spot policing to human resources issues.

Honoring Law Enforcement Research

The RAC recognized that within the law enforcement community, university-based research on key policing issues often does not receive the kind of recognition it deserves. To help IACP members gain a true appreciation of the value of science driving policy, the RAC created the IACP Excellence in Law Enforcement Research Award. This annual award honors three outstanding researcher-practitioner partnership efforts and is given in partnership with the Arnold Foundation at the IACP annual conference. Past awardees have been recognized for research ranging from internal risk assessment to evidence-based offender profiling.

Left to right: Manhattan Police Department analyst Shaun Stanton, Officer Mat Droge, Kansas State University professor L. Susan Williams, Captain Timothy Hegarty, and Director Bradley Schoen with their IACP/Sprint Excellence in Law Enforcement Research Award and RAC co-chair Laurie Robinson at the Research Advisory Committee award dinner at the IACP annual meeting in Philadelphia.

Prioritizing Research for IACP Members

Another strong RAC priority has been to ensure that members who attend the IACP annual conference (typically 15,000 delegates) have the opportunity to learn about cutting-edge research that is changing law enforcement and justice practices. To achieve this goal, the RAC suggests educational panels and populates those panels with noted researchers and their partner law enforcement leaders. This year, the RAC is pleased to support another innovative research feature at the conference: the NIJ is sponsoring an entire day of educational panels on urgent policing issues specifically being addressed through research.[8]

Promoting Evidence-Based Policing

At present, the RAC, alongside IACP staff and in collaboration with George Mason University, is creating an informational brochure to help law enforcement leaders better understand how evidence-based policing can improve police policies and practices. The ultimate goal of this brief publication is to motivate police leaders to learn more about evidence-based policing and begin using this model to address current and future local issues.

Supporting Research-Based Policy Reform

The RAC has also leveraged its capacity to make statements of support on policing issues where research provides clear direction. For example, in 2011, the RAC wrote an IACP resolution on pretrial reform,[9] calling for the use of dangerousness and risk assessment before any pretrial release decision is made. That resolution, grounded in historic and current research on pretrial failure and success rates, was adopted by the IACP membership and is being updated with support from recently released research and reintroduced for approval at IACP's 2014 annual conference.

The St. Louis Public Safety Partnership

BY RICHARD ROSENFELD

Richard Rosenfeld is Founders Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and criminologist in residence at the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department. The research described in this article was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Justice (2012-IJ-CX-0042). The views expressed are the author's alone and do not necessarily reflect those of the National Institute of Justice.

Productive partnerships between criminal justice agencies and researchers are difficult to sustain. This is the story of a partnership that has lasted two and-a-half years, becoming stronger over time. The reasons for the partnership's success are not entirely clear, but the signs of success and the lessons learned are incontrovertible. Researchers have nearly unlimited access to police, prosecutor, court, and corrections data; graduate students have received valuable training and experience working with criminal justice data and personnel; the university has been highly supportive; and, most important, criminal justice and city officials value the contributions of their academic partners and have incorporated research results into agency practice. The partnership has produced several research studies, one of which is described here. Along the way, I describe some of the lessons we have learned, and I close with some observations about how such partnerships can be built and sustained elsewhere.

Starting Up

The St. Louis Public Safety Partnership began in January 2012. It was formally initiated by a memorandum of understanding signed by the mayor of St. Louis, the chief of police, and the chancellor of the

Richard Rosenfeld

University of Missouri-St. Louis. The memorandum committed the parties to improving public safety through evidence-based practices, provided the researchers unfettered access to research data, and guaranteed noninterference by criminal justice or other public officials with the process or results of research carried out under the partnership.

The first lesson learned from the St. Louis experience is to formalize the researcher-practitioner partnership with a written agreement that publicly commits all parties to a common goal, guarantees access to agency data, and prohibits political interference—the more public the agreement, the better. The Mayor's Office held a press conference announcing the partnership and outlining its basic principles. It is much more difficult to back away from commitments written in the public record than from informal understandings negotiated behind the scenes.

Gaining Trust

No matter how much pomp and circumstance attend the formation of a researcher-practitioner partnership, it cannot succeed without trust. The researchers trust that promises of data access and free inquiry will be kept. Agency personnel trust that the researchers have a genuine commitment to the goals of the partnership. Trust must be earned, a lesson I learned the hard way. Not long after the partnership began, I gave a presentation to the police command staff

introducing our first research project. The reception, to say the least, was chilly. I was met with blank stares by those commanders who were not occupied with their cell phones. The presentation was scheduled for 30 minutes; I wrapped it up in 10.

A year went by. The research project ended, and I presented the results to the police command staff, most of whom had been at my inaugural presentation a year earlier. The session was a hit. No one fiddled with their phone, eyes were fixed on the PowerPoint slides, and the ensuing discussion lasted well beyond the 30-minute mark. What accounts for the difference between the two meetings? In a word, trust. I regularly attended the weekly COMPSTAT meetings during the past 12 months, as did my research assistant. Trust was earned by showing up, whether or not the meeting featured our research. Showing up signified dedication and commitment to the partnership. More than that, it indicated respect for the positions held by the police commanders and the work they do. In return, they showed respect for our role. That is the second lesson learned from the partnership: mutual trust is essential, and trust is earned over time by showing respect for your partner's work.

Negotiating the Research

As important as it is, just showing up is not enough to sustain a successful researcher-practitioner partnership. Research must be designed, carried out, and reported. Academic researchers distinguish between basic and applied research; practitioners make no such distinction. They need research results they can apply to agency practices; they need them on time and within far shorter deadlines than most academic researchers are used to; and they want them distilled into "actionable" procedures they can implement at minimum cost. For their part, researchers generally want research opportunities that may have little immediate practical payoff; they need time to carry out reliable research; and they often have little idea what a particular research application—or the research project itself—may actually cost. All of these issues must be negotiated, and both sides must be willing to give up something they want to gain something they need. Here is an example from our first research project.

The purpose of the research was to evaluate a hot spot patrol strategy. We had devised a randomized controlled study of 47 designated crime hot spots across the city, half of which would be subject to enhanced enforcement activity and half to normal patrol. The police command staff balked at the research design, not because it entailed the random allocation of resources but because some police districts had more hot spots, and therefore greater participation in the study, than others. The district captains wanted equal participation. We conceded (we had no choice) and devised a block randomized study of four hot spots in each of eight police districts, two of which would be randomly assigned to the treatment condition of enhanced enforcement and two to the control condition.

The resulting research design did not meet textbook standards for randomized controlled studies. We would have preferred a study design with 47 cases and more statistical power. But we did secure permission to conduct the first randomized controlled study in the police department's history. Later, when we requested a three-month extension of the study to obtain more data, the commanders agreed, even though this meant higher overtime costs. The give and take was mutually beneficial. The police commanders learned more about their hot spot enforcement activities and, a sure sign they value this knowledge, have requested follow-up studies. The researchers were able to retain a randomized controlled design, albeit more limited than they had wanted, and published a paper, co-written with the head of the department's Crime Analysis division, reporting the results of the evaluation.[1] They even wrote a basic research paper investigating the meaning and measurement of crime hot spots that is currently under review for publication. The lesson learned, to paraphrase the well-known Rolling Stone lyrics, you can't always get what you want in a researcher-practitioner partnership, but if you try, sometimes you get what you need.

Age and Experience

To sum up, three of the major lessons we have learned from the St. Louis Public Safety Partnership are formalize and publicize the terms of the agreement; trust is an essential ingredient of a successful partnership and it must be earned over time; and be prepared to give away some of what you want to achieve, the basic goal of any researcher-practitioner partnership, which is to conduct research that informs criminal justice policy and practice. But there is another lesson I have learned from our partnership, which is perhaps more personal yet also relevant for other researchers contemplating similar arrangements: I could not have done this earlier in my career.

I would not have had the time as an untenured professor to devote to maintaining the momentum of an active partnership: regular attendance at meetings, individual consultations with agency personnel, lots of small studies with no certain academic payoff, big studies that must conform to someone else's schedule and priorities, and seemingly endless information requests from individuals and community groups that have heard about the partnership, most of which are perfectly reasonable and, in the aggregate, very time consuming. These activities become ongoing obligations if the partnership is to remain healthy and productive over time. If they go unmet, either the partnership dies or fails to meet the needs of neither the researchers nor the practitioners. And they take a lot more time than most assistant professors wanting tenure have to give.

There is another, arguably more important, reason I could not have brokered and sustained a partnership of this kind when I was younger: I didn't have the confidence in my professional judgment needed for the job. That only comes with experience and, let's face it, age. It is one thing to make a policy recommendation in the conclusion of an article that few people will ever read. It is quite

another to give advice that someone will use to make a decision that could affect, for better or worse, people's lives. "Hey, Doc, Alderman Smith has put up video cameras in his ward, and now the other aldermen want them. They're expensive. Do they do any good?" "Doc, robberies have spiked in one of my beats. What's the best way to respond, by beefing up foot patrols or vehicle stops?" These are the kinds of questions that arise in the course of an active partnership. How should they be handled?

Ideally, a researcher would like the opportunity to review the relevant literature or conduct a study on the topic before giving a recommendation. But that's often not an option. The aldermen want their cameras now; the district captain can't wait for a literature review on the most effective enforcement mechanisms for robbery, assuming much relevant research even exists; he has to act now. The best response by the researcher in some instances may be simply to beg off and honestly admit that you haven't the faintest idea how to proceed. But if you do that too often, especially in a partnership such as ours that encompasses a wide range of issues, from hot-spot policing to devising exam questions for selecting the new chief, you lose credibility and the partnership itself is endangered. After all, from the practitioner's perspective, you're supposed to know the answers to questions such as these. That's your end of the bargain.

