

Quantifying Relationships: Leveraging Data Science for the National Network's Intimate Partner Violence Intervention (IPVI)

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1 Introduction

The National Network for Safe Communities (“National Network”) seeks to tap into the data skills and ideas of the talented participants of the University of Chicago’s 2017 Data Science for Social Good Conference. The National Network chooses to hone in on a particular aspect of criminal justice that sadly plagues all communities: intimate partner violence. Intimate partner violence (IPV) remains an enormous problem. This violence causes deep harm to victims, their children, and their extended families, as well as frequently involves long cycles of control and psychological abuse, repeat victimization by multiple offenders, offenders repeatedly victimizing multiple victims, intergenerational cycles of violence, and many associated impacts.

A recent study by the CDC demonstrates that intimate partner homicides comprise 55 percent of all the murders of women in the United States.¹ Like many other studies on IPV, this study also illustrates that female minorities are disproportionately afflicted by IPV.² Ranking among the top calls for service to police departments, the effects of IPV are profoundly damaging to communities.³ This violence also drains the resources of employers, health care providers, and the criminal justice system as a whole.

Grounded in this research, the National Network seeks to tap into data science in an effort to solve a complicated issue regarding data and understanding the depth and breadth of IPV offending in a community. While data on IPV might exist, it does not exist in a format that allows for easy analysis. Specifically, the Network challenges data scientists to address an inherent difficulty of understanding a community’s IPV dynamics. Establishing a relationship between two parties is extraordinarily difficult and the National Networks seeks the assistance of solutions from the world of data science.

A clear approach, using data science, to understand the historical crime levels and build a list of known IPV offenders remains elusive. For example, a given jurisdiction’s data fails to provide clear information about a current or former partner, and the history of violence between said parties. To further complicate matters, states have differing, if any, definitions of what acts—and relationships—constitute IPV. Thus, to successfully tackle the severe

¹Petrosky, E. (2017). Racial and Ethnic Differences in Homicides of Adult Women and the Role of Intimate Partner Violence—United States, 2003–2014. *MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 66.

²Ibid.

³Klien, A. (2009, June). Practical Implications of Current Domestic Violence Research for Law Enforcement, Prosecutors and Judges. Special Report for National Institute of Justice. Contact number 2007M-07032; Friday, P., Lord, V., Exum, M., & Hartman, J. (2006, May). Evaluating the Impact of a Specialized Domestic Violence Police Unit. Final report for National Institute of Justice. Grant number 2004-WG-BX-0004. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, NCJ 215916. Retrieved from <http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=237505>; Hendricks, J., (Ed.) (1991). *Crisis Intervention in Criminal Justice and Social Services*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas Publishers.

problem of IPV, a jurisdiction first needs to understand the kind of IPV that is occurring and identify the individuals driving that violence. Thinking along the lines of establishing a baseline and historical IPV offending also allows room to evaluate impact of approaches to reduce IPV. The National Network believes that data scientists can bolster strategies aimed to reduce IPV.

This paper is organized as follows: A brief introduction about the National Network followed by a summary of the Network's Intimate Partner Violence Intervention (IPVI). This is followed by an outline of the setup and challenges faced by IPVI, especially as it pertains to data. Next, a proposal for what data science and IPVI can offer is presented. The paper concludes with a summary of the issue at hand and open-ended questions, as well as remarks inviting students and researchers to discuss the merits of different data science solutions applied to IPVI.

2 About the National Network

The National Network for Safe Communities at John Jay College of Criminal Justice was launched in 2009 under the direction of David M. Kennedy. The National Network focuses on supporting the implementation of strategies proven to reduce violence and improve public safety, minimize arrest and incarceration, and strengthen relationships between law enforcement and distressed communities in cities across the country. The National Network's strategies operate along the following guiding principles (see Appendix A for the full text):

- First do no harm
- Strengthen communities' capacity to prevent violence
- Enhance legitimacy
- Offer help to those who want it
- Get deterrence right
- Use enforcement strategically

These principles have informed a variety of evidence-based interventions driving rapid and dramatic violence reductions (see Appendix B for more background on the National Network). IPVI uses the National Network principles that have informed effective interventions against homicide, gun violence, drug markets, and other critical public safety problems and applies them to intimate partner violence. There is now reason to believe that this framework, applied to the pervasive problem of intimate partner violence, holds great potential.

