# Translational Criminology

FALL 2020

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

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

## FROM THE DIRECTORS

Two significant challenges have befallen America that will leave a lasting imprint on our national history and conscience. One is the COVID-19 pandemic, which has claimed more than 210,000 lives in the United States, wreaking havoc on families, communities, and economies. The other is a national reawakening to long-standing social injustices, marked recently by the killing of George Floyd and also evident in the inequities of COVID-19's consequences. The magnitude, impact, and seriousness of both of these significant events have been felt worldwide and are historic.

Despite the seriousness of both issues, the differences in the scientific response to each has been stark. The reaction to COVID-19, while arguably not quick enough and fraught with politics, has been met with the best that science can offer. Not only are top minds engaged in trying to find vaccines, tests, and therapeutics to battle the virus, but science is quickly being translated and used on the front lines. Doctors, nurses, and paramedics are paying close attention to the rapidly evolving science of COVID-19, as it matters to their everyday attempts to control and mitigate infections and prevent death. Questionable remedies have been quickly studied, debunked, and expertly critiqued to form scientific consensus about their effectiveness, ineffectiveness, or harm.

On the other hand, some think that the issue of social injustice and policing is not the business of science. The scourge of social and individual injustices by the criminal justice system often is discussed as a matter of law or activism, met with countless statements of condemnation and promises to do better. But it is striking how the problem of criminal justice disparities has not generated an equally urgent scientific response as we have seen with COVID-19. For example, there is still little systematic descriptive data on racial injustice in policing, and the data needed to assess the sources and extent of the problem are still not available. This was the conclusion of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Proactive Policing before current events showed us how crucial such knowledge would be.

Further, there is no urgent national call or funding for criminologists and other scientists to study and evaluate what works to reduce and mitigate disparity in criminal justice or to strengthen accountability infrastructures in policing. Imagine if the medical community was only focused on proving that COVID-19 was real, with little concern about figuring out its cause, treatment, or prevention. Several ideas to mitigate criminal justice disparity have been suggested, from training, technologies, or shifting responsibilities away from the police. Still, we do not know if any of these things will work to reduce disparate outcomes. Perhaps an even more critical question that still needs much more research support is how we can achieve justice, legitimacy, fairness, and public safety at the same time. Both the police and citizens need more and better information about effective interventions to tackle both injustice and crime.

Rigorous and objective research and analysis are therefore needed more than ever today to address existing and future justice issues that arise from both criminal justice disparities and COVID-19. Additionally, the science-backed reforms that evidence-based crime policy scholars have been chipping away at for years may find new opportunities to be implemented, refined, or reimagined. The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) continues to be committed to advocating for objective and rigorous science and research translation in these and the other areas in which we research. We currently have two calls for new research on the impacts of COVID-19 as well as the George Floyd protests and demonstrations for *Criminology & Public Policy*, the flagship policy journal for the American Society of Criminology, currently housed at CEBCP. Our next congressional briefing and annual symposia will feature studies and partnerships on these issues. We will also partner with WestEd to bring to the field special policy discussions to tackle research gaps on mitigating criminal justice disparity. We hope these efforts will increase the amount of knowledge available, research-partnership networking on these subjects, and funding for research in these areas. Our goal remains the same: to advance the use of research in criminal justice decision-making by generating, translating, disseminating, and institutionalizing research into practice. We hope you will continue to join us in this endeavor.

Cynthia Lum
Director and Editor of *Translational Criminology*

David Weisburd
Executive Director

# Perspectives from the Field
## WITH DEPUTY CHIEF TARRICK MCGUIRE

*Tarrick McGuire* is the deputy chief of the Arlington (Texas) Police Department. He has served as a police officer for 17 years, and is a National Institute of Justice LEADS Scholar. He is nationally recognized as a subject matter expert on community-police relations and has developed research on secondary trauma in police departments and implementation of program models to improve trust between police and community.

**This year, police agencies were first challenged by COVID-19 and then by widespread protests for police reform. How have these issues impacted policing, and what are some high-priority questions that need to be explored by researchers and analysts?**

Police departments often plan for emergency and crisis management through preparedness exercises focused on acts of terrorism, massive protests, hazmat events, or active-shooter scenarios. These events are coordinated roundtable exercises or scenario-based training that incorporate police, fire, medical, and federal resources strategically working together under a National Incident Management System framework. During these preplanned exercises, all partners apply problem-based interventions and shared solutions contingent upon a real-life event. But seldom have these exercises involved a drawn-out international pandemic. COVID-19 has tested not only our way of life but has required novel and even more structured responses from first responders.

During this same time, serious concerns about police reform and excessive use of force after the death of George Floyd were reintroduced into the national dialogue. A Minneapolis police officer applied a restraint technique for eight minutes and 46 seconds that was later ruled a homicide. Other officers who were helping to restrain Mr. Floyd were also held criminally and administratively liable for failing to intervene to prevent Floyd's death. While at the time of the incident, the Minneapolis Police Department allowed for such a restraining technique to be used in a limited way as a nondeadly force option, an overwhelming majority of police and community members acknowledged that the involved police officer's actions were unwarranted and inhumane. The death of George Floyd impacted the social consciousness of the world and drew out massive protests.

When evaluating the circumstances surrounding COVID-19 and police reform together, one can see a connection between the two. Both reveal stark racial disparities in access to high-quality public safety and public health that need to be addressed. These disparities underscore the value of scientific research to help governments better understand how to employ evidence-based and sustainable strategies effectively. Four areas come to mind that could benefit from more research-practice partnerships:

**Tarrick McGuire**

*Officer Mental Health.* Since President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing report,[1] there has been a keen focus on improving officer mental health and wellness to achieve better outcomes for the community and the profession. Both COVID-19 and mass demonstrations taxed policing resources, overtime, and officer mental health. Officers may emerge from both challenges even more passive, stressed, or negative. Yet, understanding how COVID-19 and mass demonstrations have impacted officers' mental health will be important in the broader goal of police reform efforts. Building research evidence on the impacts of both the protests and COVID-19 can also support the long-term development of staffing models, management of officer fatigue, workload management, and deployment strategies.

*Public Health Risk Mitigation.* The COVID-19 pandemic has minimized the face-to-face interaction that police officers have with the public; many police departments have been forced to respond to calls for service over the phone. Additionally, some police departments lack personal protective equipment (PPE) as both national and international demands have resulted in resource scarcity for essential workers. At the same time, officers still need to respond to some situations that involve people who potentially have COVID-19. Officers have also had to manage mass demonstrations and protect protestors during a time when states had issued mandatory mask wearing in public, social distancing, and stay-at-home orders. Agencies have found themselves balancing operational needs, employees' and their families' health, the enforcement of federal and state orders, and the police department's relationship with its communities. Much more research is needed that can help identify best practices for risk mitigation that can minimize exposure or the spread of infectious disease while at the same time managing public safety needs.

*Recruitment and Retention.* Even before COVID-19 and national protests, many police departments have faced challenges in recruitment and hiring. Today, the situation is even more pressing, especially given public demands for improved diversity in police departments. Racial and ethnic minorities may not be attracted to the policing profession because of how police are perceived in these communities. At

1   President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing.* Washington, D.C.: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Located at https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf.

the same time, policing also doesn't need to hire or retain officers who don't believe that fundamental changes are needed to improve the profession. We need much more research—like the earlier retention studies conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office—but studies that capture the contemporary context to help us recruit and retain high-quality police officers. For example, what types of people might be attracted to the profession now? How can we identify a high-quality pool of diverse candidates that can face the inevitable challenges foreshadowed by current events? Will recent layoffs and cutbacks or even lack of reform in some police departments facing defunding discourage applicants and work against creating a progressive workforce?

*Budgetary Impact on Service Delivery.* This summer brought two major economic concerns to policing. The first was the recession generally, which impacts all public services, with public safety being a large portion of a city's budget. This has caused municipal governments to operate in fiscal uncertainty. Second, additional demands to defund the police and reduce police resources added to this uncertainty, which could likely translate into reductions in service delivery (e.g., response times, ability to manage call volumes, eliminating police response to certain calls for service). Understanding how these cuts impact crime prevention, resolution, victim restoration, and community engagement, trust, and confidence will be critical questions for research-practitioner partnerships to tackle.

## What do you feel are some key aspects of community-police relationships that really need to be addressed today?

I believe that community-police relations should be rooted in mutual accountability. Community policing is a philosophy, but when citizens, police, and community stakeholders work together toward sustainable problem-solving, it can transition to action. This is how we achieve real change. The biggest challenge for law enforcement agencies is establishing performance metrics that capture increased community engagement and assurance of social justice, as well as effective crime prevention and public safety. People have a desire to feel safe but also want to be respected and not harmed by the police.

To do this, the police need to relentlessly focus on building public trust. Public trust with all communities is essential to improving community-police relations. Additionally, the police should consider nontraditional and multidisciplinary approaches that are tailored to specific audiences or challenges. This means that traditional policing programs that tend to be one-size-fits-all and very general in nature need to be revamped. A good example is police training. An out-of-the-box approach might be co-developing training and teaching it with a stakeholder group within a community most impacted by police activity. This can also foster a collaborative problem-oriented approach between new recruits and community members while working on real challenges.

Finally, law enforcement agencies need to continue their commitment to the adoption of the principles and guidance of the Task Force on 21st Century Policing report, which gave police direction on improving community-police relations. Many police departments showed success in building public trust, reducing crime, and reforming their workforce using that report. It also provided a strategic framework for implementation. I encourage police departments to revisit this document and the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy's evidence assessment of it.[2]

## Some police leaders may struggle with how to address or incorporate social movements like Black Lives Matter into community policing strategies. Do you have any suggestions for them?

Social activism continues to evolve, and communities are demanding increased participation in the oversight process of both government and the police. Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a decentralized and modern social justice movement that emphasizes the use of nonviolent civil disobedience to advocate for African American equality. Today BLM has become a hashtag and a rallying point to address the issues of the Black community.

These social movements have influenced change in policing. We have already seen improvements in police technology (e.g., body-worn cameras), training (e.g., de-escalation, hate crimes reporting), and transparency (e.g., policy changes, timely release of information after critical incidents). Although it was unpopular among many law enforcement communities, some police executives and officers have even joined with protesters during demonstrations, some kneeling, and others having difficult conversations. As protectors of the U.S. Constitution, law enforcement officials should be the largest advocates for social change and civil rights. At the same time, many police executives struggle to work with activists while also leading their organizations who are also judging them as well. As a start, police leaders should consider the following steps when working with community advocates:

*Establish Communication.* In policing, we often focus on explaining what we do and how we operate. But with groups advocating for social change, it is even more important to listen and have those uncomfortable conversations to establish mutual respect and allow people to express their frustrations. Having this type of dialogue is often effective in a small group, not in a large community meeting.

*Be Transparent.* The challenges we face in policing are rooted in poor judgment and unethical decision-making. It is important for police executives to communicate major issues and ongoing challenges to key community members in truth and transparency.

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2   See https://cebcp.org/wp-content/evidence-based-policing/IACP-GMU-Evidence-Assessment-Task-Force-FINAL.pdf

# Operationalizing Research or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Consent Decree

BY LOREN T. ATHERLEY

*Loren Atherley is the director of performance analytics and research and the senior research scientist at the Seattle Police Department.*

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, American policing efforts focused on *professionalizing* the industry (Walker, 1977), an idealist approach to reform. Later, President Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administrating of Justice (1967) was typical of mid-century reform, utilizing a largely theoretical approach. However, the current reform movement in American policing, perhaps best exemplified by the final report from President Obama's Taskforce on 21st Century Policing (2015), is distinctly practical and evidence-based, emphasizing policies formed from research, embedded pracademics[1] in police agencies, and a philosophy of continuous improvement.

The Seattle Police Department (SPD) has figured prominently in the current reform movement. In summer 2012, the City of Seattle and the U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) entered into a settlement agreement to resolve a consent decree resulting from the USDOJ's investigation of the department. While typical of the authority exercised in cities such as New Orleans and Los Angeles, the Seattle consent decree was among the first to focus on evidence-based policy recommendations to resolve empirically validated findings of a "pattern or practice of constitutional violations regarding the use of force that result from structural problems, as well as serious concerns about biased policing." (U.S. Department of Justice, 2011, p. 2). While excessive force and biased policing form the legal basis for the Seattle consent decree, development of technical and expert capacity (i.e., research competency) for evidence-based policing (Sherman, 2013) pervades nearly every condition of its compliance.

Before diving in, it is important to establish what is necessary to bring science to practice—to become evidence based. The challenge is to honor our profession, without compromising the quality of the product or making it too difficult to approach. As scientists, we do not ask our colleagues to trust our findings, we invite them to examine the evidence, and conclude for themselves. Although the forum is different, we should expect no less critical an examination from



Loren Atherley

decision makers and the public. A research competency, as a permanent fixture of the organization, with access to data, the business, and its decision makers, must exist to operationalize research.

Although this seems intuitive, it has been my experience that even the most progressive leaders in policing view this level of rigor as superfluous—it is not. Our clients must trust our ability to deliver before we ask them to embrace this model. In May 2013, I joined the SPD to work on the consent decree. I have found three anchoring principles serve the pracademic: relationships, standardization, and culture.

## Relationships Matter

Every contact—internal and external—is an opportunity to challenge preconceptions and build enduring, reciprocal, even symbiotic relationships. My first assignment at SPD was to report the impact of a noncriminal statute for the public possession of marijuana. Legislators were concerned about the potential for racially disparate effects resulting from enforcement of this statute and required monitoring for the first two years it was in effect. Although the data limited any finding (82 tickets over a six-month period), stakeholders requested the analysis be "peer reviewed."[2] I followed accepted social science methodology and submitted a research note for publication. Despite these limitations and the cursory nature of my findings, the news garnered international attention[3] and prompted an internal audit to confirm my findings.

The audit confirmed my findings, although not flattering for the agency, were nonetheless accurate and established a reputation for high quality, trustworthy advice my organization would come to rely on increasingly. Adherence to a rigorous standard saved my budding career and established trust with leadership. Word spread that research quality analysis could be relied upon, particularly for delicate problems. When scrutinized by the public, stakeholders, and experts, this rigorous standard served to indemnify or warrantee the actions

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1  A practitioner academic, or *pracademic*, is one who exists in both the study and practical application (e.g., industry or business). The pracademic serves as a bridge, bringing the latest in theory and research to the business and opening the business to study, in hopes of forming new understanding used to improve continuously.