On some occasions, then, researchers must give advice based on their accumulated knowledge and experience that, by definition, only develop over time. They should caution that their recommendations may be based on indirect or incomplete evidence. Younger researchers either have not developed the requisite experiential knowledge to perform this role effectively or, worse, give bad advice borne of ignorance or bravado. The most effective partnerships, I am suggesting, are headed on the researcher side by an experienced and senior academic. But there is a place for less experienced academics in researcher-practitioner partnerships: working alongside a senior colleague in a well-defined and time-limited research capacity. That is the best way to produce the next generation of academic partners and keep researcher-practitioner partnerships alive and healthy over time. The lesson learned: Partnerships work best when headed by a senior academic researcher, ideally paired with a junior colleague.

Reference

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RAC Future Objectives

Even considering the many accomplishments in bridging the researcher-practitioner gap since the initial publication in 2003, the RAC remains cognizant that along with the powerful potentials for researcher-practitioner partnerships to improve policing across the United States, a good number of unresolved problems remain. While the work of the RAC and partner organizations such as George Mason has done much to narrow the gap between research science and police policy and practice, more work remains. The RAC's long-range goal is to ensure that when any law enforcement leader begins work on policy improvement or program redesign, the first step will automatically be to seek out and employ existing research as the foundation of that change. And where no applicable research exists, to join with an academic partner to accomplish that research to meet local needs and enhance the body of policing research.

To learn more about opportunities to partner with the RAC, email John Firman at Firmanj@theiacp.org.

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7. To submit a Research in Brief article for consideration, email lefurgy@theiacp.org.
8. See www.theiacpconference.org/iacp2014/public/Calendar.aspx?SuperTrackId=&TrackId=23&AssociationId=&DateId=&FormatId=&DurationId=&SpeakerId=&AbilityLevelId=&SessionTypeId=&SubExpoId=&Keyword=&&SearchEvent=&sortMenu=103002 for the NIJ Saturday Session schedule.
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Realizing the Potential of Technology for Policing

BY CHRISTOPHER S. KOPER, CYNTHIA LUM, AND JAMES J. WILLIS

Christopher S. Koper is an associate professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and a senior fellow in the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Cynthia Lum is an associate professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and the director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

James J. Willis is an associate professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and a senior fellow in the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Christopher S. Koper   Cynthia Lum   James J. Willis

Understanding technological change is an important issue in evidence-based policing. In particular, what does research tell us about the effects technology has on policing, and how can that knowledge be used and translated to maximize the potential benefits of technological changes and innovations in law enforcement agencies? These concerns have become especially important in the past few decades, which have been a period of particularly rapid technological change for law enforcement. Advancements in information technologies (IT), analytic systems, video surveillance systems, license plate readers, DNA testing, and other technologies have had far-reaching implications for police agencies. Technology acquisition and deployment decisions are high-priority topics for police, as law enforcement agencies at all levels of governments are spending vast sums on technology in the hopes of improving their efficiency and effectiveness.

It is not clear whether these changes have made police more effective. For example, clearance rates for crimes such as robbery, assault, and burglary have remained fairly steady in recent decades despite the spread of advanced forensics technologies and more extensive data and surveillance systems. (Indeed, homicide clearance rates have declined steadily over the past four decades.) The little evaluation research available on technology has tended to focus more on operation and outputs—for example, whether a technology works and makes a process faster—than on its effectiveness in reducing crime or improving service to citizens. And the evidence that is available on technology and police performance suggests that technology's impacts may be limited or offset by many factors ranging from technical problems to officer resistance. The need for

better understanding of the impact of police technology on all sorts of outcomes of interest to the police is becoming ever more important.

Toward this end, in a recent study for the National Institute of Justice, we examined many of the social, organizational, and behavioral impacts of police technologies. Our goals were to more fully understand technological changes in policing and make recommendations for optimizing the use of technology in policing. Using a multi-method approach in four agencies (both urban and suburban) that included officer surveys, field observations, extensive interviews and focus groups, and experimental and quasi-experimental evaluations, we investigated the uses and impacts of several information, analytic, surveillance, and forensics technologies that are central to everyday police functions (e.g., IT and mobile computing, crime analysis, and license plate readers). This approach allowed us to examine how these technologies affect police—in intended and unintended ways—with respect to operations, management, agency structure, culture, efficiency, effectiveness, citizen interaction, and job satisfaction. At the same time, we also tried to assess how various aspects of police organizations, culture, and behavior shape the uses of technology—and hence its impacts.

We found that technology's effects are complex and contradictory; technological advances do not always produce straightforward improvements in communication, cooperation, productivity, job satisfaction, or officers' effectiveness in reducing crime and serving citizens. Desired effects from technology, such as improving clearance rates and reducing crime, may take considerable time to materialize as agencies adapt to new technologies and refine their uses over time.

Some of these challenges stem from implementation and functionality problems with new technology, which can have negative and potentially long-term ramifications for the acceptance, uses, and impacts of that technology. Further, while technology can enhance many aspects of police functioning and performance, it can detract from others (for instance, the reporting requirements of new IT and mobile computing systems may reduce the time that officers spend interacting with citizens or doing other proactive work).

Perhaps more fundamentally, police may fail to make strategically optimal uses of technology for reducing crime or achieving other aims such as improving their legitimacy with the community. One key finding is that because many officers tend to frame policing in terms of reactive response to calls for service, reactive arrest to crimes, and adherence to standard operating procedures, they emphasize the use of technology to achieve these goals. To illustrate, officers in our study sites were much more likely to use IT to guide and assist them with traditional enforcement-oriented activities (e.g., locating persons of interest and checking the call history of a location) than for more strategic, proactive tasks (e.g., identifying hot spots to patrol between calls or doing preventive problem solving). They were also much more likely to find their job satisfying when they used technology in these traditional ways.

This is not to say that technological advancement in policing is undesirable and will not bring improvement. However, technological changes may not bring about easy and substantial improvements in police performance without significant planning and effort, and without infrastructure and norms that will help agencies maximize the benefits of technology. Strategizing about technology application is thus essential and should involve careful consideration of the specific ways in which new and existing technologies can be deployed and used at all levels of the organization to meet goals for improving efficiency, effectiveness, and agency management. Our fieldwork suggests a number of ways that police can smooth the process of technological change and increase receptivity to new technology. We summarize a few of these points here (see our full report, soon to be posted on the website of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, for more detailed recommendations to police executives).

For starters, police managers should allow for a broad base of participation in the technology implementation process by various personnel who will be affected by the technology. This process should provide ample opportunities for pilot testing early versions of a technology and soliciting input that can be incorporated into its final design. This process can be helpful in identifying and correcting technical problems with a technology before its full implementation and for determining its most effective applications. Staff at various levels should also have opportunities to offer insights on how technologies might be best integrated into assessments of performance.

Proper levels of training are also essential, especially for the most difficult technological changes. Once basic training is done, agencies

should prepare a systematic and continuous approach to follow-up, in-service training, reinforcement, ongoing technical support, and adaptation to new lessons. This should include dissemination of information about effective practices, success stories, and tips for easier or faster use of a technology.

To reap the full potential benefits of technology (and any innovation for that matter), police must also arguably address traditional and long-standing philosophical and cultural norms about the role of law enforcement. Most notably, training about proactive and evidence-based strategies—and how technology can be used in support of those strategies—is needed. Research shows that police are most effective in reducing crime when their strategies are proactive, focused both on high-risk places and groups, and oriented toward problem solving and prevention. However, officers in our study sites seemed to have limited guidance and understanding of how technology might help them in these regards, and their agencies lacked reward systems to encourage innovative responses to crime. Agency training thus needs to address how technology might be used more comprehensively for preventing crime proactively. How, for example, can officers use their agency's information systems and crime analysis to guide their patrol activities between calls for service, identify and address problems at hot spot locations, and monitor high-risk people in their areas of responsibility? At the same time, how can managers use these technologies to encourage such work by their subordinates?

Developing an infrastructure in policing for maximizing technology's potential requires thinking more carefully about how existing knowledge and new research can help police better navigate technological change in a cost-effective manner. This requires both police and researchers to make a greater commitment to a strong research and development agenda regarding technology. This commitment is currently lacking, as police often adopt new forms of technology before their impacts and effectiveness have been demonstrated. Police leaders would be in a much better position to make good decisions about technology acquisition and use if they knew more about the organizational consequences of technological change and the effectiveness of different technologies in reducing crime. Police can begin this process by making greater efforts to systematically track the ways that new technologies are used and the outcomes of those uses. This is particularly applicable to such technologies as license plate readers, which are typically deployed with no systematic tracking of how they are being used and with what results. It would help police evaluate the benefits of new technologies relative to their costs and inform their assessments of which technologies are most beneficial. A good start would be to incorporate research discussions into early strategizing about technology acquisition and deployment.

Researchers can assist practitioners by collaborating on evaluation studies that carefully assess the theories behind technology adoption (i.e., how and why is a particular technology expected to improve police effectiveness), the ways in which technology is used in police agencies, the variety of organizational and community impacts that

Integrating Evidence to Stop Shootings: New York's GIVE (Gun-Involved Violence Elimination) Initiative

BY THOMAS P. ABT

Thomas P. Abt is a senior research fellow with the Harvard Kennedy School's Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management and the former deputy secretary for public safety for the State of New York.

Policy makers looking to scientific research to inform their crime control efforts generally find both opportunities and obstacles when implementing "what works," that is, evidence-based programs, in real world scenarios. First, the good news: there are many publications, websites, and other resources that review the currently available evidence to identify programs that, if implemented with fidelity, are likely to deliver positive results.[1] Now the bad news: there is little practical guidance on when, where, and how such programs should be implemented; how they coordinate or align with other efforts; and how they can be sustained over time.[2]

The need for such guidance is pressing for at least two reasons. First, no single program, no matter how effective, is likely to be a complete solution to the complex and multifaceted public safety challenges policy makers face today. Second, policy rarely occurs in a vacuum, and the practical reality is that policy makers rarely have the opportunity to begin with a clean slate. Instead, they must find the right mix of strategies that, working in combination, are likely to lead to success on the ground.

