

# Translational Criminology

FALL 2015

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

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) began its eighth year this summer during a time of great change in American criminal justice. In particular, Ferguson and other similar events have awakened the national conscience with regard to law enforcement reform and police-citizen relationships. But there have been other significant changes in many criminal justice arenas, and questioning of previous practices. We have seen changes in how society and politicians view re-entry, juvenile justice, diversion, gun control, school safety, drug enforcement, and crime prevention, just within the eight years CEBCP has existed. Within the evidence-based crime policy movement itself, substantial ground has been gained and also debate and dissent has emerged, among both researchers and practitioners.

Many who are taking on this new world contributed to the most recent joint symposium that we held in August with the Police Foundation. More than 275 people came together at George Mason University to present and discuss topics including policing and communities of color; research on body worn cameras; school safety, bullying and prevention; investigations and early warning systems; crime patterns at places and in communities; evidence-based policing, translation, and receptivity; and President Obama's Task Force for 21st-Century Policing. The fellowship, debates, and new ideas that emerged emphasize how much more we still need to accomplish.

Two important values in evidence-based crime policy are flexibility and dynamic learning. We are learning new things all of the time. Laws, people, and public priorities change at the national, state, local, and community levels and also within the agencies with which we partner. New discoveries, methodologies, and data emerge that challenge scholarly thinking. At the same time, many values around evidence-based approaches hold steadfast: Science that informs public policy must be conducted in rigorous and ethical ways; research must be relevant and contemporary; and we must make a concerted attempt to translate that research into tangible and meaningful forms. Adapting to the times and paying attention to the debates while holding true to these important values takes work.

No one knows this challenge better than our 2015 award winners. Our two Distinguished Achievement Award winners, Herman Goldstein and Wesley Skogan, are giants in the field of policing scholarship, and have made significant contributions to policing research and practice. Herman's ideas about problem-solving have become the basis for numerous evidence-based approaches in both policing and crime prevention that focus on partnership building for long-term solutions to crime problems. Wes's work on community policing in Chicago, and especially his studies of disorder, decline,

and crime, paved the way for much thinking about both collective efficacy and the impact of the politics of crime and justice on communities. We congratulate both Herman and Wes for their vision and leadership in linking research to practice.

Our five Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame inductees also know the challenges of evidence-based crime policy. This year, they are James Burch II (Police Foundation), Tony Farrar (Rialto, California, Police Department), Sean Malinowski (Los Angeles, California, Police Department), Michael Reese (retired, Portland, Oregon, Police Department), and William Taylor (Lowell, Massachusetts, Police Department). These five are recognized for not only facilitating science and evaluation in police agencies, but also taking tangible and committed actions to translate and institutionalize research into daily police practice. They are successful examples of evidence-based crime policy, and you can read much more about their accomplishments at [cebc.org/hall-of-fame/](http://cebc.org/hall-of-fame/).

All of us at the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy look forward to continuing our work to carry out rigorous research and think about ways we can partner with those in practice, policy, and academia to translate and disseminate research into practice. Our growing team of scholars, research assistants, and support staff continues to seek out ways to ensure high-quality science and research remains an important part of criminal justice policy. In particular, we look to examples set not only by our many award winners over the years, but also to those who contribute to *Translational Criminology*. The magazine is meant to be a translation tool, providing examples of how research is interpreted, received, exchanged, and developed. We hope that through the magazine and the many other activities in which the CEBCP engages we can continue contributing to progress.

David Weisburd, Executive Director

Cynthia Lum, Director



# Reinventing American Policing: A Seven-Point Blueprint for the 21st Century

BY CYNTHIA LUM AND DANIEL NAGIN

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*The complete essay upon which this article was based will appear in 2016 in Crime and Justice: A Review of Research (vol. 45). The authors are alphabetically listed and equally shared in the writing of the essay.*

This is a tumultuous time for policing in the United States. Deadly use of force by the police across the country has led to protests, heated debates, riots, and questioning of police tactics. Citizens and politicians have called for many reforms to make the police more accountable and transparent. Indeed, President Obama convened a special task force to make recommendations for the reform of policing in America.

There have also been upticks in crime in many places across the country. In combination, concerns over deadly force and increases in crime have once again reopened a recurring question about the role of policing in a democratic society: How can police effectively prevent crime and keep citizens safe, while maintaining the community's trust and confidence? Both objectives form the bedrock of good policing. In difficult times, however, discourse often focuses on one objective with the other receding into the background. Today, the focus is on citizens' confidence in and trust of the police. At other times, especially when crime is on the rise, or the threat of terrorism looms, the emphasis is on public safety.

## The Two Principles of Policing

Reorienting police practices toward achieving and balancing both goals requires fundamental changes in the functions, values, and operations of law enforcement. Toward this end, we put forth a seven-point blueprint for reinventing American policing, guided by two principles that are grounded in decades of research and law enforcement experience:

### Principle 1: Crime prevention—not arrests—is paramount.

Crimes averted, not arrests made, should be the primary metric for judging police success in meeting their objective of securing public safety.



Cynthia Lum



Daniel Nagin

### Principle 2: Citizen reaction matters.

Citizen response to the police and their tactics for preventing crime and improving public order matter independent of police effectiveness in these functions.

Principle 1 follows from a large body of research that reaches a provocative bottom line: We can't arrest our way out of crime. This does not mean that police should stop making arrests. Arrest serves the important functions of bringing perpetrators of crime to justice and redeeming victims. Nonetheless, an arrest also signals a failure of prevention. There is no good evidence that would-be offenders are deterred either by the clearing of cases, or by harsh punishment. Further, more than 80 percent of arrests made in the United States are for misdemeanors and ordinance violations, often with no identifiable victim. Yet, these arrests for minor infractions outside of the Part I crime index can be costly to the police by diverting attention from prevention of more serious crimes, to society in its payment for overuse of prisons and jails, and to the misdemeanants themselves.

However, research has found that police can be much more effective in a proactive and "sentinel" role (see Nagin, 2013) than in their role as reactive apprehension agents (for reviews see Lum et al., 2011; Sherman, 2013; Weisburd & Eck, 2004). Proactive policing activities focus police efforts on those people, places, times, and situations that are at high risk of offending, victimization, or disorder. Proactive policing stands in sharp contrast to reactive approaches in that it tries to address problems before they beget further crimes through a wide variety of strategies that often do not emphasize arrest.

Principle 2 emphasizes that police in democracies are not only responsible for preventing crime, but also for maintaining their credibility with all segments of the citizenry. The objective of maintaining trust and confidence means that citizen reaction to what

the police do is important to judging their effectiveness independent of their success in preventing and solving crime. Thus, while citizen trust and confidence may facilitate police effectiveness in preventing crime, we treat trust and confidence as an independent criterion for judging their performance. The overriding objective of police should be to create a safe democratic society, not a safe police state.

Two types of proactive policing tactics that challenge the balance between Principles 1 and 2 are “broken windows” or “zero tolerance” policing, and the use of stop-question-and-frisk. Broken windows policing as it is commonly practiced involves making large numbers of arrests, usually for minor crimes such as disorderly conduct or drug possession, with the ultimate goal of preventing serious crime. Stop-question-and-frisk (SQF), also known as field or pedestrian stops, focuses on detecting armed individuals about to commit serious crimes (as provided by *Terry v. Ohio*). In practice, the tactic has also been used to search individuals suspected of carrying drugs, and is often coupled with a broken windows approach. Both tactics are believed to proactively deter not only by increasing interactions between police and potential offenders, but also by facilitating arrests.

Our review of research on these tactics brings us to three conclusions. First, there is no good evidence for the theory underlying broken windows policing that arrests for minor legal infractions are effective in preventing more serious crime.<sup>1</sup> Second, results on the crime prevention effectiveness of SQF are mixed. The vast majority of these stops do not result in any contraband found. The most convincing and consistent evidence of effectiveness is limited to circumstances where SQF is used for its legally intended purpose—to prevent gun carrying in violent crime places. Third, both are controversial and have been the subject of much criticism, particularly in African American and Hispanic communities that tend to distrust the police.

The controversy about aggressive policing tactics such as zero-tolerance policing and SQF challenges our thinking about how police can prevent crime and at the same time maintain and improve trust and confidence, especially within communities most impacted by police deployment decisions. In some circumstances, achievement of these principles may be complementary. As already emphasized, the research evidence shows that other non-arrest based approaches can effectively prevent crime. Thus replacement of zero-tolerance policing tactics with tactics that place less emphasis on arrest but are comparably effective in preventing crime will likely be less noxious to citizens. Similarly, tactics aimed at improving police legitimacy that are grounded in procedural justice concepts or community-oriented policing may advance both principles, although the research is not as strong with regard to their fulfilling Principle 1. But tactics such as SQF and zero-tolerance policing that may not be reconcilable as

promoting both principles should be scrutinized.

How then should Principles 1 and 2 be balanced? The first step in achieving balance is acknowledgement by all parties that both principles are independently important and do not have the standing to trump the other. In the heated debate about New York Police Department’s use of SQF and broken windows policing, this important and seemingly obvious point was lost. One side argued that these tactics are effective in preventing crime and are applied in a nondiscriminatory way, and the other side argued they were ineffective and discriminatory. However, two points were strikingly absent in this debate. The first is that citizen reaction per se was not emphasized as being important in its own right independent of whether these tactics were being conducted in a fashion that was legal. Such an acknowledgement would have opened the door to a discussion of the implications of the possibility that SQF or other aggressive policing tactics might be effective in preventing crime but they are also being used in a fashion that is deeply alienating communities of color. The second point absent in these debates was a lack of acknowledgement that there are viable alternatives to these tactics to prevent crime. The strength of the belief in the crime prevention returns of tactics such as SQF and broken windows policing reflects the lack of development and use of a broader policing toolkit that will advance Principle 1 but at less or no cost to Principle 2. The origin of this limited toolkit comes from how police have chosen to define their craft and how they have built their institutional and organizational norms around a definition that emphasizes arrest and crime detection as key metrics of success.

