Translational Criminology

FALL 2022

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

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GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

From the Directors

As we emerge from the most serious consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, we are pleased to publish the 22nd issue of *Translational Criminology*. Our magazine has become an essential resource for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners, and we think it is one of the most important efforts at the CEBCP. Within its pages, you'll find several features that provide examples of CEBCP's core values: translating, disseminating, and implementing scientific evidence into justice practices.

For example, the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame 2022 inductees—the exemplars of these values—are showcased in the first feature. Read about their accomplishments here, and head to the Hall (https://cebcp.org/hall-of-fame/), where you can read more about their work and philosophies. Weisburd and colleagues then discuss their recently published and highly anticipated research on achieving crime prevention and community legitimacy using procedural justice in crime hot spots. Next, Lee summarizes a workshop spearheading a new initiative on cybercrime at CEBCP, highlighting both opportunities and challenges in this research area. Two features (Sherman & Lum; O'Shea) examine the prospects and difficulties in taking an evidence-based policing approach in international donor support. Two more articles explore the importance of youth voice (Stern et al.) and victim collaboration (Hoogesteyn et al.) in conducting research and implementing science through training. And Dobrin and Wolf explore the need for more data and research in volunteer policing. While these features reflect a wide variety of topics, they sharply focus on the same goal: improving the translation of criminology in practice.

We would also like to thank all of you for making the 2022 CEBCP symposium an incredible success. More than 350 people registered for this in-person-only event, which featured the theme, "*Returning to Evidence-Based Crime Policy: Evidence Matters.*" Participants enjoyed almost 40 highly-curated presentations focused on cutting-edge research and practice of the most current justice policy issues. At the awards luncheon, we recognized nine new inductees into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame (all highlighted in a special feature in this issue). We were incredibly honored to present CEBCP's Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy to Eric H. Holder, Jr., the former Attorney General of the United States. In an inspiring speech, he encouraged us to keep pressing forward with science and criminal justice reform.

The symposium marks a collective emergence and renewal by all of us here at CEBCP. At the symposium, we could hear and feel the excitement in the air about returning to business. For many attendees, the symposium was their first in-person event since 2019 and a chance to reconnect with past partners and new friends. The recently appointed directors of the National Institute of Justice (Nancy La Vigne) and the Office for Victims of Crime (Kristina Rose) were on hand to provide insights into the future of our fields of research and practice. Within each panel, there was a sense that while the landscape of justice is always changing, the importance of, and demands for, science remain a much-needed priority.

But the symposium also marked the accomplishments of the CEBCP since its humble beginnings in 2008. This year, we were proud to report in our annual report to the dean of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences a total grants portfolio of $42.2 million since our inception. Twelve of our research assistants have received their doctorates from GMU and have gone on to successful careers. Our website has garnered close to 4 million views, and we have brought together scholars and practitioners from around the world in over 26 national events. We have given out 76 awards, supporting practitioners and researchers committed to ensuring that science is part of criminal justice policy and practice. We have collaborated with countless community groups, justice agencies, colleges and universities, and governments at the local, state, national, and international levels. The CEBCP has grown from having two professors and two graduate students to an organization with dozens of faculty members, research assistants and associates, and senior fellows from both within and outside Mason.

Of course, the CEBCP is known for not resting on its laurels. We have exciting new developments that you will see in the next 5 years. Most relevant here, we intend to take *Translational Criminology* to the next level and will call upon more of you to contribute to the magazine. With the strong support of our academic department, college, funders, and partners, we will also be starting some exciting new initiatives that continue to translate and institutionalize research into everyday justice practices. We hope you will join us for all of this and our next symposium, scheduled for June 2024.

Thank you all for your continued support and interest in evidence-based crime policy.

Cynthia Lum
Director and Editor of *Translational Criminology*

David Weisburd
Executive Director

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy
Department of Criminology, Law and Society
George Mason University
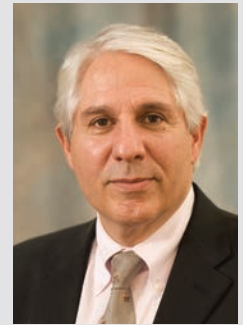
The Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame 2022 Inductees

*T*he Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame recognizes innovative law enforcement practitioners who have been champions of the development and use of research, analysis, and evidence-based practices in their agencies. These individuals represent the engine that drives evidence-based policing. They not only help make high-quality police scholarship possible but also advance significant reforms in policing by utilizing science in their decision making.

Since the inception of the Hall in 2010, 58 individuals have been inducted into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame. At the June 2022 CEBCP Symposium, nine more policing leaders were inducted. The CEBCP congratulates their many successes, which can be explored at the CEBCP's Hall of Fame (https://cebcp.org/hall-of-fame/).
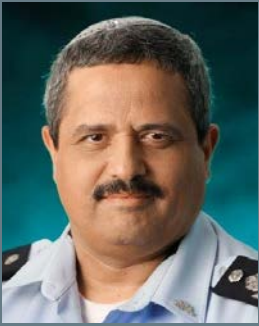
Roni Alsheich
Commissioner (retired),
Israeli National Police

Roni Alsheich served as the 18th Commissioner of the Israeli National Police from 2015-2018. His career spans 38 years in policing in Israel. Commissioner Alsheich was nominated by Professors Badi Hasisi, David Weisburd, Simon Perry, and Tal Jonathan-Zamir of Hebrew University. Commissioner Alsheich is recognized for introducing several evidence-based reforms into the Israeli National Police focused on crime prevention, problem-oriented policing, and legitimacy policing. He is honored for his work on a holistic, evidence-based strategy called "EMUN." In Hebrew, the word EMUN means "trust." The EMUN strategy is an evidence-based approach anchored in the use of problem-solving, information and data-based policing, and community feedback into local police practices to reduce crime and improve police-public relations, especially with minority communities. This strategy involved not only crime prevention at the local level but also infusing a science-based and analytic mentality into police officers. In their nomination, Professor Hasisi and colleagues praised Commissioner Alsheich for using this evidence-based approach to combine problem-solving with procedural justice and fair treatment in local policing operations (the evaluation of EMUN was published in *Criminology & Public Policy*).

Loren Atherley
Director of Performance Analytics and
Research, Seattle (WA) Police Department

Loren Atherley is the Director of Performance Analytics and Research for the Seattle Police Department, where he has served since 2013. Director Atherley was nominated by Professor Matthew Hickman of Seattle University. He is recognized for being integral in pushing the boundaries of evidence-based policing in the Seattle Police Department through his persistent work with researchers from several universities and centers over many years. Mr. Atherley has been central to Seattle Police Department's development as a learning organization and research laboratory. His partnerships and projects have a common theme – reforming police organizations through science and analysis. His studies take on often challenging topics such as the use of force, crisis intervention training, certification practices, over-policing, investigations, and crime prevention. He is currently working on a large-scale experimental project with the CEBCP to improve police response to victims of serious crimes. Mr. Atherley also has developed innovations in records management and data sharing. In his nomination, Professor Hickman commended Mr. Atherley as "an individual with a deep understanding of and respect for the value of science-based approaches in policing. He is the driving force behind SPD's research and analysis program."

R. Mark Evans
Deputy Chief Executive,
New Zealand Police

Mark Evans is the Deputy Chief Executive of the New Zealand Police. His 40-year career in policing spans multiple countries, including England, Northern Ireland, Australia, and now New Zealand. Deputy Chief Evans was nominated by Professor Lorraine Mazerolle of the University of Queensland for his efforts in establishing and fostering the success of the New Zealand Evidence-Based Policing Centre, which focuses on institutionalizing evidence-based policing in the New Zealand Police Service. Over the last four years, the Centre has funded and led dozens of collaborative projects, studies, and evaluations of police operational practices. These projects have focused on topics such as family-based violence, cybercrime, hot spots policing, bail, implicit bias, road policing, and mental health co-response. The Centre also works to expand the dissemination of research knowledge through systematic and rapid reviews and helps agencies develop better operations that are anchored in this research evidence. Professor Mazerolle commended Deputy Chief Evans's efforts in her nomination, noting that "his leadership in establishing the New Zealand Evidence-Based Policing Centre sets the world benchmark in how evidence-based policing can be organizationally embedded in policing."

Maris Herold
Chief, Boulder (CO) Police Department

Maris Herold is the Chief of the Boulder Police Department, the former Chief of the University of Cincinnati Police Division, and was a career officer and commander in the Cincinnati Police Department. Chief Herold was nominated by Professor Robin Engel and Hall of Fame member James Whalen of the University of Cincinnati. Chief Herold is recognized for her extensive work in implementing evidence-based approaches to combat violence and other challenging community concerns in every agency she has served. One of her most significant accomplishments is developing, implementing, and evaluating PIVOT, now known as Place Network Investigations. This program significantly helped to reduce violent crime over multiple years in several jurisdictions using problem-solving approaches in crime hot spots and was recognized with a Goldstein Excellence Award in Problem-Oriented Policing. Chief Herold has also been an early adopter and tester of de-escalation training and has fostered innovative collaborations in addressing homelessness and operationalizing mental health co-response. In their nomination, Engel and Whalen praise Chief Herold as "a national thought-leader of evidence-based policing in the areas of problem-solving, place-based policing strategies, and violence reduction."

Jeremiah Johnson
Sergeant, Darien (CT) Police Department

Jeremiah Johnson, Ph.D., is a Patrol Sergeant in the Darien Connecticut Police Department, where he has served since 2002. He was nominated by Hall of Fame members Renee Mitchell and Jason Potts and several leaders of the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing. Dr. Johnson is a consummate advocate for evidence-based policing in both practice and academia. He led his agency's first randomized controlled trial of enhanced patrol vehicle lighting, which has been replicated in at least nine different jurisdictions across Canada and the United States. Dr. Johnson has also made significant efforts to spread evidence-based policing into academia through his instruction of research methods at the University of New Haven, where he instructs the next generation of police officers and researchers. In addition, he has created a Twitter bot to help disseminate research and plays a central role in the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing. Cynthia Lum, director of the CEBCP, commends Dr. Johnson as "a model for how first-line supervisors should approach deployment strategies from an evidence-based perspective." Colleagues at ASEBP praise him as "a vanguard of the evidence-based policing movement."