With the leadership and support of Gov. Andrew Cuomo, I worked closely with New York's Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) and a number of outside experts to provide such guidance through a new initiative named GIVE (or Gun-Involved Violence Elimination). GIVE supports local law enforcement partnerships in its efforts to fight gun violence outside New York City using the best evidence and data available.

While New York is the safest large state in the country and third safest overall,[3] gun violence remains a persistent challenge outside New York City. Since 1990, gun homicides dropped an astounding 88 percent in New York City but rose 8 percent in the rest of the state.[4] GIVE meets this long-standing challenge by revitalizing one of New York's largest local anticrime funding programs called Operation IMPACT and focusing those resources exclusively on evidence-based and data-driven strategies proven to reduce gun violence. Operation IMPACT annually distributes $13-15 million in DCJS funding to the 17 jurisdictions outside New York City with the highest rates of violent crime.

Thomas P. Abt

In fall 2013, DCJS engaged several nationally recognized experts—Teny Gross, David Kennedy, John Klofas, Tracey Meares, and Craig Uchida—along with the heads of state public safety agencies to develop the new GIVE approach. DCJS researchers reviewed and synthesized the evidence of "what works" nationally to reduce gun violence, with focus on enforcement.[5] They also conducted extensive data analysis of New York localities with high levels of gun violence.

From this process emerged a relatively simple theory of change: shootings and homicides can be reduced through locally developed, state-supported strategies using data and evidence to focus on the people and places most responsible for gun violence. Supporting this theory are three core elements of effectiveness:

- **People and Places.** Extensive research demonstrates that in any given locality, gun violence generally concentrates among a small number of key individuals and locations. Identify these people and places and rigidly focus efforts accordingly.
- **Alignment.** Coordinate activities and leverage resources to promote a cohesive, consistent effort focused on the people and places above.
- **Engagement.** Conduct outreach to relevant stakeholders, the community, and other local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies to ensure the effort receives the necessary support.

These core elements were distilled from six national strategies with the strongest evidence of effectiveness:

- **Problem-Oriented Policing.** Problem-oriented policing is a well-known strategy that focuses police efforts on proactively analyzing and addressing public safety challenges rather than reactively responding to individual crimes, cases, or incidents.
- **Hot Spot Policing.** Well known to the readers of this journal, hot spot policing strategies focus on small geographic areas or locations, usually in urban centers, where crime is concentrated.
- **Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED).** CPTED modifies aspects of the physical environment to decrease the likelihood of criminal activity, such as increased lighting

modifications to vehicular or pedestrian traffic flow.

- **Focused Deterrence.** Also called "pulling levers," focused deterrence applies to specific criminal behaviors conducted by a select group of chronic offenders in a particular area. Offenders are confronted about their behavior in a group setting or "call-in," generally by a number of relevant agencies and organizations, warned about the consequences of continuing to engage in such behavior, and provided with the opportunity to obtain social services and other assistance.

- **Street Outreach Workers.** Street outreach workers proactively engage gang or group-involved offenders in dialogue and offer services to detect and resolve disputes and prevent retaliation that may lead to shootings and homicides.

- **Procedural Justice.** Procedural justice emphasizes that good police/community relations depend more on the perceived fairness and transparency of the *process* and how people are treated than on any perceived *outcome*. The strategy features active engagement with community members to discuss and increase awareness of relevant police goals, strategies, and processes.

These brief descriptions are intended only a starting point and only summarily describe efforts developed, refined, and studied over many years. In addition, the separation articulated above is somewhat

- 5 full centers in red, those under construction in blue
- Create statewide data-sharing network covering 64% of NYS Part I crime outside NYC

Monroe County CAC

Erie County CAC

Albany County CAC

Onondaga County CAC

Onondaga County CAC

GIVE and Crime Analysis Centers

artificial—all these strategies incorporate elements of the others, but the GIVE initiative is the first example nationally that attempts to align and leverage the common elements of each strategy with intentionality.

GIVE was publicly released in conjunction with the governor's State of the State address on January 8, 2014, and the first round of GIVE funding was announced on May 1, 2014. Participating jurisdictions are required to prepare a plan to use their GIVE funding consistent with the three core elements above. In addition, while plans are required to feature at least one of the strategies above, jurisdictions are strongly encouraged to adopt and align multiple strategies, using them in combination with one another.

Requiring GIVE's 17 participating jurisdictions to simultaneously implement multiple evidence-based strategies is clearly ambitious and raises challenges in terms of implementing such strategies with fidelity. GIVE anticipates these challenges and addresses them in a number of ways.

First, GIVE significantly expands the role of New York's award-winning Crime Analysis Centers and the use of analysis in preventing and solving shootings. DCJS and local law enforcement oversee the operations of five regional centers (with four more under construction), which are staffed by DCJS-funded directors, civilian crime analysts, and field intelligence officers from partner agencies at the state and local levels. These centers will provide jurisdictions with assistance in identifying and maintaining lists of the key people and places responsible for the majority of local gun violence.

Second, GIVE will offer an array of training and technical assistance resources on the six strategies identified above, including regional seminars and more intensive assistance tailored to specific jurisdictions, all offered at no cost to jurisdictions.

Third, GIVE will establish a statewide network among participating jurisdictions, including meetings, webinars, and conference calls, to allow for cross-jurisdictional information sharing on successes and challenges, and promote collaboration and peer-to-peer learning.

Fourth, GIVE begins with a significant advantage: a significant and durable funding source. Operation IMPACT was funded for more than a decade and GIVE funding should be equally if not more sustainable. In addition, the funding is initially allocated according to a formula based on need and size but then competitively adjusted for quality, resulting in the best of both worlds: localities can depend on sustainable funding but are incentivized to maximize that funding by planning and implementing successful evidence-based efforts. To be sure, some localities will struggle at first, but over time with the assistance of the crime analysis centers, training and technical assistance, and the GIVE network, local capacity to implement evidence-based programs with fidelity should increase dramatically.

How does GIVE work in practice? Under the new initiative, localities work with their crime analysis centers to identify the hot people and hot spots in their jurisdiction, assess local resources, and engage partners and stakeholders. Next, localities prepare a plan using the six strategies and three core elements described above. Finally, localities use GIVE funding and assistance, as well as their
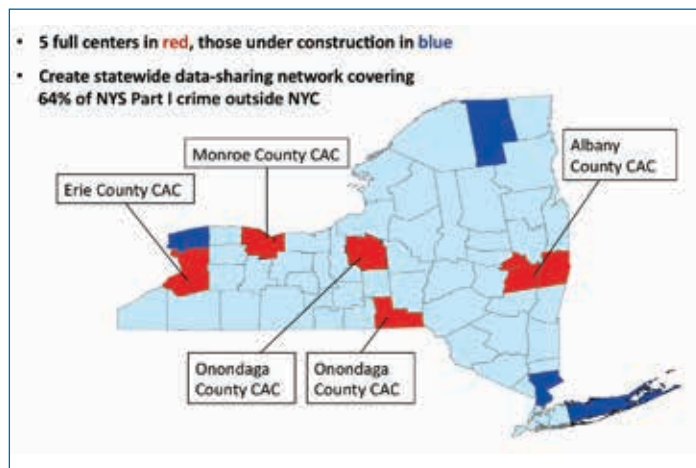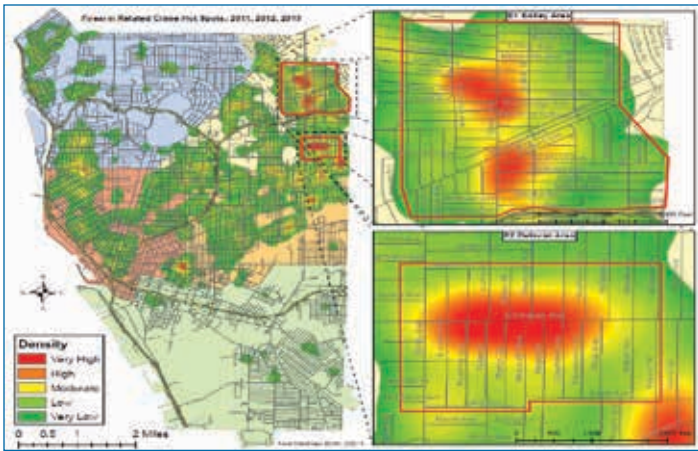
Buffalo's Firearm-Related Hot Spots

own resources, to implement their plan.

State agencies support local GIVE efforts in a variety of ways. DCJS, the lead agency at the state level, supports the local plans with funding, training, and technical assistance. DCJS also manages the operations of the crime analysis centers and the GIVE network. Other agencies also play supporting roles, with the New York State Police offering targeted field assistance and the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision and the Office of Probation and Correctional Alternatives supporting enhanced supervision of key people on parole or probation.

How does GIVE measure success? The initiative is single-mindedly focused on one key metric: shootings involving injury. This measure was selected because it is the best single unit of analysis: it is reported more consistently than shootings generally, it occurs more frequently, providing larger "N" to reduce "noise"—especially for smaller jurisdictions, it controls for exogenous factors, for example, emergency response speed and medical care quality. Finally, it promotes clear messaging and accountability, allowing for improved implementation.

It is clearly too soon to measure results, but localities have responded positively to the GIVE approach, proposing and now implementing innovative efforts that combine multiple evidence-based strategies as expected. For example, in Buffalo, local law enforcement partners have adopted a strategy similar to Los Angeles' successful Operation LASER, using enhanced crime analysis to inform targeted people and place-based operations, as well as the use of sensor-activated lighting in key areas, streetworkers, and focused deterrence "call-ins." In Syracuse, local partners have built on their already successful TRUCE focused deterrence model, adding CPTED strategies to address vacant housing in key areas and using increasing supervision and monitoring for known chronic firearm offenders.

GIVE will be evaluated by John Klofas and Rochester Institute of Technology, using a process evaluation of program implementation that focuses on fidelity to evidence-based strategies. There will also be an outcome assessment of GIVE's impact on shootings and homicides, and the model and core components of the model will be well documented.

