

Translational Criminology

FALL 2012

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.

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Photos by Alexis Glenn and Evan Cantwell.



WHERE INNOVATION IS TRADITION

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

As the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) begins its fifth year, it is useful to think about what we have done and what we want to do. We are pleased at our progress, both in developing exciting research and in playing a part in the advancement of evidence-based policy. The center now has 20 staff members, senior fellows, and affiliated faculty within George Mason University; 5 affiliated faculty from other universities; 12 distinguished scholars and practitioners on our advisory board; and 17 members in the Crime and Place Working Group.

One of our senior researchers, David Wilson, received the Mosteller Award from the Campbell Collaboration. Cynthia Lum received the U.S. Attorney General's Citizen Volunteer Service Award for her service to the Department of Justice. Stephen Mastrofski was made a Fellow of the American Society of Criminology (ASC). I was honored with the Klachky Family Prize for Advances on the Frontiers of Science and the Stockholm Prize in Criminology. Charlotte Gill, a senior research associate at the center, received the Division of Experimental Criminology's Young Scholar Award. In addition, our students have won prestigious awards and fellowships, including the student paper award of the ASC's Division of Experimental Criminology and Mason's Presidential Scholar Fellowship.

We have had great success in gaining grants from a number of agencies, including the National Institute of Drug Abuse of the National Institutes of Health, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the National Institute of Justice, the Department of Homeland Security, the National Police Improvement Agency of the United Kingdom, and the Campbell Collaboration. Last year, we were pleased to bring Associate Professor Christopher Koper to our center and to the Department of Criminology, Law and Society. This year, we were honored to add Professor Laurie Robinson, the longest serving director of the Office of Justice Programs, and one of the university's distinguished Clarence J. Robinson Professors, as a senior fellow in the center.

The CEBCP is certainly on the map in terms of honors and research. But we have also put ourselves on the map as a place that works hard to advance evidence-based policy in crime and justice.



Our yearly symposia have become regular go-to events for practitioners, researchers, and policy makers. This year, more than 250 people representing more than 130 organizations, participated over the course of our two-day event.

Our Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame has now inducted 19 of the top law enforcement officials in the world, dedicated to institutionalizing research into practice. This year, we inducted Anthony Bouza (retired, Minneapolis Police Department), Theron Bowman (Arlington, Texas, Police Department), Micheal Edwards (Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office), John Kapinos (Fairfax County, Virginia, Police Department), Mark Newton (British Transport Police, United Kingdom), Jamie Roush (Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office), and Rick Tanksley (Oak Park, Illinois, Police Department). Through our Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy, we have honored some of the most important contributors to this area of work, including Joan Petersilia, Darryl Stevens, Peter Neyroud, and Charles Wellford. This year's recipients were Jeffrey Beard and Paul Gendreau.

We are proud of our achievements, but as we look ahead we are also concerned about support for our work in research translation and knowledge exchange. We continue to have great success in terms of grant support for research projects, and we expect the coming year to be the best yet in terms of new grant awards. But our efforts in the area of translational criminology have been supported primarily by a five-year university start-up fund to the CEBCP, which will end this year. We want to continue not only our traditional research efforts, but also our efforts to advance evidence-based policy through our symposia, congressional briefings, *Translational Criminology* magazine, and the creation of free translation tools for the community to use. We want to continue to highlight the efforts of our partners and colleagues in building the research-practice partnerships that you see in the features of this issue. These features reflect the center's emphasis on not just conducting high-quality research, but also on figuring out ways that research can become more useful and used in practice.

We will be working hard on this effort this year, and we welcome your thoughts on how we might continue our efforts. We definitely agree with John Laub, director of the National Institute of Justice, who contributed the first article in this issue—the time is now for translational criminology.

Professor David Weisburd
Director, Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

Research Projects and Highlighted Events

In 2012, the center received and continued progress on a number of major grants that focus on both primary research and research translation. We also highlight two of our successful events, the Congressional Briefing on Reducing Gun Violence and the 2012 CEBCP Symposium.

Active Research Projects

Community Health and Anti-social Behavior at Drug Hot Spots

(PI/Co-PI: David Weisburd and Brian Lawton)

The National Institute of Drug Abuse (National Institutes of Health) has awarded CEBCP a five-year \$3 million grant to prospectively study how living in drug hot spots influences personal health, mental health, HIV and sexually transmitted diseases, safe sex practices, drug use, crime, and other antisocial behaviors. Further, this project seeks to develop knowledge on why places become drug or crime hot spots and how characteristics of street segments and their residents affect developmental trends of health, drug use, and crime at drug hot spots.

Assessing TSA's "Playbook"

(PIs: David Weisburd and Cynthia Lum)

Sponsored by a \$1 million grant from the Department of Homeland Security, this project involves one of the first large-scale evaluations of airport security strategies in the United States. The research team has just finished site visits to 10 airports.

Understanding the Relationship between Technology and Policing

(PIs: Christopher Koper and Cynthia Lum)

With funding from the National Institute of Justice (via PERF), the research team is examining how police agencies are affected by key technologies that are critical to primary police functions and evidence-based strategies using qualitative research methods, as well as conducting randomized experiments and agency surveys.

The Matrix Demonstration Project

(PIs: Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper)

With a grant from the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the team works with various police partners to find ways to demonstrate and showcase on the MDP website (gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/Matrix-Demo.html) ways in which research can be transformed into usable forms for everyday police practice.

Seattle Juvenile Hot Spots and Crime Prevention

(PIs: David Weisburd and Charlotte Gill)

With the City of Seattle, CEBCP has been awarded more than \$1 million by BJA and COPS to study innovative nonarrest strategies at

juvenile hot spots. The center also recently completed a review of the evidence-base for Seattle's crime prevention programs and is beginning an assessment of effective policing practices.

Redlands Police Department iPhone Project

(PI: David Weisburd)

This National Institute of Justice project highlights the assessment of officer technology needs and a forthcoming randomized controlled trial on the use of an iPhone application specially designed to allow police to access and record crime data in the field.

Assessing the Evidence Base of Federal Protection

(PI: Cynthia Lum)

Through a contract from RTI International under a grant from the Department of Homeland Security, CEBCP will be assisting the Federal Protective Service by conducting an evidence-assessment of its current practices against the existing research knowledge.

Place Matters

CEBCP's Crime and Place Working Group is collaborating on a book that synthesizes the crime and place literature and identifies directions for future research. The book highlights the history and importance of crime and place research, theoretical and methodological perspectives, supporting evidence, practical applications, and a future research agenda. The book will be published by Cambridge in winter 2012-13.

Congressional Briefing V— Reducing Gun Violence

Led by Christopher Koper, codirector of CEBCP's Evidence-Based Policing Research Program and associate professor at George Mason University, CEBCP's fifth congressional briefing was held at the U.S. Capitol in February. This event featured leading experts in firearms policy from criminology, economics, and public health who discussed the findings and policy implications of current research on gun violence patterns, illegal gun markets, and the effects of policies and practices to prevent gun violence. If you missed the briefing, visit CEBCP's YouTube channel at www.youtube.com/clsMason where you can watch the following presentations:

Hubert Williams (President, Police Foundation), *Opening Remarks*
Anthony Braga (Harvard University, Rutgers University), *Understanding the Nature of Urban Gun Violence Problems*



Catherine Gallagher (George Mason University), *The Cost of Adolescent Firearm Injuries*

Christopher Koper (George Mason University), *Assessing Police Efforts to Reduce Gun Crime: Results from a National Survey*

Edmund McGarrell (Michigan State University), *Federal Initiatives to Reduce Gun, Gang, and Drug Market Violence*

Garen Wintemute (UC Davis Medical Center), *Subsequent Criminal Activity among Purchasers of Handguns: Incidence and Impact of Denial of Purchases by Prohibited Persons*