### **A Blueprint for Reinvention**

The police must recognize that citizen reaction is independently important and that there are viable and multiple alternatives to crime control that do not emphasize arrest. Only then can they, in consultation with the community, begin to think in terms of devising policies that are effective in preventing crime and are also less alienating of minority communities. Creating balance between these two principles requires fundamental adjustments to the practice and expectations of American policing. Such reinvention starts with seven important changes:

#### **1) Prioritize crime prevention over arrest**

Arrests are costly to all involved—society, the police, and the person arrested. Even for arrests for serious crimes it is important that police broaden the organizational response to asking themselves the question: Is there anything that we could have done to prevent this crime from happening in the first place? Accordingly, we recommend that police focus their efforts, reforms, and resources on what we call

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<sup>1</sup> This is a complex and nuanced body of research that is too lengthy to discuss here, but which we detail in the full paper. See also [cebc.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-policing/research-evidence-review/broken-windows-policing/](http://cebc.org/evidence-based-policing/what-works-in-policing/research-evidence-review/broken-windows-policing/)

sentinel-like activities that prevent crime and in so doing avert the need for arrest and all its ensuing costs (Nagin, Solow, & Lum, 2015). A great deal of research demonstrates the police can be effective in preventing crime when they focus on high-risk places and people, and use problem-solving, proactive approaches tailored to specific circumstances.

Translating this research into tangible deployment strategies that do not alienate communities will require significant changes in how patrol officers, detectives, and specialized units are daily deployed (Lum et al., 2012). It will require de-emphasizing the importance of traditional response-investigate-and-arrest approaches as well as raising the status and importance of patrol officers who are in the best position to carry out sentinel-like activities. It will require supervisors carefully monitoring what types of strategies and problem-solving tactics officers and specialized units are using at hot spots and among repeat offenders. It will also require providing training and guidance to expand officers' toolkits to include opportunity mitigation techniques, problem-solving, guardianship activities, and third-party policing approaches (see item 3).

## **2) Create and install systems that monitor citizen reactions to the police and routinely report results back to the public, as well as to managing and line officers.**

This blueprint item involves two important components, both in support of Principle 2. The first component is that police should routinely and rigorously survey citizens on their reactions to the police in general and also to specific tactics they use or might use in the future. The second component is that the results of such surveys, as well as the actions taken because of survey results, be regularly reported back to both citizens and officers.

While the first component is not entirely novel, the practice of systematically understanding citizen reaction to the police continues to be an underdeveloped area of police operations. While some departments survey or interview citizens on an ad hoc basis, typically the surveys are not representative of the targeted population. As a result the data may give a very misleading impression of the public's perceptions of the effectiveness and credibility of the police and just as important do not provide the basis for tracking how citizen perceptions are changing over time. Either full population or targeted surveys (i.e., specific groups or neighborhoods or people who receive services from the police) should regularly be administered. Only in this way will the police have the data for evaluating their success in achieving Principle 2.

The second component of this recommendation—that the police regularly report back to both citizens and officers the results of the polls—is novel. If we want first line supervisors to be able to deploy

their officers to effectively achieve the two principles, they need knowledge about crime and citizen reaction. Providing officers and managers with results also creates the feedback loops that Sherman (1998) argued are crucial to implementation of evidence-based policing. For citizens, the purpose of feedback should not just be informational. The feedback should also include changes in police strategies and tactics made in light of the polling information that are developed in conjunction with officers and citizens. Systematizing and investing in this feedback loop can improve openness, transparency, and legitimacy, which are all hallmarks of democratic policing.

## **3) Reform training and redefine the “craft” of policing.**

Perhaps the most fundamental change to achieve items 1 and 2 is in training, not only at the academy but also throughout officers' careers. While it would be naïve to believe that training is the panacea for reform efforts, formal and informal training is an important part of the socialization of officers and shapes and challenges their beliefs about the goals and functions of policing.

The content of police training depends on what agencies, trainers, supervisors, and fellow officers define as the “craft” of policing—the functions, purposes, and methods of good policing. Current training reinforces a traditional, reactive and arrest orientation in policing. If we want officers instead to see their craft in terms of prevention and citizen reaction, they need to be trained in the tools and perspectives necessary for achieving these two principles. With regard to Principle 1, training must provide officers with the tools required to make the reduction of calls for service as coequal to the reaction to calls for service. Such training requires instructing officers on how to structure their discretion during their noncommitted time<sup>2</sup>, especially in ways that we know are effective in achieving prevention but not eroding citizen trust. To achieve the second principle, the craft must be redefined to view both prevention and citizen trust and confidence as independently important. Training must also incorporate knowledge gained from citizen surveys and more generally from research on citizen reactions to the police on how to engage citizens in ways that reduce the risk of a hostile reaction while still maintaining the officers' authority.

## **4) Recalibrate organizational incentives.**

Rewards, promotions, and informal “pats on the back” shape the actions of leaders and the rank and file. The metrics used to judge performance and suitability for promotion should measure the officer's knowledge of evidence-based strategies known to reduce crime and improve community trust and confidence. Candidates for promotion should be evaluated on how well they translate this knowledge into practice. Medals, citations, and commendations should be given for preventing crime or improving citizen-officer

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<sup>2</sup> This is the time in between calls for service, which research has indicated can be between 40 and 80 percent of an officer's shift (Famega, 2005).

interactions as well as success and bravery in apprehensions. Finally, recalibrating organizational incentives implies an adjustment in how “good leadership” is defined in policing.

We recognize that this would be a major, and in some cases difficult, change for police agencies, especially those in which police unions tightly control and monitor promotion standards and processes. But without reforming how individuals are promoted, there will be little incentive for new and existing leaders to adopt reforms or alternate forms of policing.

#### **5) Strengthen accountability with more transparency.**

Police accountability encompasses a vast and complex array of legal, procedural, and organizational issues. Transparency is a vital part of this. Improving systems of transparency requires increasing the availability of data and policies related to police-citizen interactions, particularly those involving the use of force; doing a better job of communicating back to the public the outcomes of investigations into allegations of police misconduct as well as crime prevention efforts; reassessing systems of discipline and review that may impede the ability of agencies to learn from mistakes; and using analysis for better supervision and management.

#### **6) Incorporate the analysis of crime and citizen reaction into managerial practice.**

Advancement of the blueprint items will require that officers, supervisors, and leaders shift from reactive and procedures-based decision making to more critical thinking and analytic problem-solving. This requires that they have access to high-quality analysis of both crime and citizen reactions and are able to manage that information to obtain specific outcomes. With regard to Principle 1, the types of targeted interventions that we advocate require that officers at all levels have access to and understand analysis that locates concentrations of crime, identifies high-risk people, and better illuminates underlying issues that contribute to crime problems. Such analysis is required to carry out Sherman’s (2013) “triple T” (targeting, testing, and tracking the success of tailored tactics). Analysis can also serve to create greater transparency and accountability with regard to choice of strategies and their outcomes. With regard to Principle 2, the charge of analytic units must be broadened to include measuring and tracking citizen reactions and interventions designed to improve those reactions. The importance of accurately measuring citizen reaction through rigorous surveying, interviewing, and other quantitative and qualitative approaches requires staff with expertise in research methods and in constructing and conducting surveys and analyzing survey data.

Incorporating analysis into managerial practices does not stop at beefing up resources for analysis in agencies. It requires adjusting supervisory and managerial decision-making from reacting to crime with standard operating procedures to using analysis as a basis for proactive initiation of strategies for reducing crime and improving trust and confidence of

citizens. Without the backing of strong analysis, police will be flying blind in managing their efforts to advance all of the above blueprint items.

#### **7) Strengthening national-level research and evaluation.**

Decades of research and research-practitioner partnerships in policing have brought us to these conclusions. But as with medical research, we are only at the horizon for cures to some of the toughest problems we face in policing, crime prevention, and police-citizen relations. Yet, national funding of research on policing and crime prevention is miniscule compared, for example, to money spent on dental research. The approach we are espousing requires a strong and continually developing knowledge base on how police can prevent crime as well as maintain trust and confidence with citizens. Although much research has been completed on these topics, important gaps remain. While we generally understand that targeting hot places and people can yield benefits, recent research indicates that certain approaches may be more effective than others. Further, we have little knowledge of the community reactions some of these approaches engender and how negative reactions can be mitigated by modification of tactics. Finally, it will be important to invest in mechanisms that translate knowledge into operational forms, including helping agencies build the capacity to develop their own knowledge (Weisburd & Neyroud, 2011), as well as building exchanges between researchers and practitioners to facilitate receptivity, translation, and institutionalization of research and scientific processes (Lum et al., 2012).

Important activities are already underway for creating the research infrastructure we advocate. National-level programs include the National Police Platform, the Smart Policing Initiative by the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Matrix Demonstration Projects, and the recent President’s Task Force on 21st-Century Policing. International efforts include the College of Policing in the United Kingdom and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research. Still much more is needed. A commitment to and investment in continuing to build this knowledge and the capacity to develop future knowledge is required to advance the blueprint.

#### **Concluding Thoughts**

Police are not impervious to change; in the past three decades, we have already witnessed innovative leadership in policing that has fundamentally changed policing in the United States. However, we are under no illusions that the changes we suggest will come quickly or easily. The reforms we advocate will require a major shift in the culture of American policing as it relates to what is valued and rewarded, both formally and informally, in the way police are trained and evaluated, and in the organization of police departments. It will also require major investments in time and dollars, respectively, from the police research community and funding agencies. Still we are optimistic that police can continue to reinvent themselves to achieve

*Continued on page 11*

# Using Social Network Analysis to Guide Law Enforcement Strategies

BY ANDREW M. FOX, KENNETH J. NOVAK, AND JOSEPH MCHALE

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Crime, delinquency, and victimization are not distributed evenly across the entire population, rather they are highly concentrated amongst select individuals. This has become accepted as common knowledge and understanding within criminology, at least since Wolfgang and colleagues (1972) examined a birth cohort of individuals in Philadelphia. Police and other criminal justice officials have come to recognize that many chronic and high-risk offenders are connected socially. But developing actionable strategies based on this common wisdom has lagged, especially regarding proactively applying pressure to individuals within social networks to prevent crime. Social Network Analysis (SNA) is an analytic strategy used by police and others to link individuals. SNA has been employed to study and respond to a variety of different criminal activities including homicides and gun violence (Papachristos & Wildeman, 2014; Papachristos et al. 2015), street gangs (McGoïn, 2005), and drug use and trafficking (Morselli & Petit, 2007; Malm & Bichler, 2011). Accurately identifying and controlling deviant social networks can not only effectively reduce crime rates, but would also guide allocation of scarce resources to effectively accomplish crime prevention.

SNA examines how people are connected socially by identifying and revealing group membership and dynamics between individuals. Social networks are visually mapped to uncover the social structure of the group and to further identify individuals within the network who might be most central, thus making them important in terms of holding the network together. Using official data (e.g., field interview forms, arrest records) or human intelligence (e.g., surveys of street-level officers, detectives, probation officers), network visualizations, called sociograms, are developed that depict social maps of criminal networks within a neighborhood, city, or region.

