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Can Trauma-Informed Care Transform Juvenile Justice? Initiatives and Challenges

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After the era of super predators, moral panics, get-tough sanctions, and adultification of juvenile justice, several states have reformed legislation to re-juvenilize the treatment of youth. This includes initiatives to raise the age of juvenile court jurisdiction (RTA), to remove youth from adult institutions, and to adopt developmentally appropriate strategies to help youth while still maintaining public safety. The shift away from excessive punishments and retributive ideologies was underscored by Supreme Court decisions that recognized the neuroscience of adolescence and the immature, impulsive nature of youth (*Roper v. Simmons*, 2005; *Graham v. Florida*, 2010; *Miller v. Alabama*, 2012; *Montgomery v. Louisiana*, 2016).

Studies also revealed a high prevalence of traumatic victimization among children and youth involved in child welfare and juvenile justice systems (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2012; Finkelhor & Turner, 2015; Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, Hamby, & Kracke, 2009; Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, Hamby, & Kracke, 2015; National Child Traumatic Stress Network, 2008). The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) studies (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016) and the National Survey of Children Exposed to Violence surveys (NatSCEV; Crimes Against Children Research Center, n.d.) brought renewed attention to the victim-delinquent relationship and supported efforts to break the cycle of victimization and violence. Identifying the

consequences of detrimental childhood experiences coincided with strategies to use trauma-informed care to respond to system-involved youth (Griffin, Germain, & Wilkerson, 2012; Merlo & Benekos, 2017; Purtle & Lewis, 2017; Rapp, 2016). This article reviews elements of trauma-informed approaches in juvenile justice and considers threats to this promising model for responding to youthful offenders.

Children and youth who are exposed to violence and victimization are at increased risk for later delinquency. Traumatic experiences affect brain development resulting in hyperarousal, emotion dysregulation, and reactive aggression characterized by low self-control, impulsiveness, and risky behaviors (Rapp, 2016). Traumatized youth are distrustful, hypervigilant, prone to inappropriate behaviors, and susceptible to mental health disorders. With a transition to more prevention and rehabilitation initiatives in juvenile justice, achievements in neuroscience and traumatology present a foundation to develop trauma-informed approaches for responding to youth.

Responding to Traumatized Youth

Since police play a primary role in interacting and communicating with children who are exposed to violence and/or are delinquent, the opportunity for them to interrupt the risk for mental health problems, school failure, substance abuse, and cycles of violence is significant. For example,

beginning in 1991, the New Haven Connecticut Department of Police Services collaborated with clinicians from the Yale School of Medicine Child Study Center to work with children and families affected by trauma and violence (Torralva, 2016). The Child Development–Community Policing Program included cross-training of police, mental health providers, and child protective services (Yale School of Medicine, Child Study Center, 2018). In 2012, San Diego began a similar program to train first responders in trauma-informed approaches (Tracy L. Fried & Associates, 2012). Police and other responders are trained to "recognize signs and symptoms of behavioral health challenges" and to "engage and de-escalate situations" (p. 3). Using the New Haven model, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department began its Child Development–Community Policing Partnership in 1996. Police work with child protective services and mental health clinicians to coordinate assessment and intervention with children exposed to violence (Mecklenburg County Mental Health, 2018). These kinds of police–mental health collaborations exist in more than 17 U.S. cities and in three European cities (Torralva, 2016).

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, 2017) has endorsed trauma-informed policing and approaches that enhance police responses to children exposed to violence. By partnering with mental health professionals, law enforcement agencies and police can be trained to

recognize trauma symptoms, to effectively interact with children and families, and to provide a critical role in the healing process. The IACP reports that police officers not only feel more effective and satisfied but they also promote a sense of safety and security that helps build positive community relations.

Juvenile court judges have also adopted trauma-informed practices in responding to trauma-exposed youth (Marsh & Bickett, 2015). Judges receive training to identify children and youth whose adverse life experiences contribute to socially disruptive and delinquent behaviors. The style of communication and the questions asked (e.g., "What happened to you?" as opposed to "What's wrong with you?") require judges to understand human development and trauma-informed approaches that prevent additional harm (para. 2). The National Child Traumatic Stress Network (n.d.) has developed a *Bench Card for the Trauma-Informed Judge* that provides questions to guide judges. While the description and protocol of trauma-informed practice in juvenile courts is still emerging, Marsh and Dierkhising (2013) explain that a "developmentally informed approach to court practice is inclusive of trauma-informed practice because trauma and development are inextricably linked" (p. 20).

In addition, juvenile probation and juvenile detention staff use trauma-informed practices (Dierkhising & Marsh, 2015). Beginning with trauma screening and assessment, probation and detention staff identify traumatic experiences that can trigger additional trauma exposure. Staff develop rapport and supportive relationships with youth to confront the consequences of trauma and to help youth recognize their traumatic reactions. As opposed to only monitoring and responding to behaviors, probation officers work with youth to improve decision making and self-control and to provide opportunities for prosocial behaviors (Dierkhising & Marsh, 2015, p. 10).

For youth who are placed in residential or institutional settings, trauma-informed approaches can be provided in a sanctuary environment that is effective in reducing stress and staff-resident conflicts as well as in providing opportunities for therapeutic programming. The Sanctuary Model® uses a psychoeducational model to help youth with issues of safety, emotions, loss, and future life plans (The Sanctuary Model, n.d.). Youth learn problem-solving skills and techniques to reduce trauma symptoms. Therapeutic expressive arts (e.g., music therapy, art therapy, trauma release exercises) are also effective strategies with youth because traumatic events are sensory memories that cannot be easily verbalized (Greenwald, 2009).

The trauma-informed model is also being adopted in schools to intervene with children and youth who have been trauma exposed. Teachers are receiving trauma-informed training on methods to

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improve classroom instruction and to understand and respond effectively to excessive behaviors such as aggression, outbursts, withdrawal, and anger (Adams, 2013; Martin, Ashley, White, Axelson, Clark, & Burrus, 2017; Paccione-Dyszlewski, 2016; Rosenbaum-Nordoft, 2018). "Trauma-sensitive teaching" relies on communication and responses that recognize students in distress and uses interventions that improve the school culture and facilitate school discipline (Adams, 2013). "A trauma-informed approach to supporting students in the classroom expands the lens through which educators view educational success so that it includes both academic achievement and mental health" (Rosenbaum-Nordoft, 2018, p. 6). By identifying and working with children and youth affected by trauma, teachers help those students develop more effective self-control and social skills that can improve their peer relationships and academic performance. Keeping youth in school is delinquency prevention, and trauma-informed teaching contributes to a "healthy mindset and feelings of safety within the school" (Rosenbaum-Nordoft, 2018, p. 6).