Jens Ludwig (University of Chicago), *Underground Gun Markets*

Daniel Webster (Johns Hopkins University), *Firearm Seller Accountability Measures and the Diversion of Guns to Criminals*

Glenn Pierce (Northeastern University), *The Effect of State Firearm Laws on Illegal Gun Markets*

Charles Wellford (University of Maryland), *An Agenda for Firearms and Violence Research: Where Do We Go from Here?*

2012 CEBCP Annual Symposium

More than 250 people from 130 organizations registered for the CEBCP symposium this year, contributing to its success! Highlights included

- Five crime and place presentations, given by Martin Andresen (Simon Fraser University), Gerben Bruinsma (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement), Ron Wilson (Department of Housing and Urban Development), Brian Lawton and Cody Telep (George Mason University), and Elizabeth Groff and Jerry Ratcliffe (Temple University).
- The Evidence-Synthesis Workshop led by Dave Wilson and Charlotte Gill, featuring Catherine Gallagher and Chantelle Garrity, and sponsored by the Cochrane College for Policy at George Mason University.
- The Evidence-Based Policing Leadership Workshop led by Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper and sponsored by the Bureau of Justice Assistance through the Matrix Demonstration Project, featuring leaders from the Richmond, Minneapolis, Sacramento, and Alexandria police departments; the Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office; and the University of Cambridge (UK).

- A Policing Leadership Roundtable on challenges to evidence-based policing, which included Hassan Aden (Alexandria Police Department), Micheal Edwards (Jacksonville Sheriff's Office), Janeé Harteau (Minneapolis Police Department), Mike Medaris (BJA's Smart Policing Initiative), Peter Neyroud (University of Cambridge), and Darrel Stephens (Major City Chiefs Association).
- Special presentations on Evidence Translation by Ron Haskins of the Brookings Institution, Catherine Gallagher of George Mason University, and Chantelle Garrity of the Ottawa Hospital Research Institute.
- The presentation of the Distinguished Achievement Awards in Evidence-Based Crime Policy to Jeffrey Beard and Paul Gendreau.
- The Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Inductions of Theron Bowman (Arlington, Texas, Police Department), Micheal Edwards (Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office), John Kapinos (Fairfax County, Virginia, Police Department), Jamie Roush (Jacksonville, Florida, Sheriff's Office), and Rick Tanksley (Oak Park, Illinois, Police Department).
- A special roundtable conducted by Laurie Robinson, featuring Gerben Bruinsma (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement), Jim Bueermann (National Institute of Justice), Robert Boruch (University of Pennsylvania), Michael Crowley (Office of Management and Budget), Peter Neyroud (University of Cambridge), Denise O'Donnell (Bureau of Justice Assistance), David Weisburd (George Mason University), and Marjorie Zatz (National Science Foundation).

During the symposium, CEBCP also held its annual Advisory Board meeting, as well as special meetings with its Crime and Place Working Group. Videos, presentations, and other resources and links can be found at the 2012 symposium website: gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/CEBCPSymposium.html.

Thank you to all who made the symposium a success!



Translational Criminology

BY JOHN H. LAUB

John H. Laub is the director of the National Institute of Justice in the U.S. Department of Justice.¹

I have had a longstanding belief that the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) has a unique mission. As a science agency, NIJ facilitates the production of rigorous scientific research. At the same time, NIJ must ensure that the research it produces is relevant to local and state practitioners and policy makers. In my mind, the way to fuse these two poles, if you will, is through translational criminology.

I first learned about translational research in the field of medicine from my daughter, who is a pediatrician. The idea of translational criminology is simple yet powerful. If we want to prevent and reduce crime, scientific discoveries must be translated into policy and practice. I believe the concept of translational criminology is a stepping stone to what NIJ could and should be in the future.

What Is Translational Criminology?

Translational criminology aims to break down barriers between basic and applied research by creating a dynamic interface between research and practice. This process is a two-way street. Scientists discover new tools and ideas for use in the field and evaluate their impact. In turn, practitioners offer novel observations from the field, which stimulate basic scientific investigations. This is the knowledge creation process, and researchers and practitioners play key roles here. In translational medicine, this process is referred to as T1, taking research from the “bench” (basic research) to the patient’s “bedside” (clinical/applied research; see www.michr.umich.edu/about/clinicaltranslationalresearch).

A unique aspect of translational criminology is the dynamic interface between research and practice and vice versa. To have this kind of exchange assumes a great deal of trust, but there is skepticism among practitioners about researchers and researchers often do not trust the observations of practitioners as meaningful and important. Thus, translational criminology requires something that heretofore has not occurred with much regularity—the research community and the practitioner community working together as equal partners.

Another goal of translational criminology is to address the gaps between scientific discovery, program delivery, and effective crime policy. This is the knowledge application process, or T2 in translational medicine—enhancing access to and the adoption of evidence-based strategies in clinical and community practice (obssr.od.nih.gov/scientific_areas/translation/index.aspx).



John H. Laub

and to understand why it works. In this vein, translational criminology seeks to institutionalize effective programs, products, and services to prevent and reduce crime.

Finally, translational criminology focuses on dissemination of research results as much as knowledge creation. We spend much time and energy on the front end of the research process but not nearly enough time making sure that critical research findings make their way into the field in a meaningful way. Without robust dissemination efforts, NIJ’s research will not be used as intended—to inform criminal justice policy and practice.

NIJ’s Plan Moving Forward

Since becoming NIJ director, I have sought to infuse translational criminology into all that we do at the institute. Most recently, I organized a Translational Criminology Working Group made up of NIJ staff that meets monthly. The purpose of this working group is to discuss what translational criminology really means for NIJ’s work and how we can use this conceptual framework as we move forward in our grant solicitations and dissemination of NIJ-funded research.

There are several ongoing conversations about translational criminology at NIJ. People are talking about translational criminology in distinct and different ways. For some, it is a matter of communicating research results in a more effective way by reducing jargon, which academics, who make up the bulk of our research community, are prone to use. For others, it is about how we are able to actually integrate the various kinds of studies into one place so that they are easily accessible to practitioners and policy makers (see www.crimelutions.gov). And, finally, for some, translational criminology is really something much deeper in that it questions the very nature of the research enterprise. For example, it is promoting what we do at NIJ—action research programs, researcher-practitioner partnerships, and engaging the practitioner throughout the research process.

By coming together as a collective, I hope we will be able to articulate a set of questions that will help us not only do research better, but ensure that the research evidence generated is brought to bear on the field of practice and policy.

The William T. Grant Foundation has a research portfolio on the use of research that covers a wide range of topical areas affecting youth ages 8 to 25 (see www.wtgrantfoundation.org). I believe there are a number of lessons from that research program that we can bring to NIJ. For instance, emerging research has demonstrated the importance of social networks in acquiring research evidence.² The implication of this revelation is that we need to better understand how it is that criminal justice practitioners and policy makers hear about NIJ research. Drawing from the William T. Grant program of research, the Translational Criminology Working Group at NIJ has articulated a set of fundamental questions:

- Who, in fact, uses NIJ research?
- Who are those individuals or organizations?
- How do people learn about NIJ research?
- How do practitioners and policy makers define research evidence?
- How is research evidence used in their work?
- What are the conditions that facilitate the use of research evidence in practice and policy?
- What are the conditions that prohibit the use of research evidence in practice and policy?
- And perhaps most important, what other elements besides research evidence influence practice and policy?

We also need to focus on the implementation of research findings in the field. In the Translational Criminology Working Group at NIJ, the following questions have been asked:

- How do we measure successful implementation?
- How do we measure unsuccessful implementation?
- What factors influence implementation quality?
- What is the relationship between implementation quality and intended outcomes?
- What can be learned from the failures or errors in the field?