In conclusion, GIVE is an ambitious effort that is unique in its scale and approach. It blends multiple evidence-based strategies with people and place-based focus. It stresses program fidelity and supports localities with a wide array of high-quality training and technical assistance. It allows for flexibility and variation across jurisdictions yet maintains a strict focus on one goal—fewer shootings and killings. It has a strong and sustainable funding source that promotes accountability and competition at the same time. Finally, it establishes a statewide social network to promote broader culture and policy change over time. In the long run, GIVE promises to reduce shootings and killings, improve law enforcement capacity statewide to implement evidence-based and data-driven strategies, and teach us more about the opportunities and challenges associated with implementing such strategies in the real world.

References

1. Examples include the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado Boulder, *Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development,* at www.blueprintsprograms.com; Campbell Collaboration, *Campbell Systematic Reviews,* at www.campbellcollaboration.org/lib/?go=monograph; National Institute of Justice, *CrimeSolutions.gov,* at www.crimesolutions.gov; Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, *Top Tier Evidence,* at www.toptierevidence.org.
2. Notable exceptions include the CrimeSolutions.gov practice page and the CEBCP's own Evidence-Based Policing Matrix, at www.crimesolutions.gov/Programs.aspx#practices and cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix, respectively, both of which synthesize available evidence to offer policy makers important guidance not just on *what* works, but also *how* and *why* programs work in terms of practice. Both are excellent resources deserving of more recognition and support.
3. FBI, Crime in the United States, 2012.
4. DCJS, Uniform Crime/Incident-Based Reporting Systems (5/28/14).
5. Clearly, evidence-based prevention strategies are an integral part of a comprehensive approach to violence reduction. While GIVE focuses only on strategies in which law enforcement plays a key role, it creates an overall framework in which enforcement, intervention, prevention, and reentry efforts can be aligned and directed to the people and places that matter most.

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy congratulates its 2014 award winners—nine individuals committed to translating research into practice.

EVIDENCE-BASED POLICING HALL OF FAME INDUCTEES

From left to right: **Art Acevedo** (Austin Police Department), **Edward Flynn** (Milwaukee Police Department), **Timothy Hegarty** (Riley County Police Department), **Clark Kimerer** (Seattle Police Department), **Renee Mitchell** (Sacramento Police Department), **Alex Murray** (West Midlands Police Service), and **Roberto Santos** (Port St. Lucie Police Department)

DEDICATION

DISTINGUISHED ACHIEVEMENT AWARD IN EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME POLICY

Nicholas Fyfe
Scottish Institute
for Policing Research

Jeremy Travis
John Jay College
of Criminal Justice

Looking Forward, Looking Back: Reflections on the Value of Evidence-Based Practices in Policing

BY CLARK KIMERER

Clark Kimerer served for 31 years with the Seattle Police Department, retiring this June as assistant chief. He was inducted into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame this year for his contributions to institutionalizing research into police practice. Below he shares his teaching statement, an essay each of the Hall of Fame inductees can share with other law enforcement leaders as to how they achieved evidence-based policing. See cebcp.org/hall-of-fame to view all 28 members inducted since 2010.

This essay asserts no claims to represent scholarly research, as befits this important journal. It is intended, instead, to be a memoir occasioned by my recent induction into the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy Hall of Fame, a recognition I regard with the highest gratitude and humility, all the more as it comes as I retire from the Seattle Police Department after 31 years of service, the last 16 as an assistant chief. It was truly an honor to be nominated by two friends and colleagues whom I greatly admire: Karen Amendola and Jim Bueermann. My respect and admiration for these two dedicated, smart, and compassionate leaders finds an echo in my also thanking David Weisburd, who I am blessed to have as a mentor and a friend. It is customary for inductees to compose a teaching paper, a task I regard as an honor, for I see no nobler calling than that of striving always and everywhere to be a teacher.

When I look back on the state of policing in U.S. major cities (and with profound apologies to Charles Dickens), I would characterize the past five years as the best and worst of times. Economic turbulence has more or less defined the capacity of police agencies to undertake their most fundamental missions, let alone invest in research and innovation. The hue and cry over the complex issues of procedural justice and police legitimacy are jeopardized by dumbing down and politicizing otherwise profound subjects. And crime itself, which has heretofore been declining in most parts of the country, is itself transforming into a new array of threats—from terrorism to organized crime to exploiting cyber vulnerabilities—that are more sophisticated and potentially consequential than in any time in our history. Against these realities is a backdrop of media and politically motivated campaigns to discredit and disempower policing and its agents. This is the worst part of the Dickensian formula.

And now to the best: Police departments in this nation have never been more distinguished by scholarly, principled, and progressive

Clark Kimerer

executives and leaders, right down to the officer on the street. The sciences of forensics and criminology will solve crimes and identify leading-edge approaches and programs never before imagined. And the new ethos of the police professional, which more and more embraces sophisticated collaborations aimed at harm reduction, may be one of recent history's most impressive transformations in the civic arena. It is this encouraging transformation on which this essay will focus.

On a personal level, the seeds of my nascent interest in applied research to understand and ultimately structure government institutions were likely planted during my undergraduate years at Northwestern University and, ultimately, St. John's College, home of the so-called Great Books curricula. (After 31 years with the Seattle Police Department I can't tell you the number of puzzled looks I have received from my colleagues as I tried to describe St. John's.) The true teachers at St. John's, history's great thinkers, commended a life of ceaseless skepticism and relentless inquiry, and, most important, the value of the search for truth. This passion, of course, must find coexistence with the requirement for decisive action, particularly in the police profession. The ethos that guided my professional and personal life, then, was that we are put on this earth to question, learn, and enquire without cessation during the time we are given and at the same time remember the admonition of Rabbi Tarphon Pirke Abouth: "You are not required to complete the work, but neither are you free to desist from it"—a weighty and humbling construct for life.

During my professional life, the seminal early and subsequent work of David Weisburd and colleagues that we popularly label "hot spot" policing (although more properly describable as the "policing of place") was transformative. It is a matter of fundamental truth that everything occurs in a place. The human endeavor, in all its complexity, is anchored, second by second, in a location. Geospatial, as well as temporal, coordinates are among the few characteristics that inhere in every important human event or activity. For police, this includes criminal acts, victimization, the trajectories that bring

people in and out of incident locations, and the presence or absence of people to observe or deter a crime, or, alternatively, that preclude or obscure clear vision and options for action. Through analysis of place, we open worlds of possibility to understand methods of addressing and ameliorating human suffering. The policing of place using evidence-based approaches is, in my humble estimation, as important to the history of the policing profession as any of our precedent pragmatic and intellectual "revolutions," from the Basic Car Plan to the Professional Model to the SARA Model. And in the quest to understand and apply this fundamental truth, Weisburd, his research partners, and the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy have been inspiring leaders.

Looking ahead, I strongly believe that the linchpin of data-driven applied research is collaboration. I will describe two such public safety research collaborations—one with the human service provider community, one with the emergency medical system—that each produced substantive, life-saving projects and programs.

In 2008, I had a dual role as chair of the Downtown Emergency Service Center (DESC) Board of Directors and as chief of staff of the department. At that time, a groundbreaking project simply called the "1811 Building," after its address in the downtown core, opened its doors after almost three years of rancor and court battles. This project was aimed at providing chronic public inebriates permanent supportive housing without conditions such as abstinence or treatment adherence. The blasted lives of late-stage alcoholics wandering the streets of Seattle provided a powerful impetus to find humane alternatives. But this was scarcely a mainstream approach, and both the DESC Board and the Seattle Police Department were continuously challenged to defend this project with evidentiary and other fact-based analysis. The most compelling evidence about the efficacy of this project occurred after its first year of operation, when the October 2009 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published findings about the cost savings and decrease in use of public services, including criminal justice and law enforcement. Among their findings was a reduction in annual average costs of almost $63,000 of publicly funded programs per client, resulting in a net savings of more than $4 million taxpayer dollars.

The second significant researcher-practitioner collaboration focused on a medical condition defined as metabolic acidosis, which police and emergency medical personnel refer to as the nightmarish encounter of subjects experiencing "excited delirium." Subjects in this state, in addition to displaying bizarre behaviors and utterances, demonstrate unusual strength and combativeness. Their condition is one of extreme medical crisis and without accurate recognition and appropriate handling of such subjects may result in an in-custody death. The Seattle Police Department took on this issue by rigorously documenting encounters with potential excited delirium subjects and then working with fire department EMTs and the local level one emergency room to develop a protocol for handling such cases. As a consequence, cases identified by officers as potentially involving

excited delirium were then researched by emergency medical personnel at the University of Washington Harborview Hospital, which resulted in nationally recognized protocols on how to intervene in such situations. A case report of one local incident was published in the *Canadian Journal of Emergency Medicine* in 2013. Patrick Joseph Mahar and colleagues' article, "Pre-Hospital Resuscitation of a Man with Excited Delirium and Cardiopulmonary Arrest," noted that the police officers' rapid recognition of the condition likely resulted in the subject being resuscitated.

It is vital that we continue to search for ways to articulate and support policy-relevant research and build police models based on science and criminology rather than the gravitational pull of habit and tradition. We must redouble our efforts to encourage and support the next generation of police professionals—and, for that matter, academic researchers—toward the vision of seeing researcher-practitioners in crucial roles in all public safety institutions. And, in closing, the best way I know to advocate for the building of a comprehensive system of researcher-practitioner collaborations throughout the nation is to point out the obvious: Evidence-based programs can substantially impact crime, reduce victimization, and save lives. For my part, that is precisely why I put on the uniform of a Seattle police officer 31 years ago.

Potential of Technology, *continued from page 10*

technology may produce, and the cost efficiency of technology. In addition, research is needed to clarify what organizational strategies with respect to training, implementation, management, and evaluation are most effective for achieving desired outcomes with technology and avoiding potentially negative unintended consequences.

In all these ways, we would hope that greater attention to technology implementation and evaluation by police and researchers can help police agencies optimize technology decisions and fully realize the potential benefits of technology for policing.

The Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy

*The Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy is the highest honor given by the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) each year in recognition of outstanding achievements and contributions by individuals in academia, practice, or the policy arena who are committed to a leadership role in advancing the use of scientific research evidence in decisions about crime and justice policies. This year's award winners are **Nicholas Fyfe** from the University of Dundee (who will be honored with the award in Scotland in October) and **Jeremy Travis** from John Jay College of Criminal Justice, who received the award at the CEBCP June symposium. The following are President Travis's remarks on receiving the award at George Mason University.*

To David Weisburd, Cynthia Lum, friends, and colleagues:

Thank you for that generous introduction, David. I treasure our friendship over the years and consider myself one of your students. You have taught me invaluable lessons about the role of the police, the nature of crime, the importance of scientific rigor, and new ways to think about our response to crime. And thank you, Cynthia, for your leadership on promoting a new generation of policing research. Our field has high hopes for your success.

I wish to commend my fellow honorees today. Each of you is a true champion, and your induction into the Hall of Fame for Evidence-Based Policing reflects your extraordinary professional commitment and personal creativity. Your service has benefited your communities in immeasurable ways, and I am proud to stand with you at this ceremony.

I am humbled more than words can say by the decision of the Center on Evidence-Based Crime Policy to present me with the Distinguished Achievement Award for my work in this field, and I am particularly grateful to the nominating committee for recommending me. The award would be honor enough, but to receive this award today, before an audience with so many friends from so many different chapters of my life, is truly a deeply moving moment. As I look at the people in this room, I am struck by the close-knit nature of our community of criminal justice professionals, researchers, practitioners, and reformers. Each one of you has played a role in my personal development. You have stretched my worldview, deepened my understanding of the issues we confront, and helped me confront my own limitations. So I feel indebted to you as I receive this honor today.

I am particularly struck by the passage of time represented in this room. As I was preparing for this ceremony, I reflected on a fact that is both sobering and instructive. It is 20 years ago this summer that Susan and I packed our daughters, Aliza and Zoe, into the car and moved from New York City to Washington, D.C. I had decided to accept the offer from Janet Reno, our attorney general, to join the Clinton administration as director of the National Institute of Justice. One of the reasons I was so excited about that opportunity was the prospect of working closely with Laurie Robinson, who is

Jeremy Travis

here today, who served then and again in the Obama administration as assistant attorney general for justice programs. It was Laurie, with the support and guidance of Ms. Reno, who made it possible for NIJ to become the science agency it is today—and to advance the cause of evidence-based crime policy. It is fitting that I am here at George Mason, which has the good fortune to count Laurie among its faculty, to accept an award recognizing the work that we did together. It is also instructive to remember that these two decades have seen enormous progress on this agenda and that the cause of evidence-based crime policy has seen another champion in another attorney general, Eric Holder, who also learned his craft under the mentorship of Janet Reno.

Remembering the legacy of Janet Reno provides the appropriate framework for the thoughts I would like to share today. It is instructive to remember that Janet Reno majored in chemistry at Cornell. She had the razor sharp mind of a scientist who valued the process of intellectual discovery, respected the independence of the scholar, and knew that the research process is not always quick, and the answers are not always clear. Yet we should also remember that Janet Reno was a politician. She ran for office as states attorney in Miami-Dade County and knew the importance of listening to the public, testing her ideas in the messy arena of everyday discourse, and respecting our democratic institutions. These two parts of her—the scientist and the politician—were sometimes at odds, but more often she was able to integrate them into her approach to the pressing issues of crime and justice.

As we think about the process of developing an evidence-based approach to crime policy, we should seek to emulate this dual attention to science and democracy. To expand on this thought, I would like to share some personal observations based on my recent stint as chair of the consensus panel of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) that produced the report, *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences.* This report,

which was released on April 30, reflects the work of 20 scholars and experts who labored hard to arrive at a consensus on two questions posed by the National Academy of Sciences: how do we explain the four-fold increase in incarceration rates over the past 40 years, following 50 years of stability, and how do we assess the consequences of this unprecedented reliance on prison as a response to crime? Because we were convened by the NAS, we were of course constrained to an assessment of the "evidence" on these two questions.

So at a conference on evidence-based crime policy, I would like to share some thoughts on the journey our panel traveled to assess this evidence. The first point to highlight is that our panel included historians, economists, political scientists, criminologists, psychologists, legal philosophers, public policy experts, and practitioners. So, as you can imagine, we had lively discussions about what constitutes "evidence." I believe that one of the major contributions of our report is to bring together evidence from a variety of disciplines and weave that evidence into a single narrative that explains our history and presents a picture of the effects of our current high rates of incarceration. In thinking about evidence-based crime policy in the future, we need to reach out to these disciplines to bring multiple scholarly perspectives to the table. Otherwise, our understanding of the world we seek to explore will be limited and therefore our ability to define pathways for future policy will be stunted.

But our NAS panel reached an impasse when we faced our third assignment—we were expected to describe the implications of the evidence on the reasons behind the build-up in prisons and the impact of these incarceration rates. We felt that the typical model of cost-benefit was an inappropriate way to think about the proper use of prison in a democracy. The framework that occupies most policy debates—stated as, if we reduce prisons by X percent, can we afford a crime increase of Y percent, or if we shorten the sentence by A months, how much will crime increase?—was not only scientifically uncertain, but fundamentally inappropriate. Yes, our panel did arrive at conclusions about the low public safety benefits of very long sentences and mandatory minimums; we did summarize the evidence showing the scant benefits of the 10-fold increase in incarceration rates for drug offenses, but we wanted to remind our readers that these are not the only considerations in developing future policy directions for the country.

To help frame our recommendations, we reviewed the scholarly literature on four principles. You may think it unusual that a report of the National Academy of Sciences would speak in a normative voice, but we found it important to review a different kind of "evidence"—the evidence on first principles in our democracy, value propositions that have a long and honored tradition in Western thought. Accordingly, in Chapter 12, after we completed our assessment of the empirical evidence, we trace the lineage of four principles that we assert should guide the policy discussions in the future. They are the principles of "proportionality" (that the

Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) executive director David Weisburd (L) and co-director Cynthia Lum (R) congratulate Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy awardee Jeremy Travis at the 2014 CEBCP-IDB annual symposium at Mason's Arlington, Virginia, campus.

punishment should fit the crime); "parsimony" (that the state is not authorized to inflict pain on its citizens beyond that necessary to achieve a legitimate social purpose); "citizenship" (that the individuals in prison should be treated with human dignity and that the prison experience should not so diminish their status that their reintegration is thwarted); and "social justice" (that, as a social institution, prisons should aspire to serve the ends of justice and should be democratically accountable).

If you read only one chapter of the NAS report, I would strongly recommend Chapter 12. It reminds us of the important role of prisons in our society, the appropriate limits of the power of the state to deprive its citizens of their liberty, and the respect for human dignity that should be afforded to our fellow citizens by everyone who works in the criminal justice system. These principles resonate with the politician side of Janet Reno. Inspired by her example, we should remember that in considering the role of prisons and punishment in our democracy, these principles should always infuse and guide our commitment to developing crime policies that are based on strong evidence.

We have so much work ahead of us. Crime rates are still far too high, particularly in communities of color in urban America. As the NAS panel report concludes, our incarceration rates are also too high, far outside the experience of any other Western democracy. The interactions between the police and young people, particularly in minority neighborhoods, tend to undermine the respect for the rule of law that is a bedrock for our democracy. Our treatment of crime victims is highly inadequate, leaving millions of Americans damaged and struggling to recover from the harms they have suffered. Our systems that administer justice are poorly resourced and struggling to embrace innovation.

So we have much to do. In the work ahead, the role of the movement for evidence-based crime policy is essential to our success.

Practical Research to Address School Safety: The Secret Service-U.S. Department of Education Safe Schools Initiative[1]

BY WILLIAM MODZELESKI, ANTHONY PETROSINO, SARAH GUCKENBURG, AND TREVOR FRONIUS

William Modzeleski is the former associate assistant deputy secretary, Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools, U.S. Department of Education.

Anthony Petrosino is a senior research associate, WestEd and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Sarah Guckenburg is a senior research associate, WestEd.

Trevor Fronius is a research associate, WestEd.

William Modzeleski

Anthony Petrosino

Sarah Guckenburg

Trevor Fronius

The mass shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in December 2012 once again focused the lens of the education, justice, and public health communities on the safety of students and staff in the nation's schools. Understandably, legislators, school boards, educational administrators, and law enforcement have attempted to respond quickly with a flurry of legislative and policy actions proposed and implemented since the massacre occurred. *Education Week* finds that more than 40 percent of these policies focus on putting armed police or security in schools. Other policies proposed and some enacted, include arming teachers or administrators, bringing attack dogs onto school grounds, installing bulletproof glass, and training students and staff on how to disable an active shooter.[2]

Unfortunately, the rush to enact such practices across the nation has not been accompanied by a resolution to evaluate the impact of such initiatives. Without evaluation, we are unable to determine whether these policies really do make the schools safer or whether they could have unintended negative consequences such as increasing the pipeline to prison or harming the learning environment.

Policy makers and practitioners are empowered by their positions and role authority to take action in the wake of such tragedies. (Although one could argue they also have a responsibility to understand the outcomes of these actions to ensure they do not create more harm.) It is not the role of research and evaluation to dictate these policy decisions, but carefully executed studies can help guide decision makers through a conscientious and intentional examination of what the evidence is and what it suggests.

The Sandy Hook massacre also set in motion a number of new initiatives at the federal level. For example, the president responded to the incident by setting out four major policy priorities in *Now Is the Time*.[3] Two of these, access to mental health services and improving school climate and safety, have enjoyed bipartisan support from federal legislators. And Congress stunned the criminological and education communities by providing an unprecedented $75 million to the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in 2014 to conduct scientific research in support of school safety, an appropriation larger than NIJ's typical annual budget of $60 million and about three times more than NIJ's usual discretionary funding for social science research projects. The goal of Congress and NIJ is to produce research that will be truly translational and move beyond the scientific community and its journals to the grassroots where it can influence which practices are maintained, which ones are modified, and which ones should be eliminated. But is the field ready to move in this direction?