These initiatives demonstrate a trauma-informed model for juvenile justice that is compatible with the Balanced and Restorative Justice Model (BARJ) that highlights community safety and also holds youth accountable for their behaviors while providing competency-based interventions designed to reduce recidivism and facilitate successful community adjustment. As the principles and practices of trauma-informed care are being disseminated and adopted in juvenile justice, there are, however, threats to these promising approaches.

Challenges to a Trauma-Informed Juvenile Justice System

While many juvenile justice professionals recognize the relevance and value of trauma-informed treatment, there is still resistance and reluctance to adopt trauma-informed approaches (Ezell, Richardson, Salari, & Henry, 2018). In their preliminary and limited study, Ezell and his colleagues found that respondents (e.g., probation officers, judges, court referees, and clinical therapists) expressed "ideological affinity" for trauma-informed practice but identified limited access to mental health resources as a barrier to using the model. In addition, the researchers identified inconsistencies and incoherence among staff in understanding the model, especially for how to implement the approaches. The lack of training, especially cross-training with external stakeholders, was also acknowledged as an impediment to using trauma-informed approaches. Similar to Ezell et al., Holloway and his colleagues (2018) found that juvenile probation officers (JPO) who recognized trauma in their assessments of delinquents "did not prioritize trauma as a rehabilitation target during the case planning process" (p. 369). They found that probation officers used wide discretion in determining how diagnostic and assessment information informed their cases. As "gateway providers to mental health," relevant

training and access to resources for JPOs are important in determining successful implementation of trauma-informed probation (Holloway, Cruise, Morin, Kaufman, & Steele, 2018, p. 381).

Bureaucratic resistance is one threat to the development and acceptance of a comprehensive trauma-informed strategy for children and youth. Although there is a greater understanding of youth victimization and exposure to violence and its deleterious consequences, strategies designed to convince professionals to view trauma and the treatment of trauma as integral to the mission of the juvenile system is a harder "sell." Without the organizational commitment of juvenile court judges and probation officers, there is concern that reluctance to recognize and treat trauma might indicate that professionals view the approach as unsustainable or "trendy" rather than a substantive change. An earlier OJJDP Report on implementing Balanced and Restorative Justice noted that knowledge of technique is insufficient; "Practitioners must also understand underlying values and principles" (1998, p. 2). This same observation also might apply to trauma-informed care.

More research, quantitative and qualitative, can help assess the success of trauma-informed treatment. In addition, geographical, cultural, and systemic issues merit consideration. As Ezell and colleagues (2018) contend, there may be differences among rural versus urban judges. They note the importance of stakeholder networks including parents, police, courts, and school staff. Damian, Gallo, and Mendelson (2018) emphasize the value of educating families about the need to connect youth to services and providing wraparound services like childcare to "minimize barriers that could hinder youth from getting to their appointments with trauma specialists" (p. 276). In a study of three states that dealt with trauma and mental health needs of youth in foster care, Akin, Strolin-Goltzman, and Collins-Camargo (2017) found that timeliness was a powerful theme in their study sites, and it affected implementation. "Common reasons for delays included establishing data sharing agreements, developing or modifying information systems, experiencing turnover among workers and administrators, shifting state priorities, and waiting for federal approvals to move forward with each stage of the project" (p. 51). Furthermore, Akin et al. (2017) contend that although contextual factors can affect implementation, "systematic and structural issues may be as relevant as each jurisdiction's unique circumstances" (p. 52). States and the federal system have specific issues, and sensitivity to these variations is critical. The potential exists to establish collaborations between professionals and researchers to modify strategies for jurisdictional settings ranging from a juvenile court to a detention center (Dierkhising & Branson, 2016).

In the transformation of juvenile justice during the last two decades, there is evidence of a "softening" in the public's attitudes toward youth and a departure

from the harsh sanctions and punitive approach of the 1980s and 1990s. As evidenced in recent state initiatives referenced earlier, the changes are comprehensive and multi-faceted. Research and evidence have informed these policies. National data indicate that judges rely less on detention and residential placement (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2018), and there are reductions and restrictions in the use of restraints and solitary confinement for youth.

Recent research on crossover youth and policies that focus on the coordination of the child welfare and juvenile justice system services and databases illustrate the tremendous gains that have been made. However, there is apprehension that there is a limit to the public's tolerance and understanding of youth and that sustaining an emphasis on prevention and treatment is unlikely to continue in the next decade. In assessing the recent past, the public and practitioners might conclude that their efforts have succeeded and that improvements to the juvenile justice system are complete. In brief, they may advocate that it is time to move forward. In addition, Bernard and Kurlychek's (2010) cycle of juvenile justice remind us that perhaps the more lenient approach is ending and that we are on the cusp of or moving toward a more punitive approach to youth.

Trauma-informed care has certain similarities to the "medical model" and the proposition that delinquency is a sickness or disease that can be diagnosed and then treated. The youth's prior exposure to violence and victimization is related to his

or her current delinquency. With an emphasis on identifying the trauma, providing a safe environment for the youth, treating the trauma, and then focusing on the delinquent behavior, it appears that a trauma-informed approach emulates the medical model. This comparison can enhance the perception that this is a transitory model and that it will be replaced.

It is difficult to determine how much support and leadership there is to pursue a trauma-informed juvenile justice system. Impressively, Congress re-authorized the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act in late 2018 (Juvenile Justice Reform Act of 2018, Johnson, 2018). The legislation includes screening and treatment for trauma-informed care. With this provision, Congress signaled recognition of and attention to children and youth who have been victimized by violence or exposure to violence.

However, ongoing support for a treatment- and prevention-oriented juvenile justice system appears somewhat ambivalent at the federal level. In 2018, Caren Harp became the new administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Under her direction, OJJDP has a new motto: "Enhancing Safety. Ensuring Accountability. Empowering Youth." (Davis, 2018), and she has also proposed a new vision and mission statement (OJJDP, n.d.). After meeting with the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court judges in 2018, Director Harp was interviewed for the Juvenile Justice Information Exchange. When the reporter asked about a key change that Director Harp would like to see in

the juvenile justice system, she replied, "Balance. There's a need to return to balanced consideration of public safety, offender accountability and youth development, youth skill-building—empowering kids to take responsibility for their decision making" (Davis, 2018, para. 12). In elaborating on returning to "balance," Harp also noted, "It [the juvenile justice system] drifted a bit to a focus on avoiding arrests at all costs and therapeutic intervention. It went a little too far to the side of providing services without thinking of short-term safety" (para. 13). Although trauma-informed care embodies elements of Balanced and Restorative Justice, Director Harp could be suggesting that "drift" alludes to a focus on treatment and prevention. However, it is premature to evaluate OJJDP's approach.