2  This requirement was likely a misinterpretation of a desire for third-party oversight.

3  La Ganga, M. L. (2014, July 31). One Seattle police officer wrote 80% of the marijuana tickets issued. *Los Angeles Times*.

of decision makers. In a politically charged environment, it can be difficult to trust the support of another, particularly someone you do not know, from a world you do not understand. With each successive project, my "clients" became evangelists for the use of quality research. While this story appears to be a validation of science, it is instead an example of how meeting that minimum competency becomes the foundation for supporting relationships with colleagues that ultimately lead to enduring friendships.

Even accidental relationships can turn out to be assets. Soon after joining the SPD, I began maintaining and developing research projects, many resulting from requests for public data. Today, I maintain a network of more than 50 active researchers from around the world. I regularly call upon this network for assistance and to date have supported nearly 100 original research projects across a wide array of disciplines. The evangelical practitioners I work with internally often serve as subject matter experts for these projects, both receiving and implementing research findings while contributing to new discoveries.

The research network represents an invaluable concentration of talent. During the sustainment phase of the settlement agreement (2018 to 2020), I was responsible for two reports examining disparate impact in police service. The first report utilized propensity score matching and was developed in-house, with assistance from researchers at Seattle University. The second was intended to be a follow up to the first but, at the request of the federal monitor, we engaged an external consultant. We were able to reach out to a researcher with whom we had an existing relationship, contract them, and deliver a peer-review quality report, all on very short notice. The pracademic is a bridge, and these relationships, both internal and external, are the anchors.

### The Importance of Standardization

Common, well understood, and documented data and standard methods are essential to on-demand, research-quality analytics. A 2013 internal report by the consulting firm PricewaterhouseCoopers affirmed these requirements and established them as critical to the consent decree. In 2014, I joined a project and am currently responsible for general management and strategic development of a $20 million award-winning technology solution, the Data Analytics Platform (DAP). DAP fulfills the requirements of the consent decree by providing common data, shared among internal and external groups for strategic, tactical, and research purposes, assuring policy discussions remain focused on solving the problem and not arguing about data.

In addition to common data, go-to methods are critical. Most problems we are asked to evaluate are variations on a theme (e.g., time series evaluation, risk modeling, geospatial hotspot detection) and so are an opportunity for efficiency. For example, a time series evaluation (e.g., Did the pandemic quarantine increase calls for domestic violence?) can be answered in as little as an hour only

because the method (see CausalImpact[4]) is staged and familiar to decision makers and stakeholders.[5]

A 2016 Forbes article suggested 60 percent of an analyst's time is spent "cleaning and organizing data," according to an industry survey.[6] The point is this: Putting in the work ahead of time to identify and socialize an appropriate method and prepare the data is efficient and increases the likelihood a result will be made available in time to solve the problem. Every on-time delivery of a rigorous result reinforces the value of research in a practical setting.

### Culture Matters

Culture, apart from that of your agency or the industry, is essential to sustaining the pracademic, but is particularly difficult to define and maintain in policing. We are responsible for an objective perspective on the past, present, and future, and it is probably fortunate we do not fully assimilate into an agency's culture. At the same time, we need to be grounded in a professional ethos and find support among those who share our mission. A research unit requires an identity, a *why* (Sinek, 2009) and a common understanding of *what right looks like*.

On my first day at SPD, after completing some paperwork, a representative from Human Resources escorted me to meet my team, where I found them in a closed-door meeting discussing an uncertain future. They had recently been notified they had been reorganized. Over the next several months, we were all reassigned, and while some left immediately, they have all now moved on.

My new team, the Performance Analytics & Research (PA&R) section, is made up of researchers, project managers, data architects, business analysts, and developers dedicated to the stewardship of the research competency we built together. Although artifacts (e.g., documentation, websites, products, etc.) develop naturally and have coalesced to form a visible identity, most definitions of culture include behaviors. To assure the team and their work continues long into the future, we hold weekly cultural maintenance meetings to reinforce the behaviors that define us and assure every member of the team has a deep, personal understanding of the "why."

We always begin by reaffirming our values (i.e., trust, accountability, transparency, and innovation) and practicing ways to respectfully challenge each other and ourselves, should we sense any one of our values is absent from the work. Not only does the culture assure no one person becomes a single point of failure, but an intimate understanding of the why assures each member performs optimally, seeking new and innovative approaches rather than simply going through the motions.

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4  See https://github.com/google/CausalImpact
5  The method is selected for its relative approachability (Model fit and effect size estimation are baked into the package and visualize nicely), as well as its ability to handle the environment (e.g., noisy and/or low n).
6  Press, G. (2016, March 23). Cleaning Big Data: Most Time-Consuming Least Enjoyable Data Science Task, Survey Says. *Forbes.*

## Conclusion

Science may be perceived to be an excessively rigorous standard, but it affords the most predictable performance and can be leveraged to build trust and legitimacy both internally and with the community we serve. Every opportunity to meet even the minimum expectation, demonstrates that research can be relied upon as an accessible resource for decision makers. Standardization is a force multiplier, facilitating efficient delivery of advice to decision makers when they need it in a format they trust. Eventually, through repetition and deliberate management, these behaviors become a culture of continuous improvement replicated at every level like a fractal.

According to a recent article in *MarketWatch*, "There's not enough research on policing being done, so law enforcement today reacts to shifts in politics or public opinion." (Mitchell, 2020) If the research is not readily available to design best practices, the next best thing is to use research quality analysis in the day-to-day management of police services. Together with a collaborative network of academics, we can define best practices as we test them in the field. With these data and a network of subject matter experts from across the operation, we have supported nearly 100 research projects from 30 research institutions around the globe, and through it all, demonstrated compliance with court-ordered reform.[7]

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[7] Although full and effective compliance has been met and sustained, the city's motion to terminate the consent decree was withdrawn on June 3, 2020.

I would not necessarily recommend the consent decree as a healthy or efficient instrument of change; however, as a mechanism, it has provided the motivation and resources to build a research competency, without which none of this would have been possible. While I cannot say my experience is the blueprint for success, these three guiding principles have enabled the construction of the most sophisticated platforms for the scientific study and evidence-based management of policing.

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Officers make mistakes, but misconduct should not be tolerated. We do not own the police department. We work for the interest of public safety to protect the community, which requires truthfulness and transparency in our actions.

***Establish a Set of Priorities.*** Both activists and the police have a desire to improve the interactions between the police and the community. Having agreed-upon roadmaps and priorities can help guide interactions. Interactions are guided by policies, training, education, practices, or leadership. Is there a need for new training? Are your policies out of date? Do you need to include the community in training the police? Are there service projects or programs that the police can jointly implement with the community toward desired outcomes?

***Be Accountable.*** While we may not always agree, we can be accountable. The greatest obstacle to overcome in creating a cohesive relationship between the community and the police is often because we view problems through a different lens. For example, it is not easy to address issues that have a history, especially ones that may be negative, but it is necessary for today's police leaders to understand past, current, and potential challenges and work with all members of the community. Policing is a co-production: The police and community must work together to achieve mutual civility. That will be how we move forward and change.

# The Massachusetts Safe and Successful Youth Initiative: A Promising Statewide Approach to Youth Gun and Gang Violence Prevention

BY PATRICIA CAMPIE, ANTHONY PETROSINO, NICHOLAS READ, TREVOR FRONIUS, SARAH GUCKENBURG, GARIMA SIWACH, AND ALLYSON PAKSTIS

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## Safe and Successful Youth Initiative

In 2010, building on more than a decade of statewide violence reduction efforts including Operation Ceasefire, Project Safe Neighborhoods, and the Shannon Community Safety Initiative, Massachusetts developed an approach to reduce gun violence in cities with the highest per capita rates of violent crime. The Safe and Successful Youth Initiative (SSYI) began as a signature program under the governor's office and has since operated within the Executive Office of Health and Human Services (EOHHS). Originally launched in 11 cities and focused on youth ages 14 to 24, SSYI is a multifaceted, community-based strategy that uses a public health approach, in partnership with law enforcement, to eliminate lethal and nonlethal violence among young people who have already committed, and often been the victim of, gun and gang violence (i.e., proven-risk youth). SSYI now operates in 14 cities across the state, serving nearly 2,000 clients ages 17 to 24 annually.

SSYI is a partnership between local law enforcement agencies, serving as the fiscal agent for the grant and primary referral source of clients, and community-based organizations that provide and refer clients to community-based services and supports. While there are core components to the SSYI service model, sites have flexibility in how they deploy these components within their unique community contexts.

Cities receiving SSYI funds identify eligible young people through data reviews conducted by law enforcement agencies and other local stakeholders (e.g., community service providers, court diversion programs). Once young people are identified, SSYI outreach workers engage and serve as critical agents and informal mentors to build trusting relationships with the young men, engage them in programming, and continuously encourage and advise them.

A core component of program enrollment is an assessment of education history, work history, family situation (including whether they are parenting), and mental health needs to create individual service plans. SSYI case managers then work in close collaboration with mental health clinicians to implement the individualized service plans, focused on a continuum of comprehensive, community-based services, including education, job training, supported employment, and mental and behavioral health counseling.

Case managers also provide progressive case monitoring to reinforce the success of clients reaching incremental outcomes, such as credit recovery in school as a milestone toward achieving a high school diploma. Overall, the SSYI model is designed to improve a young person's individual capacities (e.g., build skills, address needs), relational experiences (e.g., role modeling, opportunities for prosocial development), and situational environment (e.g., employment, routine activities).

In 2012, the American Institutes for Research (AIR), in partnership with WestEd, was selected to evaluate SSYI, and the team has served as the state evaluator for SSYI since then. Justice Resource Institute (JRI) also served as a practitioner partner for part of the initial SSYI evaluations. In addition to supporting continued evaluation of SSYI, EOHHS has made a substantial investment in technical assistance for SSYI implementation across funded sites through Commonwealth Corporation, a workforce development organization working with justice-involved clients. The state also funds the University of Massachusetts to maintain a grant performance management system that all SSYI sites must use to report monthly client enrollment and service utilization.

EOHHS has credited the ongoing evaluation of SSYI and the evidence supporting the program's effectiveness as an important part of sustaining and expanding SSYI funding and increasing the number of participating cities. The evaluation has contributed to bipartisan legislative support for SSYI at the state level, under both Democratic and Republican governors. The details of the ongoing evaluation are discussed in the remainder of this article.

## Research and Practice

A key component of the evaluation of SSYI since its inception has been the strong research-practice partnership between EOHHS, the

evaluation team, the technical assistance provider, and local implementing partners in each SSYI city. Partnering with EOHHS, local law enforcement, and communities has provided the evaluation team with timely access to critical program data and client information, while delivering program-wide and city-specific evaluation results to the SSYI sites to help them improve and sustain their programs. The research team assigns a dedicated evaluation liaison to each SSYI site, who works with the site, develops trusting relationships with program staff and local stakeholders, and develops an understanding of the history and context of each unique site. These partnerships have been at the core of the series of evaluation studies on SSYI since 2013.[1]

Across all of the evaluations, the AIR-WestEd team has elevated the voices of SSYI clients, their families, and community members. Surveys, interviews, and focus groups with those most impacted by the program shed light on the most helpful aspects of SSYI, and on where service gaps and challenges remain. Through this engagement, the evaluation team has also examined the broader community contexts that drive or mitigate violence, such as community cohesion, norms of violence and police legitimacy, individual and familial experience with the justice system and child welfare system, access to services, and experiences with public assistance programs.

Evolving over time, the evaluation of SSYI has largely focused on four core areas of program processes and outcomes:

1. **Site-specific implementation of the SSYI model:** Through surveys, interviews, focus groups, and site visits, the research team developed profiles of each of the SSYI-funded cities that detail how lead organizations conduct client outreach and case management and their relationships with and use of local community-based service providers, including the perceived service capacity and the ways in which providers collaborate in each funded city.

2. **Impact on community-level and individual violent crime:** The research team has used aggregated police data[2] to compare trends in community-level violent criminal offenses and victimizations from 2007 to 2011—prior to SSYI—and after the start of SSYI, from 2012 through 2017, in cities receiving SSYI funds and cities without SSYI funding but with high rates of violent crime. Additionally, the team compared the pre-SSYI and post-SSYI violent crime arrests[3] for individuals that enrolled in SSYI between 2012 and 2018 with young people identified for SSYI but who never enrolled.

3. **Cost-effectiveness of SSYI:** The researchers have analyzed total dollars spent on running the SSYI program compared with violent crime victimization reductions to determine the return on investment in SSYI realized by costs avoided by decreased criminal incidents and the related justice system involvement and victimization costs (e.g., incarceration, lost wages, hospitalization).

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1  See https://www.air.org/project/safe-and-successful-youth-initiative-massachusetts-ssyi

2  These data were retrieved from the Massachusetts State Police's Crime-SOLV data system and local police departments.

3  Court record data were retrieved from the Massachusetts Criminal Offender Record Information (CORI) system.

4. **Client-level service experiences:** Through anonymous online surveys and focus groups, the research team examined SSYI participants' self-reported experiences with the program and their feelings of physical, social, emotional, and financial well-being during participation. This approach provided powerful data to the evaluation team and SSYI sites, including information on clients' motivations for engaging in SSYI.

### The Impact of SSYI

Across all evaluations, SSYI has demonstrated a significant impact on the communities in which it operates and on the young people who participate. Investigations into how SSYI is implemented have highlighted that a main strength of SSYI is the unique relationship between police departments and community-based service providers. While police provide sites with information on eligible clients, there is no additional SSYI-driven law enforcement activity. This is indicative of EOHHS's approach of advancing public safety goals by prioritizing the well-being of clients and the root causes that lead to violence, rather than seeking to suppress criminal activity.

Through this approach, SSYI programs address the financial, educational, physical, and social-emotional well-being needs of clients, which in turn helps reduce crime and justice system involvement. Additionally, across sites, a common strength of the program has been the ability to reach and engage a traditionally difficult population of young people to connect with in SSYI services and supports. Many sites purposely hire outreach and case management staff who have "lived the life" and who can relate to SSYI clients as a means of building trust and rapport, and creating positive and authentic relationships with clients that increases buy-in.