For an example of the kind of translational research needed in the school safety arena, the field should look to the Safe Schools Initiative (SSI),[4] a joint effort of the U.S. Secret Service and

Department of Education conducted in the late 1990s. The SSI was a careful descriptive assessment of the perpetrators of targeted school violence that asked, is school violence impulsive or planned? Did the perpetrators signal their intentions? Did students, staff, or others know anything about the attack prior to its occurrence? The study sets the stage for understanding some of the key features of school violence and improving the development and targeting of interventions.

The SSI

Like today, the mid-to-late 1990s was a time of time of considerable concern about school safety generated by high-profile school shootings perpetrated by students. Shootings in Paducah, Kentucky; Little Rock, Arkansas; Springfield, Oregon; and Pearl, Mississippi, shocked the nation, but it was the April 1999 mass killing at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, that left 13 students, a teacher, and the two killers dead that galvanized the attention of government, media, and the research community. Along with the flurry of legislation generated by Columbine came the opportunity for research by anecdote: reacting to a high-profile event with a systematic research study—the SSI.

The impetus for the study came from the U.S. Secret Service. Then-agency director, Brian Stafford, met with then-secretary of the U.S. Department of Education, Richard Riley, and their staffs about conducting a study of school shooters. The Secret Service had just finished a well-regarded study of persons arrested for making threats to political figures[5] and proposed to apply the same case study approach to school attackers. Much to the credit of Stafford, there was immediate consensus that such a study would need to be a joint effort between the two agencies to increase its credibility and reach in guiding policy and practice. Leadership on the project included staff from the Secret Service, such as Bryan Vossekuil and Robert Fein (codirectors of the Secret Service's National Violence Prevention and Study Center), and the Department of Education's William Modzeleski (then-director of its Office of Safe and Drug Free Schools). In addition, leading researchers with other vital perspectives such as mental health and threat assessment, including Marisa Reddy Randazzo, chief research psychologist at Secret Service's National Threat Assessment Center, and Randy Borum, associate professor of mental health law and policy from the University of South Florida, were also included in the project.

To have the most relevance to incidents such as Columbine, the team decided that targeted school shootings had to be the focus of the study, rather than cases of gang-related shootings, workplace violence, or domestic incidents within schools. Searches of public records dating back to 1975 and contact with schools and law enforcement identified 37 distinct cases involving 41 perpetrators of targeted school violence through 2002.

The SSI produced three complementary reports. The main report revealed several key findings from the study of school attackers.

Contrary to common perceptions, the attackers in the study did not just snap. These were not acts of impulsive individuals; in fact, many of the school attackers planned the crimes for some time, even weeks and months, before carrying out the attacks. Another finding was that the attackers almost always confided in someone, usually a friend, another student, or multiple students, about what they were going to do. The fact that students planning such attacks talk to others provides an opportunity to intervene and interrupt the pathway to violence. The SSI reports also underscored the importance of a behavioral profile, i.e., who the students talked to, what they said, how they acquired weapons, whether they posted threats to social media, and so forth. But the main report also stressed that although there are some commonalities across the school attackers, such demographic or other nonbehavioral characteristics are so common that there is no way to profile such students using them.

In addition to the full report, the other two reports produced were on bystanders[6] and threat assessment. For the report on bystanders, investigators went back to the schools where incidents occurred and interviewed students who knew something about the attack plans beforehand but did not come forward. Although they had heard the perpetrator make statements about doing something, a key finding was that they either did not feel comfortable talking to someone or did not trust that adults in the school would keep their identity private. This finding reinforced the need for attention to school culture and climate, so that youth feel empowered to share such vital information. Those with prior knowledge also shared the difficulty they had in deciding whether to take threats seriously, particularly when the eventual perpetrator had a history of talking that way all the time, perhaps to seek attention, but never actually engaged in behavior that brought them to the attention of police or school officials.[7]

It is a credit to the Secret Service that, despite its role as a federal law enforcement agency, its leadership was fully collaborative with the Department of Education throughout the study and unanimously agreed that the findings from the SSI did not support an argument for increasing security and police presence as the answer. The results instead underscored the importance of changing school culture and climate so that kids feel comfortable talking to each other and to staff, and empowered to report threats. The findings also supported the need for a better understanding of the mental health needs of students.

Thanks to the collaboration between these two major federal agencies, the SSI findings[8] were well received and have been influential in the field. For example, the second report of the series on threat assessment[9] laid the foundation for subsequent research and initiatives on identifying student threats. Threat assessment is now a key feature of the most proactive school safety plans, and its importance was reinforced by the task force that synthesized reports following the Virginia Tech massacre[10] and the president's *Now Is the Time* report. The SSI was the foundation for the understanding that

most threats are made by students within their own schools and that they do send signals such as bragging about "doing something big," acquiring a weapon, posting threats on social media, and so on. A strong threat assessment program in schools can help officials focus on those students who are on a pathway toward violence.

Future Research

Although research on school violence waned considerably until this past year's congressional appropriation to NIJ, the shooting massacre in 2007 at Virginia Tech that left 33 persons dead (including the killer) spurred on a new initiative. The Secret Service, Department of Education, and the FBI attempted to follow the success of SSI with a similar study on targeted violence in higher education institutions. The three agencies issued a preliminary report,[11] and the FBI and Department of Education are currently collecting and assessing the data needed for Phase II of the study. Once completed, this study will provide stakeholders with more detailed information on targeted attacks that have occurred at U.S. colleges and universities that can be used to shape prevention and response plans.

But much more needs to be done. Despite increased research over the past 15 years, three areas warrant additional attention: the mental health needs of youth, their use of social media in making threats, and the proper role of law enforcement.

Although the SSI did discuss mental health, the Sandy Hook massacre has elevated the discussion about access and services for children and adolescents to a higher level. Educators and stakeholders need more research on processes to distinguish serious mental health disorders from normal adolescent rebellion, and tools to guide their decisions to intervene.

The use of social media in threats is an emerging and important direction for research. Should schools be mining social media to identify threats against students and staff, or is this the domain of law enforcement? How can threats made on social media outlets be identified quickly? And how can it be done in a way that respects the privacy and rights of youth? Students often use social media outlets such as Facebook to vent and make threats that may or may not be substantive. Schools or law enforcement agencies could not possibly follow up on all of them. What other data are needed to triage threats and better inform threat assessments to allow schools to find the proverbial needle in a haystack: the youth that officials need to be paying attention to because the students are on a pathway to violence?

We also need studies to help determine the appropriate role for law enforcement in school safety. How can police mitigate threats without adding to the school-to-prison pipeline? It is clear that police are not going to be taken out of schools any time soon—educators and parents want them there. Most of these tragic events are over within a few minutes, and although law enforcement has a role, it is clear that the likelihood of police stopping a targeted school attack is low; in fact, an armed police officer was present at Columbine and traded shots with the attackers but did not subdue them. But information on how their role can be improved and standardized through better training and oversight can be applied immediately in school settings. Research is needed to answer these questions and help schools implement the solutions.

Adding to these major research questions is the fact that the Sandy Hook killer, Adam Lanza, was not a current student. Sandy Hook is different, then, from the murders that inspired SSI and highlights a need for more research on services around transition periods. When someone such as Lanza leaves the school system because of graduation or dropping out, staff sometimes breathe a deep sigh of relief at "not having to deal with the problem" any longer. The former student falls off the radar—services are no longer provided and records are closed. So how do we stop these youth from falling through the cracks?

Conclusion

We need sound research that addresses climate, culture, and safety in the nation's schools and is not only rigorously designed but also relevant to those who need the information the most. The NIJ school safety solicitation is a prime opportunity to develop a body of research that is not only rigorously designed but also relevant to those who need the information the most—federal, state, and local policy makers and the school practitioners and law enforcement professionals who need to make decisions and take action that directly impacts the safety of students and school staff.

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Developing and Sustaining an International Researcher-Practitioner Partnership

BY PETER MARTIN AND GEOFFREY ALPERT

Peter Martin is assistant commissioner of the Queensland Police Service, Brisbane, Australia.

Geoffrey Alpert is a professor at the University of South Carolina and Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Peter Martin   Geoffrey Alpert

Conducting research in any environment has its challenges. Research in a police organization involves carefully crafted explanations, methodology, and a feedback loop that is timely and comprehensive. An interesting wrinkle of our partnership is the international component: an American working with an Australian police department. Here we explain a few barriers and obstacles to becoming successful in a researcher-practitioner partnership.

As we all recognize, the police are cynical and may distrust researchers and question why they are conducting a study. Whether in America, Great Britain, or Australia, it is critical to combine a researcher who is comfortable in challenging environments and a ranking officer who will "own" the research and be a spokesperson for it. To develop that partnership, the parties must enter into a relationship that is transparent, mutually beneficial, and interesting. Our research partnership developed over a period of months before any studies were discussed or designed.

Many partnerships begin with an institutional history, wherein researchers from a university have some degree of history with the agency. For example, when the American researcher approached the Australian agency, he was representing Griffith University, a local institution in Brisbane, which had several researchers who had done work in the past, with different levels of success and accomplishment. While this institutional relationship made it easy to begin a discussion, it did not guarantee any formal agreements. In this case, the foreign researcher had to earn the trust and confidence of the Queensland Police Service (QPS), or at least of the decision makers who would make it possible to gain access to data and people. Unlike conducting research in one's home country, where a chief or research director can pick up the phone and call a friend who has worked with the researcher in the past, this international context often requires potential partners to start a relationship without benefit of an introduction or intellectual "set-up."

In our case, we met for months discussing different areas of policing, differences in our experiences in America and Australia, and different types of inquiry, styles of research, and other peripheral issues before any specific project was introduced. While there is a great deal of rhetoric around developing relationships, our experience suggests the importance of developing trust and confidence before asking for anything. We were able to meet informally and formally to learn from each other—to learn the interests and needs of the organizations and to learn about the interests and abilities of the researcher. Only after a level of comfort was created were we able to discuss a research project that met our institutional needs and personal interests. Fortunately, our colleague Lorraine Mazerolle at the University of Queensland has a rich history of conducting research with the QPS and was an amazing resource who helped pave the way and open doors at the agency.