Figure 1 shows a sociogram of individuals identified as part of one local street gang and their associates in Kansas City. Each dot is an individual; each line is a relationship. Relationships were determined based on two people being arrested together or being listed together on a



From left: Kenneth Novak, Joseph McHale, and Andrew Fox

field interview report over a one-year period. This network was built using data most law enforcement agencies already have in their records management system. Even without adding more information about the individuals or calculating centrality scores, one can already identify individuals who might be important players in this social network.

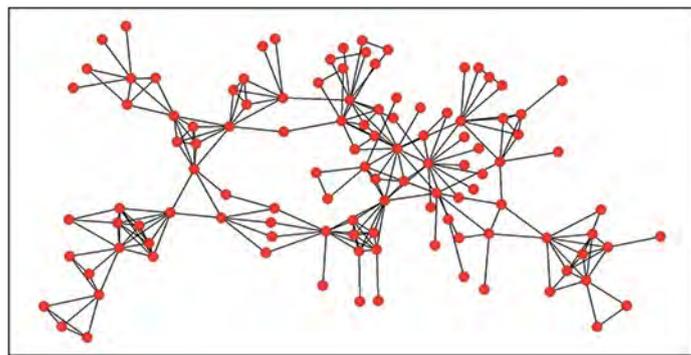


Figure 1: Sociogram of a local street gang and associates.

Identifying group dynamics is particularly important for translating innovations such as focused deterrence and putting them into practice. Initially conceived in 2012, developed in 2013, and implemented fully in 2014, the Kansas City No Violence Alliance (NoVA) is a focused deterrence multiagency approach to reduce homicides and gun violence that uses SNA to engage in smarter policing. Stakeholders identified homicides and gun-related violence as a priority, largely because the typical annual homicide rate in Kansas City (22 per 100,000) was four times higher than the national average. Focused deterrence relies heavily on the assumption that pressure may be strategically applied to deviant social groups to encourage collective accountability. Originally developed in Boston in the 1990s, focused deterrence is a lever-pulling approach that has expanded over time to other locations and has been applied to a variety of different criminal problems (Braga & Weisburd, 2012). The

Kansas City NoVA is among the progeny of Boston Ceasefire in that NoVA identifies groups of individuals who are connected socially and puts pressure on these groups to not offend. As such, NoVA relies heavily on SNA to identify key members within violent social networks. NoVA uses SNA within the “Analysis” phase of the SARA Problem Solving Model (Eck & Spelman, 1987), and it is a tool to deliver intelligence-led policing (Ratcliffe, 2008).

### SNA in Practice

The Analysis phase of implementing focused deterrence showed a need to identify the groups and gangs that were driving the violence. Andrew Fox, NoVA’s research partner, assisted the Kansas City Police Department (KCPD) in building the structure of one gang in using SNA. The first group tackled was a small gang called Dime Block. The process of getting the data needed and cleaned to produce the sociogram took two months. Automated pulls of official data were created, intelligence was gleaned from paper documents, and this was later complemented by human intelligence from patrol and investigative elements. Once the process of building the network was worked out, and crime analysts applied their knowledge of the police department’s data systems, the network building process was reduced from months to hours. Over time, the responsibility of network analysis has shifted from the university research partner to analysts within the KCPD—a decision that encourages the sustainability of SNA.

SNA guided the discovery of other groups like Dime Block, and the identification of group membership as well as the dynamics of “beefs” and “alliances” between groups. Figure 2 shows the network of groups in Kansas City. Each dot is a group and each line indicates whether there was a beef (red line), or alliance (green line) between the groups.

Consistent with the focused deterrence approach (Kennedy, 2006), key members of these groups were messaged through call-ins or through custom notifications. This message also included genuine offers of help through social services as well as challenges to the street code of retaliatory violence from community members. At the same time, the message included a credible promise from law enforcement, prosecutors, and probation and parole that the next group responsible for a homicide would receive special attention and vigorous enforcement (thereby encouraging collective accountability). People receiving communication are encouraged to go back to others in their social network to relay this three-prong message. SNA significantly contributes to accurate identification of group members, and strategically identifies those most connected or influential within these networks. If we are only able to communicate with some individuals, SNA can help us select the most



central individuals, thus giving us the best chance of disseminating our message throughout the network.

Initial examinations of NoVA’s impact are encouraging. In 2014, the first full-year of implementation of focused deterrence using SNA intelligence, the homicide rate declined to 15.8 per 100,000, which was the lowest homicide rate in Kansas City in more than 40 years. An interrupted time series analysis indicated a statistically significant reduction in homicides at 1, 3, 6, and 12 months after implementation, taking into account the trend in the data prior to the implementation of the project (Novak, Fox, & Carr, forthcoming).

KCPD’s ability to use SNA has grown substantially.

SNA remains the core intelligence model for the implementation of focused deterrence in Kansas City, but this tool has expanded to other functions. KCPD analysts and intelligence investigators can now map the entire social structure of every known gang member or group that may cause violence in just a few hours’ time. SNA has been tapped to drive homicide responses, violence prevention measures, and other proactive enforcement operations.

### Challenges of Implementing SNA in Policing

An understanding of what SNA is, and what it can do (and not do), is important for successful implementation. First and foremost in the network building process is the identification of accurate raw data—SNA and the intelligence it produces is only as valid and reliable as the data used to create it. The mantra of “garbage in, garbage out” is particularly true for agencies using SNA. Frequently large organizations do not have the most accurate/up-to-date data housed within a single place; rather, they are spread out in virtual silos across different functional units. Various patrol or investigative units within police departments often maintain their own intelligence files (frequently stored in nondigital forms), and these units may be reluctant to share “their” data, particularly if they do not recognize the utility of doing so. Sharing data across agencies (e.g., police, probation, prosecutors) may be even more challenging. Second, and related, many individuals within social networks generated by SNA are subjects of undercover or long-term federal investigations, requiring deconfliction practices as standard protocol. Deconfliction may require select individuals, or clusters of people, to be removed from the sociogram before advancing an actionable network.

Third, tradition-bound police officers and commanders may dismiss the utility of SNA, or confuse it for social media analysis<sup>1</sup>. NoVA employs SNA to strategically identify group members with the goal of

<sup>1</sup> SNA techniques can be used to analyze social media data; however, the examples in this article are derived from law enforcement data, not social media data.

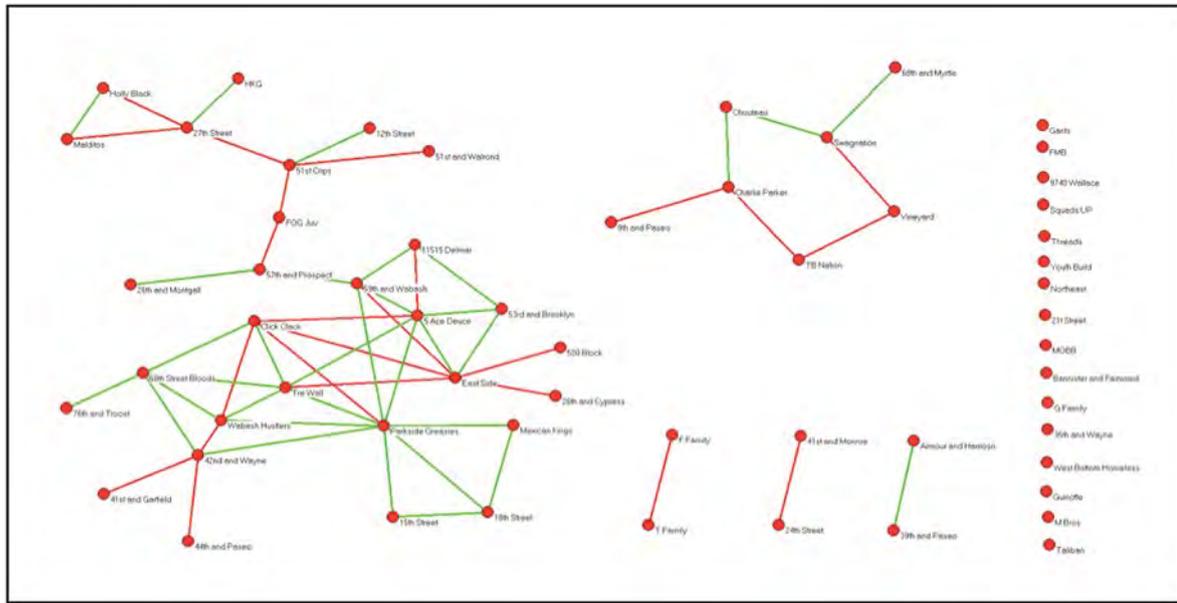


Figure 2: Network of beefs and alliances between groups.

proactively pulling levers to deter violence through group accountability. Just because someone is central in a network does not mean they should be the target of enforcement; there might be other levers or tools agencies can use to change the network dynamics. The purposes of SNA within the larger picture of crime prevention must be communicated across the organization to encourage buy-in. This is particularly important if SNA is reliant on data and information from across various units (e.g., “What’s in it for me?”). A comprehensive communication and training strategy of the innovation and how SNA is used within the innovation can go a long way toward dispelling these misconceptions.

In summary, the ability of police administrators to understand and use data and intelligence in general, and SNA in particular, to drive effective and efficient innovations is the future of law enforcement. The 21st century of policing will be defined by our ability to compile, conceptualize, and use the data we have available. SNA can play a major role in visualizing large amounts of data so that we can prioritize and focus crime reduction strategies. Implementation of SNA within criminal justice processes remains in its infancy, and organizations will need to continue to build capacity to consistently incorporate SNA into their standard tool belt.

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# Time to Rethink the Age of Adult Court Jurisdiction

BY VINCENT SCHIRALDI AND BRUCE WESTERN

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Vincent Schiraldi



Bruce Western

The Progressives of the late 1800s literally invented many of the legal constructs surrounding what we now call “adolescence.”<sup>1</sup> They created open spaces and parks, child labor laws, and compulsory education. In 1899, Jane Addams, Lucy Flower, and Julia Lathrop of Chicago’s Hull House also successfully founded the nation’s first juvenile court.

The idea spread like wildfire; by 1925, 46 states and 16 countries had opened separate courts for juveniles where none had previously existed. These courts were focused on rehabilitation rather than punishment, were more individualized and community-based, and had fewer collateral consequences than their adult counterparts. Just as it is hard to imagine society without laws forbidding 12-year-olds from factory work, it is difficult to conceive of American jurisprudence without the juvenile court.

