# Translational Criminology

SPRING 2015

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

## Inside this issue…

# Translational Criminology

SPRING 2015

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

# FROM THE DIRECTORS

**W**elcome to the Spring 2015 issue of *Translational Criminology* magazine! Many of you may not know that the magazine was born from our biannual newsletter when the center first began back in 2008. In 2010, the newsletter was transitioned into the magazine you see before you today, which is disseminated to more than 3,000 readers and provides a forum for those in research, practice, and policy to collaborate in explaining their work and achievements in the field.

In this issue, for example, Jim Royan from the Scottish National Police and Professor John Eck write about how their exchanges from the CEBCP-SIPR symposia contributed to a successful implementation of a regulatory intervention in Midlothian. Jim Burch, now at the Police Foundation, writes about his experiences regarding the implementation of science into policy in BJA, OJP, and the ATF. Sarah Heller describes her work with the Chicago Crime Lab and on implementing summer jobs to mitigate youth violence. Roberto Santos (an Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Member) and Rachel Santos share their experience implementing a model for incorporating crime analysis into operations in the Port St. Lucie Police Department. Linda Merola writes about community reactions to license plate readers. And Richie Adams, one of our Fulbright scholars, writes about his interests and work in the United Kingdom and the United States. We also highlight a special editorial in which numerous contributors emphasize the research that is needed (and the consequences of not conducting research) on body-worn cameras, given their recent rapid adoption in a low-information environment. Finally, showcased in this issue is the acceptance speech of Nicholas Fyfe, for the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy, which we conferred on him in Scotland during our second joint symposium in October.

Like our magazine, the CEBCP too has grown. In 2008, the CEBCP consisted of just four members—the two of us and two graduate students (now professors themselves—Julie Hibdon and Cody Telep). Now, the CEBCP is one of the top performing centers at George Mason University, and one of the most visible criminal justice academic centers in the United States. The CEBCP serves both George Mason University's goal of becoming one of the top research universities in the region, and the field's goal in linking research and practice. Currently housed within the CEBCP are five of Mason's Department of Criminology, Law and Society professors (David Weisburd, Cynthia Lum, Charlotte Gill, Christopher Koper, and Sue-Ming Yang) and 12 graduate research assistants. We have been home to many visiting scholars and Fulbright fellows and are affiliated with 14 faculty members in and outside of George Mason. Our four research programs (crime and place, evidence-based

policing, systematic reviews, and criminal justice policy) engage us in research projects and partnerships of importance to the field, from community health and crime at places to police technology, crime prevention, national security issues, policing interventions, and youth. Since our inception, we have carried out eight congressional briefings and eight special symposia. This year we also captured Mason's Team Excellence Award.

But we do not rest on our laurels—we continue to think of ways we can exchange with others and make an impact. Our faculty and students are carrying out exciting new research projects, including a major examination of community health at street segments in Baltimore City (National Institutes of Health, NIDA), an examination of the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of license plate readers in investigations (National Institute of Justice), and new demonstrations of the institutionalization of research into practice in our Matrix Demonstration Projects, Byrne Criminal Justice Innovation Grant, and Smart Policing Initiatives (Bureau of Justice Assistance). This past fall we partnered once again with our colleagues in the Scottish Institute for Policing Research to carry out a second joint symposium on policing (see www.sipr.ac.uk/). This successful symposium in Tulliallan, Scotland, brought together experts to discuss some of the most pressing issues in policing and facilitate further exchanges between U.S. and U.K. policing. Our congressional briefing in February in collaboration with WestEd on school safety and violence prevention was also a major success, focusing on a timely topic. Our 2015 symposium, in collaboration with the Police Foundation, will take place August 17–18, 2015, where we intend to tackle some of the most compelling topics in contemporary policing in light of recent events in Ferguson and New York City.

We hope you enjoy this issue of *Translational Criminology* and look forward to future developments in evidence-based crime policy.

David Weisburd, Executive Director
Cynthia Lum, Director

# The Evolution toward Integrating Science and Evidence in U.S. Department of Justice Agencies —An Insider's Reflections

BY JAMES H. BURCH II

*James H. Burch II is vice president of Strategic Initiatives at the Police Foundation, and former assistant director in the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (2014-15), deputy assistant attorney general in the Office of Justice Programs (2011-14), and acting director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance (2009-11).*

James H. Burch II

Federal agencies directly and indirectly responsible for improving the nation's criminal justice system through grants and other federal assistance have made it abundantly clear that supporting the development and replication of evidence-based practices by state, local, and tribal entities is a top priority. But questions remain as to what extent these agencies and their operational counterpart agencies are truly embracing evidence-based practices and whether we are evolving toward a sustained practice of integrating science and evidence or just showcasing a temporary idea.

Expecting a wholesale change or shift is not practical. Instead, we must look at various points in the evolutionary process to appreciate and understand the incremental, yet potentially substantial change taking place. For example, a pivotal time in the Department of Justice's evolution toward becoming an organization that sustains its focus on science and evidence occurred in 2009 with a massive increase in congressional appropriations to the Office of Justice Programs (OJP) as part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. In fact, the $2.76 billion Recovery Act funds essentially doubled OJP's appropriations and were intended to provide "resources, through federal grants and grant programs, to assist communities throughout the country. These funds [were] intended to build capacity to prevent crime and improve the criminal justice system in the United States, while supporting the creation and retention of jobs."[1] The OJP leadership at the time insisted on leveraging science and avoiding spending on purposes that would not advance the system.

The president requested and Congress provided a roughly 100 percent increase in resources that (aside from the requirements to create jobs in communities, reach as many economically distressed communities as possible, and improve criminal justice) had no programmatic limitations that barred using the funds in the most needed and effective ways. These factors created an exceptionally rare opportunity for OJP to leap ahead in its evolution toward embedding science and integrating evidence in its programs supporting state, local, and tribal justice needs. This step began a significant shift, and the OJP staff fully embraced the opportunity, ultimately leading the way to where OJP is today in terms of supporting evidence integration.

While this was a time of opportunity and growth for OJP, it was not without its challenges. As the staff and agency leaders moved quickly and enthusiastically to design and implement new programs that would improve the field's knowledge of what works, improve the operations and capacity of the system, and create jobs, they faced many challenges. These challenges included adapting proven and promising models to different or unique geographic settings (for example, rural areas), a crisis atmosphere and resulting time line to disburse funding and produce results, conflicting development time lines between program and research components, a peer-review process with inherent weaknesses in identifying the proposals with the greatest potential for success in advancing justice, and a lack of consensus about what strategies and approaches should be tested or had already been proven to reduce crime. Coupled with political expectations from the legislative branch that all communities were suffering and therefore everyone should get something, these issues created significant challenges.

The exceptional nature of the opportunity, the urgency of the legislation, and the push from leadership to seize the day required OJP staff to confront many of these obstacles and pilot test new and creative approaches to doing business together. As a result, OJP learned and changed. The stranglehold of tradition and bureaucracy that government organizations routinely confront was lifted just long enough to allow the staff to identify new ways of working together and addressing some of the barriers to integrating programs with science that had been counterproductive for years.

With support from the Office of the Assistant Attorney General and in close coordination with the various OJP business offices, such as its Office of General Counsel; Office of the Comptroller; Office of Audit, Assessment, and Management; and others, traditional and in some cases singularly focused internal processes were revised or set

aside in favor of new processes that blended together the needs of program, science, and accountability to meet the overall goals. The limits of what could be done had expanded or were at least approached with an open mind, resulting in many immediate successes and paving the way for sustainability of these newfound flexibilities and problem solving, including

- Joint short- and long-term program planning and sharing of priorities began taking place between the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the National Institute of Justice, as well as other OJP program offices, at both the leadership (director) level and management levels
- Establishing research advisory boards (with appropriate nondisclosure/noncompete requirements) to assist both the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Assistance in designing, planning, and crafting large-scale joint research and demonstration projects well in advance of the time dictated by the appropriations cycle
- Joint or closely coordinated National Institute of Justice and Bureau of Justice Assistance grant monitoring of research demonstration projects to ensure consistent communication between the program and evaluation teams, as well as between funding agencies, and continued commitment to programmatic requirements
- Considering peer review outcomes as advisory and allowing agencies such as the National Institute of Justice and Bureau of Justice Assistance to send teams of federal and external researchers

to high-scoring applicant sites to further explore research and program readiness and suitability, factoring findings into the decision-making process

- Balancing program investments between innovation and evidence to allow some applicants to innovate and test approaches not yet considered evidence-based, particularly in rural or other areas with unique features or requirements

While some of these developments may have been previously thought of or maybe even tried before, it was this occasion—and the willingness and commitment of OJP staff—that allowed these changes to be implemented as "in this case" but to grow into "the way we do business." In fact, the above advancements are largely still in place today as standard practice.

While the pace of this evolutionary process was uniquely enhanced and accelerated during the perfect storm of the Recovery Act, the desire to leverage science and evidence in support of OJP program development existed more than 15 years earlier. I recall, for example, officials in the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention urging the revisitation of youth development research funded by the then-Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to shape new funding programs, and urging support of positive youth development approaches as called for in the research and following public health and delinquency prevention research related to risk and protective factors. Each new major initiative brought with it some opportunity to be shaped and informed by available research. In

some cases, the opportunity was seized, in others it wasn't demanded or expected and opportunities were clearly lost. Collectively, these occasions represent the cyclical process of moving closer to the integration of science and evidence.

As these Recovery Act development and management approaches became the norm after 2009, many of OJP's greatest science-based initiatives were formed—from the SMART Policing Initiative, which pairs local law enforcement agencies with local researchers to replicate evidence-based practices, to the testing of promising and innovative reentry models and large-scale replication of programs, such as Hawaii HOPE. These joint initiatives will do much to inform the nation about what works, how it works, and why. In many ways, these latter initiatives were informed and inspired by the successes of the Recovery Act processes.

In January 2014, I was asked to assist DOJ's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF) as an assistant director, responsible for public and governmental affairs. I served in this role until January 2015. My experience at ATF was eye opening in terms of the challenges of evidence-based practice in a federal law enforcement agency, particularly because they appear outside the scope of federal agency role (for example, no patrol function). What I found there was both surprising and encouraging. In 2013, the newly confirmed ATF director, B. Todd Jones, and his executive team launched the formation of an agency-wide internal business strategy. The strategy is referred to as "Frontline" and is designed to assist the bureau in focusing its limited resources on the most serious issues within ATF's realm of responsibility and doing so in more account-able ways. Frontline espouses the concept of intelligence-driven enforcement and creates a cycle of accountability and assessment that arguably has its origins in the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment or SARA problem-solving model. Quite surprising was Frontline's adoption of evidence-based principles derived from evaluation research on the Project Safe Neighborhoods model[2] in particular, resulting in a focus on building partnerships with state and local agencies and organizations representing key stakeholders affected by the bureau's mission and operations. ATF's executive team is in the process of ensuring full adoption of this strategy throughout its 25 field divisions.

During my time with ATF, I learned about local operations and partnerships that demonstrated just how ATF's local-level operations could be consistent with evidence-based practice. For example, ATF's support for and participation in the Kansas City, Missouri, No Violence Alliance,[3] an evidence-based, focused deterrence strategy implemented as part of the Bureau of Justice's SMART Policing Initiative, recently recognized by the International Association of Chiefs of Police Research Advisory Committee. A brief conversation with Kansas City Police Department officials revealed that the cooperation between the local ATF and the Kansas City Police Department was unique and referred to as "critical" by local officials.

I saw this same level of cooperation through the emerging Crime Gun Intelligence Center concept in multiple ATF field divisions, most notably Chicago and Denver. It was clear that despite what many perceive as immunity of federal agencies from evidence-based practice, the ATF is helping guide and implement these approaches in many local communities. Near the end of my time at ATF, an independent researcher was retained to assess ATF enforcement initiatives, including the Crime Gun Intelligence Center, looking to build closer connections between ATF and local communities, so the gains made through these cooperative enforcement strategies can be sustained through local evidence-based approaches over the long term. I found the openness to evidence-based practices highly encouraging and motivating, and ATF executives and staff were deservingly proud about ATF's progress in this regard.