Translational Criminology: The Time Is Now

These kinds of critical questions are being asked in a variety of domains. Moreover, new forms of engaging in research with an eye toward influencing policy and practice are emerging. For example, in education, the William T. Grant Foundation is launching “learning communities” that bring together research-practice partnerships in education (see www.wtgrantfoundation.org). In health, there is the Learning Collaborative on High-Risk Drinking, which is part of the National College Health Improvement Project (see www.nchip.org/alcohol). In the violence prevention arena, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention’s translational program is called Applying Science. Advancing Practice. (see www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/ASAP.html).

I think it is time to bring these questions and strategies to the criminal justice and criminology domain (for an exciting example of studying the implementation of evidence based practices in the area of offender reentry, see *Advancing Practice*, March 2012³). Given budget constraints and the desire to use evidence to drive practice and policy, I think the timing for this is absolutely right. As we come together as a community within NIJ, I believe we can move forward on this idea of translational criminology and make our research results much more effective in terms of reducing crime, enhancing public safety, and bringing justice forward.

By articulating a set of questions about research use and the implementation of research findings that we can study in a systematic manner coupled with richer and deeper communication with our various stakeholders, I am hopeful that we will put some teeth in the concept of translational criminology and ensure that it gets institutionalized in the research enterprise at NIJ. Ultimately, translational criminology is about transforming the culture within NIJ and in the field and engaging in the institute’s core mission—advancing scientific discoveries that are relevant to the field—in a new and exciting way.

¹ Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice. The author thanks Rob Sampson and Vivian Tseng for comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Yolanda Curtis for her overall assistance and good humor.

² Tseng, Vivian. 2012. “The Uses of Research in Policy and Practice.” *Social Policy Report* Volume 26, Issue 2.

³ *Advancing Practice: Experimentation, Implementation, Sustainability*. A publication of the Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence (ACEI) at George Mason University, Spotlight on Reentry, March 2012.

Implementing Procedurally Just Approaches to Policing...One Breath at a Time

BY LORRAINE MAZEROLLE, PETER MARTIN, AND SARAH BENNETT

Lorraine Mazerolle is professor and program leader of policing and security at the Institute for Social Science Research, University of Queensland.

Peter Martin is the assistant commissioner of the Queensland Police Service and a member of CEBCP's Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame.

Sarah Bennett is a research fellow at the Institute for Social Science Research, University of Queensland.

Police engagement with community members comes in many forms. One approach that is, and should be, present in all types of police interventions involves police actively using what is generally known as “procedural justice.” Research shows that when police treat citizens fairly and respectfully, people view the police as legitimate, comply with police instructions, cooperate with requests, and are satisfied with police conduct (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Murphy, 2008; Reisig, 2007; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Thibaut and Walker, 1975; Tyler, 2004).

In 2008, the National Policing Improvement Agency in the United Kingdom provided funding to a University of Queensland research team to use systematic search and meta-analytic methods to locate relevant documents that reported on police legitimacy research (see Bennett et al., 2009). After sifting through some 20,000 plus documents, Mazerolle and her colleagues found overwhelming support for the central role of procedural justice in police legitimacy (see Mazerolle et al., 2012a). The review included any type of public police intervention that involved contact with citizens where there was a clear statement that the intervention involved some training, directive, or organizational innovation that sought to enhance legitimacy as an outcome or used at least one of the four core elements of procedural justice, namely, police encouraging citizen participation, remaining neutral in their decision making, conveying trustworthy motives, and demonstrating dignity and respect throughout the interaction (see Mazerolle et al., 2012a).

The legitimacy policing systematic review demonstrates the importance of police adopting practices that advance citizen perceptions of legitimacy. In practical terms, this means police adopting at least one of the principles of procedural justice as a component of any type of police intervention, whether as part of routine police activity or as part of a defined program. Using the principles of procedural justice improves citizen perceptions of police, including citizen trust in police, their willingness to cooperate with directives,



Left to right: Sarah Bennett, Peter Martin, and Lorraine Mazerolle

and overall satisfaction with the police service. Yet, despite the large volume of research literature in the area of legitimacy and policing, the Queensland research team discovered that there had never been a randomized controlled trial (RCT) to test the key principles of procedural justice in real-life police-citizen encounters. To fill this gap, the Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security in Australia funded an RCT. In partnership with the Queensland Police Service (QPS), the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) was developed and conducted from December 2009 to June 2010.

The QCET's aim was to test, under randomized field trial conditions, the impact of police using the principles of procedural justice during routine encounters with citizens on citizen attitudes toward drunk driving, perceptions of compliance, and satisfaction with the police (as measured by surveys). QCET deliberately operationalized the key ingredients of procedural justice in short, high-volume roadside random breath testing (RBT) operations (Mazerolle et al., 2012b). Working with senior police, we carefully operationalized the four elements of procedural justice (trustworthy motives, neutrality, citizen participation, and dignity and respect) into a script. Officers were briefed by their commanding officer before each operation about the script to be followed, and each officer was provided a small cue card with the key prompts clearly laid out. The officers expressed their “trustworthy motives” as to why they were doing RBT by informing each driver about the number of deaths from road accidents in the previous year and that the police genuinely wanted to reduce the toll. Likewise, the officers emphasized to motorists that they had been stopped randomly to reinforce the “neutrality” com-

ponent of their actions. Although drivers were mandated by law to undertake the breath test and therefore did not have an opportunity to have their say in the police decision to pull them over, drivers were still given an opportunity to voice their viewpoints about the police. The officers executing the experimental condition also thanked the motorist at the end of the RBT and expressed gratitude for their time in an effort to convey “dignity and respect.”

The RCT results showed significant differences between the experimental and control groups on all key outcome measures. Drivers who received the experimental RBT encounter were 1.24 times more likely than the control group to report that their views on drinking and driving had changed. Moreover, experimental respondents reported higher levels of compliance and satisfaction with police during the encounter than did their control group counterparts. The results show that the way citizens perceive the police can be influenced by the way in which police interact with citizens during routine encounters and demonstrate the positive benefits of police using the principles of procedural justice.



Queensland Police conducting random breath testing

The challenge for police agencies generally and the Queensland Police Service specifically in the case of QCET is how to migrate or embed this new experimental knowledge into business-as-usual practices within the police organization. At an organizational level, this type of cultural and operational change does not occur easily. Promulgating the importance of the four key elements of procedural justice through every level of the organization is the key challenge.

The ultimate goal is to ensure that all levels of the police service understand the concept of procedural justice and integrate the philosophy into practice. We show here that, despite the challenges inherent to shifting policy and practice, significant opportunities exist within QPS to build procedural justice principles into a wide range of police business-as-usual procedures. This process is being achieved by a number of strategies, including incorporating QCET-

like scripts into organizational mottos, key police corporate plans, client service charters, and other strategic documents. The police academy also plays a key role in reviewing recruit and in-service training with a view to highlighting the value of the four procedural justice elements in all curriculum documents. Leaders throughout the organization are charged with operationalizing procedural justice into performance planning and assessment cycles, which are annual individual officer appraisals. Finally, police agencies, such as the QPS, seek to use the key elements of procedural justice and QCET-like operationalized scripts in Operational Performance Reviews (the QPS equivalent of COMPSTAT). Overall, the QPS is actively taking a multipronged approach to embed across the organization the key principles of procedural justice—leadership, in-service training, recruit training, operational practice, and planning and building cultural awareness—and re-orient the organizational focus of the department.

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The Campbell Collaboration and Evidence-Based Crime Prevention

BY MERETE KONNERUP AND CHARLOTTE GILL

Merete Konnerup is senior advisor at the Danish philanthropic foundation TrygFonden and cochair of the Campbell Collaboration Users Group.

Charlotte Gill is senior research associate with CEBCP and managing editor of the Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group.