3 History and Context of IPVI

Traditional police and criminal justice policies have placed an undue burden on victims to take action—often asking that they leave the relationship; relocate their children; enter shelters; resituate their lives and finances; and take affirmative criminal justice steps, such as participating in legal action against their partners, that put them and their children at further risk. The dominant criminal justice measures available to address offenders (e.g., mandatory arrest) have often been criminogenic and result in the vulnerability of victims following the release of their abusers. Treatment options typically offered for rehabilitating the most serious offenders are largely ineffective. Moreover, the most innovative and promising criminal justice frameworks—community policing, problem-oriented policing, intelligence-led policing, etc.—have not been applied to IPV.

Like many cities across the country, High Point, North Carolina, has grappled with a seemingly intractable IPV problem for many years, with a third of the city’s murders occurring between intimate partners.⁴ Between 2004 and 2009 there were 17 intimate partner homicides in High Point. Between 2010 and 2014, High Point averaged more than 5,000 calls a year related to domestic disturbances. Data from 2009 revealed that after handling 5,134 domestic calls for service, which averaged 25 minutes per call and consistent involvement of two officers, High Point Police Department (HPPD) had spent 6,295 hours that year responding to domestic disturbance calls that resulted in 424 arrests. Although the department’s approach led to high arrest numbers, common use of protective orders, and aggressive prosecution strategies, IPV persisted. Between 2004 and 2008 IPV was the single greatest driver of homicides in High Point, accounting for 32% of the city’s total. High Point represents one of many jurisdictions that struggle to grapple with the complex issue of IPV.

The National Network’s model⁵ identifies a particular serious crime problem; assembles a partnership of law enforcement, community leaders, and social service providers; conducts research to identify the small number of people driving the majority of serious offending; responds to continued offending by “pulling levers” with a variety of creative and non-traditional sanctions; focuses services and community resources on those at the highest risk for victimization or offending; and directly and repeatedly communicates to the small, high-risk group. This communication includes a moral message from the community against offending, prior notice of the legal consequences for further offending, and an offer of help. In the context of IPV, strategically tailored support and community resources are also offered to survivors and victims of IPV while ensuring their confidentiality and safety.

⁴Buntin, J. (2016, March). How High Point NC Solved its Domestic Violence Problem. *Governing*.

⁵For more information on the National Network’s IPVI approach, see: <https://nnscommunities.org/our-work/strategy/intimate-partner-violence-intervention>

The IPVI structure is designed to address *all IPV offenders known to the criminal justice system* with a focus on the most vulnerable victims harmed by the most dangerous offenders; communicate that IPV will not be tolerated to even low-level offenders; and take special, escalating action to deter and, if necessary, incapacitate offenders who are not deterred by lower level sanctions. The process of designing the intervention was infused from the outset with a deep consciousness that—unlike any previous work done by the partners—this case intervention carried real potential to put victims at further risk. Notifying offenders of their legal vulnerabilities could spur them to further abuse and control victims (which could look like “success,” as victims stopped calling police). Prioritizing the reduction of harm to victims by the criminal justice system, High Point enlisted the expertise of victim advocates to inform IPVI’s operations and ensure that no justice action would be taken until partners had addressed concerns around victim.

One of the essential elements identified in High Point was the ability to focus on offenders at early stages of offending before violence escalates, and to create strong community norms against IPV, in addition to clear expectations for consequences from the beginning. The structure aims to change responses to IPVI, show offenders early on that IPV is a priority, and counter the “experiential effect”—the psychological process whereby offenders learn from their experience with the justice system that offending will be tolerated and that no consequences will be executed. A parallel structure notifies victims and matches them with services and support at each level of offending.

A detailed analysis of High Point’s IPV and HPPD’s handling of the problem revealed critical information about offenders and IPV dynamics. Additionally, it demonstrated why their traditional approach was not sufficient to protect the most vulnerable victims from the most dangerous offenders and hold those offenders accountable. In analyzing the problem, the multidisciplinary working group—including academics and researchers, law enforcement officials, victims’ advocates, community leaders, and social service providers—relied on academic studies, expert knowledge, and critically, research on HPPD’s arrest data. The first step was an analysis of ten years of data that indicated high rates of IPV and revealed certain characteristics of chronic offenders. Because of unorganized and spotty data, the analysis alone took over one year.