Federal justice agency adoption of science and evidence is a major philosophical and operational shift, and despite strong support for this change from within the agencies, it will take administration and congressional action, vigilance on the part of the scientific and policy communities, and many years of sustained focus and commitment to reach the point where evidence integration is truly the norm with few barriers to integration. For now, we should be encouraged to know that OJP and its program offices continue to modify internal processes in support of the integration of science and implement evidence-based programs. Private-sector companies marketing technology solutions to state and local agencies have recognized this shift and are now marketing products in ways that align with or even support the evidence-based practice movement. Federal enforcement agencies such as the ATF are engaging with outside researchers and supporting local implementation of evidence-based violence reduction strategies.

The future is bright as we embrace science in the justice community, and we must redouble our efforts to produce the research needed to drive future strategies and continue to build our capacity to translate evidence into practice.

### Endnotes

1. U.S. Department of Justice (June 2010). *OJP-Program Specific Plan for Management of Recovery Act Funds. Update.* Retrieved from http://www.justice.gov/recovery/pdfs/ojp-plan.pdf
2. McGarrell, E.F., Kroovand Hipple, N., Corsaro, N., Bynum, T., Perez, H., Zimmermann, C., & Garmo, M., (April 2009). Project Safe Neighborhoods: A National Program to Reduce Gun Crime: Final Project Report. Retrieved January 31, 2015, from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) web site: https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/226686.pdf
3. SMART Policing Initiative web site (2015). *Reducing Violent Crime through Social Network Analysis-based Offender Targeting.* Retrieved on January 31, 2015, from the Smart Policing Initiative web site: http://www.smartpolicinginitiative.com/SPIsites/kansas-city-missouri

# Criminology, Law and Society

## MA and PhD Programs

### HIGHLIGHTS

- Significant graduate funding available

- Faculty mentorship of graduate students

- **New!** Non-thesis MA concentration in Policy and Practice

- Opportunities for student research and publishing

- Multiple collaborations with justice agencies

- Outreach to policy makers and practitioners

### RESEARCH CENTERS

- Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence

- Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy

- Center for Justice Leadership and Management

- Cochrane Collaboration College for Policy
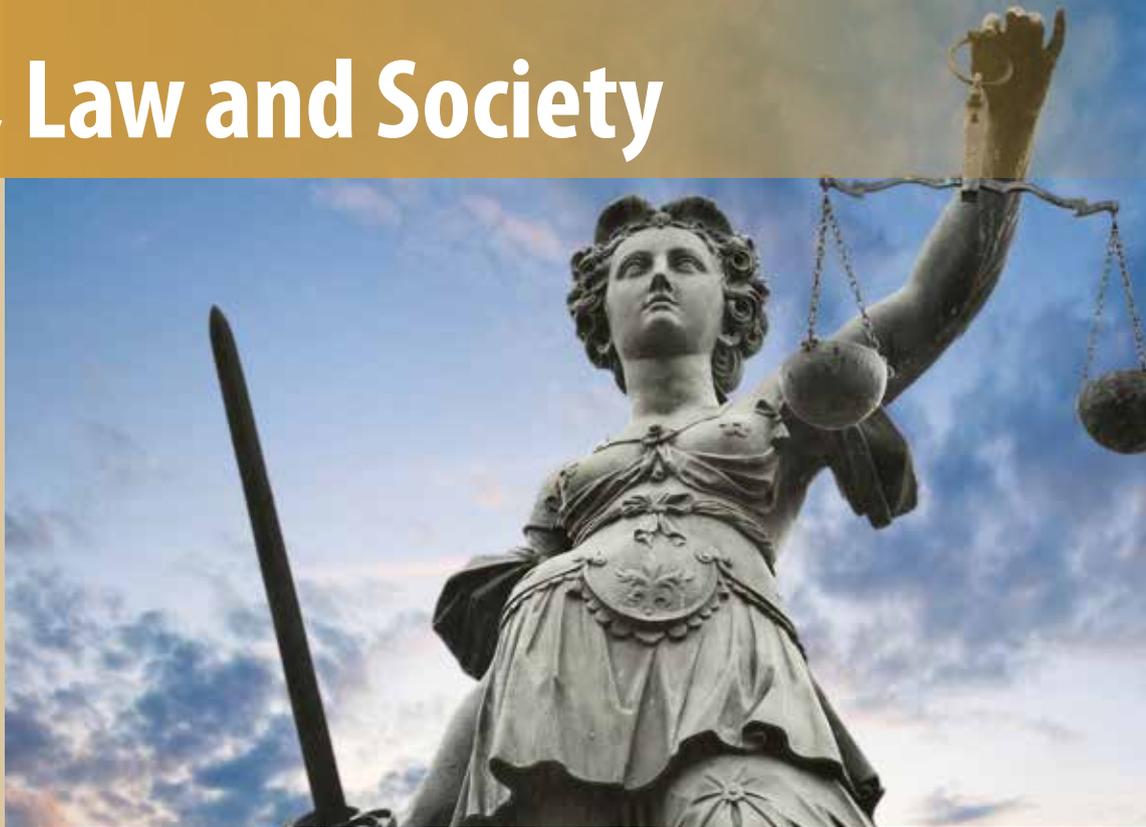
## Rigorous. Innovative. Policy-Oriented.

The master of arts and doctoral programs in Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University prepare students for careers in research, academia, criminal justice leadership, nonprofit organizations, and public affairs.

Students gain expertise across three areas: crime and crime policy, justice organizations and leadership, and law and justice. The interdisciplinary faculty specializes in the areas of policing, courts and corrections, justice health, social inequality and justice, and legal policy, and offers students a wealth of opportunities to experience criminal justice policy firsthand.

Visit the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at Mason today. To meet one of our award-winning faculty members and speak to other graduate students, please e-mail clsgrad@gmu.edu to arrange an appointment.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Department of Criminology, Law and Society

cls.gmu.edu

# Body-Worn Cameras—Rapid Adoption in a Low-Information Environment?

**CYNTHIA LUM,** DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR EVIDENCE-BASED CRIME POLICY

Recent events in Ferguson, Missouri, and New York City have led law enforcement agencies, citizens, civil rights groups, city councils, and even the president to push for the rapid adoption of body-worn camera (BWC) technology. At the same time, researchers are just beginning to develop knowledge about the effects, both intentional and unintentional, of this technology.

This rapid adoption of technology in a low-information environment is not new to policing. The allure of the efficiencies and the promises of technology, coupled with social crises and other pressures, make rapid adoption without adequate research a familiar story. At the same time, studies have found that technology can have unintended consequences that are not anticipated or are strongly conditioned by organizational structures and cultures.[1] Such consequences can affect the potential benefits of technology and have short- and long-term effects on both the police organization and its relationship with the community.

The need for research on BWCs cannot be overstated, and funding for research about this and other technologies should be prioritized. For this special editorial, we asked various experts to discuss what they believe are major gaps in knowledge about BWCs that still need to be addressed. We also asked them to speculate on the possible consequences for both the police and the community if decisions to adopt BWCs continue in a low-information environment.



Various types of body-worn cameras. Photos courtesy of the Rialto (California) Police Department and via cops.usdoj.gov.

Chief Tony Farrar (Rialto, California, Police Department) carried out the first experimental study of the impact of body-worn cameras on the use of force in collaboration with Barak Ariel of Cambridge University's Institute of Criminology.

## Body-Worn Cameras: High Expectations for the Police, Community Members, and Researchers

*(Dennis P. Rosenbaum, chair, Division of Policing, American Society of Criminology and professor of criminology, law and justice, University of Illinois at Chicago)*

The rapid adoption of BWCs in policing is an opportunity to answer two core questions in policing: What goes wrong during police-citizen encounters that we can translate into practice, and can BWCs change behavior and increase accountability?

First, we know very little about why police interactions with minority communities, youth, and persons in mental health crisis go awry. We have successfully measured procedural justice during police contacts,[2] but we lack details about what specific behaviors lead to negative or positive outcomes, that is, who said what to whom in what tone of voice with what nonverbal cues? BWC data can answer this question. Second, BWCs, like other forms of surveillance, will likely change both police and citizen behavior. If reformers are correct, the misuse of police authority will decline, but if history is any indication, efforts will be made to subvert the technology or misuse it. The bottom line: We need rigorous research on BWCs now so that science can help guide policy and practice. As chair of the new Division of Policing at the American Society of Criminology, I strongly urge policy makers and funding agencies to support a series of studies on this topic.

## The Relevance of Understanding Key Stakeholder Perceptions toward Body-Worn Cameras

*(Wesley G. Jennings and Lorie Fridell, associate professors, Department of Criminology, University of South Florida)*

Evaluating the extent to which BWCs achieve their proposed goals is essential because the implementation of BWCs requires financial resources to maintain and expand services over time, and evidence-based outcomes are needed to develop effective short- and long-term law enforcement policies and procedures. Related to this, we see one central research question that continues to be under-addressed: How do key stakeholders of police departments (for example, administrators, police supervisors, officers, and civilians) perceive the implementation process of BWCs?

In this regard, it is important to assess the buy-in from these key stakeholders, including mid- and upper-level police management, toward BWCs; identify their successes and obstacles with BWC adoption and implementation; and determine their perceived value of the contribution of BWCs to day-to-day operations specifically and in policing more generally. Ultimately, the consequences of proceeding with BWC adoption without first answering germane research questions such as these is that it may lead to an ineffective use of scarce resources and an improperly informed rationale for small- or wide-scale adoption of BWCs. The result would be poorly defined and non-evidence-based implementation strategies and BWC policies and procedures.

## Will Body-Worn Cameras Change Proactive Policing?

*(Christopher S. Koper, associate professor, Department of Criminology, Law and Society, George Mason University)*

One interesting question, among many, is whether and how BWCs will affect officer proactivity. We often hear that BWCs, as well as in-car cameras, can help protect officers from false claims of misconduct as much as they can support valid claims. If officers largely interpret the technology in a protective manner, will this make them more confident in conducting traffic stops, pedestrian checks, and Terry frisks? And if so, will BWCs prompt officers to increase their proactive contacts? On the other hand, might BWCs make officers more reluctant to carry out such activities for fear that their actions are more likely to be scrutinized for violations of procedure (even if minor) or questioning of their motives?

Yet another possibility is that the technology could make officers more selective in their contacts, which might conceivably improve their effectiveness while reducing their chances for unnecessary, negative citizen encounters. To date, these issues have received little attention with respect to BWCs or car cameras. If BWCs do change officer proactivity, what will be the ramifications—for better or worse—for police effectiveness and legitimacy?

## The Predictability of Unpredictable Change

*(James Willis, associate professor, Department of Criminology, Law and Society, George Mason University, and deputy director of the Center for Justice Leadership and Management)*

It is a truism in studies on organizations that the implementation of innovations is rarely clear-cut. The introduction of something new invariably results in additional organizational challenges and unforeseen outcomes. For example, take the introduction of the two-way radio or motorized patrol car in the early 20th century. While improving communication and police patrol coverage, these new technologies removed officers from the kinds of face-to-face contact with citizens that helped build trusting relationships and intimate knowledge of local problems. More recently, COMPSTAT burst onto the scene to widespread acclaim before empirical case studies suggested that some of its key elements seemed to work at cross-purposes. Contrary to the image of a well-oiled machine that made police departments suddenly responsive to their crime environments, COMPSTAT's strict accountability mechanism worked to undermine creative problem-solving and brainstorming. Similarly, BWCs have become the latest trend to sweep policing, but if what is past is prologue, any benefits they deliver will have to be weighed against potential costs. In addition to research on outcomes, what is desperately needed are in-depth studies of their implementation in departments across the country. What can we learn about how they are changing existing organizational structures and processes to maximize their utility?

## Supporting Innovations with Rigorous Research: The LJAF Body-Worn Camera Initiative

*(Anne Milgram, Laura and John Arnold Foundation)*

Recent controversies surrounding police use of force have spurred jurisdictions nationwide to consider implementing police BWCs, in the hope that they will generate a host of positive outcomes—from increased transparency, community trust, and higher-quality evidence to reductions in civilian complaints and fewer incidents involving police use of force. New studies supported by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation will help ensure that BWCs are used in the best and scientifically sound ways. The foundation's goal is to ensure that law enforcement agencies have rigorous research about the efficacy of BWCs when deciding about adoption and implementation. The foundation is funding three randomized control trials by researchers at Arizona State University, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the Urban Institute.