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## A CLOSER LOOK INTO SSYI

After joining SSYI, Carlos worked toward earning his high school equivalency credential and began working in a program to rebuild and refurbish old furniture. He also became a passionate advocate for preventing violence among the young people in his community and across the state. Learn more about Carlos' experience with SSYI at **youth.gov/youth-voices/carlos**.

After JR joined the SSYI program, he worked toward completing his high school equivalency credential, was connected to employment opportunities, and was supported in finding housing. He also mentored new youth as they joined SSYI. Learn more about JR's experience with SSYI at **youth.gov/youth-voices/jr**.

SSYI has demonstrated a significant association with decreased community and individual violent crime. Analysis of the trends between 2007 and 2017 found an overall and consistent decrease in community violent crime and individual arrests for violent crimes in cities with SSYI funding. Since SSYI's inception, rates of violent offenses and victimization in non-SSYI cities saw modest decreases or were relatively stable, while rates in cities with SSYI funding steadily declined starting in 2012.[4] For example, when compared to cities without SSYI, sites that received SSYI funds in 2018 collectively saw an average annual decrease of more than 800 violent crime victims.[5] On an individual level, evaluation has shown that engagement in SSYI services is associated with reduced likelihood of incarceration for program participants when compared with program participants who do not engage in services.[6] Further, after 2012, clients enrolled in SSYI across all funded cities had 36 percent fewer arrests for violent offenses and 20 percent fewer arrests for nonviolent offenses than did young men identified for the program who never enrolled.[7]

Building on initial analyses of the cost effectiveness of SSYI,[8] the most recently completed evaluation found that cities that received SSYI funding in 2018 realized more than $38 million in calculated annual savings from reduced violent crime victimization. These cities also continued to see a positive return on their investment, netting more than five dollars in societal benefits from reduced victimization costs for each dollar invested in SSYI (in 2018 dollars).[9]

The most recent evaluation also expanded previous knowledge about the experiences of SSYI program participants,[10] revealing clear evidence of participants' high engagement with the program. Survey findings showed that SSYI provides clients with resources and supports they value—and, in some cases, depend on. Additionally, participation in SSYI facilitates meaningful changes in the lives of clients that decrease their likelihood of future involvement with violence and improves their prospects for future personal, social, economic, and physical well-being. While the team's research is ongoing to examine the relationship between specific case management practices and service provision (e.g., cognitive behavioral therapy, employment) it is likely that these well-being improvements and the mentor-like relationships between SSYI clients and staff, are driving desistance behaviors leading to reduced community violence more generally.

### The Next Chapter for the Safe and Successful Youth Initiative

The research team continues to work with Massachusetts to evaluate SSYI. In 2020 and 2021, investigations will seek to deepen the understanding of how SSYI positively impacts different types of clients through different arrangements of services by examining case management histories of SSYI participants. As the program expands to serve females at proven risk for violence, and who may have victimization experiences with sex trafficking, the evaluation team is also conducting a systematic review to understand factors that drive female gang desistance, while also reviewing the evidence for existing programs around the country that serve females with the risk profile for SSYI.

The commonwealth is also actively exploring ways to develop cross-initiative evaluation strategies across programs like the Department of Public Safety's Shannon Community Safety Initiative targeting secondary risk populations[11] and the Department of Public Health's Child and Youth Violence Prevention Services initiative.[12] The commonwealth's investment in this expanded approach to violence prevention across a risk continuum, from primary to tertiary risk populations, has also pioneered the way for other states to develop comprehensive statewide approaches to violence prevention. Several states have looked to the SSYI model—both in how the program serves and supports clients and in how the state provides the funds and infrastructure (including ongoing evaluation and technical assistance) necessary to support sustainable implementation—as a means to advance their own violence prevention efforts.[13]

4   See https://www.air.org/resource/impact-safe-and-successful-youth-initiative-city-level-youth-crime-victimization-rates

5   See https://www.air.org/resource/massachusetts-s-safe-and-successful-youth-initiative-ssyi-continues-reduce-violent-crime

6   See https://www.air.org/resource/comparative-study-using-propensity-score-matching-predict-incarceration-likelihoods-among

7   Ibid, n.5.

8   See https://www.air.org/resource/massachusetts-safe-and-successful-youth-initiative-benefit-cost-analysis-springfield-and

9   Ibid, n.5.

10  See https://www.air.org/resource/community-based-violence-prevention-study-safe-and-successful-youth-initiative-intervention

11  See https://www.mass.gov/service-details/shannon-community-safety-initiative-csi

12  See https://www.mass.gov/child-and-youth-violence-prevention-services

13  See https://lawcenter.giffords.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Investing-in-Intervention-02.14.18.pdf

# How Police in São Paulo, Brazil, Are Using Data and Science to Reduce Fatal Vehicle Crashes

BY MADELINE SLOAN, KEN CLARY, AND PAULO SÉRGIO DE OLIVEIRA

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Madeline Sloan          Ken Clary          Paulo Sérgio de Oliveira

Traffic crashes are the eighth leading cause of death in the world, and the leading killer of people ages 5 to 29. However, as the Bloomberg Philanthropies Initiative for Global Road Safety (BIGRS, 2019) has noted, nearly 90 percent of the 1.35 million annual traffic-related deaths are concentrated in low- and middle-income countries. Additionally, the initiative has found that roughly 85 percent of countries lack adequate laws (and subsequent enforcement efforts) to improve safety on their roadways. Established in 2010, BIGRS aims to assist some of the most dramatically impacted cities around the world in adopting and implementing evidence-based policing practices that have been proven to reduce road traffic fatalities and injuries.[1] As a partner of the BIGRS project, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) has been working alongside the *Polícia Militar do Estado de São Paulo* (Military Police of São Paulo State, or PMESP) in São Paulo, Brazil, to implement these interventions.

The PMESP is the largest law enforcement agency in Brazil. It comprises approximately 90,000 officers who serve almost 22 million residents in São Paulo state. The large metropolitan city of São Paulo is home to a growing vehicle fleet. From 2006 to 2019, the number of vehicles on São Paulo's roadways increased by over 79 percent, with current figures reflecting more than 8 million cars, buses, motorcycles, and other vehicles.[2] This influx in vehicles has been accompanied by a large number of traffic fatalities. During the same time frame, the city of São Paulo reported 15,738 deaths attributed to traffic accidents on its roadways.

To combat traffic crashes in their respective jurisdictions, law enforcement agencies, including the PMESP, have traditionally analyzed historical crash data and subsequently targeted enforcement efforts focused in areas where there is a higher propensity of crashes to occur (i.e., hot spots policing). The PMESP approaches this strategy in two ways. First, the Traffic Police Command (CPTran) has instituted monthly critical traffic analysis meetings (RAC-T), which provides CPTran leaders with the opportunity to examine analyses of traffic crashes within the city of São Paulo resulting in serious injuries or death, and discuss strategies for reducing them. Second, CPTran is able to access all computerized diagnostic systems to plan its operational activities, including the database named INFOSIGA, which allows traffic officers to examine crash data.[3] CPTran then implements a variety of enforcement strategies at crash hot spots, which can include speed radar enforcement, enforcement roadblocks, and equipment checkpoints, among other proactive enforcement efforts.

One of the challenges that the PMESP has faced is understanding the causal factors contributing to traffic fatalities in their jurisdiction. As the second author has described and operationalized in his agency,[4] focusing on causal factors of fatal crashes integrates a more

1  Bloomberg Philanthropies Initiative for Global Road Safety. (2019). Retrieved from https://www.bloomberg.org/program/public-health/road-safety/

2  *Departamento Estadual de Transito de São Paulo*. (2020). Retrieved from https://www.detran.sp.gov.br/wps/portal/portaldetran/detran/estatisticastransito/47a4f34a-f621-4a6a-b096-5655ad01d740

3  INFOSIGA is a central database for crash data collected by Brazilian law enforcement agencies and is managed by the state government.

4  Clary, K. (2018). Utilizing Data and Science to Reduce Serious Injury and Fatality Crashes on Rural Roadways. *Translational Criminology*, 15: pp. 12–13, 24. Retrieved from: https://cebcp.org/wp-content/TCmagazine/TC15-Fall2018.

evidence-based, place-focused criminological approach for fatal crashes. Specifically, the hot spots of fatal crashes (e.g., a roadway) are often different than the hot locations where a fatal crash was initiated (e.g., a bar). In theory, focusing officer efforts on places in which fatal crashes originate may generate deterrent effects on the behavior that leads to fatal crashes, thus reducing the future likelihood of a crash.[5] In the case of drunk driving, for example, impaired drivers make a calculated decision at a bar as to whether to operate their vehicle in the near future. Rather than wait for the driver to be on the road, the police may be able to impact that behavior and decision-making at the bar itself. Such deterrent effects may continue to linger after police officers leave activity spaces where fatal crashes originate, which can potentially have more lasting effects on future behavior.[6] In practice, this approach has been shown to be promising in reducing fatal crashes.[7]

However, at the onset of the BIGRS efforts in São Paulo, the PMESP did not collect data about possible causes of fatal crashes, a common omission in many traffic fatality reports in many countries, including the United States. The PMESP modified their crash reporting forms in 2019 so that this information would be collected by officers responding to fatal crashes. With this information, the PMESP now can proactively focus their law enforcement interventions on places and associated activities where fatal crashes originate, not just where they end. This includes targeting known areas of alcohol consumption (e.g., roadways with a high concentration of bars), as well as conducting checkpoints to detect drivers operating vehicles under the influence of alcohol.

Through *Operation Direção Segura Educativa* (Educational Initiative on Safe Driving), PMESP officers visit restaurants and bars to raise awareness of the risks associated with driving under the influence (DUI) of alcohol. During this time, the officers meet with patrons to discuss the dangers of alcohol-impaired driving and the associated legal consequences if they are apprehended. Patrons are also given the opportunity to participate in a passive breathalyzer test, which allows them to determine if their blood alcohol content is above the legal limit to drive. In 2019, the PMESP made contact with 30,935 patrons through this initiative.

When this initiative is conducted, the PMESP sets up a DUI checkpoint within close proximity to the establishment where the educational programming is taking place. Supplementing educational initiatives with enforcement is critical to enhancing the

deterrent effect, as the perceived risk of drunk driving apprehension is strengthened with saturated enforcement.[8] Officers utilize these specifically tailored visits to reduce unsafe driving behaviors. This strategy is grounded in research showing that short, periodic, non-punitive visits, intended to leave reverberating impact in targeted areas (i.e., hot spots), are an effective and efficient means of controlling crime and disorder. This is a strategy referred to as the "Koper Curve" method of hot spots patrolling.[9]

The PMESP has also implemented several non-punitive interventions to supplement enforcement efforts, with the goal of both deterrence and improving the perceptions of the police among the community. One program is an educational initiative called *Operation Moto Educativa*, which is conducted in partnership with officials from the *Companhia de Engenharia de Tráfego* (or CET, the city of São Paulo's traffic engineering agency). This program attempts to educate motorcyclists, who accounted for nearly 35 percent of traffic fatality victims in 2018,[10] of the dangers of poor equipment and dangerous driving habits. Motorcyclists are randomly selected from traffic on two of São Paulo's busiest roadways and guided to an adjacent facility, where they are invited to attend a 20-minute safety briefing, which addresses topics such as sharing the roadway with other motorists, utilizing proper braking techniques, and ensuring a motorcycle's tires have the proper tread depth. As the safety briefing is being conducted inside the facility, PMESP and CET officers inspect the participants' motorcycles. When the motorcyclists return from the briefing, the officers will discuss any identified equipment violations with the driver. All violations identified during these programs result in warnings in lieu of punitive action. The PMESP and CET have made contact with nearly 2,000 motorcyclists through this operation. The operations foster positive interactions between the officers and the motorcyclists and result in both stronger police-community relations and more informed drivers on the roadway.

Another key component of PMESP's strategy to enhance road safety is the use of social media for community outreach and engagement. The PMESP currently utilizes their social media platforms to educate the public on road safety principles, including safe driving practices and strategies for improving pedestrian safety. The PMESP also uses its social media platforms to highlight successful enforcement operations, which can help enhance deterrent effects. By drawing attention to the enforcement actions taken by police, motorists may think twice before speeding or driving impaired, as the social media posts reinforce the consequences of these unsafe driving behaviors. All of these approaches are intended to strengthen perceptions of

5   Nagin, D. S., Solow, R. M., & Lum, C. (2015). Deterrence, criminal opportunities, and police. *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 53(1), 74–100.

6   See Koper, C. S. (1995). Just Enough Police Presence: Reducing Crime and Disorderly Behavior by Optimizing Patrol Time in Crime Hot Spots. *Justice Quarterly 12*, 649–72.

7   Clary, K., & Koper, C. S. (June 27, 2019). Utilizing Evidence-Based Practices to Reduce Serious Injury and Fatality Crashes on Rural Roadways. Presentation at the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy 2019 Symposium.

8   Sykes, Gary W. Saturated Enforcement: The Efficacy of Deterrence and Drunk Driving. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 12.2 (1984): 185–197.

