

Translational Criminology

FALL 2016

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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Photos by Evan Cantwell

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FROM THE DIRECTORS

This year has been a busy and challenging one with many new projects for the CEBCP. For that reason we have decided to postpone our annual symposium until June of 2017. We look forward to catching up with everyone then, with exciting panels on cutting-edge research and current events. This September we held our ninth annual Congressional Briefing in collaboration with our colleagues at WestEd, on the subject of violence and violence prevention, at the U.S. Capitol. This event again brought together the top minds in this area to share new research to the policy community using our now familiar briefing format. In total, our events and symposia over the last eight years have successfully disseminated research to thousands of individuals and have helped facilitate countless partnerships, collaborations, and creative ideas. We thank everyone for their participation in these events, and George Mason University and our partners for supporting them.

We also have exciting news to share. Four of our top graduate research assistants received their PhDs this year from the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at Mason, where CEBCP is housed. They include Breanne Cave (who was highlighted in the Spring 2016 issue of *TC*), Alese Wooditch, Julie Grieco, and Heather Vovak, who we highlight in this issue. They are a major testament to our center's and department's success—training, graduating, and placing new criminologists dedicated to keeping research relevant in criminal justice policy and practice. Please join us in congratulating them!

The articles in this issue of *TC* reflect two important themes in evidence-based crime policy. The first is the importance of international knowledge exchange, highlighting the link between the CEBCP and the Scottish Institute for Policing Research. Different countries have much to offer each other in terms of new and cutting-edge research and lessons learned about implementing evidence-based practices in various settings. In this issue, we hear from William Graham of Abertay University about the benefits and challenges in transferring a pulling levers/Ceasefire approach from Cincinnati to Glasgow. While Graham's account is a cautionary one, the international exchange itself led to beneficial learning opportunities. Megan O'Neill from the University of Dundee and Liz Aston from Edinburgh Napier University provide results from their study on stop-question-and-frisk in Scotland. Although Scottish law on stop-and-frisks differs from the United States, both countries share similar community concerns about the use of the tactic. Their research adds to the evidence-base in this area and yields policy considerations that the United States can benefit from.

Finally, readers can learn about the new International Summer School for Policing Scholars (ISSPS) for doctoral students studying policing and police research translation developed by Nicholas Fyfe

and Cynthia Lum and implemented this summer with Christopher Koper of the CEBCP and Cody Telep (Arizona State University). Building international exchanges

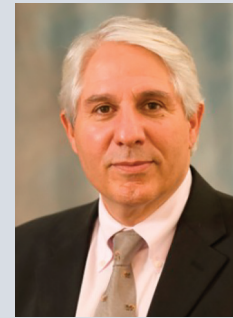
within evidence-based crime policy also requires sustaining efforts by mentoring and training newer scholars in research and translation—a goal of the faculty of the ISSPS.

Our second theme centers on crime prevention strategies that try to create more positive interactions between the police and people. Deputy Director Charlotte Gill and her colleagues discuss the difficulties of combining community-based strategies with a hot-spots policing approach in Seattle, Washington. Sharing why programs don't work is as important as publishing our successes, and Gill et al. explore valuable lessons they learned. Tarrick McGuire and Carlin Caliman discuss the idea of police-involved mentorship programs in Arlington, Texas, by describing the Mentoring Arlington Youth Program, as well as the prospects of mentoring more generally. Finally, Megan Price from George Mason University and LaTrivette Young from the Loudoun County Sheriff's Office describe a program called Insight Policing, which tries to bring a conflict perspective to interactions police officers have with citizens. Each of these articles emphasizes that generating research is not enough to implement evidence-based crime policy focused on communities and citizens. Considering how community policing, mentorship or critical thinking and inquiry are incorporated into everyday policing activities is the key.

All of these features are examples of how research evidence is used (and challenged) in practice, which has been the anchoring theme of *Translational Criminology* since its first issue. We hope you enjoy this issue of *Translational Criminology* and welcome new ideas for future issues.

David Weisburd, Executive Director

Cynthia Lum, Director and Editor of *Translational Criminology*



Criminology, Law and Society

MA and PhD Programs

HIGHLIGHTS

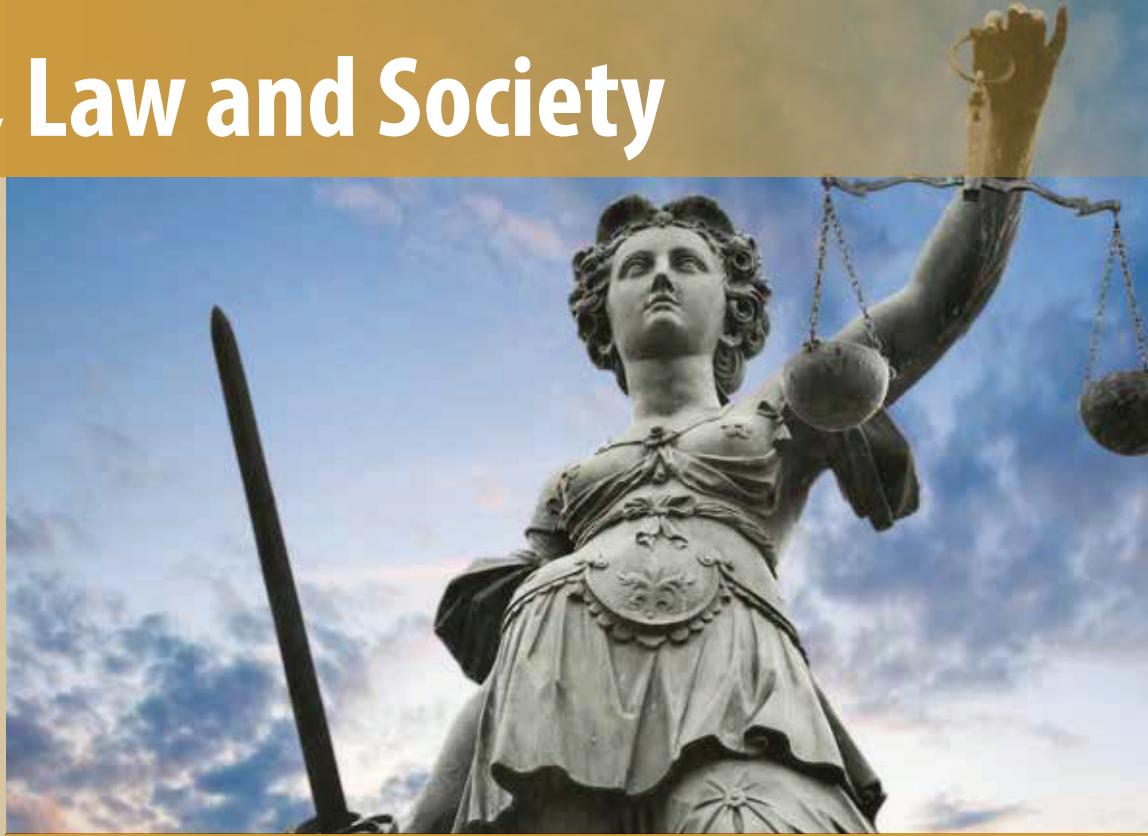
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CEBCP Congratulates Its Newest PhDs

This past academic year, three of the CEBCP's top graduate research assistants received their PhDs from the Department of Criminology, Law and Society here at Mason. They are Julie Grieco, Heather Vovak, and Alese Wooditch. Each have made major contributions to research projects in the center, as well as have volunteered many hours at CEBCP's many events. We congratulate them and wish them the best in their new positions!



Julie Grieco

Julie Grieco, PhD

Hometown: Niceville, Florida

Dissertation: *Attitudinal Dimensions and Openness to Evidence-Based Policing: Perspectives of Academy Recruits.*

Research shows police academies are where recruits first acquire attitudes and assumptions about the field of policing, and that individuals may be more likely to be open to change and new ideas during their educational or transitional period. However, research has yet to examine what attitudes may contribute to evidence-based policing, and whether these attitudes are fostered or discouraged during a police officer's initial academy training experience. These questions are explored in this dissertation, by surveying 415 recruits in two police academies, across four cohorts, before and after their training experience. Findings indicate that recruits begin their training with relatively positive attitudes that might facilitate evidence-based policing, but that most of these attitudes change in a negative direction by the end of their training. Factors contributing to variations in these changes are explored, including recruit officers' education levels, race and ethnicity, and academy location. (Dissertation Chair: Cynthia Lum).