The trials will draw from five diverse police departments to assess the impact and any unintended consequences of police BWC use. Researchers will build on existing studies and explore novel questions including whether BWCs can be a useful training tool, and variations among officers about when they turn on their BWCs. The foundation is also supporting a cost-benefit analysis by the Police Executive Research Forum to assess whether the underlying costs of BWC implementation are offset by reduced litigation against departments. These studies will enable police departments to make effective evidence-based policies on BWCs.

## Body-Worn Cameras as a Solution for the Split-Second Syndrome

*(Michael D. White, professor, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Arizona State University)*

Police-citizen encounters are transactional events, with each participant making decisions and responding to the decisions of the other participant. As a result, use of force by a police officer is the culmination of a series of earlier actions and reactions; however, review of force incidents traditionally ignores earlier stages of an encounter and focuses entirely on the final-frame decision.

James Fyfe called this "the split-second syndrome," and he argued that this narrow focus excuses unnecessary violence resulting from poor decisions made by officers at earlier stages of the encounter. Fyfe notes that poor decision-making during the officer's approach to the encounter and during the initial contact with the citizen is typically a consequence of improper training or incompetence. However, the disproportionate focus on the final frame decision gives officers "a pass" on their earlier mistakes.

BWCs represent an opportunity to overcome the split-second syndrome because the technology can provide a permanent video record of the entire police-citizen encounter. BWCs allow for a full review of all decisions made by the officer during an encounter, from start to finish. Did the officer make decisions early on in the encounter that escalated the potential for violence? Did the officer miss opportunities to resolve the encounter peacefully? BWCs can facilitate a comprehensive review of forceful encounters to determine why they ended in violence and to identify best practices for resolving encounters peacefully. BWCs hold tremendous promise as a violence reduction tool, and researchers and police leaders should explore this potential benefit.

## We Need to Understand the Public's Views toward Police Body Cameras

*(Daniel S. Lawrence, research associate I, The Urban Institute)*

The accelerated adoption of police body cameras has narrowed the opportunity for research to inform practice before being displaced by anecdotes, assumptions, and soon-to-be-entrenched

conventional wisdom. While these cameras have the ability to enhance transparency and accountability, they may also have an unintended effect on community perceptions of the police. The field lacks the empirical evidence surrounding citizens' attitudes toward the cameras and how the result of a camera being present during an encounter may affect such attitudes toward officers and the department as a whole. A community member may like the idea of the police using cameras against those who commit crime, but that attitude may change when the lens is facing them.

Through a partnership with the Laura and John Arnold Foundation and police departments representing socially and economically diverse communities, the Urban Institute aims to answer many questions on police body cameras in its upcoming randomized control trial study. Specific to the thoughts above, the institute will identify how the cameras contribute to citizens' attitudes of trust toward the police and develop a systematic method to increased views of trust toward officers during encounters in which a camera is involved.

## Forecast for Body-Worn Cameras Is Unclear—Will They Warm or Chill Police-Citizen Relationships?

*(Elizabeth R. Groff and Jennifer D. Wood, associate professors, Department of Criminal Justice, Temple University)*

In democratic societies, the police aspire to a "consensus"[3] style of law enforcement, at the heart of which is citizen support and the continuous flow of community information to officers. If sustained over time, the consensus style provides the foundation for police and the communities they serve to coproduce public order and safety.

Although BWCs are viewed as a promising mechanism for enhancing public support of police work—and ultimately police legitimacy—the impact of BWCs on citizen behavior and, more broadly, the delicate state of coproduction have not been considered. BWCs may compromise coproduction by increasing the risk of, and reducing the incentive for, people to cooperate with police.[4]

In cities with a strong culture of retaliation, citizens who give police information do so at great personal risk. Cameras may produce a chilling effect on citizen cooperation by jeopardizing the confidentiality of information sharing. Compromises to the flow of community intelligence may ultimately encourage a legalistic and less discretionary approach by officers who are operating on diminished local knowledge of criminal behaviors and environments. Under such a scenario, BWCs might disrupt the bonds between police and community members and produce more harm than good.

## Ethnographic Research Needed to Learn How Body-Worn Cameras Will Affect Immigrant and Refugee Communities

*(Claudia Gross Shader, assistant city auditor, City of Seattle, Office of City Auditor)*

Washington state has a broad Public Records Act that currently allows all video records captured by BWCs in Seattle to be subject to disclosure, online posting, and use for personal or commercial purposes. Rigorous independent research is required for policy makers to better understand the potential unintended consequences that BWC video might have for community members, especially those in Seattle's vibrant immigrant and refugee communities.

In southeast Seattle, for example, where more than 160 languages are spoken, rigorous ethnographic research developed in a culturally relevant manner and collected in a culturally sensitive fashion could help inform policy decisions on the use of BWCs. Community surveys, focus groups, and listening sessions could capture important information on the implications of BWCs for immigrants and refugees, which includes the potential effects on crime reporting, especially for domestic disturbances; participation in peaceful public demonstrations; and cooperation with police investigations. Such research would help inform policies around the use of BWCs and allow the city to tailor outreach efforts to address specific potential concerns of immigrant and refugee communities. In addition, this research could help inform broader policy discussions examining the state's Public Records Act, which was adopted in 1972 before digital technology and social media existed.

## Defining Success for Body-Worn Cameras across Interlaced Systems

*(Robert Mead, information technology project manager, Seattle Police Department)*

Research on BWCs requires defining what we mean by "successful" deployment. On first glance, success might be communicated as added value and benefits to the police agency with regard to a specific outcome such as reduced complaints or use of force. But "value" and "benefits" are difficult to articulate as policing is a complex set of interlaced systems that go beyond these outcomes. Such systems involve the technology itself and its related systems, policies and management, monitoring agencies, local and national politics, the public, the officers, internal police operations, interest groups, privacy concerns and data governance, and state and local laws.

The police must be concerned with what "success" means to each element and how to balance competing and contradictory perspectives in developing an effective body-worn video solution. For

example, for video data governance and privacy, research questions to help build a notion of successful implementation might include who owns the data, who keeps it, how copies are tracked, who backs up the data and how often is it backed up, who encrypts it, who keeps the keys, who redacts it, how sensitive information or vulnerable people will be protected, and what the effect of laws (or the lack thereof) have on police use of cameras. Depending on the interest group (for example, police, citizens, civil rights groups), there may be highly variable measures of what successful data governance and privacy may look like. Police agencies may look to researchers to sift through these issues, helping to identify gaps between systems in defining outcomes sought and success.

## Body Cameras, Data, and the Community

*(Linda Merola, associate professor, Department of Criminology, Law and Society, George Mason University)*

BWCs raise privacy and legitimacy issues because they are recording devices. Citizens may not wish to be recorded or for these recordings to be preserved or shared with others (for example, via requests under state open-records laws). Traditionally, citizens have not been able to assert a privacy interest in public conduct, but this may be changing.

In 2012, the Supreme Court expressed concern over technologies that collect large quantities of information about citizens' movements and, thereby, provide a comprehensive view of individuals' public activities to police.[5] Compared with incidental or periodic observations, these technologies may be distinct because they enable more generalized surveillance.

As BWC use increases and as footage is stored, a large amount of information about citizens' movements, activities, associates, and beliefs may be derived from the footage. Cameras may record activities protected by the First Amendment or, even if they do not, beliefs may be inferred from locations visited or other activities caught on tape. Moreover, if databases of camera footage are linked with other data sources (such as closed circuit television or license plate recognition data) or if BWCs become integrated with facial recognition technology, these advances will heighten concerns about wide-ranging surveillance, misuse and hacking of data, and the resulting effects on agency legitimacy. Finally, if certain areas, communities, or types of individuals are surveilled more frequently using these devices, bias concerns may be raised and may also negatively affect police-community relations.

## From Clients to Codevelopers—A New Model for Partnership between the Police and Technology Industry

*(Paddy Tomkins QPM MA, Droman Limited, Edinburgh, UK, formerly Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland)*

In contrast to centralized public institutions such as the armed forces, police forces in the United States and the United Kingdom are fragmented, of greatly varying size, and rarely confident in defining desired benefits against strategic aims when entering into a procurement process for anything other than complex computer systems.

Rather than be cast as the end user of technologies such as BWCs, often developed for a very broadly defined security market, the police should seek to establish a relationship with suppliers that focuses on development of products and services to deliver long-term, sustainable solutions rather than immediate but ephemeral effects on crime rates and officer productivity. This action might include creating a consortium of police departments to invest funds in product research to deliver superior results.

At core, there should be an articulation of identified future business needs for which the police are seeking a solution. This step would allow police and suppliers to focus jointly on the whole value chain, from the capability and deployment of the BWC to the management of product, the storage and analysis of data, the use of metadata as management information in developing workforce efficiency and crime prevention strategies. Police need to become more active in engaging with industry at the concept and design stages so specific gains can be anticipated and built into training and deployment.

### Endnotes

1. See Koper, Christopher, Cynthia Lum, James Willis, Daniel Woods, and Julie Hibdon. (2015). Optimizing the Use of Technology in Policing: Results and Implications from a Multi-Site Study of the Social, Organizational, and Behavioral Aspects of Implementing Police Technologies. Final Report to the National Institute of Justice.
2. Rosenbaum, D. P., Lawrence, D. S., Hartnett, S. M., McDevitt, J., and Posick, C. (In press). Measuring Procedural Justice and Legitimacy at the Local Level: The Police-Community Interaction Survey. *Journal of Experimental Criminology.*
3. Lea, J., and Young, J. (1993) What Is to Be Done about Law and Order. London: Pluto Press.
4. The coproduction of community safety requires police and community members work in partnership with one another and with other city agencies to solve community crime problems (Innes and Roberts, 2008; Ostrom and Gordon, 1973).
5. U.S. v. Jones, 565 US ___, 132 S. Ct. 945 (2012).
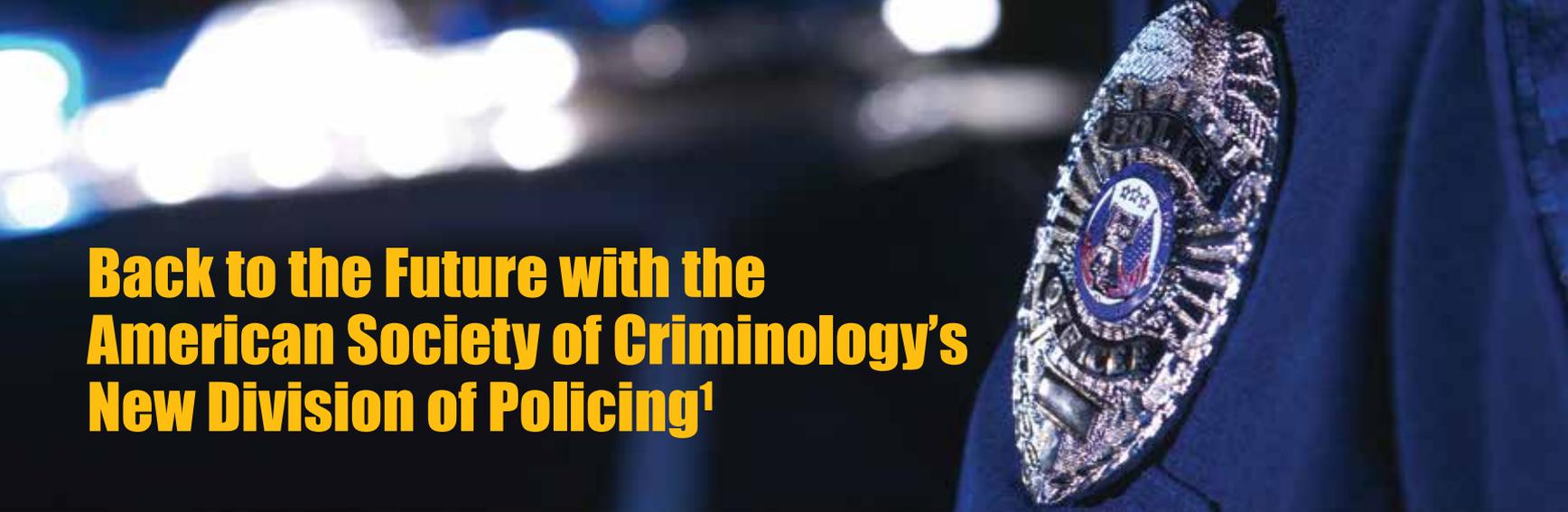
# Back to the Future with the American Society of Criminology's New Division of Policing[1]

Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Chair
Anthony A. Braga, Vice Chair

Cody W. Telep, Secretary-Treasurer
Matthew Hickman, Executive Counselor

Cynthia Lum, Executive Counselor
William Terrill, Executive Counselor

On December 31, 1941, August Vollmer, first police chief of Berkeley, California, and founder of the first school of criminology at the University of California, Berkeley, hosted the first meeting of the National Association of College Police Training Officials at his home. The organization initially focused on developing standardized curriculums for university-based policing programs, but soon expanded its scope to include the more general field of criminology. In 1958, the American Society of Criminology (ASC) name was officially adopted.[2]

Vollmer's contribution to criminology as a police chief was perhaps best summed up by O. W. Wilson who said that Vollmer "will be recorded in American police history as the man who contributed most to police professionalization by promoting the application of scientific principles to police service."[3] While Vollmer's focus on science was largely on forensic and physical sciences, in part because of a lack of social science research on the police at the time, he was one of the first to recognize that the police could partner with scientists and other outsiders to increase their effectiveness and efficiency. He embodied the idea of infusing policing with research and scientific knowledge, which is the hallmark of efforts to make policing more evidence-based today.