In the winter 2012 issue of *Translational Criminology*, Catherine Gallagher and colleagues outlined the reasons why the public health field has had greater success in translating research into practice. On this basis, they advised criminologists on how to turn research findings into meaningful guidance for crime prevention. Here, we describe the role of the Campbell Collaboration in the translational chain between research and practice. The collaboration is closely affiliated with the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) Systematic Reviews research program.

There is a growing belief in the United States that interventions addressing social problems could be greatly improved if policy makers and managers supported interventions shown by scientific evidence to produce impact (Haskins and Baron, 2011). Subsequently, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued a memorandum on May 18 calling on the heads of executive departments and agencies to use evidence and evaluation in their 2014 budgets (Executive Office of the President, 2012):

Where evidence is strong, we should act on it. Where evidence is suggestive, we should consider it. Where evidence is weak, we should build the knowledge to support better evidence in the future.... Many potential strategies [for using evidence] have little immediate cost, and the Budget is more likely to fund requests that demonstrate a commitment to developing and using evidence.

The memo lists five potential strategies for using evidence, one of which is particularly pertinent to our discussion in this article: “using comparative cost-effectiveness data to allocate resources.”

When policy makers or practitioners have to choose between competing interventions addressing the same problem, they should consider ranking interventions based on evidence of their return on investment (ROI). That is, what is the monetary value of the positive effects on crime, employment, and so on weighed up against the cost of the intervention? OMB highlights the work of the nonpartisan Washington State Institute of Public Policy (WSIPP), which has for a decade and a half provided the Washington state legislature with ROI data on interventions. With only 13 staff members, WSIPP delivers

these data on almost 100 interventions, including aggression replacement training, drug courts, victim-offender mediation, correctional education, and electronic monitoring (Lee et al., 2012). A tentative indication of the success of this approach is the fact that since 1990, Washington’s arrest rate has dropped by 60 percent, against a 35 percent drop at the national level. And while the U.S. incarceration rate has increased more than two and one-half times since 1980, Washington’s has gone up by only one and one-half (Borenstein, 2012).

The initial and key component of a ROI calculation is the size of the effect of the intervention on different outcomes. Systematic reviews are the most credible approach to synthesizing the underlying evidence-base for an intervention’s effectiveness. Systematic reviewing is a research field in itself, entailing sophisticated skills in literature search, quality assessment, and, not least, statistical meta-analysis. The Campbell Collaboration, an international nonprofit, is striving to become the most reliable research-based supplier of systematic reviews on the effects of interventions in crime and justice, social welfare, education, and international development.

The collaboration’s reputation is based on an exceptionally rigorous review process. Campbell reviews are based on explicit and comprehensive methods for literature search, inclusion and exclusion of studies, data extraction, and a quantitative meta-analysis of results whenever appropriate. These are all credibility-strengthening departures from traditional narrative literature reviews (Rothstein, 2008). Campbell reviews are also exceptional in having been subjected to a rigorous editorial and peer review process.

The ultimate goal for the collaboration is to summarize the best available evidence and make it accessible to busy decision makers. The Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice group has had some success in forging links with the policy and practice communities in the United States and beyond. In 2011, for example, a TV show in the United States advocating Scared Straight programs drew strong criticism from criminal justice policy makers because of rigorous evidence indicating that the program can actually increase delinquency among young people—evidence that was brought to the field by a Campbell review (Petrosino et al., 2003; Robinson and Slowikowski, 2011). The Campbell review of formal processing of juveniles (Petrosino et al., 2010), which also showed that going through the juvenile justice system can harm youth, was cited in congressional testimony on school police officers, while a review of the effectiveness of closed circuit TV (Welsh and Farrington, 2008) was widely reported in the media at home and abroad after being discussed in the U.K.



Left: Charlotte Gill presenting at the 2012 CEBCP Symposium



Right: Merete Konnerup presenting Professor Sandra Nutley with the Robert Boruch Award for Distinctive Contribution to Research that Informs Public Policy at the 2012 Campbell Colloquium in Copenhagen

parliament. Finally, a review of school bullying prevention programs (Farrington and Ttofi, 2009) has influenced policy decisions in Norway, been downloaded more than 50,000 times, and was cited in *Time* magazine (Szalavitz, 2010).¹

Much of Campbell's policy impact so far has resulted from ad hoc collaborations with key individuals. But we need to do more. Truly effective knowledge translation and exchange (KTE) from research to action cannot be put into simple terms. This fact is evident from an entire body of research (e.g., Weiss, 1979; Nutley et al., 2007) that points toward the importance of so-called knowledge brokers who possess a specialized translational skill set. They play a vital intermediary role in effective KTE. In addition to CEBCP, other knowledge brokers in crime prevention in the United States are the Association for the Advancement of Evidence-Based Practice, the Cost-Benefit Knowledge Bank for Criminal Justice, the Center for Effective Public Policy, the National Gang Center, the Center for Court Innovation, the National Center for Juvenile Justice, and the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence and its Blueprints for Violence Prevention, to name a few.

Campbell reviews are a serious leg up for any knowledge broker. But the review is just the first step in the long journey from research to enlightened decisions. And it is only possible for research to reach the journey's final destination through the active involvement of a range of national knowledge brokers with specialized translational skills. They can engage in the Campbell Collaboration in general and in debates on KTE activities in particular through the collaboration's Users Group. All interested parties are warmly invited to join the LinkedIn group Campbell Collaboration Users Group (C2UG). Together, we can increase both the usability and use of research toward a more enlightened future for decision making in public policy.

¹ For these and other examples, see www.campbellcollaboration.org/news_/research_in_use.php, www.campbellcollaboration.org/news_/Invited_by_Norway_s_Ministry_of_Education.php, www.campbellcollaboration.org/news_/Campbell_Reviews_in_Use.php, and www.campbellcollaboration.org/news_/Commentary_important_Campbell_review.php.

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Adapting to Challenges and Change

BY RENÉE J. MITCHELL

Renée J. Mitchell is a sergeant in the Sacramento, California, Police Department.

Law enforcement agencies regularly report engaging in effective policing strategies. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that 47 percent of police agencies were using community-oriented policing officers in 2007 (Reaves, 2010). In 2008, the Police Executive Research Forum reported that 63 percent of agencies were engaged in hot spot policing.

But while police agencies often report the use of effective police strategies, anecdotal and research evidence suggests that many agencies continue to be stuck in a reactive approach to policing, chasing the crime problem without sufficient crime analysis, information, or research evaluation about the effects and effectiveness of their strategies. Even though community-oriented and problem-solving policing requires an iterative learning process that incorporates analysis and evaluation, rigorous evaluation of crime strategies is still often missing in problem-solving exercises.

Why?

Because research, analysis, and evaluation are still new and different in policing and can be disruptive to a profession that is not built around ideas of science. Incorporating research and analysis into police practice, or evidence-based policing, is thus a difficult adaptive challenge to manage.

Heifetz and Linsky (2002) define adaptive challenges as problems that cannot be solved by authoritative expertise or standard operating procedures. They argue that adaptive challenges are difficult because they first require an organization to understand its internal values and then shift those values to align with an innovation. Agency leaders who seek community-oriented, problem-oriented, intelligence-driven, or evidence-based policing—all adaptive challenges—cannot do so simply by creating a new specialized unit or taking on an ad hoc project. They have to identify organizational values (e.g., reaction, efficiency, adherence to procedure, hierarchy), and shift those values (e.g., proactivity, effectiveness, procedural justice, critical thinking, collaboration) to accommodate these new approaches.

But there lies the rub. It is true that leaders are beginning to realize that in an era of budget crises, we cannot be satisfied with doing police work the way we have been doing it for years. Agencies are being forced to solve problems in more efficient and effective ways. But change is hard, and shifting to new and different processes requires learning, a willingness to err, and, most of all, experimentation. But police organizations are not places where failure or trial and error are viewed positively. Thus, we stick to reactive, procedures-



Renée J. Mitchell

oriented policing because we think it shields us from failure. For evidence-based policing to happen, the work environment must change so that it is safe for officers and supervisors to try out new things, make mistakes, and learn from the iterative processes of science and evaluation.