New Position: Senior Research Associate, Police Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Favorite Mason Memory: "My favorite thing about Mason was definitely the people. The faculty, classmates, mentors, and coworkers I spent the past five years with made the degree process intellectually stimulating as well as entertaining. Working at CEBCP provided me with guidance, life lessons, friendships, and a strong affinity for research translation that I carry with me in my future endeavors."



Heather Vovak

Heather Vovak, PhD

Hometown: Ravenna, Ohio

Dissertation: *Examining the Relationship between Crime Rates and Clearance Rates using Dual Trajectory Analysis.*

This dissertation explores the longitudinal relationship between crime rates and clearance rates for homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary among a large sample of police agencies across 30 years using an innovative statistical method known as dual trajectory analysis. Findings show that while there are discernible longitudinal patterns of both clearance and crime rates for agencies, no clear relationship between crime rates and clearance rates emerges from the dual trajectory analysis for this sample. For example, agencies that belong to the highest crime rate trajectory have a greater probability of being a member of a decreasing or low stable clearance rate trajectory. However, while agencies with higher clearance rate trends tend to have lower crime rate trends, clearance trajectories varied—some clearances were improving, others were worsening over time, indicating no clear relationship between crime rates and clearance rate performance. These findings continue to question the relationship between clearance and crime rates over time. (Dissertation Chair: Cynthia Lum)

New Position: Research Associate, Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, George Mason University.

Current Projects: "I continue to work on a project funded by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, of which my dissertation was a part. This project examines effective investigative practices through in-depth case studies of agencies and their investigative processes. Additionally, I am also applying trajectory analysis to examine trends in misdemeanor arrests rates over time in the United States."



Alese Wooditch

Alese Wooditch, PhD

Hometown: Falls Church, Virginia

Dissertation: *The Potential of Spatiotemporal Methods to Improve Criminal Justice Policy and Program Evaluation.*

This dissertation explores the untapped potential of spatiotemporal methods to improve evaluation and development of criminal justice policies and programs. It uses two case examples to demonstrate the utility of spatiotemporal methods: (1) the use of a bivariate spatiotemporal Ripley's k-function to assess the deterrent effect of stop-question-frisk practices on crime across space and time, and (2) the use of agent-based modeling to explore whether significant reductions in crime can be achieved if police use unallocated patrol time to engage in focused-deterrence strategies at hot spots rather than randomly patrolling a large geographic area. (Dissertation Chair: David Weisburd)

New Position: Assistant Professor, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Why She Studied at Mason: "I was interested in attending George Mason University because of its unique focus on applying theoretical concepts in a practical way and the faculty's direct involvement in the development of evidence-based criminal justice policies and practices. While at Mason, I was able to cultivate my own research agenda, while being advised by world-renowned criminologists and gaining practical experience with law enforcement and correctional agencies in the field."

When Is Innovation Not Enough? The Importance of Organizational Context in Community Policing

BY CHARLOTTE GILL, DAVID WEISBURD, ZOE VITTER, CLAUDIA GROSS SHADER, TARI NELSON-ZAGAR, AND LINDA SPAIN

Charlotte Gill is assistant professor of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and deputy director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

David Weisburd is a distinguished professor of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University and executive director of the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

Zoe Vitter is a research associate in the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy at George Mason University.

Claudia Gross Shader is assistant city auditor in the Office of City Auditor, Seattle, Washington.

Tari Nelson-Zagar is a program manager in the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

Linda Spain is acting executive director of the Seattle Neighborhood Group.

In 2014 the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy, in collaboration with the Seattle Police Department (SPD), the City of Seattle, and the Seattle Neighborhood Group, a nonprofit community crime prevention organization, completed a pilot study funded by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) of community policing in hot spots of juvenile crime. The original objective of the study was to test whether the principles of community-oriented policing—collaboration with community partners, problem solving, and delegation of responsibility to street-level officers—could be combined with an evidence-based hot spots approach to crime, allowing police to target supportive community-focused responses to youth offending at the locations in which they were most needed. However, the intervention was not implemented as planned and our evaluation failed to produce the positive results we expected. Instead, our project became a case study of the importance of the macro-level and external influences on community policing and the issues police leaders and officers on the street must take into account in order to build successful community partnerships. In this article we summarize our lessons learned and our recommendations for police departments seeking to implement community policing.



Charlotte Gill



David Weisburd



Zoe Vitter



Claudia Gross Shader



Tari Nelson-Zagar



Linda Spain

The Pilot Study

A primary goal of the youth hot spots study was to increase SPD's capacity to identify and respond to youth crime using community-based, nonarrest approaches. Since the approach was new for SPD, we decided to implement it in just two hot spots—an urban park and a commercial street segment—in Seattle's downtown core.¹ The pilot project was carried out by a team comprising a sergeant and six officers who had previously been members of a community bicycle patrol team. Supporting the officers was a core team that included SPD's precinct captain; CEBCP; the Seattle Neighborhood Group, which conducted Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) assessments and other data collection; and several departments within the City of Seattle, including the Seattle Youth Violence Prevention Initiative (SYVPI) and Office of City Auditor (OCA). We also collaborated with the Downtown Seattle Association, the Metropolitan Improvement District, the City Council and Mayor's Office, and the Departments of Public Works, Transportation, and Parks and Recreation.

The project started with a two-day training program that focused on the research basis for the program, an introduction to the

¹ We initially began implementation in three sites, but one location was dropped due to difficulties engaging with the business community there.

problem-solving process (which followed the language used in the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy initiative; Skogan et al., 1995), a series of panels intended to introduce officers to the people and resources available for them to draw upon in identifying and responding to youth crime in the two hot spots, and a practical session in which officers worked through case studies to apply their knowledge. The officer teams then spent several months working on problem identification and analysis for their sites to identify the specific risk factors for youth crime and a set of potential interventions, which were implemented for the remainder of the 12-month study period. Interventions were to be developed based on one or more of four broad areas that have been supported by research evidence: (1) increasing supervision and structure for youth; (2) changing the physical environment; (3) changing policies and rules; and (4) building collective efficacy among local partners.

In the urban park, which attracted a large number of homeless and transient youth, the primary problems were property and drug crimes among older youth (ages 18-25). Officers identified two risk factors: the physical features of the park, which included large sculptural elements, seating areas, and a fountain, which inhibited natural surveillance and attracted loitering; and the use of the space by homeless or transient “regulars,” who often engaged in antisocial behavior. The officers recommended physical changes to the space and engaged a number of city departments and other stakeholders in a CPTED working group, which successfully implemented several recommendations by the end of the project. The team also made an effort to increase information sharing with local service providers, which ultimately helped connect one park “regular” to housing and health services. Finally, the officers also attempted to persuade the city to implement a smoking ban in the park to give them more enforcement options to discourage loitering, but these efforts were unsuccessful during the project period (however, the idea was resurrected and implemented a year after our project ended).

Drug crimes and related problems, such as intoxication, trade in stolen goods, gang activity, and physical disorder, were also a problem at the commercial street segment, which was a long-standing open-air drug market. The officers again identified physical features of the location—spaces for drug dealers to congregate and easy access and escape routes, especially via public transit—as crime drivers. However, the team’s efforts to develop community-based interventions at this location proved to be a challenge. The drug market was so entrenched that it required a more targeted law enforcement response (with the agreement of the project team, the officers did conduct enforcement activities against adult drug offenders, such as buy-bust operations). Many of the major businesses on the block were chain stores that did not have the same ability or incentive to engage with the police as smaller, locally owned stores.

Officers were also trying to navigate new departmental rules about the use of Terry stops that were implemented as a result of a Department of Justice investigation and consent decree; for example, they

were required to limit the use of stop-and-frisk encounters and seek supervisory approval. As a result, they were nervous about dealing with disorder directly. Relationships with the local transit police, who had jurisdiction at the bus stops on the block, were also slow to develop.

Study Results: A Lack of Promising Findings

Despite the efforts of the officers, we found few positive results in our analysis of changes crime and calls for police service between 2011 and 2014. In fact, both overall and youth crime increased significantly in the park, while crime did decline on the commercial block but not by a statistically significant amount (there was also a substantial increase in crime at that hot spot’s comparison site during the same period).

