

Translational Criminology

FALL 2017

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

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CEBCP Mission Statement

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

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FROM THE DIRECTORS

Welcome to the fall 2017 issue of *Translational Criminology*. This year CEBCP reaches a major milestone—we turn 10! How time flies. We started in 2008 with just the two of us and two graduate assistants (Cody Telep, now an assistant professor at Arizona State University, and Julie Hibdon, now an assistant professor at Southern Illinois University). We have grown to more than a dozen research assistants, four research associates/post docs, twelve faculty affiliates, and eleven senior fellows who keep the research and translation engine of the CEBCP chugging away. Professor Charlotte Gill, recently named a Carnegie Fellow, took the reins as deputy director in 2013, and Professor Christopher Koper is CEBCP's principal fellow. Of course, we could not have managed this growth without our executive assistant, Naida Kuruvilla.

The growth of the CEBCP reflects our broader vision—to conduct high-quality, impactful criminal justice research while at the same time advocate for knowledge exchange, research translation and institutionalization, and adjustments to criminal justice in light of the ever-expanding evidence-base for criminal justice policy. This vision is ambitious and requires more than just the center's team. Our distinguished advisory board of 15 of the world's top criminologists, evidence-based crime policy advocates, and innovators have continued to advise us on how we can improve and become more relevant. The financial support of George Mason University's Provost's Office and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences has helped us continue to provide unique congressional briefings, symposia, workshops, and our many resources to our communities, including this magazine.

We are grateful for the financial grant support and the opportunities to conduct cutting-edge research from the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security, the National Institutes of Health, the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and the City of Seattle. The list of law enforcement agencies, municipal government units, community groups, and nongovernment organizations that we have partnered with is lengthy; every project we work on is grounded in practitioner and community-based partnerships.

This year we will showcase our research at our 2018 symposium, where we will celebrate our 10-year birthday. We will also mark another anniversary—50 years since President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1967 Crime Commission. Our spring congressional briefing will include the nation's top criminologists discussing the progress made and also the challenges for the future in a number of justice realms discussed in the original commission. That event and a special issue of *Criminology & Public Policy* featuring those papers will be generously supported by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation.

This is our seventh year publishing *Translational Criminology* magazine. The goal of the magazine has been to show examples of research and researchers in practice, along with their practitioner partners. We have covered a wide gamut of criminal justice areas of immediate concern to those who are reading the magazine. This issue continues our tradition. Readers will learn about one new research project in the center, The

Proactive Policing Lab. Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper describe the gaps in our knowledge about police proactivity, and how the lab will try to provide empirical research to fill those gaps. Proactivity is an

important notion in evidence-based policing, and Laura Huey discusses the state of evidence-based policing in Canada, highlighting work done by the Canadian Society of Evidence-Based Policing. Alissa Worden and her colleagues then take us on a trip to rural and small-town courts in New York, shedding light on the provision of counsel at first appearance. We then turn to diversion programs for youth, in particular an assessment of diversion programs in Illinois, written by Jessica Reichert, and a program called MASTLE in Brookline, Massachusetts, described by Michael Gropman and Gina Vincent. Jeremy Travis and his colleagues discuss a major project in which members of the CEBCP contribute: the Misdemeanor Justice Project at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. This project focuses on advancing data and analysis to better understand the use and consequences of misdemeanor arrests and processing in the criminal justice system. All of these articles continue to highlight the excellent work by both practitioners and researchers to advance the translation and implementation of research in criminal justice practice. In this issue, you can also read about our latest symposium, as well as the personal statements by CEBCP's Distinguished Achievement Award winners Doris MacKenzie and James "Chips" Stewart. All of the efforts by our 2017 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame inductees are also described.

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

Thank you all for your continued support, and we look forward to seeing you at our many events this upcoming year.

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



The 2017 CEBCP Symposium

The 2017 CEBCP Symposium was a huge success! We were thrilled to be able to welcome everyone back to George Mason University's Arlington Campus on June 26 for an event packed with fascinating presentations and a celebration of our award winners. We had more than 325 participants this year—our best attendance ever—representing more than 150 organizations including federal, state, and local government; police departments; research organizations and foundations; universities; and criminal justice nonprofits.

We kicked off the day with a distinguished panel including Laurie Robinson, Mason professor and former assistant attorney general for the U.S. Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs; Denise O'Donnell, former director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance; James Burch of the Police Foundation; and Lawrence Sherman, distinguished professor of the Universities of Cambridge and Maryland. The panel reflected on the progress of evidence-based crime policy in the last three decades as we transition to the new administration.

Throughout the day, participants were treated to a range of exciting panels on some of the most important issues in evidence-based crime policy. These included:

Body-worn Cameras: Sean Goodison and Elizabeth Berge (Police Executive Research Forum) discussed the impact (and lack thereof,

in many cases) of changes in citizen perceptions of the police with and without body-worn cameras. Barak Ariel (University of Cambridge and Hebrew University) provided results from his studies about the impacts of cameras beyond arrest, while Mike White (Arizona State University) shared his findings that cameras do not necessarily lead to de-policing.

Mental Health and the Criminal Justice System: Chief Howard Hall of the Roanoke County (Virginia) Police Department (RCPD) introduced the panel by illustrating the impact of mental health on effective, efficient policing and community engagement in a rural area. Sue-Ming Yang (George Mason University) presented more details on these issues from an ongoing collaboration with RCPD. Clair White (George Mason University) shared new findings from a pilot program that pairs police officers and mental health practitioners in hot spots, and Allison Redlich (George Mason University) discussed racial and ethnic disparities in engagement with mental health courts relative to traditional courts.

What Works in Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation: This panel showcased the recent book of the same name, edited by David Weisburd, David Farrington, and Charlotte Gill, which assessed systematic reviews across multiple areas of the criminal justice system. Weisburd (George Mason University) opened the panel with an





overview of the book and discussed how the evidence-based policy movement has evolved from an attitude of “nothing works” to “what works, how, and why,” as well as next steps in research, evaluation, and research translation. Gill (George Mason University), Cody Telep (Arizona State University), and David Wilson (George Mason University) presented the findings from their chapters on community crime prevention, policing, and correctional programs, respectively.

Technology and Policing: James Willis (George Mason University) opened the conversation by discussing the complex relationship between technologies and police agencies. Christopher Koper (George Mason University) then presented results of the state of police practice around license plate readers and the impact of readers on investigations and on patrol activities and outcomes. Laura Jaitman (Inter-American Development Bank) shared findings from evaluations in Latin America, revealing not only that there may be little difference in outcomes between using predictive policing software vs. more traditional crime analysis at crime hot spots, but that results are also dependent on officer training and resources.

Community and Police Relations: This panel began with an engaging presentation by Tamara Madensen (University of Nevada, Las Vegas) and Robin Engel (University of Cincinnati) on the findings of their systematic review of de-escalation tactics, which indicated that much work still needs to be done to understand the effectiveness of various methods. Alese Wooditch presented findings from ongoing projects in Baltimore and Brooklyn Park, Minnesota, on how collective efficacy varies across hot spots. Finally, Jessica Reichert (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority) discussed the results of an evaluation of the Safe Passage Initiative in Illinois, a program that allows police to refer individuals for substance abuse treatment.

Research on School Safety: John Brent (Eastern Kentucky University) presented on the impact of school punishment on delinquency while Gerard Lawson (Virginia Tech) provided insights into what keeps kids in the classroom and out of the courtroom. Joseph McKenna (Texas State University) provided a closer examination of officer-student encounters at schools, while Joseph McCrary, Katie Grogan, and Jenna Howard Terrell (WestEd) discussed their Blended School Security Model.

The symposium concluded with a lively and informative debate between professors Tom Tyler and Cody Telep on the evidence for procedural justice and police legitimacy. We also welcomed eight new members from across the world into the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame and honored Professor Doris Mackenzie and the Honorable James “Chips” Stewart with our Distinguished Achievement Award at our Awards Ceremony. You can read more about all of the award winners and Hall of Fame inductees in this issue.

This year’s symposium was also the kick-off event for CEBCP’s “100K for 10” campaign. We are aiming to raise more than \$100,000 in time for our 10th birthday celebration at next year’s symposium. Thank you to all who contributed and have supported our efforts over the years, including attending the 2017 CEBCP Symposium—we could not continue to produce the high-quality research and translation tools that we do without your support.

Thank you as well to all of our symposium speakers, CEBCP graduate research assistants and staff, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Office of the Provost at George Mason University, and the catering staff, Arlington Campus Events Management office, and Facilities Management staff who helped to make this year’s symposium a success. See you in 2018—we look forward to celebrating our 10th birthday with you all!



The Proactive Policing Lab

BY CYNTHIA LUM AND CHRISTOPHER S. KOPER

Cynthia Lum is director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) and professor of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University.

Christopher S. Koper is principal fellow at the CEBCP and associate professor of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University. They established the Proactive Policing Lab in 2016 with support from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation.



Cynthia Lum



Christopher S. Koper

One of the most significant reforms in modern policing has been the push for law enforcement officers, especially those working in everyday patrol units, to be more proactive. The proactive ideal suggests if police carry out preventive actions in addition to their reactive responses to 911 calls, they can effectively reduce those calls for service as well as improve community satisfaction. Pursuing proactivity also suggests we can anticipate when, where, and perhaps even how crime and disorder will occur, and then set into motion interventions, deployments, physical or environmental changes, or even police organizational changes to achieve positive outcomes.

A great deal of research points to a range of police proactivity that can effectively prevent crime, including problem-solving, directed and hot spots patrol, focused deterrence, situational crime prevention, pedestrian and traffic stops, and crime prevention through environmental design. At the same time, police proactivity is not without controversy. Some proactive approaches have been recently criticized and questioned for being used excessively, with implicit or explicit bias, unconstitutionally, or in ways that harm community-police relations. These have included tactics such as stop-question-and-frisk and pedestrian field interviews, pre-textual traffic enforcement, and the use of misdemeanor arrests to reduce disorder (i.e., zero tolerance). These debates about proactivity have become significant enough that an appointed committee within the National Academy of Sciences is now summarizing and commenting on the state of knowledge regarding police proactivity.¹

Interestingly, we actually know little about the realities and impacts of everyday proactive policing in the United States. Our current research knowledge on proactivity comes from the evaluation of specific (and often ad hoc) interventions and programs conducted by agencies often for research purposes and outside of normal, everyday operations. Such assessments do not tell us, for example, to

what extent any given agency or officer is being proactive, how much officers' daily patrol deployment is used to be proactive, or what different types of proactive activities patrol officers are engaged in. These aspects of proactive deployment are difficult to determine because agencies do not often systematically record, measure, or track proactivity with the same precision and regularity that they track reactive activities such as responding to 911 calls. When examining the richest data that police have on daily patrol activities—computer-aided dispatch (CAD) data—proactive activities may not be explicitly documented, and significant amounts of proactive activity are simply not recorded.

This lack of measurement, in turn, has significant consequences for law enforcement operations. Patrol commanders may not often know the dosages or types of police proactivity occurring within their command, or whether existing dosages are optimal for deterring crime or improving community relationships and trust. This lack of information thereby inhibits a commander's ability to make effective adjustments to daily and strategic deployments. Imagine if coaches of an NFL football team could not see or hear what the team was doing minute-by-minute on the field and had to call plays without that information! Commanders' ability to make such adjustments matter, because we now know from research that what officers do between calls for service makes a difference for safety, crime control, and healthy community relationships. Further, without knowing both the quality and quantity of proactivity in the field, officers can't be judged, rewarded, or promoted for their efforts, and we can't determine the outcome of those efforts or their unintended consequences, whether positive or negative. And, because some proactive activities are easier to record, detect, and train for than others, agencies may also favor a very limited proactive toolkit, thus failing to fully leverage the knowledge we have about a broad range of effective proactive activities.