But while the women of Hull House got a lot right when they founded the juvenile court, the chosen age of 18 as its jurisdictional “ceiling” was arbitrary, based on the mores of the time rather than hard evidence. Guided by new research<sup>2</sup> on brain development, the elongation of adolescence, and other countries’ experiences, we believe that the age of family court jurisdiction should be raised to 21 or 25 and that young adults should be handled in more developmentally appropriate ways.

## New Research on Young-Adult Development

New research in psychology and neurobiology reveals that young adults are not fully mature in many important respects until their mid-20’s, far later than was previously thought. Such young people are closer developmentally to juveniles than to fully mature adults.

Studies have shown that we do not develop fully mature reasoning capacities until we are in our twenties and that psychosocial capacities develop even later, giving cognitive functioning a developmental “head start” over executive functioning.

This maturity gap manifests itself in several areas particularly relevant to criminal justice involvement. Young adults take more risks and are less likely to consider the future ramifications of their actions; are more susceptible to peer influences; and are more volatile, especially in highly emotional settings.

## Is 22 the New 18?

The nature of, and expectations for, young adults have also changed dramatically. Getting married, obtaining employment, moving out of the family home, and completing one’s education are all important life course events that can be bridges to full maturity. All are coming later than they did a generation ago. Compared to previous generations, 22 is the new 18. For example:

- Nine percent of young adults were married in 2010, compared with 45 percent in 1960.
- 27 percent of young African American men ages 18-24 are disconnected from work and school compared to 20 percent in 1960.
- Non-college median earnings for young whites have dropped from \$40,000 in 1973 to \$30,000 in 2007 and from \$34,000 to \$25,000 for young African Americans during the same time period.

These historic changes in education, employment, and family attachment have left a much larger proportion of our young men

<sup>1</sup> In fact, the word “adolescence” did not appear in the dictionary until 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Schiraldi, Vincent, Bruce Western, and Kendra Bradner. *Community-Based Responses to Justice-Involved Young Adults*. New Thinking in Community Corrections Bulletin. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 2015. NCJ 248900.

detached from the stabilizing influence of family and the labor market at the same time that sentencing laws and practices have increased incarceration as a response to law breaking.

### **Implications for Law and Practice**

If the juvenile court is firmly established in American jurisprudence (it is), and young adults are more similar to adolescents than to fully mature adults (they are), it follows that we should be treating young adults more like we treat juveniles under the law.<sup>3</sup> Here are three ways that research and experience suggest it would make sense to do so.

#### **1) Raise the age of family court jurisdiction to 21 or 25**

The most straightforward way to address this issue is to set the family court's jurisdiction at a scientifically justifiable 21 or 25 years old. Lawmakers in the Netherlands did this in April when they raised their family courts' jurisdiction to age 23 and, closer to home, lawmakers in Connecticut and Illinois did so when they raised their family courts' "roof" from ages 16 and 17, respectively, to 18.<sup>4</sup>

Advantages of this approach are that a system already exists equipped with judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and probation staff trained to deal specifically with adolescents. Programming and diversionary options are in place and separate facilities exist, specifically designed for young people. Due to a 52 percent decline in juvenile incarceration from 1997 to 2003, many of these facilities can absorb new populations of young people. This new system should favor community-based placements and, only when necessary, use small, home-like facilities. None of the above will be easy. Young adults constitute 30 percent of arrests and 21 percent of prison admissions, so this expanded system would have to methodically absorb this shift in purpose and size. Furthermore, throughout the country, the juvenile justice system is beset with charges that the rehabilitative ethic is alive in name only, with inadequate programming and "training schools" that are little more than prisons. Still, raising the age of family court jurisdiction to 21 or 25 could be methodically phased-in and absorbed by juvenile justice practitioners over a reasonable time period, thereby improving public safety and youth development outcomes.

#### **2) A third system**

Another option is to create a separate legal system geared toward the developmental and life course realities of emerging adults. This could amount to separate legal codes with shorter sentences; more diversion

and greater confidentiality; separate courtrooms; distinct systems of supervision and community programs; and for the few who need to be confined, separate, rehabilitatively robust correctional facilities.

This third system could include a "youth discount" that creates shorter and more rehabilitative sentences; holding youth accountable while preventing them from becoming too accustomed to either probation or prison. Youth in Finland are eligible for release at one-third of their sentences, and in Sweden, youth under age 21 are not subject to mandatory sentences. In New York, youth sentenced as Youthful Offenders receive the shortest sentencing range and there is an accelerated release option for young prisoners in high-intensity programming.

Judges could sit in special courts designed to individualize sentencing under a penal code that eschews mandatory sentencing and that encourages determinations of "youthful offender" erasing the mark of a criminal conviction (or allowing earned "expungement"). Such a court could be equipped with programming that assists the transition out of home and high school and into the worlds of work, higher education, and marriage/family life.

A new system designed from scratch can be geared toward this population's specific needs. The system could be semi-permeable allowing youth without sufficient maturity to be sent "down" to the juvenile justice system, while waiving more serious or recalcitrant offenders into adult courts (young adults ages 22 to 25 can be "waived down" to family court in Germany, while those ages 18 to 21 start in family court and can be waived up).

The main challenge of such an approach is the resources and effort required to create a separate set of courts, correctional facilities, probation caseloads, and contracted programs distinct from the current juvenile and adult systems. Given the negative outcomes experienced currently by court-involved young people<sup>5</sup>, these challenges appear worth tackling.

#### **3) A legal, systemic, and programmatic package of age appropriate reforms**

Short of raising the family court's age or creating a third system, jurisdictions could establish a network of legal, administrative, and programmatic reforms specific to the needs of young adults. Such reforms should flow from a youth's first contact with the criminal justice system to the last day of reentry. Upon arrest, police could divert youth from formal processing in less serious cases, as in the LEAD program in Seattle for drug offenders or Project Reset for young

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<sup>3</sup> For example, the Council of Europe's Rules for the treatment of juvenile offenders states, "Reflecting the extended transition to adulthood, it should be possible for young adults under the age of 21 to be treated in a way comparable to juveniles and to be subject to the same interventions."

<sup>4</sup> Lawmakers in Connecticut and Illinois "phased in" the age change, so that their system could gradually absorb the new population, something we would suggest doing if such a change were implemented here. Predictions that both systems would be overwhelmed with new cases never materialized.

<sup>5</sup> Seventy-eight percent of 18- to 24-year-olds released from prison are rearrested, and about half return to prison within three years, the highest recidivism rate of any age cohort.

adults in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Probation officers could divert some cases from formal processing as they do in some juvenile justice systems.

Further “downstream,” judges should consider that young adults are less future oriented (making them a worse bet for court appearance) and have fewer resources to pay bail. More aggressive court-reminder programs and neighborhood-based supervision paired with voluntary programming would improve appearance rates, reduce rearrests, and nudge young people along a better path. Jurisdictions involved in the Annie E. Casey’s Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative experimented broadly with such programs with significant success.

Special courts that provide individualized attention with trained personnel would improve the legitimacy of the system for young adults. Improved procedural justice has been shown to improve outcomes, including recidivism. This year, both San Francisco District Attorney George Gascon and the Federal Court for the Southern District of New York launched special courts for young adults.

Such youth courts could be equipped with “youthful offender” laws allowing judges to “adjudicate” instead of “convict” young defendants and expunge convictions after a period of law-abiding behavior. Probation officers serving youth courts should have specialized caseloads, like they do in San Francisco, in which they are trained on the unique needs and challenges of emerging adults.

Finally, if they need to be confined, young adults should have shorter stays, separate from older prisoners, in facilities with education,

workforce development, cognitive behavioral therapy, and productive reintegration programming to reduce recidivism. Simply creating separate facilities without improving programming or design is not likely to improve conditions or outcomes.

While a piecemeal approach might be easier to undertake, this option’s disadvantage is that it can fall short of comprehensively reforming a badly failing system.

## Conclusion

America’s criminal justice system needs to overhaul its work with young, court-involved adults. Young people are less culpable than fully mature adults and developmentally their brain plasticity renders them highly malleable, for the last time. Ignoring their developmental needs, saddling them with lifetime records, and surrounding them with negative inmates/peers invites disaster. We are reaping what we’ve sown as these youth experience diminished prospects for work and family, and disastrous recidivism rates. There is growing innovation overseas and some noteworthy U.S. experiments addressing the challenges and opportunities this transition-aged population presents. These need to go to scale and be studied as our nation rolls back our decades-long experiment with mass incarceration.

*For more information on the treatment of young adults in the justice systems of Europe, visit [www.t2a.org.uk](http://www.t2a.org.uk).*

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## Reinventing American Policing, continued from page 5

their goals. Some agencies have already broken important ground in pursuing these goals with their communities. They should be models for the rest of the country.

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# CEBCP-Police Foundation 2015 Joint Symposium a Success!

More than 300 people participated in the CEBCP-Police Foundation Joint Symposium, August 17-18, at George Mason University. Panels focused on policing and communities of color; new research on body worn cameras; school safety, bullying and prevention; investigations and early warning systems; crime patterns at places and communities; evidence-based policing, translation and receptivity; and the President's Task Force for 21st-Century Policing. See [cebcp.org/cebcp-symposium-2015/](http://cebcp.org/cebcp-symposium-2015/) for more information.



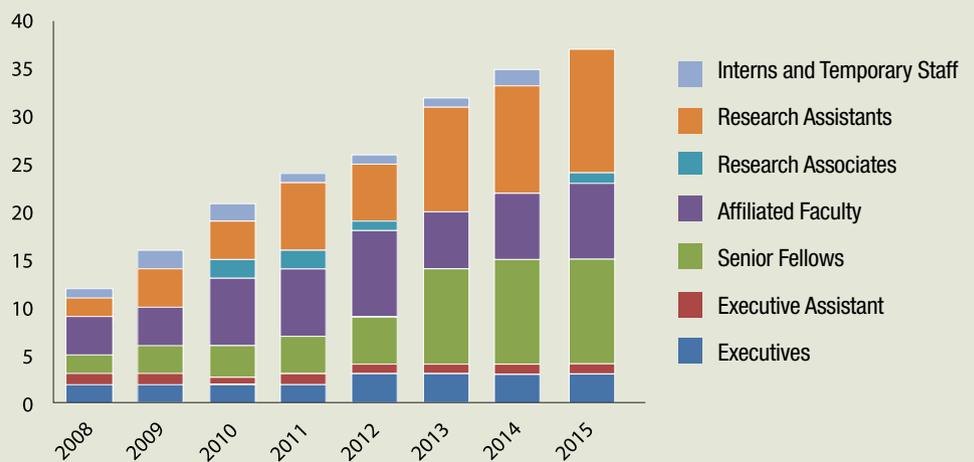
## Team Excellence

Congratulations to the CEBCP for receiving the Team Excellence Award from George Mason University. This award recognizes teams who show excellence in collaboration and customer-oriented service, expansion and dissemination of knowledge, community outreach, and healthy and supportive work environments.