While we do not think that the intervention increased crime, it is possible that the police activities increased the reporting of crime. Their presence made it easier to report crimes on one hand. On the other, trust may have developed between police and the public leading to increased crime reporting. However, we also found that police activity in the hot spots declined during the project period. The officers on the team were assigned unique call signs during the implementation period, allowing us to track their activity. In both treatment sites, officer-initiated activities increased in the months leading up to the project, declined as soon as the intervention period started, and picked up again after the project ended. There was no clear pattern of activity in the comparison sites. Thus, the dosage of police problem-solving activity may have been too low for us to detect any crime prevention effects.

Lessons Learned

Our experiment with community policing in hot spots of youth crime was not successful at reducing crime. But we learned a number of lessons about the organizational and political constraints on implementing community policing. The officers on the ground in Seattle engaged in a number of community-oriented activities at the hot spots that did go some way toward helping youth, but the fact that they were ultimately unsuccessful in fully engaging key city stakeholders and reducing crime lends strong support to the importance of the organizational context. Community policing requires change at more than just the ground level.

A “true” implementation of community policing requires full organizational commitment and changes to leadership, structures, information sharing, and decision-making. Our project coincided with a period of rapid change for SPD. The police chief of four years had stepped down two months before the intervention began, and two interim chiefs and a newly hired permanent chief served during the year. Several senior officers—including the precinct captain who championed our initiative—were reassigned, promoted, demoted, and/or re-promoted with each change of leadership. The department was also under a consent decree for use of force issues, so the officers were nervous about trying anything innovative.

Nonetheless, several other research-based innovations, including the Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) project (Beckett, 2014) and an “early warning” experiment to identify hot spots of potentially problematic police activity (Owens et al., 2015) were successfully implemented during this period. How did they differ from our approach? “Political capital” seems to have been a key determinant of success—the other programs involved extensive strategic planning and relationship-building at all levels of the organization, while our team was isolated within the organization due to the many leadership changes, with no high-level oversight or high-ranking “champions” beyond the precinct captain. In the other projects, innovation was worked into the traditional structure of the department, while we “skipped the hierarchy” and required the supervisor and officers to change their behavior and operations completely. We did not equip our supervising sergeant with the tools and empowerment he needed to innovate. In turn, the officers on the ground were also not empowered to take action. It is to their credit that they did implement some successful interventions, such as organizing services for a homeless individual. However, these successes came after months of frustrating and circuitous efforts to engage with external stakeholders.

We also learned that community-policing efforts, especially in departments with little history of doing community policing, need extensive strategic planning. While representatives from city agencies and local service providers attended the training session to provide information, we did not give sufficient attention to how they would be integrated into the planning process or who should be at the table. There was minimal existing collaboration between SPD and these external providers, and we were naive to expect the partnerships and roles to be immediately clear on either side of the table. Indeed, the external agencies were not familiar with the goals of community policing and did not understand why the police were making direct contact and asking for sometimes major changes. The police may be in a strong position to lead problem-solving efforts for crime prevention, but they cannot make all the necessary changes on their own.

Finally, it is crucial that police agencies are supported by the broader political administration of the city. Without central leadership, vision,

and oversight that spans across all agencies, it is virtually impossible to build a strong problem-solving structure. In our project, the mayor and city council were not at the table, but they alone had the power to bring all of the city agencies together and explain why the project made sense. It is vital that police and local political structures establish a culture of collaboration and coordination, and resources from the COPS Office and Center for Problem-Oriented Policing are available to facilitate these efforts from the political as well as the police side (e.g. Plant and Scott, 2009).

Bureaucracies move slowly, and community policing relies on the navigation of multiple bureaucracies. Based on our experience in Seattle, we believe that the development of a clear, shared vision for community engagement and problem-solving between the police department and city government, with the support and involvement of all parties needed to make implementation happen, is a necessary precursor to successful community policing efforts.

Note: This article is based on a draft report by the project team to the COPS Office, currently under review.

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Improving the Practice of Stop and Search in Scotland

BY MEGAN O'NEILL AND ELIZABETH ASTON¹

Megan O'Neill is a senior lecturer at the University of Dundee, Scotland.

Elizabeth Aston is a senior lecturer at Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland.

On April 1, 2013, all eight of Scotland's territorial police forces were merged to form one national police force, the Police Service of Scotland (referred to as "Police Scotland"). Barely one year into its existence, Police Scotland came under increased academic, political, and media scrutiny regarding its practice in stop and search (stop and frisk, HMICS, 2015). Prior to this period, little research or academic attention had been devoted to stop and search in Scotland (in marked contrast to the situation in England or the United States), and the practice had gone relatively unassessed for decades in the previous eight (legacy) forces.

What changed this situation was the findings of a PhD study by Kath Murray of the University of Edinburgh, which demonstrated that the police in the legacy forces and in Police Scotland were using stop and search at a per capita rate that outstripped that of the London Metropolitan Police or that of the New York Police Department by about a factor of four (Murray, 2014, 2015).

Part of the reason for this is that police in Scotland are allowed to search members of the public without statutory grounds if the member of the public agrees (gives "consent"). Unlike in England, which has the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (1984), there is little legislation in Scotland that regulates the use of nonstatutory stop and search (Lennon and Murray, 2016). Guidelines that do exist include that refusal of consent is not meant to be taken as grounds on which to base a statutory search.

Officers are also not meant to coerce someone into giving consent, although they are not required to disclose to members of the public that refusal is permissible for nonstatutory searches. These guidelines, alongside those that require that those being searched have the capacity to give consent, are in practice unlikely to be met (Lennon and Murray, 2016; Murray, 2015).

In Scotland, these nonstatutory searches were being used disproportionately on young people (those under the age of 25) and children. At the time, the ratio of statutory to nonstatutory searches was about 30/70, with nonstatutory searches comprising the larger share. In some areas of Scotland, the practice had become the routine



Megan O'Neill



Elizabeth Aston

method of engagement with certain populations. For example, more 16-year-olds were searched in Glasgow than actually exist in Glasgow in the resident population (Murray, 2014). Although the data collected at the time does not allow for analysis of the socio-economic status of the individuals who were stopped and searched, research since then (Blake Stevenson Ltd., 2016) and anecdotal evidence from our project would suggest that it is those in the more economically deprived areas who receive the most stop searches, especially in Glasgow.

The police in Scotland have traditionally viewed stop and search as a legitimate tactic to deter violence (especially knife crime) and drug possession, as well as to recover prohibited items or stolen property. These are the most common reasons given for searches according to police data (O'Neill et al., 2015). The U.K. does not have the same level of gun possession in the United States, due to strict regulations, and this has allowed U.K. police forces to maintain a largely unarmed service. However, other concealed weapons are a possibility, and Glasgow in particular has a reputation for being particularly prone to violent crimes (for example, in 2013 it was rated the U.K.'s most violent city, see BBC, 2013). In response to this, the Chief Constable of Police Scotland (previously the Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police, which includes Glasgow), Steven House, established performance measurements to track the rate of "positive" stop searches (Murray, 2015), which acted as a catalyst to increase the rate of stop and search across Police Scotland. Other reasons for the high stop and search rates in Scotland were the lack of regulation (discussed above) and the lack of scrutiny (until 2015 there were no published statistics on stop and search in Scotland, unlike the case in England).

¹ The authors would like to acknowledge the contribution of Agata Krause to the research reported here.

In response to the weight of external pressure, Police Scotland developed a series of measures to reevaluate and reform stop and search, one of which was to pilot a revised approach to the practice. Police Scotland selected 'P' Division, Fife, as the pilot site and the pilot was launched in July 2014, with support being provided by the National Stop and Search Unit.

There were three aims of the stop and search pilot in Fife. The first was to improve the data on which stop and search is based. This aim mainly involved the data analysts in Fife and the use of new data analysis software, and then tracking how that information was used to task officers. The second aim was to improve accountability. There were several initiatives here, such as checking police officers' stop and search records, measuring public satisfaction, and reporting to scrutiny boards which monitored stop and search activity. The final aim of the pilot was to improve confidence in the use of stop and search. Included here were issuing letters to parents of children stopped; providing advice slips to anyone stopped; working with schools, colleges and universities; and enhanced training.