9   Koper, C. S. (1995). Just enough police presence: Reducing crime and disorderly behavior by optimizing patrol time in crime hot spots. *Justice Quarterly* 12(4), 649–72. DOI: 10.1080/07418829500096231.
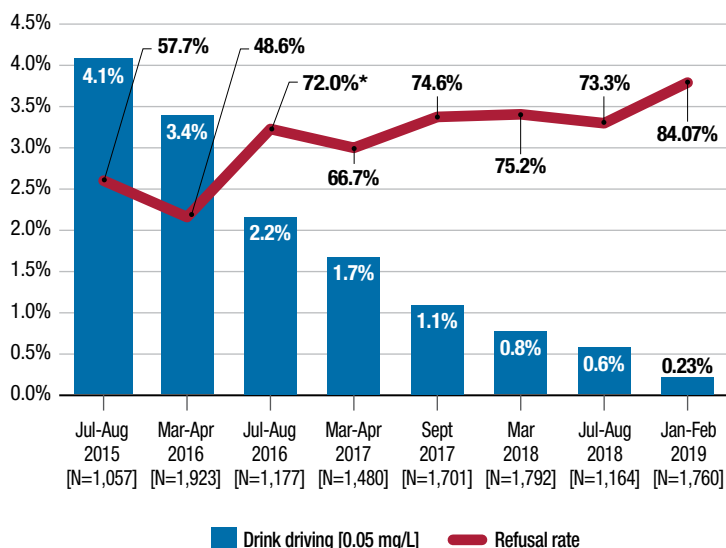
10  Government of the State of São Paulo. (2019). Retrieved from http://www.infosiga.sp.gov.br/Home/Relatorio

**Graph 1.** The proportion of drivers testing above or equal to the legal limit (0.05 mg/l of breath alcohol content) for alcohol at sobriety checkpoints and refusal rate, by round



*Denotes statistical significance with regards to the previous round. N corresponds to number of drivers.

officer presence and targeted enforcement activity, which deters community members from engaging in unsafe driving habits associated with serious and fatal vehicle crashes.[11]

Through these non-punitive interactions, combined with the inherent deterrence effects of enforcement operations, the PMESP has seen a notable decrease in traffic deaths. From 2015 to 2018, the number of annual traffic fatalities in the state of São Paulo decreased from 6,466 to 5,468, a 15.4 percent decline.[12] During the same period, the traffic fatality rate in the city of São Paulo decreased from 8.29 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants to 6.97 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants.[13] Furthermore, a study conducted by Johns Hopkins University noted a gradual decrease in the number of drunk drivers[14] on São Paulo's roadways from 2015 to 2019. The study, which comprised eight rounds of observational studies during that time frame, found that 4.1 percent of the drivers (n=1,057) in the first round of the study (conducted in July–August 2015) were above or equal to the legal limit, while 0.23 percent of drivers (n=1,760) in the eighth round of the study (conducted in January–February 2019) were above or equal to the legal limit. It should be noted that the rate of drivers who refused to submit to testing increased over the course of the study, which may have impacted results. However, even if all refusals in the eighth round of the study are assumed to be positive cases (n=47), the rate of drunk drivers would be 2.9 percent, which is a notable decrease from the first round of testing.[15]

While this multifaceted approach has yielded early, positive results for PMESP, they will continue to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of these interventions in reducing traffic fatalities. Once these initiatives have been proven to be effective in the city of São Paulo, they may be able to be replicated throughout the state or country, resulting in fewer crashes and more lives saved.

*This project was funded by Bloomberg Philanthropies and was undertaken by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.*

11 Sherman, L. W. (1990). Police crackdowns: Initial and residual deterrence. *Crime and Justice*, 12, 1–48.

12 Government of the State of São Paulo. (2019). Retrieved from http://www.infosiga.sp.gov.br/Home/Relatorio

13 *Nações Unidas Brasil*. (2020). Retrieved from https://nacoesunidas.org/campanha/seguranca-transito/#

14 Per the Brazilian Traffic Code, a driver cannot legally operate a motor vehicle with 0.05 mg/l of breath alcohol content or higher.

15 Report Number 8 on Status of Road Safety Risk Factors in Sao Paulo, Brazil, 2019. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins International Injury Research Unit; 2019.

16 Ibid.

# A Comprehensive Framework of Emergency Response Approaches to Vulnerable Populations in Crisis

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Holly Swan    Samantha Karon

Elyse Yarmosky    Meg Chapman

Homelessness and untreated serious mental illness (SMI) and/or substance use disorders (SUD) are at the root of many crisis-related calls for service (Neusteter et al., 2019; Watson et al., 2019). In the United States, such calls are typically received by 911 call takers who dispatch first responders [law enforcement, firefighters, and/or emergency medical service technicians (EMS/EMT)] to respond (Neusteter et al., 2019). However, first responders often lack the necessary information, skills, or resources to de-escalate crises and help individuals obtain needed services (Rogers et al., 2019). This combination of factors has led to a disproportionate representation of vulnerable populations in the justice system, and has over-burdened the emergency response system with situations that would be more appropriately handled by community service providers.

Communities are increasingly considering approaches to minimize unnecessary engagement of first responders in noncriminal or medical matters and, if engaged, to improve the nature of the response. But what kinds of programs exist and what is the evidence for their effectiveness? Here, we present a framework for understanding the range of programs that have been implemented by first responder agencies in the United States to improve response to crises related to SMI/SUD and/or homelessness challenges. We also review the research evidence for these programs to facilitate comparisons of the various approaches.

## First Responder-led Programs for Those Experiencing SMI, SUD, or Homelessness

We conducted a broad internet scan to collect information on programs that met a set of criteria. Programs had to be: operating in the United States within the last 10 years; designed to increase the capacity of first responders to identify signs of SMI/SUD; designed to improve first responders' ability to de-escalate crises; and designed to maximize diversion from the justice and emergency systems to treatment/community-based services. We organized the range of first responder-led programs that target diversion of individuals experiencing SMI/SUD, and/or homelessness from justice and emergency services into *program types* according to each identified program's target population, responders, activities, outcomes, and information on program implementation (e.g., funding sources). Using commonalities and differences across program types, we identified three overarching *program models*: outreach and prevention; intervention at 911 call; and intervention by first responder.

### Outreach and Prevention Program Types

We identified four outreach and prevention program types: *specialized outreach*, *paired outreach*, *team-based outreach*, and *voluntary walk-in programs*. The first three types are the most comparable and are outlined in Diagram 1 (see page 14).

**Diagram 1:** Outreach and Prevention Program Types

| SPECIALIZED OUTREACH | PAIRED OUTREACH | TEAM-BASED OUTREACH |
|---|---|---|
| **Specialized unit of first responders**<br>• Conduct general outreach to homeless populations | **First responder paired with a clinician or social worker**<br>• Conduct general outreach to homeless populations<br>• Conduct targeted outreach to frequent utilizers known to have SMI/SUD | **Multi-disciplinary teams including first responders, clinicians, and social workers**<br>• Conduct general outreach to homeless populations<br>• Conduct targeted outreach to frequent utilizers known to have SMI/SUD |
| Conduct needs assessments | | |
| **Link individuals to treatment/services through:**<br>• Referral<br>• Direct transport<br>• Logistical assistance | **Link individuals to treatment/services through:**<br>• Referral<br>• Direct transport<br>• Logistical assistance<br>• *Possible on-site, real-time clinical treatment (if paired with a clinician)* | **Link individuals to treatment/services through:**<br>• Referral<br>• Direct transport<br>• Logistical assistance<br>• On-site, real-time clinical treatment |

For these program types, activity is focused on outreach (rather than response to calls) to local communities to connect individuals to needed services and prevent future crises. The *specialized outreach* program type includes efforts to train a small group of first responders in working with vulnerable populations. These specially trained responders are then designated to conduct general outreach, identify individuals' needs, and provide referrals or direct transportation to services to fill those needs. The *paired outreach* program type pairs social workers or clinicians with first responders to conduct the general outreach. Activities are generally the same as those for *specialized outreach*, however, in programs where the pair includes a clinician, that clinician can provide on-site, real-time treatment for individuals encountered who are in crisis. *Team-based outreach* mirrors *paired outreach*, except that outreach is conducted by multidisciplinary teams of law enforcement, clinicians, social workers, and EMT/EMS.

We also identified a distinct fourth outreach and prevention program type—*voluntary walk-in*—wherein individuals voluntarily go to a police or fire department to seek treatment for substance use and are granted amnesty if in possession of illegal substances or paraphernalia. First responders then conduct eligibility screenings and refer the individual to needed treatment or services.
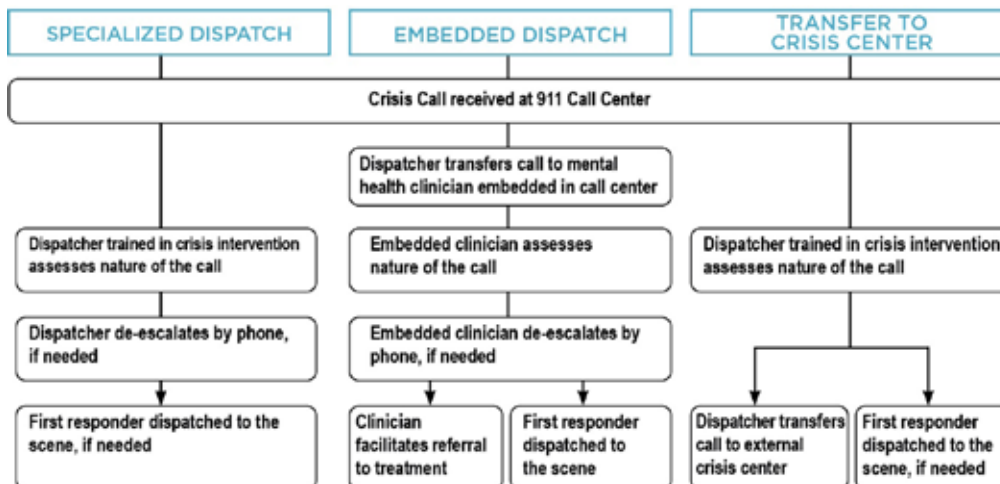
### Intervention at 911 Call Program Types

We identified three intervention at 911 call program types—*specialized dispatch*, *embedded dispatch*, and *transfer to crisis center*—that operate within 911 call centers, before first responders are engaged. These programs aim to reduce unnecessary dispatch of first responders and connect the person experiencing crisis to the most appropriate resources available (Diagram 2).

**Diagram 2:** Intervention at 911 Call Program Types

| SPECIALIZED DISPATCH | EMBEDDED DISPATCH | TRANSFER TO CRISIS CENTER |
|---|---|---|
| Crisis Call received at 911 Call Center | | |
| | Dispatcher transfers call to mental health clinician embedded in call center | |
| Dispatcher trained in crisis intervention assesses nature of the call | Embedded clinician assesses nature of the call | Dispatcher trained in crisis intervention assesses nature of the call |
| Dispatcher de-escalates by phone, if needed | Embedded clinician de-escalates by phone, if needed | |
| First responder dispatched to the scene, if needed | Clinician facilitates referral to treatment / First responder dispatched to the scene | Dispatcher transfers call to external crisis center / First responder dispatched to the scene, if needed |

The *specialized dispatch* type trains 911 dispatchers to determine the level of crisis, whether the crisis can be safely resolved by phone or if a first responder should be dispatched, and how to de-escalate the crisis. In *embedded dispatch*, clinicians are staffed in 911 call centers to de-escalate crisis calls and provide immediate screening and brief intervention. The clinician is also responsible for making referrals to treatment or dispatching first responders to the scene as needed. In *transfer to crisis center*, crisis-related calls for service are transferred to a community-based hotline where specialists are based, which requires the presence of such a hotline in the caller's community.

### Intervention by First Responder Program Types

We identified three distinct intervention by first responder program types: *specialized response, embedded co-response,* and *mobile/virtual co-response*. These program types involve dispatch of first responders to the scene of crisis and are initiated with a call to either a 911 call center or directly to first responder dispatch lines (Diagram 3).

**Diagram 3: Intervention by First Responder Program Types**
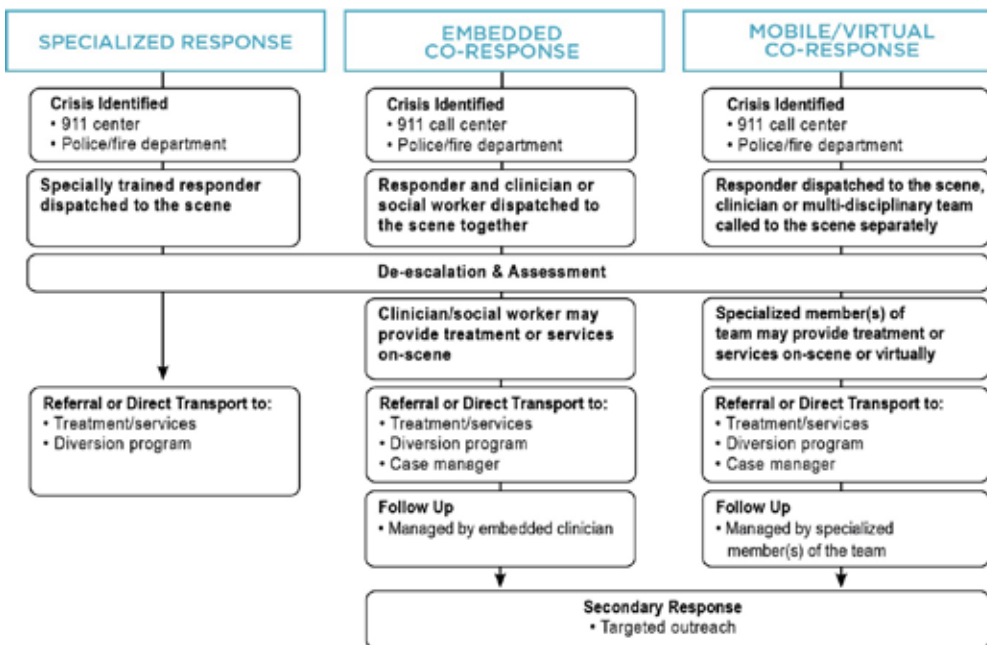


The *specialized response* type includes efforts among agencies to train all or a small group of first responders in crisis response, who are dispatched to crisis-related calls for service. Once on scene, specialized responders de-escalate the crisis, conduct assessments, make appropriate referrals to needed services or a specific diversion program, or directly transport the individual to a specific diversion program that partners with the responder's department. The *embedded co-response* type embeds social workers or clinicians within first responder agencies who are dispatched alongside first responders. When clinicians are embedded, they are responsible for providing on-scene clinical services and facilitating referrals to and follow up

for needed services. Embedded social workers introduce the possibility of direct connection of the caller to case management services. In the *mobile/virtual response* type, rather than having support embedded in the responding agency, an on-call clinician or a community-based multidisciplinary response team transports themselves to the scene, or responds virtually through teleservices.

### Evidence for Program Types

Emergency response programs are not new, but rigorous evaluations of these programs are scarce, leaving policymakers with little evidence to inform decision-making. The *specialized response* program type yielded the most published evidence, largely due to the body of literature on the widespread Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) program (intensive first-responder training focused on crisis de-escalation and interactions with vulnerable populations). Evidence suggests that CIT is associated with reductions in arrest and use of emergency services (Compton et al., 2014; Khalsa et al., 2018; Lord et al., 2011) and improvements in several additional outcomes, including officer preparedness and reduced officer use of force (Canada et al., 2010; Morabito et al., 2017; Rogers et al., 2019). A Seattle-based specialized response program, Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD), is also associated with reduced recidivism and obtainment of housing and employment (Clifasefi et al., 2017; Collins et al., 2019).