We can only speculate on how Vollmer would run a police department today. But based on his strong belief that officers should be well-educated and exposed to the latest research findings through extensive training throughout their careers, we might assume he would embrace close collaboration between police and social scientists and the use of findings from rigorous studies to guide police practice. As O. W. Wilson's quote suggested, Vollmer not only incorporated research into policing, but he also was one of the first to straddle the line between science and practice through his work as a police chief and university professor. Vollmer's interest in the link between universities and policing inspired that New Year's Eve meeting in 1941, which eventually led to the formation of the ASC, now the largest professional organization devoted to criminology in the world.

Recently, a group of scholars and practitioners have begun the critical work of highlighting policing as an important part of criminology and the ASC. In May 2014, the ASC approved a new Division of Policing (see the division's website at www.ascpolicing.org), with membership open to any ASC member. The division seeks to advance theory, knowledge, and practice in policing through rigorous research and evaluation. A major goal of the division is to build strong partnerships between police and researchers that will ideally increase the number of completed research studies and improve translation of research findings into police practice. The division thus marks a return to the roots of the ASC and Vollmer's vision of a policing profession consistently using the best science and research to guide policy and practice.

We encourage ASC members to consider joining the division. Dues are only $15 annually. Visit www.ascpolicing.org/membership/ for more information. We look forward to your participation in the division and to seeing you at our next special event at the ASC Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., in November.

---

1  Portions of this text originally appeared on the Oxford University Press blog. See blog.oup.com/2014/11/asc-new-division-policing/.

2  See www.asc41.com/History.html.

3  Wilson, O. W. (1953:91). August Vollmer. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 44, 91–103.

# Summer Jobs and Youth Violence

BY SARA B. HELLER

*Sara B. Heller is an assistant professor of criminology at the University of Pennsylvania and an affiliated researcher with the University of Chicago Crime Lab.*

The idea that jobs should prevent youth violence—which is widespread among both social scientists and policymakers—seems like a compelling rationale to fund employment programs. Yet most rigorous research suggests that using employment programs to reduce crime (or even to improve employment) among disadvantaged youth is actually quite difficult and costly. Only lengthy and intensive youth employment interventions show convincingly positive impacts at a large scale.

My paper published last December in *Science*, however, points to one promising exception: summer jobs (Heller, 2014). The article reports the results of a randomized, controlled trial of a Chicago program called One Summer Plus (OSP), which provides an eight-week, minimum wage summer job and an adult job mentor to disadvantaged high-school youth living in some of the country's most dangerous neighborhoods. Almost all the study youth were African American and eligible for free/reduced price lunches (a proxy for family poverty); about 20 percent had been arrested prior to the program.

The results are striking: youth who won a lottery for a program slot (n = 734) were arrested for 43 percent fewer violent crimes (about 4 fewer per 100 youth) over the next 16 months than the control group (n = 904). They showed no changes in property, drug, or other crimes (measured by administrative arrest records, not self-reports). The fact that an eight-week program can have this kind of impact suggests that violent behavior may not be as difficult to change as previously believed.

## What the Study Means

Youth violence, especially among disadvantaged minority youth, is an undeniably pressing social problem: Homicide kills more young black men than the nine other leading causes of death combined. In evaluating interventions to reduce violence, many studies compare youth who volunteer to participate to those who don't show up. Even with advanced statistical methods to control for differences between these two groups, we can never rule out the possibility that the youth who show up are different than those who do not in ways we can't measure.

In the case of OSP, however, we can be confident that the program itself caused the large decline in violent-crime arrests; the only difference between those offered the program and those in the control group is a coin flip. Because violence entails incredible social costs,

Sara B. Heller

preliminary calculations in the study suggest the program's benefits may already outweigh its costs, though longer-term follow-up across additional outcomes is needed to know for sure.

As exciting as the results are, it is important to realize that a single experiment can never answer every question. Two particularly important questions arise from the findings. The first is about replicability. The *Science* study documents that a particular program worked for a particular population in a particular setting. Interestingly, a more recent study of New York City's summer jobs program—where participants are randomly chosen via lotteries—finds a decline in mortality, driven by fewer homicides, for participants in the city's summer jobs program (Gelber, Isen, and Kessler, 2014). This provides hope that the basic approach may work elsewhere (at least in other large cities). But we do not yet know if it works for everyone or some subset of those served, or if it would be effective in settings with different labor market, crime, or public service contexts. Figuring out how generalizable the results are across different cities, and across different youth populations within the same city, is central to ensuring that any new funding is well spent.

The second question is *why* the program reduces violence. There are many candidate mechanisms: OSP provides income, connections to employers, on-the-job training, mentorship, changes in peer exposure, information on the value of school, soft skill development, and something to do during the summer. The study can rule out several mechanisms: there are no short-term improvements in schooling outcomes, suggesting that increased school attendance and performance does not explain the violence drop. And the decline accrues largely after the summer, suggesting it is not simply an "incapacitation" effect. Early analysis of employment outcomes (and the New York City study) suggests it is also unlikely to be improved post-program employment.

In my view, the fact that violence is the only type of crime to decline provides a hint of what might be going on. (It also emphasizes the need to measure program effects on crime separately by type.) Violent crime by definition involves conflicts with other people, whereas property and drug crimes generally do not. Perhaps by teaching youth how to be good employees and helping them navigate conflicts with employers, the program is developing their ability to avoid a fight. This would be consistent with other evidence from Chicago, which shows a program that specifically targets

judgment and decision-making also reduces violence (Heller, Pollack, Ander, and Ludwig, 2013). Given how many homicides result from arguments over seemingly trivial disagreements, developing the ability to walk away rather than escalate an argument could make a surprisingly large difference to levels of youth violence. And developing that ability before youth leave school may be one of the key differences between OSP and other, less successful employment interventions, which tend to serve very disconnected youth who may need more intensive services.

The City of Chicago recognizes the importance of addressing these two questions, and I continue to work with them on follow-up studies to learn what works and for whom. I hope that this first study encourages other jurisdictions to generate more rigorous evidence that will develop our understanding of the relationship between summer jobs and violence.

### How the Study Happened

If other jurisdictions want to produce their own rigorous research about what works and for whom, it may help to know more about how this particular study came to be. There are three key elements that helped to make the study (and its follow-ups) possible.

### 1) An invested policymaker

I started talking to city representatives about their summer jobs programs in 2010. But despite several interested officials, there was not enough institutional support to get the project off the ground until Rahm Emanuel took office in mid-2011. The mayor was committed to knowing whether programs actually worked—and was willing to hear if they did not—which got the study started. His administration's enthusiasm, especially the commitment, flexibility, and determination of the commissioner who ran the program, Evelyn Diaz, and the support of program providers in accommodating the study design, was crucial at every step.

### 2) Oversubscription

The most common objection I hear about doing large-scale, randomized controlled trials is that they aren't ethical because they withhold services from the control group. But this objection is often wrong. When programs are oversubscribed—as is always the case with Chicago's summer jobs program, where demand far outpaces available funding—the program providers *always* have to choose who gets the services and who doesn't. A lottery can be the fairest way to allocate slots among those deemed eligible (in addition to producing convincingly causal evidence). If you have a large enough program with high enough demand, you can learn a lot by making a small change in how slots are allocated.

### 3) The University of Chicago Crime Lab

Although the study's design, implementation, and analysis were my own work, it would not have been possible without the faculty and

staff who run the Crime Lab, a university-based organization designed to help policymakers generate and use rigorous evidence to reduce crime and violence. The Crime Lab and I worked together to build the relationships and trust necessary for a government to grant me access to their programs and their agencies' data—something they would have been unlikely to do had I been a graduate student working on my own.

Through the process of conducting the study, it became clear that being a good partner meant doing work outside the scope of the OSP research paper. Policy decisions are often immediate, and an academic timeline is just too long. To help my government partners make informed decisions on a short turnaround, I often ran extra analyses and provided data-based advice long before the paper was ready for release. But my work would not have been enough; the Crime Lab did the same on many non-OSP questions. They made it a priority to turn their access to data and ability to analyze it into a resource for policymakers, not just researchers. I would not have had the time (or the know-how) to be such a quick and reliable partner to the city on my own. The dedication the Crime Lab brings to the city's needs has been central in shaping the success not only of OSP, but also of an exciting portfolio of criminal justice research that continues to provide unique insight into how policymakers can reduce crime and violence.

### References

Gelber, A., Isen, A., and Kessler, J. B. (2014). *The Effects of Youth Employment: Evidence from New York City Summer Youth Employment Program Lotteries.* National Bureau of Economic Research: Working Paper 20810.

Heller, S. B. (2014). Summer Jobs Reduce Violence among Disadvantaged Youth. *Science*, 346(6214): 1219-1223.

Heller, S. B., Pollack, H., Ander, R., and Ludwig, J. (2013). *Preventing Youth Violence and Dropout: A Randomized Field Experiment.* National Bureau of Economic Research: Working Paper 19014.

# Knowledge Transfer in Action: Crime Reduction through a Regulatory Approach

BY JAMES ROYAN AND JOHN E. ECK

*James Royan* is chief inspector with Police Scotland, responsible for performance and compliance, licensing, emergency and events planning, training and prevention, and interventions across the Lothians and Scottish Borders.

*John E. Eck* is a professor in the School of Criminal Justice at the University of Cincinnati.

## The Context for International Collaboration

Two murders, 5,994 kilometres (3,724 miles) and 45 months apart, illustrate the value of police-researcher exchange of information. The first occurred in 2010 at the Ritz Nightclub, in Cincinnati, Ohio, United States. The victim was shot. The nightclub had a history of trouble with the police, including numerous violent events. The second killing occurred in 2013, at the Rowantree Inn, outside Dalkeith, Scotland. The victim was stabbed. This place, too, had a history of violence and other troubles. Both events illustrate the utility of taking a regulatory approach to crime prevention.

In April 2013, the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy (CEBCP) and the Scottish Institute of Policing Research (SIPR) assembled academics and practitioners from the United States and Scotland at George Mason University to promote the transfer of knowledge of evidence-based practices. In October 2014, SIPR and CEBCP held a second meeting at the Scottish Police College outside Edinburgh. This paper is the result of a fortuitous meeting of the authors. At the first meeting, John Eck spoke about regulating crime places based on a paper he wrote with his daughter, "Crime Place and Pollution" (Eck & Eck, 2012). Using the Ritz Nightclub as an example, Eck argued that crime is concentrated on places because some places create crime opportunities. Unless the opportunities that create "hot" places are rectified, these addresses will stay hot. Still, many believe it is enough to go after the offender. A regulatory approach suggests that this belief facilitates further crime. Arresting and prosecuting offenders serves justice, but leaves the opportunities for crime untouched, so more crimes occur. A regulatory approach addresses the opportunities for further crime.

Royan found these ideas useful, applied them in his command area, and then presented his results at the second meeting between SIPR and CEBCP in Scotland. Here, we illustrate the utility of practitioner-researcher information exchange by focusing on the direct application of opportunity theory.

James Royan          John E. Eck

## Operations and Legal Authority for Police—Scotland

In September 2013, Police Scotland published an Alcohol Licensing Toolkit, which contained a variety of tactics and best practices when dealing with licensed premises (i.e., drinking establishments). Importantly, it defined two categories of premises—monitored and problematic. A monitored premise is identified by the local area commander (in this case, Royan in Midlothian) in close consultation with Divisional Licensing Department. These premises may require additional supervision or support from the police and should be subject to police inspection, as defined by the area commander.