Richard "RJ" Johnston
Deputy Chief of Police, Barrie (Ontario, Canada) Police Service

Rich Johnston is Deputy Chief of the Barrie Police Service in Ontario, Canada, where he has served for 24 years. He was nominated by Professor Laura Huey of the University of Western Ontario. Deputy Chief Johnston is recognized for both developing the evidence base for policing in Canada and working to institutionalize an evidence-based approach into Canadian police agencies. He and his colleagues led the Barrie Police Service to become one of the first Canadian police agencies to conduct randomized field trials, and he has partnered with researchers to conduct several studies in his agency. These studies have tested collaborative solutions for high-risk individuals, documented intimate partner violence during COVID, evaluated patrol car visibility to reduce traffic accidents, and studied several correlates to crime trends. In her nomination, Professor Huey notes that Deputy Chief Johnston has been especially central to turning the Barrie Police Service into a teaching institution where innovations are developed, and other police services can learn about evidence-based policing. He also advocates for personnel in Barrie to receive training on evidence-based policing and plays an active role in advancing it in the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police.

Tarrick McGuire

Assistant Chief,
Arlington (TX) Police Department

Tarrick McGuire, Ph.D., is Assistant Chief of the Arlington Texas Police Department, where he has served since 2003. Assistant Chief McGuire was nominated by Professor Daniel Nagin of Carnegie Mellon University. Dr. McGuire is recognized for his development and use of research to improve youth outcomes and increase police legitimacy. He has implemented an evidence-based mentoring partnership between police and minority youth that strives to simultaneously reduce offending while improving trust and legitimacy with young people. He co-developed a trust-building model called "Policing Inside-Out" that prompted dialogic communication and restorative justice between police officers and students at historically Black colleges. Dr. McGuire has introduced a procedural justice process in the Arlington City Jail to improve inmate perception of law enforcement, reduce complaints, and is testing how to reduce officer wait time. With colleagues at CEBCP, he facilitated his agency's involvement in a comprehensive study of investigative practices. Recently, Dr. McGuire and police leaders Dr. Shon Barnes and Dr. Obed Magny created the documentary, *THE 54th MILE: Black Law Enforcement Leaders' Journey to Heal the Racial Divide*, which focuses on reimagining police education and racial healing

Edwin C. Roessler, Jr.

Chief (retired), Fairfax County (VA)
Police Department

Ed Roessler retired in 2021 as the Chief of Police of Fairfax County Police Department, where he served for 32 years. He was nominated by Professors Richard Bennett and Brad Bartholomew of American University. Chief Roessler is recognized for his sustained research partnerships and efforts in establishing Fairfax County Police Department as a learning organization. His longstanding relationship with the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy led to two significant random sample community surveys, a multi-method study on the impacts of technology on policing, studies of calls for service and police proactivity, and experiments on hot spots policing. Chief Roessler also partnered with American University to implement one of the largest randomized controlled trials of body-worn cameras to determine the effectiveness of cameras and their impacts on officers

and the community. Other highlights of Chief Roessler's evidence-based leadership include reviewing and enhancing his agency's crime analysis programs, creating a cyber and forensics bureau, reforming use of force policies and responses to mental health calls for service through analysis, enhancing employee wellness programs to reduce suicides, and assisting with research on law enforcement responses to COVID-19.

C. Daniel Wagner

Deputy Superintendent, Cambridge (MA)
Police Department

Daniel Wagner is Deputy Superintendent of the Cambridge Police Department, where he has served since 1996. He was nominated by Anthony Braga and Brandon Turchan of the University of Pennsylvania and David Weisburd of George Mason University. Superintendent Wagner is recognized for his vital leadership in two significant multi-agency experiments. The first study tested procedural justice training to improve police-citizen encounters in crime hot spots and was recently published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. This study found that procedural justice training can improve officer behavior in hot spots and reduce crime. As Braga and colleagues assert, "Put simply, this experiment would not have happened without Wagner's guidance and close involvement in training officers and implementing the study." Deputy Superintendent Wagner also collaborated with Justice & Security Strategies, Inc., to test a program published in Police Quarterly targeting high-risk offenders across three neighboring Massachusetts jurisdictions. Throughout his career, he has also worked tirelessly to implement reforms in crime analysis and police-citizen interactions to improve police outcomes. He played a pivotal role in founding the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing.

Congratulations to the Evidence-Based Policing
Hall of Fame, Class of 2022!

Incorporating Procedural Justice into Hot Spots Policing: Lessons from a Multicity Randomized Trial

BY DAVID WEISBURD, CODY W. TELEP, HEATHER VOVAK, TARYN ZASTROW, ANTHONY A. BRAGA, AND BRANDON TURCHAN

David Weisburd is a distinguished professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and Executive Director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. Cody Telep is an associate professor and Associate School Director in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Arizona State University. Heather Vovak is a research scientist at the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington, DC. Taryn Zastrow is a doctoral student in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society and a graduate research assistant at the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason University. Anthony Braga is the Jerry Lee Professor of Criminology and Director of the Crime and Justice Policy Lab in the Department of Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania. Brandon Turchan is a doctoral candidate in the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University and a research fellow at the Crime and Justice Policy Lab at the University of Pennsylvania.

The push for police reform increased dramatically after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020. Many reform efforts focus on police behavior in encounters with the public, and particularly, addressing complaints about police treatment of individuals in high-crime areas. This concern about police treatment has been a central critique of proactive policing strategies. While there is evidence that proactive policing can effectively reduce crime in hot spots (NAS, 2018), there are concerns that intensive crime-fighting strategies could have negative effects on police trust (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). More generally, there has been a growing narrative that practitioners must choose between reform and police effectiveness.

In our recently completed study (Weisburd et al., 2022), we show that police can simultaneously focus on reform and crime reduction. Our study considered whether crime hot spots that are patrolled by officers who are trained to use procedural justice in their interactions with the public would show evidence of effective police reform without a loss of crime control effectiveness. Procedural justice focuses on fair treatment in interactions with the public (giving voice, showing neutrality, treating people with dignity and respect, and demonstrating trustworthy motives). It has been linked in surveys to increased police legitimacy and compliance with the law (Tyler, 2004). This focus on increasing fairness and effectiveness is in line with the National Research Council's (2004) recommendation to see these concepts not as competing but as mutually reinforcing.

The Study

We conducted a three-city randomized controlled trial with the Tucson, Cambridge, and Houston Police Departments. Each police department assigned eight or 12 patrol officers to the study for a 9-month intervention period. In each city, we chose 40 high-crime residential street segments (intersection to intersection) based on drug, property, and violent crime incidents in the prior year. We randomly assigned these streets to one of two conditions – a standard hot spots policing condition or a procedural justice hot spots policing condition. We also randomly assigned the officers participating in the experiment to one of these two conditions.

In the standard condition hot spots, we told a team of four or six officers in each city to focus on reducing crime on their assigned 20 blocks. We provided this team with a brief overview of the effectiveness of hot spots policing but did not require any particular strategy. We emphasized officers giving extra time and attention to all 20 of their assigned hot spots. We also told the procedural justice team of four or six officers in each city to reduce crime in their assigned 20 hot spots. Additionally, we provided these officer teams with 40 hours of training on procedural justice and encouraged them to incorporate procedural justice into all their interactions with the public. As an example of training, slides and video clips from the Houston experience are available through Dropbox: https://bit.ly/pjhotspotstraining. The training course was developed for the project, drawing from materials from well-known existing materials.

In both groups, officers could proactively take emergency calls in their assigned blocks but were not dispatched to 911 calls. We used official data on time spent on calls for service and activity logs to estimate that project officers delivered about half of all police patrol time on these streets during the intervention, suggesting substantial treatment dosage during the study. Unlike most hot spots policing studies, which test intensive police attention vs. no extra attention, there are no true control hot spots in this study. We instead tested two different ways of carrying out hot spots policing with the goal of better

Jelani Photography/Shutterstock

understanding whether incorporating procedural justice training changed officer attitudes and behavior, crime control outcomes, and the impacts of hot spots policing on community perceptions about police.

Implementing Procedural Justice in Hot Spots

How did officers incorporate procedural justice into hot spots deployment? Based on ride-alongs, discussions with officers, and a review of activity logs and official data, officers engaged in a wide range of activities while present in their assigned hot spots. The procedural justice training did not require a particular deployment strategy or approach. Indeed, officers in both the procedural justice and standard condition groups received a general background on policing and effective approaches to dealing with hot spots (e.g., spending at least 15 minutes on visits). The key for the trained officers was the emphasis in training on incorporating procedural justice into every interaction they had while present in their hot spots, whether it was a casual conversation, a traffic stop, or an arrest. Officers in both groups focused on reducing crime through increasing presence, traffic and pedestrian stops in response to observed law violations, and gathering information on chronic crime issues.

During the training, we encouraged procedural justice officers to take their time in interactions with the public – to, for example, take the extra 10 minutes to let someone tell a story or to assist with a problem and then to follow up to make sure the problem was addressed. As a result, we observed more of these extended conversations with the public in the procedural justice group. Sometimes these were in response to a 911 call or particular complaint. But other times, these were simply opportunities for the officers to meet residents, hear more about their concerns, and ideally build trust and rapport over time.

Findings

Pre- and post-training officer surveys in each site suggested the training was associated with improved officer attitudes toward using procedural justice. But did these attitudinal changes translate to behavior in the field? In each city, we observed about 400 hours of officer behavior during ride-alongs, systematically coding whether officers in both groups demonstrated elements of procedural justice. We found that trained officers were significantly more likely to give citizens a voice, demonstrate neutrality, and treat people with dignity and respect. They were also significantly less likely to be disrespectful.

We also conducted telephone surveys with people who had recent police contact with project officers. While we faced more challenges in completing surveys in Cambridge and Houston, across all three sites, we found that community members who had contact with

procedural justice officers perceived the interaction as significantly fairer and were more likely to report that officers were neutral decision makers and showed care and concern.

We also surveyed a large number of hot spots residents before and after the intervention. The intervention was not associated with changes in community perceptions about procedural justice and legitimacy. We think this may result from the difficulty of changing citizens' often long-held views of these more general values. However, in regard to two specific behaviors that are at the core of calls for police reform, we did observe statistically significant differences between the groups. Following the intervention, residents of procedural justice hot spots (as contrasted with the standard condition hot spots) were less likely to perceive that police were harassing people on their block or that police were using too much force on the block.