The **Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy** is housed within the **Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University**. We seek to make scientific research a key component in decisions about crime and justice policies. The CEBCP carries out this mission by advancing rigorous studies in criminal justice and criminology through research-practice collaborations, and proactively serving as an informational and translational link to practitioners and the policy community. The CEBCP was founded in 2008 and is home to *Translational Criminology* and the *Matrix*.

## Growth of the CEBCP 2008 - 2015





### Did You Know...

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- Since 2008, the CEBCP has brought in \$9.2 million in grants and contracts, supporting research and innovations in place-based criminology, policing, crime prevention, and criminal justice policy,
- The CEBCP has been one of the largest sources of support for the graduate program in Criminology, Law and Society.
- Five Presidential Scholars and five Provost Scholars, two of the highest scholarships provided to graduate students, have been CEBCP research assistants.
- Seven of our research assistants have won the prestigious Dean's Challenge Award.
- Our Youtube site, clsmason, has been viewed more than 55,000 times.
- We have four research programs housing numerous projects and activities: Crime and Place; Evidence-Based Policing; Systematic Reviews; and Criminal Justice Policy.
- We are home to the Evidence-Based Policing Matrix and the Matrix Demonstration Projects, the LPR webportal, Dave Wilson's Systematic Review toolkit, the eConsortium, and the Crime and Place Working Group.

### Our Community

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**3,270** Number of people who follow the CEBCP

**38** Number of current team members in the CEBCP

**29** Number of symposia, congressional briefings, and special workshops that the CEBCP has provided free to the community since 2008

**\$9.2 million** Total grant portfolio since CEBCP began in 2008



# Promoting Evidence-Based Crime Prevention Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean

BY LAURA JAITMAN AND ROBERTO GUERRERO COMPEÁN

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*Roberto Guerrero Compeán is a Young Professional at the Inter-American Development Bank.*



Laura Jaitman



Roberto Guerrero Compeán

While Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) is home to less than 9 percent of the world population, it accounts for 33 percent of the world's homicides. Its homicide rate of more than 20 per 100,000 population—more than thrice the world average—makes LAC one of the most dangerous places on Earth. On average, 6 out of 10 robberies in Latin America are violent. And while levels of violence are very low or at least decreasing in many parts of the world, LAC is the only region where violence remains high and, since 2005, is intensifying.

On average there are close to 300 police officers per 100,000 population (in the United States the figure is approximately 200). However, the effectiveness of the criminal justice process in LAC is questionable: fewer than 10 percent of homicides in the region are resolved. As incarceration rates have soared, Latin American prisons, with inmate populations more than doubling their designated capacity, have become the most overcrowded of the world. Given the magnitude of these problems and their link to development, it is critical to understand the roots of violence in LAC and support the most cost-effective interventions to prevent and reduce crime.

## **Crime and Violence: A Threat to Development**

The consequences of crime and violence to development are serious and long-lasting. Crime and the fear of crime affect the behavior and quality of life of individuals, constrain the investment decision of firms, undermine the trust in institutions responsible for ensuring safety, and distort the allocation of public and private resources. Crime depreciates the human, physical, and social capital of society and disproportionately affects the poor, eroding their already scant means of living.

Crime is also costly. People pay, in the form of public and private expenditures for security, in anticipation of violence. Crime generates additional responsive costs related to the criminal justice system.

Moreover, crime leads to costly behavioral responses to mitigate the risk of victimization as well as cope with pain and suffering. Overall, crime imposes significant costs on the economy, deemed to absorb between 2 percent and 10 percent of the gross regional product in LAC.

Crime is therefore a social and economic threat and thus needs to be considered to strengthen development in LAC. This is the reason why the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has promoted comprehensive public policies for reducing and preventing crime and violence and delivering safety and justice in 26 countries for almost two decades. IDB's involvement intensified as the Latin American crime pandemic spread. The IDB's Citizen Security and Justice sector has a regional portfolio of about \$900 million in loans and \$50 million in grants.

More specifically, the IDB has supported efforts to tackle crime from a developmental perspective in four different areas: 1) social prevention of crime and violence, championing interventions to mitigate the vulnerability of at-risk youth and women, and to reduce opportunities for situational crime; 2) police strategies to prevent crime, to detect in timely fashion potential crime opportunities and deter offenders through police officers who work with their communities; 3) efficient criminal justice, particularly in terms of strengthening detection, prosecution, and sentencing mechanisms, as well as improving the coverage of rehabilitation programs and alternatives to prison; and 4) citizen security governance to improve inter-sectoral coordination, and optimize the implementation of crime and violence prevention policies.

## **Promoting Evidence-based Crime Prevention Strategies in LAC**

The IDB promotes the application of science to guide its research efforts on the design of policies. This has not always been the case. The IDB transitioned from a discourse of throwing its support behind a succession of fads, with one magic bullet central for a

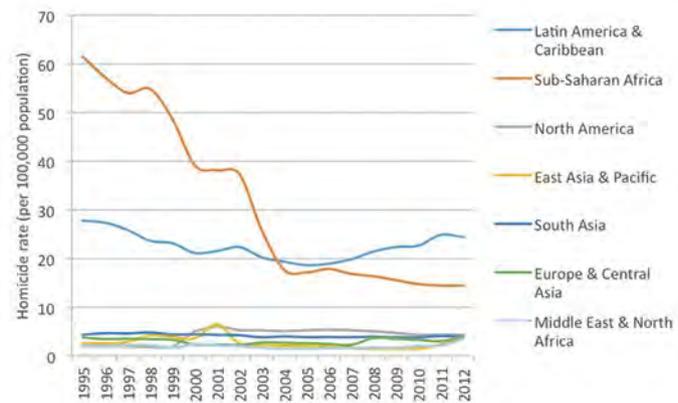
country to prosper replacing another, to a pioneering development practice increasingly based on scientific evaluation. In fact, IDB disbursed large resources for the execution of Progresa, a conditional-cash transfer intervention in Mexico that marked in 1997 the beginning of the current social program evaluation era.

A sound research agenda on citizen security is critical for the IDB to continue its pivotal role of formulating effective citizen security policies. In many instances, the IDB enhances key stakeholders' capacity to generate new knowledge that is more evidence-based. But conducting rigorous research on citizen-security programs is difficult in LAC. Citizen security interventions are often driven by politics, dogma, and emotions. The IDB strategically relies on evaluations that are simultaneously independent to ideological predispositions and transparent and explicit in their methodologies to help countries guide policy formulation and determine where to invest. The IDB has experience in successfully promoting research agendas in the region, as with the case of conditional cash transfer policies.

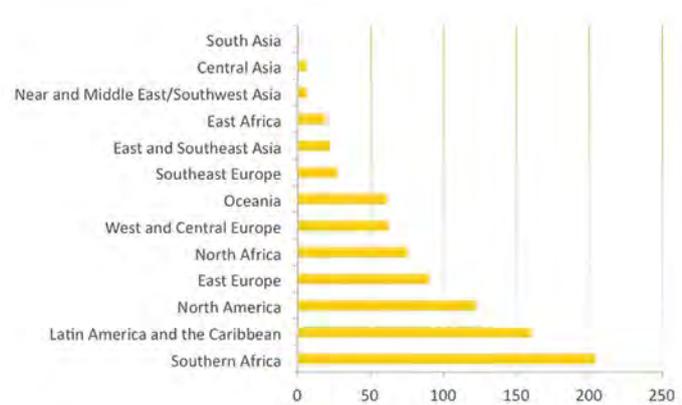
However, the challenges in implementing a more evidence-based approach to crime policy in LAC mirror many of the problems faced by countries, states, cities, and organizations trying to improve their practices with research. One challenge is political: security in the developing world is a sensitive topic closely related to public opinion and political concerns. The dissemination of research projects is often obstructed when the projects run counter to established political gains, expose corruption, or simply are considered by political operators to undermine society's perception of security. Long-term relationships between the IDB and LAC governments help to mitigate some of these drawbacks.

But perhaps the most evident problem is deficient information systems, which result in scarce and unreliable data. Crime statistics in LAC are fragmented, inconsistent, and aggregated to only the most macro levels. A lack of information and weak national statistics systems on crime in the region thwarts accurate diagnosis, monitoring, and evaluation of crime and the interventions to counter crime. To overcome this problem, the IDB has worked across the region to improve data generation and dissemination processes in a number of ways:

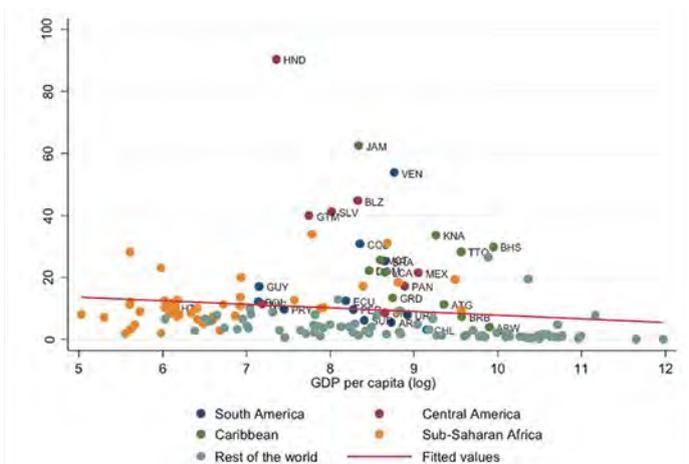
1. Providing dialogue platforms to create awareness on this issue
2. Supporting the implementation of standardized regional data systems
3. Strengthening and creating crime observatories with national and sub-national partners
4. Building operational capacity to produce better information and put in place information systems
5. Advancing knowledge in understudied issues, like victimization in the Caribbean and violence against women
6. Advocating for an institutionalized agenda on measuring the costs of crime and violence



**Figure 1. Intentional Homicides, 1995–2012. Rates per 100,000 people.**  
Source: Jaitman and Guerrero Compeán (2015)



**Figure 2. Robberies, 2006 or latest rate. Median rates per 100,000 population.**  
Source: Jaitman and Guerrero Compeán (2015)



**Figure 3. Homicide Rate and Gross Domestic Product per Person, 2012 (or latest year available).**  
Source: Jaitman (2015)