A problematic premise is more serious. These places operate in a manner inconsistent with licensing objectives,[1] show no improvement after monitoring, and are unlikely to be resolved by supervision or support. In these cases, the local licensing board needs to address the issue. The board is the regulatory authority responsible for the grant, variation, and renewal of all liquor licenses in Scotland. The board comprises locally elected politicians with legislative support provided by the clerk to the board.

While the resolution to the problem is pursued through the local licensing board, the Local Area Commander determines the inspection regime needed to ensure the safety of patrons. In the most serious, a senior police officer can apply to the local licensing board under section 97 of the Licensing Act (Scotland) 2005 for a Closure Order in the interests of public safety. The board determines the length of the closure. As a last resort, a senior police officer may independently issue an emergency closure order. This can be done if there is an imminent threat of disorder and there is no time to apply for a normal closure order. Such a closure is for 24 hours, but can be extended once for a further 24 hours under exceptional circumstances. Inspections of problematic licensed premises are counted as key performance indicators within Police Scotland.

Hassan Aden, left, former First Minister of Scotland Alex Salmond, and Jim Royan at an event in Washington, D.C.

## Licensing Developments—Midlothian

On November 26, 2012, Royan was appointed the local area commander for Midlothian, one of 32 local command areas within Police Scotland. Royan identified alcohol-related violence and antisocial behaviour as a priority, and began exploring partnerships that could help reduce these problems. He identified two specific concerns:

1. The Licensing Act 2005 placed a duty on all local licensing boards to have a "licensing policy statement" containing an overprovision assessment. Midlothian's local licensing board had neither a policy statement nor an overprovision assessment.

2. The act provided for the creation of "local licensing forums" that review the operation of the act to give advice and make recommendations to the board. The Midlothian Council had a forum, but it was administered within the licensing section of the council, which limited its independence from the board.

To rectify issue 1, Royan suggested to the clerk of the licensing board, and it was agreed upon, that the Community Safety Partnership Analyst would prepare an alcohol profile for Midlothian, which would allow the board to develop a policy statement containing an overprovision assessment. In response to issue 2, Royan requested that the administration of the local licensing forum be moved from the licensing department to the Safer Communities Team. This increased community representation at the forum, and gave the forum greater independence. Thus, the forum became the key driver for creating the overprovision assessment and making recommendations to the board.

Simultaneously, forum membership was increased and widened to include greater representation from the community and licensed trade. This fostered effective working relationships between the police and partners, specifically the licensed trade.

## Case Study—The Rowantree Inn, Mayfield, Midlothian

Against this backdrop of licensing changes in Midlothian, a culpable homicide of a 28-year-old male occurred outside the Rowantree Inn on November 24, 2013. This put Royan's commitment to a regulatory approach to a test.

The Rowantree Inn is a licensed premise within one of the many residential communities of Midlothian. Between October 2010 and November 2011 there were 17 separate incidents on the premises requiring police intervention: four disturbances involving multiple individuals, eight assaults, and five other miscellaneous licensing offenses including patrons refusing to leave the premises, and selling alcohol to underage patrons. As a consequence, police asked the local licensing board to review the premises' operating plan. The police supported this request with documentary evidence, oral testimony, and CCTV footage. The board upheld the grounds for the review and reduced the Rowantree's operating hours by one hour.

The Rowantree Inn did not come to the attention of the police for any significant incident until November 24, 2013. On that day, at 23:41 hours, the police received an emergency call reporting a male entering the Rowantree with a knife. He threatened the barmaid and a second male intervened. A group of other patrons ushered the first male out, into the adjacent car park. Within the car park, the disturbance resumed, and the first male fatally stabbed the second male.

A full criminal investigation ensued. The male responsible was convicted of culpable homicide and is currently serving a custodial sentence. From November 24 to 29, 2013, the premises was a crime scene, and police locked it down for forensic examination. On November 29, 2013 (a Friday), the police were ready to hand the premises back to the owners.

Though it serves justice, the criminal investigation is only a very small part of the policing response to an incident of this type. Efforts must be made to minimize the impact on the wider community and reassure them that all steps are being taken to ensure that no retribution is administered. Furthermore, hot spots tend to stay hot unless the opportunity for crime is addressed. In the case of a licensed premise, a regulatory approach is particularly relevant.

Thus, to prevent further violence, Royan considered using the Alcohol Licensing Toolkit, sought advice and support from the National Licensing and Violence Reduction Policy Unit, and consulted Eck and Eck's "Crime Place and Pollution" article when developing his community impact assessment. Royan identified a significant risk in the premises being handed back to the owners on a Friday, given the likelihood that it would reopen over the weekend. Community tensions were running exceptionally high following the incident, particularly between the two families involved, and the Rowantree was a potential scene of more trouble.

Mindful of the limitations of an emergency closure, Royan considered other options. Through involvement in the local licensing forum, Police Scotland had developed an enhanced working

relationship with Midlothian's licensed trade representatives. Exploiting these positive working relationships, Royan invited the manager of the Rowantree Inn to a meeting at which he informed the manager that the property would be returned to him. However, a licensing investigation still had to examine any malpractice. Since community tensions were still high, Royan asked the premises manager if he would agree to close the premises until the December 16 on a voluntary basis. This would allow for a full licensing investigation, let community tensions subside, and permit a formal application for a closure order to be made to the Midlothian local licensing board.

The premises manager agreed, and the premises closed immediately on a voluntary basis. This agreement was facilitated by the positive working relationships developed among the licensed trade, the licensing forum, and police.

On December 13, 2013, an application was made for a formal closure order. This was granted until the local licensing board could convene a review and listen to the suggestions for the operating plan. This was only the second formal closure order to be granted within Scotland under this legislation.

A month later, the board upheld the reasons for the review and agreed to a full implementation of the conditions requested by the police. These were that the holder of the premise license for Rowantree should

- be present at the Rowantree at all times that it is open;
- hire stewards[2] to be on duty between 9 p.m. and close of business every Friday and Saturday;
- pay for an independent review of stewarding needs, to the satisfaction of the police;
- remove indoor and outdoor sports; and
- keep an up-to-date incident book.

The premises were only permitted to reopen after the review of stewarding was undertaken. After reopening, the police conducted regular visits and inspections to ensure all conditions were being adhered to. By this time, community tensions had decreased.

## Conclusion

This case study deftly combined three dimensions of regulation. The first is the government, which in this case was represented by the police and local licensing board. The second is self-regulation involving the organization or industry imposing rules upon itself—in this case, the premise owner and representatives of the license trade. The third is community-based regulation—in this case, the expanded Local Licensing Forum (Grabosky, 2011).

This case also illustrates the interconnectedness of a problem-oriented approach and regulation (Sparrow, 2000). Finally, it shows that although theory based on evidence is useful, practitioners must artfully apply the general principles to local problems.

Eck and Eck concluded in their paper that it is true people kill people; it is also true that places can create facilitating conditions for crime. They also stated that place management practices are, in part, responsible for high crime, and place managers can reduce the crime in their respective places. In order to achieve this, a regulatory approach is often useful. As the Midlothian case study shows, through the application of specific legislation, the police and partners can apply regulatory control over problematic premises. And by requiring an independent review of stewarding, at the premises manager's expense, the burden of responsibility shifts toward place managers reducing crime.

This article demonstrates a successful international knowledge exchange, facilitated through the partnership between the Scottish Institute of Policing Research and the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

## References

Eck, J. E., & Eck, E. B. (2012). "Crime place and pollution: Expanding crime reduction options through a regulatory approach." *Criminology and Public Policy* 11(2): 281-316.

Grabosky, P. (2011). On the interface of criminal justice and regulation. In H. Quirk, T. Seddon, & G. Smith (Eds.), *Regulation and criminal justice: Developing a new framework for research and policy development*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sparrow, M. (2000). *The regulatory craft: Controlling risks, solving problems, and managing compliance*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

## Endnotes

1. Section 4, Licensing (Scotland) Act 2005.
2. Stewards are members of license premises staff on duty at entrances and inside to keep order and deal with troublesome behaviors. They must have received training and be accredited by the Security Industry Authority.

# Division of Experimental Criminology

## Division Membership Drive 2015

The Division of Experimental Criminology (DEC) seeks to promote and improve the use of experimental evidence and methods in the advancement of criminological theory and evidence-based crime policy. We welcome members with a broad range of interests in evaluation research methods—including **randomized controlled trials, quasi-experiments,** and **systematic review**—in all areas of crime and justice: corrections, courts, policing, prevention, and more! Membership includes a subscription to the *Journal of Experimental Criminology.* Learn more at **expcrim.org.**

The DEC is also home to the Academy of Experimental Criminology, which honors outstanding scholars who have advanced experimental research.

Now is an excellent time to renew or begin your 2015 membership to the ASC and the Division of Experimental Criminology! Download the ASC membership form at **www.asc41.com/appform1.html** or scan the code on the left.

We also offer **organizational memberships** for departments, centers, and institutions interested in supporting DEC. Contact us at **expcrim@gmail.com** for more information.

## Call for nominations:
### DEC and AEC Awards Due April 1

The DEC and the Academy of Experimental Criminology (AEC) are now accepting nominations for AEC Fellows and Honorary Fellows, the Joan McCord Award (AEC), the Outstanding Young Experimental Scholar Award (AEC), the Jerry Lee Lifetime Achievement Award (DEC), the Award for Outstanding Experimental Field Trial (DEC), and the Student Paper Award (DEC). Please send nomination letters and CVs to the DEC Secretary-Treasurer at **expcrim@gmail.com.**

## ASC–Washington, D.C., 2015

We encourage DEC members to submit presentations and panels to the Advances in Experimental Methods sub-area for ASC (deadline: March 13). Contact us at expcrim@gmail.com if you are interested in volunteering at the DEC table!

*David Weisburd with Jerry Ratcliffe, Elizabeth Groff, and Jennifer Wood, award-winning members of the DEC.*

# DEC & AEC

# 2015 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 by May 1, 2015. For more information and to view requirements for each award, visit www.cebcp.org.

## PREVIOUS AWARD WINNERS

**Distinguished Achievement Award**

Jeffrey Beard

Nicholas Fyfe

Paul Gendreau

Peter Neyroud

Joan Petersilia

Laurie Robinson

Lawrence Sherman

Darryl Stephens

Jeremy Travis

Charles Wellford

**Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame**

| | |
|---|---|
| Art Acevedo | Clark Kimerer |
| Hassan Aden | Peter Martin |
| Anthony Bouza | Renée Mitchell |
| Theron Bowman | Alex Murray |
| James Bueermann | Mark Newton |
| Ed Davis | Peter Neyroud |
| Michael Edwards | Sir Denis O'Connor |
| Dan Flynn | Charles Ramsey |
| Edward Flynn | Jose Roberto León Riaño |
| Frank Gajewski | Jamie Roush |
| Timothy Hegarty | Roberto Santos |
| John Kapinos | Darrel Stephens |
| James Whalen | Ian Stewart |
| Hubert Williams | Rick Tanksley |

# 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 Nicholas Fyfe from the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (University of Dundee) and Jeremy Travis from John Jay College of Criminal Justice. **The following are Nicholas Fyfe's remarks on receiving the award at the SIPR-Mason symposium in Scotland in October 2014.***



Professor Nick Fyfe (middle) receiving his award from David Weisburd and Cynthia Lum

Receiving this award is a huge honor and I first want to express my thanks to David, Cynthia, and the CEBCP nominating committee. The work of CEBCP has been a great inspiration to me in my role as director of the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR). The quality of CEBCP's research, its commitment to independence and relevance, its focus on working with practitioners and the policy community, and its investment in knowledge exchange and knowledge translation are all things which we in Scotland have learned a great deal from over the years and so it is a particular pleasure and honor to receive this award from your center.