When a department does not realign its values toward learning, evaluation, experimentation, analysis, or critical thinking, resistance will arise when trying to implement research. In policing, such resistance can manifest as under-the-breath grumbling, verbal resistance, refusal to cooperate, or even attempts to undermine or sabotage evaluation studies. Under any other circumstance, many of these forms of resistance would be viewed as insubordination. But if the values of the agency (and the leaders who personify those values) do not align with values that support innovation, such forms of resistance might be tolerated, even rewarded. In policing, change is difficult because it requires not just the change of each individual, but the change of the whole.

Change is especially hard when it occurs at the same time as a crisis. While a crisis, such as a budget crunch, can spark change, it can more easily lead to panic, causing the organization to retreat into safe traditions. In 2011, my agency, the Sacramento Police Department (SPD), was faced with such a crisis: layoffs of nearly 100 of its 804 officers. Looking for ways to more effectively reduce crime and calls for services, top leadership sought to implement a directed-patrol, hot spots strategy. To determine the effectiveness of the strategy, the SPD implemented a 90-day randomized controlled trial to examine the effectiveness of the Koper curve hot spots strategy (high visibility in hot spots for 12 to 15 minutes [Koper, 1995]). Half of the hot spots in two districts were randomly assigned to an intervention group that was compared with the other half, which conducted police “business as usual.”

Hot spotting had not been part of the everyday deployment of patrol in the past. Thus, before the study began, officers were briefly trained in their responsibilities to maintaining the fidelity of the study and provided information on proactivity, evidence-based policing, hot spot policing, and the Koper curve. The crime analysis unit was on hand at the beginning of the study to assist with implementation. In addition, a weekly in-service class was taught in evidence-based policing and crime analysis to incorporate crime analysis into officers’ daily activity.

Despite these efforts, resistance still followed. Evidence-based policing was generally an unknown concept within the department; 75 percent of officers had never even heard of the term (Lum et al., 2012). Even though the study decreased Part I crime by 25 percent and calls for service by 7.7 percent in the treatment areas compared with the control areas, some officers remarked in an internal survey that the study was “the dumbest idea I ever heard of.” When implementing the Lum and Telep receptivity survey (see gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/MatrixDemo/ReceptivitySurvey.html), we found that despite the success of the intervention, the majority of officers felt hot spot policing was only somewhat effective or not effective (Lum et al., 2012).

The resistance from officers was also fueled by a crisis. When the study was finished, the department faced the largest layoff in its history, which included all the community service officers along with 42 police officers. The department’s priority shifted away from the study to making the transition for the laid off employees as seamless as possible. While the success of the hot spot study was acknowledged, there was little discussion as to how hot spotting would be incorporated into the department’s long-term patrol strategy. It was executed at the worst time in the agency’s history, and despite the many external accolades the study received, it met its match in the failure of marketing and politics. Even the term “hot spot” was viewed negatively; we now use the term “focus zones” instead.

From an adaptive challenge perspective, what might be learned from SPD’s experience? To begin, consider having such projects led by people and units that command high levels of respect and admiration in the agency since hierarchy and rank are valued. Having a team led by a sergeant and the crime analysis unit, two entities with much lower authority in any police agency, does not help when fac-

ing an adaptive challenge. Rather, the project team should have the expertise needed from crime analysis, but also be chosen based on how much personal influence they exert within the organization and their leadership in actively marketing both the idea of research and evaluation, as well as the crime control benefits of effective approaches. In a few select agencies, this may indeed be the crime analysis unit. But in most agencies, those most likely to successfully lead innovation are other units.

Once a team is established, a strong training program can not only educate, but can also be an opportunity to build trust between participants and leaders, creating an environment that will tolerate trial and error and that values input and debate. Trust (or freedom from fear of rejection) is incredibly important in garnering buy-in for any innovation or idea (Lencioni, 2002). Such an environment must be cultivated and managed in order to prioritize science, analysis, and critical thinking. This is why bringing research into policing is such a difficult endeavor; it requires a sea change in values, which has to be managed through effective and strong leadership.

The hot spot study in Sacramento was implemented for noble reasons and also sidelined for noble reasons. But even in the face of disappointment, the department made important strides forward. The organization was introduced to how science can be a part of policing and to directed hot spot patrol. The agency has an evaluation to stand on, which in the future could be promising to operations and strategic planning. And, some officers learned new skills, which will no doubt influence their thinking as they become the next generation of leaders. The best thing about facing adaptive challenges is that even amid setbacks, we can push forward.

Cynthia Lum contributed to this article.

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Fostering Knowledge Exchange through Collaboration and Participation: The Edinburgh Executive Sessions

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Building an infrastructure for knowledge exchange between police practitioners and researchers is increasingly recognized as a crucial step in fostering evidence-based policing practice around the world (Fyfe, 2012). Toward this goal in 2010, the police service in Scotland and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) partnered to develop just such an infrastructure. Modeled on the Harvard Executive Sessions, the Edinburgh Executive Sessions (EES) aim to produce academically rigorous and operationally sound papers that will have the potential to inform, influence, and challenge the next generation of police leaders.

The sessions' goal is to identify those big, intransigent problems that can beset police organizations year upon year and by pairing experienced practitioners with academics who have relevant research expertise develop informed, critical, and constructive debate around them, with a view to formulating evidenced initiatives and solutions in the long term. We introduce EES here as an example of building structured partnerships between police and researchers that are based on collaboration, highlighting one topic of the sessions' inquiry—turning a preventive approach into an operational reality—to illustrate the potential and some of the challenges facing the development of EES.

Moving from Knowledge Exchange to Collaboration: Developing Executive Sessions

In the early 1980s, Harvard University held the first Executive Session on Policing in the United States. The papers produced by the session were highly influential in the United States and internationally, especially concerning such issues as community policing, fear of crime, and leadership and management within policing. Having

observed a meeting of the second executive session in 2009, John Hawkins initiated a number of conversations among interested parties in Scotland, including the authors of this paper, with a view to introducing EES.

We felt that such collaboration could build on an already existing culture of collaboration and exchange within the evidence-based tradition. The police in Scotland have a good history of working closely with academia. In particular, the creation of SIPR in 2007 laid important groundwork for building the session. SIPR, a strategic collaboration between Scotland's universities and the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) is supported by ACPOS, the Scottish Funding Council, and the participating universities.

SIPR has four main aims:

- To undertake high-quality independent research relevant to policing in Scotland.
- To engage in knowledge exchange activities to strengthen the evidence base on which policing policy and practice are developed.
- To provide a single focus for policing research in Scotland to foster national and international links with other researchers, policy makers, and practitioners.
- To enhance policing research capacity in Scotland by developing research skills and the research infrastructure.

A significant achievement of SIPR has been its development of routine engagement and interaction between research providers and research users, and the creation of research champions at the most senior levels within the Scottish police service. One such achievement was the successful creation of a police research seminar series, the Edinburgh Police Research and Practice Group, hosted at the headquarters of a local police force and co-organized by academics who were working on a knowledge exchange project on community policing with the organization (Henry and Mackenzie, 2012). A key insight from this work and the literature on the challenges of using evidence to shape professional practice was that seminar dissemination of research findings played at best a limited role in this venture but was useful in bringing together academics and practitioners and building ongoing connections between them (Henry and Mackenzie, 2012; Nutley, Walter, and Davies, 2007). EES was envisaged as being about building on these relationships, seeking to deepen the level of interaction and collaboration between police officers and academics.