We found a significant impact of the training on reported crime incidents during the intervention period. Procedural justice hot spots had about 14% fewer incidents during the study relative to standard condition hot spots. There was not a statistically significant impact on citizen-initiated calls for service, though the effect is in the direction of crime control.

Importantly, this crime decline came despite procedural justice officers making fewer arrests during the intervention. Trained officers made more than 60% fewer arrests than untrained officers. This difference in arrests was not driving the crime difference (since fewer arrests would mean fewer incidents). Indeed, in Cambridge, where relatively few arrests were made overall, there was a larger crime decline than in the other cities.

Implications

Our findings suggest that police can be effectively trained to use procedural justice in crime hot spots and that this training can impact their attitudes and behavior, citizen perceptions of interactions, community perceptions of police misbehavior, and crime. These findings reinforce that police fairness and effectiveness are not competing goals. They also make clear that police reform efforts are compatible with efforts to reduce crime. These findings are especially important in the current environment, where violent crime is rising in many large cities. We conclude with three critical points for agencies to consider if moving forward with a procedural justice hot spots program.

First, while our findings suggest promise for procedural justice training, we emphasize that we trained special teams of patrol officers, so we do not know whether our findings generalize to training an entire department. We think such training is particularly important for officers who are responsible for addressing high crime places. These officers are most likely to interact with the public in situations that may lead to law enforcement actions and, more generally, negative perceptions of the police. Our findings suggest that

incorporating procedural justice training into the work of these teams could improve the fairness of encounters with the public while simultaneously increasing crime control effectiveness beyond standard levels. At the same time, we think it important to assess the effects of scaling up training like this for all officers in the future.

Second, we think reinforcement is important for training to be most effective. We did frequent check-ins with trained officers and provided them with a training checklist and a refresher training midway through the project. We also worked closely with sergeants and supervisors at each site to help reinforce training concepts and encourage the use of procedural justice in the field. Without this reinforcement and departmental support, we suspect the impacts of training in the field will be much more limited.

Finally, we encourage agencies to collect the data needed to evaluate innovative training programs. We benefitted from funding from Arnold Ventures, which made our multiple forms of data collection possible. We think this is essential for assessing the impacts of procedural justice because official data provides only limited insight into how officers behave in "average" encounters and how the community perceives these interactions. Most agencies do not regularly survey the public, making it difficult to determine if any trust-building initiatives are successful. We know such efforts are expensive, but we suggest that cities and police agencies invest in efforts to understand the public's views. Only then can agencies fully understand the impacts of their reform efforts on both fairness and effectiveness.

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Prospects, Barriers, and Future Directions of Cybercrime Research and Investigations

BY JIN R. LEE

Jin R. Lee is an assistant professor in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and senior fellow in the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Jin R. Lee

The Internet, computer technology, and digital equipment have revolutionized our lives, including how individuals communicate, acquire information, and engage in commerce. A recent Pew Research Center (2021) study found that approximately 85% of Americans own a smartphone, while 72% of American adults frequent social media platforms to connect with others and obtain news. Similarly, the development of e-commerce websites, mobile financial applications, and online advertising tools have enabled individuals and corporations to conduct all types of commercial transactions.

These technological benefits also mean that criminals have readily adopted these digital resources to engage in various forms of cybercrime. Cybercrime is a form of transnational crime and can include computer hacking, social engineering, digital piracy, electronic fraud and theft, online interpersonal violence, and Internet-facilitated sexual victimization. According to the United Nations, cybercrime affects more than 431 million adult victims globally and is currently the top national security threat in the United States. In particular, identity-related offenses (e.g., the misuse of credit and debit card information) are the most common and fastest-growing forms of consumer fraud on the Internet. In addition, nation-states have also harnessed the power of digital technology, often engaging in intellectual property theft through hacking to gain an economic advantage over their opposition.

While educating the public on various cybersecurity measures can reduce the threats posed by online offenders, there is a growing need for more evidence-based research that informs trained professionals on how to best respond to cybercrime. A 2012 report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics projected the cybersecurity field to grow by 22% over the next decade, with as many as 120,000 new jobs in this sector. A similar report by Burning Glass Technologies found that cybersecurity-related job postings increased by 114% between 2011 and 2015. These figures demonstrate a growing industry in cybersecurity investigations that would benefit from more comprehensive research and knowledge around the causes and correlates of cybercrime offending and victimization.

To discuss this growing concern, knowledge gap, and prompt research ideas, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) hosted a workshop in June 2022 with individuals from various fields and sectors, including federal law enforcement, private industry, and academia. The purpose of the workshop was threefold: (1) To collectively devise research questions that are important to the field; (2) to identify weak spots in this line of work/research; and (3) to develop institutional partnerships for collaboration. To that end, we report on several topics explored in the workshop about cybercrime research and investigations.

Greatest Concerns in Cybercrime and Cybersecurity

Federal law enforcement personnel stated that their biggest concerns involved preventing malware (i.e., malicious software) and ransomware attacks, although they also acknowledged that threats often change and evolve. Indeed, these current concerns have evolved from previous worries of web defacement and distributed denial of service (DDoS) attacks. Though malware can appear in various forms, law enforcement participants found that most malware is disseminated through email attachments and links. These forms of malware allow offenders to gain unauthorized access to an account or computer system to compromise sensitive information. This stolen information can be used to commit crimes, including blackmail, payroll scams, and romance fraud.

To that end, law enforcement participants highlighted the need for more public education regarding cybercrime prevention and cybersecurity awareness to prevent victimization. While many federal agencies and private companies invest significant resources into cybersecurity training, the general public lacks an understanding of cybercrime. Several participants advocated for public education campaigns that provide individuals with counternarratives in favor of comprehensive cybersecurity practices. These messages can contain descriptive information on what different cybercrimes look like, the consequences of offending, and the precautionary steps one can take to avoid cybercrime victimization. To date, there is no such initiative targeting the general public in the United States (although several organizations have initiated such training for employees). Law enforcement participants expressed the need for these educational messages to come from private companies and others to reach a wider audience base.

Private industry participants noted their biggest concerns were focused on verifying the offline identity of an online account.

Verifying the legitimacy of an online account is especially crucial in private industry, given the recent growth in online fraud and identity theft. In addition, participants noted that the ideal process of identity verification is automated, scalable, and adaptable to changes in technology, given that online retailers and companies may hold several million accounts.

Workshop participants conceded that cybercrime may not be entirely preventable and that advanced cybercrime tools and services have given motivated offenders new avenues to commit cybercrime. However, there may be ways to make behaviors more risky and costly for offenders. One crucial strategy will be to update current cyber-

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crime laws and legislation that increase the risks and consequences of engaging in cybercrime behaviors. Law enforcement participants noted that current laws were antiquated and did little to deter offenders. The threshold that must be met for an individual to be prosecuted for cybercrime is also very high, contributing to prosecutors feeling reluctant to take on cybercrime cases. Finding judges and juries that adequately understand cybercrime and cybersecurity is equally challenging to reach an appropriate outcome. This concern underscores the need for greater cybercrime awareness and better communication across different sectors to make cybercrime offending more difficult and costly.

Biggest Gaps in Understanding the Cybercrime Problem

Academics and researchers in the workshop emphasized that the most significant gap in conducting cybercrime research, or even understanding the current cybercrime landscape, was obtaining access to quality data. Research gaps included understanding the online-offline overlap in offending trajectories, understanding the interplay in cybercrime offending between individual actors and nation-states, and measuring the impact of cybercrime prevention and intervention mechanisms across time and place. Participants emphasized that even when quality data is made available, complications can arise when research studies generate findings that impede the financial or organizational interests of the data source.

Poor access to quality data sources has encouraged some researchers to innovate novel approaches in their research. These include operating "honeypots" (i.e., decoy servers that are operated to gain information on hackers' attack patterns) or scrapping product advertisements on the Open and Dark Web to explore illicit online market behaviors (Lee, Holt, & Smirnova, 2022; Testa et al., 2017). While federal law enforcement agencies possess large sums of data that can be analyzed for cybercrime research, they are often entangled in data-sharing policy issues. One participant expressed that federal law enforcement agents are not permitted to make unilateral decisions on whether data can be shared with others, suggesting that data access and intelligence sharing are organizational policies that need clearance from various authorities. Similar data sharing issues were noted within private industry as each organization has its own set of policies, regulations, and parameters regarding information sharing.

From a law enforcement perspective, the biggest challenge to combatting cybercrime was the lack of available resources to address emerging developments in online behavior. For one, law enforcement participants expressed the need for automated tools that sift through the large sums of data they have and produce actionable results (e.g., understandable machine learning tools). Having access to (and being trained well on) these resources would lessen the burden on

investigators and generate understandable and actionable output that fits each unique inquiry.

Barriers to Successful Collaboration Between Researchers, Law Enforcement, and Industry

One challenge noted by several participants was that research collaborations are often structured on personal relationships as opposed to institutional trust between researchers, law enforcement, and/or private industry. Such models (which are often the norm in policing scholarship) are not only unsustainable but cannot quickly adapt to a rapidly evolving cybercrime environment and changing organizational personnel. Several researchers argued that a more ideal research environment would involve collaborations built on institutional agreements and structured relationships.

Another theme that emerged in the workshop was the lack of clear communication on how collaborative projects benefit all involved. Law enforcement and industry participants expressed the need for greater clarity on how collaborative projects and intelligence sharing provide mutually beneficial outcomes. Setting unrealistic expectations for research was also noted as unhelpful for collaboration. These points underscore the need for collaboration on problem identification, agreement about what successful research looks like, and acknowledgment of the limitations of information sharing. To that end, academics expressed the need to cross-pollinate their research objectives to achieve synergy and shared outcomes. In practice, this could mean transforming how researchers look at data and demonstrating the different ways in which these data could be explored and examined to benefit all partnering agencies. Joint participation in conferences and other environments to share findings may also be helpful. A related barrier was the lack of shared vocabulary and language between researchers, law enforcement, and industry, which also contributed to miscommunication.

Participants shared similar perspectives when discussing how to foster greater trust between researchers, law enforcement, and industry. Having shared (or at least mutually benefiting) vocabulary, incentives, return-on-investment, outcomes, and goals could help to build this trust. Collaborative agreements and partnerships will fall apart if one side believes they are expending more resources (e.g., data, support, finances, time) than their anticipated return. To this end, several participants agreed with the need to start fostering trust and partnerships at the local level. Demonstrations of safe exchange and responsible use of data could also improve trust and serve as examples to the field.