Although I was disappointed not to be able to travel to the United States to receive the award earlier in the year, there is something very special about receiving it here in Scotland at the Scottish Police College during this, the second SIPR-Mason symposium, with so many friends and colleagues from SIPR and those involved in Scottish policing and policing research. This is partly because I see this award as a recognition of our collective endeavors, one that recognizes the achievements of SIPR's unique strategic partnership between 12 universities and the Scottish police service as much as my individual contribution; and partly because it was here at the Scottish Police College in October 2006 that we launched SIPR. I have dusted down the notes that I prepared for my speech that day because so much of what I said then is still very relevant now, but you will be relieved to know that I am not going to repeat the whole of that speech (particularly those of you who heard it eight years ago!). However, there is one short passage about aims and opportunities that I think is worth repeating. In terms of SIPR's aims, I highlighted how the institute would build on the foundations of existing policing research in Scotland to undertake high-quality research of relevance to the police and enhance processes of knowledge transfer and exchange so that research can provide the basis for informed, evidence-based contributions to policy and practice. In
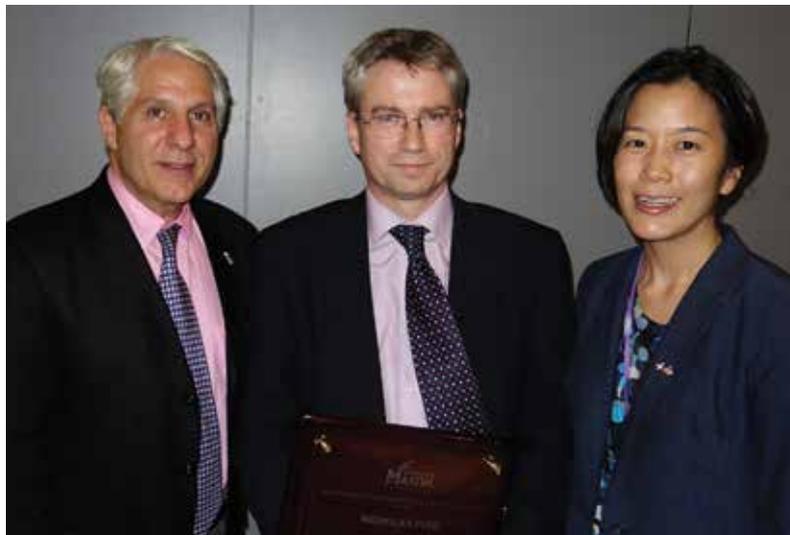
terms of opportunities, I highlighted how the institute would increase the capacity and opportunities for relevant, applicable research via investment in new lectureships, in postdoctoral and PhD positions, and in practitioner fellowships that support police personnel to access research evidence and learn new research skills. I also highlighted how the institute would increase opportunities for "adding value" to research via new knowledge transfer structures and knowledge exchange activities, including joint police-academic seminar programs, conferences, and continuing professional development courses.

In the eight years since I made that speech, SIPR has exceeded expectations in terms of delivering on its aims and creating opportunities, and its structure of collaboration between higher education institutions and policing. Its development of a culture of engagement and a relationship of trust between academics and police practitioners is now admired across the world. There are particular people and organizations represented here this evening who I would like to thank for making SIPR such a success. In terms of its origins, it was Peter Wilson who, while a chief constable and president of the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland, first had the vision of a policing research institute in Scotland, which started the process that led to SIPR. Since then a small group of academics and police colleagues have invested a great deal of time and energy over the years as members of the SIPR Executive Committee, steering the strategic development of the institute. These include Dr. Alistair Henry

# Evidence-Based Policing, "What Works" and Stratified Policing, "How to Make It Work"

BY ROBERTO SANTOS AND RACHEL SANTOS

*Roberto Santos* is a lieutenant at the Port St. Lucie (Florida) Police Department and an Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame Inductee (Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy).

*Rachel Santos* is an associate professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Florida Atlantic University.

Finding ways in which police can effectively institutionalize evidence-based practices is the true meaning and purpose of translational criminology. There is significant evidence today about "what works" in policing to reduce crime, but there is a lack of research that shows us "how to make it work" within the police organizational structure and operations. For example, we know that hot spots policing is effective and why (Braga, Papachristos, & Hureau, 2014; Weisburd, 2014), yet there needs to be more guidance for police to implement hot spots policing organizationally and operationally that gives answers to the questions: How often do we identify new hot spots? Who responds to hot spots? Who makes sure responses are appropriate and enough? How do we know when to stop responding and who decides when to stop?

Over the last 11 years, we have worked with police agencies and sheriff's offices of different sizes around the United States and internationally in implementing an approach we developed for employing evidence-based crime reduction practices and crime analysis—called **Stratified Policing.** This approach is a structure that standardizes crime analysis, the problem-solving process, and accountability within a police department while providing the flexibility to implement different evidence-based practices as they are deemed relevant for the nature of crime and environment of the jurisdiction (Boba & Santos, 2011).

The primary goal of Stratified Policing is to systematize implementation and sustain evidence-based practices for all types of activity, from crime and disorder to quality of life issues. It takes "what works" and "makes it work" in the police organization. Too often, police agencies address crime and quality of life problems with one division or unit, through a grant, or by a police department over a short period of time or on an ad hoc basis (e.g., task force). To sustain evidence-based crime reduction strategies, we believe a structure must be laid out and organizational change must take place. Thus, Stratified Policing provides a framework for processes, products, and meetings that must be tailored to a particular agency's needs, organizational structure, and available resources.



Roberto Santos      Rachel Santos

Stratified Policing begins with the idea that the police address crime, disorder, and quality of life issues at different levels of activity for which evidence-based strategies are implemented. The levels vary by their temporal nature and complexity and generally include immediate incidents, short-term clusters, and long-term problems. Its structure is fundamentally organized (i.e., stratified) around these types of activities, which make up the breadth of what police address on a daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly basis. By breaking down what police do into different levels, a stratified structure for addressing them is defined, organized, and carried out in a standardized way within the organization.

Stratified Policing institutionalizes crime reduction efforts just as responding to calls for service and investigations of crimes already are institutionalized in policing. For example, what would happen if an officer refused to respond to a 9-1-1 call for service? The answer is obvious, and the point is that there is a structured system for response to calls for service that includes strategies, policies, resources, supervision, and accountability. Stratified Policing extends a structure to institutionalize more complex types of activity that include the following:

*Significant incidents,* which occur at the *immediate* level, are notable cases, normally crimes that require significant attention and investigation or are politically sensitive, such as violent armed robberies, incidents with political officials, or those that are racially sensitive.

*Repeat incidents,* which occur at the *short-term* level, are when two or more incidents that are similar in nature happen at the same place (i.e., repeat calls), are disorder or interpersonal criminal incidents (e.g., domestic violence, neighbor disputes), and happen within hours, days, and in some cases, weeks of one another.

*Patterns,* which also occur at the *short-term* level, are groups of crimes that share key commonalities that make them distinct where there is no known relationship between victims and offenders (e.g., robbery, residential burglary, and theft from vehicle).

*Problems,* which occur at the *long-term* level, are sets of related activity that occur over several months, seasons, or years that stem from systematic opportunities created by everyday behavior and environment. Problems can consist of quality of life activity as well as serious criminal activity and can be broken down into problem locations and areas, problem offenders and victims, and problem property types.

Simply laying out the types of activity and standardizing the processes for analysis, response, and evaluation for each is not enough to provide a structure for a police agency to sustain its practices, so this approach matches the stratification of activity with the stratification of ranks within the police organization. Police officers and detectives are already given the responsibility of addressing calls for service and investigations, so as the activity becomes more complex, higher ranks are assigned responsibility for addressing them. Implementation of Stratified Policing is tailored depending on the size and organizational structure of an agency with the overarching goal to match crime reduction work with the scope and responsibility of a given rank. Organizations with more ranks can spread crime reduction responsibility wider and thinner, where those with fewer ranks must assign more responsibility to each rank. The most important aspect is that *every* rank in the agency is responsible, actively involved, and held accountable for crime reduction work. Similarly, crime analysis is stratified in that different types of products are necessary at each level to facilitate response and evaluation.

The figure illustrates the idea that more complex problems are addressed by higher ranks in the organization and that the organizational structure ensures that people are being held accountable by the rank above them. This ensures that the entire organization moves in the same direction and individuals play a specific and appropriate role in addressing crime, disorder, and quality of life issues. We liken this to an offense of a football team. All players have a job to do and have a common goal to score points. The players' roles are based on their abilities and specific "responses" are expected of them. Just as the team would not have linemen act as wide receivers on a regular basis, in this approach, a police agency does not ask line-level officers to conduct crime reduction work that is not within the scope of their positions. That is not to say that individual officers (or linemen) are not capable of the work, but that the responsibility of each rank within the overall agency is realistic and fits its authority, experience, training, abilities, and scope. This is one of the most important components of Stratified Policing because it ensures standardization and sustainability, since crime reduction and prevention become part of the job—expected, and conducted every day, by everyone.

The accountability process within Stratified Policing is important since organizational change within a police department cannot occur

**Stratified Policing Figure**
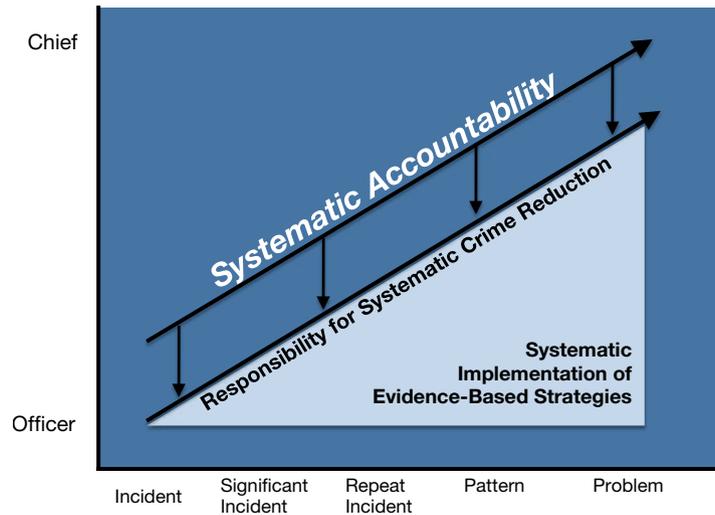


without accountability. Just as officers are inspected by their sergeants for their weapons and equipment to be in compliance with agency policy, individuals in each rank are held accountable for their work by their direct supervisors. The system of accountability centers on creating realistic expectations for evidence-based strategies, reviewing progress of those strategies, documenting the work being done, and evaluating the success of the strategies. In Stratified Policing, accountability occurs every day, but more generally, it employs a structure of meetings that is also stratified by the levels of activity. They include

*Daily roll calls* facilitate *action-oriented* accountability at the line level for evidence-based strategies implemented for immediate and short-term problems.

*Weekly meetings* facilitate *action-oriented* accountability because individuals from the various divisions of the organization (e.g., patrol, investigations, crime prevention, and media relations) come together to coordinate, track, and assess responses to short-term activity—repeat incidents and patterns. This meeting does not include a review of any statistics or crime counts since its focus is on "action" (i.e., response).

*Monthly meetings* facilitate *evaluation-oriented* accountability. Specifically produced crime analysis products and maps are used to assess whether short-term strategies are effective as well as to identify emerging long-term problems and to monitor ongoing long-term strategies.

*Semi-annual meetings* facilitate *evaluation-oriented* accountability for the entire organization based on the agency's crime reduction and prevention goals. The results of this meeting are shared with the agency as well as with city government to show how the chief is holding the entire agency accountable for crime reduction.

In 2014, Roberto Santos (center) was inducted into CEBCP's Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame for his work on incorporating crime analysis and evidence-based policing processes into practice in the Port St. Lucie Police Department.

What is important to understand is that Stratified Policing provides specific proactive processes that assist the organization in standardizing the implementation of evidence-based strategies. On a continuous basis, the various types of activities are each identified by crime analysis and assigned to a specific rank to address. For example, there would be no need for patrol district commanders to ask crime analysis to identify the current long-term hot spots because crime analysis *automatically* provides them, and the patrol chief *automatically* assigns them to the commanders. In monthly meetings, crime analysis (not the patrol district commanders) provides evaluation analysis that the patrol chief (not the patrol district commanders) uses to determine if the hot spot has been resolved. This proactive process is the same for each level of activity, and there is no guessing whether problems are being identified in a timely manner (i.e., not simply after a problem becomes too big) or whether they are being addressed.