In an era of declining juvenile crime and reductions in residential placement, states are disseminating relevant research, recognizing child and youth victimization, and implementing trauma-informed approaches. Simultaneously, we are aware that a sudden uptick in gang violence or media portrayal of violent youth can result in policy changes. The current economic prosperity could influence states to pursue a more punitive stance toward youth. States that are well-funded may be disinclined to review alternative strategies that they sometimes consider when confronting budget constraints (Merlo & Benekos, 2017). Cautiously optimistic, we anticipate that the progress will continue and that more states will adopt a trauma-informed approach to

dealing with youth in the system. Nonetheless, we note that the influence of media, politics, and a shifting ideology quickly could alter the landscape of juvenile justice.

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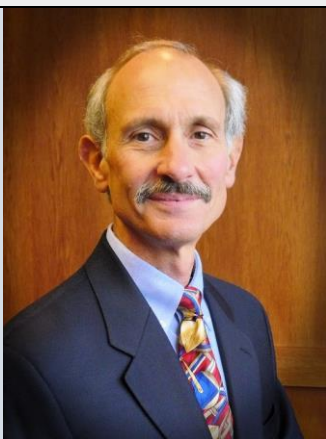
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"Double Consciousness" and Doctoral Students' Need for Same-Race Mentorship

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With the exception of Texas Southern University and Texas A&M at Prairie View, which are historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), criminology and criminal justice (CCJ) doctoral programs are based at predominantly white institutions (PWIs). A university is considered a PWI if at least half of the student body enrolled is white (Brown II & Dancy II, 2010). More broadly, a university is considered a PWI if it opposed the admission of students of color prior to the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Brown II & Dancy II, 2010). Title VI stipulated that universities receiving federal funds must admit students of color at the same rate they are present in the applicant pool or risk losing their funding. When considering the experiences of students of color in CCJ doctoral programs, it is important to remember this history; only 54 years ago, the PWIs hosting many of these CCJ doctoral programs granted people of color access to higher education on their campuses in extremely limited numbers or not at all (McDonald, 2011). Today, many PWIs have gone to great lengths to foster inclusiveness. Nevertheless, the academic relationship between faculty and students of color and PWIs remains strained on some fronts, and this strain affects the experiences of CCJ doctoral students of color.

Despite pursuing diversity initiatives, the number of faculty of color at many CCJ departments remains low. In 2015, black Americans accounted for just 6.2% of CCJ faculty, and Latinos and Asians accounted for 2.8% each, while whites accounted for 83.2% (Greene, Gabbidon, & Wilson, 2018). In practice, this means that the majority of CCJ programs have one or two black faculty, although more than a dozen departments lack a single black faculty member (Greene et al., 2018). As Greene and colleagues noted, a few universities are outliers in the opposite direction, too, with one CCJ department at an HBCU featuring eight black faculty. Similarly, white students comprise the majority in CCJ doctoral programs. A recent study demonstrated that, on average, 85% of doctoral students who completed a CCJ program were white, compared to 73% of master's students and 59% of undergraduate students (Updegrove, Cooper, & Greene, 2018). Together, these two studies suggest that much of the space occupied by doctoral students of color in the pipeline from graduate school to becoming a faculty member is populated by white people. Thus, many CCJ doctoral students of color spend the majority of their time surrounded by white peers, professors, and mentors. This observation has important implications for how CCJ doctoral students of color experience academia.

Exploring "Double Consciousness"

In the opening chapter of *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois (1903) outlined the concept of

"double consciousness." The first consciousness refers to how black Americans view themselves. The second consciousness refers to black Americans' awareness of the way many white people view them. According to Du Bois (1903), white people communicate their perceptions of black Americans, whether intentionally or not, through behaviors that form a single question: "How does it feel to be a problem?" The white person "asking" the question may intend to express goodwill or empathy, but the question itself communicates the "Otherness" of black Americans and their marginalized status within the United States. To black Americans, the question is a reminder that they can only participate in white spaces to the degree that they are willing (or able) to act in a manner consistent with the roles white people expect them to play. Black Americans possess a deeper consciousness, however, that protests *I am not who they (white people) tell me that I am*.

The struggle that black Americans experience from "double consciousness" is one of endless internal conflict. Du Bois (1903) himself recounted suppressing anger and maintaining silence after being "asked" the question in order to appear accommodating in predominantly white spaces. Du Bois's response reveals the true nature of the question. The question exposes the gap between two perceived realities—that of whites' and blacks'—and imposes white people's reality onto black Americans as long as they exist in predominantly white spaces. In other words, predominantly white spaces force black Americans to be mindful of how white people perceive them and to act in accordance with these expectations, or else face negative consequences. Predominantly white spaces also ensure that white people do not need to understand how black Americans perceive the world. Thus, black Americans experience "double consciousness" because they must simultaneously know who they are and *who white people think they are*.

A perfect example of this phenomenon is "The Talk" (Gandbhir et al., 2017). "The Talk" is a conversation (or series of conversations) that black parents have with their children about how to conduct themselves in white spaces. Specifically, "The Talk" teaches black adolescents how to behave in order to avoid being perceived as dangerous or threatening by law enforcement. Among other things, "The Talk" includes instructions on word choices, showing deference, hand placement, and suppressing emotions like anger and fear. Whitaker and Snell (2016, p. 306) argue that "The Talk" is harmful to black adolescents because it introduces them to "double consciousness." The authors write:

> In the context of responding to the question 'Who am I?' the young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel congruence between that which he perceives

himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him.

Black adolescents who get "The Talk" are unable to experience wholeness because "The Talk" teaches them, albeit out of necessity, that who they are and who white people perceive them to be are worlds apart. In order to survive in predominantly white spaces, black adolescents are told that they must deny themselves and act (and dress) with white people in mind. Thus, black adolescents may feel as if they cannot be true to themselves or are betraying their racial and cultural identity.

"Double Consciousness" and CCJ Doctoral Programs

As previously stated, many CCJ doctoral programs are overwhelmingly populated with white faculty and students (Greene et al., 2018; Updegrove et al., 2018). Additionally, all but two CCJ doctoral programs exist at PWIs. Consequently, doctoral students of color are at risk for experiencing "double consciousness," which may express itself in a couple of ways.