The first EES took place in June 2012, supported by SIPR, the School of Law at the University of Edinburgh, and representatives



From left to right: John Hawkins, Nick Fyfe, Alistair Henry, and Bill Skelly

... a cycle of deprivation and low aspiration has been allowed to persist because preventive measures have not been prioritized. It is estimated that as much as 40 percent of all spending on public services is accounted for by interventions that could have been avoided by taking a preventive approach.

of police services throughout Scotland. This meeting introduced what will be a series of working sessions across the next two years. About 10 senior police officers and 10 academics from across Scotland attended, along with a number of police officers from elsewhere in Europe, internationally recognized academics, and officials from other public service agencies whose interests in policing are not necessarily identical to those of the police—the aim being to expose all participants to perspectives and expertise that might challenge their assumptions. Three main themes were identified for study and EES papers: a new model of public sector leadership, the policing implications of social media, and the development of the practical application of a preventive approach. Here we focus on the third topic, prevention, to explore some of the contexts, drivers, aspirations, and potential challenges of developing EES.

Operationalizing Prevention in a Time of Transformation and Austerity

In thinking about prevention as a theme for EES, two key contextual points should be noted from the outset. On the one hand, Scottish policing is currently experiencing the most substantial organizational transformation of a generation. Where public policing in Scotland is provided through eight relatively autonomous police services (Donnelly and Scott, 2005), it will by April 2013 be serviced by a single national police organization (Fyfe and Henry, forthcoming). This change has the potential to enhance EES capacity to promote evidence-based policy development throughout Scotland as a whole (not just in individual local police services), as long as it continues

to be successful in obtaining the enthusiastic participation of senior officers throughout the national infrastructure. On the other hand, a key driver behind the creation of a national Police Service for Scotland, and the second no-less important contextual point to be noted, has been the difficult post-2008 economic climate that has, in Scotland, placed an inescapable pressure on public services now and in the future to deliver services for less money. The Christie Commission *Report on the Future Delivery of Public Services* (2011), which has been very influential and wholly adopted by the Scottish government, made a number of recommendations for change emphasizing the need for public services to work differently. At its core was the argument that a fundamental shift from reactive services to preventive services was essential to reduce significant waste in the public sector.

The report noted that despite a series of Scottish government initiatives and significant growth in public spending in recent years, inequalities have remained unchanged or have become more pronounced on most key social and economic measures. The Christie Report argued that a cycle of deprivation and low aspiration has been allowed to persist because preventive measures have not been prioritized. It is estimated that as much as 40 percent of all spending on public services is accounted for by interventions that could have been avoided by taking a preventive approach. The report concluded that tackling these fundamental inequalities and focusing resources on prevention must be a key objective of all public service reform.

Continued on page 14



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The commission's recommendations thus raised a number of serious challenges for the Scottish police, not the least of which are, what do we actually mean by "prevention," and how do we deliver it? It is in this context that prevention was quickly identified as a theme that could benefit from an EES. This critical conversation would engage police perspectives and experiences on the issue (including the all-important question of how to operationalize a preventive focus) with the complex research evidence that, among other things, problematizes prevention, unpacks different models of it, emphasizes the importance of specificity in relation to preventive mechanisms, and sets out the challenges inherent in evaluating preventive interventions or strategies (Crawford, 1998; Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Interest in prevention in its various forms is not new within Scottish police services. Often, with partner agency involvement, the police have explored and implemented a range of measures at strategic and operational levels, including partnership working, community policing and engagement, and intelligence-led policing and crime analysis (Donnelly, 2008; Mackenzie and Henry, 2009). All of these embrace a general commitment to prevention. However, a challenge facing the EES in this period in which a preventive focus of public services is being robustly driven by the Christie Commission is to identify a meaningful focus that will give deliberations purchase on the operational practice it aspires to inform.

To this end, an emerging focus of the EES has been on the everyday work of officers on the street and their interactions with members of the public. Over the past decade, many Scottish police services have sought to provide more targeted police patrol, in part facilitated through the rolling out of personal digital assistants (PDAs), which are issued to all operational staff, replacing notebooks and pens. This technology creates an interface between the officer on the street, station staff and police leaders who can issue priorities and targets through the PDA, and members of the public, whose interactions with the police can be recorded and fed back into the intelligence system. Police leaders are interested in the preventive potential of this relatively simple technological development in operational

policing. The device creates possibilities for targeting and directing police services on the basis of information and intelligence.

From an academic perspective, there are a number of bodies of research that might allow for critical and constructive analysis of this attempt to embed preventive thinking within everyday police work. Procedural justice perspectives, for example, emphasize how fair and respectful (even where authority is deployed) encounters can not only have positive effects on measurable levels of public confidence in the police, but can also improve general respect for, and compliance with, the law (Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko, 2009). Refining the use of technologies, such as PDAs, through engagement with procedural justice perspectives is just one example of how EES aspires to connect practical and operational ideas and prescriptions with theoretical ideas and empirical evidence. Ensuring that such conversations are robust and have the potential to influence practice are the key challenges facing EES over the next year. We still have much to learn from one another and the wider academic and practitioner communities around the world. In that spirit, we'd be happy to hear from you.

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Former U.S. Assistant Attorney General Laurie Robinson Joins Mason and CEBCP

BY JIM GREIF

Jim Greif is the senior manager and multimedia coordinator in George Mason University's Office of Media and Public Relations.

Laurie Robinson, former assistant attorney general for the Office of Justice Programs at the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), joined the faculty of George Mason University as the Clarence J. Robinson Professor of Criminology, Law and Society in fall 2012. In this capacity, she will teach courses related to criminology policy and practice, as well as government.

The Robinson Professors program was established in 1984 by a bequest from the late Clarence J. Robinson, a businessman and civic leader in Northern Virginia. The program has allowed Mason to hire distinguished scholars in the liberal arts and sciences, including two Pulitzer Prize winners. The mission of these educators is to continue their scholarly pursuits and public engagements, while enriching the academic experiences of undergraduate students.

Laurie Robinson was also named a senior fellow with Mason's Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP). She will serve as a senior academic advisor for the center's criminal justice policy efforts, also.

In this capacity, Robinson moderated the translational criminology panel at the 2012 CEBCP annual symposium, which featured Gerben Bruinsma (Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement), Robert Boruch (University of Pennsylvania), Jim Bueermann (National Institute of Justice), Michael Crowley (Office of Management and Budget), Peter Neyroud (Cambridge University), Denise O'Donnell (Bureau of Justice Assistance), David Weisburd (George Mason University), and Marjorie Zatz (National Science Foundation).

"During my Justice Department years, my highest priority was working to bridge the gap between science and practice. So I'm thrilled to be working with the center," says Robinson. "I was already a great fan of David Weisburd and Cynthia Lum, but when I saw firsthand the kind of audience they could attract to their August symposium and the kind of programming they put together, I was tremendously impressed. The center excels in bringing practitioners, academics, and government officials together to explore tough practical challenges, and I'm excited to now be a part of it."

As a presidential appointee at DOJ, Robinson oversaw a \$2.5 billion criminal justice assistance program for states and localities, as well as government research related to crime and justice. During two tenures at DOJ, spanning 10 years, she spearheaded initiatives related to law enforcement, drug abuse, corrections, and evidence-based programming.

Between her years of DOJ service, Robinson launched and then directed the University of Pennsylvania's Master of Science Program in Criminology, and she served as a distinguished senior scholar in Penn's Jerry Lee Center of Criminology.

"George Mason University is pleased and proud to have Laurie Robinson join our faculty as a Robinson Professor," says David Wilson, chair of the Department of Criminology, Law and Society. "Laurie's wealth of experience will provide our students with fantastic learning and research opportunities."

"Laurie is the most influential policy maker in criminal justice in the United States today," says David Weisburd, professor and director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy. "Her arrival at Mason adds a policy component to what is already one of the strongest criminal justice research programs in the country. She will allow Mason researchers to more effectively bring their innovations to the world of criminal justice practice."