Strategies to Improve the Cybercrime and Cybersecurity Workforce

Both industry and law enforcement participants noted that they would like to see new job applicants have skills to conduct data and pattern analysis. While these could involve specialized skills such as cryptography or digital forensics, a shared consensus was that broad data analytic skills were the most valued within cybersecurity fields. One participant expressed that employers in the private sector are eager to recruit individuals who can observe a problem and formulate an effective response to resolve the issue. Given that all companies in this line of work manage large quantities of data, being able to interpret patterns and introduce solutions are essential components of the job and workforce.

Concluding Remarks

The aims of the CEBCP workshop were not only to build more trust and share problem-solving ideas between researchers, law enforcement, and industry, but to prompt ideas for future research and demonstration projects. Despite the need for more robust cybercrime and cybersecurity research, few top 10 Ph.D. programs in criminology and criminal justice within the United States offer any courses or specializations in cybercrime research or even the types of data analysis participants advocated. In addition, far fewer social science research centers are devoted to examining the etiology of online crime and Internet-enabled behavior. Yet, building an evidence base in this area requires this type of infrastructure development.

As a start, the CEBCP, the current home of the American Society of Criminology's flagship journal, *Criminology & Public Policy*, has released a call for papers for new cybercrime research (co-edited by the author and Thomas J. Holt of Michigan State University). We hope this call for papers prompts more collaboration and infrastructure building in this area.

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Centering Youth Voice in a Juvenile Justice Research Agenda

BY ALEXIS STERN, SARAH GUCKENBURG, AND
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Research ideas often reflect a combination of researchers' interests and external sources, such as requests for proposals issued by government agencies, foundations, or other funders. In responding to these and other funding opportunities, researchers rely on prior research and information from program administrators to determine gaps in knowledge and how research questions, methods, and analyses can help fill those gaps. For these reasons, research topics and designs typically reflect funders' or researchers' agendas and biases (Chicago Beyond, 2018). Rarely is research informed by the voices of the people whose lives our work intends to affect.

However, when researchers do not engage individuals with lived experience in our partnerships and decision-making, we may reproduce inequities, miss out on critical expertise and guidance, and risk producing work that lacks value and relevance for communities. The problem is especially acute for the most vulnerable and systemically marginalized populations, including those whose lives have been directly impacted by the juvenile justice system. While young people who interact with the justice system may be recruited as participants in research, they are rarely sought out for their perspectives on what research should look like and what goals studies should meet.

Initiating and maintaining such partnerships can be challenging for researchers and evaluators. Too often, we work in isolation from local communities and lack the funding to support time spent initiating and maintaining authentic, responsive, and trusting relationships with people outside our professional worlds. However, some community groups and advocates have long recognized that sharing power and control over research with community members is a crucial component of—not an obstacle to—high-quality research. In the juvenile justice field, community-driven research has generated important insights about young people's and families' experiences with the juvenile justice system and opportunities to improve outcomes for those most directly affected by it (examples include reports by Community

Connections for Youth & United Playaz of New York, Justice for Families, and Leaders Organizing 2 Unite & Decriminalize). Research evidence also shows that the inclusion of community voices in evaluation efforts has improved interventions and saved countless dollars devoted toward strategies that would not otherwise be culturally responsive or relevant in those communities (Balazs & Morello-Frosch, 2013; Cook, 2008). In recent years, a growing cohort of national funders and others (see the Equitable Evaluation Initiative) have built on that work to further promote the application of participatory and equitable research and evaluation.

Hearing from People Who Know the System Best

Eighteen months ago, WestEd's Justice & Prevention Research Center began a needs-sensing project to inform our research and evaluation work in juvenile justice. Our goal was to build on existing work by communities around the country by talking with young people (ages 18–24) who have had personal experience interacting with the juvenile justice system and with practitioners who work with young people. In addition to collecting data, we hoped this project would be an opportunity to build relationships with young people interested in developing their own research skills and potentially partnering with us in future research.

Recruiting young people and practitioners to participate in this project involved multiple outreach strategies and continuous follow-ups. Seven WestEd staff, including four outside the research team, helped identify and introduce us to contacts at organizations and agencies around the country that work with young people impacted by the juvenile justice system. In some cases, it took months, especially during the height of the COVID pandemic, to build relationships with those contacts, obtain buy-in from the organizational leadership at their respective agencies, connect with practitioners providing direct services, and then follow up with any young people they referred. In several cases, these contacts put in substantial time

and effort to support the project. At least two young adult participants were referred by friends or relatives who also completed interviews.

Considering the trauma that many young people face in their interactions with the juvenile justice system, we did not ask the young adults who participated in this project to share anything about their personal lives or experiences, although some did voluntarily share personal stories. Instead, we asked participants to share their overall perspectives on the juvenile justice system, including what challenges exist and what improvements could be made to the system. We also asked participants to think about topics for research and how researchers might collaborate with them on future studies.

A total of 30 interviews were conducted in two rounds between October 2020 and August 2021. We used open-ended questions so participants could self-identify their gender, racial, and ethnic identity. In total, we interviewed 19 young adults of various ages, gender, racial, and ethnic identities. We also interviewed 11 practitioners, also of various identities.

All data was collected via phone, email, or virtually over Zoom. Each participant received a $25 gift card for their time speaking with us. In addition, interested participants were invited to review draft findings and were given an additional $25 gift card for reviewing or providing feedback on a draft report. Five young adults and three practitioners who participated in interviews also provided feedback on the findings. An additional focus group of young people who are members of a county-level juvenile justice youth advisory council and have personal experience with the juvenile justice system provided feedback on preliminary findings. Most participants said that they would be interested in participating in future studies.

What We Heard

Several clear themes emerged from the interviews with both youth and practitioners. Notably, they both largely agreed on their perspectives of the juvenile justice system and on the potential for young people to create positive changes in the system. Most consistently, we heard from participants about the importance of elevating young people's voices as experts and advocates in the juvenile justice system. Young adult participants particularly emphasized the system's failure to recognize young people's dignity and capacity for growth. Practitioners highlighted the ubiquity of racism and inequities in the juvenile justice system and the need for more investment in families, schools, and community-based services. Participants shared their perceptions of the deep and lasting impacts of interactions with the juvenile justice system on young people, families, and communities, as well as the value of education, counseling, and other supports for young people.

Young people and practitioners shared several recommendations for how researchers can effectively, meaningfully, and supportively engage young people in research. Many of the people who spoke with us had limited experience as participants, consumers, or producers of research. However, their recommendations reflect our own experiences of what was successful in this project and strategies for a participatory, equity-centered approach to research and evaluation.

Participants' recommendations extended to recruitment, data collection, and dissemination strategies. For instance, participants emphasized the importance of making research relatable, meaningful, and accessible to young people, including respecting and actively accommodating their schedules, communication preferences, and personal interest in the work so they can be involved in research activities in the ways they prefer. They recommended soliciting feedback, providing fair compensation, and engaging outside a researcher's typical working hours.

These and other recommendations resonated with our own experiences. A notable example was the participants' recommendation that researchers invest in and leverage relationships to connect with young people impacted by the juvenile justice system. Outreach for this project depended heavily on our relationships with practitioners and practitioners' relationships with young people. Without these trusting relationships, this project would not have been possible.

A New Agenda for Juvenile Justice Research and Evaluation

Insights shared by participants provided a valuable framework for how researchers can approach partnerships with young people—and with all stakeholders—in our work. This includes engaging interested young people earlier in the design process and supporting their ability to collect and analyze data, interpret findings, co-author reports and presentations, and authentically drive these and other aspects of the research process. Unfortunately, the pandemic limited this project to virtual interactions. Still, future work in which researchers and young people can work together in person to collaborate, share ideas, and reflect on findings would strengthen this approach.

Participants' recommendations have also helped us identify future research directions to improve the juvenile justice system. These included studying how young people are treated inside the system, evaluating the effectiveness of programs to heal and stabilize youth, documenting inequities and causes of inequities in the system, and including young people in guiding system reforms.

We want to thank all the participants who contributed to this project and our WestEd colleagues for their support, introductions to their networks, advice, and feedback. As we reflect on how this work can improve the juvenile justice system, we know this is only the beginning. Researchers, community organizations, and system leaders need to move toward deeper collaborations with young people to shift the power dynamic and change how the system works.

While research alone cannot produce systems change, it can create pathways for new voices to join public conversations about issues that matter to all of us. We hope that in this project and our future work, we can offer a platform for young people and others with lived experience in the juvenile justice system to have their voices heard.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY | Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

How We Got Here

The University

The Center is housed in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, at George Mason University. We are an integral part of the educational mission of our large, public, R1 classified institution.

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Beginning with just two faculty and two graduate students in 2008, the CEBCP now includes 36 faculty, staff, and students, and dozens of affiliated scholars. 12 of our research assistants earned PhDs while at Mason, and we've supported many careers.

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Known for its translation tools and activities, the CEBCP plays a critical role in advocating for the use of science in justice practice. The CEBCP has also supported free annual symposia, congressional briefings, the *Translational Criminology* magazine, and special awards to advance our translational mission.

Partnerships

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An Evidence-Based Policing Approach to Promoting the Rule of Law and Protecting Any Population

BY LAWRENCE SHERMAN AND CYNTHIA LUM

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Lawrence Sherman   Cynthia Lum

For decades, the United States and other nations have provided support, resources, capacity building, and training to law enforcement agencies in other countries, particularly those described as "developing democracies" or the "Global South." Specifically, the U.S. Department of State, through its Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL), provides foreign assistance and supports capacity building for criminal justice systems and police organizations in approximately 90 countries worldwide. Its mandate is to "strengthen fragile states, support democratic transitions, and stabilize conflict-affected societies by helping partner countries develop effective and accountable criminal justice sector institutions and systems."[1] With that purpose, INL is part of a larger network of international and regional organizations, bilateral donors, international financial institutions, and civil society organizations that work in the broad area of police reform and capacity building in the security sector around the world.