¹ For more about this committee, see http://sites.nationalacademies.org/DBASSE/CLAJ/CurrentProjects/DBASSE_167718.

Measuring Proactivity

The Proactive Policing Lab tries to address these unique challenges of detection, measurement, implementation, and evaluation of everyday proactivity through multiple partnerships with law enforcement agencies. For example, in the Prince William County (Virginia) Police Department, we spent more than 120 hours in the field with dozens of officers conducting observations of their daily patrol and asking them questions about their proactive activities. We also matched these observations with a deep dive into the agency's computer-aided dispatch data to see how officers' proactive activities were being recorded (or not).

Preliminary findings are highlighted in a recent *Police Chief* article (Lum, Koper, Johnson, Stoltz, Wu, & Carr, 2017), but we summarize a few key findings to illustrate the type of research the lab is focused on. For instance, we found that at least 60 percent of officers' proactive efforts were not officially recorded. Most common among these unrecorded efforts were directed patrol at hot spots. We also found that officers focused these patrols on locations they believed were "hot" rather than use specific intelligence or crime analysis to target their efforts. And, they usually conducted the patrols for just a few short minutes rather than the 10-15 minutes considered optimal for visits to hot spots.² Consequently, these patrols might not be as effective as they could be—but at present, it would be hard for the agency to evaluate and correct this.

Another interesting finding was that recorded proactive work consisted primarily of traffic stops. Indeed, traffic enforcement seems to be the go-to proactivity of many officers we have encountered, and not just in Prince William County. Proactive traffic enforcement can indeed be useful if an agency has specific goals related to reducing road accidents and deaths, or even potentially reducing firearms carrying in gun crime hot spots (Koper & Mayo-Wilson, 2012). But this type of proactivity may not necessarily be useful to deal with other kinds of problems that may require different types of proactive activities. As with hot spots patrols, no specific intelligence guided choices about where to conduct traffic stops. Again, this is likely a common situation in many police agencies, even those with crime analysis units.³ But the body of research on routine activities, crime hot spots, environmental criminology, and crime patterns all points to the benefits of using a much more targeted, intelligence/

data-led approach in determining where to go, when, and for what reason. In a parallel effort for the Alexandria (Virginia) Police Department, we found that proactive targeting of traffic enforcement, as well as careful tracking of that enforcement, may be important in not only impacting public safety but also monitoring and mitigating implicit biases and disparities that can inadvertently result from discretionary traffic enforcement.

Finally, other factors can influence an agency's ability to be proactive. For example, jurisdictions like Prince William County are responsible for large and expanding suburban populations, as well as widely varying population density and land use. These factors may limit officers' opportunities to be proactive, as they have to spend significant amounts of time getting from one place to another. We also discovered that expansion of reporting requirements in other areas of patrol, such as more careful documentation or response to individuals suffering from mental or emotional crises, may impact the amount of time available to spend on proactivity. Assessing how much time officers have available for proactive activities is thus another important piece of deployment planning.

Lessons for Law Enforcement Agencies

In many agencies, officers are trying to be proactive and are personally motivated to do so. Although officers we observed and interviewed were not often formally rewarded for proactivity, many remarked that they are intrinsically rewarded and personally motivated to be proactive, especially when supported by a proactive squad culture or when they feel supported by specific supervisors. This is a positive development in American policing, as we know that proactivity is critical to an agency's ability to control crime and maintain trust and confidence with citizens when done properly.

At the same time, there can be major obstacles to law enforcement's interest in becoming more proactive. Our preliminary findings from the lab indicate that there are some steps police can take to sharpen their proactive portfolio. The first is to examine research on proactive interventions, like the studies included in the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix.⁴ These studies provide a wide range of proactive interventions that police agencies can choose from. Tools like the Evidence-Based Policing Playbook⁵ can help to translate this research into everyday patrol activities. However, implementing these or other proactive approaches requires establishing departmental infrastructure to measure and track proactivity, in order to then adjust deployment accordingly.

Building such infrastructure requires creating codes, processes, and systems for CAD, dispatchers, and officers to better record the time and type of officers' proactive efforts, including those efforts that may be hard to categorize easily (e.g., problem-solving tactics or the use of

2 For a quick summary of this research, see <http://cebcp.org/wp-content/onepagereports/KoperHotSpots.pdf>.

3 See discussions of this by Christopher S. Koper, Cynthia Lum, James Willis, Dan Woods, and Julie Hibdon. (2015). *Realizing the Potential of Technology in Policing: A Multisite Study of the Social, Organizational, and Behavioral Aspects of Implementing Police Technologies*. Final report to the National Institute of Justice (available at <http://cebcp.org/wp-content/evidence-based-policing/ImpactTechnologyFinalReport>) and Cynthia Lum, Christopher S. Koper, and James Willis. (2017). Understanding the Limits of Technology's Impact on Police Effectiveness. *Police Quarterly*, 20(2), 135-1633.

4 See <http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/>.

5 See <http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/matrix-demonstration-project/playbook/>.

the Case of Places tool⁶). It also includes designing systems to gauge community sentiment about officer activities so that agencies can stay on top of potential negative consequences of proactivity. These changes can also enable agencies to assess officer performance better, reward officers for their efforts, and incorporate such assessments into promotions.

Improving recording is only one step (and if not done with care, can lead to mindless bean counting of a limited range of proactive activities). Another task is perhaps more fundamental. Officers need training, mentoring, and guidance on how to improve the quality and range of their proactivity in ways that we know are effective in preventing crime and not alienating citizens and communities. Without this advanced knowledge, they will revert back to traffic or pedestrian stops or quick visibility stops as their go-to activities. Our future work in the lab will also try to identify optimal types and dosages of proactive work more precisely.

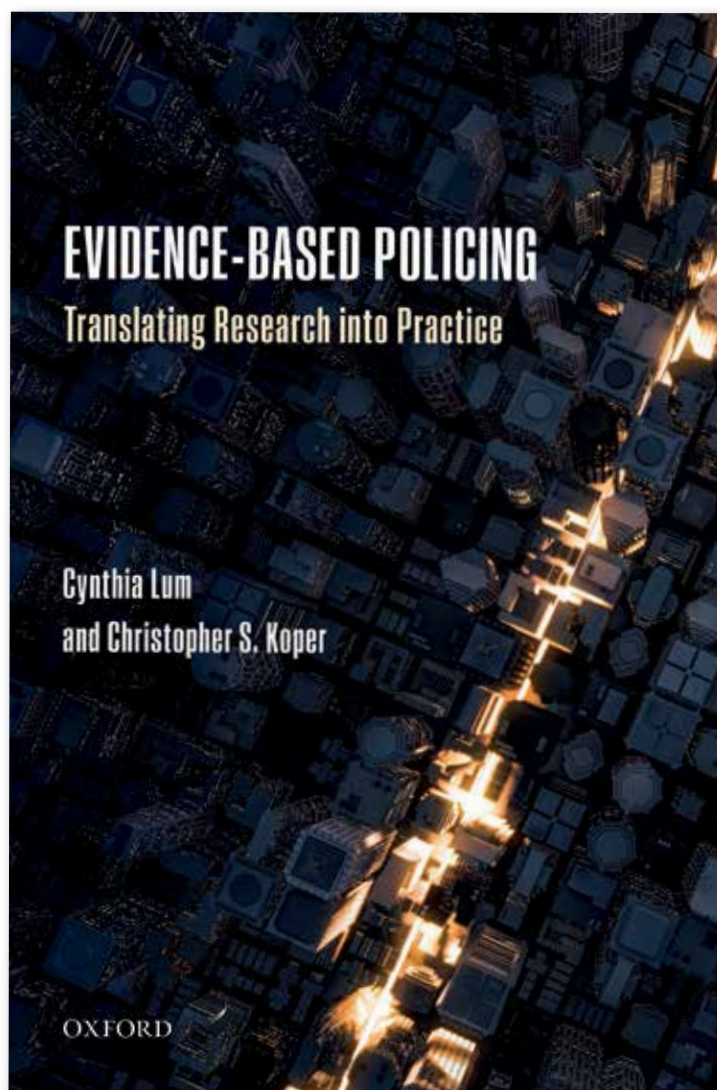
We would also go so far as to say that if an agency really wants to be proactive, it needs to have a highly functioning and well-staffed crime analysis unit. Some of the analyses we are conducting in the lab can be carried out by crime analysts for their own agencies. Crime analysis also has to be truly valued by command staff, first line supervisors, and patrol officers. When analysts work side-by-side with patrol officers, they can provide support in understanding the contextual, situational, environmental, and physical aspects of high-crime areas to sharpen proactive activities at those places.⁷ Analysts can also help to identify high-risk individuals for focused deterrent efforts. And analysts can provide the support needed to assess community sentiment about particular types of proactive interventions more accurately.

The push toward police proactivity is generally positive, but, like everything in law enforcement, has to be constantly assessed. The Proactive Policing Lab focuses on keeping up with these challenges.

To read more about these ideas, see Lum and Koper's new book, Evidence-Based Policing: Translating Research into Practice (Oxford, 2017).

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⁶ See <http://cebcp.org/evidence-based-policing/the-matrix/matrix-demonstration-project/case-of-places/>.

⁷ For example, see Roush, Jamie, and Christopher Koper. 2012. "From Research to Practice: How the Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office Institutionalized Results from a Problem-Oriented, Hot Spots Policing Experiment." *Translational Criminology: The Magazine of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy* (George Mason University). Winter 2012: 10-11.

The logo for the "100K for 10" campaign. It features a circular profile of a man's head in green and yellow, followed by the text "100K" in large green letters, "for" in a yellow script font, and "10" in large green letters. Below this, the text "CENTER FOR EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME POLICY" is written in green, all-caps, sans-serif font.

CENTER FOR
EVIDENCE-BASED
CRIME POLICY

For almost 10 years, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy has been committed to providing its university, local, regional, state, national, and international communities with high-quality research and research translation tools.

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

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

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

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LEADS Agencies Canada: A New Program to Fix an Old Problem

BY LAURA HUEY

Laura Huey is professor of sociology at the University of Western Ontario and director of the Canadian Society of Evidence Based Policing.

Anyone with even the slightest knowledge of the issues facing contemporary policing is aware of a self-evident truth: many of these issues became police problems because of inadequacies or failures in other social systems—mental health, homelessness, and family violence being three paradigmatic examples. Each of these social problems could likely be better dealt with—that is, in many instances prevented—through effective social programs. However, chronic underfunding of health and social welfare systems has led to police agencies becoming, in many respects, the de facto custodians of these problems.

None of this is unique to the United States; Canadian police services are also grappling with how to effectively and efficiently respond to problems for which they are too often inadequately prepared. What is perhaps less well known is that police here also frequently lack the ability to tackle these problems through research due to decades of funding cuts to academic policing research in many parts of Canada, a situation that has left the researchers who remain in this field scrambling for resources or highly dependent on a fraction of the federal research funding pots available to all researchers (CCA 2014; House Standing Committee 2014).

The dismal funding situation has had two notable impacts. First, we have insufficient numbers of experienced, applied policing researchers capable of producing work to address even the most basic of policing research questions. This is not just my opinion; in interviews conducted for a study of the state of Canadian policing research (Griffiths, 2014), a senior police officer explained the situation here as follows:

Policing research is at a significant disadvantage because there is currently no academy for policing research in Canada. There are no systems in place for evidence-based research, as opposed to the UK, US, Australia, and the Netherlands. As such, much Canadian research is based on international studies. It is estimated that we are 10-15 years behind those countries in terms of the research systems we have in place and the capacity to conduct that research. In short, the state of policing research is poor and in its infancy. (p. 6)

A second significant impact of chronic research funding shortfalls is that the problem of how to generate research has been partially pushed onto police services. Indeed, many Canadian police services are forced to innovate using their own resources, or, worse yet, to continue using strategies and programs that have long since been proven ineffective and



Laura Huey

inefficient (Griffiths, 2014). The situation is particularly troubling considering the majority of Canadian police agencies are small- to medium-sized municipal or regional services, which are under enormous pressure to reduce budgets or “hold the line” at a time of increased costs. Perhaps not surprisingly, research can be a less appealing line item than mental health crisis teams or school resource officers when the axe is being swung.