Laurie Robinson and Distinguished Achievement Award Winner Jeffrey Beard

Incorporating Research into Daily Police Practices: The Matrix Demonstration Project

BY CYNTHIA LUM AND CHRISTOPHER S. KOPER

Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper are the principal investigators of the Matrix Demonstration Project and codirectors of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy's Evidence-Based Policing Research Program.

Evidence-based policing is not only about the generation or supply of high-quality research. It is also about using that research in practice and the processes by which the use of research is institutionalized into police agencies. Specific questions follow: How can research evidence be used to shape tactics and strategies the police employ every day? How can we incorporate crime prevention principles into the daily habits and craft of the patrol officer or detective? In what ways and under what conditions do research findings and other scientific processes (such as crime analysis and evaluation) make their way into the standard operating procedures of a police agency? And what types of infrastructure and policing systems facilitate or impede these processes?

These and many other questions make evidence-based policing challenging, as they imply that all aspects of the research-to-practice enterprise matter. On the one hand, researchers and practitioners (as well as the funding agencies that support them) have to think about advancing criminal justice by advocating for and supplying stronger, more believable research and evaluation. At the same time, they have to find creative ways to meet the demand for research on specific subjects that interest the police. They must think about how to change both policing and the academy to be more receptive to activities that incorporate research into practice. Because of this, evidence-based policing reflects a researcher-practitioner relationship that is marked by compromise, flexibility, negotiation, and day-to-day collaboration and hard work. Evidence-based policing is not about researchers running police departments, as some critics have exaggerated. Rather, it is a decision-making perspective grounded in the notions that policies and practices should be supported by scientifically rigorous evidence and analytics, research should not be ignored, and research should be a part of the conversation about what to do to reduce crime, increase legitimacy, and address internal problems.

How is evidence-based policing achieved beyond generating the research itself? First, closing the gap between the supply of research and its demand requires translating research into digestible and usable forms (Lum et al., 2012). We initially developed the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix¹ (Lum et al., 2011) to create a free online tool that could help with the organization and translation of a large body of police research on crime control for use by police agencies. The matrix visualizes this body of work to make it easier to see the general characteristics of effective police interventions. Although the matrix addresses only crime control research (one could also develop similar



Cynthia Lum with the Fairfax County Police discussing mobile technology

tools to address fear of crime, police legitimacy, use of force, and other important research and practice topics), it was a first step in making a large body of research more accessible to police agencies.

But research, even when translated through systematic reviews or online tools, rarely stands on its own merits with regard to its use. In a recent survey with officers in a large city police agency, Lum et al. (2012) found that research knowledge was rarely disseminated in any form within the organization. Officers viewed researchers and crime analysts cautiously (and sometimes suspiciously), and the vast majority (almost 85 percent) valued their own experience about what works more than information from outside experts. At the same time, some officers were open to collaborating with researchers and also viewed crime analysts as valuable to the agency.

These findings suggest that we have to rethink how scientists and their practitioner partners not only generate research, but package both research processes and outputs for organizations and their employees. In particular, there is a need to build research evidence and analysis into the officer's everyday experience and the regular systems of policing, as well as create avenues for knowledge exchange. Thus, the second step in achieving evidence-based policing is to institutionalize it into the daily activities of police, the core interest of the Matrix Demonstration Project (MDP).² Of course, this depends heavily on whether information from crime analysis and research is valued as an important decision-making tool in the first place. If it is, the goal of the MDP is for researchers and police to work together to figure out how outcomes from research or analytic processes might be more permanently institutionalized into everyday tactics, activities, routines, standard operating procedures, organizational practices, and cultures of police agencies.

Three guiding principles surround the agency-led Matrix Demonstration Project. First, projects must focus on institutionalizing

research and analytic processes into the regular practices of policing through a more permanent change in infrastructure or operations. The MDP demonstrations are not ad-hoc deployments or stand-alone research evaluations; they are demonstrations and examples that show how the processes or outputs of research might be more permanently institutionalized into police systems. Second, each project must be anchored by good quality research evidence on police practices. Third, each agency will work closely with the MDP team to create a free tool or standard operating procedure, so that other agencies can try something similar themselves, using the MDP demonstrations as examples.

For example, in one demonstration, we are working with agencies to develop the capacity for training academies to teach recruits about research evidence on police effectiveness. To our knowledge, such information is rarely taught in police academies, which focus more on legal issues, standard operating procedures, and physical skills, such as driving, arresting, and shooting. For this demonstration, we will be developing freely available one-hour basic modules on the concept of evidence-based policing, the research evidence on police crime control effectiveness, and what this information means at the street level. Attached to each module will be a study guide, learning objectives, and test questions. The first module, Evidence-Based Policing: The Basics, is now available.

A similar effort focuses on incorporating research evidence into field training. Field training is where officers experience, observe, and apply knowledge and skills that they acquired in the academy to practical tasks. It also is the environment in which their initial impressions about good quality police work are formed, where proactive habits might be developed, and where positive attitudes toward problem solving and assessment could be inculcated. Toward these goals, this demonstration focuses on how principles about effective and fair policing might be incorporated into existing processes, forms, and activities in a typical field training environment. Working with existing field training in an agency, we focus on adjustments to activities and performance measures that are informed by research. For example, how can we adjust one current activity—conducting beat checks and preventive patrol—to better reflect the research? We might incorporate more advanced activities on problem solving at specific addresses or hot spots patrol. How might we adjust a performance measure such as orientation and geography? We might judge new officers on their ability to not just know their beats to get to calls efficiently, but to also know where crime is located and why some places have more crime than others.

Research might also be institutionalized in investigations by taking advantage of the well-understood structures of investigative work, as well as the prestige and culture of detective work. In a demonstration called *Case of Places*, we ask detectives to change their unit of investigation from a person suspected of a crime to a place suspected to be connected to multiple crimes. Using the case folder system that detectives are very familiar with, the team is working with one agency to convert case folder requirements into place-based equivalents. For

instance, suspects in a traditional case folder might also be suspects in a case of place, but the suspect for a problem place could also be a person, a building, a problem or situation, or an aspect of the environment. One goal of this approach is to increase detectives' receptivity to this evidence-based approach (i.e., hot spots and problem-oriented policing) by making procedures (and rewards) similar to those of traditional investigative work.

Further, a proactive place-based focus may help make detective work less reactive and more effective in terms of crime control (see Braga et al., 2011). Further, the opening of an investigation suggests that the problem is important enough to direct a fair amount of police resources (for example, homicide investigations are serious and use a large amount of police resources compared with a purse snatching that may be handled at the patrol level). Given that targeting places yields excellent crime control results, this approach reinforces the importance of crime places.

Other demonstrations will include guidebooks on how to carry out evaluation research, suggestions on using the matrix in COMP-STAT meetings to create a more dynamic learning environment, and ideas on how agencies can assess their own officers' receptivity to research. The MDP emphasizes that incorporating research into practice requires more than just generating good research, ad-hoc activities, or specialized units. It requires thoughtful efforts to figure out how to mesh knowledge from research and officer experience into the regular habits of policing. It requires both academia and law enforcement to reward such innovations and activities. And it requires real investment and funding from federal and state organizations, as well as police agencies themselves.

Demonstrations from the MDP can be viewed at gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/MatrixDemo.html.

¹ See gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/Matrix.html.

² See gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/MatrixDemo.html.

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Christopher Koper with Sergeant Jeffery Egge of the Minneapolis Police Department in one of MPD's successful hot spot intervention areas

An Eye on the Future

An important component of the CEBCP team is its graduate research assistants, who provide research support for various projects and help organize many of the CEBCP's outreach activities. In this issue, we highlight two of our graduate research assistants who work in the center: doctoral students Heather Vovak and Sarah Calhoun.