We created an institutional research board, consisting of 10 officers at different ranks and assignments to help us think through important projects and ideas. Again, without the assistance of the primary agency partner, these officers may not have been available or interested in helping design and review the research instruments and methodological twists. These officers also helped pave the way for our projects with officers at lower ranks but who held important positions within the agency.

While the international nature of our relationship may pose some unique challenges, the needs of the organizations remain constant, regardless of the setting. Progressive agencies such as the QPS want to base their decisions on evidence and are willing to take some risk, and use some resources to develop that information. As in any academic setting, research, publications, and impact form the currency. These issues need to be discussed and understood upfront— where both partners have a good understanding of what is expected and how the expectations will be met.

Developing this first relationship is critical but only one step in conducting research and forming a partnership with an agency. Once

the relationship has some history and mutual interests on several levels, others in the agency must buy into the researcher and his or her ideas. Similarly, while the researcher may be the primary contact, others in the academic institution must be acceptable to the agency and its officers. Widening the scope of the partnership is important, and this step is best achieved by the police manager's making inroads for the researcher and introducing him or her to agency personnel who will be sympathetic to the idea of conducting research and the associated costs. It is the researcher's ability to explain the ideas or projects in such a way that the anticipated results will be vital to the agency, and the resources and sacrifices will be worth the anticipated results.

We began our partnership with relatively simple projects of importance to the organization. Our first study was on the use of force and conducted electronic weapons. As in any police department, these topics have important issues related to officer safety and public opinion in Queensland. While neither party discussed this as a "test case," it was clear that the agency did not want to open itself to a major exposé but did want an independent person to investigate the outcomes of police-citizen encounters and the use of force. Similarly, the researchers wanted to be careful to look at the proper data, talk with the right people, and report accurately the data and findings. The next few projects were all analyses of existing data on pursuit driving and aspects of force, including evaluations of policies and training. The research scope slowly expanded as the partnership became more stable, trusting, and credible.

While all partnerships have challenges, ours developed well and increased in the number and scope of research projects. We were able to bring in other researchers from Griffith University and widen the nature and scope of the research agenda. One strategic move was to more fully develop relationships at the training academy. Because we had conducted a study evaluating role-play scenario training on use of force, we had strong relationships with some of the staff. Again, it is impossible to overstate the importance of having a senior command-level officer make an introduction, but once the door is open, researchers must navigate through and develop and strengthen their own relationships.

After months of discussing potential projects, we asked Dennis Rosenbaum at the University of Illinois at Chicago, the principal investigator of the National Police Research Platform in the United States, to join us in a partial replication of the recruit aspect of the National Platform. The research team that includes Louise Porter and Tina Murphy from Griffith discussed the best way to replicate the recruit study, so it would be meaningful in an Australian context and we would be able to have comparable international data on these new officers. With support and assistance from Rosenbaum, members of the partnership worked through a survey instrument and methodology that was acceptable to the QPS and our standards of data collection.

As we began to design this replication, we realized that while the QPS was a full partner and sponsor of the study, the union and its communication often influenced recruits. We were able to meet with the union representatives and after explaining the potential benefits and costs of the research, they became our full partners in the project. We are more than a year into our data collection and hope to begin our analysis of the data and an international comparison with Rosenbaum in the next year.

We have also applied for funding from the Australian Research Council with Porter as principal investigator to continue data collection and analysis.

The research partnership that developed between the QPS and Griffith University had been ongoing for several years before it grew to its current state. Certainly, other researchers and police officials had participated in its development and the current commissioner, Ian Stewart and assistant commissioner Peter Martin are members of the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame. The partnership that has developed between the authors of this essay and the QPS and Griffith University has been successful through the efforts of all participants. Many QPS officers and Griffith academics have played important roles in the development and nurturing of the partnership. This effort will have to continue to sustain the partnership. New ideas and new people will have to understand the complexities and work through the many challenges that exist and will surface.

We have learned a great deal about researcher-practitioner partnerships over the past few years. Jeff Rojek at the University of Texas, El Paso, has been the leading young scholar who has developed strategic insights into these partnerships. In fact, he joined with Alpert (Alpert et al., 2013) and assistant commissioner Martin and Alpert (Rojek et al., 2014) to conduct the most recent and innovative research on the topic and has written the most comprehensive treatise on these partnerships.

The major goals of these collaborations are to conduct research that provides evidence for policy maker, and have an impact on future leaders in the academic and practitioner arenas. The future of police researcher-practitioner partnerships both nationally and internationally is promising.

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Juvenile Lifers: Translating Research through the Documentary Film *Lost for Life*

BY KATHARINE C. STALEY, PHD, AND JOSHUA ROFÉ

Katharine C. Staley, formerly the associate director of the Justice Center for Research at Pennsylvania State University, is now a consultant on issues regarding child trauma and maltreatment, including how these pertain to juveniles in the justice system.

Joshua Rofé is a documentary filmmaker and works on projects related to the justice system.

The 2012 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Miller v. Alabama* declared that mandatory life without parole (LWOP) sentences for juveniles convicted of homicide constituted "cruel and unusual punishment," violating the Constitution's Eighth Amendment. As of 2012, approximately 2,500 convicted individuals were serving LWOP sentences nationwide for crimes committed when they were younger than 18 years old. In a series of earlier decisions, the Supreme Court similarly ruled that juveniles serving LWOP sentences for crimes *other* than homicide was unconstitutional (*Graham v. Florida*, 2010), as was use of the death penalty for those under the age of 18 (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005). These decisions were the result, in part, of a growing body of scientific evidence suggesting what most parents, teachers, and sports coaches have long known to be true—that adolescents have a higher propensity than adults to make decisions that are both poor and impulsive and to disregard, or not sufficiently weigh, the consequences of those decisions.[1]

The increasing use of imaging studies (fMRI primarily) on adolescent brains in the past decade has given credence to this intuitive and experience-based knowledge. Studies have shown that an area of the forebrain known as the prefrontal cortex shows clear signs of differential "lighting up" when comparing adolescents and adults on tasks assessing decision making,[2] delay of gratification,[3] planning ahead,[4] risk aversion,[5] reward processing,[6] and impulse control.[7] As Laurence Steinberg, a psychologist studying adolescence, stated, "The court's decisions have been increasingly influenced by findings from studies of brain development to support the position that adolescents are less mature than adults in ways that mitigate their criminal culpability, and that adolescents' diminished blame-worthiness makes it inappropriate to sentence them in ways that are reserved for individuals who are deemed fully responsible for their acts (p. 513)."[8]

The United States is the only country in the world that permits juveniles to be sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole.[9] Although not all 50 states used mandatory LWOP sentencing for juveniles prior to 2012, the majority did, and for

Katharine C. Staley
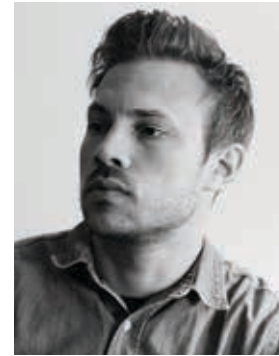
Joshua Rofé

those 2,500 convicted individuals, change is finally coming, but it is slow. According to the Campaign for the Fair Sentencing of Youth,[10] since the 2012 decision, the legislators of only six states (West Virginia, Delaware, Hawaii, Texas, Wyoming, and Massachusetts) have abolished LWOP sentences for all juveniles; and Washington did so for those under age 16, making it discretionary for 16 and 17 year olds, while California and Florida severely limited it. Further, five state high courts have decided that *Miller* should be applied retroactively to those currently serving LWOP sentences. In contrast, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, a state that boasts the notoriety of having the highest number of LWOP juveniles (more than 440), declined to retroactively apply this ruling in early 2014. And yet, the majority of U.S. citizens remain unaware of this issue.

The research that made such an impact on the Supreme Court and is now influencing several state high courts is not reaching the public.

As a consequence, documentary films (and films based on real-life stories such as *Dead Man Walking* and *The Hurricane*) are becoming ever more critical as translators of criminal justice issues and accompanying research. They are serving the role of accessibly, engaging and informing both the public and policy makers alike. *Lost for Life*, a documentary film about juveniles serving LWOP sentences and directed by the second author, is just such a film and exemplifies the inherent translational impact and power of this medium.

One of us (Rofé) can personally attest to the dilemmas and emotional tugs-of-war engendered within the issue of juveniles sentenced to life without parole. For *Lost for Life,* Rofé wanted to tell the stories of those who are guilty. A story of the kids we see on the news that had committed crimes of unimaginable heinousness. What happened in their lives that led them to commit their crimes? Were

they capable of change? A sentence of juvenile LWOP says they are *incapable* of evolving. Was redemption possible, or were they truly "lost for life?"

The research for *Lost for Life* occurred during a span of almost five years. Everything Rofé learned about and related to juvenile LWOP was gathered while sitting with those who live it; in the living rooms of the families of the incarcerated *and* of the victims, in prisons with the offenders, with the district attorneys and defense attorneys, with advocates and social workers. All those meetings and the research that went into this film were deliberate, but it all started from a chance meeting at a party with a judge from Florida who told me about a 15-year-old girl he had sentenced to LWOP for shooting a cab driver in the back of the head and killing him. The sentence was mandatory because it was a first-degree murder conviction, but the judge went on to tell me that he still questioned the merits of that sentence. During the trial he learned of the horrifically traumatic childhood that she had had; in a sense he got to know her.

One of the facts learned early on about juvenile LWOP was particularly shocking. Juvenile lifers are often sent to solitary confinement for upwards of a decade until prison officials deem them physically capable of handling themselves among the general prison population. That means a 23-hour lockdown per day in a small cell. The 24th hour is often given in the middle of the night for the purpose of exercise—all while still being isolated from others.