First, doctoral students of color may experience "double consciousness" through exposure to microaggressions. Microaggressions are words or actions that communicate to people of color that they are unwelcome in the spaces that they occupy (Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008). Many microaggressions are the product of ignorance or socialization into the dominant (white) culture and are not committed with malice (Minikel-Lacocque,

2013). Nevertheless, microaggressions are a modern repackaging of the question Du Bois (1903) perceived white people to be asking: "How does it feel to be a problem?" Research demonstrates that students of color routinely encounter microaggressions at PWIs (Harwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012; McCabe, 2009; Sue et al., 2007; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007). For example, the second author of this article, on multiple occasions, observed pro-Trump immigration slogans written in chalk on the sidewalks leading to the campus plaza, where students of color often congregate. These slogans constitute microaggressions because President Trump's rhetorical policies disproportionately target communities of color (Fleishman & Franklin, 2017; Harden, 2017). Regardless of intent, the slogans serve to remind students of color that some white people view them as threatening and therefore deserving of marginalization.

Second, doctoral students of color may feel forced to choose between expressing their authentic self or conforming to expected norms that are white by default. This dilemma occurs when students observe white norms in a department or experience a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes" of white students and faculty (Du Bois, 1903). Doctoral students of color who experience "double consciousness" must expend emotional energy to manage their conflicting views of self; white students do not. The emotional toll associated with

"double consciousness" may prove especially challenging for students who study emotionally heavy subject material, such as child abuse, interpersonal violence, or sex trafficking. Emotional labor, in turn, increases the likelihood that students of color will suffer burnout (Jeung, Kim, & Chang, 2018). Some students may attempt "suppressing aspects of themselves" in order to more closely resemble the person white people perceive them to be (Dominque, 2015, p. 464). Racial and cultural identities are like oxygen, however, and denying aspects of this identity can feel suffocating. Such stressors may lead to depression or other mental health problems.

The Benefits of Same-Race Mentorship

As a field, CCJ desperately needs to create spaces where black students, faculty, staff, and other persons of color feel safe to express themselves without repercussion or pressure to conform to the dominant culture that permeates and defines CCJ doctoral programs at PWIs. The most effective way to create safe spaces is to hire faculty of color who can engage in same-race mentorship of graduate students of color. Mentorship has consistently been shown to be the key tool in the development of any student, regardless of race or ethnicity (Ballard, Klein, & Dean, 2007; Guerrero & Rod, 2013; Peterson, 1999). Additionally, same-race faculty mentorship provides a safe harbor for students of color to take shelter when they are feeling overwhelmed by "double consciousness." Same-race faculty are more likely to share the students' view of their selves and thus reinforce their racial and cultural identity. This may help reduce the tension students of color feel between who they are and who white people perceive them to be. Same-race faculty can also insulate students of color from the perceptions of white faculty by vouching for the student's capability and progress in the program.

It is precisely for these reasons that CCJ departments must remain firmly committed to diversifying their faculty. Faculty members are undoubtedly aware of the complexities associated with this task. For example, in any given year, there are a limited number of candidates of color on the job market, candidates may not apply because the campus resides in an area historically associated with racism or because they wish to live elsewhere, and candidates may interview but accept another position. Nevertheless, departments that experience these and other setbacks must persevere in their efforts to hire scholars of color. Faculty members who are privy to the behind-the-scenes steps taken to hire scholars of color may perceive momentum on this front even if the efforts ultimately fail to recruit a scholar of color. This is of little comfort to doctoral students of color, however, who have no same-race mentor. Thus, the absence of a same-race mentor in their program enhances the stress and emotional labor doctoral students of color experience and amplifies the "double consciousness" to which they are exposed.

Conclusion

We conclude with a personal message from the first author to other doctoral students of color who may be experiencing "double consciousness" in their CCJ program. To all of the other graduate students of color who feel isolated and believe it is impossible to pursue a Ph.D. in CCJ without denying the most precious part of yourself every single day, I want you to know that you are not alone. Others have gone before you, and they have accomplished amazing, incredible things despite all they have had to endure. Others stand beside you now, in this exact moment, wearing the very shoes you find yourself in—your sisters and brothers in the struggle. And finally, others are yet to come after us, following in the footsteps we have left behind while forging this path for ourselves, despite every obstacle, one step at a time. You are strong. You are fierce. And you are going to make it. I'll be there on the other side, waiting for you. Waiting to embrace you. To shake your hand. To welcome you to the wonderful world of academia as a scholar of color, poised to shake and rattle the foundation of the world in ways others can only dream of.

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The Effectiveness of Predictive Policing

Michele Vittorio

Predictive policing generally is defined as a collection of methods and analytical tools that allow for the statistical predictions of crime events for a specific range of time in an area of interest. The main objective of the predictive approach is to provide a framework that policy makers, members of the community, and police officers can utilize to develop crime prevention strategies and target specific areas (Perry, McInnis, Price, Smith, & Hollywood, 2013). These methods utilize historical data to identify areas of criminal activities, providing law enforcement agencies with information useful to optimize the allocation of police resources (Ratcliffe, 2016).

Predictive methods include not only techniques to forecast crime hot spots (Uchida, 2013), but also procedures to classify individuals based on their risk of becoming victims of crime or offenders (Perry et al., 2013). Predictive policing is attracting interest because it seems to offer the opportunity to efficiently deter criminal behavior while employing fewer resources and utilizing an objective strategy that could reduce discriminatory practices (Ferguson, 2017). Police officers are a limited resource that can be deployed to target higher risk areas, based on the predictions of the algorithms. At the same time, part of the decision-making process is undertaken by an automatic procedure, reducing potential bias in selecting the targets.

This paper provides a review of three recent studies on the effectiveness of predictive policing, to highlight the potential benefits and pitfalls that should be taken into account in assessing these technologies and draw attention to potential directions for future research in this field. The article discusses limitations and challenges involved in generating crime forecasts to clarify the conditions necessary to successfully implement predictive policing systems and improve their effectiveness. Moreover, this analysis could contribute to the debate regarding the utilization of big data in the criminal justice system, by underlining common issues that researchers and policy makers should face while evaluating the adoption of predictive instruments.

Predictive Models of Crime

Crime predictions are one component of a process that includes several phases: data collection, analysis of the data, development of predictions, and interventions (Saunders, Hunt, & Hollywood, 2016). As noted by Ratcliffe (2016), predictive policing requires the implementation of procedures that utilize the predictions to swiftly plan the allocation of available resources, according to a predefined strategy. Outcomes should be evaluated, not only in terms of the accuracy of the predictions but, more important, according to their contribution to the main objective of reducing crime. Statistical

forecasts of crime assume that offences do not happen randomly but follow patterns defined by contextual conditions (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1991) and the decision-making process of offenders and victims (Matsueda, Kreager, & Huizinga, 2006). The successful implementation of hot spot policing practices confirms that crime is not evenly distributed, but varies with space and time (Braga, Papachristos, & Hureau, 2014).