Since 2015 the Canadian Society of Evidence Based Policing (CAN-SEBP)¹ has been working with police agencies and researchers from across Canada to identify research needs, build new relationships, locate funding pots, and share knowledge across the various silos that exist. We are a nonprofit research network consisting of 600 members, 35 policing partners, and 48 collaborators from across Canada, with links to Societies of Evidence Based Policing in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. While we have had some notable success in improving aspects of the research landscape north of the 49th, the fact remains that the struggle to rebuild Canada’s research capacity in this field will be a long, slow process. So, what can be done in the interim?

In 2017 CAN-SEBP joined forces with the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to launch a Canadian version of the Law Enforcement Advancing Data and Science (LEADS) Agencies program being piloted in the United States. The LEADS Agencies project is an innovative program that aims to embed evidence-based policing within small to medium-sized police services. The goals of the program are simple: help agencies increase their internal capacity for conducting and using quality research by focusing resources on one of four potential areas:

- The collection of quality data
- An analysis of community safety or other issues and problems
- Conducting a study to answer an important research question
- The use of evidence in agency decision making (G. Corder, personal communication, 2017)

The Canadian version will adopt this framework, working closely with the NIJ to ensure we adhere to the LEADS vision and continue promoting cross-border sharing of knowledge and experiences. However, the implementation of the program here—which is set to launch in fall 2017—will look slightly different from its American cousin. Six researchers—Craig Bennell (Carleton University), Jennifer Schulenberg (University of Waterloo), Ryan Broll (University of Guelph), Remi Boivin (Université de Montréal), Mary Ann Campbell (University of New Brunswick), and myself (University of Western Ontario)—will

¹ www.can-sebp.net

partner with one or more participating agencies in one of five distinct regions of Canada (the Pacific, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes). Each researcher will serve as an agency's primary research contact; however, every agency will have access to the entire pool of available research expertise, including resources from our collaborators, such as the Community Safety Knowledge Alliance.

The Canadian LEADS Agencies project will roll out in three distinct phases:

- **Phase 1: Assess Internal Capacity**—Research teams will work with each of the police services, and with each other, to develop a comprehensive assessment tool for evaluating an agency's internal capacity for research and evidence-based decision-making. Factors to be considered: quality of data collection (both input and verification processes), data retention and storage, data "fit" for research and operational needs, presence and/or quality of analytic tools and skills, and current use of evidence-based decision-making. We will also assess broader (agency-wide) receptivity or "openness" to research using a previously tested, Canadian version of the Lum and Telep (2012) survey (see Blaskovits et al. 2017).
- **Phase 2: Develop Internal Capacity**—Using the results of our assessments, each research team will work its selected agency or agencies to identify priority areas for improvement and begin testing solutions for identified gaps and issues (this may be, for example, in the areas of data collection and/or evidence-based decision-making). Where a police service has selected to target and test research-based strategies to address operational or other needs, researchers will work with that service to co-create studies to measure the effectiveness of the selected program, policy, or strategy.
- **Phase 3: Tracking Changes and Talking about Experiences**—In the third phase, the research teams will develop and implement a set of metrics designed to evaluate agency progress with respect to both the identified goals of the LEADS program and the goals of the individual agency. Researchers and agencies will also be asked to share their experiences—successes and challenges—with each other, the NIJ team, and other law enforcement agencies across Canada and the globe.

How will embarking on the LEADS Agencies Canada program help us to address deficits in Canada's capacity to generate quality applied policing research? For one thing, it will allow us to begin the process of building a greater capacity for evidence-based research and decision-making within police agencies, and thus enable those agencies to improve upon policing responses and the other services they provide to local communities.

Through the collaborative, team-based research approach, LEADS Agencies Canada will also increase opportunities for young academic researchers to enter the policing research field, work with experts in other

research domains, gain practical knowledge of the operational and other issues facing police services, and, most importantly, help them to develop their own research agendas, thus growing the academic policing research field here. At the same time, we intend to identify

and nurture the research interests of both established and budding "pracademics"—that is, police practitioners with research training or those seeking to grow their knowledge of research and evidence-based decision-making. These individuals are an often hidden or underutilized resource within agencies who can be highly valuable in fostering a climate for evidence-based policing and contributing to an agency's internal capacity for research (Huey and Mitchell, 2016).

Will any of the above immediately solve or even provide relief for our present predicament? No. But then it would be silly to buy into this or any other initiative as a "quick fix." That said, if we can use this program as a starting point for working out how to lay the groundwork for more Canadian police services to become evidence-based, while simultaneously increasing the volume of policing research here, increasing the number of pracademics actively contributing to the field, and providing opportunities to a growing number of incoming graduate and undergraduate students, we'll take that as a worthwhile accomplishment.

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Beyond the City Limits: Evaluating Court Reforms in Rural and Small-Town Courts

BY ALISSA POLLITZ WORDEN, REVEKA V. SHTEYNBERG, KIRSTIN A. MORGAN, AND ANDREW LUCAS BLAIZE DAVIES

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A defendant's first appearance in court is usually a brief affair, but the decisions made there—on charges, pretrial release, and bail—carry consequences for his or her economic security, family stability, and of course, verdict and sentencing. For this reason, experts and advocates argue that counsel at first appearance (CAFA) is essential to effective legal representation, and over the last decade legal rulings have edged toward cementing CAFA as a 6th Amendment right. But in many courts, defendants who cannot afford a private attorney, and have not yet been assigned a public defender, must face the bench alone.

In 2013 the New York State Office of Indigent Legal Services (ILS) invited counties' indigent defense organizations to apply for grants to implement CAFA programs, emphasizing that counties should tailor their plans to local conditions and needs.¹ In 2014 the National Institute of Justice awarded research funding to the University at Albany, in partnership with ILS, to evaluate the implementation and impacts of six of those CAFA programs.² These six programs focused primarily on the many rural and small-town courts where CAFA was not already common practice.

The CAFA evaluation project offers lessons about reform and research in these small courts. First, reforms designed with urban



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courts in mind may not scale as expected onto smaller courts, and practitioners must be strategic in adapting them to their communities. Second, field research and data collection in these settings are resource-intensive undertakings, but researchers can capitalize on time spent in the field to better understand the distinctive dynamics of these courts. And third, as we conclude below, the work required to meet these challenges has the potential to improve both the delivery of legal services and the quality of evaluation research.

Policy Idealism and Local Realism: Justice in Upstate New York

“Upstate” New York is a region that New York City dwellers find mysterious, and that many outside the state don't think about at all. Outside the NYC metropolitan area, stretching north to Canada, south to Pennsylvania, and east to New England, 50 counties comprise industrial cities and their suburbs, quaint college towns, Native American reservations, remote mountain villages, and farming communities. Most Upstate counties are politically red, and some are in economic decline. In short, the region represents the diverse tapestries of politics, economies, demographics, and geography that a social scientist would find in many states outside major cities, if a social scientist went looking for them.

¹ New York is one of 17 states in which indigent defense is primarily funded by county governments (The Constitution Project, 2017).

² The study is funded by National Institute of Justice award 2014-IJ-CX-0027. The observations and conclusions expressed in this article are those of the authors, and do not reflect the official policy or position of the NIJ or the NYS Office of Indigent Legal Services. See Worden et al. (2017) and Worden et al. (Forthcoming) for more detailed examinations of this research.

How is justice dispensed in Upstate? Each of Upstate's 61 incorporated cities has a city court with elected judges who are members of the state bar. However, more than two-thirds of the Upstate population lives outside these cities, in more than 1,000 towns and villages. In these jurisdictions, locally elected magistrates preside over misdemeanors as well as the preliminary stages of felonies in justice courts. They are usually referred to as "justices," but they are not required to be licensed as lawyers and few of them are.

Most of these courts are open only a few days a week (and some as seldom as twice a month), and many of their sessions are held in the evening. Outside scheduled sessions these courtrooms (which may share buildings with animal control, highway departments, and snow plow garages) do not have security personnel. Few of them have holding cells, and they are scattered over long geographic distances. Hence, when police officers make an arrest, they either instruct the arrestee to appear at the next regular court session for arraignment or, if that is weeks away or the case involves more serious charges, they call the local justice to schedule an off-hours arraignment.

Arrestees who can contact an attorney may be represented at arraignment, but most defendants, of course, cannot afford legal fees. While many indigent defense programs staff arraignments in large city courts, where they were usually present for other business anyway, in the past few could routinely dispatch lawyers to justice court arraignments. As CAFA became a priority, state policymakers concluded that the solution to this problem was to allocate funding to ILS, which in turn would channel resources to local defense programs. Some programs used those resources to hire new attorneys or staff, and others provided stipends for assigned counsel attorneys to be on-call.

But it became clear that these new programs could not be implemented without cooperation from other criminal justice actors. For example, some prosecutors, accustomed to phoning in bail recommendations at arraignments, argued that they also deserved grants to attend arraignments. Justices expressed concerns about waiting, possibly for hours, for defense lawyers to reach their courts. Those long waits worried law enforcement as well, because officers escorting arrestees, who might constitute most of the patrol on duty at a given time, were off the road until arraignments were completed. The prospect of waiting for a lawyer to make a 40-mile journey on secondary roads in a snowstorm was enough to give many pause. In the words of a town court clerk, the concern that arraignments would be held up by defense lawyers became "a logistical nightmare."

We discovered that these practical concerns were accompanied by philosophical considerations. After we presented our project at a county association's monthly dinner meeting, several justices observed that they thought CAFA would make little difference in their courts, and they expressed concerns about its costs in rural jurisdictions with many competing needs. It became clear that they defined themselves as professionals whose knowledge of community

history and local families was an asset that judges in large courts seldom had, and many felt that could adequately protect defendants' rights and interests without attorneys.

But we would not want to overstate the negatives in these dynamics, for in all sites the CAFA programs were implemented as planned. Defense program administrators strategized to minimize the time needed to dispatch lawyers to arraignments; one even clocked the minutes needed by defenders to arrive at arraignments to offset concerns about delays. And many defenders voiced their respect for local justices, acknowledging that their support for CAFA could make or break the program. A magistrate who advocated for CAFA among his peers dismissed the lack of off-hours security in his courtroom, pointing to an iron ring embedded in the wall for restraining cuffed arrestees and to a desk drawer that held his sidearm. Among defense lawyers, while some complained about the stress of odd hours and weekend call-ins, most (though not all) believe their extra efforts helped their clients.

Adapting Research Design to Research Realities

It is often said that experiments are the gold standard for social science research. Increasingly we are also told that "big data"—large compilations of data from multiple sources—holds the answers to many of our questions. But these statements do not quite fit the type of multisite field research that we undertook. As researchers, we could not randomly assign defense counsel to a treatment group and withhold it from a control group without judges' and lawyers' (and, we suspect, ILS's) assent). Instead we relied on a pre-post strategy: In each site, we collected data on samples of cases that were arraigned before, and after, CAFA programs were initiated.

This common-sense adaptation is not without risks. What if during the course of data collection something happened that changed court practices, independent of CAFA? We realized that while we could not prevent history threats to internal validity, we could monitor them. So we compiled "histories of the present" for each county, cataloging archived documents, minutes from meetings, local media stories and editorials, and interviews with practitioners. We were reassured to find that in five sites no problematic events coincided with program implementation, so we feel reasonably confident that our final analyses will reflect the true effects of CAFA. In the sixth, however, data collection coincided with a prolonged and racially charged murder trial, the kidnapping of two children from their farmhouse, heavily publicized scandals in the district attorney's office, and the exacerbation of a critical county budget deficit. Needless to say, we shall interpret the results from that site with caution.