This may seem beyond comprehension; it was for Rofé. Then he got to know Jacob Ind of Colorado. Ind was sentenced to two LWOP sentences for killing his mother and stepfather. He had just turned 15. Ind had survived 10 years of being raped, beaten, and told he was worthless by his mother and stepfather. The abuse was frequent and horrific, and it existed under the guise of a mountain town suburban dream. Inside a wood paneled cabin, starting at age four, Ind was regularly chained to the toilet and given enemas by his mother to "prepare" him for his stepfather. Eleven years later he decided it was time to make it stop. He shot them both. By the time Ind had waded through the trials and sentencing, he entered a maximum-security prison at age 17. He didn't leave solitary confinement until he was 25 years old.

Films can be a powerful translator of research knowledge. Paula Smith, an associate professor in the School of Criminal Justice at the University of Cincinnati, teaches a highly attended undergraduate course each fall titled Criminal Justice and Film. When asked why she teaches such a class, Smith said, "Films are a great vehicle for generating discussions about topics in this arena. They put a name, a face, and a context to academic topics. Films evoke questions and

spark discussion rather than provide answers. I want my students to really understand that what we are studying isn't just a set of statistics or an issue; it's a life, a *person*."

And that is what *Lost for Life* offers in a visceral and compelling way; the viewer cannot get lost in data, cannot forget that "kids"— even ones convicted of violent crimes—are in prison for life. When the Pennsylvania State University Justice Center for Research brought

Rofé and his film to campus this spring, the response was exuberant—an overflowing turnout of students, faculty, and community members at the evening viewing of the film and subsequent panel discussion. Question after question from the audience revealed their emotional and thoughtful engagement with what they had just seen—and their desire to know more about this issue.

The impact on state and federal policy is perhaps more clear for this film than many others; in 2013, Rofé was the first ever filmmaker to take part in the Inaugural Policy Engagement Program of the American Film Institute's Documentary Film Festival. In addition to meeting with the White House Office of Public Engagement to explore areas such as film campaigns that are ripe for greater collaboration, he went to Capitol Hill and met with the staff of several policy makers, e.g., Michigan representative John Conyers of the House Judiciary Committee, Colorado senator Mark Udall,

Georgia senator Saxby Chambliss, and Virginia representative Bobby Scott (the ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations) to discuss his film and the issue of juvenile LWOP.

As documentary films increasingly become an effective language to engage both the public and private sectors, policy makers are, in response, more interested in strategies that use these films to inform the public and provoke discussion with an eye toward catalyzing substantive policy change. *Lost for Life* is an intimate portrayal of a complex and disturbing topic, one that can indeed often be "faceless." The use of such films captures both the audience's attention and their emotions, motivating them to question their own beliefs and understandings and to engage each other in debating some of the most difficult questions in the American justice system. *Lost for Life* is an intimate account from the killers themselves, as we watch them wrestle with not only what they have done, but who they hope to become . . . and then, ultimately, does it even matter?

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Distinguished Achievement Award, *continued from page 19*

The lead proponent of this approach is your Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason. You should be proud of the many contributions you have made, in a very short time, to advancing practices that are sound, effective, and humane. You have promoted the role of science in a policy domain where more science is needed, but we have too rarely allowed the scientific enterprise to inform policy. Our country is the beneficiary of your work, and I count myself among your many fans. With respect for everyone committed to this cause, I am honored to accept this award.

Where Social Science Goes Wrong

BY STUART BUCK

Stuart Buck is the vice president of research integrity at the Laura and John Arnold Foundation.

As shown in a recent incident in psychology, social science can go wrong when interesting results are favored over boring replication studies. That story offers lessons for all of the social sciences, and it gives rise to suggestions as to how criminological scholarship can be improved.

Few people believe in precognition. After all, there is no known mechanism by which people would have the mental ability to predict the future. Yet that did not stop Daryl Bem, a prominent psychological researcher at Cornell University, from performing a set of nine experiments on more than 1,000 people, with the goal of showing that precognition does exist. His experiments were published in a top psychology journal under the title, "Feeling the Future: Experimental Evidence for Anomalous Retroactive Influences on Cognition and Affect."[1]

For the sake of space, I'll describe only one of the experiments. Bem had 100 Cornell students sit in front of a computer displaying a list of 48 words in sequence, for 3 seconds each. They were then given a test to see how many of the 48 words they could list by memory. Then, after the test, the participants were allowed to study 24 of the 48 words (as randomly selected by the computer). The purpose was to see whether studying words after the test would retroactively improve how people did on the test—thus showing that people had the ability to foretell the future about which words they would study later.

Precognition proved to be statistically significant. On average, participants did slightly better on the 24 out of 48 tested words that they studied after the test was over.

Needless to say, these experiments were highly controversial when the findings were published in 2011 in the prominent *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Hardly any legitimate researchers believed the results could be anything but a statistical fluke. Even though psychology replications are few and far between, a small number of research teams were so disappointed by this high-profile publication that they set out to replicate Bem's experiments. Unsurprisingly, they did not turn up any evidence of precognition.

This is where the story takes an interesting turn. Chris French, one of the researchers who attempted to replicate the study, found it nearly impossible to get a journal to consider publishing the results of a replication experiment. Even the journal that published Bem's faulty findings dismissed the idea. In French's words, the journal editor "rejected our paper without even sending it out for peer review on the grounds that his journal 'does not publish replications'."[2]

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Similarly, French's paper was denied peer review at two other top journals. He did manage to get the *British Journal of Psychology* to review it, but in a cruel twist, it was still rejected because the editors asked Daryl Bem himself to review the replication study. French and his co-authors ultimately ended up publishing the replication in *PLoS One*, an open-access journal that has a policy of accepting any work that is methodologically sound even if its findings are not considered to be "important" or "positive."

The Bem story may seem like an entertaining fluke that applies only to psychology. Unfortunately, journals that publish false positives but ignore replications are hardly unique to psychology. That imbalance happens all the time in the rest of social science, including criminology. The Bem case merely provides a useful example that shows how journal practices can lead a scientific field to feature error over truth.

Throughout many disciplines, journal editors and scholars give short shrift to replications. To be clear, hardly anyone ever says outright that replication is a bad idea. Everyone at least gives lip service to the notion that replication is an irreducible component of good science, that no single result should be taken as gospel truth for all times and places, and that only when a result is independently replicated multiple times should it become part of the body of scientific knowledge.

But too many journals refuse to even consider replications, deeming them not novel or interesting enough to be worth publishing. This disdain for replications has been seen in prominent criminology journals, not to mention journals covering economics, political science, and other social science disciplines. In turn, given the "publish or perish" mentality that is common throughout academia, scholars are less likely to devote time and attention to replications. They figure, why bother with something that won't be published anyway?

The situation only worsens when you consider the fact that journals and scholars alike typically favor statistically significant results. A positive and significant result on a key variable is seen as exciting, as worthy of attention, and as advancing a field. For example, a positive result makes it possible to write a paper in which the author hypothesizes that a particular program will lower recidivism or prevent juvenile delinquency, and then the program does indeed turn out to be effective. In such a case, everyone is happy—

the scholar, the journal, and the readers.

By contrast, a null or nonsignificant result is often seen as disappointing, messy, or uninteresting. If a study with such a finding is reviewed at all, journal editors or peer reviewers will go out of their way to suggest different analyses that might somehow show the treatment to be effective after all.[3]

A final nail in the coffin is the fact that social scientists have many "researcher degrees of freedom" in how they analyze a dataset.[4] That is, they can make dozens or hundreds of discretionary choices about how to clean and transform data, what statistical model to use, what variables to control for, whether to include lagged variables or higher-order polynomials, and so forth. Even when scholars make the best choices they can, the mere fact that they make such choices after seeing the data can bias the result (as statistician Andrew Gelman shows).[5]

Given "researcher degrees of freedom" combined with publication bias that disfavors null results and replications, scholarly literature can come to be dominated by fluke findings. The Bem case exemplifies this phenomenon. If Bem's original nine experiments had all shown that humans cannot predict which words they will later study, prominent psychology journals would not have been interested in his paper, any more than they would be interested in papers disproving astrology or witchcraft.

But a striking and counterintuitive result did get a major journal's attention. When that journal refused to publish a replication study, the scholarly journal system essentially became a mechanism that highlighted falsehood while refusing to publish its later disproof. The same can occur throughout social sciences, including criminology. The only difference about the Bem case is that it is so obviously wrong.

Ironically, replication is a regular part of certain hard sciences. In high-energy physics, scientific teams do not hesitate to replicate each other's work. When one team of physics researchers in 2011 thought they had seen neutrinos that moved at a speed faster than light, for example, the rest of the physics community tried and failed numerous times to replicate the results.[6] (In the end, the original experiment was found to have been affected by faulty equipment.)

If physicists routinely attempt to replicate each other's work, social scientists should try to do so even more often. While the principles of physics are the same everywhere, a policing program that worked in Chicago may not necessarily work the same way in Dallas or Toledo or Los Angeles. The demographics are different, the geographic layout is different, the local employers and economic trends are different, and the police leadership may be different in ways that affect how the program is implemented. Thus, social science findings are much more in need of robust replication by numerous independent scholars.

In turn, a solution to the "researcher degrees of freedom" problem is drawing up an analysis plan ahead of conducting a study, and then preregistering it publicly so that other researchers can see what analyses were planned in advance and which were more akin to post-hoc data mining. Preregistration is becoming more common in the work of economists and psychologists,[7] and criminologists will hopefully start to use these or similar registries.[8]

Criminology journals should start considering whether their practices, like those in other social sciences, end up highlighting exaggerated findings and thus encourage scholars to produce more of them. Journal editors should start demanding preregistration of analysis plans and go out of their way to publish replications (rather than turn them down). By taking such steps, editors can put criminology on a more solid footing and provide better information about how our criminal justice system works.

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Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

George Mason University
4400 University Drive, MS 6D12
Fairfax, VA 22030
www.cebcp.org