While IPV was spread equally across the city geographically and demographically, minorities and low income families suffered disproportionately from IPV homicides. The IPV homicide offender profile was 86 percent minority, 93 percent unemployed, and virtually all low income. Analysis of the data revealed that IPV homicide offenders in High Point averaged 10.6 prior arrests, with assault as the predominant charge, and all offenders had an offense history beyond IPV incidents. Further, between 2000 and 2010, 1,033 people were charged with a

domestic-related offense in High Point, totaling 10,328 distinct charges.⁶ Most had lengthy criminal histories with frequent contact with the justice system.

The partnership's main discoveries were that they failed to, but could, track the number of IPV calls separately from domestic disturbances; that IPV offenders were not different from other violent offenders and that their crimes were not secret; that controlling the offender would be more realistic in cases where the victim continued to be involved in the relationship; and that they could take advantage of early intervention in an effort to deter further offending. They also discovered that they did not, but could, coordinate efforts between law enforcement, community members, social service providers, and victims' advocates to increase interagency knowledge of offending, improve the process of early intervention, and address particular IPV cases.

High Point's analysis had several implications for designing an intervention. Not all IPV offenders, including seriously violent IPV offenders, are known to law enforcement. However, there is a class of seriously violent IPV offenders, disproportionately involved with the most vulnerable class of victims, who are known to law enforcement and readily identifiable. They believed this class of offenders might be vulnerable to a focused, deliberate intervention, while a deterrence regime could be designed for lower level offenders.

Existing research on mandatory arrest suggested that IPV offenders with a "stake in conformity" could be deterred by relatively early, low-level criminal justice responses.⁷ In the case of known, chronic IPV offenders, the High Point partners' research showed that virtually all of them also had extensive criminal histories across other crime categories. Thus, many of them did not need to be addressed solely through IPV and related offending. Instead, law enforcement could "pull levers" on any actionable offense, with many of these more legally meaningful than their IPV offending (e.g., drug trafficking or possession offense, probation or parole violation, drunk driving offense, weapons charge, nondomestic assault). These increased legal risks could be communicated to offenders, along with clear moral standards from their community against IPV, to deter further offending. Those who did not respond to this message could, if necessary, be incapacitated.

The High Point partners' intention to address all offenders, across different levels of severity, required a four-level approach (see Offender Categories at Appendix C.). After offenders were identified during the research phase, they were assigned to one of the four levels, each

⁶Sechrist, S. M. & Weil, J. D. (2014, June). The High Point OFDVI: Preliminary Evaluation Results. In D. M. Kennedy (Chair), Using Focused Deterrence to Combat Domestic Violence. Symposium presented at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice International Conference. The Rule of Law in an Era of Change: Security, Social Justice, and Inclusive Governance, Athens, Greece. Retrieved from <http://ncnsc.uncg.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/2014-June-John-Jay-Conference-Evaluation-Presentation.pdf>

⁷Sherman, L. W., & Smith, D. A. (1992). Crime, Punishment, and Stake in Conformity: Legal and Informal Control of Domestic Violence. *American Sociological Review* 57(5).

receiving a tailored message. Those with a history of severe IPV offending were assigned to the “A-level,” arrested immediately, and held up to other offenders as deterrent examples. Occasionally these individuals were incapacitated using non-IPV charges, such as unrelated stranger assaults that often carried heavier sanctions than the most current IPV incident (see Notification Type by Offender Category at Appendix D).

High Point implemented parallel measures for victims corresponding to each level of offending. Following a D-level (lowest-level) offense, the victim received a letter detailing available services. A C-level offense was followed by in-person victim outreach to offer services. When B-level offenders were called in, social services and victims’ advocates made direct contact with associated victims to ensure victim safety and gather feedback on the offender’s post-call-in behavior. Responding to A-level offenses, advocates made direct contact, offering victims all available support and safety planning (see Victim Services & Contact by Offender Category at Appendix E.). Victims of B-level offenders were also offered safety-planning and third-party reporting opportunities in which neighbors, family members, friends, co-workers, and other informative persons were mobilized to report directly to police if they had reason to believe the victim was at risk or being harmed and was unable to personally contact police. Having a strong partnership with the IPV advocacy community, independent from its law enforcement partners, has given the High Point partnership a unique perspective on the risks and challenges of their work and better equipped them to protect victims.