Routine activity theory posits that crime occurs when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of capable guardianship coexist at the same time in the same location, providing an additional theoretical framework that could explain the distribution of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Rational choice theory also implies that the analysis of historical data can be useful in predicting occurrences of criminal behaviors, supported by the assumption that offenders are more inclined to commit criminal acts in situations in which rewards seem higher than risks (Cornish & Clarke, 2014). Based on routine activity theory and rational choice theory, the theoretical perspective of predictive policing suggests not only how to identify potential victims or offenders and areas with high crime rates, but also how to prevent crime. Police officers can target predicted areas of high crime and citizens more likely to be involved in criminal events, deterring criminal actions and increasing the opportunities to apprehend offenders.

Brief History of Predictive Policing

The first attempts to develop predictive tools to estimate the likelihood of reoffending can be traced back to research conducted by Burgess (1928). Actuarial tools utilize templates to calculate offenders' risk of recidivism and are, in fact, prediction models that estimate the probability of events by analyzing legal factors, such as criminal history and criminal events, and contextual factors, such as the employment and the social network of offenders (Hannah-Moffat, 2013).

Police operations partially involve proactive interventions before the need for a reactive response (Mays & Ruddell, 2019). Predicting crime, therefore, can be considered as an historical component of policing strategies, and the recent trends are showing that new instruments are utilized to perform this function (Ferguson, 2017). The fact that crime is not uniformly distributed has been known since the 1800s (Quetelet, 1842) and confirmed by more recent reviews (Johnson, 2010). Hot spot policing based its validity on the finding that crime is concentrated in specific locations (Weisburd, Bushway, Lum, & Yang, 2004) and, consequently, targeting these areas is an efficient method to reduce crime (Braga, 2001). Empirical evidence confirmed this hypothesis, and hot spot policing demonstrated its effectiveness as a crime deterrent intervention (Ratcliffe, Taniguchi, Groff, & Wood, 2011).

The term *predictive policing* was initially utilized in 2008 to describe a data-driven policing strategy experimented with by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The novelty of this approach consisted of developing algorithms and software to display the likelihood of burglaries, car theft, and theft from cars, according to the same principles and interventions of hot spot policing. LAPD reported the success of this initiative in decreasing crime rates, leading to media exposure and a new commercial interest in participating in the business of crime prediction (Ferguson, 2017). However, independent reviews of the effectiveness of predictive policing in decreasing crime rates did not show consistent results, finding an insignificant difference in the effects of predictive policing compared to hot spot policing (Hunt, Saunders, & Hollywood, 2014). Furthermore, Ferguson (2016) notes that trends of crime rates vary where police utilize commercial predictive software, and there is no clear evidence of a cause and effect relationship between utilizing predictive policing and crime reduction.

Contemporary Research

Three recent studies analyze the effects of predictive policing in reducing gun violence in Chicago (Saunders, Hunt, & Hollywood, 2016), predicting crime in an urban context (Rummens, Hardyns, & Pauwels, 2017), and predicting crime more accurately compared to traditional crime analysis (Mohler et al., 2015). These works have the common goal of evaluating the outcomes of predictive tools, and they highlight how predictive policing can be utilized in different contexts and areas of intervention. The studies also show how the effectiveness of predictive instruments can be estimated according to different parameters, demonstrating the challenges involved in comparing the results of predictive policing initiatives. The research on gun violence in Chicago is based on the utilization of individual risk assessment tools to forecast crime (Saunders et al., 2016), while the other two studies measured the accuracy of crime prediction models, partially evaluating the effects of police patrolling on crime rates (Mohler et al., 2015; Rummens et al., 2017).

Research Designs

The experiment conducted in Chicago assessed the individual probability of becoming a victim of homicide (Saunders et al., 2016). The Chicago Police Department compiled a Strategic Subjective List (SSL) of individuals at high risk of victimization, defined by the number of first- and second-degree links with previous victims of homicides. First-degree links are co-arrests with a victim of homicide, while second-degree links are co-arrests with people who, in turn, were arrested with previous victims. The model established a risk score for each individual previously arrested and proposed a list, partially revised by the local police, of 426 people considered more likely to be involved in homicides.

In comparison, Rummens, Hardyns, and Pauwels (2017) examined the different spatial distributions of risks of home burglary, street robbery, and battery in an urban area. The authors evaluated the crime risk of geographic targets (Braga, 2005), rather than individuals. This research analyzed location and time of crime events over a period of three years in Amsterdam (the Netherlands), aggregating the results in a grid. The model studied the correlation between occurrences of crime with the spatial distribution of socioeconomic, environmental, and proximity factors such as previous crime events, presence of commercial activities, and distance from main transport infrastructures. The procedure predicted the likelihood of crime events for 26 two-week time intervals and 12 monthly intervals in 2014. The monthly analysis included a distinction between night and day data, and the predictions were based on events occurring in the three years preceding the interval. Three different types of statistical methods were compared: logistic regression, neural network, and a blended model of the first two methods. Three models were developed according to the different types of crime.

In a third study, two field trials of predictive policing were conducted in Kent (United Kingdom) between January and April 2013 and in Los Angeles from May 2012 to January 2013 (Mohler at al., 2015). These two experiments evaluated the accuracy of crime risk predictions generated by a predictive policing epidemic-type aftershock sequence (ETAS) model (Mohler et al., 2001) and compared it with the hot spot analysis results developed daily by crime analysts. The researchers tried to evaluate the marginal increment of accurate predictions that predictive policing can produce, as compared to hot spot analysis. Additionally, the authors assessed the effectiveness of police patrolling based on the results of the model in reducing crime.

Mohler et al. (2015) proposed in their study three types of evaluations: accuracy of the predictions, marginal effect of the model in improving the predictions of hot spot analysis, and effects on crime rates. The types of crimes evaluated were burglary, car theft, and burglary-theft from vehicle in the area of Los Angeles, while in Kent, criminal damage, violence against the person, and robbery were included. The trial conducted in in Kent compared the number of arrests in areas of high crime as predicted by the ETAS model with arrests in the hot spots as indicated by criminal analysts for the same area of interest over the same period. Officers were not informed about the predictions, to control for the effects of police patrolling. The experiment conducted by the LAPD introduced the random distributions of ETAS or criminal analysts' forecasts to police officers, aiming to assess the consequences on crime rates of police patrolling based on information generated by different methodologies. The officers were not instructed on how to perform the interventions; therefore, the

research cannot explain eventual differences caused by different strategies (Mohler et al., 2015). The same approach was followed by the study on gun violence in Chicago (Saunders et al., 2016), where the police officers were not given directions on how to interact with individuals on the SSL, while the evaluation of effectiveness of predictive policing in Amsterdam (Rummens et al., 2017) disregarded the consideration for different strategies.