In summary, Stratified Policing provides a comprehensive structure that can be tailored for a particular police agency to infuse evidence-based strategies in a realistic, sustainable way. At the broadest level, the tasks that an agency must do to set up the stratified structure and ensure consistency in the agency include

1. designating rank responsibility for each level of activity
2. setting meeting structure
3. setting parameters for action-oriented analysis products at each level of activity
4. setting operational system of response
5. selecting evidence-based strategies
6. setting rules for evaluation analysis and standards for documentation at each level of activity

Last, the specific evidence-based strategies employed should be those that the agency believes best suit its community's problems and can change over time. For a specific breakdown of the problem-solving processes, crime analysis products, and accountability meetings at each level and how they can be implemented, we have written a comprehensive guidebook funded by the COPS Office called A Police Organizational Model for Crime Reduction: Institutionalizing Problem Solving, Analysis, and Accountability (Boba & Santos, 2011). We recognize that Stratified Policing is just one answer to the question of "how to make evidence-based policing work"; however, over the last 11 years, we have seen its successful implementation effect organizational change to better facilitate crime reduction efforts in many police and sheriff organizations around the country.

### References

Boba, R., & Santos, R. G. (2011). *A police organizational model for crime reduction: Institutionalizing problem solving, analysis, and accountability.* Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. http://ric-zai-inc.com/ric.php?page=detail&id=COPS-P208

Braga, A. A., Papachristos, A. V., & Hureau, D. M. (2014). The effects of hot spots policing on crime: An updated systematic review and meta-analysis. *Justice Quarterly,* 31: 633–663.

Weisburd, D. (2014). *The law of crime concentration and the criminology of place.* Sutherland Lecture, American Society of Criminology Meetings. San Francisco.

# Understanding Citizen Support for License Plate Readers

BY LINDA M. MEROLA AND CYNTHIA LUM

*Linda M. Merola* and *Cynthia Lum* are associate professors in the Department of Criminology, Law and Society at George Mason University.

License plate recognition technology (LPR) is used by law enforcement agencies for a wide variety of purposes, which can range from stolen vehicle detection to assisting with investigations to even potentially contributing to crime prevention. LPR systems function by scanning the alphanumeric digits on license plates of moving or stationary vehicles. The system then compares these scanned plates against existing databases of license plates that are "of interest" to law enforcement. These might include license plates associated with recently stolen vehicles, those flagged for police investigation, or those connected with registered owners who are sought by the police or have open warrants. Each time the system matches a scanned plate and one of interest to police, a signal alerts the officer to proceed with further confirmation, investigation, and action.

In this way, LPR automates what was once a manual, tag-by-tag process of checking license plates. As a result, many law enforcement agencies have adopted LPR systems, now one of the most rapidly diffusing technologies in policing (Lum, Merola, Hibdon, and Cave, 2010). This rapid diffusion raises a number of questions about not only how effective LPR is in preventing and responding to crime, but also how citizens might perceive and react to this technology. For example, what concerns do/should police agencies and citizens have about LPR use (if any)? To what extent do citizens understand the uses of LPR and feel they are legitimate police activities?

The data collected by LPRs may be linked with specific individuals (registered vehicle owners) and stored, resulting in data that is potentially useful for investigations and surveillance. However, since the travel records created by LPR systems contain information about places visited by vehicles, additional substantive information about an individual's activities, beliefs, or associates might be inferred from these records. Do citizens view the collection and storage of this data as intrusive? Additionally, misuse of stored data or theft of data by hackers may lead to tangible harm in the community, another potential area of concern that law enforcement agencies may have with respect to maintaining public trust and legitimacy.

Currently, little is known about citizen perceptions of LPR, other than anecdotal information and commentary found in the media or editorials. Empirically measuring community perceptions is central to the development of agency policies for LPR technology that not only facilitate good police work but also maintain high levels of citizen trust and confidence.

Linda M. Merola

Cynthia Lum

## Examining the Public's Response to LPR Technology

To investigate the public's views of LPR, the authors conducted the first random-sample community survey-experiment (N = 457) on the topic (see Lum, Merola, Hibdon, & Cave, 2010). The population of a large, populous, and fairly diverse county was surveyed with the assistance and support of the local police agency. The authors also theorized that citizen support for LPR use would follow the continuum shown below, which reflects an interaction between the type of LPR use and the anticipated magnitude of citizen concerns (see Merola & Lum, 2014; Merola, Lum, Cave, & Hibdon, 2014). The authors hypothesized that respondents might feel more negatively about LPR uses that are situated further to the right of the continuum—those involving increased data storage or preserved data used for proactive and predictive purposes. Members of the public might experience heightened concerns about privacy, data use, and surveillance in regard to these uses and, as a result, these functions might be viewed as more intrusive than more "primary" uses of LPRs
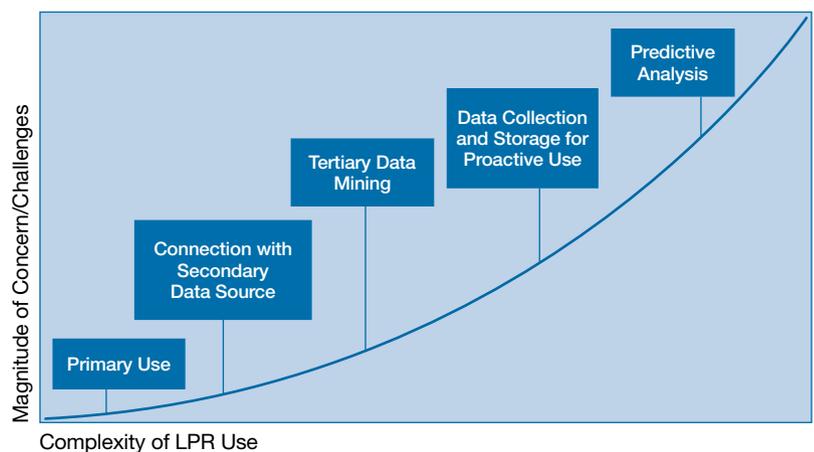
(detection of stolen vehicles, warrants, or other traffic violations).

Interestingly, we find mixed support for this hypothesis. Overall, the survey suggests significant support for many LPR uses. In fact, support ranged from 48.1 percent to 87.6 percent of the community depending on the specific use of LPR. The survey asked community members about a variety of LPR functions, such as using the technology to check for stolen vehicles and plates, to monitor specific locations to prevent terrorism, to manage sex offenders, and to seek out wanted individuals. Interestingly, the use that received the lowest support from community members was one that would be located closer to the left of the continuum above: checking vehicles for unpaid parking and motor vehicle violations.

In many ways, however, responses to the survey reflect the continuum. The variations in support for different LPR uses suggest that members of the public do not regard all uses as equivalent, but make distinctions based upon the way in which systems are deployed. Those uses not directly related to vehicle enforcement and those involving prolonged data storage (six months or more) were connected with somewhat lowered levels of support. Perhaps paradoxically, although respondents generally favored LPR use, the majority also indicated that they considered LPR data to be their private information. A substantial minority (42.7 percent) even expressed support for requiring police to secure some special permission (such as a court order) before examining saved LPR data. Additionally, LPR functions that seemed to impact "average" members of the community were also supported at lower rates. These findings might be used by law enforcement executives to consider the impact on community perceptions of the police when developing LPR policy and strategies (see Koper, Lum, and Willis, 2014).

An important caveat to these findings is that they must be considered in the context of high levels of support for, and trust in, the police in this community, a trait which may have influenced the overall levels of support for LPR in the survey results. In fact, the survey revealed that individuals with higher trust in the police were much more likely to support the many uses of LPR, while those with lower levels of trust in the police usually supported LPR use at lower rates. As a result, a survey conducted in a community with lower levels of trust in the police might produce correspondingly lowered support for LPRs. Further, the survey results also suggested that the public knows little about the technology, so there is the potential for opinions to change as individuals encounter the technology more frequently.

## Predicting Citizen Support for the Technology

In addition to general public support for LPR technology, the authors also examined individual characteristics that can influence a citizen's decision to support or oppose LPR use. Some of the most important characteristics (already mentioned) include a citizen's level of trust in the police and the extent to which an individual believes LPR data to be private information. Additionally, we discovered that an individual's race predicted support for LPR. Nonwhite citizens

perceived LPR much more negatively than did their white counterparts. This result is consistent with previous research suggesting that nonwhite citizens continue to trust police less and view law enforcement more negatively than do whites (Durose, Schmitt, & Langan, 2005; Tyler, 2005). Thus, while the use of LPR may appear to have *general* support from a community, its use could also exacerbate existing tensions between minority communities and the police, a key point to which law enforcement should be attentive.

In addition to the overall importance of trust in police, it should be noted that differences between citizens who trusted the police and those who did not were greatest when data storage was mentioned. New technologies may often be accompanied by potentially positive benefits (such as the recovery of stolen vehicles or enhanced crime control), but can also have potentially negative consequences (such as constrictions of privacy or reduced levels of community support for the police; Koper, Lum, & Willis, 2014). In a very tangible sense, the survey suggests that trust in the police may represent the difference between a community that is willing to allow the police discretion to adopt technologies of this sort and one that is not (Merola & Lum, 2014). Transparent policies limiting data storage may also serve to lessen the concerns of community members, resulting in higher levels of support for LPR use.

## Translating These Findings to Practice

As new technologies like LPR continue to be introduced in policing, studies examining citizen reactions are important in providing police executives with knowledge that can better inform not only internal policies and crime control strategies, but also improvements in communication about technology acquisition with community members. Such efforts can apply not only to technologies but also to new innovations and strategies more generally. In addition, when adopting new technologies like LPR, agencies should consider clearly communicating the acquisition, description, and use of the technology to citizens in the jurisdiction, especially those who may be most affected by the new technology. Related to this suggestion, agencies might consider training officers in how to respond to citizens when asked about LPR technology during encounters.

Before using LPR, agencies should also create transparent and publicly available policies that specify the types of data ("hot lists") that will be accessed by LPR systems, the types of data that will be collected, and how long and for what purposes LPR data will be stored. Agencies might also consider limiting the length of data storage, since findings suggest that LPR functions involving prolonged data storage may heighten concerns in the community.

## References

Durose, M., Schmitt, E., & Langan, P. (2005). *Contacts between police and the public: Findings from the 2002 National Survey.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Koper, C., Lum, C., & Willis, J. (2014). Optimizing the use of

technology in policing: Results and implications from a multi-site study of the social, organizational, and behavioral aspects of implementing police technologies. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 8(2), 212-221.

Lum, C., Merola, L., Hibdon, J., & Cave, B. (2010). License plate recognition technologies for law enforcement: An outcome and legitimacy evaluation. Final report to SPAWAR and National Institute of Justice. Available at cebcp.org/wp-content/evidence-based-policing/LPR_FINAL.pdf.

Merola, L., & Lum, C. (2014). Predicting public support for the use of license plate recognition (LPR) technology by police. *Police Practice & Research: An International Journal,* 15(5), 373-88.

Merola, L., Lum, C., Cave, B., & Hibdon, J. (2014). Community support for license plate recognition. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 37(1), 30-51.

Tyler, T. R. (2005). Policing in black and white: Ethnic group differences in trust and confidence in the police. *Police Quarterly,* 8, 322-42.

**Distinguished Achievement Award,** *continued from page 19*

(University of Edinburgh and lead for the network on Police-Community Relations); Professor Jim Fraser (University of Strathclyde and lead for the network on Evidence and Investigation); Professor Tara Fenwick (University of Stirling and lead for the network on Education and Leadership); Deputy Chief Constable Neil Richardson OBE; Deputy Chief Constable Iain Livingstone; Dr. Tom Nelson OBE (director of Forensic Services); and Tim Heilbronn (SIPR administrator and knowledge exchange manager).

Finally, if it wasn't for the wider community of researchers (from postgraduates to established academics), police practitioners (from constables to chief officers), and colleagues in those organizations we work so closely with (including Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, the Scottish Police Authority, and the Scottish government), we would not have been able to achieve all that we have done over the last eight years in terms of supporting evidence-based approaches, innovation, and professional development in policing.