We found a few published studies of *embedded co-response* programs, but no studies included comparison groups, so we are unable to draw strong conclusions about their effectiveness. However, findings suggest that the embedded co-response program type is associated with reduced numbers of arrest, reduced repeat contacts, increased service utilization, and cost savings (Bailey and Ray, 2018; Helfgott et al., 2016; Morabito et al., 2018; Bronsky et al., 2016; Gilmer et al., 2009). We also found some evidence of reduced emergency services use for the *mobile/virtual co-response* program type (Langabeer et al., 2016; Persse et al., 2019).

Evidence for the program types within the *Outreach and Prevention* model is even more scant, but the team-based outreach program type is associated with reductions in EMS use (Tangherlini et al., 2016) and the voluntary walk-in program type is associated with improvements in treatment engagement and success (Streisel et al., 2019).

### Discussion

We provide a framework for considering the different types of programs for preventing and improving response to individuals experiencing crisis related to SMI, SUD, and/or homelessness challenges.

These programs were designed and implemented under the current crisis response structure and culture, which relies on first responder agencies to identify crises and initiate a response. The limited evidence base means that it is unclear under what conditions these types of programs are most effective. An important condition—one that is essential to any effort to reimagine the pathway to emergency response—is a robust and coordinated behavioral system to prevent individuals from reaching crisis and provide an alternate pathway for those who are in crisis. Our framework does not include community-based programming, such as crisis stabilization centers, although such programs are typically considered an invaluable resource to first responders. These program types could provide useful information for preventing mental health and substance use-related crises before any emergency response system needs to be involved. As communities consider alternative methods of preventing and responding to crisis situations, it is even more important that these efforts are evaluated so that decisions can be informed by evidence.

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# UNIVERSITY RESEARCH CENTERS

*Translating Knowledge, Training Students, and Building Partnerships to Advance Evidence-Based Crime Policy*

BY CYNTHIA LUM

*Founding Editor,* Translational Criminology

For decades, criminal justice policies and practices have been steeped in organizational traditions and procedures, politics, and decision-making based on discretion, vague notions of "craft," and limited or constrained knowledge. The evidence-based crime policy movement has led to an improved understanding of both crime and justice policies and practices, including potential disparities and other unintended consequences they may produce. The building of this evidence base is a crucial component in creating a more just and effective criminal justice system.

University researchers and their centers have played a central role in the evidence-based crime policy movement. Not only have they generated much of the primary and evaluative work that forms the evidence-base, but they also are responsible for training the next generation of researchers who will continue to make science meaningful in criminal justice policy. Many of these centers are actively involved in impactful policy and practice activities and are also training justice practitioners on implementing new interventions that reflect research knowledge.

In this issue, we asked colleagues working in university centers across the globe to share some of their insights and activities that reflect their efforts in evidence-based crime policy. Like many of these centers, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) at George Mason University was founded on the idea that scientific research should be a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies, and that the role of the academy is to contribute to impactful and practical knowledge. CEBCP carries out this mission in two ways. First, we are engaged in advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology through research-practice collaborations. Our areas of expertise are diverse and span criminal justice: Our faculty, for example, have evaluated and examined interventions and programs on juvenile justice, policing, community crime prevention and engagement, pretrial, courts, corrections, substance misuse, justice technologies, disparity, firearms violence, and terrorism.

The second component of CEBCP's work is as important as the first. The CEBCP proactively serves as an informational and translational link to criminal justice practitioners, researchers, and policymakers in unique ways. *Translational Criminology* itself is intended as a free and accessible publication that showcases examples of research be-

ing used in practice. Across 19 issues, we have highlighted countless research-practice partnerships and have attempted to provide a forum for ideas to be exchanged. Our Congressional Briefings, an idea now adopted by other groups, bring research physically to the U.S. Capitol in a format that is digestible for congressional staff members and the general public. Many of you have attended the CEBCP annual symposium, which supports, brings together, showcases, and fosters networks of researchers and practitioners engaged in evidence-based crime policy. Thousands have now used our free translational tools in training and practice. Our awards, the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy and the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame, also have the same goals as these other translational activities—to uplift those who are trying to institutionalize and sustain the use of science in criminal justice practice and provide examples to others trying to do the same.

We engage in these activities not only because we want to impact policy and practice with science, but because we want the next generation of criminologists to be trained in both research generation, translation, and use. This is an anchoring principle of our work within the academe. Ten CEBCP graduate research assistants have received their PhDs and are now generating, translating, and using research for criminal justice policy and practice.

In this issue, we want to recognize other university centers and institutes which, like the CEBCP, are pushing the envelope of evidence-based crime policy in different ways. We hope these stories encourage university researchers to continue their impactful research efforts. Our justice systems need objective science and evaluation now more than ever.

# The University of Queensland Crime and Justice Group

BY LORRAINE MAZEROLLE, SARAH BENNETT,
PETA COLBERT, AND DEBBIE PLATZ

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Lorraine Mazerolle          Sarah Bennett

Peta Colbert                Debbie Platz

The Crime and Justice Group at the University of Queensland (UQ) is a collaborative partnership led by Professor Lorraine Mazerolle and Dr. Sarah Bennett with an additional eight academic staff, 31 research staff, 14 PhD students, and 12 professional staff along with 10 adjunct staff (pracademics) who work in senior positions across the criminal justice system. With more than $2.8 million in funding over the last three years and an additional $2.1 million in funding to support projects for the next two years, the Crime and Justice Group is well positioned to work with our industry partners into this new decade: a decade that is starting with a great amount of change and uncertainty, both around the COVID-19 pandemic and the current global challenges in policing that expose major faults that arguably question the role of science in shaping policy and practice. Our group of scholars and practitioners seek to help navigate these challenges. In this article, we discuss four areas of research—legitimacy policing, partnership policing, systematic reviews, and cybercrime—that define our recent past and demarcate our current research agenda. At our core, we strive to shape a fair and just future that is built on the shoulders of academic-practitioner co-produced science.

## Legitimacy Policing

The Crime and Justice Group has a long-term reputation for advancing the practice of legitimacy policing. We started our journey by conducting a systematic review of interventions that could be deemed legitimacy policing, finding that procedurally just engagement in frontline police-led interventions is important for promoting citizen satisfaction, confidence, compliance, and cooperation with the police and for enhancing perceptions of procedural justice (Mazerolle, Bennett et al., 2013). This early work led to a partnership with

the Queensland Police Service to conceptualise and implement the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) (Mazerolle, Antrobus et al., 2013). The QCET was a world's first randomized controlled trial (RCT) that tested the application of a structured dialogue that operationalized the key principles of procedural justice into a high-volume police-public encounter. The results showed that the dialogue changed how police interact with people, empowering police in Australia to influence greater mutual dignity and respect during encounters by helping citizens better understand the reasons for police actions (Mazerolle, Bennett et al., 2012). The QCET was replicated in road policing studies in Scotland, England, the United States, and Turkey.

The QCET-structured dialogue and process is now integrated into training programs throughout Australia for a range of different types of police-citizen encounters. For example, Queensland police have adapted the UQ-developed dialogue for recruitment training to inform general encounters with the public, crime scene investigators targeting residential burglaries, police engagement in a high-risk terrorist context, and detectives working to reduce drug dealing in hotel rooms.

## Partnership Policing

The role of partnerships in policing are long considered a powerful approach to dealing with crime and disorder problems. The UQ Crime and Justice Group has advanced the theory and practice of Third-Party Partnership Policing, exploring ways that police can work smarter by working in partnership with other service delivery agencies. For example, the Ability School Engagement Partnership (ASEP) Program, aims to increase school attendance and reduce anti-social behavior, including offending, through a demonstrated partnership between police and education. The program is targeted toward young people who reside in or attend socioeconomically disadvantaged schools and who attended school less than 85 percent of the time without a valid explanation. The program is designed to reengage such young people in school and/or facilitate transitions to work, reduce antisocial behavior, and improve future life outcomes, such as reduced future welfare dependence.

The theory of Third-Party Policing (TPP) has guided the mechanisms of change in the ASEP Program, focusing on changing negative behavioral outcomes through careful communication of the Queensland Department of Education's laws that require young people to attend school up to age 16, holding parents legally responsible for their child's school attendance.

The initial experimental test of ASEP showed that young people allocated to the experimental condition reported more willingness to attend school and had increases in official school attendance relative to the young people in the control group (Mazerolle, Antrobus et al., 2017). The parents of the young people in the trial reported higher perceptions of prosecution likelihood for skipping school, which increased young peoples' willingness to go to school (Mazerolle, Bennett et al., 2017). Evidence also indicates that young people in the ASEP trial reported significantly lower official offending (Bennett et al., 2017) and self-reported antisocial behavior (Mazerolle et al., 2019).

The UQ Crime and Justice Group is now heavily involved in upscaling the ASEP Program to include a large sample of young people who do not regularly attend school. The upscaled ASEP Program allows for a comparison of initial findings from the original ASEP trial and generalizability of the results to a wider population of such youth (demographically and culturally), assessing the efficacy and feasibility of such a program at a community and state level.

## Systematic and Rapid Reviews

The Crime and Justice Group also has a substantial track record in using systematic and rapid reviews to advance the role of science in shaping policy and practice. At the core of the Crime and Justice Group is the establishment of the Global Policing Database (GPD) (Higginson et al., 2014), with more than $1.6 million in funding since its inception from the Australian Research Council, UK College of Policing, Arnold Ventures, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Australian Research Council, and various local policing agencies.

The GPD is a web-based exhaustive repository of intervention research relating to all and any type of police and policing practices. At the time of writing, the GPD comprises 3,586 records of high-quality evaluations in policing. The GPD is truly global, with 87 different countries contributing at least one study to the corpus of final screened, eligible, and included studies. The majority of the studies in the GPD are quasi-experimental designs (82 percent), with RCTs comprising 12 percent and systematic reviews with or without meta-analysis comprising six percent of the studies in the GPD.

At the time of writing, the GPD has been used in 17 different reviews including eight Campbell Collaboration reviews, three Campbell update reviews, and six government-funded rapid reviews of the policing evidence.

## Cyber Crimes

Most recently, the Crime and Justice Group is building track record and capacity around countering cybercrime problems. The exponential growth in cyber offending is clearly an important growth area for building evidence-based responses. To counter these trends, the UQ Crime and Justice Group is building a new research agenda in partnership with the Australian Federal Police, specifically with the Australian Centre for Countering Child Exploitation (ACCCE). Our research involves a review and trial of a new triage support tool, a trial to focus on compliance with romance website companies, and a new trial that focuses on investigations of child exploitation referrals.

## Concluding Comments

If ever there is a time for academic-practitioner partnerships and science to shape policy and practice, it is now. The UQ Crime and Justice Group, as with most field research teams around the world, are navigating the dual challenges of the COVID-19 lockdown and deep questioning of the democracy of policing. Our team are working with police across Australia to embed procedurally just dialogue into encounters with citizens who are in quarantine, who are arriving at borders, who are marching to protest both on behalf of the Black Lives Matter movement and the loss of freedom from COVID-19. Some of our work will continue to test, under RCT conditions, new ways in policing. A large part of our work will be to translate best practice into real-world encounters. With our research agenda, we hope to be part of a new world order in policing that uses science and evidence to shape fair, democratic policing.

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# The Cambridge Police Executive Program: Proportionality and Evidence-Based Policing against Harm

BY LAWRENCE W. SHERMAN

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O n May 25, 2020, Derek Chauvin killed George Floyd over an alleged fraud amounting to $20. The shock of Floyd's death over such a minor underlying offense was felt around the world. There was no justification for what Chauvin did to Floyd. In a word, the level of force police used on Floyd was completely *disproportionate* to any element of the circumstances, such as the alleged crime, Floyd's dangerousness, or a specific threat to any of the many officers who responded to this $20 catastrophe.

Long before George Floyd's killing in Minneapolis, or Michael Brown's killing in Ferguson, the Cambridge University Police Executive Program was teaching and researching *proportionate* policing. Its 25-year history of teaching and research draws on 500 years of British law and values that have moved ever closer to the position that it is unethical, and potentially criminal, for police to act with disproportionality, in doing too much—or even too little—in relation to any specific threat, risk, or potential harm.

Now, more than ever, the Cambridge Program—and its affiliated open-access *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*[1]—offers a globally relevant framework for preserving and enhancing democratic policing in the face of understandably extreme public anger. Our commitment to precision in targeting, testing, and tracking police intrusions on public liberty using the best empirical and statistical evidence available (Sherman 1998, 2008, 2013) provides a key tool for the kind of public "dialogic" strategy for maintaining police legitimacy developed at Cambridge by Sir Anthony Bottoms and Justice Tankebe (2012). Our theoretical and empirical development of the concept of residual general *deterrence* (Ariel et al 2019; Barnes et al 2020) provides the basis for refuting claims that police can be abolished without major increases in violent crime. For the approximately 150 mid-career students enrolled each year in our part-time graduate courses—all police leaders or analysts from around the world—the Cambridge program offers an intellectual foundation for both police reform and public support.

Lawrence W. Sherman

The Cambridge program offers four intellectual pillars: 1) "coupling" police intrusions with proportionately harmful risks; 2) measuring harm systematically with a crime harm index; 3) deciding how to make decisions using the "Triple-T" (Sherman 2013) of targeting, testing, and tracking as the basis for achieving a fourth "T" of transformation (Neyroud 2020); and 4) professionalizing police practice through the training of pracademics who will create, apply, and promote the use of research to provide better evidence for decision-making.