Research Findings

The analysis of Rummens, Hardyns, and Pauwels (2017) showed that the model applied to predict crime in the Amsterdam urban setting generated statistically significant results. The research reported on how the different complexity of algorithms did not significantly influence the accuracy of the outcomes, and therefore a relatively simple model such as logistic regression could be preferable because it is more easily applicable. The authors noted how the accuracy of the monthly predictions largely improved the accuracy of the bi-weekly models. The range of correct hits for the bi-weekly algorithms was between 26% and 33%, rising to between 50% and 60% in the monthly forecasts.

While these results show a positive prospective for the predictive policing approach, some considerations could be useful to better understand the practical meaning of the outcomes. First, the correctness of the predictions is not sufficient to justify the effectiveness of the practice.

The authors note that these results should be compared with outcomes of other methods, such as the hot spot analysis, to demonstrate that predictive policing can produce a marginal advantage in terms of costs and benefits. Mohler et al. (2015) begin to address this issue, comparing the benefits of predictive policing to the expertise of crime analysts, neglecting, however, a complete analysis of the costs.

A more relevant point concerns the usefulness of the predictions for law enforcement interventions. A rate of accurate forecasts of more than 20% for burglaries in a bi-weekly model is certainly a positive statistical result, but it is not easily transferable into successful police practices. Police patrolling is planned on a daily basis, and weekly or monthly forecasts are not particularly useful for this purpose. Intelligence led–policing may be an appropriate framework for these predictions, providing information that law enforcement agencies can utilize to plan and execute long-term strategies to reduce crime in areas where offences are more frequent, due to a combination of environmental factors (Ratcliffe, 2005).

The prioritization of targets through predictive policing is the rationale behind the attempt to reduce gun violence in Chicago (Saunders et al., 2016) by compiling a list (SSL) of individuals at high risk of homicide victimization, which was delivered to officers without any indication of how to utilize this information. The authors noted a

decrease in homicides after introducing the SSL but reported that the reduction can be attributed to a preexisting trend, rather than intervention. One of the challenges of this study is the difficulty in predicting unlikely events with a small sample. According to the authors, individuals on the SSL were 233 times more likely to be victims of homicides compared to the whole population of Chicago, but this value represents a probability of victimization for the people in the SSL of only 0.12%. The only significant correlation found in this analysis occurred between the SSL and arrests for shootings, raising the issue of the utilization of this tool to prioritize investigations rather the interventions, with possible implications in the area of civil and privacy rights. This study confirms how the absence of a clear intervention strategy could explain some of the conflicting results reported by evaluations of predictive policing (Perry et al., 2013) and highlights challenges and limitations involved in utilizing scores of actuarial risk assessment tools to predict crime events.

The empirical study evaluating the effectiveness of the ETAS model in Kent County (United Kingdom) and in Los Angeles partially filled some of the gaps highlighted in the other two experiments. In particular, the research included the analysis of the effects of policing strategies on crime rates and a comparison of algorithms' performances with the accuracy of other methods, such as the analysis conducted by criminal analysts. Mohler et

al. (2015) indicated that the ETAS model was 2.2 times more accurate than criminal analysts in predicting crime events on a daily basis. The study also analyzed the outcomes of patrolling on locations in Los Angeles indicated by the ETAS algorithms, finding that this practice is associated with a reduction of 7.4% of crime events per week—more than twice the effect produced by patrolling the hot spots proposed by the criminal analysts. The authors attempted an estimation of the economic benefit of ETAS patrols compared to hot spot patrols, proposing potential savings of more than $9 million a year for the communities of Los Angeles. This estimation took into account only the costs of prevented crimes and not the direct expenses, such as the investment to implement and run a predictive policing system and the cost of imprisonment.

Discussion

A review of the three recent studies confirms the perspective that predictive policing is a collection of methods to gather data and produce information, and it shows the theoretical framework of predictive policing is valid and can support the development of tools that are more accurate than other instruments (such as the hot spot analysis) in predicting crime. Predictive policing requires the implementation of strategies to reduce crime, and the evaluation of their effects should consider the whole process, including data collection, analysis of the data, development of predictions, and interventions (Saunders et al., 2016). Evidence-

based policing research could provide the necessary framework to evaluate decision-making processes that involve predictive policing and clarify the contribution of these methodologies in the context of a costs and benefits analysis.

The three recent studies did not examine the direct costs of the investments in predictive policing systems, and only Mohler et al. (2015) estimated the benefits derived from crime reduction. Mohler et al. (2015) also compared the effectiveness of the output generated by ETAS algorithms with the predictions provided by criminal analysts, omitting, however, evaluation of the costs related to the implementation of this system compared with the costs of the work of the analysts. This information is essential to assess the eventual marginal advantage that predictive policing can provide.

Saunders, Hunt, and Hollywood (2016) focused on homicides, while the other two studies evaluated mainly property crime and areas of criminal activity. Mohler et al. (2015) and Rummens, Hardyns, and Pauwels (2017) concluded that property crimes have a spatial distribution that can be modeled and predicted. However, the study of homicides in Chicago reported that crime was not reduced after the creation of the SSL. It would be relevant to investigate further if methods of predictive policing are efficient in predicting infrequent crimes, such as homicides, and furthermore if heat lists of offenders (Ferguson,

2017) can classify accurately the risk of involvement in crime.

An important topic that is not considered by the contemporary research is the problem of biased results. Predictive policing could lead law enforcement agencies to target more frequently minority communities, in which environmental conditions are more statistically favorable to crime, introducing discriminatory consequences for individuals living in these neighborhoods (Karppi, 2018). Predictive algorithms analyze data describing police activities and reported crimes, rather than the real patterns of criminality (Ferguson, 2017). If policing interventions are biased, predictive models can generate results that could lead to discriminatory interventions by targeting specific communities (Brantingham, 2017). Hetey, Monin, Maitreyi, and Eberhardt (2016) show how police officers can be involved in racially discriminatory practices, as was evident in New York, where the implementation of the Stop, Question, and Frisk practice of the New York Police Department was violating minority citizens' constitutional rights (Sweeten, 2016). An analysis of the effectiveness of predictive policing should, therefore, address the issues of data bias and transparency. These factors can influence the public perception of the legitimacy of police operations, stressing the importance of evaluating the social costs of practices that could be considered discriminatory.

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Book Review: Andrew G. Ferguson, *The Rise of Big Data Policing: Surveillance, Race, and the Future of Law Enforcement*. New York University Press (2017). ISBN: 9781479892822

Michele Vittorio

"Big data" is a term academically introduced in 1997 to describe the problem of fitting and utilizing a growing amount of data within available computer systems (Cox & Ellsworth, 1997). The concept of big data became increasingly popular to define systems characterized by the technological ability to collect, store, and analyze a large amount of data for generating information useful in improving a particular process. Boyd and Crawford (2012) note that big data is also a cultural phenomenon, supported by the belief that complex algorithms can generate objective and accurate results. "Prediction" became a key term, utilized along with "big data" and "machine learning," indicating the hope of developing systems that can reveal the future and the outcomes of events for which historical data are available, including sporting events, marketing initiatives, economic investments, and political elections.