Heather Vovak

MAJOR: PhD in criminology, law and society

HOMETOWN: Ravenna, Ohio

EDUCATION: BS in political science and psychology from Heidelberg University, MA in political science from the University of Akron

AREAS OF INTEREST: Security in large spaces (such as airports, stadiums, and malls), counterterrorism, evidence-based policing

WHAT DREW HER TO CRIMINOLOGY: Vovak's master's degree is in political science, but she has a specialization in criminal justice. "[My graduate work] focused on how politics and organizations influence criminal justice policy. I find the interaction between the government and criminal justice fascinating, whether it is at a local, state, or national level."

WHAT BROUGHT HER TO MASON: "I was really impressed with the reputation of the criminology program at Mason. The professors in the program are making important contributions to the field, and to be able to work with or interact with these individuals is an incredible opportunity. I also like the focus on the efforts to make research and policy available to practitioners."

CAREER HIGH POINT: "I feel as though everything has been a high point! It has been a valuable learning experience. I've really enjoyed working with some professors and having the opportunity to be involved in research projects."



Sarah Calhoun

MAJOR: PhD in criminology, law and society

HOMETOWN: St. Louis, Missouri

PREVIOUS EDUCATION: BS and MA in economics, University of Missouri-St. Louis

AREAS OF INTEREST: Policing, corrections, quantitative methods

WHAT DREW HER TO CRIMINOLOGY: Calhoun started out her undergraduate career with plans to become a social worker, but soon her love of research caused her to make a detour. "I eventually realized that I wanted to focus my studies on the quantitative methods that would allow me to do substantive research within the field later in my career," she says. "My desire has always been to have an impact on correctional and police institutions and entities, but it has shifted from doing so within the role of a social worker to doing so within the role of a researcher. I hope eventually to be involved in research that influences policy."

WHAT BROUGHT HER TO MASON: "The faculty," says Calhoun. She is also very interested in the department's overall focus on policy-oriented research.



Criminology, Law and Society

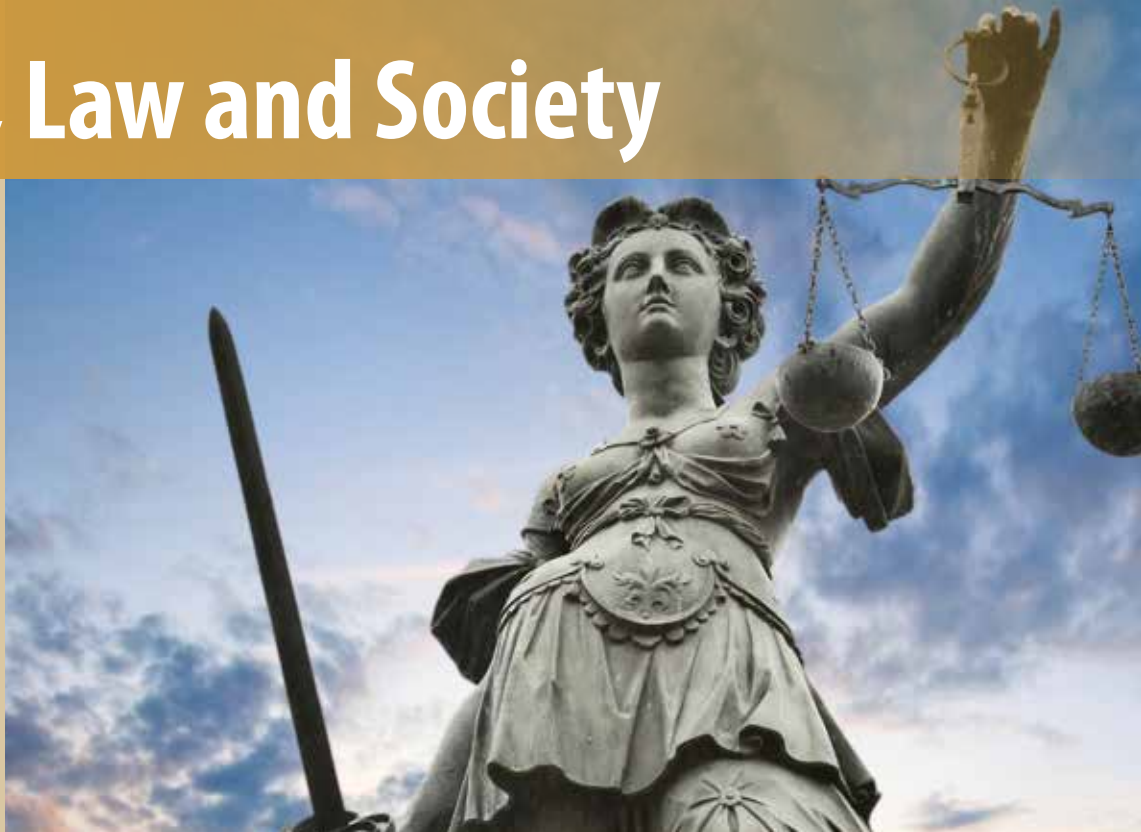
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CEBCP AWARDS

Call for Nominations

Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame

The Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame recognizes innovative law enforcement practitioners who have been central to the implementation of a high-quality research program in their affiliated agency, highlighting individual excellence in both using and conducting policing research.

Nominees must satisfy three requirements: be or have been a police practitioner, either sworn or civilian; have been central to the implementation of a documented rigorous scientific evaluation in their affiliated agency; and show a record of incorporating evidence-based practices in their agency. Nominations will be accepted through February 1, 2013

2012 Inductees

Anthony Bouza, Minneapolis (MN) Police Department
Theron Bowman, Arlington (TX) Police Department
Micheal Edwards, Jacksonville (FL) Sheriff's Office
John Kapinos, Fairfax County (VA) Police Department
Mark Newton, British Transport Police, United Kingdom
Jamie Roush, Jacksonville (FL) Sheriff's Office
Rick Tanksley, Oak Park (IL) Police Department

Past Inductees

Hassan Aden, Alexandria (VA) Police Department
James Bueermann (ret.), Redlands (CA) Police Department
Edward Davis, Boston (MA) Police Department
Dan Flynn, Marietta (GA) Police Department
Frank Gajewski, Jersey City (NJ) Police Department
Peter Martin, Queensland Police Service, Australia
Peter Neyroud (ret.), National Policing Improvement Agency, UK
Sir Denis O'Connor, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, UK
Charles Ramsey, Philadelphia (PA) Police Department
Darrel Stephens (ret.), Charlotte-Mecklenburg (NC) Police Department
Ian Stewart, Queensland Police Service, Australia
Hubert Williams (ret.), Newark (NJ) Police Department and the Police Foundation



Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy

The CEBCP is now accepting nominations for the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy. Consistent with the mission of the center, this award recognizes outstanding and consistent contributions by individuals in the policy arena who have committed to a leadership role in advancing the use of scientific research evidence in decisions about crime and justice policies. This role includes notable efforts in connecting crime and justice researchers with criminal justice institutions.

Nomination letters are accepted through February 1, 2013. In your nominating letter, please describe the reasons for your nomination and include a copy of the nominee's curriculum vitae. Nominating parties are encouraged to collaborate with others to submit single letters of recommendations to the awards committee, rather than multiple letters. Members of the 2013 awards committee are David Weisburd (chair), Peter Neyroud, Dan Nagin, and Darrel Stephens.

2012 Recipients

Jeffrey Beard, Pennsylvania State University
Paul Gendreau, University of New Brunswick

Past Recipients

Peter Neyroud, Cambridge University (2011)
Joan Petersilia, Stanford University Law School (2010)
Darrel Stephens, Major Cities Chiefs Association (2010)
Charles Wellford, University of Maryland (2011)

For more information about these awards and their prior winners, see gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/HallofFame/HallofFame.html
gemini.gmu.edu/cebcp/AchievementAward.html



Selected Publications by CEBCP Team Members

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