Within each county, we gathered data on arraignment, bail, pretrial release, court appearances, verdicts, and sentences from defenders' files, tailoring protocols to each site's local records system. No two defense programs used identical record-keeping systems. Serendipitously, we began our work in the most "digitized" site, for

which a dedicated county IT expert trained us on a widely used case management system (CMS). Armed with that experience, the second and third authors cracked the codes in four additional counties that used variants of that CMS. In most of these sites, the CMS data was a point of departure for more detailed coding from lawyers' paper case files. In the sixth site, case records were coded by hand from carbon copies of attorneys' handwritten records, faxes from the judge to the program administrator, and a daily log of opened cases. Our objective was to create a complete event history for each case, and in this we were largely successful.



Our investment did not produce big data (though our samples support statistical analysis), but in trading off quantity for quality we got front-row seats to the adversarial process. In the most remote site (with the least access to broadband) we learned from hundreds of manila file folders that lawyers conducted plea negotiations via casual emails (sometimes peppered with colorful commentary on clients). Three counties away, we puzzled over lawyers' references to exchanging "equity letters"—a term that appears nowhere in the New York Penal Code. A friendly attorney explained that these were formal papers that conveyed plea bids and acceptances. Equally importantly, the days spent on-site became opportunities to talk with program staff and lawyers (whose curiosity about what we were doing drew them into the offices, hallways, and conference rooms where we worked). They invited us to attend court sessions, often supplying backstories on judges and prosecutors, and they drove us down country roads to visit remote justice courts. These "accidental ethnographies" provided invaluable context for understanding courthouses and communities.

Concluding Thoughts

This brief description of the CAFA project recounts some of the challenges and rewards of field research. Most court research takes place in urban settings, where caseloads are large and record-keeping is computerized. But what we know about urban courts and reforms may not accurately describe rural jurisdictions. Over the course of (to date) 40 site visits (and 12,000 miles on our odometers), we observed firsthand the critical work that practitioners undertook to successfully implement their programs, and we also gained deeper understanding of the diverse organizational and political contexts in which these courts operate. As we have begun sharing preliminary results with these practitioners, we have found their insights and interpretations invaluable. As a postscript, we note that although the analyses and findings are not complete, our working relationships in three of these counties have already set the stage for potential expansion of research agendas, in directions suggested by defenders as well as other court actors, and we are optimistic about these partnerships going forward.

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Combating the Opioid Crisis with Treatment Not Arrest: An Examination of an Emerging Police Model

BY JESSICA REICHERT

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The opioid crisis is devastating communities across America. More people are killed by drug overdoses now than car accidents or gun violence. Law enforcement agencies are starting to realize that solely arresting those who misuse opioids will not effectively alleviate the opioid crisis and may, in fact, exacerbate the problem.

Seeking a better and more evidence-based way to help individuals suffering from opioid use disorders, police departments across the country are embracing a new program model allowing them to assist individuals in accessing substance use disorder treatment. While program names vary by jurisdiction, the model itself is referred to as deflection, pre-arrest diversion, and front-end diversion. The effectiveness of drug treatment has been well established in the literature, and the research on the effectiveness of diversion has been growing (Reichert & Gleicher, 2017).

One example of such a model is the Gloucester (Massachusetts) Police Department's ANGEL program (Gloucester Police Department, n.d.). In the model, individuals voluntarily walk into police departments and request substance use disorder treatment. Police departments pre-arrange services with treatment providers that can be offered to these individuals.

In rural areas, volunteers who are often recruited from their work with community agencies drive program participants to treatment facilities, which often are located an hour or more away. Program administrators develop their own eligibility criteria but often exclude those with outstanding warrants or violent arrest histories. Implementation steps include the training of police on the program and public awareness campaigns.

The goals of this program are restorative rather than retributive, as they strive to improve access to treatment, reduce substance abuse and recidivism, cut costs associated with reoffending, and improve police-community relations. More than 138 programs in 28 states have started the ANGEL program (Schiff, Drainoni, Bair-Merritt, & Rosenbloom, 2016).

Little is known about how individual programs operate, what program components are most effective, and what outcomes their



Jessica Reichert

clients have experienced. In summer 2017, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) researchers set out to learn more about the impetus, development, and implementation of such programs in Illinois to better inform communities interested in offering a deflection model program. Researchers identified 11 programs in the state, each at varying stages of implementation. Representatives from seven agreed to be interviewed about their programs, and included police chiefs, sheriffs, and a state's attorney.

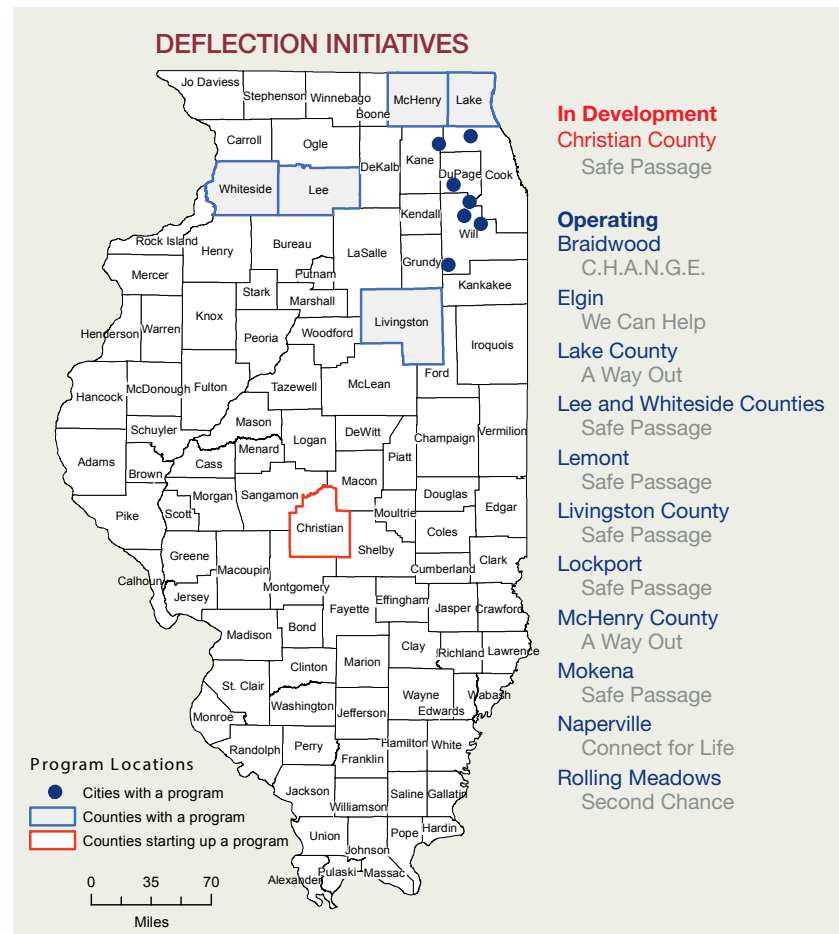


Figure 1. Map of police-treatment programs in Illinois.

Program Implementation and Operations

The seven programs examined were relatively new, with the oldest ones in operation since 2015. Four programs were county-wide, and three were city-wide. The programs served geographic areas ranging from small towns to counties with larger cities, with collaboration among multiple departments. The programs involved a total of 42 police agencies. Collectively, since they began operating, the programs engaged a total of 384 clients in treatment, ranging from 3 to 170 clients per program.

All seven programs started in response to the opioid crisis and overdose deaths in their communities. One program was specifically concerned with overdoses among young people and another reported that their community had been experiencing one overdose per week. Four programs were simulated ANGEL programs, and three were based on other established programs in the state—in Lake and Lee/White-side counties.

Program representatives cited helping people get access to treatment, criminal justice system diversion, and crime and overdose reduction as individual program goals. The programs required clients to walk into the police department for assistance. Several programs transported

clients outside of their communities for treatment and two programs sent people out of state. The programs made treatment accessible at all levels of care—detox, outpatient, and residential. While the programs offered no aftercare services for clients post-treatment, one agency reported seeking funding for recovery coaches and a sober living facility.

Three programs had no external source of funding. Three had obtained small seed grants ranging from \$2,500 to \$10,000. Grant funds were used to pay for program advertising and to transport clients to treatment. Treatment was paid for by federal funds (often Medicaid), state funds (through the Department of Human Services, Division of Alcohol and Substance Abuse), or in a few cases, private insurance. One program used drug forfeiture funds to offset clients' treatment costs.

Five programs used social media to raise awareness, five programs were featured in local media outlets, and two programs were promoted using department websites. Other departments developed and disseminated brochures, rented billboards, and purchased screen time at local movie theaters to get the word out. Officers also promoted and marketed their programs on the street to those suffering from substance use disorders.

Programs obtained data from intake forms, treatment providers, and informal follow-up/contact with clients. External evaluations were being conducted for two of the programs.

When asked about lessons learned, those interviewed made several recommendations, including:

- Find some champions within the department.
- Foster good relationships with select treatment partners.
- Designate a small team of trained officers to contact treatment providers.
- Involve the whole community including, but not limited to, hospitals, pastors, health departments, and 12-step communities.
- Get an understanding of the local population.
- Train officers and consult local substance use coalitions or providers to develop training programs.

Implications for Police-Treatment Programs

The police interviews highlighted several key issues in program implementation and operations.

Treatment Capacity. Treatment capacity was a common concern, with bed space cited as the main obstacle to offering treatment to those in need. Interviewees said waiting lists post-detoxification potentially endangered client safety. One shared that following detox, their clients were on a two- to four-week waiting list, putting them at risk for relapse and at increased risk for dying from an overdose. However, treatment capacity is an obstacle not easily addressed and capacity is dependent, in part, on the availability of publically funded health care coverage (Urban, 2017).

Community Involvement. Some programs in this study featured broader community involvement, recognizing the need to foster community support and increase awareness of the program. While all

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— Jessica Reichert

programs involved police departments and treatment providers, just two programs involved the broader community, including the county health department and mental health board, local recovery-based nonprofits, local substance abuse coalition, and faith-based community. Research suggests that community engagement in public health issues can have a positive impact (O'Mara-Eves et al., 2015).

One representative noted that police departments are a common-sense point of entry within the community because they are open 24 hours per day, seven days per week, and are easily accessible. Those interviewed reported receiving positive responses from the community.

"The police now have an opportunity to work with people struggling with addiction," said one. Although individuals may be hesitant about going to a police department, word-of-mouth can be helpful. One represented stated, "People now think of the police as a point of assistance as opposed to people they want to avoid. When people begin going through [the program], realizing it's not a set-up, that there are police officers out there that do care and do want to get people the help they need as opposed to arresting them, I think word will spread in terms of the relationship and how police are viewed, and that will be positive."

One police chief tied the program to a community policing model. "In my mind, this is the future of law enforcement, that next phase of community policing," he said. "It's a smarter way to do policing and I think that this model really works well with a number of other behavioral health issues. Law enforcement ends up ultimately having to deal with these individuals out at the street level just because that's the nature of our business. We want a better way to help those people and this seems to be a good alternative."

Officer Training. All departments offered program training for police officers and three provided additional training specifically on substance use addiction. One said the program is beneficial to officers because it puts a "human face" on addiction and officers realize that all kinds of people from all different backgrounds may suffer from addiction. However, comments from others indicated that officers may need specific training on substance use as a chronic, relapsing mental health condition to understand the need for such programs.

Sustainable Funding. Although programs are able to operate with little funding and with the use of existing police staff, some representatives indicated a funding need for a program coordinator, possibly a social worker, to oversee operations, as well as recovery coaches. Most reported wanting and seeking long-term sustainable funding. Four applied for federal funding available through the Comprehensive Addiction and Recovery Act and Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program.