In 2018, guided by the Foundations for Evidence-Based Policymaking Act,[2] INL created the Office of Knowledge Management to assemble evidence from research to inform its work. As part of these efforts, INL asked the Committee on Law and Justice (CLAJ) of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NASEM) to convene an ad hoc committee to review, assess, and reach a consensus on existing evidence on policing institutions, police practices and capacities, and police legitimacy in the international context. Specifically, our ad hoc committee was assembled and tasked to use the best available research to answer five questions in a five-volume series:

1. What organizational policies, structures, or practices (e.g., human resources and recruiting, legal authorities, reporting lines, etc.) enable a police service to promote the rule of law and protect the population?

2. What are the core knowledge and skills needed for police to promote the rule of law and protect the population? What is known about mechanisms (e.g., basic and continuing education or other capacity building programs) for developing the core skills needed for police to promote the rule of law and protect the population?

3. What policies and practices for police use of force are effective in promoting the rule of law and protecting the population (including officers themselves)? What is known about effective practices for implementing those policies and practices in recruitment, training, and internal affairs?

4. What policing practices build community trust and legitimacy in countries with low-to-moderate criminal justice sector capacity?

5. What are the systemic features needed to effectively control high-level corruption, and how can police effectively contribute to efforts to combat high-level corruption?

The complexity, magnitude, and politics of the challenges to learning "what works" in global organizational police reform are immense. While the science of policing outcomes has grown in recent years, it is limited in context, with much of the research conducted on policing taking place in the Global North countries (e.g., the United Kingdom and the United States). This research has also been limited in purpose, with much of it focused on examining crime reduction, and far less on promoting the rule of law. There are also many impediments to transferring this knowledge to policing in the countries most likely to receive assistance from INL, such as in Africa or Latin America.

To apply research to promote the rule of law, the major impediments are those of *context*. These include any and all differences between countries where research has been done and where it is to be applied: in cultures and language, political regimes, legal systems, and the extent of political corruption in each country. Resistance to the rule of law by any element of political regimes or state institutions

1 See https://www.state.gov/justice-programs-in-action/
2 See https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/4174/text

can derail policing reforms, even when the knowledge and skills for reform are ready to be deployed. In some places, that resistance can be violent and present harm to the public and the police who are engaging in reform efforts. Perhaps the biggest elephant in the room is the Global North's own challenges to maintaining fair and effective policing.

Recognizing these challenges, the committee approached its work from an evidence-based policing perspective. Accordingly, our reports build on the premise that much knowledge can inform better practices across various policing landscapes in different countries. This can be done, in part, by considering promising approaches, hypothesizing how they might be adapted for any local context, and then deploying and evaluating interventions.

Each report demonstrates the recent growth in global policing research, with many rigorous studies conducted in low-income countries. The reports highlight preliminary findings on a range of topics, including the effects of various police structures, policies, and practices on some outcomes. However, what continues to be missing from research in this area are evaluations of police reforms at many levels of analysis, from nation-states to neighborhoods. Building such evaluations across different contexts and countries requires standard measures of inputs, outputs, and "effectiveness" across different agencies and contexts.

An Evidence-Based Policing Approach

In the past two decades, a professional, social movement of "evidence-based policing" has spurred much research with the objective of applying knowledge to reduce crime and protect the public. Evidence-based policing is an approach to police practices and management that uses science and scientific processes to strengthen police decision-making, actions, and overall agency functioning. At the core of an evidence-based approach to policing is the idea that actions, tactics, programs, and technologies used by the police should measurably deliver the outcomes expected of them: accountable, effective, fair, and humane policing that seeks to minimize public harm and promote police legitimacy.

An evidence-based policing approach requires: (1) a reliable body of knowledge about police practices; (2) the ongoing practice of evidence-based and systematic targeting, testing, and tracking in policing; and (3) the institutionalization and implementation of knowledge in police practices. This approach focuses not only on crime prevention effects but also on evidence about police efforts to improve relationships with the communities they serve, to improve trust and satisfaction in specific interactions with citizens, or to strengthen internal accountability mechanisms for rule-of-law policing. Notably, the development of this knowledge has required collaborations between researchers and police agencies.

An evidence-based approach is particularly important for the charge of this committee. The committee's goal is not just to assess the quality of evidence generated (for which there is still relatively little originating from the Global South) but to consider how existing knowledge already generated might be translated into an international context—with what prospects and pitfalls. A commitment to evidence-based policing also encourages the generation of new evidence for the purposes of action.

Specifically, an evidence-based approach requires agencies to actively and consistently test and evaluate their practices against consistent standards. This is also a requirement for donors, like INL, which promote police reform. They should actively and consistently test and evaluate their investments and programs. An evidence-based perspective, therefore, does not rely solely on existing knowledge from one perspective but recommends capacity building for context-specific evidence to be generated to strengthen policy and practice moving forward.

High-quality information on crime, internal police functioning, and relevant public outcomes can then facilitate more accurate identification of problems and targeted solutions supported by evidence. The idea of evidence-based policing in contexts where recordkeeping is a low priority may seem unlikely to succeed. Yet as our reports repeatedly suggest, building the capacity to create and analyze records is essential. Funding digital capacity to record and analyze crime and policing data is precisely the place to begin a global strategy of police reform. Gathering information systematically is also a means to increase accountability, coordination, inclusion, and transparency. In building data systems, police and donors can promote fundamental adjustments to an organization's infrastructure, management policies, and technology. Evidence-based policing may also use digital data to support legal frameworks, such as limitations on police use of deadly force.

The Committee's Work

The committee's work includes public (online) workshops, commissioned papers, commentary, and public discussions by international experts. At the time of this publication, the first three volumes are freely and publicly available, with the last two in progress. The first report, *Policing to Promote the Rule of Law and Protect the Population: An Evidence-based Approach*,[3] reviews organizational policies, structures, and practices that have been shown to be effective for rule-of-law policing that protects the population. The report discusses the evidence surrounding military versus civilian forces, police governance, investigating misconduct, approaches to promote accountability, and proactive policing practices for crime prevention. The committee recommended that INL and other international donors should not only pay more attention to existing knowledge but also build the capacity for using and generating knowledge in the

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3 Download this report for free at: https://nap.nationalacademies.org/catalog/26217/policing-to-promote-the-rule-of-law-and-protect-the-population.

countries that they support.

In its second report, *Police Training to Promote the Rule of Law and Protect the Population*,[4] the committee advocated for "reform-based training," in contrast to "training-based reform," which views training

as the primary strategy for promoting change. There is scant evidence that training alone can reform a police agency. Yet when training is driven by—and coupled with—a clear vision of reforms in police practices, it can help to promote all elements needed to achieve that reform. Reform-based training would be anchored in an evidence-based perspective, with continuous growth in knowledge of "what works" to achieve reform.

The committee also endorsed five principles of training to guide INL's efforts: 1) training must do no harm; 2) the content of training should be based on sound evidence; 3) training itself must deploy evidence-based methods; 4) agencies must continuously gather new evidence about the use and impact of training; and 5) the delivery of training needs to be flexible and contextualized country-by-country. Within this framework, the committee outlined core knowledge on crime, victimization, and crime prevention that is needed for, but often missing from, police training.

The third available report, *Policies and Practices to Minimize Police Use of Force Internationally*,[5] focuses on what policies and practices effectively promote lawful use of force and protect the population and police themselves. It also describes what is known about minimizing excessive force with policies and practices in recruitment, training, and internal affairs. Many of the policies and programs implemented by police agencies have yet to be rigorously evaluated, and deficiencies in reliable records on police use of force impede these efforts in most nations (including the United States). Therefore, the committee could not reach a definitive conclusion about which
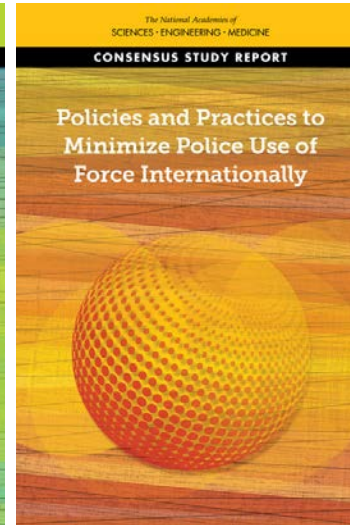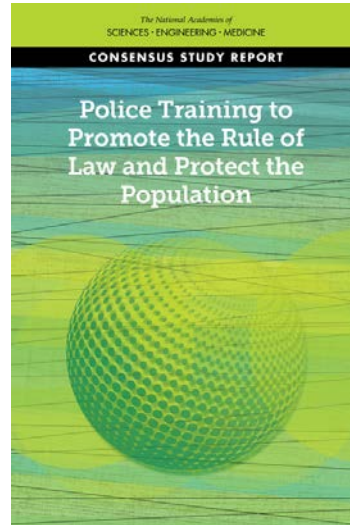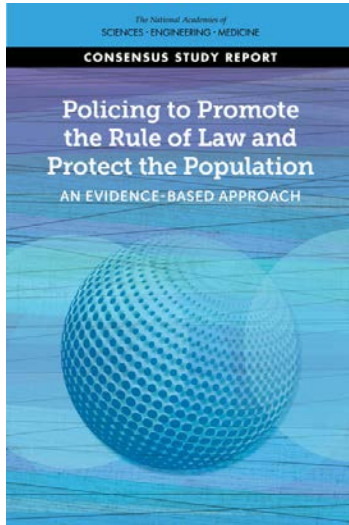
policies and practices work best to minimize excessive force by police. Yet, there are sound theoretical models and reliable findings across policing studies to inform promising approaches and new efforts to advance knowledge in the area. Many of the committee's recommendations come from its evidence-based perspective: promoting the collection of reliable data on use of force and developing systems to account for uses of force, for training, and for supervisory policies on use of force. These recommendations require investment in training, evaluations of training, and evaluations of efforts to reduce unlawful use of force.

Summary

This NASEM committee has been assigned a task of immense breadth and depth. Yet our task is no larger than the police mission itself. Many of the issues we consider for guiding donor assistance in developing nations are identical to challenges to police legitimacy in the Global North. Joining up knowledge from rigorous research in both settings can only enhance the guidance that evidence can offer, whether in the 50 states or the 50 lowest-income nations.

By lifting the gaze of domestic policing anywhere to global policing everywhere, it is our hope that these five reports can become a force for change in themselves.

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4 Download this report for free at: https://nap.nationalacademies.org/catalog/26467/police-training-to-promote-the-rule-of-law-and-protect-the-population.

5 Download this report for free at: https://nap.nationalacademies.org/catalog/26582/policies-and-practices-to-minimize-police-use-of-force-internationally.