Professor Andrew Guthrie Ferguson discusses in The Rise of Big Data Policing: Surveillance, Race, and the Future of Law Enforcement how big data is transforming policing, providing examples of applications of this technology by law enforcement agencies and highlighting the main problems that could arise in implementing big data algorithms in police interventions. Professor Ferguson is an expert in the areas of criminal law, predictive policing, and the Fourth Amendment who previously researched and wrote extensively on the consequences of new surveillance technologies for privacy and civil rights (Ferguson 2014, 2015, 2016b, 2016c) and predictive policing (Ferguson 2016a; Logan & Ferguson, 2016). The book clearly exposes the promises of big data policing and presents the risks of biased operations and threats to individual freedom posed by expanding surveillance. The intent of the author is to provide advice to police administrators considering the adoption of new surveillance and crime prediction systems and to inform citizens and criminal justice professionals concerned about the consequences of big data policing. The book reports popular examples of big data applications, rather than analyzing academic research, but it should be read by students and practitioners interested in understanding the complexity and challenges posed by technology development in shaping the future of policing.

The chapters of the book could be conveniently organized into four sections. In the first section, Ferguson describes the birth and development of big data policing, while the second section is the core of his work, in which examples of applications of big data are analyzed, along with

The Oral History of Criminology is growing its catalog of interviews with distinguished members of the Academy. See our web page at **oralhistoryofcriminology.org**

We are pleased to announce the recent addition of the following recordings to the archive. Educators are encouraged to visit our open-access website to download the contents for sharing, learning, and instructing future generations of students on the development of criminal justice.

Robert Bohm by Brendan Dooley
David Carter by Jeremy Carter
Ed Latessa by Alex Holsinger
Vince Webb by Gary Cordner

We thank the participants for sharing their insights with the project and look forward to continuing to interview other scholars who have shaped our understanding of crime and its control. Toward that end, we are soliciting interest in a position working with our team.

Video Editor - The Oral History Criminology Project is seeking to add a Video Editor to its production team. The primary areas of responsibility are to execute edits to the video and audio files gathered in the interviews and assist in the management of our on-line presence (http://oralhistoryofcriminolo gy.org/). Interested parties are invited to send a brief explanation of interest and CV to the Project Director at bddooley@gmail.com. The position would be ideal for someone with a working proficiency in video editing and an interest in the history of the field. It is an unpaid position.

their strengths and limitations. The third section explores the topics of data collection and reliability of the algorithms. The fourth part addresses and summarizes the issues inherent in implementations of police strategies and interventions based on big data policing, finishing with the author's considerations and suggestions.

The first chapter posits that surveillance and intrusive data collection are already part of our society, and everyday activities are constantly monitored. Commercial companies are interested in predicting and influencing the purchase decision-making process of consumers, who unwarily provide all the data needed for predicting algorithms. Ferguson observes that data are shared every time citizens utilize, for example, credit cards, social network platforms, and mobile electronic devices, or are identified by video surveillance systems. The technological development and the widespread utilization of devices and software that allow the collection, storage, and analysis of data made the rise of big data possible, creating the conditions for its utilization in policing. The chapter emphasizes the peculiarity of big data policing, which shifts the objective from marketing to criminal surveillance but is less restricted by procedures and laws to protect the privacy of the individuals.

Chapter 2 explains how big data policing seems to offer a solution to two fundamental problems faced by the police: a lack of economic resources and accusations of discriminatory practices. Big data algorithms propose an objective and unbiased methodology to select targets of interventions and distribute the limited resources more efficiently. The opportunities offered by new technologies created favorable conditions for the development of big data instruments, thereby making police administrators more inclined to collaborate with academic institutions and put into practice academic theories, along with increasing the federal funds available to develop data-driven strategies.

The second section of the book includes Chapters 3 and 4, in which the author classifies different types of policing strategies involving big data while providing evidence of the risks of discriminatory practices and abuse that can arise when adopting big data instruments. The third chapter, "Whom We Police," analyzes models that predict crime based on the classification of individual risks. This chapter explains how social network analysis is utilized to identify citizens who deserve more attention because they could be more likely involved in crime events.

Chapter 4, "Where We Police," explores the tools that analyze the geographical and temporal distribution of the likelihood of crime. Ferguson underlines in this section that the main challenge of big data policing lies in a potential contradiction: utilizing biased data to reduce biased decisions. The compilation of "heat lists" of offenders described in

Chapter 3 does not explicitly consider race as a variable, but it is heavily reliant on the assessment of prior criminal records. If a race is overrepresented in police arrests, the bias of the practice will be reflected in the outcomes of the algorithms. The author notes in Chapter 4 how biased results could be an expression of environmental variables, such as poverty and unemployment, potentially leading big data policing algorithms to overestimate the risks in areas known as minority communities. Chapter 4 stresses the importance of improving and promoting the transparency of the models, to reduce bias and increase accountability of police interventions, highlighting the main recurrent themes addressed in this book.

Chapter 5, "When We Police," opens the third part of the book, dedicated to data collection and interpretation of results. Ferguson argues that real-time data collection technologies can offer new possibilities to investigations, but they critically reduce the opportunities to perform expert quality checks and utilize human interventions to identify and isolate prediction errors. Furthermore, more data means citizens are less able to protect their privacy. Ferguson posits that information is necessary to big data, but he also warns that modern surveillance methods are not regulated by the Constitution, and there is an urgent need to define the constitutional limits of surveillance associated with the right of privacy.

"How We Police" is the title of Chapter 6, in which several examples clarify how the data collected are utilized to create statistical predictions. This part of the book focuses on the importance of a critical approach in evaluating the outcomes of predictive models, in terms of statistical probability, and it shows the relevance of understanding the meaning of the predictions to define the limits of their applications. Statistical forecasts indicate groups of citizens or locations, rather than identifying individuals, and the author explains in this chapter how big data policing requires accuracy and precision to reduce the risks of biased police interventions.

The last section of the book summarizes the issues highlighted by the author in the previous chapters and proposes that big data, this time applied to monitoring police operations, can offer a solution to these problems. Chapter 7, "Black Data," lists several risks inherent in big data policing. Here, the challenges of predictive algorithms are classified in three categories: biased effects based on race, low accountability due to the lack of transparency of the big data instruments, and potential conflicts with citizens' constitutional rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment.