Taken together, High Point’s response includes measures to protect the most vulnerable women from dangerous abusers; shift the burden of addressing abuse from victims to law enforcement and the larger community; focus the strategy on the most dangerous, chronic abusers; counter the “experiential effect,” or the lessons offenders learn from their and others’ experience with the lack of legal consequences; take advantage of the deterrence opportunities provided by offenders’ many and various offenses; and avoid putting victims at additional risk.

The assessment of High Point’s pilot has been extremely encouraging, showing changes in offender behavior and victim harm. The University of North Carolina Greensboro (UNCG) functioned as a research partner throughout the implementation process and produced a report on the first years of implementation. That report revealed major reductions in intimate partner homicide. It also showed reductions in reoffending among notified IPV offenders and city-wide reductions in IPV calls for service and victim injuries.⁸ While the NIJ estimates recidivism rates as high as 80 percent among domestic violence offenders nationally,⁹ the

⁸Sechrist, S. M. & Weil, J. D. (2014, June). The High Point OFDVI: Preliminary Evaluation Results. In D. M. Kennedy (Chair), *Using Focused Deterrence to Combat Domestic Violence*.

⁹Klein, A.R. (2009, June). *Practical implications of current domestic violence research: For law enforcement, prosecutors and judges* (Special Report, NCJ 225722). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

one-year recidivism rates among those notified in High Point are 16.6 percent among D-level offenders; 16 percent among C-level offenders; and 16.7 percent among B-level offenders.¹⁰

The reduction in homicide has been dramatic, as evidenced by 17 in the five years prior to implementation (2004 to 2008) and three in the eight years since (2009-2016).¹¹ At a lower, but still critical, level of seriousness, calls for service were reduced by 20 percent over three years while the proportion of arrests where injury to the victim occurred has decreased significantly. Between 2011 and 2014, in the period since the first call-in notification, reported victim injuries in High Point decreased from 66.8 percent of incidents to 47.3 percent.¹² IPV victims have reported satisfaction with the approach in High Point. Both victims and the larger community have reported an increase in their trust that law enforcement will take action against IPV perpetrators. These figures suggest that the harm done to victims has decreased since the initiative's inception.

Beyond statistics that demonstrate reductions in IPV-related and enhanced victim safety, the IPVI strategy has helped facilitate a cultural shift in perceptions of IPV. That progress has not gone unnoticed by victims. One woman whose partner was addressed in a replication in Lexington, NC noted, "Until Lt. Carter reached out to me I felt like I was screaming and no one could hear me. I now know that I do have a voice."¹³ These anecdotal shifts in attitude indicate a promising approach that has united essential partners from disparate backgrounds.

The results in High Point suggest an approach that holds great potential for other American cities seeking a new, more effective way to address serious IPV. As a result of the successful pilot implementation, the NNSC was awarded a two-year, \$1.6 million grant from the Department of Justice's Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) to support expanded implementation in three cities nationally and to make the underlying logic of the intervention available to both law enforcement and victim advocate communities. The National Network is encouraged by the early success of IPVI and believes the basic model provides a way forward to address this problem.

4 The Problem of IPVI and Data

The National Network is currently engaging in a data-driven approach to build out jurisdictions' IPVI. Through a partnership of law enforcement, victim advocates, service providers, and

¹⁰Sechrist, S.M., Weil, J.D.L., & Shelton T.L. (2016). Evaluation of the Offender Focused Domestic Violence Initiative (OFDVI) in High Point, NC and Replication in Lexington, NC. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

community partners, IPVI addresses all offenders known to the criminal justice system, while enhancing outreach and support for victims. The scope of IPV offending—the frequency, the severity—varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Therefore, from the earliest stages of implementation, the process of adapting the intervention is imbued with a critically important awareness that the local offending dynamics dictate the ultimate application of the strategy. To achieve this goal, the National Network works in partnership with a jurisdiction to conduct a comprehensive analysis to identify IPV offenders, evaluate resources and capacity across partner agencies, assess current policies and operations, and begin to work with law enforcement to build its capacity to employ the intervention framework.