Conclusion

Police referral to treatment programs represent a new model for policing, and are designed to help citizens with substance use disorders at low cost to the municipality. The programs meet a community need,

improve community relations, and align with the police charge to help individuals. These programs started in response to the opioid crisis, but will help anyone in need of substance use disorder treatment. Despite established relationships with treatment providers, the main concern of program representatives in Illinois is treatment capacity.

To aid in funding of these programs, ICJIA dedicated a portion of the state's Justice Assistance Grant funding toward these programs as a comprehensive law enforcement response to drugs. While promising, more research on this model is needed to develop key components, measure outcomes, and gauge sustainability. If possible, the programs should begin to collect intake and follow-up data to engage in proper evaluation.

Acknowledgements

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About the Center for Justice Research and Evaluation

The Center for Justice Research and Evaluation at the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority examines criminal justice topics. The center conducts applied research and program evaluation, publishes technical reports and articles, offers technical assistance to agencies, collaborates with practitioners and academics, holds forums and events, and conducts presentations. Please visit www.icjia.state.il.us to access ICJIA data, research, and publications, and view grant opportunities, event notices, and available jobs and internships.

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The Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy 2017 Recipients

Congratulations to the recipients of the 2017 Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy—Professor Doris L. MacKenzie and the Honorable James K. “Chips” Stewart. In this feature, we asked both to share their thoughts about their lifelong efforts in evidence-based crime policy.

Doris L. MacKenzie is a retired professor from the University of Maryland and Penn State University, and was the founding director of the Justice Center for Research at Penn State University, where she continues to serve as a senior scientist.

What research did I want to do for the rest of my academic career? This was the question I asked myself in the late 1970s as I was finishing up my PhD in psychology. The theoretical linguistic work I had done for my master’s was not how I wanted to spend the rest of my research career. I tried several different avenues, but none of them seemed perfect for my interests.

At about this time, Lynne Goodstein, John Hepburn, and John Kramer were searching for someone to act as a research assistant for a new grant they had received from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) for research on determinate sentencing. They were criminologists in a different college from the psychology department where I was studying so I was not familiar with their work. They hired me for the position, and there began my career in criminology.

As part of the research, I was required to visit prisons and interview administrators, staff, and inmates. I found the work fascinating. My study in psychology was certainly relevant to issues related to offenders’ behavior. At the time, as a result in part of federal government funding, criminal justice (also known as criminology or administration of justice) was a growing field in academia, and there was a great need for people who had research and data analysis skills, the type of expertise students in psychology departments acquired through their studies. The growth of these disciplines also meant that many departments were looking for academics interested in criminology. This combined with my interests, training, and experience made the field of criminology ideal for me.

As I began my career in criminal justice, there were some shocking conflicts between my psychology training and the perspectives of many academics in criminal justice who had most often been trained in sociology or criminal justice studies. First, many of these academics considered research and theory on individual differences a racist perspective and thus, not a legitimate area of study. Psychologists



Doris L. MacKenzie

regularly study the differences among individuals, so it was a surprise to me to be criticized for studying these differences.

In addition, some people in the field scorned quantitative research as “number crunching” and therefore did not consider experimental and quasi-experimental techniques exemplary research designs. Others criticized evaluations examining the effectiveness of correc-

tional rehabilitation programs and management techniques. They argued that “nothing works” to reduce recidivism in correctional treatment and so such research was useless.

In addition, many argued that attitudes, information processing, and cognition were not important concepts in understanding criminal behavior. As they came from sociological perspectives, they believed social conditions were the important causes of criminal activity. Thus, some criminal justice researchers rejected the psychological perspective emphasizing the importance of considering the need to understand these individual differences. It was a challenging time for psychologists working in criminology.

My first employment after receiving my PhD from Penn State was at Louisiana State University (LSU), a joint appointment in the Departments of Experimental Statistics and Administration of Justice. I was interested in doing field research, so I contacted administrators and staff in state and local correctional systems to discuss research possibilities.

One day soon after one of these meetings, a psychologist in one of the prisons called me to say they were starting a new program in the prison and he thought it would be ideal for a research study. This led to my first study of boot camps and my first grant from the NIJ.

For quite a few years, boot camps were the major focus of my research. I moved from LSU to an appointment as a visiting scholar at NIJ and from there to the University of Maryland (UMD).

Correctional boot camps were very popular and I was one of the first to begin studying them. My colleagues and I studied the Louisiana boot camp, and conducted national studies of state correctional boot camps and environments of juvenile boot camps.

I became known as the research expert on correctional boot camps. I consulted with state and local jurisdictions about boot camps, testified before state commissions and the U.S. Congress, and appeared on TV and radio news shows. When I was at UMD, requests from news reporters and others became so numerous I had to ask the publicity department to screen the calls. In part, this attention was due to the properties of the boot camps: They made good “sound bites” for TV, many people believed that offenders should be treated harshly as punishment for their past criminal activities, and others had a “gut feeling” that this would help young people grow up.

One of the last studies I did on this topic was an experimental study of the Maryland boot camp program. The secretary of the Department of Corrections asked me why I hadn’t studied the Maryland boot camp program since I was working at UMD. I said I had been interested, but no one would agree to evaluate the program using experimental design with random assignment. Existing studies had all used quasi-experimental designs, but at this point we needed a strong study to provide evidence of the impact of these programs. He agreed, and we conducted the experiment.

Very early in the research we learned that the physical exercise and the demanding environment common in many boot camps were not the components that reduce offender recidivism. However, it took many years of repeating this message before administrators of boot camps began to understand that the participants needed treatment. The Maryland experiment helped to give us more information about these programs and how they compared to other management strategies. I leave it to you to read the details of the work. But the bottom line is that correctional boot camps are not all bad or all good; it depends on how they are designed and operated.

The next major event in my career was my work with Larry Sherman, Jerry Lee, and my colleagues. This work started when Sherman applied for a grant from the NIJ to work on an evaluation of crime prevention programs for the U.S. Congress. The report *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn’t, What’s Promising* was the result of this work. One amazing thing about this project was how so many of my colleagues worked together to prepare the report. Another was that we completed it in the required six months! This work led to my research on “What Works in Corrections?” examining the effectiveness of correctional programs, and management strategies.

This was an exciting time, as we focused on the quality of research designs and how to translate the results so they were useful for practitioners and policy makers. After finishing the *Preventing*

Crime report, Denise Gottfredson and I were interested in using meta-analysis to continue to evaluate crime prevention programs. Thanks to the generosity and work of Lee, we hired David Wilson, now department chair at George Mason University and a senior fellow in the CEBCP, to assist us in learning and completing meta-analyses. Along with the outstanding graduate students at UMD, Wilson and I completed quite a few meta-analyses evaluating the effectiveness of various correctional programs and strategies in reducing the later recidivism of offenders. We did several meta-analyses for the Campbell Collaboration and I summarized this work in my book, *What Works in Corrections: Reducing the Recidivism of Delinquents and Offenders* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

More recently, the Sociology and Criminology Department from Penn State was interested in starting a research center and I was asked to be its founding director. The primary mission of the Justice Center for Research is to promote and share research evidence relevant for criminal justice theory and practice. The center has worked to establish strong relationships with scholars and practitioners at the local, state, national, and even international levels. Faculty and administrators of the center are also working to connect practitioners and alumni with young scholars. They identify promising undergraduate and graduate students to assist in center-sponsored projects and also apply for research funding.

Through the center, important contributions are being made to the body of evidence regarding “what works” in criminal justice practice promoting informed dialogue on criminal justice policy. Thus, I have come full circle, from being provided an opportunity to do research as a young academic to now providing these opportunities for our future scholars through our center to continue the work of which I have been involved for so many years. I am honored to receive this award from the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

—Doris L. MacKenzie

Very early in the research we learned that the physical exercise and the demanding environment common in many boot camps were not the components that reduce offender recidivism. However, it took many years of repeating this message before administrators of boot camps began to understand that the participants needed treatment.

— Doris L. MacKenzie

James K. “Chips” Stewart *is the director of public safety and senior fellow for law enforcement at CNA Corporation. He served as the director of the National Institute of Justice from 1982 to 1990, special assistant to the attorney, White House Fellow 1981-82, and prior to that, as a commander of criminal investigations for the Oakland Police Department.*

During the turbulent 1960s when police were at the epicenter of the civil rights movement, antiwar protests, and increasing violent crime, I made a decision to leave graduate school and join the Oakland Police Department as an act of social conscience. Policing needed good persons to be police officers in order to give our institutions time to catch up with the massive social changes underway that were stressing our communities.

What did the education of a police officer look like during these challenging times? The basic police training included an experiential and traditional method that, in the opinion of police leaders, “works best.” But in this education there was little of what August Vollmer had called for in the 1920s regarding “scientific policing.” However, at the same time, there was new focus on Supreme Court rules for admissible evidence (*Mapp vs. Ohio*, *Escobedo*, and *Miranda*) and the exclusionary rule.

Also during that era was the release of the report from President Johnson’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, titled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (1967). This nine-volume commission report was a major contribution to our knowledge about the criminal justice system and also created the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The NIJ was charged with using science to help inform state and local police and policy officials about what works in responding to crime. While this groundbreaking Commission Report was a catalyst for change in law enforcement, there was no basic police curriculum developed to implement the findings and recommendations.

When my nomination to be the director of NIJ was announced by the president in October 1982, there was a collective gasp from the academic community. The concern was that my experience was limited to policing operations rather than the methodologies of social science and the theories of social control and deterrence. My appointment also occurred shortly after Robert Martinson and his colleagues had reached their notorious conclusion that “nothin works” in social science research reporting on police and corrections.¹ An additional review of much of the prior NIJ research revealed mostly correlational analysis, which was regarded by leading scholars (e.g., James Q. Wilson, Al Reiss, and others) as insufficient to suggest that something worked or didn’t work. Police leaders were skeptical of the reported scholarly findings and became very cautious about



James K. Stewart

implementing policies and practices based exclusively on correlational and statistical comparison.

Further, in 1978 the National Academy of Sciences published another influential report, *Deterrence and Incapacitation: Estimating the Effects of Criminal Sanctions on Crime Rates*. It provided some informed recommendations to me as the newly appointed director. This report called for more rigorous assessment by NIJ of policies and practices based on social control theories and use of deterrence for crime

control. In light of these conclusions the attorney general, William French Smith, charged me to focus NIJ research on advising the police about “what works.”

One of my first tasks was to try and ascertain what constituted good evidence that a specific police intervention actually had an impact on deterring and reducing crime and recidivism. At the time I consulted with the criminological giants—James Q. Wilson, Al Blumstein, Novell Morris, Al Reiss, and others. Wilson and Reiss were adamant that NIJ had invested too many resources in correlational research that could not speak to causation. Only experimental research could reach the level of confidence that would produce scientifically verifiable research and reliable impact evaluations.

While I had several social scientists who were interested in doing experimental research, a bigger challenge was finding police departments that were willing to participate in a rigorous experiment where the treatment and control would be randomly assigned. This required police to fundamentally change their thinking about public safety and the consequences of random assignment. The police were skeptical of any research because of the highly negative studies produced in the late 70s.

I attended and met with the executive boards at national meetings of police associations, especially ones interested in research like the Police Executive Research Forum and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. At these meetings I recruited a couple of courageous police chiefs who were willing to subject their agencies to random assignment to advance our knowledge of what works.

¹ See Martinson, Robert. 1974. “What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform.” *The Public Interest* 35: 22-54.

The most serious concerns facing these chiefs at the time were increasing homicide rates and low clearances. Homicides were generally thought to be random events largely out of the influence of police discretion and prevention efforts. A 1976 Police Foundation study had reported that police had been called at least once (and usually more times) to intervene in a domestic dispute (family fights) in the previous two years in 85 percent of spousal homicides. As a police officer I knew that domestic disputes were some of the most difficult police calls and that violence was always a risk. Since spousal homicides represented about 25 percent of all homicides, better interventions may make a significant reduction in homicides. Thus, in 1981 NIJ supported Larry Sherman's Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment to evaluate the effectiveness of three types of police response to domestic violence—arrest, counsel, or separation. These three responses were randomly allocated (with some exceptions) to each domestic violence situation police were called to. The results of the study showed a strong deterrent effect for arrest. These findings changed police practice; in many states police departments enacted policies for mandatory arrests without a warrant for domestic violence where the responding officer had probable cause to believe a crime had occurred.