Evaluating the Stop and Search Pilot Program

An independent academic evaluation was commissioned to evaluate the pilot, which we were successfully awarded. The two main aims of our evaluation of the stop and search pilot in Fife Division were to assess the process of introducing and implementing the new methods for stop and search in Fife, and to assess the extent to which the desired outcomes for the stop and search pilot have been achieved. It is important to note that this evaluation was of the Fife pilot only, and not on stop and search practice in Scotland in general.

We employed both qualitative and quantitative methods in our evaluation of the new pilot program. The evaluation team was given assistance in evaluating the stop and search database and data analysis reports by the in-house analysts in Fife. Stop and search records for the pilot period were compared to those of another area in Scotland, Forth Valley, as well as to those of the same period in Fife from the previous year.

The qualitative research included interviews and observations with 42 police officers and police staff of varying ranks and across three different locations. Thirty-seven additional interviews were conducted with various pilot stakeholders and members of the public. This included four senior police officers, five management officers, 12 PCs, three members of police staff, and 13 members of the public (three local partners and 10 people who were stopped and searched on a previous occasion). During data collection, 11 instances of stop and search involving 19 people in two different case study sites were observed.

Findings

Overall, the changes introduced as part of the pilot were an important step forward in reforming stop and search in Scotland. We found that the officers and staff involved in the management and implementation of the Fife Pilot invested a considerable degree of

time, effort and resources into it. A wide variety of changes were introduced through the pilot in an effort to make Police Scotland more accountable and to command greater confidence from the public in relation to stop and search. These changes were based on extensive external consultation.

Our findings suggest that some elements of the Fife Pilot can be regarded as good practice. The proposed changes were predominantly implemented as planned, and there appeared to be some positive outcomes. These include:

Systematic recording of all stop searches. Prior to the pilot, stop and search recording practice was inconsistent across Scotland and often inaccurate.

Compliance recording checks. Checks were made on stop and search entries by comparing the record with the officer's notebook entry to ensure accurate data entry and accurate use of legislation.

Engagement with external stakeholders. A wide variety of external groups, agencies, and key individuals were consulted in the development of the Fife Pilot.

Advice slips. As part of the pilot, anyone stopped and searched in Fife was given a small leaflet with the date and officer's number to explain why stop searches are conducted and how to provide feedback.

Aide-memoires. To help improve compliance with the relevant legislation regarding stop and search all officers were issued with a small leaflet explaining the appropriate grounds for searches, as well as a mandatory statement to read in the case of consensual searches.

Enhanced staff training. The Fife Division developed new online training for the pilot methods, as well as content for staff briefings.

However, we found that it was unrealistic to expect the changes implemented during the course of the pilot to achieve their rather ambitious objectives, certainly not on their own and within a short period of time. It should also be acknowledged that the pilot was introduced at a challenging time for policing in Scotland and in a context of ongoing re-structuring and change. Despite the good practice, which was evident in the pilot, there were many areas where improvement was needed or where methods had proved to be problematic. These include:

The rate of stop and search. During the first three months of the pilot, the total number of stop searches conducted in Fife Division were 42.1 percent higher than the volume during the same quarterly period of the previous year. In addition, the rate of positive searches (where an item was found) had decreased (from 24 percent to 18.8 percent). Meanwhile over the same period in the comparator area (Forth Valley), the volume of stop searches decreased 19.7 percent, and the "positive rate" was reduced by only 0.3 percent.

Dip sampling. This involves a police officer phoning people who have been stopped and searched to assess their level of satisfaction with the experience. We found a number of problems with this. For example, the percentage of people who provided an accurate phone number to the police after a stop search was very low. Of these, very few of the numbers were answered. Of those that were answered, few

resulted in a completed questionnaire. Officers were phoning individuals during the day when they may have been at work and due to the sensitive nature of the topic people were reticent to discuss their stop and search experience. Thus, the findings from this exercise cannot be regarded as representative. The questionnaire also did not allow for any free-text answers to provide a more detailed understanding of their responses or to follow up on equivocal answers.

Letters to parents. Letters were sent to the parents or guardians of children under the age of 16 who have been stopped and searched. Parents expressed concern about both the tone of the letters and the lack of detail provided in the letter about the search. Concerns were also raised by the Police Scotland Children and Young Persons Reference Group about repercussions from the letters for how parents see their children.

Enhanced training. We found a great deal of variation in terms of how PCs recall their experiences of the training, which suggests that it did not have the level of impact on them intended. Much of it was in an online format or through briefings with a supervising officer. Neither method made a lasting impression on the officers.

Outcomes for officers. Police officers have many views on what is useful and valuable from stop and search. However, the extent to which that has been enhanced in some way or made more transparent for the public through the mechanisms of the pilot was not clear to them. They struggled to identify any clear outcomes that were as a result of the pilot.

Nonstatutory searches. We found that members of the public who had been searched consensually had a more critical view of the police. They felt that they had been targeted at “random,” which was unjustified as they had not done anything wrong. A few people mentioned how being stopped and searched is embarrassing, even if the police officers are polite when doing it.

Impact

Since the publication of our final report, 19 of our recommendations have been incorporated in to the official Police Scotland Stop and Search Improvement Plan.² At the time of writing, almost all of these have been achieved or resolved, and work continues on the few that remain. Police Scotland now regularly publishes their stop and search data online³, which is far more detailed than was the case previously. Along with other partner agencies, members of our research team regularly attend consultation meetings with Police Scotland, which aim to develop and support research into stop and search.

Along with Murray (2015) and Scott (2015), we have called for an end to nonstatutory searches in Scotland. Police Scotland and the Scottish Government have agreed to this, and the practice is in the

process of being phased out. In addition to which, a new Code of Practice for stop and search is due to be implemented in 2017, along with a revised and enhanced training programme for all officers.

In alignment with our recommendations and those of Scott (2015), this training will largely be face-to-face rather than online to facilitate better retention and impact on practice. Finally, the Scottish Government has recently implemented new legislation (The Criminal Justice [Scotland] Act 2016), which tightens the law around stop and search in Scotland and stipulates the creation of the Code of Practice.

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² This can be found at www.scotland.police.uk/about-us/police-scotland/stop-and-search/stop-and-search-improvement-plan

³ www.scotland.police.uk/about-us/police-scotland/stop-and-search/stop-and-search-data-publication/

Evidence-Based Youth Mentoring Systems: Constructing Models to Address Systemic Issues Communities Face

BY TARRICK MCGUIRE AND CARLIN CALIMAN

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Tarrick McGuire



Carlin Caliman

Over the past century, mentoring has become one of the most common approaches supporting positive behavioral change in young people across the country. It is estimated that more than 5,000 documented mentoring programs serve more than three million youth in the United States, and that number continues to increase with each passing year (Dubois et al., 2011). A recent Campbell Collaboration systematic review (Tolan et al., 2013) concluded that mentoring can be effective, especially for delinquency and aggression. More specifically, findings from their systematic review indicate that when emotional support and advocacy are key aspects of mentoring and when professional development is an explicit motivation of mentors, programs can be successful. A 2014 study by the National Mentoring Partnership showed that 76 percent of at-risk young adults who have a mentor aspire to attend college, as opposed to 56 percent of young adults with no mentor. Further, 45 percent of all at-risk youth who have a mentor enroll in some type of secondary education, in contrast with the reported enrollment rate of 29 percent in relation to at-risk youth who do not work with any type of mentor.

The pervasiveness of mentoring programs and the findings from research present an opportunity for law enforcement personnel to become more involved in mentoring initiatives in their local jurisdictions. Policing often involves negative interactions (i.e., arrests, citations, truancy enforcement, etc.) between officers and young people, but mentoring provides a much more positive exchange. Indeed, the President's Task Force on 21st-Century Policing¹ supports this movement by outlining several recommendations for improving interactions between police officers and young people in nontraditional ways.

Building supportive mentoring relationships in nontraditional roles can make a substantial impact in a young person's life, especially for young men of color. They often face a persistent lack of opportunity combined with a high level of scrutiny by both the police and the public. Finding alternative options and possibilities to stimulate their growth and development is an important priority for all of us. However, law enforcement faces significant challenges in engaging with high-risk youth. Part of this difficulty is inherent in the challenges of youth engagement more generally. But part of the challenge also stems from the systemic issues of poverty, inequality, crime, mental illness, and lack of opportunities in the neighborhoods where these youth live. Of course, the police cannot deal with these issues alone. But mentoring programs provide one opportunity in which the police can forge partnerships with other local government units, schools, businesses, and faith-based institutions to support successful outcomes in participating youth.