The $230 Billion Question: Why Is So Much Being Spent on International Police Assistance with So Little Evidence?

BY LIAM O'SHEA

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Each year, the US, UK, and other key donors spend billions of dollars on international police assistance based on very little evidence of "what works." The United Nations and the US alone expended over $230 billion from 2000 to 2020 (Mailhot et al., 2022). Much of this may have been unsuited for contexts lacking state capacity and where political elites had no ability or interest in reform, as most clearly demonstrated by prominent failures in Afghanistan and Iraq.

But the failure is one of research as well as policy. As one 2020 US paper noted, there is little evidence in support of the interventions aimed at reducing police violence *in the United States* (Engel et al., 2020). If we don't have evidence on "what works" to address police violence (evidence on how to counter corruption isn't much better (Gans-Morse et al., 2018)) in the most studied country context, what does that say about efforts in the rest of the world? Police science also draws heavily on findings from the US, which has a unique governance architecture for policing, with about 15,900 more jurisdictions than any other country. How transferable then are findings?

The good news is that there is now much more quality research on police outside the West. Furthermore, a National Academy of Sciences ad hoc committee is currently reviewing the evidence on how police reform can promote the rule of law and protect the public in non-western countries (National Academy of Sciences, 2022). In bringing together scholars and experts from different disciplines and with different geographical expertise, the committee has done an excellent job in exploring evidence in support of organizational policies and practices and training to achieve the above, as well as to mitigate police misuse of force – and there is more to come.

But the committee's work has been limited in two main respects. First, as it acknowledges, most evidence on policing comes from established, Western democracies, and much of it is focused on crime prevention. Second, the committee's charge focuses mostly on the police as agents of change rather than key environmental factors that determine whether police can be effective agents of change.

An unfortunate reality is that police in many parts of the world are deeply involved in organized crime and corruption, which are driven by authoritarian and neo-patrimonial political and police leaders or states lacking the capacity to pay the police adequately. In two forthcoming papers, based on my research on police in the former Soviet Union and policy experience working for the UK government, I argue that research and policy need to address two key areas: to recognise the prominent political and structural barriers to international police assistance (O'Shea, 2022) and to develop comparative frameworks to better identify what can be done to alleviate and manage these (O'Shea, in press). I explore both of these below.

International Police Assistance

International police assistance is commonly formulated as a component of security sector reform (SSR). SSR emerged in the late 1990s as part of Western powers' humanitarian interventions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Timor-Leste, and interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Essentially, its logic is as follows: Development requires stability and security, which, in turn, requires an effective and democratically accountable security sector. SSR aims to achieve the latter, improving the effectiveness and accountability of the security sector via professionalization and capacity building and holistic reform of criminal justice and military agencies and the institutions which control them.

The trouble is, SSR rarely works, nor is it holistic. In practice, it is mainly piecemeal and focuses on training, capacity building, and re-equipping (Wozniak, 2018). Even though donor organizations may have well-meaning and capable staff, the nuances of donor delivery prevent effective understanding of contexts, with staff lacking linguistic skills and cultural understanding and being rotated frequently (Goldsmith & Dinnen, 2007).

More fundamentally, SSR and police assistance fail because they are not targeted to the political economies for which they are designed. The barriers to assistance posed by authoritarianism are fairly well understood. As the prominent policy scholar David Bayley put it, "The police are to government as the edge is to the knife" (Bayley, 1990). Authoritarian regimes produce authoritarian police because they need them for regime security and will put up barriers to attempts to weaken their control of the police.

But less well acknowledged is the impact on police of low state capacity and regimes that mix democratic, authoritarian, and neo-patrimonial features. In low-capacity states, such as Somalia or

Cambodia, the central government has limited ability to exert its power over its territory or control its personnel. Officeholders are instead allowed to use their positions to extract resources – often through corruption and criminality – in return for loyalty to the centre. Low capacity often combines with neo-patrimonialism, though the latter can dominate relatively high-capacity contexts (e.g., Saudi Arabia), and is where political leaders rely on patronage to control the major sources of power. The state's power, including that used to control the police, is exerted through formal institutions and also patron-client and personalized networks.

The impact of these factors is rarely discussed in the multitude of handbooks and guidance notes promulgated by donor agencies. But there is substantive evidence of their impact. For example, in the last iteration of Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer, the police were regarded as *the most corrupt institution globally* (Transparency International, 2022). More qualitative accounts also highlight a pattern of police being commonly paid below a liveable wage, with the expectation they pay for their positions via corruption (Gerber & Mendelson, 2008). And in neo-patrimonial contexts, police serve the political or economic interests of the state, political or even criminal patrons, rather than the public, and are even used as a bargaining chip or tool to be used in inter-elite competition (Malik & Qureshi, 2020). Under such conditions, police assistance is, at best, likely to be ineffective and, at worst, can bolster the coercive power of repressive or criminal actors.

Police-related problems are primarily political, but there are also prominent research gaps. Until the 2010s, the disciplines which traditionally examine developing contexts, such as political science and anthropology, largely eschewed studying the police. The situation has since improved, but the increased volume of research focuses more on explaining what drives police behavior in particular contexts rather than across them. And lessons drawn from this research have had little influence on the policy of major donors.

Underpinning these problems is the lack of rigorous comparative research on policing in developing countries and, more generally (Maillard & Sebastian Roché, 2018), with which to identify the main factors that impact police behavior. This problem presents itself in two main ways. First, police scholars and practitioners unfamiliar with developing contexts' politics, compare what is comparable or what they are familiar with rather than what is important. For example, comparing the formal structures, rules, procedures, etc., which regulate policing when, in reality, these structures have little impact vis-à-vis informal institutions. Second, rich country-level research is rarely synthesized in a manner to enable comparison or understanding outside of the context. We, therefore, have research that captures the complex interplay between formal and informal in developing countries, but few policymakers have the time to read multiple studies across multiple geographies to find information that would be useful to them.

Towards Evidenced-Based International Police Assistance

There is, though, cause for optimism in terms of developing an evidence base that can allow for effective recommendations.

Recent work has strengthened empirical evidence and theoretical understanding of how political environments impact police, policing, and police reform. Brian Taylor's work on policing in Russia establishes a solid framework for comparison, and Yanilda González's recent book explores how democratic politics in Latin America reinforces rather than challenges authoritarian forms of policing (González, 2020; Taylor, 2011). There are also examples of evidence-based policy being translated to suit contextual needs. For example, the pan-African Institute for Security Studies' programme with the South African Police Service contextualizing evidence on "what works" to reduce crime and improve confidence in the police (Institute for Security Studies, 2022).

But more work is needed. First, police assistance requires deeper comparative theories of policing. Improving theory underpins effective assistance, but the last major piece of comparative theoretical work – Bayley's Patterns of Policing (Bayley, 1990) – is not only over 30 years old but did not explore the role of informal political institutions in detail. Comparative theoretical work, which encompasses this, can help identify the main factors which affect success, a useful end in itself and one which can provide country-focused researchers with frameworks to target their efforts better.

Second, the increased volume in rich country analyses needs to be synthesized to explain patterns across contexts and built on to develop implementable policy recommendations. This requires a degree of generalization which runs somewhat against current trends in police studies and criminology, much of which is specialized on particular aspects of policing, or area-studies, focused on particular geographies. For this research to contribute to better assistance, it needs to be combined with comparative research to determine what works and under what conditions.

Finally, a further trend in research on police assistance – indeed, policing in general – is critical in its approach (Ellison & Pino, 2012). This branch rightly questions in whose interests assistance works. But it places a lot of its critique on donors' motives and linkages between police assistance and global power structures. In doing so, it pays too little attention to the barriers to reform posed by national and local elites. It also rarely provides recommendations that are implementable by policymakers, most of whom have limited political capital.

Improved and accessible evidence will not by itself address the political barriers to effective police assistance. We know that political will and capacity are vital to the success of police reform in low capacity or neo-patrimonial contexts (e.g., in Georgia and Singapore). Research alone cannot generate this will nor the conditions required to produce it. But it can make the menu of options available to policymakers easier to understand – on what is likely to be effective and what conditions are likely to be conducive to success.

THE 2022 CEBCP SYMPOSIUM

1. Eric Holder speaking upon receipt of the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy
2. Hall of Fame recipients Tarrick McGuire, Loren Atherley, and Jeremiah Johnson with NIJ Director Nancy La Vigne
3. Shon Barnes presenting 4. Linda Seabrook, Denise O'Donnell, and OVC Director Kris Rose 5. Attendees
6. The band 7. Professor Chris Koper with Dean Ann Ardis of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences

A Collaborative Approach to the Development of a Gender-Based Violence Police Response Training

BY KATHERINE HOOGESTEYN, JENNIFER ZEUNIK,
AND KRISTIN HORAN

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Katherine Hoogesteyn   Jennifer Zeunik   Kristin Horan

In January 2020, the Office of Violence Against Women (OVW) awarded funding to a large metropolitan city to revamp their police department's (PD) training on gender-based violence (herein, GBV; defined as domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking). The National Policing Institute (formerly known as the National Police Foundation) was tasked with creating an evidence-informed, 8-hour, in-service training curriculum for all sworn officers to improve response to GBV. Our training development relied on an inclusive, collaborative approach that considered the perspectives of agency members, city officials, county prosecutors, and local community stakeholders (i.e., victim advocates and survivors of GBV). These unique perspectives were combined with the best available research to create an evidence-informed training curriculum tailored to the needs of the PD and sensitive to the city's context. Here, we share our findings from this collaborative process.

A Collaborative, Action-Research Approach to Training Development

Police training has primarily been an insulated law enforcement activity. However, recent calls for reform have acknowledged the need for inclusive collaboration between researchers, police practitioners, and community stakeholders (e.g., the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). Collaborative efforts are also aligned with the principles of action research, which emphasizes practitioners' knowledge and experience and relies on an ethnographic-like case study methodology that is context-dependent, tailored to the location in which the research is being carried out, and assumes equal status amongst partners (Bradley & Nixon, 2009; Rosenbaum, 2010).

Developing an evidence-informed training curriculum that is actionable to police officers requires careful examination of how the research evidence is selected, translated, and conveyed to officers. GBV response requires knowledge from multiple sources, including psychology, neuroscience, criminology, police organizational expertise, and knowledge gathered from local organizations across the city. We also hosted several focus groups with officers to discuss the training, including 56 line officers and 10 domestic violence liaison officers.