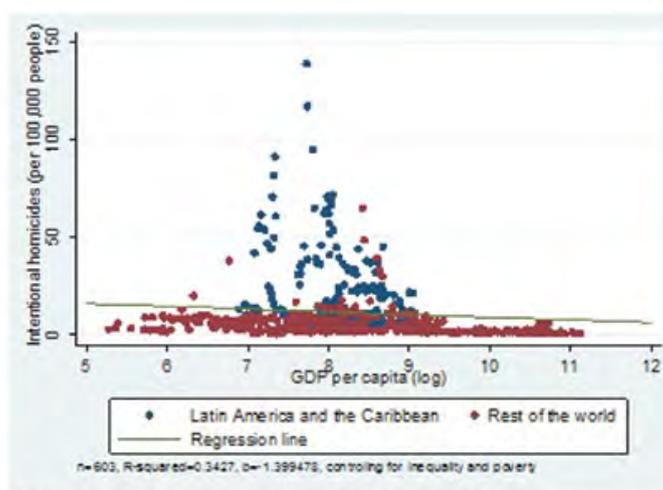
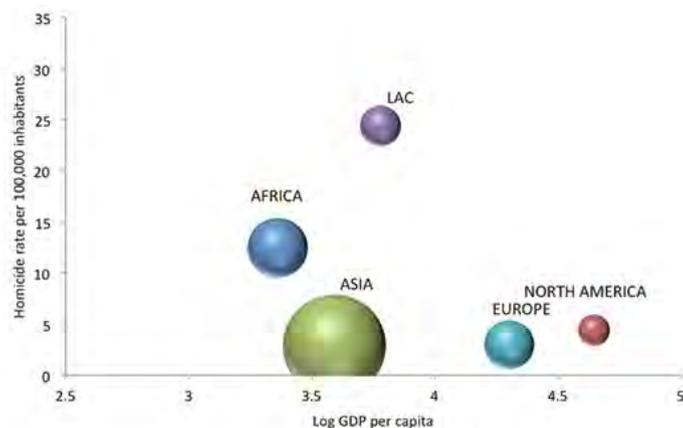
Related directly to the availability of data is the problem of the scarcity of available scholarly work on citizen security to build upon in LAC. The literature is plagued by misleading analyses that simply compare program beneficiaries to nonbeneficiaries using flawed methodologies. There are critical gaps in research knowledge about crime and violence in LAC of great importance to which the IDB can contribute. A move towards a more evidence-based crime policy paradigm requires improvement in the quality of evidence, which the IDB aims to accomplish by supporting experimental or quasi-experimental techniques for evaluation. In particular, we are expanding our portfolio of randomized controlled trials in social prevention policies. Our agenda includes assessing the effect of optimum curricula and multi-level behavioral interventions. We are particularly interested in those combining education or employability trainings with life skills to strengthen resilience to crime, which combine scientific research with the IDB's longstanding contributions in implementing such policies across the region. Studying the role of anti-poverty programs on crime is also part of this research agenda. Finally, the IDB is conducting research on the link between ethnicity and crime, given that both victims and perpetrators are concentrated in disadvantaged communities with a high proportion of ethnic minorities.

Another area of vital importance to the IDB is the study of violence against women. On this topic, the IDB pursues a threefold agenda. First, the IDB endorses national violence-against-women surveys to tackle underreporting of domestic violence. Second, we continue our involvement in advocacy campaigns, with research efforts to assess their impact on health and violence outcomes. Third, the IDB promotes research based on our current operational work, with a focus on the direct and indirect impacts of centers for women, education services, conditional cash transfers, and treatment for aggressors.

The IDB is also well positioned to produce solid research on situational prevention in Latin American cities, with proven experience in implementing comprehensive citizen-security projects as components of slum upgrading and other urban interventions. We have identified research opportunities to evaluate the mechanisms that make public transport safer, especially for women.

There are still gaps in knowledge about police crime-prevention efforts as many police strategies have still to be rigorously tested. Here, our emphasis is on the role of police in terms of deterrence rather than incapacitation, because the latter necessarily requires higher imprisonment rates and overcrowding is recurrent in the region. Furthermore, community policing and problem-oriented policing are features of police reforms many countries in the region are pursuing with the support of the IDB. Thus, evaluations in those areas will be prioritized. Moreover, the IDB is actively implementing reforms in training and the role of technology in policing, and their evaluation is essential for an effective policy formulation.

*Continued on page 19*



Linear regression with time fixed-effects.

Figures 4-6. Intentional Homicides, 2012. Source: Jaitman (2015).

# Improving Academic-Police Partnerships: Observations and Suggestions from a Long-Term Partnership in Portland, Oregon

BY KRIS HENNING AND GREG STEWART

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Kris Henning



Greg Stewart

The integration of data analysis and scientific methodologies into the practice of law enforcement has advanced considerably in recent decades. At the same time, there is still considerable room for further improvement. Specific recommendations that have been offered for advancing the science of policing include: 1) expanding police agencies' internal capacity for data collection, data analysis, and research design; and 2) broadening practitioners' access to academic scholarship (Lum, Telep, Koper, & Grieco, 2012; Rojek, Smith, & Alpert, 2012; Sparrow, 2011; Weisburd & Neyroud, 2011). A third strategy for advancing police science is partnerships between academics and police practitioners. Successful partnerships are hard to develop and can be even harder to sustain over time. Having collaborated now for more than 10 years on a variety of topics, we would like to offer academics several pieces of advice for working with law enforcement agencies.

The knowledge and skills that academic researchers have brought to bear on a variety of public safety topics has contributed significantly to our understanding of crime. The impact of this scholarship on law enforcement policies and practices by contrast is debatable. Police practitioners rarely access academic journals where research studies are archived and academics are not uniformly skilled at making their work accessible to lay audiences (Lum, Telep, Koper, & Grieco, 2012; Rojek, Smith, & Alpert 2012). These challenges are mitigated to some degree when academics develop long-term research partnerships with police practitioners. For practitioners, an effective partnership provides access to the scholarly literature, enhances their research and data analysis skills, and helps them take ownership of the scientific process. Academics involved in long-term collaborations gain access to data, practical experience, and the opportunity to test theories in applied settings. Based on the success of prior academic-practitioner partnerships, the federal government

has sought to expand collaborations through several recent grant programs (e.g., SACSI, PSN, and SPI).

Unfortunately, most academic-practitioner partnerships in law enforcement are short-term, and more often than not, they involve relatively little collaboration (Rojek, Smith, & Alpert, 2012). The most common scenario involves an academic who independently develops his/her research idea and then solicits the cooperation of commanders from the local police department. Gaining cooperation can prove difficult in the absence of a longstanding relationship, especially the cooperation of first line supervisors and street officers (Grieco, Vovak, & Lum, 2014).

This has led experienced criminal justice scholars to offer newer academics recommendations for working with police agencies (e.g., Alpert, Rojek, & Hansen, 2013; Grieco, Vovak, & Lum, 2014; Rosenfeld, 2014). These suggestions are undoubtedly of great value to academics who are working to establish their first research collaborations. We believe, however, that effective partnerships require something else—something that is rarely discussed in academic circles or the existing literature on academic-police collaborations. University professors seeking to conduct research in police agencies need to fully appreciate the practitioners' experience of being subjected to scientific scrutiny and the cost/benefit ratio of research participation for each party. This is especially true for entry- and mid-level police employees who are often directed by their superiors to participate in research projects without true consent (i.e., "volun-told").

By way of illustration, think about your current position if you already work as a professor in academia. If you are employed in another field, think about what it might be like to work as a professor at a large public research university.

*Imagine that a group of scientists from the local police department, people with very little if any experience in the day-to-day operations of a university, have repeatedly asked to conduct research at your institution. These “outsiders” have a longstanding (and frequently voiced) belief that most of the core activities of your job are ineffective and that universities are doing a poor job preparing students to work in law enforcement. Several of the police scientists have already published papers denouncing traditional instructional methods used by most university professors, including the methods you use in your own classes.*

*Imagine further that some of these police scientists are primarily interested in studying topics that would be highly controversial: topics that would make your profession look bad in the eyes of the public. They want to do research on academic fraud, sexual relationships between faculty and students, racial and gender biases in advising, and grade inflation.*

*Eventually two of the more ambitious scientists from the local police department are able to convince your university administrators that professors have considerable free time. They have colored graphs showing that professors actually spend very little time in direct contact with students, about 8 to 12 hours at most per week. Without consulting you or your colleagues, the police scientists and university administrators design a new teaching initiative that will add considerably to your time in the classroom.*

*Unfortunately, this extra work does not come with relief from your other duties or with any additional compensation: The only money available for this project is being used to compensate the police scientists. It does, however, come with additional paperwork. All the professors will be asked to complete complicated ratings forms to document their interactions with students. To ensure that you adhere to these new instructional practices, the scientists have arranged for observers to come to your classes on a regular basis.*

*Understandably, you are upset at the prospects of having your everyday interactions monitored by these outsiders. When you communicate your concerns to the project director you are assured that no one will be personally identified in the final research reports. Nevertheless, you are pretty sure that everyone will know that the “large public university in the Pacific Northwest” is your school. So if the results turn out badly, it will be you and your colleagues that everyone will be talking about at next year’s policing conferences.*

Our hope with the above scenario is that it helps academics develop a better understanding of any resistance they experience conducting research in law enforcement settings, particularly from rank-and-file employees. Practitioners bear unique burdens and risks from research partnerships that are rarely shared by academics directing these studies.

Indeed, we are confident that most professors would not submit to this type of intrusion into their own workplace, despite the fact that research has raised concerns about the limited educational gains made by many undergraduate students (e.g., Arum & Roksa, 2011).

The rewards associated with research collaborations also favor academics. Academics gain access to data, exposure, opportunities to publish, and potential grant funding regardless of a study’s outcome. In fact, the rewards from exposing shortcomings in a given police practice are often greater than those for confirming that a practice is effective. Conversely, the rewards of research participation are less tangible for most employees in law enforcement agencies. At best, they may feel some sense of pride in knowing whether their activities



are empirically supported. Even higher-ranking administrators who supported a research study may find the rewards elusive. By the time projects are completed, commanders and supervisors have often retired or been reassigned to a different unit.

So what does all of this say about academic-practitioner partnerships and efforts to advance the science of policing? We agree with others (e.g., Ritter, 2007; Hansen, Alpert, & Rojek, 2014) that partnerships have and will continue to contribute significantly to the professionalization of law enforcement. Initiating and sustaining these relationships over time and making them mutually rewarding is the challenge. Here are a few things that academics can do to develop effective long-term partnerships with law enforcement agencies.