One example of a mentoring program in my jurisdiction of Arlington, Texas, is the Mentoring Arlington's Youth (MAY) program. The MAY program is an officer-developed strategy that seeks to pair officers and other civic or business leaders with high-risk youth (in the MAY program we relabel these youth as "high-potential"). The program was developed after the first author began researching criminal offenses committed by local youth in Arlington, uncovering a disturbing trend. Between 2012 and 2014, the Arlington municipal court dealt with 2,710 offenses committed by juveniles between the ages of 12 and 15, 75 percent of whom were African American and Hispanic males. Approximately 50 percent of

¹ See cops.usdoj.gov/policingtaskforce.

these offenses involved assault. These findings are aligned with the age-crime curve more generally, which indicates that offending often peaks in the teens. This is also the time when efforts to reduce risk of adult criminality can be most helpful (Howell and Hawkins, 1998). Seeing this as a serious trend among young boys of color, officers initiated the MAY program.

The MAY program is aligned with the goals of the President's Task Force for 21st Century Policing in that it doesn't just focus on reducing delinquency, but focuses on mentoring approaches that build trust between youth and the police, increase mentees' social awareness beyond their immediate environment, and enhance police legitimacy. More specifically, this program involves partnering police officers with young men to teach and engage them in life skills they may be missing that are important to prepare them to interact with the world. Program activities include basic life skill lessons on how to properly wear business attire, develop leadership skills, practice etiquette, resolve conflicts, respect authority, and even how to enroll in college. These skills that many of us take for granted are often completely absent from the social education of at-risk youth, leaving kids attempting to interact with and navigate a world they do not fully understand, but that holds the opportunities to help them succeed. Acquiring these skills changes the relationship between the mentee and society and allows the views of both to shift in a positive and impactful way.

Mentors come to the MAY program from across all professional sectors, both public and private. While the first session saw mostly law enforcement officers acting in a mentor capacity, the program has now grown to include local civic leaders as well as professionals from various fields. Each potential mentor submits to a full background check and interview process to determine a proper fit with the program objectives.

After 30 days, a feedback analysis of the MAY program showed an 11 percent improvement in GPAs, a 45 percent reduction in discipline referrals, and a continued level of increased trust in law enforcement stated as a direct reflection of program involvement. Within six months, results showed a complete elimination of mentee citations during the program, a 75 percent increase in GPAs, and a 58 percent drop in discipline referrals. In its first year, the MAY program was able to significantly impact the mentees' perception of the police through positive interaction, awareness, and trust-building.

While the MAY program focuses on developing mentoring relationships at the individual level using life skills training, there are other initiatives police can be involved in that can help them gain traction in developing positive relationships with youth. For example, Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) was established by the Department of Education to define, develop, implement, and evaluate a multi-tiered approach meant to help establish and enhance the framework needed by states, districts, and schools to encourage positive outcomes of youth (see www.pbis.org). Through this model, students are taught the importance of their actions while educators and leadership are encouraged to reward and recognize positive behaviors rather than consistently focusing on punishing and reducing negative actions.

Individualized programs like MAY and more system-wide, school-based programs like PBIS can work in tandem, presenting opportunities for law enforcement to be involved with youth using different approaches and perspectives. While the MAY program is dedicated to building relationships between individual officers and young people, PBIS works to create accepting environments in schools that can also support and provide infrastructure for individualized programs like MAY. The idea behind bringing programs into schools that support programs like PBIS is to create effective tools in a seamless and well-structured environment. At the same time, recognizing the validity of both a systems approach and an individual approach is crucial to understanding the complexity of the anchoring concern—improving the life chances of at-risk youth. Both the MAY program and PBIS have shown positive outcomes that are repeatable and scalable. Both programs show how the mentoring relationship can stimulate youth into embracing different actions and behavioral traits.

Law enforcement agencies more and more are “thinking outside the box” when it comes to their role and function in society. Involvement in mentoring programs provides one avenue for the police to engage with high-risk youth in ways that do not involve arrest or other negative interactions. Developing tailored mentoring programs like MAY that use research and analysis to target a jurisdiction's most at-risk individuals creates opportunities for local youth to achieve an increased level of success throughout their lives as they are provided with both guidance and leadership. This type of targeted and one-on-one relationship can build trust, improve academic success, reduce discipline problems and recidivism, improve overall quality of life, and significantly increase the mentees' likelihood of continuing their secondary and higher education. While research consistently shows the positive results of strong mentoring relationships, these types of activities do not often happen organically. Instead they are the result of targeted, purposeful partnerships between the police, schools, communities, and municipalities designed to help at-risk youth enhance their social and academic skillsets. Law enforcement agencies should include these ideas into their discussions and strategic planning, and find tangible ways to support them.

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Training New Scholars to Advance Policing Research and Knowledge Translation

BY CYNTHIA LUM AND NICHOLAS FYFE

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Nicholas Fyfe is professor and associate dean at the University of Dundee, Scotland, and director of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research. Together, Fyfe and Lum led the first International Summer School for Policing Scholars.

One essential ingredient for improving and sustaining a strong relationship between research and practice is the training of new scholars in the skills and values of both generating high-quality knowledge and translating it to practice. This is especially the case with policing research, where researchers are often called to carry out field studies; engage with practitioners, community groups, and other stakeholders; and generate high-quality evidence for important policy decisions. Ensuring that the next generation of researchers are not only interested in pursuing questions related to policing and law enforcement, but receive a broad base of knowledge and skills they will need to be effective generators and translators of research is a top priority.

With these goals in mind a group of faculty members specializing in policing from George Mason University, universities within the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, and Arizona State University collaborated this summer to design and deliver the first International Summer School for Policing Scholarship (ISSPS) for doctoral-level students from May 30–June 4. This year, the ISSPS was hosted by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research at the University of St. Andrews, where the students lived in graduate dorms and studied for a week in the beautiful and historic town of St. Andrews, Scotland. Thirteen policing scholars from the United States and Scotland volunteered their time to contribute to the summer school. The summer school was free of charge to participants, who were responsible only for their travel.

To facilitate in-depth discussion, dialogue and interaction between academic staff and students, the ISSPS was limited to 20 doctoral students engaged in policing studies. To secure a place in the summer school, students were asked to write a short account of why they wanted to attend and what benefits they hoped to gain. Students hailed from Arizona State and George Mason Universities in the United States; Glasgow Caledonian, Edinburgh Napier, Dundee, and the Open Universities in Scotland; and the Norwegian Police College and the University of Oslo in Norway. There was also a



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deliberate mix of students at different stages in their doctoral studies in order to promote peer-to-peer learning. Faculty and events were supported by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, the US-UK Fulbright Commission, George Mason University, the Division of Policing of the American Society of Criminology, and the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Arizona State University.

The school featured a week of presentations, discussion, and activities designed to expose students to new perspectives on policing theory, methods and research ethics as well as cutting edge research on a number of topics, including police technology, the use of research in practice, and police reform. The summer school began by each student sharing the work they were involved in, which allowed faculty to tailor their discussions and lessons around students' ideas. Our objective was to make the summer school a truly international experience so that students would receive knowledge and skills that they might not normally receive in their respective programs at home. Thus, topics covered by ISSPS faculty were grouped into five areas, which were covered by both U.S. and Scottish academics to create a broad balance of perspectives:

Theory and Policing Research

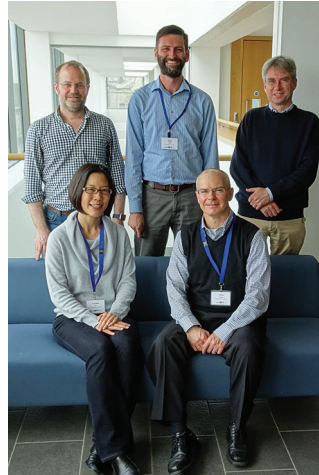
- Policing and public order (Stephen Reicher, University of St. Andrews)
- Theories of communities and community dynamics (Jeffrey Murer, University of St. Andrews)
- Theories of deterrence and opportunity (Cynthia Lum, George Mason University)

Research Design and Ethics in Policing

- Program evaluation (Christopher Koper, George Mason University)
- Ethics in policing research (Andrew Wooff, Edinburgh Napier University)
- Ethnographic approaches in policing research (Ross Deuchar, University of West Scotland)



Starting above and moving clockwise: Students from the First ISSPS at the Scottish Government; St. Andrews, Scotland; students Jessie Huff (ASU) and Xiaoyun Wu (Mason); and professors (from left, clockwise) Richard Jones (University of Edinburgh), Cody Telep (ASU), Nicholas Fyfe (University of Dundee and SIPR), Christopher Koper (Mason), and Cynthia Lum (Mason).