Findings from Officer Engagement

Officers participating in the focus groups represented the diversity of the PD. They varied in race, ethnicity, gender, years on the job, the volume of GBV calls typically responded to, and the districts to which they were assigned. The sessions with officers resulted in rich findings that directly informed the development of the GBV training.

For example, one theme that emerged was that officers felt that traditional training formats (e.g., lecture-based) were ineffective compared to more active, scenario-based trainings. They were critical of exercises not representative of what they encountered in the field, nor ones that required little decision-making on their part. Thus, we partnered with Performance Solutions, an applied research group from the University of Central Florida, to create training content based on didactic and experiential modalities consistent with adult learning principles. According to these principles (see Knowles, 1980), adults appreciate the ability to be engaged in the structuring of their own education and want to be able to use their life experiences in the learning process. Performance Solutions helped develop hands-on scenario-based exercises that allowed officers to see the connection between the learning content and their experiences responding to GBV in the field.

Participating officers were adamant about the importance of the trainers' field experience. Officers often value personal operational experience over empirical evidence (Telep & Lum, 2014). In their view, police trainings should be conducted by police personnel who are currently or very recently operational. Consequently, we hired a

trainer with a law enforcement background who had extensive experience in responding to GBV calls and training other officers on GBV topics.

Officers also expressed value in hearing from experts. For example, hearing from survivors of GBV about their experiences, or hearing from advocates about the most valuable resources to provide survivors with, would enrich their training experience. To address these dimensions, we included a recorded testimony from local survivors of domestic violence, providing their experience and directly letting officers know what they wished they understood about the complexities of domestic violence. Moreover, portions of the training included local victim advocates, so they could directly answer any questions officers had.

During the sessions, officers were candid in their feelings of frustration when responding to domestic violence calls, particularly those involving repeat callers. In the training curriculum, we acknowledged and validated officers' frustrations, and dedicated a section to explaining the process that victims and survivors of domestic violence go through, the reasons why they may not be ready to end the relationship with their abuser, and the importance of diligent, victim-centered responses by officers to each call. We also included compelling testimony from a local advocate and survivor of domestic violence explaining the cycle of violence from their own perspective.

Engaging Community Stakeholders in the Training Development

Engaging the community in police training decisions and development was a core component of this project and an innovation in encouraging transparency and positive community-police relationships more generally (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). Ongoing tensions between the community and the PD at the time of the training development made this process both challenging and essential. To engage with the community, we not only relied on the PD's victim services and the city's appointed community engagement representative, but we also partnered with a local, independent organization that had close connections to the local victim advocacy community. This organization was instrumental in distributing our information to advocacy contacts, bolstering organizational and process credibility with the community, and providing facilitation services during the focus group sessions.

We hosted 12 focus groups and interviews with a total of 19 advocates who work with survivors of GBV in various neighborhoods across the city. Advocates' years of experience ranged from 3 months to almost 40 years. We also hosted individual interviews with three survivors of GBV referred to us by victim advocates. Advocates and survivors were asked to reflect on their experience interacting with the PD, to share what they felt officers did well, what they did not do well, and what topics they recommended officers receive training on.

As with the officer focus groups, rich information was garnered from our community engagement. Advocates and victims felt that

officers had not been adequately trained to respond to GBV and that some officers still engaged in inappropriate or unhelpful behaviors, such as victim blaming, dismissiveness, and poor awareness of the dynamics, trauma, and impact of domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking. Additionally, officers' roles in responding to GBV have changed over time, especially with women's rights advocates successfully advocating for more proactive interventions (Buzawa, 2012). Accordingly, focus group participants expected a comprehensive, victim-centered approach to police response to GBV. However, domestic violence generally receives little training time in academies (Huisman et al., 2005), and sexual assault, harassment, and stalking receive even less (e.g., Sloan & Paoline, 2021). Before this training, the PD had not received formal training on GBV topics.

In addition, advocates and survivors described police reports to be of poor quality and sometimes inaccurate. Survivors noted that inadequate reports had led them to request amendments, adding more complications to their case processes. They emphasized the need for better training on report writing. Research has shown that despite report writing being a core task of officers, it tends to receive little attention in police academies and trainings, leading to poor report writing skills (e.g., Gregory et al., 2011; Yu & Monas, 2020). In response to this finding, we added in-depth guidance on what elements officers should report for each type of GBV incident and what behaviors they should avoid (i.e., sanitizing victims' narratives). Officers were reminded of the need for nuanced and detailed reports and provided with examples of "good" and "poor" GBV report narratives.

Advocates and survivors were adamant that officers needed improved interpersonal skills, to be more active listeners and communicators, and to engage victims through a more empathetic, victim-centered approach. Effective, respectful, and empathetic communication is fundamental to police work, to the quality of officers' interactions with the community, and to the victim's healing process, yet such skills are not extensively covered in police trainings (McLean et al., 2020; Rosenbaum & Lawrence, 2017). Our training curriculum covered the principles of effective communication and information-gathering, including rapport-building tactics and guidance on how to show empathy and engage in active listening. A discussion on the impact of a positive or negative interaction with first responders on a victim's subsequent decision to continue with the justice system was also included.

Conclusion

Engaging the local advocacy community, survivors of GBV, and police officers provided invaluable input for developing GBV training in the PD. Interestingly, many of the areas in which the advocates and victims felt the PD was lacking were the same areas officers indicated better training was needed. In a time when meaningful community engagement in policing is encouraged and expected, law enforcement agencies and their communities can benefit from incorporating diverse perspectives, ideas, knowledge, and even dissent into

Volunteer Police: Often Overlooked, But an Important Part of Understanding Policing

BY ADAM DOBRIN AND ROSS WOLF

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Adam Dobrin   Ross Wolf

Policing in the United States is in a trying time of introspection, growth, and evolution, with several sentinel events prompting the profession to re-examine its interactions with the public. Agencies are brainstorming internally and with external partners to find solutions to difficult contemporary problems. One idea less explored is engaging volunteer police. Volunteer policing has been largely overlooked in both policing research and practice. However, exploring this idea may prove fruitful given recent discussions of innovations and alternatives in policing.

Volunteers for police departments and sheriff's offices can include community service aides, Citizens on Patrol, chaplains, search and rescue professionals, Neighborhood Watch liaisons, Explorers, and cadets. Here, we focus on individuals with at least some law enforcement authority, either those who are fully sworn and certified or those with limited law enforcement certification or authority. Often, these individuals wear the same or similar uniforms as their full-time counterparts and are often armed (Wolf et al., 2016).

Unfortunately, our understanding of the number of volunteer police is opaque compared to full-time sworn officers (Dobrin, 2017a). The best estimates come from the Bureau of Justice Statistics Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey, which has suggested that 30–35% of all police/sheriff's agencies in the U.S. have volunteer officers (Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Hickman & Reaves, 2006a, 2006b; Reaves, 2015). However, these data are limited for multiple reasons: 1) the survey instructions and questions about volunteers are inconsistent across LEMAS iterations; 2) some iterations do not specify whether questions are asking about volunteers or about "auxiliaries" or "reserves" who might be volunteers or paid; 3) the survey does not always distinguish between "sworn" and "non-sworn" volunteer officers; and 4) LEMAS does not detail the legal authorities of volunteers (e.g., whether they have arrest powers or are armed). These definitional

problems result in a muddied understanding of the extent and nature of volunteer policing. For example, in 2013, the LEMAS reported that the New York City Police Department had 4,137 volunteer officers, who were uniformed auxiliary officers but unarmed and without enforcement authority. Chicago Police Department, the second largest agency in the U.S., reported no reserve or auxiliary police officers. On the other hand, the Los Angeles Police Department had roughly 650 reserves but had law enforcement authority and were more extensively trained than their NYPD counterparts.

The LEMAS data do tell us that in 2013, there were approximately 29,500 sworn reserve or auxiliary volunteer police officers in the United States (Reaves, 2015) and about 29,000 sworn volunteer sheriff's deputies (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). Other data available for non-sworn reserve and auxiliary police and sheriff's deputies are from 2007, with 9,700 police and 9,300 deputies (BJS, 2011). This would put a total (dated, to be fair) estimate of sworn volunteer police and deputies at approximately 58,500 and of unsworn volunteer reserve and auxiliary police and deputies at approximately 19,000, totaling 77,500 (Dobrin & Wolf, 2016). This number is non-trivial, considering it makes up over 10% of the almost 700,000 full-time police in the U.S.

Developing a mechanism to collect a more accurate and annual estimate of the number of volunteer police would not be difficult. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting program asks about the number of officers within each police agency but only requests count information for all full-time, sworn personnel with full arrest powers. To add an item about volunteer police (reserve, auxiliary, special police, or other types) and even part-time paid police would paint a much more accurate picture of the numbers of police officers and sheriff's deputies in the U.S. The estimated 700,000 total officers will likely undercount the actual number once these additional officers are included.

National policing organizations have recognized that the same questions and concerns about the legitimacy, effectiveness, and accountability of full-time police apply to volunteer officers. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), for example, includes oversight of volunteers in their Police Administration Committee and has issued a statement identifying their classification strategies for the different types of police volunteers (see IACP, 2019, as based on Wolf, Albrecht & Dobrin, 2015). The National Sheriffs' Association (NSA) has the Reserve Law Enforcement Subcommittee, part of its Outreach Committee, which assists sheriffs' community relations and outreach concerns. However, neither organization tracks national data regarding volunteer police or deputies.

There may be financial benefits to volunteer policing. After the 2008 recession, the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services recommended using volunteers, including as sworn officers, to offset budget cuts (COPS Office, 2011). In 2020, the median pay for police in the U.S. was $67,290, up from $55,270 in 2012. Salaries are likely to continue increasing as we see more officers leave service during a time of turnover, inflation, and a challenging recruiting environment (Mellen, 2021). Dobrin (2017b) cites savings generated by volunteer police in multiple agencies: 700 LAPD reserves saved the city $5 million in 2011; 86 reserves in the Palm Beach County Sheriff's Office saved the agency $578,230 in 2013; and approximately 27 auxiliary officers of Portsmouth, Virginia, saved the city over $5.3 million from 1991 to 2013, with 18 volunteers saving the agency almost $320,000 in 2013. Although these salary savings are offset by other costs (e.g., fuel consumption, vehicle repairs, equipment provision, training), there may still be cost benefits when using volunteer officers.