## Pillar One: Gladwell's "Coupling" and the "Power Few"

Malcolm Gladwell, the great "translator" of social science, wrote extensively about the research and teaching focus of the Cambridge program in his 2019 book *Talking to Strangers.* Starting with stories told by David Weisburd that brilliantly illustrate the fallacy of the displacement hypothesis (Gladwell 2019: chapter 10), Gladwell goes on to demonstrate the importance in targeting where the risk of harm is highest, and where intrusive tactics such as stop and search can be very effective (chapter 11). He then uses the death of Sandra Bland in police custody (chapter 12) to show how dangerous it can be for police to "uncouple" highly intrusive tactics from the highest levels of risk of high harm, such as hot spots of violence or the "power few" of victims, offenders, and places in any citywide distribution (Dudfield et al 2017). The Cambridge program is focused on this proportionality. As Gladwell quotes Sherman, "We have to appreciate that everything police do, in some ways, intrudes on someone's liberty. And so it's not just about putting police in the hot spots. It's also about having a sweet spot of just enough intrusion on liberty and not an inch—not an iota—more." (Gladwell 2019: 338).

## Pillar Two: Precision Policing with a Cambridge Crime Harm Index

The challenge of negotiating priorities in policing is a central theme of the Cambridge program, to which we add the aim of precision. While many policing innovations of the 20th century emphasized consultations with communities about priority problems, the massive

cuts in UK police budgets from 2010 to 2018 encouraged much greater emphasis on deciding what *not* to do. For that aim, there is no more useful principle than our statement that "Not all crimes are created equal." (Sherman 2007) The Sentencing Council of England and Wales, a statutory body tasked with ensuring a consistent national approach to sentencing, has produced sentencing guidelines. They provide a highly precise weighting for the relative severity of each crime category compared to that of all others (Sherman 2013: 47) and have been a central tool of the Cambridge program (Sherman, Neyroud & Neyroud 2016). The Cambridge Crime Harm Index (CHI) uses English sentencing guidelines, later supplemented with a broader system for counting crimes separately if they are generated by proactive policing or suffer other threats to reliability (Sherman et al 2020a).

The CHI has had international impact. Since 2016, graduates of the Cambridge course have been developing crime harm indices for Western Australia, Denmark, California, and Sweden. In most of our recent and ongoing randomized trials, our colleagues have reported comparisons between CHI results and those from frequency or prevalence. Virtually all of these analyses have shown that CHI measures yield results that are somewhat different from traditional crime outcomes (see, e.g., Ariel et al., 2016; Strang et al., 2017). Reassessments of previous studies based on less sensitive measures of recidivism are also now underway using CHI.

### Pillar Three: The Four "Ts": Targeting, Testing, Tracking and Transformation

Since the original formulation of evidence-based policing (EBP) (Sherman 1998), critics have claimed that the subject matter is narrowly about randomized trials. Yet, since 1996, the Cambridge course has taught broadly about applied criminology and police management. The centrality of hot spots (Sherman et al 1989) and the power few (Sherman 2007) was later given more visibility under the name of "targeting" for its equal standing with "testing" (as the aim of experiments and quasi-experiments). What we have long lamented, however, is the scarcity of research on "tracking," or measuring the degree to which police are doing what their policies require, as Sherman (2013) described its key role in the "Triple-T" of evidence-based policing.

Most recently, former Chief Constable Dr. Peter Neyroud, who is deputy director of the Cambridge Police Executive Program, has proposed a fourth "T." Reflecting our long-term emphasis on implementation of change, Neyroud's "T" emphasizes the use of best evidence in successful transformation of police agencies by implementing evidence-based policing across the board. Most importantly, it provides a means of asking many important questions, such as how many people (and what proportion of all staff) in a police agency should be trained or educated in EBP and at what pace. By what schedule, in effect, should any police agency try to equip its officers to use EBP in all the decisions they make? This question surrounds the fourth pillar of the course, with the answer in rapid development even as I write.

### Pillar Four: Pracademics United

The term "pracademic" is widely used to describe active practitioners in any profession who are also engaged in research or academic teaching on matters about that profession. That was the vision of Metropolitan Police Commander Alex Murray (but at the time a police inspector in West Midlands Police) and other graduates of our program who founded the Society for Evidence-Based Policing (SEBP) in 2010. The "mother" SEBP was followed by the founding of the Australian-New Zealand SEBP and the American and Canadian SEBPs. These societies helped to develop the identities of members as police pracademics, and the *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing* was established to publish articles written by them.

The theory of a growing a pracademic constituency in every police force is that an evidence-based approach creates a better climate for challenging a police agency to do better. This applies whether the challenge is to reduce disproportionate uncoupling of policing from harm, or simply to track practices more closely if they seem to threaten police legitimacy, such as stop and search. Our aim at Cambridge is to help make knowledge more accessible, increasingly through online training.[2] Knowledge alone cannot solve the global crisis of police legitimacy, but it may be the last best hope.

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2 https://www.cambridge-ebp.co.uk/training

# Policing Research in Crisis? The Role of Research Partnerships in Reforming Policing in Scotland

BY ELIZABETH ASTON, MEGAN O'NEILL, AND PENNY WOOLNOUGH

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Elizabeth Aston        Megan O'Neill        Penny Woolnough

Policing research partnerships have a valuable role to play in bringing together academics and practitioners, enhancing engagement and understanding, and reforming policing. Having a formal infrastructure to underpin partnerships means they are well placed to collaborate and respond during a crisis. In Scotland, COVID-19 has resulted in a dramatic societal shift and affected communities in diverse ways. Police Scotland and other agencies have been under unprecedented pressure to not only respond to regular public safety concerns but also enforce public health legislation, all while operating with a reduced workforce. During this same time, massive protests in the United States around police violence, use of force, and police legitimacy have also called for significant changes in policing. As an institutionalized partner with Police Scotland, we here at the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR; see sipr.ac.uk) have been considering how policing research partnerships can best provide both constructive and critical input on key policing issues that arise during crises.

## Role of SIPR in Crises

SIPR's mission is to support internationally excellent, multidisciplinary policing research to enable evidence-informed policy and practice. Founded in 2007, the institute brings together a consortium of 14 Scottish universities, Police Scotland, and the Scottish Police Authority that focuses on four aims. First, the institute facilitates independent and high-quality research of relevance to policing. SIPR also engages in a range of knowledge exchange activities to strengthen the evidence base on which policy and practice are improved and developed nationally and internationally. Additionally, the institute aims to nurture a culture of learning and innovation in policing.

Finally, SIPR promotes the development of national and international links between researcher, practitioner, and policing partners.

SIPR's strong collaborative foundation has been well placed to support and scrutinize policing during the current crises. For example, SIPR had a role in drawing together rapid research evidence briefings on topics of relevance to policing pandemics.[1] This was one way for research evidence to feed into policy and practice at a time other knowledge exchange activities were placed on hold. In addition to social media channels, a bespoke SIPR blog[2] was set up and international academic networks were used to exchange knowledge on the policing of lockdowns globally. Established links with academics were also used to support both existing internal oversight bodies in Police Scotland as well as new ones, such as the Independent Advisory Group,[3] an oversight mechanism developed to monitor temporary police powers in Scotland and that reports to the Scottish Police Authority. SIPR's close working relationships with policing and oversight organizations enabled rapid responses to bring evidence to practice when it was most needed.

## SIPR's Ongoing Role in Police Reform

SIPR's ongoing role in police reforms, however, extends far beyond periods of crisis. Two examples demonstrate how developed and structured research-practice infrastructures like SIPR can respond to calls for reform.

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1   See http://www.sipr.ac.uk/publications/pandemic-briefings
2   See https://blogs.ed.ac.uk/policingthelockdown-sipr/
3   See https://www.spa.police.uk/strategy-performance/independent-advisory-group-coronavirus-powers/

***Reforming stop-and-search policy and practice.*** Prior to 2014, there was very little scrutiny of the police practice of stop and search (stop and frisk) in Scotland, in sharp contrast to that in England and Wales. SIPR-related research, beginning with that of Kath Murray, brought the practice into sharp relief by revealing not only the large volume of searches being reported (more than double that of the London Metropolitan Police), but also the disproportionate use of the technique on young males (Murray 2014). Murray's work further highlighted the extent to which searches in Scotland were not based in statute, a practice known as "consensual searches."

SIPR and Police Scotland co-funded an evaluation of a reformed approach to stop and search, which was run as a pilot in the Fife region in 2015. The final report of the evaluation (O'Neill, Aston and Krause, 2015) highlighted that while some of the changes were good practice, the fundamental issues of disproportionality, volume, and non-statutory search remained. These findings from the evaluation were part of the body of evidence that informed the Scottish Government's Independent Advisory Group's assessment of stop and search and its ultimate recommendation to end the practice of consensual searches.[4]

Reform of stop and search in Scotland continued for another four years (Aston, Murray and O'Neill, 2019), with researchers from SIPR and its affiliated universities supporting Police Scotland, the Scottish Police Authority, and the Scottish Government throughout this journey. Rates of stop and search in Scotland are now a fraction of what they were before 2014 and are more accurate in relation to an item being found. Stop-and-search data recording mechanisms are also more robust and are published regularly on a Police Scotland website. Police Scotland are supporting a PhD student to assess the impact of the reform process on its officers and ensure that learning from this reform project can be taken into other policing spheres. Scottish academics are involved in the *Police Stops* COST Action, a network examining the practice across its 29 European members.[5]

***Improving the response to missing persons.*** One person is reported missing to police every 90 seconds in the UK. While most are traced alive, some have fatal outcomes. As the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic unfold, there is concern that there will be an increase in missing person cases, particularly those concerning very vulnerable individuals. The pandemic has had a negative impact on mental health and ongoing personal problems and stressful events are often triggers for a person to go missing (Taylor, Woolnough and Dickens, 2018). Furthermore, suicide is likely to become a more pressing concern as the longer-term effects of the pandemic are felt (Gunnell, et. al., 2020), and individuals who suicide away from home are more likely to become reported as a missing person (Woolnough, Magar and Gibb, 2019).

Over the past few years Scottish researchers have been working closely with Police Scotland to develop and enhance their policies and practices related to the investigation and search for missing people, positioning the organization well to respond to current challenges in this area brought on by COVID-19. Systematic analysis of closed police-recorded missing person cases led to new knowledge that has had significant impact on UK law enforcement via the implementation of geospatial profiling guidance (Gibb and Woolnough, 2007), ongoing delivery of training to investigators and specialist police search advisors, and provision of case-specific profiling for high-profile and complex cases. Feedback from officers has been extremely positive regarding the immediate operational utility of the translation of this research to practice.

Building on the success of this research, SIPR is also currently co-funding a PhD studentship to develop the first structured professional judgment tool for risk assessment of missing person cases.

## Future Goals and Directions

These examples of SIPR's work with Police Scotland illustrate not only the sustained impact that structured and long-term partnerships can have on policing reforms, but the ability of those partnerships to respond in times of crisis, such as pandemics, police violence, racism, and their implications such as calls to "defund" the police. However, in addition to increasing research capacity and fostering knowledge exchange, collaborations that include public engagement may also help to bring science to the forefront of addressing reforms. At the same time, science is not always neutral, objective, nor apolitical, and as researchers, we have to acknowledge that knowledge is socially and culturally produced. In our efforts to support evidence-informed policing our partnerships should engage with a wide range of evidence and value a variety of research methods. We should also consider our role in challenging systemic racism and improving Black and minority ethnic diversity in policing, academia, and, indeed, policing research partnerships themselves.

Challenges to meaningful co-production in policing research partnerships have been previously identified (Crawford, 2019), and as Martin and Wooff (2018) argue, the reality, at least in Scotland, is closer to collaboration than co-production. However, this can be regarded positively in terms of maintaining independence and a healthy critical distance, which would arguably be more difficult to sustain if true co-production was reached. Societal challenges do provide opportunities to critically reflect on and push for progressive and radical changes to the criminal justice system, and policing research partnerships can have a valuable role to play in these debates.

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4   See https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20180519113723/http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0048/00484527.pdf

5   See https://polstops.eu

# The Center for Violence Prevention and Community Safety at Arizona State University

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Danielle Wallace



Michael White

Over the last three decades, much of the research carried out by criminologists has consisted of secondary research that takes place within the confines of universities. This research is often written for an audience of academics rather than policymakers or practitioners. Moreover, much of this research is not carried out in partnership with justice agencies that could be directly influenced by the findings. At Arizona State University's (ASU) Center for Violence Prevention and Community Safety (CVPCS), our mission is to forge a different path, generating knowledge through high-quality, use-inspired research, and sharing that knowledge with stakeholders in justice agencies who can apply it in real-world settings to prevent crime and violence and enhance community safety.

In 2005, the CVPCS was created to respond to the growing need in Arizona to improve public safety and promote evidence-based approaches to violence prevention. In December 2006, the Watts family announced a $3 million donation over a four-year period to ASU's CVPCS. The gift was the largest single private investment in the 23-year history of ASU's West Campus. The Watts family made the donation with the intent of endowing a director of the center and investing in the center's operation. Since that time, the center's director, Dr. Charles Katz, along with faculty embedded within the center, have been awarded more than 60 grants and contracts totaling more than $15 million in external funding. Funders include local agencies such as the Arizona Criminal Justice Commission and the State of Arizona, as well as federal government agencies and foundations including the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the National Institute of Justice, the U.S. Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), Arnold Ventures, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Program. Currently, the center is housed on ASU's Downtown Phoenix campus, within the Watts College of Public Service and Community Solutions as part of the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

To achieve our mission of coupling use-inspired research with real-world applications for communities and justice stakeholders, we focus on the multifaceted development of students and social embeddedness through long-term, reciprocal relationships with local, national, and international communities for the purpose of generating practical research findings that help communities prevent violence and enhance community safety.

## Student Development

At the center, we stay true to our mission by embedding students—both undergraduate and graduate—in projects that generate high-quality research that is relevant to real-world problems. Over the past five years, we have employed more than 50 undergraduate students on sponsored projects. The center's undergraduate students have interviewed gang members on the streets of El Salvador, surveyed recently booked arrestees in jails and police officers in several cities, and worked with many police agencies to collect official data. We also have students embedded in several local law enforcement agencies where they have been authorized to use the agency's information systems to access meaningful data. Undergraduates at the center develop an appreciation for the research process. They also become familiar with the advantages of collaboration between public agencies and universities. Many of our students go on to work

with local criminal justice agencies and collaborate with us on sponsored projects of mutual interest.

Graduate students also play a major role in the current and future success of the center. We seek to train new scholars to engage in use-inspired research that speaks to real-world problems faced by justice agencies through collaboration with local, federal, and international agencies. Additionally, we train the center's graduate students to speak to a broad audience, not just academics, that includes policymakers, practitioners, students, and the public. We also help them tailor their research toward solutions to violence and associated crime, and to work alongside academics and policymakers from multiple disciplines including psychology, geography, law, medicine, and city planning.