Working with Different Types of Data

- Comparative data (Jeffrey Murer, University of St. Andrews)
- Qualitative data (Nicholas Fyfe and Megan O’Neill, University of Dundee)
- Quantitative and geographic data (Cynthia Lum, George Mason University)

Using Research in Practice

- Receptivity and translational research (Cody Telep, Arizona State University)
- Using evidence (Sandra Nutley, University of St. Andrews)
- Experience as a practitioner and researcher (William Graham, Abertay University)
- Collaborative research (Penny Woolnough, Abertay University)

Contemporary Issues in Policing Research

- Social media and technology (Richard Jones, University of Edinburgh)
- Police reform (Nick Fyfe, University of Dundee)
- The role of intelligence officers (Cody Telep, Arizona State University)
- Technology and body worn video (Christopher Koper, George Mason University)
- Policing organized crime (Niall Hamilton-Smith, University of Stirling)
- Financial crime and terrorist financing (William Vlcek, University of St. Andrews)

Additionally, students engaged in two workshops to enhance their learning. The first was a visit to Justice Analytical Services (JAS) at the Scottish Government in Edinburgh to meet with multiple staff members to learn about the research JAS undertakes, its impact on crime and justice policy in Scotland, and the career biographies of the research team in JAS. The second was a workshop focused exclusively on writing for publication and policy, led by ISSPS faculty, to examine publication strategies for academic journals and policy publications.

The first summer school was a great success. Student feedback at the end of the week was uniformly positive, highlighting the opportunities the school had provided to explore new topics, new perspectives and to study with students from different countries and disciplinary backgrounds. Strong friendships were also forged among the students during their week studying together, and they continue to interact with each other through social media. Building on this success we intend to continue the ISSPS every other year, at a different host university (the next summer school will likely take place at George Mason University in 2018).

Please feel free to contact us if you are interested in learning more about the ISSPS or if your organization might be interested in sponsoring students to attend the next summer school.

Glasgow's Community Initiative to Reduce Violence—An Example of International Criminal Justice Policy Transfer Between the US and UK

BY WILLIAM GRAHAM

Dr. William Graham is a lecturer of criminology in the Department of Sociology at Abertay University, Dundee, Scotland. Formerly a police commander in Glasgow (Strathclyde Police), he retired from the police after 30 years of service in 2010.

In 2007, the Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV) was initiated by the Cincinnati Police Department to tackle the rising problem of gang-member related homicides (Engel et al., 2008). CIRV was a focused, evidence-based deterrence strategy developed from the Boston Operation Ceasefire approach to prevent serious gun and gang-related violence (see Braga et al., 1999, 2001; Kennedy, 1996, 1997). This model captured the interest of law enforcement authorities in Glasgow, Scotland, who sought to adopt it as a model to address its persistent gang violence problem (see Davies, 2007, 2013; Kintrea et al., 2010; Patrick, 1973).

There were some similarities, but also significant differences in the nature of gang membership and the associated violence between Cincinnati and Glasgow. Both cities had experienced similar histories of industrialization, growth, and then economic decline, leading to the emergence of suburban areas suffering from high levels of social deprivation and unemployment. In both cities, gangs were one major source of street violence and community fear, generating a substantial amount of serious crime. However, Cincinnati gangs were predominantly African American, with generally older members between their late teens and late 20s (Stradling, 2003). On the other hand, Glasgow gangs comprised younger, white Caucasian males between the ages of 12 and 24. In Cincinnati, firearms were the weapons of choice in gang violence, while in Glasgow, knife crimes were prevalent.

Additionally, the gangs in Glasgow, especially those in the east end of the city, were well entrenched and had existed for generations. As Suttles (1972) described, the issue of “defended territory” historically resulted in large-scale fights and violence, including serious assaults and homicides (Kintrea et al., 2010). This led to negative media images of the city (in 2005, Glasgow was named the homicide capital of Europe), and a belief that city authorities could not deal with the problem and that what had been tried before had not been effective. In response to this situation, members of the Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) for Scotland commenced a search for new ideas to



William Graham

tackle the gang problem, leading to the discovery of the Cincinnati CIRV. This article tells the story and challenges of that international criminal justice policy transfer.

A Process of Emulation

The Glasgow Community Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV), to which this author was assigned, was coordinated and led by the Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) within the then

Strathclyde Police force (now part of the national police service, Police Scotland). The VRU had been formed to address all forms of violence, especially knife crime and the possession of weapons by young males in the Glasgow area. After learning about the Cincinnati CIRV, the VRU established the Glasgow CIRV in 2008 with the goal of reducing the frequency of street violence in the east end of the city. The long-term goal was to eventually implement CIRV across the city using existing statutory agencies to support it.

Like the Cincinnati CIRV, the Glasgow CIRV comprised of staff drawn from different partner agencies in the city, including Police, Health, Education, Social Work, and Housing, but led by police officers. This facilitated the ability for a central coordinating team to directly approach and engage gang members to offer them alternative lifestyles and social services to steer them away from violence. Because of the success of the Cincinnati CIRV in reducing gang-related homicides, the Glasgow CIRV team at first set out to copy the Cincinnati model in its entirety, a process of “tartanisation” as one team member put it. However, it quickly became apparent that replication would not be possible. For example, in Cincinnati, law enforcement and parole authorities could compel known violent offenders to attend court “Call-Ins,” where members of the CIRV would meet with gang members to present them with both warnings against future violence and support services. The Glasgow CIRV leaders intended to use bail powers to compel attendance; however, early discussions with members of the judiciary in Glasgow proved that this compulsory approach to attend such sessions would not be possible. Scots Law only allows for the provision of bail at the

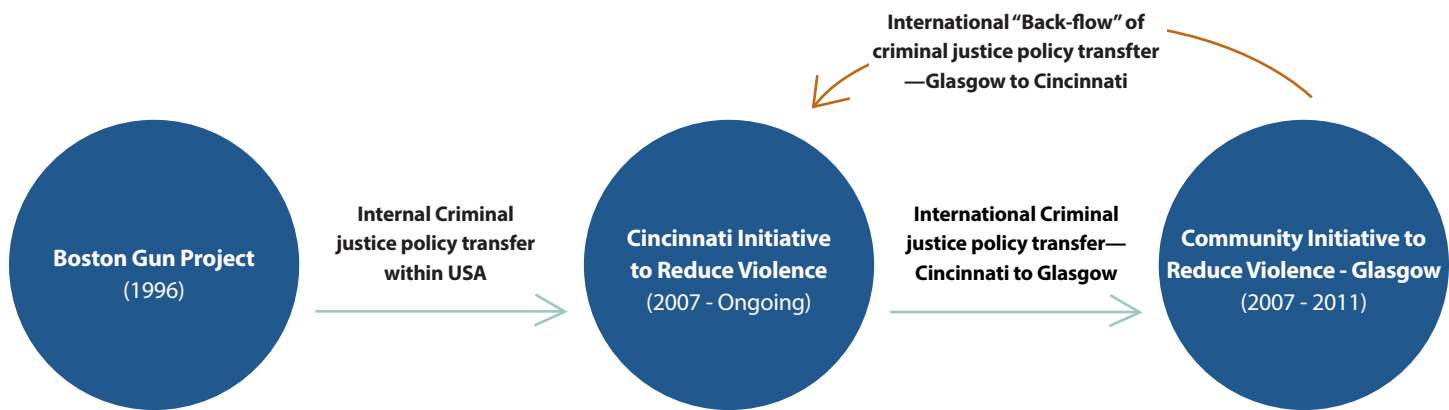


Figure 1. Process of internal, international, and “Back-flow of Policy Transfer.” (Graham, 2016)

pre-trial stage, and to ask the courts to impose such a condition of bail to attend a “Call-In,” was viewed as potentially prejudicing a later trial.