First, we encourage academics to be fully cognizant of the risks agencies face in agreeing to partner on research studies. Academics should think carefully about any study they are proposing. Imagine if the roles were reversed: Would you want to participate in the study? If the answer is no, then you have learned something important about how your study will be received by practitioners. This might lead to changes in the focus or methodological design of your study, or at the very least, how you present it to the agency.

Second, if academics want to feel valued by police employees, they need to value the knowledge and experience practitioners have from the real world. Academics can seek practitioners’ input on appropriate research topics rather than generating these topics largely on their

own. They can also provide opportunities for practitioners at all ranks to collaborate in designing and implementing studies.

Third, more can be done to share the rewards associated with the scientific process. This includes splitting grant funds, jointly authoring papers, and co-presenting at conferences and media events. Perhaps a more tangible reward for entry- and mid-level police employees is for research partnerships to focus on problems that are pertinent to their day-to-day operations. New policies and practices are much easier to implement and sustain over time when they make people's work easier or more rewarding in some way.

Finally, we believe that effective research partnerships are easier to develop and maintain when law enforcement employees at all levels understand, value, and are equipped to collaborate in the scientific process. This requires training in research methodology and data analysis. Undergraduate programs, particularly criminal justice, have a lot to offer in this regard. Unfortunately, policing scholars rarely draw connections between the effectiveness of their undergraduate curriculum and their success in partnering with local agencies. If we hope to advance police science through stronger academic-practitioner partnerships, universities need to do more to advance the science of teaching evidence-based policing to future law enforcement personnel.

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## Crime Prevention Policies, continued from page 16

Finally, in terms of criminal justice, the IDB is building a solid body of evidence pointing to the ineffectiveness of imprisonment and most forms of extreme disciplinary mechanisms, particularly in the case of minors and low-risk individuals. The IDB emphasizes research on the use of alternative approaches to prosecution, such as electronic monitoring, community-work programs, drug courts, restorative justice meetings, cognitive behavioral therapies, and reentry initiatives. Surveys in penitentiary centers, which stimulate much-needed applied analysis on the criminal justice system, are planned to be implemented in some countries with IDB support. Last but not least, the IDB endorses research on the cost-effectiveness of alternative criminal justice interventions. For example, little is known in terms of the mechanisms that lead to a decline in recidivism through rehabilitation programs, and this is one of the IDB's research priorities as a result.

Evidence-based approaches have not always been the bedrock of development policy. Slowly but surely, however, the success that these approaches had previously with medicine are starting to become recognized in the public policy arena as well. The IDB promotes research of the highest standards possible in each case, guided by the relevance of the issue and prioritized in terms of the demands from our country counterparts, the gaps in the literature, and our comparative advantages. The IDB is pushing an evidence-based research citizen security and justice agenda because we believe that, by being closely linked to our own operational agenda, rigorous analysis that considers idiosyncratic and practical constraints is ensured. This enables innovative and effective policy designs, which are technically solid, close to the needs of the countries, and institutionally executable. The agenda is broad, comprehensive, and complex.

*For those interested in joining us in these endeavors, please contact us at [ljaitman@iadb.org](mailto:ljaitman@iadb.org).*

# School Safety Research: Where Do We Go From Here?

BY WILLIAM MODZELESKI, CHARLOTTE GILL, AND ANTHONY PETROSINO

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William Modzeleski



Charlotte Gill



Anthony Petrosino

American schools today are safer than they have ever been, but high-profile mass shootings such as the 2012 massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School continue to raise concerns about the safety of students and staff. In response to these concerns, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy and WestEd hosted a Congressional Briefing on School Safety and Crime Prevention in February 2015 to bring succinct research summaries in key areas of school safety to the Capitol Hill policy community.

Two key messages emerged from the briefing. First, school shootings, while high-impact, are rare. Students and schools face a range of daily challenges that pose a more consistent threat to safety and a positive learning environment, such as bullying, cyber-bullying, depression, and mental health issues. At the same time, schools grapple with the disparate impact of discipline policies, which are often influenced by race, gender, and disability status and the role of exclusionary punishments such as out-of-school suspension in the “school-to-prison pipeline.” Second, an evidence base is emerging around effective programs and practices for preventing school violence and discipline issues and improving school climate; for example, Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS), the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, and other data-driven, research-based approaches.

The reaction to the briefing was overwhelmingly positive, underscoring the importance of the topic to the policy community. But it only scratched the surface of the safety issues facing schools. We not only need to learn more about both the problems facing schools and the best practices for dealing with them, but we also need to keep the issue a priority on the government’s agenda. Tragedies like Sandy Hook galvanize policy responses in the short term, but they can fade over time until the next high-profile incident. In this article, we ask what additional research is needed and how it should be conducted and translated for the schools to have the maximum impact on practice.

## Furthering research on school safety

Research on school safety was limited until FY 2014 when Congress appropriated \$75 million to support the National Institute of Justice Comprehensive School Safety Initiative (a further \$75 million was appropriated in FY 2015). This funding has been used to support research and evaluation projects specifically on school safety. Prior to 2014, funding for school safety research was fragmented and generally limited to modest support of program evaluations funded by the Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Justice.

Although these evaluations provided a general sense of the effectiveness of broad-based programming such as mentoring or drug testing, the results were not always conclusive about what works, firm recommendations were elusive, and studies did not always address the issues confronting front-line professionals working on school safety and security. Furthermore, research studies often take years to complete and be published. In the absence of high-quality research on effective practices, the field often defaulted to the opinions of experts, organizations, and politicians. This was most recently illustrated by the flood of federal funding to support the hiring of new School Resource Officers (SROs) after Sandy Hook with no research basis as to whether a law enforcement presence in schools would effectively prevent school shootings or have negative consequences, such as increased arrest for disciplinary issues.

Decision-making about effective programs, policies, and practices should not be based solely on opinions, unless those opinions are informed by quality research. But with such a wide range of challenges facing schools, “quality research” does not necessarily mean that random assignment is the only type of research we engage in. We need a range of data and analysis, from randomized controlled trials and quasi-experiments with comparison groups to case studies and white papers. Further, the research agenda should be driven by the relevance of topics and research designs that meet the needs of

the field. Research should support teaching and learning, fit within the school day, and not burden schools with excessive funding or retraining requirements. Studies should produce timely results and be replicable.

Researchers and funding agencies alike should consider a multidisciplinary approach to school safety research, ensuring a range of agencies and organizations are involved in the design and implementation of research to tackle problems from multiple angles. This includes learning from countries other than the United States that have made advances we can adopt here. Finally, we need to make the most efficient use of the funding available for new research. Instead of duplicating research in areas that already have a strong evidence base, such as PBIS, we need to start identifying and filling in the gaps.

### **Where are the gaps in school safety research?**

In this section, we provide a list of gaps in school safety research we have identified from our research and policy experience and why we think they are important next steps in the research agenda.

### **What is the most appropriate response to an Active School Shooter Incident?**

Many schools are now engaged in designing Active School Shooter Drills, but none of the practices have been evaluated. Some may prove to be more harmful than helpful.

### **What are the most effective school safety training mechanisms?**

Each year federal, state, and local governments, including school districts, spend considerable funding on training teachers, administrators, law enforcement officers, mental health workers, and numerous others. While we know that lots of people are being trained we still do not know a lot about the effectiveness of the training.

### **Are there any alternatives to traditional school policing strategies such as SROs?**

Many schools now use SROs, but they are expensive and can increase the use of punitive disciplinary measures. Are there more effective and less costly strategies for using law enforcement in schools?

### **Can current threat assessment strategies be used to identify youth on the pathway to engaging in violent extremism?**

A growing number of schools use threat assessments to identify students on a pathway to violence, but we do not yet know whether these strategies effectively identify violent extremism.

### **What should the next generation of threat assessment strategies look like?**

Current threat assessment strategies are based on the findings of the U.S. Secret Service–Department of Education school shooters study, published more than 10 years ago (Vossekuil et al., 2002; see also Modzeleski et al., 2014). Do cultural changes since then, such as the growth of social media, affect current strategy?

### **What are the most effective strategies for keeping firearms out of schools?**

Approximately 37,000 violations of the Gun Free Schools Act were reported over a 13-year period. Having this many firearms in our schools places students and staff in danger of serious injury and death.

### **Are there positive or negative consequences of dealing with student misbehavior inside and outside of school?**

While schools are reviewing sanctions for misbehavior and minor crimes that occur in schools, similar actions that occur out of school may elicit a more punitive response. What effect does this “double standard” have on students?

### **What are the pros and cons of using social media to monitor behaviors of students?**

Many schools are turning to social media to monitor the behavior of their students, but the effects of this strategy have not been evaluated. Both positive and negative effects should be understood before dramatically increasing the practice.

### **Can social media be used to prevent or mitigate consequences of inappropriate or criminal behavior?**

Many of the prevention programs used by schools were developed before the advent of social media. Since more students likely have access to social media than they do to prevention programs, can we tap into this resource to prevent inappropriate behaviors?<sup>1</sup>

### **Can technological advances brought on by recent wars be useful to schools?**

Wars have typically brought about technological advances that have been converted to non-military purposes, such as robotics and drones. Are any of these advances useful or practical for schools?

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<sup>1</sup> Another example is the Campus Shield program, currently being evaluated in Miami-Dade County, which uses Facebook and other social media as a way to identify school safety threats (Moffett & Garcia, 2015).

### **What should we do when students who may be on a pathway to hurting themselves or others change schools or drop out?**

Students who drop out of school are often forgotten the moment they withdraw, and when students transfer or graduate, information about their behavioral issues and treatments often does not follow them. Unfortunately, this can have tragic consequences. Is there a better way to deal with these students?

### **How do charter and private schools deal with violence and misbehavior?**

The number of charter schools is rapidly increasing, and they have a mandate to engage in innovative practices. Are these schools, or other private schools, doing anything innovative to address climate and safety issues? If so, is it working? Can effective practices be transferred to public schools?

### **What should school security look like in 2020 and 2025?**

Many of our current strategies are a hodgepodge of programs, practices, and policies cobbled together to address an immediate problem. Few decision-makers had the luxury of looking down the road to assess how our current actions affect where we want to be in the future.