## Community Relationships, Use-Inspired Research, and Capacity Building

To address our goal of community capacity building and use-inspired research, we seek to develop rich networks in the local, national, and international spheres. For example, deaths due to homicide, suicide, and drug overdose are critical issues for localities and states. To help guide Arizona and its communities on how to prevent such deaths, we are sponsored by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to administer three projects on behalf of the state: the National Violent Death Reporting System, the State Unintentional Drug Overdose Reporting Surveillance System, and the Rapid Opioid Detection program. These programs provide Arizona and its communities with a clearer understanding of violent and drug overdose deaths, which shape local decisions about needed prevention efforts and track progress over time.

The center is also sponsored by the BJA to serve as a technical assistance provider (alongside CNA and JSS) for the National Body-Worn Camera (BWC) Policy and Implementation Program. Drs. White and Katz, who served as two of the primary authors of the U.S. Department of Justice Body-Worn Camera Toolkit, have provided nearly 400 local police agencies with forward-looking information on best practices surrounding the implementation of BWCs. Related, Drs. Katz and White have served as the research partners for local police departments on five different BJA Strategies for Policing Innovation (SPI, formally Smart Policing) grants. The SPI projects have focused on the implementation and evaluation of BWCs, problem-oriented policing projects, de-escalation of police use of force, and improving gun crime investigations. The center also serves as the research partner on a BJA-sponsored project establishing the Crime Gun Intelligence Center.

In addition, much of the center's use-inspired research and capacity-building activities are carried out in Latin America and the Caribbean. We have completed a project funded by the UNDP to assess citizen insecurity throughout the Caribbean, and worked for the Eastern Caribbean's Regional Security System to diagnose the gang problem in nine Caribbean nations and develop a regional approach to responding to gangs. Dr. Maguire recently completed an evaluation of Project REASON, a replication of CURE Violence, in Trinidad, and Dr. Katz is nearing the completion of a UNDP-sponsored project training 20 first-generation crime analysts in 10 Caribbean countries. He also serves as the research partner on a USAID-funded project aimed at reducing risk factors for delinquency and gang joining through family-based interventions in St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, and Guyana.

The center has also completed several research projects for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and USAID in El Salvador and Honduras. The projects have examined the impact of a gang truce in El Salvador, the organizational structure of MS-13 in Central America and the United States, as well as the role of risk and protective factors in gang joining among school youth in El Salvador and Honduras. We recently completed a capacity-building project sponsored by USAID to train more than 20 Honduran police officers, prosecutors, and judges on applied research and conducted a randomized control experiment to evaluate the impact of a family-based intervention program (also sponsored by USAID) focused on risk factors associated with delinquency and gang joining in Honduras.

At the center, we also conduct timely, policy-relevant research that is directly linked to practices within multiple types of justice agencies. For example, Dr. Edward Maguire recently published a guidebook on protest policing through the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. The guidebook was the result of site visits to 15 police agencies and a two-day focus group meeting, which were sponsored by the Office of Community Policing Services. Dr. Michael White, whose work is being sponsored by BJA, is working with the Tempe Police Department to design, implement, and evaluate a new violence de-escalation training program. The training is based on de-escalation principles identified through focus groups and strategies from available best practices in de-escalation, and its effectiveness is currently being tested through a randomized controlled trial design. Additionally, Dr. Danielle Wallace recently received funding from the National Science Foundation to estimate the reciprocal relationship between COVID-19 infections of prisoners and staff and infections in the surrounding communities. The study's results will be used to help prisons determine which internal policies and practices best stem the spread of infections among prisoners and staff, but also into the community at large.

Furthermore, the center led numerous ASU faculty, graduate students, and alumni to produce an edited volume entitled *Transforming the Police: 13 Key Reforms*. The book, published by Waveland Press in January 2020, is consistent with the mission of the center. It features 13 essays, all written by authors associated with ASU, on timely and relevant police reform issues such as racial inequities, use of force, and police response to protests. In addition, the book includes a preface and 13 reaction essays, all written by current or former police leaders. It represents the precise blend of attention to scholarship, policy, and practice that defines the mission of the center.

# Engaged Scholarship in Police Agencies Has Never Been More Important: A Call to Action from the IACP/UC Center for Police Research and Policy

BY NICHOLAS CORSARO AND ROBIN S. ENGEL

**Nicholas Corsaro** *is the research director of the IACP/UC Center for Police Research and Policy and associate professor of criminal justice at the University of Cincinnati.*

**Robin S. Engel** *is the director of the IACP/UC Center for Police Research and Policy and professor of criminal justice at the University of Cincinnati.*

Nicholas Corsaro          Robin S. Engel

For decades, researchers at the University of Cincinnati (UC) have directly engaged with criminal justice practitioners to implement promising practices, conduct rigorous research, and provide training and technical assistance directly to the field. In April 2016, UC researchers expanded this tradition by partnering with executives from the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) to establish the Center for Police Research and Policy. With start-up funding from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, the purpose of the center is to bridge the gap between research and practice by summarizing existing evidence about the effectiveness of police operations, generating new evidence, and disseminating these findings to multiple audiences, including practitioners, academics, policymakers, and community members. All of the research conducted and disseminated is grounded within a framework of *reducing harm* in communities and within the policing profession. The center is organizationally structured as a collaborative model—directed by Professor Robin Engel (UC) and Director Erin Vermilye (IACP)—partnering researchers directly with practitioners by leveraging IACP's membership of more than 30,000 police executives from 155 countries (IACP, 2020).

The center and its partners are, as vividly noted by Sparrow (2008), committed to engaging in the "art and science of harm reduction." At its core, the center's staff, associates, sponsors, and law enforcement partners focus on three major types of harm that impact society both directly and indirectly:

1. Harms to individuals and communities resulting from crime and violence

2. Harms that under-evaluated police responses can have on communities

3. Harms that can befall police officers in the course of performing their duties

While these harms have received attention from police practice, academic research, and government policies over the last half-century, there is a building sense of urgency based on the confluence of unprecedented events (i.e., an international public health crisis, a national economic collapse, political divisiveness, and civil unrest sparked by disproportionate and excessive police uses of force against minority citizens). The police killing of George Floyd in May 2020 appeared to be the tipping point for a quarantined and divided nation that was still struggling to address systemic racism, as protesters from all walks of life took to the streets to demand change in police practices. And while the shutdown of businesses, schools, and much of civic life due to the COVID-19 public health crisis corresponded with a significant national reduction in property crime (PERF, 2020), firearm violence did not lessen in any discernable fashion among the largest urban areas. As highlighted by Hatchimonji et al.'s (2020) aptly titled study, *Trauma Does Not Quarantine*, persistent community violence problems are unfortunately—though unsurprisingly—resilient.

Additionally, the current rush of policymakers to mandate changes to police policies and training—fueled by the increasing vocal demands of a citizenry tired of years of perceived neglect to their calls for action—has led to advancement of police reform efforts that are often not evidence-based, and could result in unintended consequences that cause increased harm to the very people they are designed to protect. These events have further illuminated the critical importance of engaged scholarship (i.e., participative research involving key stakeholders to unravel complex social problems, see Van de

Ven, 2007) to more precisely build evidence and guide practices in policing to address these major social issues.

Since the center's inception, our partners and researchers have tackled multiple projects across the country using the most rigorous implementation and evaluation criteria to assess, learn, and guide agencies attempting to address similar problems. Below we describe a few research projects and initiatives to highlight critical lessons learned from our engaged scholarship.

### Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) Initiatives

A formal partnership between LVMPD and the center was formed in the spring 2017, with a focus to address persistent problems associated with gun, gang, and overall violence across the city using evidence-based strategies. LVMPD committed personnel and resources to implement three major initiatives: 1) a hot spots randomized controlled trial (RCT) to reduce street violence in 22 chronic problem street segments located across the city; 2) offender notification sessions (partnering with the Nevada Department of Public Safety Probation and Parole) with messaging heavily focused on compassion, support, and the harm inflicted by violence in order to assess the likelihood of offender recidivism via a RCT; and 3) a Place-Network Investigation (PNI), which relied on surveillance and intelligence gathering, external agency coordination and partnership building, and making changes to physical locations in place-management practices and enforcement actions at a high-crime condominium complex and strip mall that housed a network of active offenders. In short, LVMPD and its partners focused on chronic places and offenders as part of their strategic initiatives.

The evaluation findings from the LVMPD experiment demonstrated a significant decline in street violence during the experimental period (Corsaro et al., 2020). Also, the offender notification sessions appeared to have an impact. Low-to-moderate risk parolees who were affiliated with gangs but who had no history of violent crime themselves were significantly less likely to recidivate than their randomized control group counterparts (Engel et al., 2020), suggesting that call-in sessions may have differential impact associated with risk levels of violence among probationers and parolees. Finally, the Las Vegas PNI indicated that four specific actions are needed to enhance implementation model fidelity (Herold et al., 2020): 1) leveraging a project "champion" at the highest possible rank; 2) using data-driven approaches for site selection; 3) including supplemental personnel to the project with key abilities and tasks (e.g., crime analysis, legal personnel, etc.); and 4) creating a formal PNI investigative board led by city/county management representatives.

The center had two overarching goals when engaging in this (and similar) partnership(s): 1) to reduce violence, and 2) to develop long-term networks of capacity between criminal justice officials in Las Vegas to operate in a coordinated and directed fashion in the future.

### Police Training at NYPD and LMPD

Despite the critical importance of police training, its effectiveness is rarely studied systematically (Lum et al., 2016). Two of the most widely called-for trainings for police reform efforts are implicit bias and de-escalation training—neither of which have been systematically studied to determine their effectiveness (Engel, McManus, & Herold, 2020). To begin to fill these gaps, center researchers partnered with the Finn Institute and the New York City Police Department (NYPD) to evaluate the impact of Fair and Impartial Policing (FIP, or implicit bias training) using a multimethod study design that included RCT components (Worden et al., 2020). Likewise, center researchers partnered with the Louisville Metro Police Department (LMPD) to implement and assess—via a multimethod study including a step-wedge RCT—the impact of Integrating Communications, Assessment, and Tactics (ICAT) de-escalation training. These studies were specifically designed to generate evidence in areas of great policy relevance but void of rigorous evaluation (Engel, McManus, & Isaza, 2020) and to broadly disseminate the findings to the field through our partnership with IACP.

The NYPD findings showed that officer understanding of implicit bias improved considerably post-training, while implicit bias comprehension decayed over time (Worden et al., 2020). There was little to no evidence of a training effect on officer behaviors at the precinct level at NYPD. De-escalation training in Louisville, however, was associated with a statistically significant decline in use of force, officer injuries, and citizen injuries (Engel et al., 2020)—and these significant reductions occurred above and beyond observed changes in arrest patterns. The combined findings across NYPD and LMPD suggest that there are clear benefits, but also real-world constraints regarding police training programs designed to reduce implicit biases and officer use of force. These findings reflect the broader approach of the IACP/UC Center, which is to provide empirical tests of strategies, ideas, and principles that may lead to real-world *harm reduction* in policing and the broader criminal justice system.

### Conclusion

As demand for major police reform continues to dominate the public discourse, engaged contributions between law enforcement, researchers, government officials, and community members should be guiding decision-making. The research generated at the IACP/UC Center for Police Research and Policy highlights a wide variety of strategies that rely on a diverse array of approaches designed to reduce harm—and demonstrates the need to generate evidence to advance police reforms. Engaged initiatives and research are taking place right now to minimize obstructions to reform and to create strong bonds among the various criminal justice actors, community participants, and the training programs that exist today. Future potential partners in the field can wait for the story of these initiatives to be told by others, or rather (we hope) become inspired by these types of efforts and contribute to them as well.

# Reimagining Public Safety: The Policing Project at the New York University Law School

BY MAUREEN Q. MCGOUGH

*Maureen McGough is the chief of staff at the Policing Project at the New York University School of Law.*

In the months following the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, the concept of "defunding" the police—redirecting funds away from police departments and towards other government agencies—has gained significant traction in jurisdictions across the country. Although the framing of "defunding" can seem extreme to some, the driving concept of realigning public resources to better meet public needs is long overdue.

Communities, reformers, and police seem to agree—we ask our cops to do too much. And we ask them to engage in responses for which they often are ill-trained, ill-equipped, and insufficiently resourced. We ask them to spend limited time and resources on interventions that don't reduce crime, and then hold them accountable for crime rates that result from a host of social factors beyond their control. Not only is this ineffective to address underlying issues and improve community outcomes, it often results in overcriminalization and overuse of force, with the impact felt largely in Black communities and other communities of color.

At the Policing Project[1] at the New York University (NYU) School of Law, we have pursued our agenda of reimaging public safety since our founding five years ago. It is past time for a national conversation about what public safety for everyone looks like, how it is best achieved, and what the appropriate role of policing is in achieving it. The current zeitgeist for reform reflects that need: Communities deeply long for peace and security, and the current model of public safety often fails to provide it.

## The Policing Project at NYU Law School

Barry Friedman, Jacob D. Fuchsberg Professor of Law and Affiliated Professor of Politics at NYU Law and author of *Unwarranted: Policing Without Permission,* founded the Policing Project five years ago to promote democratic accountability in policing, reduce disparate outcomes and harm to communities, and ensure public safety efforts address the root causes of instability and insecurity. We work with stakeholders from across the ideological spectrum[2]—from police leadership to union officials, to community activists and policy think tanks, to elected officials, to academics and companies in the private sector— to promote public safety through transparency, equity, and democratic governance of policing.

Maureen Q. McGough

At the Policing Project, we are committed to cost-benefit analysis, which is severely underutilized in policing. By integrating insights from these analyses with additional social science research and legal principles for democratic engagement, we build programs and policies that not only are evidence-based, but also protect individual civil liberties, foster racial justice, and ensure communities have a meaningful say in how they are policed.

## Reimagining What Police Do

From our center's inception, reimagining public safety[3] and how it is best achieved have been at the forefront of our efforts. Much of our past and current research has focused on understanding the impact of police practices, addressing racial disparities, exploring the extent to which these practices achieve their intended public safety outcomes, and envisioning an improved public safety response that relies less on enforcement and more on social interventions administered by professionals appropriately resourced and qualified to do the job.