This early set-back for Glasgow CIRV quickly led its staff to realise that a replication of the Cincinnati CIRV would not be possible. Instead, they embarked on a process of emulation as opposed to replication, taking elements of the Cincinnati CIRV and adapting them to suit local needs and conditions. Because compelling engagement with gang members was a key element of the Cincinnati CIRV, the Glasgow CIRV still had engagement meetings, but instead asked gang members to voluntarily attend them. Interestingly, more than 400 young people chose to attend more than 10 sessions. Additionally, in Cincinnati, an external social service provider—“Cincinnati Works”—was contracted to work with gang members to improve their employability. In Glasgow, an internal case management system was adopted, in which a dedicated case manager situated within the CIRV team, identified the various needs of each youth and tailored services for them. Additionally, rather than focus only on employability as in Cincinnati, the Glasgow case manager adopted a “whole systems” approach, focused on the health and social needs of each person.

Another difference between the Cincinnati and Glasgow CIRVs was in the strength of the enforcement provision. While both teams adopted strong messaging to gang members that continued violence would not be tolerated, the Glasgow CIRV, unlike the Cincinnati CIRV, did not have a strong enforcement component. The enforcement team lead of Glasgow CIRV was a lower-ranked police constable with limited powers, as opposed to Cincinnati, where the police chief was heavily involved in decision making on enforcement operations. Thus, Glasgow CIRV lacked a strong enforcement arm and had to rely on local police commanders to provide resources, or not, for policing operations.

Lessons Learned

After three years in operation (2008–2011), initial results in administrative reports appeared to indicate the Glasgow CIRV was a success, with a 42 percent reduction in violent crime in the targeted area. Despite this, the Glasgow CIRV could not be sustained and was

discontinued. The reasons for this were many. For example, Graham (2016) cited a lack of political will by city officials to continue the program; a lack of strong leadership within the CIRV team who could command ‘buy in’ from the different city agencies needed to participate; and the need for a stronger management structure for the program.

Additionally, unlike the Cincinnati CIRV, without a close partnership with researchers capable of carrying out a rigorous evaluation of the Glasgow CIRV, as well as support of the unit with data analysis, an independent evaluation was not obtained. Having a more structured evaluation and data collection plan from the start could have not only helped with implementation, but also could have strengthened the case for further funding to expand the Glasgow CIRV to other parts of the city.

Another potential cause of stopping the program was a change in the approach to service provisions of the program. Interestingly, when members of the Glasgow CIRV team visited their counterparts in Cincinnati in 2009 to exchange ideas and knowledge of their respective projects, a “backflow of policy transfer” occurred (Figure 1). Following this visit, the Glasgow CIRV manager liked the approach adopted by Cincinnati CIRV of an external provider of social services for gang members (Cincinnati Works), and the Glasgow team later adopted this approach. Ironically unbeknownst to the Glasgow team members, Cincinnati CIRV were likewise impressed with the whole systems approach used by their Glasgow counterparts. The Cincinnati CIRV ended up changing their service provider to adopt the whole systems approach, targeting younger people and examining their social and health needs, not just their employability. Such backflow and exchange of ideas was unusual, as there have been many examples of U.S. policies being adopted in the U.K., rather than vice versa (see, e.g., Newburn and Sparks, 2004; Jones and Newburn, 2007).

The change by Glasgow CIRV to an external service provider from the internal case management approach departed from the initial agreed-upon aims by stakeholders, exposing divisions in the city agencies involved, and opening the door for opposition by some senior figures. The proposed change also meant that a charitable body similar to the Cincinnati Works organization would need



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to be set up, which relied on applying to national lottery funds for financial support. The bid for funds subsequently failed because the lack of political support and internal divisions, leading to the closure of Glasgow CIRV in July 2011. The Cincinnati CIRV, having changed focus to mirror the initial whole systems approach in Glasgow, is still in operation today.

International policy transfer can be both difficult and rewarding, and does not need to only go one way, as the CIRV example shows. However, the change in service providers, the lack of political will, the absence of strong management within the CIRV, the need for independent evaluation and analysis, and divisions within stakeholders involved, contributed to the demise of Glasgow CIRV, despite its initial promise in reducing violence connected with gangs. These factors likely have contributed to the end of many programs in both Scotland and the United States. Notwithstanding the various challenges of international policy emulation, important lessons were learned. International exchanges such as this one between Cincinnati and Glasgow led to both agencies benefiting from expanded thinking about problems of violence. Despite differences in laws governing justice and the nature of the violence itself, ideas arise from not only different laws and types of violence, but also different cultural norms on how justice services are implemented.



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Insight Policing—Investigating the Conflict Behavior in Criminal Behavior

BY MEGAN PRICE AND LATRIVETTE YOUNG

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The “evidence” in evidence-based crime policy does not limit itself to evidence from criminal justice. Rather, the criminal justice arena has benefited from research knowledge and practices from a wide variety of fields. This is especially true in the case of policing, given that the police handle all kinds of social issues and concerns. “Insight Policing” is a recent innovation that blends knowledge from the field of conflict analysis and resolution into policing. It is a tactical communication framework that grew out of the recognition and discovery that much of criminal behavior can be attended to and understood not only as behavior that breaks the law, but as behavior that reflects conflict. When officers recognize there is often an added dimension of conflict behavior in lawbreaking, a world of information opens up to them, which evaluation has shown may position them to not only enforce the law in more targeted ways, but also to have better interactions with citizens. In this article, we describe Insight Policing and its promising use as reported by officers in the Memphis, Tennessee; Lowell, Massachusetts; and Loudoun County, Virginia, police departments.

Insight Policing was developed by conflict resolution scholars from George Mason University specializing in the Insight approach to conflict analysis and resolution—an approach that pays attention to what we are doing with our minds as we make decisions that engage and disengage conflict (e.g., Melchin and Picard, 2009; Price, 2013). Insight Policing came out of a pilot program called the Retaliatory Violence Insight Project (RVIP) that responded to a 2011 call from the Bureau of Justice Assistance for conflict resolution experts to help police departments get ahead of retaliatory homicide and community violence—those tit-for-tat, often lethal, extra-judicial resolutions of interpersonal conflict. While crime nationally was declining at the time, retaliatory crime remained a priority issue for police agencies in high-crime communities, and departments were eager to figure out how best to prevent it. Progressive leaders in Memphis and Lowell, both Smart Policing sites, collaborated with RVIP to discern how Insight conflict resolution principles could illuminate and help transform the persistent problem of retaliatory violence.



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A Conflict Perspective on Policing Retaliatory Crime

Integrating a conflict perspective into policing retaliatory crime was a novel endeavor and it yielded a novel finding. While typically treated by police departments as distinct issues, RVIP found that the problem of retaliatory crime is systemically linked to the problem of police legitimacy, therefore embodying a two-fold dimension of conflict. Not only are crimes of retaliatory violence the result of community conflict, but they are also rooted in a conflict between the community and the police—one that is characterized by a lack of confidence and legitimacy in police authority. These conflicts are mutually reinforcing. When the legitimacy of the authority of the police is in doubt, community members take justice into their own hands and do not cooperate with police officers. When community members do not cooperate, it becomes extremely difficult for police officers to investigate and close cases of retaliatory violence, let alone to predict and prevent the next ones. When violent, retaliatory crime goes unchecked, the rule of law in the community declines and police legitimacy is further undermined. Attitudes emerge like the one expressed by a community member in one of Lowell's distressed areas: “The police just aren't there for us. They'd rather see us shoot each other and then send the ambulance.” Research confirms this sentiment. In communities where retaliatory violence is high, community perceptions of police legitimacy tend to be especially low (e.g. Kane, 2005; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003).

An integration of conflict principles into policing retaliatory violence had to take both dimensions of this conflict into account. The hypothesis of RVIP was that before officers could respond adequately to retaliatory crime among community members, they needed to strengthen the trust and cooperation that the community afforded them (i.e., their legitimacy) by responding to the conflicts that emerged between themselves and the community members they encountered in the course of their regular duties.

Insight Policing

RVIP drew on the Insight approach to come up with Insight Policing. The Insight approach suggests conflict behaviors are stress-based behaviors rooted in two key variables of using our minds: an anticipation of threat and a decision to defend against that threat (Price, 2013). As brain scientists show, we do not use our minds very well when under threat. We are overcome by adrenaline and cortisol, which shut down our critical thinking capacities. We react in maladaptive ways that tend to escalate threat rather than mitigate it, resulting in bad decisions and “defend-attack-defend” interactions (Picard, 2016). However, the Insight approach demonstrates that critical thinking in threat-based situations can be reignited with targeted curiosity aimed at eliciting and understanding the anticipated threat and the decision to defend.