This experiment was historic for the police and for social science, showing that interventions could work and were not always negative toward the police. The only regret I have was that many social scientists insisted that I replicate this study in several jurisdictions. The results were confusing and varied across every location. Policy makers and the police then became concerned that sociological research may not be as reliable as science.

Another example of my work in NIJ was focused on fear of crime. Fear of crime was causing communities to retreat and not help the police solve predatory crimes and open-air drug dealing. Gangs and drug dealers occupied public parks and mothers and babies refused to go into places where violence was visible daily. In 1982 NIJ awarded the Police Foundation \$1,830,534 (a significant amount both then and now) to conduct an 18-month experiment in Newark, New Jersey, and Houston, Texas, to implement a randomized controlled trial examining how police may be able to reduce citizens' fear of crime. Interestingly, in their March 10 and 14 hearings in 1983, Congress objected to this experiment as a waste of taxpayer dollars. The *Washington Post* ran a major story quoting congressmen criticizing the director's decisions to invest in experiments "when everybody knows what to do to reduce the fear of crime is arrest the suspects." I recall one congressman asserting that for a dime he would tell me how to stop fear of crime. Fortunately, the experiment was funded, and also achieved highly confident results. These results led NIJ to develop a community policing strategy that several chiefs then implemented.

Finally, under my tenure the NIJ supported the Minneapolis Hot Spots Patrol experiment by Sherman and Weisburd.² This hot spots experiment challenged the Kansas City preventative patrol experiment by showing that when police target crime concentrations, they can significantly reduce and deter crime at those locations. The Kansas City preventative patrol study did not use rigorous experimental methods, but instead tested police presence generally, and not where crime was concentrated. This study has become a landmark study for police deployment, showing that when police concentrate their resources where crime occurs, they can make a difference.

Through my experiences, I know that social scientists and police officers can work together to make a difference in the quality of life in our communities. The development of evidence-based policing was really implemented in new ways at the National Institute of Justice. We were inspired by the lack of evidence (Martinson) and the need for better policing methods (President's Commission on Law Enforcement) that could be justified by science.

I share the Distinguished Achievement Award presented to me by George Mason University's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy with so many police chiefs and scholars who helped me and accepted the risks of pushing experimental research into new areas where more informed policies were and are desperately needed. Today I continue this work with the Bureau of Justice Assistance's Smart Policing Initiative, which teams police agencies with researchers and other justice-supported programs to make an impact. I applaud the work the CEBCP is doing to promote evidence-based policing and also celebrate the work of one of its professors, Laurie Robinson, for developing Crimesolutions.gov during her tenure at the Department of Justice. Collectively we have made a real difference, although the fight is far from over in pushing for more of the best evidence on "what works" to prevent crime and recidivism.

—James K. "Chips" Stewart

2 See Sherman, Lawrence W., and David Weisburd. 1995. "General Deterrent Effects of Police Patrol in Crime 'Hot Spots': A Randomized, Controlled Trial." *Justice Quarterly* 12(4): 625-48.

The Misdemeanor Justice Project: Using Data to Guide Criminal Justice Reform

BY JEREMY TRAVIS, PREETI CHAUHAN,
AND MEREDITH PATTEN

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Preeti Chauhan is principal investigator for the Misdemeanor Justice Project and Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

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Jeremy Travis



Preeti Chauhan



Meredith Patten

Historically, criminal justice policy discussions have focused on felony crimes and felony arrests. In part, this reflects the simple reality that felonies are more serious breaches of public order. Yet, the sheer volume of lower-level enforcement calls for a greater research and policy focus. The ratio is striking.

In 2011, at the peak of Stop, Question, and Frisk in New York City, for every felony arrest, there were approximately 16 lower-level enforcement actions, including misdemeanor arrests, criminal summonses, and pedestrian stops. To put this in another context, an average of 3,800 lower-level enforcement actions occurred every day.

Although on a smaller scale, most American jurisdictions can report a similar phenomenon: police responses to lower-level crimes and misconduct are a high-volume activity. Clearly, to understand the routine practices of American policing, and to track the dynamics of police-community relations, it is imperative that policymakers and scholars shed light on this understudied aspect of law enforcement.

With this in mind, in 2013, a team at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, led by John Jay president Jeremy Travis, launched the Misdemeanor Justice Project (MJP). The work of the MJP has gathered momentum at a time when other high-profile events such as the death of Eric Garner, the shooting of Michael Brown, and others have brought these types of enforcement actions to the forefront for practitioners, policymakers, the media, and the public.

This focus has been heightened with additional investigation. For instance, the Justice Department's report on Ferguson, Missouri, documented several oppressive criminal justice policies surrounding lower-level enforcement, particularly for communities of color. These events and findings have amplified the need to better understand these trends in the enforcement of lower-level offenses.

With support from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, we

received funding to use New York as a case study to develop a model that could be used to guide evidence-based policy reform regarding lower-level offenses. The MJP has three main goals:

- To conduct and publish rigorous objective analyses documenting trends in lower-level offenses and incarceration
 - To work with key policy stakeholders within New York to ensure data accuracy and conduct policy-relevant analyses
 - To communicate findings to key decision-makers and the public
- To reach these goals, the MJP first focused on documenting trends in misdemeanor arrests, criminal summonses (i.e., citations given for minor offenses such as open containers and public urination), and pedestrian stops. More recently, we have shifted our focus to corrections to examine the outcomes of these arrests by documenting changes in jail admissions, bail amount set, length of stay, and discharge categories.

The MJP has documented dramatic changes in arrests and incarceration in NYC. Trends in enforcement practices have risen, then fallen significantly, ultimately bringing NYC to the lowest level of enforcement activity in the past decade. At the same time, the number of admissions to jails has dropped by nearly half (see Figure 1).

The MJP operates under four guiding principles. The overarching principle, which has been critical to our success, is that we do not make causal inferences, offer explanations for trends, or make policy recommendations based on our findings. While we prefer to stand back and let the analyses speak for themselves, we encourage scholars to engage in explanatory research, and expect others will offer explanations and make suggestions.

To help promote scholarly work in relation to our findings, we have created a National Research Advisory Board of thought leaders comprising scholars and practitioners from across the country. The Advisory Board's first task was to create a research agenda focused on the enforcement of lower-level offenses and pretrial detention.

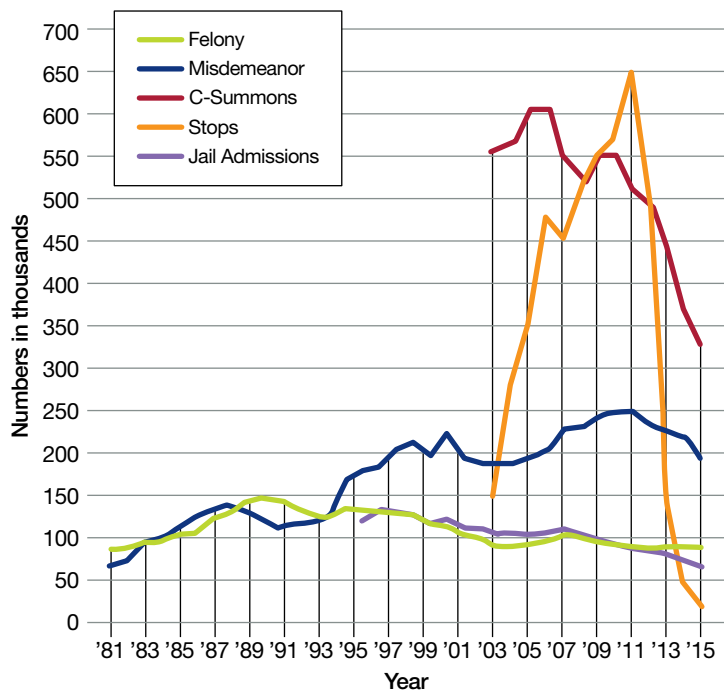


Figure 1. Police enforcement actions and jail admissions in New York City.

The next task was to identify authors for the MJP commissioned papers, written by scholars across the country on topics related to lower-level enforcement activities including the use of officer discretion, consequences of misdemeanor arrests and/or convictions, prevalence of pretrial detention and effective pretrial diversion, and issues related to case processing and legal representation.

These papers have been presented at a conference held at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and been submitted to *Criminal Justice Policy Review* for consideration of publication in two special issues. Our mission is to provide an empirical foundation for data-driven policy initiatives aimed at improving police-community relationships, creating a more efficient and fair criminal justice system, and promoting public safety. We hope that this model of quantitative analysis, along with the promotion of scholarly work, provides a useful method for effectively moving research into the policy domain.

Genuine Engagement with Stakeholders

Our first guiding principle is that we work closely with key stakeholders at city and state agencies to guide the development of our reports. Without sacrificing our independence or objectivity, we collaborate early and often with our government partners to ensure we are conducting analyses that are relevant for those who are writing policy and to make sure the data are reliable.

This group of stakeholders, including, but not limited to, the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, NYC Police Department (NYPD), NYC Department of Correction, Office of Court Administration, and Mayor’s Office of Criminal Justice have

become trusted partners of the MJP. They attend meetings where we present preliminary analyses, they provide regular feedback, and in some cases, they have asked for additional analyses to assist with operations and programming. This principle of stakeholder engagement now extends beyond our data partners. As the MJP has become a trusted analytical entity, we have provided briefings on our work to key decision-makers in NYC, including staff of the speaker of the New York City Council, Melissa Mark-Viverito, former Police Commissioner Bill Bratton and his senior staff, former Correction Commissioner Joseph Ponte and his senior staff, and the former Chief Judge of New York State Jonathan Lippman.

Easily Accessible Data

The second guiding principle has been a commitment to producing analyses that are clear, straightforward, and accessible. To date, the MJP has released six reports on trends in the enforcement of lower-level offenses and incarceration focused on NYC, and to a lesser extent, New York State (see misdemeanorjustice.org).

These data describe trends over time, presenting a narrative of changes in the city’s criminal justice practices, a narrative that typically has not been fully understood by practitioners or the general public. These reports disaggregate the trends to show changes by demographics such as age, race, ethnicity, and gender of those brought into the justice system, as well as the more traditional descriptors such as charges and dispositions of arrests and jail admissions.

Importantly, we present these trends both in terms of absolute numbers and as rates per population base using census data, thereby facilitating an understanding of these system changes in the context of changes in the city’s population. The reports are written for the general public and policymakers, rather than academics.

Commitment to Provide Objective and Empirical Framework to Inform Policy

This guiding principle builds upon the previous two. Now that we have created the trusting relationship with stakeholders and have built the requisite data infrastructure, the MJP is positioned to provide both a baseline for trends and the ability to monitor these trends in the presence of future policy shifts.

Our first report, *Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests in New York*, focused on trends in misdemeanor arrests in NYC, upstate cities in New York, and the remainder of New York State over 33 years. This report demonstrated that misdemeanor arrest rates in NYC increased by nearly twofold from 1980 (1,174 per 100,000) to 2013 (3,411 per 100,000), and these increases were substantial for young men of color. Our third report, *Tracking Enforcement Rates in New York City, 2003-2014*, documented that misdemeanor arrests and pedestrian stops increased but also decreased the most for this demographic group. This baseline now allows for a continual

monitoring of these trends to assess the experiences of young men of color and their enforcement interactions with the police.