In closing there are two other issues I want to highlight. The first concerns the state of policing research. A few years ago I was asked to deliver the keynote lecture at the CEPOL (European Police College) Research and Science Conference about the future of police science and I focused on three "Ps." The first P concerned the 'paradox' of police science: that despite the increase in volume of policing research in recent years, the extent to which this research is used in policy and practice has remained limited. The second P was about "paradigms" and the way that a paradigm shift in the relationship between science and policing is now underway, involving greater use of evidence to inform police decision-making. The third P was about "pluralism" and the need for a plurality of approaches in order to achieve the effective integration of research evidence into discussions about police policy and practice. Furthermore, this commitment to pluralism, I argued, also needed to extend to how we think about the different uses of police research, the different types of intervention researchers make into public discourse about policing, and the different institutions that exist to promote the development and use of police research. What is particularly special about this evening is that so many of the people whose work and activities I referenced in my lecture and who have contributed so much to addressing the paradox of police research, to shifting paradigms, and to promoting pluralism are here: not only Cynthia and David but Peter Neyroud (University of Cambridge and a previous recipient of this award), Gloria Laycock (University College London), Betsy Stanko (Mayor's Office of Police and Crime), Jenny Fleming (University of Southampton), and Sandra Nutley (University of St. Andrews).

My final point is that a significant and continuing challenge for policing research is to find a way of helping inform police decision making at a time when public and political pressures for "quick fixes" are growing. Now more than ever the police need a knowledge base for professional practice that can help inform a vision of "good policing" in democratic societies that promotes better public security, a reduction in crime, enhanced social justice, and the protection of liberty and human rights. This requires bringing together the insights generated by a plurality of approaches to police research and drawing on what we know about effective mechanisms for knowledge exchange between researchers and practitioners. Police research should provide critical insights into, and reflections on, what constitutes good policing in democratic societies, and through contributions to police education, policy, and training, help stimulate the intellectual development, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills of all those who work in and with police organizations. That is exactly what CEBCP has been doing so effectively over many years and it is what SIPR is also clearly focused on. This award recognizes that work and I am deeply honored to receive it.

# Fulbright@CEBCP: Richard Adams

BY RICHARD ADAMS

*Richard Adams is a chief inspector from Police Scotland, where he heads the Policing Values and Human Rights Department. In 2014-15 he came to the Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy as a Fulbright Policing Scholar. He holds a professional doctorate in policing, community safety, and security from London Metropolitan University. In this essay, he reflects on his area of interest: values in policing.*

The need to deliver an effective, values-based policing service has underpinned both my work within Police Scotland and my academic research. This journey started for me over a cup of coffee with Chief Constable Adrian Lee who was then the national lead for policing values in England and Wales. He asked if I would develop a model for values-based decision-making for policing. This work became the basis of my doctoral research and also influenced police service delivery in Scotland. Most recently, this work led me to apply for a Fulbright policing scholarship to come to the United States to comparatively explore values and ethics in American policing. In this short article I will set out why I believe values in policing are so important, highlighting the work that I have undertaken within Police Scotland and lessons learned along the way.

## Values: Why They Matter to Policing

Without an effective police service, bus drivers, teacher, lawyers, or plumbers could not safely go to work each day. This is a significant responsibility for policing, and one that is highly profiled and regularly scrutinized. It is virtually impossible to read any newspaper or watch daily news bulletins without policing being mentioned and, as any glance at the TV listings will demonstrate, it's virtually impossible to get to 10 p.m. without being able to watch at least one cop show each night!

As policing is both important and high-profile, it follows therefore that *how* policing is delivered within democracies is just as important as the outcomes policing achieves. The daily delivery of policing is reported on the television, and where it falls short of the public's demand, criticism rightly follows. This has repeatedly been the case in the United Kingdom over the past few months. One highly visible example was a recent search of a celebrity's home. Regardless of its outcome, *how* that search was conducted resulted in adverse television coverage as well as the chief constable of the South Yorkshire Police being questioned and criticized by members of parliament.[1]

Consequently, it is apparent that while outcomes are important, the way those outcomes are achieved and the values that underpin them are just as essential. Policing with values can lend further credibility and legitimacy to policing, and improve citizen trust and confidence in the police. Most police departments and services I have

Richard Adams

encountered do have stated values or mission statements. The difference is how they go about ensuring values are central to the thought process of all officers and are incorporated into their service ethos rather than being simply a set of words on the office wall—one only looked at in advance of promotion interviews! Focusing on that aspect of policing has been of interest to my service, Police Scotland.

Police Scotland is actually a newly established (on April 1, 2013) national service. Previously, Scotland, a nation of about 5.3 million people, was policed by 10 different policing organizations. Forces varied in size: the largest, Strathclyde, comprised around 8,000 police officers; the smallest, Dumfries and Galloway, had around 500 sworn officers. Now, unlike the rest of the United Kingdom (which is still decentralized to 44 different forces in England and Wales), Scotland has become a single national force second in size of sworn officers only to the Metropolitan Police Service in London.

The amalgamation of these services was intended to achieve significant fiscal savings and standardized police service delivery across the country. This standardization also afforded us the unique opportunity to consider what the values of policing in Scotland should be. Although this was something we sought to weave into our ethos prior to our establishment, the emergence of the new service allowed us to develop new and innovative strategies for ensuring these values would lie at the heart of police service delivery in Scotland.

## Developing a Culture and Choosing Values

Early in the process of reform toward a national service, I was tasked with undertaking research to determine what the values of Police Scotland should be and offer proposals setting out how these might influence policing in Scotland. In doing so, three requirements came to mind. These values needed to be 1) broad enough to encapsulate the ethos and aspiration of policing; 2) specific enough to enable staff to understand them; and 3) have sufficient utility to be able to positively influence daily decision-making. This third requirement—that values needed to play an important role in decision-making in the daily work of police officers—was especially important and also challenging to achieve. Officers' decisions often have serious consequences, and therefore carry weighty responsibility. In particular, officers often decide whether individuals enter the criminal justice

system or not, whether they lose their freedoms, or whether their victimization is acknowledged and resolved. Establishing a set of values in policing could potentially help officers to reach better, well-constructed decisions, rather than have their decisions only be determined by procedures that may not necessarily provide answers to new or difficult problems.

But what values should Police Scotland choose and how would we establish whether those values would result in better decision-making? The legislation that established Police Scotland—the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act of 2012[2]—provided some normative guidance. The Act required all officers to make the following declaration upon joining Police Scotland:

"I, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of constable with fairness, integrity, diligence, and impartiality, and that I will uphold fundamental human rights and accord equal respect to all people, according to law."

Consequently, it was possible to extract key elements from this declaration and adopt these as values within policing. The elements that were chosen were integrity, fairness, and respect. Generally, these were defined as the following:

*Integrity:* Police officers are placed in positions of trust and so have responsibilities and powers others do not possess. Both the public and other members of the service expect officers to respect the position they hold and remain resistant to compromise or temptation. In this regard, officers should be able to retain the wholeness of the office—that being their integrity.

*Fairness:* Fairness was viewed in policing as the demonstration of dealing with people or groups according to their needs and in context of the circumstances surrounding individual interactions. Within a Scottish policing context, fairness was regarded as possessing an understanding of both the cultural and social needs of individuals and communities, coupled with a calm and tolerant approach to any situation.

*Respect:* Respecting the needs of one another is a key principle of policing. By including this in the values of the service, officers and citizens are reminded of that need, thereby ensuring all interactions, whether internal or external, are founded upon respect.

### Delivering Values in Everyday Policing

While the values of "integrity," "fairness," and "respect" were seemingly useful values to adopt, Police Scotland was faced with two important challenges. The first was implementing these values into daily decision-making of policing. The second arose from the nationalization of the police more generally. How would officers from 10 arguably different organizations be able to agree with what these values meant and how to implement them?

Toward both these goals, part of my role within the service has been to help create a values-based culture to which all officers could

anchor themselves and of which they could quickly feel a part. The first step in this process was spending time briefing and discussing with officers and staff across Scotland the three values so as to develop a shared and understood culture. I travelled across Scotland meeting command teams, officers, unions, staff, and citizens. I discussed what our values meant to policing and how they would improve the service that we gave, not just to the police, but to fellow officers and staff—our internal customers.

Although still a work in progress, these meetings have been an interesting and useful part of this ongoing journey of understanding values in policing. What became apparent was that officers from across the nation shared broadly the same values and aspirations, which in turn were reflected in the values being adopted by Police Scotland.

For many, however, the specifics are more difficult. The values themselves were easy to understand and reflected the values of the officers and staff we consulted throughout this work. However, when applied to decision-making in complex or demanding situations, such as firearms deployments or hostage negotiations, discussions became more muddy. These complications may be one reason why, across policing in the United Kingdom, some 153 stated values are set out by forces on their public-facing literature. Although it should be noted that most of these, when boiled down, reflect the values of integrity, fairness, and respect!

In many ways, the work undertaken by Police Scotland assisted in removing such complexity across Scottish policing. On the inception of the national service in 2013, the National Decision Model (NDM)[3] was adopted as the unifying decision-making model used across policing in Scotland. I then developed a Code of Ethics[4] which now sits at the heart of the NDM, effectively placing the three values squarely at the center of police discretion. By placing values as the foundation for our decision-making model, we ensured a formal system in which officers are challenged to confirm that their daily course of action meets the ethical standards of Police Scotland.

This remains a work in progress, in particular how one might measure success of the implementation of the Code of Ethics in the National Decision Model. As a start, we have added two specific questions to our external customer satisfaction survey that gauge whether citizens feel they have been treated fairly and respectfully by the police. Responses for the period 2013-14 were very favorable, with more than 95 percent of respondents reporting they felt they had been treated fairly and with respect. Internally, we strive to use our values as a measure of accountability. For example, when reviewing decisions undertaken during operations or events, the use

of our values by decision-makers will be scrutinized and they will be asked to explain how our values are reflected within their decision-making. Going forward, I hope to undertake longitudinal research to assess how officers' decision-making varies and changes as our values become further institutionalized.

### What I Have Learned from My Time in the U.S.

Having the opportunity to travel across the United States and meet some great people to discuss policing values has been the most fantastic experience. While they were not always easy to access, the police organizations I visited were welcoming and receptive. I have spoken with officers who told me their role is all about keeping people safe. I've met sergeants and lieutenants who talked about the benefits and importance of empowering their people. And I've listened to chiefs who were extremely open and honest with their teams, often where life-changing decisions have been made and are being questioned.

Across all these meetings and conversations, the presence and importance of policing values was just as evident as it is in Scotland. The development and delivery of a common set of values is, of course, a challenge in Scotland. We brought together 10 different organizations and introduced a different culture to officers who had served with the former forces. Within North America, I have been amazed by the number of different policing departments, each with different styles and approaches. For example, I visited two departments within one mile of each other. One department described itself as being a "community-focused service," while its neighbor

described itself as a "paramilitary organization." I traveled from one to another in a day, as will thousands of citizens, all of whom will encounter a different style of service from one area to the other. Consequently, I wonder how able America is to really focus on a set of shared values, either on a national or state level, or even within a shared time zone!

I was struck by how the officers I spoke with—despite the differences in size and policing models of their departments—had similar values among themselves and to the Scottish position. Perhaps one of the greatest lessons I've learned on this endeavor is that policing is similar wherever one goes, but often the police departments make it more difficult than it needs to be.

The Fulbright experience has been a rewarding one. The opportunity to visit and learn from police departments I would not otherwise have been able to access has been fantastic. Most importantly, I have developed links and friendships that will influence policing and, generally, make the world a smaller place. It has been a privilege to have been here.

### Endnotes

1. BBC. (2014). "Sir Cliff Richard police raid inept say MPs." Retrieved November 6, 2014, from www.bbc.com/news/uk-29742349.
2. See www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2012/8/contents/enacted.
3. See www.nationaldecisionmodel.co.uk.
4. See www.scotland.police.uk/about-us/code-of-ethics-for-policing-in-scotland/.

The Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy
and the Police Foundation present

# The 2015 CEBCP-Police Foundation Joint Symposium on Evidence-Based Crime Policy

We welcome everyone to our annual symposium on Evidence-Based Crime Policy, August 17–18, 2015, at George Mason University's Arlington Campus.

In collaboration with the Police Foundation, the symposium will highlight new research findings in crime prevention, community health, law enforcement, and public policy. A major theme will focus on tackling critical issues in policing.

At the symposium, the inductions for the 2015 Evidence-Based Policing Hall of Fame will take place as well as the presentation of the Distinguished Achievement Award in Evidence-Based Crime Policy.

For more information, visit **cebcp.org.**

GEORGE **MASON** UNIVERSITY

**POLICE FOUNDATION**
*Advancing Policing Through Innovation & Science*

**GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY**

**Center for Evidence-Based Crime Policy**
George Mason University
4400 University Drive, MS 6D12
Fairfax, VA 22030
www.cebcp.org