To train officers in Insight Policing, we drew on officers’ already keen ability to be highly attentive to their surroundings and to the visual and environmental cues that suggest the potential for crime. However, instead of focusing on identifying cues that indicate reasonable suspicion of criminal behavior, we focused on heightening officers’ awareness of cues that indicate conflict behavior—those fight, flight and freeze responses to threat that are routinely apparent in enforcement contexts, not only among community members, but aimed toward officers, and originating in the officers themselves.

Once officers are able to identify conflict behavior, they are positioned to understand it. Insight Policing trains officers to ask targeted questions, called Insight questions, that spark a citizen’s critical thinking by eliciting the threat and decision-to-defend that is patterning their conflict behavior.

A few things happen when Insight Policing is employed. The curiosity characteristic of Insight questions, aimed at understanding a person in terms of their own decision-making, takes a person off guard. Contrary to what they are expecting in an enforcement situation, citizens feel heard and attended to. This eases their defensiveness and de-escalates mounting contention. When people become calmer and less stressed, they can think more clearly. This opens space for cooperative dialogue with the officer, who can investigate the threat and defense patterning the conflict behavior he has identified.

Because conflict behavior is often behavior that breaks the law, the information the officer generates by asking Insight questions is critical. It illuminates the context and motivation of a citizen’s actions, positioning the officer to make targeted and precise law enforcement decisions in response—decisions that officers in Lowell and Memphis report have led them to make fewer arrests for crimes against them, like disobeying directives and officer assault. According to one Memphis officer, using Insight Policing skills helps keep things “to a moderate tone.” While the impact of Insight Policing on crime rates and public perceptions of police legitimacy have not yet been quantitatively evaluated, officer reports suggest that the quality of interaction that emerges when using Insight Policing allows

officers to fulfill their obligation to the law and to the public with integrity and builds their legitimacy in the moment when it counts most—in the moment of enforcement.

Insight Policing in Action

The key to Insight Policing is curiosity. According to Sergeant Young, curiosity was not the focus of her basic training a decade ago. Rather, the emphasis of basic training was to teach officers to show command presence through strength, whether that strength was in the form of physical force or certainty in knowing what was right and how things should be done. The problem, she found, was that exerting that kind of command presence led to conflict with citizens. They did not easily comply or show willingness to cooperate. What she discovered over time was that engaging with a person worked much better than relying on the power of her authority. When she learned Insight Policing skills through her master’s studies at George Mason University, she found that Insight Policing coincided with her natural propensity and desire to treat people with dignity and respect. She discovered that she could deepen her ability to engage with citizens in the power-sensitive context of law enforcement through the curiosity inherent in Insight Policing and make effective law enforcement decisions.

In one example, when Sergeant Young served as a deputy in the Loudoun County Sheriff’s Office, she responded to a call from a neighborhood grocery store. A man had been caught by the loss-prevention officer for shoplifting. Clearly, stealing from a store is criminal behavior—it is action taken against the law with straightforward policies and procedures that officers implement. These include obtaining the suspect’s information, calculating the cost of the items stolen, issuing a trespass notice if the management requests it, and either arresting or citing the suspect, depending on the suspect’s criminal history. However, Young decided to incorporate an additional approach based on what she had learned about conflict behavior and curiosity from Insight Policing. She noticed that the suspect was anxiously looking at the parking lot on the security monitor and that what he had stolen from the store were rice, milk, and diapers. She got curious. What was he worried about in that parking lot? And what threat was he defending against by stealing from the grocery store? By asking the suspect Insight questions that revealed the threat and defense patterning his behavior, she discovered within 10 minutes that the suspect was a habitual offender, that he could not find a job, and that his wife and child were in the car in the parking lot waiting for him. Young arrested the man for the crime he committed, but through her curiosity, she learned enough to link him up with a job-training center on his release. She referred his wife too, and helped her access a program for reduced cost child-care. The suspect went with Young without a struggle, and he has not been caught stealing since.

In this case, the man’s criminal behavior was conflict behavior—he was defending against the practical threat that his wife and child

would have no food. Clearly, the decision to commit the crime was misguided. Had he continued to offend in the short term, the long-term consequences for his family would have grown. Through the curiosity-based communication framework of Insight Policing, Young was able to help circumvent those long-term consequences and prevent future crime.

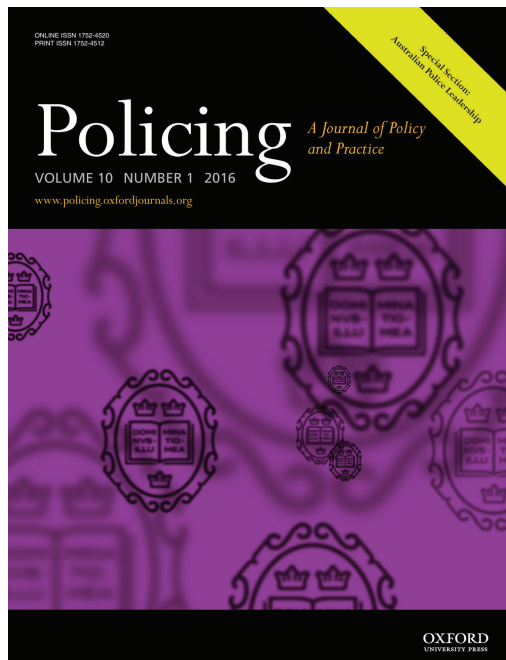
Young is not alone in reaping positive benefits from her knowledge about conflict and curiosity. In our program evaluation surveys from Lowell, Memphis, and Montclair (New Jersey), ninety-two percent of officers trained in Insight Policing agree that it is useful for their work as police officers. Officers have reported that Insight Policing skills enhance their outcomes from traffic stops to warrant pickups to handling the infractions of subordinate officers (see further outcomes in Price and Price, 2015; and Price, 2016).

The conflict over the legitimacy of police authority can make police-citizen encounters difficult and contentious, and put crime prevention out of reach. It contributes to the extraordinary problem of retaliatory violence in high-crime communities as well as to the burgeoning mistrust that has sparked a current wave of police violence and violence against police across America. Most importantly, it calls for new approaches to policing the public. Insight Policing is a new approach that draws specifically on principles of conflict analysis and resolution to help officers make effective law enforcement decisions and have better interactions with the public. Using Insight Policing skills, officers position themselves to de-

escalate contentious encounters, make targeted and precise decisions that change the conflict behavior driving criminal behavior, and reduce crime while increasing legitimacy.

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The Matrix Demonstration Project. (PIs: Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper). Bureau of Justice Assistance. \$1,249,236.

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Evaluating the Crime Control and Cost-Benefit Effectiveness of License Plate Recognition Technology in Patrol and Investigations. (PIs: Christopher Koper and Cynthia Lum; CoPI: James Willis). National Institute of Justice. \$553,715.

A Place-based Community-oriented Approach to Youth Violence Prevention in Seattle. (PIs: David Weisburd and Charlotte Gill). City of Seattle/Bureau of Justice Assistance. \$255,728.

Increasing Collective Efficacy at Crime Hot Spots: A Patrol Force Approach in Brooklyn Park, Minnesota. (PI: David Weisburd; CoPI: Charlotte Gill). Brooklyn Park/Bureau of Justice Assistance. \$260,000.

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Response Awareness, De-escalation, and Referral (RADAR): A Subject Specific Information-Sharing Approach to Increase Public Safety in First Responder Crisis Management. (PIs: Charlotte Gill and Breanne Cave, Police Foundation). Shoreline Police Department/Bureau of Justice Assistance. \$109,000.

The Influence of Mental Health Severity and Treatment on Criminal Justice Success: The Mediating Role of Mental Health Courts. (PI: Allison Redlich). Brain & Behavior Research Foundation. \$99,371.

Rainier Beach: A Beautiful Safe Place for Youth. Community survey and data reporting. (PI: Charlotte Gill, CoPI: Clair White). City of Seattle. \$55,000.

Violent Gang and Gun Crime Reduction Program (Project Safe Neighborhoods). (PIs: Cynthia Lum and Christopher Koper). U.S. Attorney's Office, Washington, D.C. \$29,997.

Hot Off the Press: Recent Publications from CEBCP

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