### **Where do we go from here?**

It is not enough to simply list a set of topics for future research, or even to conduct that research. Once the research is completed we need to know how to translate it for the school setting and ensure that decision-makers and educators view safety as a priority issue. Researchers cannot assume that practitioners will automatically read their research. Researchers and research funders need to design an effective plan for disseminating findings that ensures each individual study is “marketed” to the target audience and written in an accessible format. When research reports are long, do not use plain English, or do not tell practitioners what the findings mean to them in the school environment, they are likely to sit on the shelf. Findings should be distilled into “bulletin” format (4-5 pages) and other nontraditional formats such as online learning communities. Reports should focus on actions needed, rationale for those actions, and a roadmap for taking the required actions, not on theory or methodology.

Even when research does reach the schools, we need to do more than tell them: “This is what you have to do, so do it!” Any research that

calls for change in policies, programs, or practices should be supplemented with **training and technical assistance** (TA) that provides guidance on how to accomplish the recommended changes. TA can range from on-site training to webcasts to written bulletins to social

media sites that provide clear direction on how to accomplish recommended changes.

Finally, all research should include recommendations for how to **conduct a local evaluation**. While it is essential to provide training on “how” to implement new research findings, it is also essential that any new research provide guidance to the field on how to evaluate those new practices, programs, or policies. Further, the evaluation strategy must be one that practitioners can implement without the

infusion of a significant amount of additional resources (staff or funds).

We thank Trevor Fronius of WestEd for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

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## Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Inductees

From left to right: James Burch II (formerly of the U.S. Department of Justice, currently of the Police Foundation), Tony Farrar (Rialto Police Department), Sean Malinowski (Los Angeles Police Department), Michael Reese (retired, Portland Police Bureau), and William Taylor (Lowell Police Department)

# Distinguished Achievement Award In Evidence-Based Crime Policy

Herman Goldstein (University of Wisconsin Law School)

Wesley Skogan (Northwestern University)



# The Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy

*The Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy is the highest honor given by the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) each year in recognition of outstanding achievements and contributions by individuals in academia, practice, or the policy arena who are committed to a leadership role in advancing the use of scientific research evidence in decisions about crime and justice policies. This year's award winners are Herman Goldstein, a professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin School of Law, and Wesley Skogan, a professor at Northwestern University.*

## **Herman Goldstein Acceptance Remarks**

I greatly appreciate the recognition extended to me by the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy by honoring me with your Distinguished Achievement Award. I'm especially appreciative to David, Cynthia, and the other members of the awards committee for nominating me to receive the award.

Your kindness in making the award has been an occasion for me to engage in some reflections—on the evolution of the center, on our common interests, and on my own hopes for the future development of policing—and I wanted to share them with you here.

The CEBCP has, in its relatively short history, emerged as playing a central leadership role in the refinement of strategies for dealing with crime. By bringing to bear expertise of the highest order from the field of criminology, the center has assured that the policing field has the benefit of all of the extensive research that has been done—and continues to be done—by that discipline. Most important from my standpoint, CEBCP has, as one of its central goals, developed concentrated resources to bear on the evaluation of emerging police strategies. In doing so, it has aggressively engaged with practitioners, making great strides to fill more systematically the gap that has long existed between police practitioners and those—largely from the academic field—who have the skills with which to guide and develop research relating to the police. It has been extraordinarily productive in making a mass of high-quality research available and of direct benefit to practitioners.

I have seen many connections between my own work as a long-time student of policing as an institution and the more specialized, intensive work of the CEBCP. Over the past four decades, I've strongly advocated that the police focus their reform efforts more directly on improving their effectiveness and fairness in dealing with the diverse range of behavioral problems they are expected to handle and that they commit themselves in a more targeted way to critical analysis of these problems and their response to them. The CEBCP, by applying rigorous research methods to the

evaluation of newly emerging strategies, has injected new vigor at the ultimate stages in this overall process. I've welcomed these efforts. In my own concept of the future development of policing as an institution, I've argued that all of the more traditional concerns—about organization, personnel, leadership, training, and procedures—should be shaped to support and be informed by our increased knowledge about the ultimate effectiveness and fairness of police operations.

As we look forward, I'm hopeful, stimulated by the flurry of attention focused on policing in recent months, that the policing field will increasingly commit itself, from the bottom up, to thinking analytically and creatively, and in much greater depth, about its day-to-day work. The police—from officers on the street to chief executives—have so much to contribute and so much to gain from adopting this posture. An enormous amount of work remains to be done, in the “trenches,” toward encouraging and eliciting such a commitment, in “getting the ball rolling” and in constant “sifting and winnowing” of the results of their efforts. Much depends on their engagement. As these efforts spread and mature, facilitated by the greater use of the skills of trained analysts within police agencies, I'm hopeful that a steadily increasing portion of police business will be subject to higher-levels of analysis. The CEBCP is playing a leadership role toward this goal, by engaging in collaborative work between practitioners and academics, by encouraging others to follow their example, and in making the results of their own research so easily accessible to practitioners as guidance for sharpening their operations. All of the elements in this progressive model, taken together, have great promise for building a body of knowledge that will enable the police to meet more effectively the heavy and challenging demands on them for the policing of a complex, diverse, and free society.

I'm especially honored to have shared this year's award with Wesley Skogan, for whom I have the highest regard as one of the true pioneers in conceptualizing and seeking to evaluate innovations in policing. I extend my best wishes for the continued efforts of the CEBCP, and for the success of the symposium.

## **Wesley Skogan Acceptance Remarks**

I'd like very much to thank the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy for this award. Their partnership with the Police Foundation is obviously very important in our professional lives. They're important in terms of the debate that's going on right now in this country about the future of policing.

My first job was in a political science department, and I'm in a political science department to this day. I started off teaching urban politics at Macalester College in Saint Paul, Minnesota, at the end of the 1960s.

It was noticeable even then that policing was a big political issue. It was a big item in the city's budgets, always the second after the school system. Police were always in the headlines and a big source of political problems for mayors. The end of the 1960s was also a time of great political and cultural ferment. Restaurants would post signs saying "No hippies allowed." It was a time of nasty law and order politics. About the time I went into Macalester College, across the country, police chiefs were running for mayor and being elected on tough law and order platforms.

In Philadelphia, Frank Rizzo, the chief of police, was elected mayor. In the town I was living in, Minneapolis, Charles Stenvig, who was the police chief, ran, defeated the political establishment, and was elected mayor. And there I was, new to all of this. I read a little bit, because a little bit was all there was to read about policing in those days. And then I dropped by my local police station to say hello. Well, that was the end of that because, of course, I couldn't get past the front desk. College professors were in the same category as hippies, yuppies, and other generally unwashed people, and with Weathermen and bomb throwers of all stripes. So I retreated to aggregate data and surveys for a while and started to build a research program around crime and policing. Later, I changed jobs and went to Northwestern, and on the strength of my interest in surveys, I ended up with a two-year visiting fellowship at the National Institute of Justice. That's where I worked on the national victimization surveys and the surveys that were conducted in 26 cities, and that's where I discovered ASC. It was much more interesting than political science, debating much more interesting kinds of policy questions.

My work has generally been motivated by two concerns. First of all, it has always been community-oriented. That reflects the influence of Northwestern's Institute for Policy Research and its previous incarnations, where I've had appointments, thus my work on victimization and fear of crime, on neighborhood disorder and the impact of disorder in community life, and on community-based crime prevention. I did a lot of work in the 1970s and '80s with Dennis Rosenbaum on the attempts by community groups working on their own to try to tackle crime and fear problems in the neighborhoods. Then came community policing, and then procedural justice policing, which is my latest concern. All of these topics have a very strong community orientation. Sometimes, I was a cops and robbers person. Usually, I was a communities person. I was never a robbers person. I'm not a criminologist. I'm in a political science department, and don't forget that.

The second feature of my work is that it has always been program oriented. In my book *Disorder and Decline*, there was a whole section titled "Dealing with Disorder." There I talked about policing programs and the attempts of community organizations to capture

control of neighborhood life. In terms of crime victims, I worked with Rob Davis at Vera (and now the Police Foundation) and others on evaluating the victim service programs. I've always asked the question, "Does It work?" but I start with the "It." "IT" for me is two capital letters. "What exactly was the program?" is actually my first question; in reality, on the ground, not from the press release, what really did they do out there? And, what were the politics involved in the origins of the program? Policies are just politics by another means, and so what was the political basis for spending all of this money? All interesting programs are political programs. It's always been my own political analysis that I featured, in terms of describing the programs that I've been evaluating or concerned with. Remember, I have a political science union card, so I get to do that. And then finally, how much did it cost, and how did they raise the money to do it? If it's an interesting program, it's not going to be cheap. Understanding where the money came from is a very important part of understanding the program.

To end up with the present, I once attended a small meeting with Egon Bittner, whose work all of you know. I'm old enough to actually have known Egon. In about 2000, I asked him what he thought had been the biggest changes that he'd seen in policing in his lifetime. He had one answer, which was interestingly, "I can get in the front door." That is, in Egon's lifetime, and in my lifetime, our ability to get in the front door has been a huge shift in policing. I've been around long enough that that would be one of my answers to that question as well.

Whereas in Minneapolis in the 1960s, I couldn't get past the front desk, 15 years later, I went out at night on a raid with an undercover narcotics investigation in the Desire Housing Project in New Orleans. I was evaluating them. Recently, I interviewed 700 Chicago police officers in 22 police districts all over the city and no one at police headquarters ever thought to ask me, "Well, what's in your questionnaire?" They never looked at it in advance. It was only afterwards, when I met with the chief to tell him what I found, that he said, "Well, it shows what it shows." So the accessibility of policing to research and evaluation has been an enormous change that us older guys all would recognize right away.

Of course, police chiefs are still running for mayor. Around the 2000s, for example, Tom Potter was elected mayor of Portland; Clarence Harmon ran for mayor, but lost in St. Louis; Jerry Sanders was elected mayor for a couple of terms in San Diego; Lee Brown served two terms as mayor of Houston. Police chiefs were still at it, but what's interesting is they all ran as reformers. They all ran characterizing themselves as friends of the people. They brought community policing to their cities, they brought police reform in their cities. That change in the politics of policing—at least for the top—to me would be the second thing that I've observed in my career. I can get in the front door and police want us in the front door, and that's a really huge change as well.

Thank you very much for this honor.



## 2016 CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

### *for the Distinguished Achievement Award and the Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame*

Nominations for the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy's two awards are now open and are due February 1, 2016. For more information and to view requirements for each award, visit [www.cebc.org](http://www.cebc.org).

### PREVIOUS AWARD WINNERS

#### Distinguished Achievement Award

Jeffrey Beard  
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Tony Farrar	Mark Newton	William Taylor
Dan Flynn	Peter Neyroud	James Whalen
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# Hot off the Press: Recent Publications from CEBCP

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