Our second report, *The Summons Report: Trends in Issuance and Disposition of Summonses in New York City, 2003-2013*, examined summons activity including warrants and dispositions in NYC. At its peak in 2006, more than 600,000 criminal summonses were issued. We found that over the 12-year span only one in five criminal summonses resulted in a guilty plea, one in four did not require a court appearance due to a defective or legally insufficient summons, and more than a third resulted in an open warrant mainly due to nonappearance.

This report, along with work by others including the mayor's office, contributed to an intense discussion about the appropriateness of the city's policies on criminal summonses. These discussions between the mayor's office, the NYPD, and the city council resulted in the passing of the Criminal Justice Reform Act (CJRA). In its deliberations, the city council referred to the MJP report for context. The CJRA is a series of bills that shifted five behaviors including open containers, public urination, littering, noise, and park violations from the criminal to the civil arena. Given our data capacity and data partnerships, the MJP has been asked to conduct an independent evaluation of the CJRA.

A third example underscores the value of the MJP methodology. Our most recent reports, *Trends in Admissions to New York City Department of Correction, 1995-2015* and *Trends in Custody: tNew York City Department of Correction, 2000-2015*, focus on jail admissions and custody patterns. In April 2017, the Independent Commission of New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform made a recommendation to close Rikers Island, NYC's largest jail complex, within 10 years. Our two reports provide a portrait of the jail population and how it has changed over time. They also provide a baseline to assess progress toward meeting these recommendations.

Effective Communication of Our Findings

Our final guiding principle is central to our success: effective communication. Five of our reports have been released in a productive collaboration with the Citizens Crime Commission (CCC).

The CCC is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization focused on advancing effective criminal justice policies that promote public safety. The CCC holds a breakfast forum attended by critical members of the New York criminal justice world, including police executives, prosecutors, judges, defense lawyers, and others.

We also circulate a press release and encourage the presence of press to communicate our findings to the general public. Several of our reports have been covered by the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Daily News*, television stations, and other press outlets. We have also written op-eds to promote deeper understanding of our findings.

We believe our four guiding principles have been critical to our success. In 2016, through a generous \$3.25-million, three-year grant from the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, the MJP launched the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice (RNMJ) to replicate this model. Following an extensive outreach effort, we received 39 proposals from cities across the country to join the RNMJ. This strong response indicates that there is an appetite for research in this arena.

After a rigorous vetting process, we invited six additional sites—Los Angeles, California; Toledo, Ohio; Durham, North Carolina; Seattle, Washington; Prince George's County, Maryland; and St. Louis, Missouri—to join NYC to build local data analytic infrastructure and capacity to examine trends in lower-level offenses. All sites are dedicated to our guiding principles. The launch of the RNMJ represents the first multisite effort to promote policy reform through a rigorous examination of the enforcement of lower-level offenses.

We live in a time of changing criminal justice policies around lower-level crimes, drug enforcement, and pretrial detention. We have witnessed a renewed focus on police reform and overdue attention to the relationship between police and communities. In this era, we believe it is critical that local jurisdictions have the ability to monitor and track trends within their jurisdictions; in particular, we believe it is important to analyze the high-volume activity involved in lower-level crimes. We encourage other jurisdictions to emulate the work of the MJP by using these guiding principles to enhance evidence-based decision-making for promoting a more effective and fairer criminal justice system.



MJP Stakeholder: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services

Michael C. Green, Executive Deputy Commissioner

The New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS) has long monitored criminal justice trends, reporting on arrest, jail, and prison population trends. When I was appointed to lead DCJS in 2012, after serving eight years as district attorney in Monroe County, I brought with me the keen appreciation of the importance of data to inform policy and to help illustrate and understand the impact of criminal justice practices.

As district attorney and as a trial attorney in the office before being elected, I prosecuted cases against violent individuals in a county with high rates of violent crime; I did not focus on the impact of low-level enforcement. At DCJS, with more access to statewide trends and a broader understanding of issues facing New York's police agencies, the level of police resources dedicated to lower level enforcement became clear.

When President Travis requested assistance and data from DCJS for the Misdemeanor Justice Project (MJP), we were eager to help because MJP staff were in a unique position to provide the most comprehensive picture of enforcement activity in New York City to date. MJP not only had the resources to analyze data from DCJS, which is limited to felony and misdemeanor arrests, but other key data sets, such as summons data. Additionally, MJP's proposed approach—to confer closely with a wide range of key stakeholders to be sure its researchers “got it right”—was truly a first. MJP's decision to avoid causal inferences and seek stakeholder input every step of the way was a major departure from more traditional academic approaches. The team from John Jay quickly earned the trust of stakeholder agencies,

which opened the door for an unprecedented level of candor in stakeholder discussions.

In 2014, shortly after the MJP analysis began, my agency introduced the Gun Involved Violence Elimination (GIVE) initiative, a major program designed to reduce shootings and homicides in 17 counties outside of New York City that report high volumes of violent crime. Agencies participating in GIVE rely on data and analysis and must use proven crime reduction strategies to reduce gun violence, in addition to incorporating the concept of procedural justice and engaging the community in the work. DCJS has provided extensive training and technical assistance to GIVE agencies and has complemented the initiative through a significant funding and training investment in 11 street outreach programs, which treat gun violence as a disease and engage the community in efforts to disrupt its transmission.

DCJS stayed actively engaged after the MJP findings were released. Everything we learned from MJP's work reaffirmed our decision to focus limited state resources on reducing gun violence and saving lives, and ensuring that DCJS funding supports fair, evidence-based approaches, and proven practices that reduce violence without harming communities.

MJP has demonstrated that trend data, when presented clearly and impartially, can help practitioners see the big picture and be a powerful catalyst for policy change. DCJS staff have been energized by this partnership, and we hope to emulate the MJP approach on smaller-scale projects with our own data in the future.

The 2017 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Inductees

Congratulations to the 2017 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Inductees! The Hall recognizes innovative law enforcement practitioners who have been central to the implementation of a high-quality research program in their agency and also are relentless champions of institutionalizing evidence-based practices.



William Barritt

William Barritt is commander of patrol for the Brooklyn Park, Minnesota, Police Department, where he has served since 1997. Barritt is inducted for his commitment to generating and supporting research as well as infusing a culture of evidence-based practices into patrol operations. He was instrumental in implementing an innovative and challenging

randomized field experiment known as the Brooklyn Park: Assets Coming Together to Take Action Experiment, funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance's Smart Policing Initiative. This study sought to enhance collective efficacy and police legitimacy at crime hot spots. In their nomination, Professors David Weisburd and Charlotte Gill note that this study would not have been implemented without Barritt's leadership. Barritt is especially recognized for his attempt to infuse evidence-based approaches into the culture of patrol by involving the entire patrol division in this effort. He also serves as an evidence-based policing mentor through the Smart Policing Initiative.



Sheri Bell

Sheri Bell, the lead crime analyst for the Winnipeg Police Services in Canada, is described by Professor Laura Huey as a "pivotal figure" in evidence-based policing in the Winnipeg Police Service. Bell is the research lead of her agency's Smart Policing Initiative, which is a place-based deterrence and problem-solving initiative intended to reduce

crime harm. She has been carrying out in-house evaluations of the crime and community impacts of the program to help the police agency track its progress. She is also developing a comparative analysis of Winnipeg Police Service's community-based program. Bell's work has been recognized by many police leadership organizations in Canada. Inspector Blunden of the WPS says Bell's "groundbreaking work sets a new standard for how we perform and measure our work as a service to the public. Sheri has allowed us to actually build a structure and foundation which makes a workable practice for the frontline officer."



Michael Barton

Michael Barton has served the Durham Constabulary since 2008 and was appointed chief constable in 2012. Barton is inducted for his long-term commitment to both generating research evidence and institutionalizing evidence-based practices into his agencies. He has partnered with the College of Policing and the University of Oxford

on a long-term study of police legitimacy. More recently his constabulary has committed to a major randomized field trial that replicates and extends the Operation Turning Point trial in West Midlands. Barton provides a model for advancing evidence-based policing in his support of Durham officers and staff to complete the Cambridge Police Executive Master's Programme, as well as his collaboration with researchers at the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge. Further, his partnership with the Business School at Durham University has resulted in groundbreaking knowledge and surveying about how police officers and staff are motivated and inspired.



Stephen Brown

Stephen Brown is deputy commissioner of operations and reform for the Western Australia Police Service, where he has served in a variety of roles and leadership positions in the last 33 years. Beginning in 2014, Brown commissioned and sponsored a major program of evidence-based policing in the Western Australian Police, consisting of a permanent

Evidence-Based Policing Division of approximately 20 officers and civilians as well as a director of criminology. The division's focus is to use evidence-based principles to analyze, evaluate, identify, and implement policing strategies that work. Some of the experiment research undertaken by Brown and the division include examining the effectiveness of increased police patrol dosage; determining the effects of body-worn camera deployment on police operations and public perceptions; evaluating the cost benefit of diverting first-time, low-harm offenders; and determining whether warning communication notices sent to at-risk drivers might reduce their involvement in crashes. Brown is the chair of the Australia and New Zealand Society of Evidence-Based Policing.

These leaders of evidence-based policing not only help make high-quality police scholarship possible but also advance significant reforms in policing by utilizing science in their decision making. Each inductee is highlighted on their page in the Hall of Fame (see cebc.org/hall-of-fame) where you can also read their personal statements regarding their efforts and work.



Michael Kurtenbach

Michael Kurtenbach has served with the Phoenix Police Department for more than 27 years and currently serves as executive assistant chief. Kurtenbach is recognized for his longstanding track record in implementing evidence-based policing. Beginning in 2007, he facilitated a comprehensive response to an increase in homicides in one of PPD's precincts,

using both enhanced enforcement and community-oriented responses to build trust. In 2010 Michael facilitated a project in Phoenix called TRUCE, which relied on a public health approach to reducing violence. More recently, his leadership and participation in BJA's Smart Policing Initiative involved a quasi-experimental study of a pilot program for body-worn cameras, with a particular focus on the impacts of body-worn cameras on domestic violence incidents. He is currently directing a BJA-sponsored, department-wide, randomized controlled trial of body-worn cameras. As chief adviser of the Phoenix Police Foundation, he regularly advocates for the foundation's funding of data-driven programming that is grounded in research.



Deborah Platz

Deborah Platz currently serves as assistant commissioner of crime operations for the Australian Federal Police. Prior to joining the Australian Federal Police service, she served 32 years in the Queensland Police Service. Professor Lorraine Maze-rolle notes in her nomination that Platz has been "a leader and champion of evidence-based policing in Australia." Most

notably, Platz developed the Voice4Values program in Queensland, an educational approach to combat prejudice and discrimination by focusing on instilling increased empathy, appreciation for diversity, and a desire to take personal responsibility among police and public safety personnel. She then partnered with the University of Queensland to evaluate the training using rigorous experimental methods. She is also involved in another experimental trial examining procedural justice training for forensic services and has developed a curriculum for evidence-based policing for multiple levels—recruit training, first-line supervisors, and command staff.



Greg Stewart

Greg Stewart has served with the Portland Police Bureau for more than 21 years and currently leads its crime analysis unit. Stewart is recognized for his extensive and long-term commitment to research, and his partnership with researchers at Portland State University. In 2007, he began collaborating with Professor Kris Henning to develop an automated

actuarial risk assessment system for the bureau's Domestic Violence Unit, which has become a model others have tried to replicate. In 2009, he transferred to the Bureau's Strategic Services Division where he built the agency's new crime analysis unit, described by Henning as "one of the best in the country." Since then, Stewart has been involved in numerous projects, including a large randomized field experiment on hot spots policing, as well as developing a system for using CAD to automate the generation of proactive activities for officers. He is also a founding member of the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing.