*Building a framework for transformation.* As jurisdictions across the country grapple with how best to reallocate public funding, we are working hard to ensure that policymakers have a practical, data-driven framework to guide decision-making. We also are hosting a series of convenings with researchers, policymakers, community advocates, and police to chart a course for evidence-informed transformation, including identifying priority areas for replacing police responses with those more suited to societal needs.

*Exploring alternative approaches to traffic safety.* Traffic stops are the most frequent type of police-initiated contact, with more than 20 million people stopped annually in the United States. Common sense dictates that traffic stops should lead to fewer accidents and safer roads. And many policing agencies make traffic stops for pretextual reasons on the theory that stops are an effective tool for addressing serious crimes. But traffic stops lead to significant harms, while the benefits of at least some of the enforcement practices are uncertain at best. Stops can lead to aggressive use of fines and fees, which fall hardest on those least able to bear the cost. Numerous studies

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1   https://www.policingproject.org/
2   https://www.policingproject.org/our-partners

3   https://www.policingproject.org/rps-landing

have demonstrated the prevalence of racial profiling and disparate outcomes in traffic stops. And stops can be dangerous both for police and for members of the public.

In 2018, we partnered with the Stanford Computational Policy Lab to perform a first-of-its-kind cost-benefit analysis[4] of the use of high volumes of traffic stops by the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department (MNPD) to address serious crime. We found[5] notable racial disparities in traffic stops, with higher numbers of disparities for nonmoving violations such as broken taillights or expired tags. Most important, we showed that the practice of making large numbers of stops in high-crime neighborhoods was not an effective strategy for reducing crime. These results, together with interviews of Nashville residents about their experiences with policing, informed a series of recommendations to MNPD. The department since has implemented changes that resulted in a sharp reduction in traffic stops.

We are building on these efforts in a new portfolio of research exploring the degree to which enforcement by police of traffic laws is necessary or beneficial for equitable public safety outcomes. We are seeking to understand the efficacy of the current enforcement model and the extent to which technological and other alternatives may be a better means of achieving road safety.

*Transforming first response.* If the footprint of policing is narrowed, we are left with the obvious question: What should first response look like? We are building a research portfolio to explore the effectiveness of existing response alternatives—such as co-response models or non-enforcement responses—and learning from promising practices in other countries. Our goal is an entirely reimagined first responder paradigm built on the model of emergency room doctors. Generalist professionals would serve as first responders. They would be trained in a range of skills such as mediation, social work, knowledge of social services and resources, and basic emergency medicine. Their function would be to stabilize situations, diagnose the underlying problem, and resolve it if they are able. If the situation cannot be resolved, they would have the means to call in other government services. The foundation for this response already exists in promising practices such as the Memphis Crisis Intervention Team (CIT), or Houston's Crisis Call Diversion Program. Importantly, this model would recognize the need for force and law enforcement in some situations, and these first responders might have to have those skills. Alternatively, police would exist as they do today and accompany or back up responders as needed. In either case, the reward structure would be against enforcement and in favor of other resolutions.

*Transforming dispatch.* To support these alternative responses, 911 dispatch also must be reformed. Half of what police do involves responding to calls for service. Research shows the significant impact the framing by the dispatchers has on police behavior and perceptions of a possible threat. And a recent study[6] by Dr. Jessica Gillooly,

a postdoctoral fellow with the Policing Project, shines light on a previously overlooked call-taker function—risk appraisal. Simply put, if a call taker is unable to assess risk accurately, they will be unable to determine when to send alternative nonpolice responders, or when a police response is necessary from the outset. We are embarking on a multipart study of 911 dispatch and police response to understand a) how jurisdictions are approaching dispatch and response during the current pandemic, when many responders are not doing so in person; and b) how to disaggregate broad call categories into more fine-grained risk categories, so that the necessity of dispatching force can be determined more accurately at the time the call is taken.

## Reimagining Who Police Are

Although the system of first response needs to be reimagined, we also must rethink immediately who police are. At present it is even more critical to hire officers with the inherent skills necessary to engage with communities meaningfully and peacefully, de-escalate encounters, and close the persistent rift between officers and the people they serve.

One strategy in which there is significant promise and growing scientific evidence is deceptively simple: Hire, retain, and promote more women officers. Research shows that women officers use less force and less excessive force, are better able to interact with diverse communities, are perceived by the public as more trustworthy, are associated with better outcomes for crime victims, and may even cost less than their male counterparts because they are involved in fewer lawsuits.

This fall, the Policing Project is launching the 30x30 Initiative to reach 30 percent representation of women in police recruit classes by 2030. We will build a national collaboration of researchers, policymakers, community stakeholders, police, and professional associations to advance the initiative. We will design and launch programs and research that remove discriminatory barriers to entry for qualified women candidates, support retention and promotion of qualified women officers, and address internal policies and cultures that impede women's interest in the profession and ability to succeed within it. Even in a world of reimagined first response, there is a need to ensure the work force is diverse along many dimensions, including gender diversity.

## The Role of Scientific Evidence in Reimagining Public Safety

Research and data are essential—not only to identify harmful impacts of policing strategies and practices that must be reformed but also to determine what works and what matters to produce and sustain public safety for all communities. As we as a nation reckon with a long history of discrimination and the disparate impacts of the criminal justice system on people of color, we cannot afford to build a reimagined system on anything less than a solid foundation of scientific evidence. At the Policing Project, we promote the use of cost-benefit analysis and social science research broadly, and applaud the work of the Center for Evidence-Based Policing to make scientific research a foundational component of criminal justice policies and practices.

4   https://www.policingproject.org/nashville
5   bit.ly/NYUTraffic
6   bit.ly/911Callers

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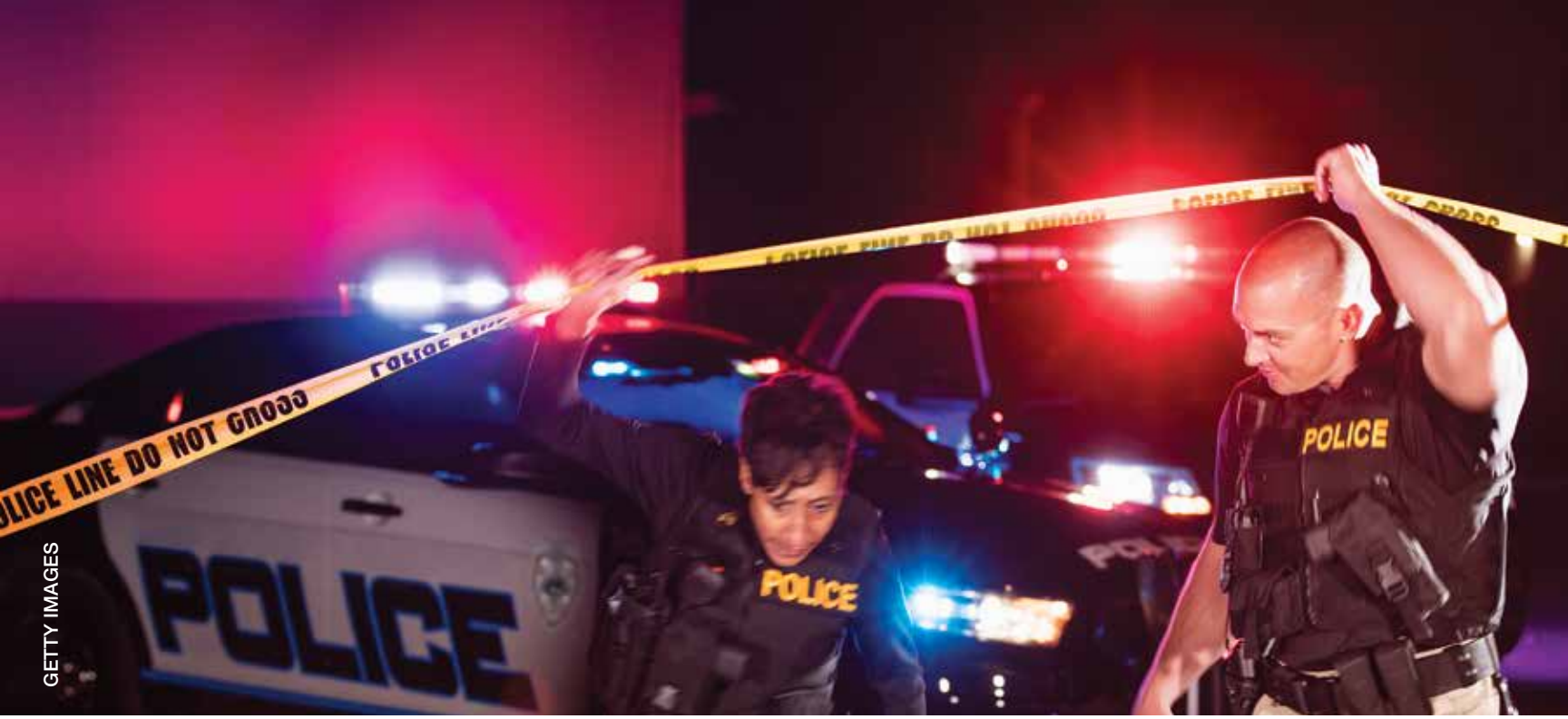
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### Future

In the next few years, the center's leadership will continue to realize its goal of social embeddedness through the actions of community capacity building and use-inspired research. We aim to pivot toward understanding the problems facing American policing through increased interdisciplinary work and the stipulation of reforms that every police agency should consider adopting. The School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Arizona State University has invested heavily in recruiting faculty with expertise on policing and police research, attracting some of the top policing researchers in the world. We will coordinate a collaboration of the school's policing faculty and its alumni and doctoral students to take stock of policing and police reform and set an agenda for future research and practice.

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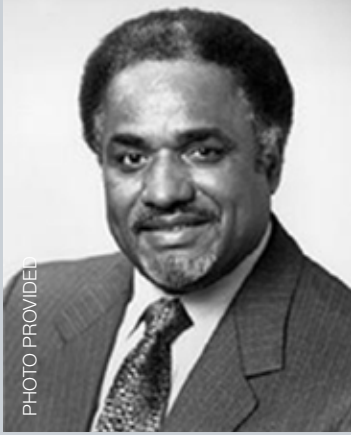
# IN MEMORIAM
# Hubert Williams

BY DAVID WEISBURD

In early March 2020, Hubert Williams passed away. He was one of the leaders of the movement to reform American policing that began in the 1980s and was instrumental in advancing minorities in law enforcement. He started his career as a police officer, becoming the first Black police director in the Newark, New Jersey, Police Department in 1974. In his early 40s, he was also one of the youngest police chiefs in the country and the youngest director ever appointed in Newark. At the time, it was almost unheard of for a Black officer to become a police chief. Indeed, hate groups attempted to torch his house with his wife and children inside shortly after his appointment.

During his tenure as director, he supported some of the most innovative policing studies of the time. The Police Foundation's Newark Foot Patrol Experiment and the Reducing Fear of Crime Experiment were both conducted in the Newark Police Department under his tenure. These studies pioneered community policing ideas and inspired James Q. Wilson and George Kelling to develop the theory of "broken windows" policing. He was one of the most groundbreaking police executives in the country and a major advocate of police innovation.

Because of his pioneering work in Newark, Hubert was appointed president of the National Police Foundation in 1985, following the retirement of NYPD Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy from the post. He was the foundation's longest-serving president, leading the foundation for 27 years. Following his work in Newark, Hubert led a series of efforts to enhance and advance community policing strategies. The Police Foundation was a key partner in the National Community Policing Consortium that sought to embed community policing philosophies and activities in agencies throughout the country. Hubert also advanced a series of other innovative programs that worked on the cutting edge of American policing.

Hubert was a friend and colleague over the last 20 years. I met Hubert for the first time in 1997 when the Police Foundation sought to reinvigorate its role as a leader of cutting-edge policing research. Hubert recognized that a new generation of work at the foundation was needed to maintain its role as the leading organization for advancing policing based on evidence. When we first spoke, I told him that I was not going to leave my university position to work with the foundation. It seemed to me at the time, that what Hubert was planning was simply not possible, and even more so because my appointment was in Jerusalem. But Hubert's approach was that every barrier could be overcome, and that the more we spoke, the more he felt that this was going to work. What I realized at the time was that he saw the foundation as a key player in improving American policing, and if maintaining that goal meant thinking way outside the box, then so be it. Our partnership was typical of his commitment to the Police Foundation and to the advancement of evidence-based policing.

Over the next two decades, we would work together to develop a series of innovative studies and programs. For example, together we developed the Ideas in Policing Series, to create a research community intended on strengthening research-practice partnerships. The inaugural lecture and publication was Lawrence Sherman's *Evidence Based Policing*—which, like many other publications of the series, has had important impacts in the field.[1] We established a Research Advisory Committee that helped to bring new research ideas to the foundation. We created the Crime Mapping Laboratory, led by Rachel (Boba) Santos, which became instrumental in emphasizing the importance of crime and place in American policing. For all of these ventures, Hubert brought the prestige and financial support of the foundation—and he participated in all of these efforts bringing the unique perspective of a lawyer, police chief, and leader of the premier American research organization for policing. He also supported a series of innovative studies on crime and crime hot spots that were to have a lasting influence on the way we view crime and policing.

Police science in America today would look very different without Hubert Williams, and indeed my own research would look very different. Hubert was a facilitator and innovator. He had a tremendous heart and was a warm and gregarious person. I remember fondly when we went together to New York City to convince Howard Safir, then police commissioner, that a rigorous study of Compstat was necessary. We failed, in part because Compstat had gotten such "good news" in the press, and in the politically charged New York City environment, evidence could only bring "bad news." We shared a wonderful day together discussing policing and the difficulty of developing research. We agreed to seek other funds, which led to our national study of Compstat supported by the National Institute of Justice.

For his lifelong efforts, Hubert was one of the first individuals to be inducted into the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy's Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame. He also served on the advisory board of our center in its formative years, giving us much good advice. All of us who knew Hubert well will miss him very much. But his influence on American policing and American police research is enduring.

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1  See https://www.policefoundation.org/ideas-in-american-policing/#:~:text=Ideas%20in%20American%20Policing%20is,in%20new%20and%20innovative%20ways

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