In addition to financial motivations, volunteer officers may provide other benefits to the police that coincide with recent reforms. Volunteers can bring in expertise from their full-time jobs, such as medical, aviation, diving, equestrian, accounting, forensic, financial, linguistic, or computer skills. Many agencies have successfully merged these skills into their activities, providing a crucial pool of talent for important functions of policing. Volunteers may also be helpful in providing short-term personnel for temporary needs, such as sporting events, parades and other civic events, or unplanned natural or man-made disasters and emergencies. Additionally, establishing a well-run volunteer policing program can aid in police recruitment efforts and may strengthen the pool of candidates because the agency will know more about the applicant, and the applicant will know more about the true role of policing.

From a community policing standpoint, volunteers come from the community and are less likely to be fully ensconced in the insular world of police. In this regard, they could represent the voices of the community and be a bridge between the community and the police. Of course, this idea can backfire in highly divisive jurisdictions or places where minority groups are disenfranchised. Limited data exist on the demographic characteristics of volunteer police, but Wolf et al. (2016) report that their makeup appears to be similar to full-time police—overwhelmingly White and middle-aged. While volunteerism is more likely a middle-aged, middle-class, female, and White activity (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016), attention to greater inclusivity of volunteers may be especially needed in policing. As with recruiting full-time officers, police agencies should be concerned with how to actively recruit volunteer officers from underrepresented or disenfranchised communities as well as properly train and hold accountable all their personnel to principles of equity and democratic policing.

Expanding the participation of volunteers should not come at the cost of lowering standards or accountability of the police. Poorly trained and supervised officers (full-time or volunteer) are a risk to the public and the policing profession. For example, on April 2, 2015, Tulsa Reserve Deputy Robert Bates killed an unarmed man scuffling with undercover officers, thinking he was using his Taser, not his revolver. Bates had not kept up with his required training and appeared to be given special preferences and training passes because he donated money to the sheriff's office. Ultimately, this shooting led to the resignation, indictment, and conviction of the sheriff and caused the undersheriff to resign. However, there have been several incidents where volunteer reserve police officers made a positive difference in their communities (Wolf et al., 2016). These have included their efforts at the Pulse nightclub shooting in 2016 and in response to the killing of five police officers in Dallas in 2017. Initial academy training requirements may vary and be reduced for some levels of police volunteers, but *a priori* standards and continuous training requirements must be similar to those of full-time officers to maintain the legitimacy and effectiveness of volunteer police (please see the IACP's 2019 Level 4 and 5 volunteers, taken from the author's suggestions).

Understanding the roles, contributions, and costs of volunteer police is an important research topic to explore, given the current challenges of American law enforcement. In the least, we need to understand who employs volunteer police, their numbers, their roles and responsibilities, and their contributions and costs to policing. Expanding the inclusion of volunteer police in the vision of the evolution of police could improve the relationship between the police and the communities they serve, with a data and research-informed strategy to do so.

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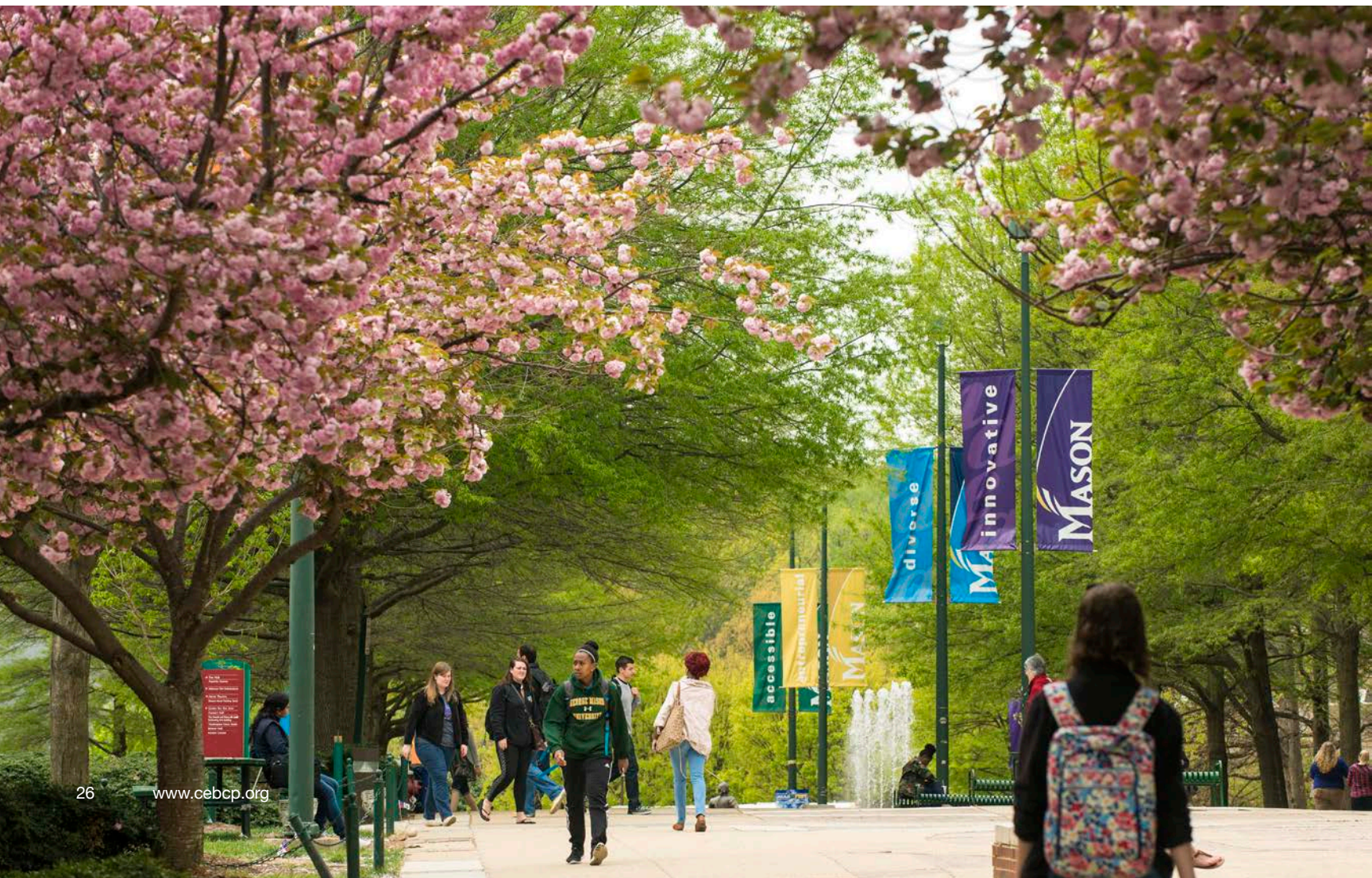
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police training through collaborative curricula development. Though more laborious than traditional training development, the collaborative curricula development process can pay dividends in bringing together the multiple stakeholders that training impacts.

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IN MEMORIAM

Gerben Bruinsma
(1951 – 2022)

BY DAVID WEISBURD

The CEBCP was very saddened to hear of Gerben Bruinsma's passing this past summer. Gerben was one of the most important criminologists of the last century, and perhaps the key person in advancing rigorous empirical studies in Europe. He was a great supporter of the CEBCP and was a founding member of its Crime and Place Working Group and an advisory board member.

Gerben was a criminologist of diverse interests who advanced a broad set of criminological ideas. But his heart was very much invested in the historical development of criminology and especially the development of theoretical and empirical interest in crime and place. We worked together on several publications, describing the background of this new area of criminological interest. I was always awed by his knowledge of the founding generations of criminology and his ability to place crime and place in historical perspective.

Perhaps our largest academic project together was the *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice,* published by Springer Verlag. There is no question that he was the driving force for this project, which fit his keen intellectual interest in contributing to the advancement of criminology as a science. It is perhaps no accident that he, as a European criminologist, saw the idea of summarizing knowledge as key to the advancement of criminology. The idea of an encyclopedia came from the great contributions of the Encyclopédie and other cumulative bodies of knowledge that advanced science during the enlightenment. Perhaps we aimed a bit high, but it was typical of Gerben to look back in history to find inspiration for his work. We approached the encyclopedia with a love for science and worked hard to have it reflect a summary of criminological knowledge. We pulled together a team of distinguished associate area editors who played an active role, and we met multiple times on the Dead Sea and in Amsterdam. It was a mammoth effort.

The NSCR was Gerben's most significant contribution to criminology. Some scholars are very much focused on what they can do and achieve. Gerben's main focus was on how he could advance criminology and a new generation of criminologists in Europe. He saw the NSCR as an opportunity to transform European criminology. He wanted it to be more empirical and a part of the wider world of criminology. The NSCR offered a unique opportunity because it had major funding from the Dutch Research Council, allowing it to employ a large number of advanced research scholars and students. He was director from 1999 to 2014 and made it not only the most important empirical center for criminological research in Europe, but one of the primary places for criminological study in the world. He guided NSCR as well as the scores of students and scholars who worked there. His proteges are too large in number to mention, but I sense that just about every major empirical criminologist in Europe had been at the NSCR and received guidance from him. The motto of the NSCR says everything about what Gerben tried to achieve: "The NSCR conducts fundamental scientific research into crime and law enforcement, and operates at the interface of theory, policy and practice." Gerben was one of the first major proponents of evidence-based policy!

Gerben won many awards, including the prestigious Thorsten Sellin & Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck Award, from the American Society of Criminology. But I am sure he would be most proud of his influence on the trajectory of European Criminology. His influence is most often unseen, because it was about enabling others to succeed and advancing the discipline of criminology. This type of contribution is what creates real change and influence in a field, but it takes a special person to be able to do it. Gerben embodies a concept best noted in Yiddish—Nachus—getting pleasure out of the achievements of others (and not simply out of one's own recognized achievements). This was Gerben Bruinsma at his core, a warm and decent man, with an encyclopedic knowledge of the history of criminology, who was a great scholar, but whose greatest pleasure was seeing his students and colleagues transform the landscape of European Criminology.

I will miss Gerben greatly. He was one of my closest friends. I imagine us often at a picnic table on the Dead Sea talking about criminology and how we could influence its future. But in truth, he is all around us in his influence on the younger generation of criminologists taking the reins of criminology in Europe today.

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