Richard Twiss

Richard Twiss recently retired as chief of police from the Indio, California, Police Department after 32 years of law enforcement and military experience. He currently serves as a subject matter expert for BJA's Smart Policing Initiative. Twiss has been a strong advocate for evidence-based policing. In partnership with Robert Nash Parker of University of California

Riverside, he implemented an innovative predictive policing approach through a BJA Smart Policing project that not only focused on using data-driven predictive models to anticipate burglaries, but a community-oriented, youth-focused approach to prevent them. The success of this community approach led Twiss to radically reorganize his department around community engagement philosophies, with evidence-based policing as a core value. He also implemented an evidence-based problem-solving approach to address chronic disorder and homelessness in Indio, using place-based approaches that are client-oriented. In partnership with Cody Telep of ASU, he supported an evaluation of the impact of this program on recidivism and other life outcomes for clients.

Trust and Legitimacy Built through Structured, Fair, and Objective Decision Making

BY MICHAEL GROPMAN AND GINA VINCENT

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Gina Vincent, PhD, is an associate professor and co-director of the Law and Psychiatry Program, and director of Translational Law and Psychiatry Research in Systems for Psychosocial Advances Research Center in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Massachusetts Medical School in Worcester, Massachusetts.



Michael Gropman



Gina Vincent

Trust and confidence in law enforcement reached a low in 2015. This was likely due in part to a number of high profile police-involved shootings. According to the 2015 Gallup poll of more than 1,500 Americans, only 52 percent of all Americans had “quite a lot” of confidence in police, the lowest level in 22 years.¹ Just 18 months later, however, confidence in law enforcement was at a near record high.²

During those 18 months the change in perception may have been impacted by national news stories that included the San Bernardino and Orlando terror attacks and the ambush in Dallas that left five police officers dead and nine wounded. Such shifts indicate the tenuous and complex relationship between the police and the public, and raise the question of what can maintain a stable and high level of public confidence and trust in law enforcement.

Recent discourse suggests that successful and stable relationships between the police and the public are built on trust and legitimacy through fair, equitable, and respectful treatment in law enforcement’s effort to control crime, disorder, and even terrorism. At the center of these discussions are the examination of police use of force practices, the discretionary use of police authority, and the potential biases that might result from uncontrolled discretionary police practices. Evidence-based policing is fundamental to these issues.

Significant research has been done on use of force, as well as implicit bias and disparity that provides important guidance for discretion and decision making for the police. One important area in this regard is a police officer’s decision to arrest a young person. We now know that arresting and detaining a young person may do more harm than good, potentially leading to recidivism as well as cumulative social disadvantage. To address this issue, the Brookline Police Department (BPD) and the University of Massachusetts Medical School have collaborated to develop an innovative approach for decisions about arresting juveniles.

Juvenile Arrest and Detention in Brookline

The Brookline, Massachusetts, jurisdiction is about seven square miles, with 60,000 residents almost completely surrounded by the City of Boston. It is a wealthy enclave with nationally renowned schools, a number of well-known residents, and a population that is about 77 percent white, with Asians as its second largest racial group (18 percent) according to the 2010 U.S. Census. BPD is a police service with a sworn force of 137.

In 2008, as a part of a review of juvenile arrests for a new reporting system initiative, BPD analysts found a noticeable trend in the juvenile population. Youth from the City of Boston were overrepresented in Brookline’s arrest statistics, as were youth from racial and ethnic minorities. Many of the youth had been arrested for minor offenses (e.g., shoplifting, theft, status offenses, etc.). Indeed, regardless of race, the analysis indicated that the department consistently arrested youth under the age of 17 for low-level offenses.

These findings led the police department to dig deeper. At the time, the department was also motivated by its participation in Massachusetts’ inaugural efforts with the Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative (JDAI), a program spearheaded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. Department researchers found a significant number of Boston youth arrested had past encounters with law enforcement. These past encounters could be formal (arrest or court appearances) or informal (field interrogations), and appeared to be influencing the officers’ decisions to arrest them.

As part of the JDAI effort and with this wealth of new knowledge and research, BPD decided it would attempt to limit prior involvement of youth in the juvenile justice system as a deciding factor. To do this, the department focused on understanding and measuring a youth’s risk of reoffending in the near future, rather than simply their prior involvement

1 See <http://www.gallup.com/poll/183704/confidence-police-lowest-years.aspx>.

2 See <http://www.gallup.com/poll/196610/americans-respect-police-surges.aspx>.

in the system. Specifically, was there a risk to public safety if the department decided not to arrest a youth?

These discussions led to a number of early versions of a Police Risk Assessment Instrument and a collaboration with Gina Vincent of the University of Massachusetts Medical School (UMMS). In Massachusetts, the purpose of arrest is to positively identify and ensure appearance before the trial court. If the youth did not appear to be at risk to reoffend, and was likely to appear in court, a different path with the youth could be taken that did not involve formal processing.

Based on research including more than 300 youths who had been arrested from four separate jurisdictions in and around the city of Boston, researchers were able to identify tendencies and trends that were predictive of re-offense and failure to appear. Through these analyses researchers were able to also identify variables that were indicative of juveniles who were not at risk to reoffend and were not at risk to abscond or default from court. With this knowledge, the collaboration between BPD and the UMMS led to the development of the Massachusetts Arrest Screening Tool for Law Enforcement (MASTLE).

The Massachusetts Arrest Screening Tool for Law Enforcement

The MASTLE is an objective, validated screening tool that gauges the likelihood a youth taken into police custody for a delinquent offense will be arrested for the commission of another offense in the future or will fail to appear for arraignment.³ The MASTLE's development study indicated its scores were significantly associated with later violent and nonviolent reoffending for both African American and Hispanic youth.

This information gives police supervisors and commanders additional information to make appropriate pre-processing decisions using objective empirical data. It can lead to structured, accurate, and consistent decision making, eliminating the perception of bias and unevenness in enforcement of juvenile laws. The tool is not intended to eliminate police discretion. Rather, it is additional information to help guide discretion based on objective, tested, and validated criteria.

In November 2015, after years of research, testing, and re-testing, the BPD implemented the first-of-its-kind policy using a structured decision-making tool to assist with pre-arrest screening and detention decisions. The department reasoned that arrest and detention of juveniles required thoughtful consideration and examination, and that referral rather than arrest could have a profound impact on low-risk youth.

A review of case files found many of the youth arrested were already being serviced by multiple social service agencies including law enforcement, and the treatments or punishments often crossed multiagency lines. To reduce harmful outcomes, save valuable resources, and decrease the likelihood of recidivism, a more structured discretionary approach by the police seemed plausible.

The innovative policy recommended for the first time that the department's goal was to "coordinate juvenile justice and delinquency prevention that meets the needs of juveniles while holding juveniles accountable for their actions. When appropriate, referral to local service agencies will be the preferred Department response." (BPD Policy # 2015-21, 2015).

A Positive Future

In 2016, following the adoption of the MASTLE and police diversion policies, a total of 48 juveniles were serviced in the Town of Brookline by BPD. Twenty-eight of these youths were diverted and dismissed through the Brookline Trial Court and Brookline Police program with no permanent juvenile record and no irrevocable Criminal Offender Record Information. Only four youth were processed and prosecuted in the trial court.

An additional 16 were diverted and serviced through other programs within the vast array of the local social services network. More importantly, these juveniles were able to avoid building official records that could potentially impact their future school and employment opportunities.

The law enforcement mandate is vaster than ever today. Beyond the normal range of services associated with policing, responding to, investigating, and arresting for criminal behavior, law enforcement must now engage in social work, drug counseling, medical services, mental health counselling, and even victim advocacy. Law enforcement leaders understand they must adjust their focus to help eradicate the underlying disease rather than treat observable symptoms that mask themselves in illicit behaviors.

However, these efforts are slowed, due to time, personnel, funding, and a never-ending demand for police assistance. It is compounded by systems that lack coordination and collaboration because they do not share the same mission. The greatest danger for law enforcement is to throw away kids into a juvenile justice system that often aggravates rather than mitigates symptoms and underlying diseases.

However, in many cases, it's the only system that is established and functional. If we are to remove the focus on arrest and detention for low-level offenses committed by low-risk youth, we begin to gain greater trust and legitimacy from the communities from which they come. It is a universal value that we all want the best for our children. This assess, divert, and dismiss approach has shown great promise in supporting this established principle.

When we use objective assessment to ensure we are putting the "right kids in the right place at the right time for the right reasons,"⁴ we demonstrate to our communities we share this universal value with them. We also save children from the roadblocks created by an official record and offer a future of possibilities instead of struggles. This is the most worthy of causes and creates a community based on shared values.

3 See Vincent, G. M., Gropman, M., Moreno-Rivera, F., & Perrault, R. (2015). *Massachusetts Arrest Screening Tool for Law Enforcement*. Retrieved from www.nysap.us/MASTLEbrief%20Nov%202015.pdf.

4 See Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2011, *No Place for Kids: The Case for Reducing Juvenile Incarceration* (<http://www.aecf.org/resources/no-place-for-kids-full-report/>).

Criminology, Law and Society

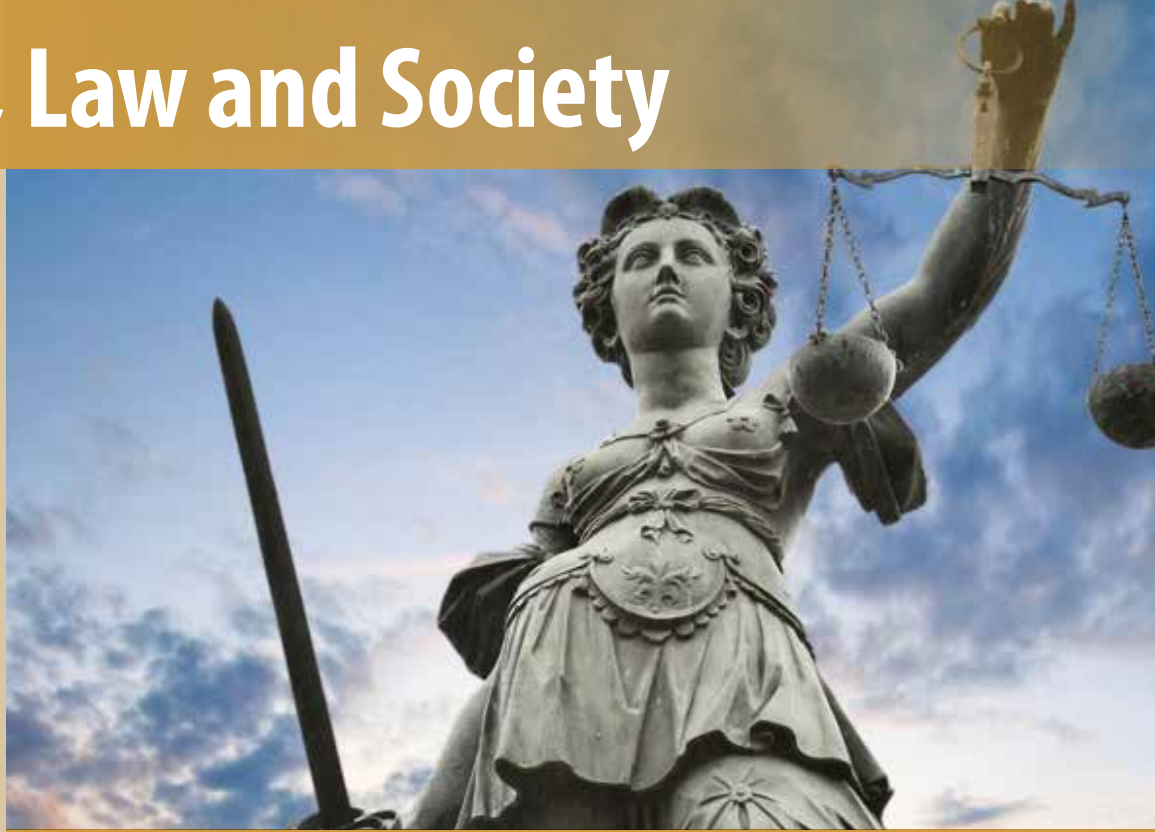
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