Chapter 8 is titled "Blue Data" and proposes an inversion of this perspective to take advantage of the benefits of big data instruments to monitor police activities. Ferguson observes that surveillance can be utilized to collect data on police

officers' behavior, which can reveal patterns and strategies to improve the effectiveness of police practices, reduce excessive use of force, and increase the accountability of police officers. In this important chapter, the author realistically acknowledges that these procedures will not be easily accepted by police organizations, but he also underlines how this is a necessary step to increase police legitimacy and make big data policing successful.

The key concept exposed in Chapter 9, "Bright Data," is the need to make a clear distinction between risks and interventions. Big data policing is interested in evaluating crime risk, but it cannot propose remedies, which should be evaluated and implemented by law enforcement agencies. Ferguson states that one of the main pitfalls of predictive policing is the risk of focusing on targeted interventions, neglecting long-term programs that address the social drivers of crime. This perspective assumes that predictive policing is not an alternative to community policing strategies; its role is rather to support police in identifying the targets of interventions and increase the likelihood of success in reducing crime.

Chapter 10 analyzes the risks arising from drawing conclusions from incomplete information. Surveillance systems do not collect data uniformly, preferring communities and citizens that present higher probabilities of being involved in criminal activities because of the characteristics of the community and historical crime records. Additionally, citizens living in socially marginal conditions and poverty are scarcely represented in government databases. These data gaps can lead to inaccurate probabilistic suspicions and exclude some citizens from the evaluation of the benefits of government policies and police practices.

Ferguson concludes his book by condensing its content into five fundamental points that should be discussed by police administrators when considering the adoption of big data systems. The author's suggestions acknowledge that big data affect the whole society, and therefore can be successfully applied to policing, if the issues of constitutional rights, transparency, and accountability are addressed. The first advice proposed by Ferguson is to clearly identify a specific crime problem and verify if the selected technology is the most appropriate for solving the problem. The second key point concerns the relevance of collecting data useful for the identified purpose, while knowing their characteristics and limitations. It is also important to consider how the output of big data systems will be utilized and recognize the impact of the resulting interventions on the communities involved. Ferguson emphasizes the need to test big data systems before their implementation, by not only estimating the accuracy of the results, but by evaluating the transparency of the models and their effects on accountability and legitimacy of police operations.

Lastly, Ferguson suggests carefully assessing whether and how big data systems respect and guarantee the rights of individuals.

The Rise of Big Data Policing is a complete overview of the benefits and limitations inherent in the application of big data technology. Ferguson clearly introduces the concept of big data policing by describing the most popular applications and analyzing the pros and cons, while proposing remedies to addresses the most common issues. The author argues that the main shortcomings of big data policing, such as the biased selection of targets, are due to incorrect or incomplete implementation, supporting the thesis that new technologies could also provide the solution for these problems and increase the accountability of police interventions. This book can help decision makers considering big data instruments to evaluate all the elements that must be taken into account to make informed decisions. It contains information useful to criminal justice professionals interested or concerned about the growing attention that surveillance and data-driven policing are receiving. The direct language of the author also makes this work appropriate for a large audience of citizens concerned about how technology is influencing the evolution of policing and the consequences for public safety and constitutional rights.

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A Review of "Use of Research Evidence by Criminal Justice Professionals"

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In the recent issue of *Justice Policy Journal*, Johnson and colleagues explore the use of research evidence by criminal justice professionals. In particular, the researchers discuss the underutilization of research evidence into policies and practices. Evidence-based practices serve an important role in the development and continued success of criminal justice policies and practices. Through use of research evidence, the criminal justice system can better understand the impact of various programs and develop targeted strategies. In the absence of these evidence-based practices, strategies are at a much higher risk of failing or even worsening a current situation. For criminal justice practitioners, successfully integrating this research into policy decisions can be accomplished in variety of ways. In this article, the authors provide a thorough review of current practices and describe different ways of improving evidence-based practices. To do so, three core issues are addressed in this article: the research-practice gap in the criminal justice system, strategies for increasing the use of research evidence in decision-making, and suggestions for future research.

In regards to the research-practice gap, the authors cite the relationship between researchers and practitioners and the distinct characteristics associated with each profession. Due to the nature of each profession, a disconnect may arise in how a researcher and a practitioner approach a specific issue. For a practitioner, they may view the work of a researcher as too theoretical. Alternatively, a researcher may assume that practitioners refuse to utilize scholarship due to their own personal, cultural, political, or economic goals. As a result, this can lead to several challenges in the integration of research-based practices.

In response to this, the researchers offer several recommendations to increase the use of research evidence in decision-making. Among their suggestions, Johnson and colleagues discuss how academic scholars can utilize field professionals, improve research dissemination, and pursue joint action with field professionals. In addition, the authors cite the findings from other research studies concerning the successful implementation of research into policies. A core theme present throughout this section is the researcher/practitioner relationship. Improving these relationships would strengthen collaborative efforts and close the research-practice gap.

Lastly, this research articles offers several suggestions for future research. Johnson and colleagues call for further research into the researcher/practitioner relationship. The dynamic between these two parties can impact the effectiveness of evidence-based practices. Exploring these issues could reveal how research is utilized and why decision-makers may be reluctant to incorporate research findings.

The full article may be found at:

http://www.cjcj.org/uploads/cjcj/documents/use_of_research_evidence_by_criminal_justice_professionals_johnson.pdf

ACJS Seeking Committee Volunteers for 2020-2021

Cassia Spohn, incoming ACJS 1st Vice President, is actively seeking Committee volunteers to serve during her presidency, March 2020 – March 2021. If you are interested in learning more about how to be actively involved in service to ACJS, contact Cassia at cassia.spohn@asu.edu to volunteer. Every attempt will be made to place ACJS members who volunteer on a standing or *ad hoc* Committee.

Committee membership is limited to ACJS members. The composition of all committees will be as diverse as possible with regard to gender, race, region, and length of Academy membership.

Every year, ACJS needs volunteers for the Academy's Standing Committees. Committee volunteers usually serve for one year, beginning with the Friday of the Annual Meeting after the Executive Board meets. Appointments to the following ACJS Standing Committees are for one year, unless otherwise stated:

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- **Committee on National Criminal Justice Month** (Open membership)
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- **Nominations and Elections** (Members are appointed by the Immediate Past President)
- **Program**
- **Public Policy** (Open membership)
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Articles may vary in writing style (i.e., tone) and length. Articles should be relevant to the field of criminal justice, criminology, law, sociology, or related curriculum and interesting to our readership. Please include your name, affiliation, and e-mail address, which will be used as your biographical information. **Submission of an article to the editor of** *ACJS Today* **implies that the article has not been published elsewhere nor is it currently under submission to another publication.**

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