To begin thinking about implementation of IPVI, there is a degree of inconsistent terminology that particularly plagues an approach to focus on IPV and therefore needs to be refined. Historically, the term *domestic violence* has been broadly used to refer to IPV. However, domestic violence also encompasses family violence—child abuse, intra-family abuse, and elder abuse. *Intimate partner violence*, however, is more specific in scope, referring to physical, sexual, and/or psychological harm by a current or former intimate partner or spouse. While the terms are often used interchangeably, they are not always synonymous. IPV presents a unique set of factors and circumstances – notably high lethality rates¹⁴ – that demands a specific approach, separate from child abuse, for instance. Therefore, one of the most indelible hallmarks of IPVI is challenging a jurisdiction to conceptualize IPV independently and to denote this as a distinct type of crime.¹⁵

In order to accomplish this, the National Network and its partners analyze specific offending data and any potentially relevant datasets.¹⁶ A data request typically focuses on obtaining as many years of digital data to uncover intimate partner offending dynamics over a substantive period of time. Law-enforcement authorities across the nation largely prioritize addressing domestic violence and its offenders. However, many jurisdictions do not separate out DV from IPV. The most crucial step in understanding a jurisdiction’s IPV offending dynamics is establishing a clear, intimate relationship between a victim and offender. One instance of this problem is that defining a relationship lies with the perception of the reporting witness (e.g. a call for service from a neighbor witnessing a male and a female fighting, a police officer arriving at the scene and assessing either explicitly or implicitly through observation). To best understand baseline IPV offending levels, and identify as many offenders in a given data universe, a method to identify these relationship dynamics must be developed.

¹⁴Petrosky, E. (2017). Racial and Ethnic Differences in Homicides of Adult Women and the Role of Intimate Partner Violence—United States, 2003–2014. *MMWR. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*,66.

¹⁵It is important to again note that states often have different statutes to define IPV. For example, one state could include same-sex couples, while another one might not.

¹⁶In the Network’s experience, this typically takes the form of law-enforcement datasets, however other partners are likely to have rich information on IPV offending, such as the local District Attorney’s office.

The Intimate Partner Violence Intervention offers a promising approach to tackling a chronic, societal problem that often occurs behind closed doors and is deeply personal to the parties involved. In order to adhere to the high fidelity of the IPVI model, understanding historical (and moving forward, current and future) IPV offending is critical. With this, IPV is notoriously under or miss-reported. The National Network therefore seeks to understand how to disentangle IPV away from the wide-sweeping DV category by utilizing data science and machine learning tactics.

5 The Challenge: What Could IPVI and Data Science Look Like?

In order to present a clearer picture of the problem at hand and connect it to a tangible example, the following hypothetical is illustrated. Imagine if a city, New York City for example, wanted to look at all of their datasets to identify IPV as best as they can (New York State requires officers to file a Domestic Incident Report that explicitly asks for relationship status to be identified). In 2015 alone, the City witnessed 28,468 IPV assaults.¹⁷ Moreover, the City received a quarter of a million in total calls for service in the same year.¹⁸ From these two datasets, approximately 2.8 million data points could be analyzed using text analysis, data mining, and machine learning techniques. The hope is that it is entirely possible to look for keywords to identify a current or former relationship between two parties to build out the universe of IPV offenders (and also keep in mind which victims are connected to a given offender). The challenge comes with the following question: Given these datasets (and others), how can data science better identify IPV incidents and offenders?

An initial data dive could look at simple phrases like “boyfriend and girlfriend” and advance toward more nuanced understandings of offending such as “boyfriend grabbed girlfriend’s neck.” Importantly, the data dive would not only establish a link between an IPV victim and offender in a given incident, but it could attach flags to other incidents and offender is involved. In jurisdictions that implement IPVI, these flags are created as the intervention begins, but it is often incredibly difficult to look back retrospectively, especially in terms of time and skill/aptitude for a given Crime Analyst. Further, most jurisdictions rely on paper records that are turned into digital records or digital records are only utilized. However, entering an offender/victim’s name is often contaminated with human error. In the absence of a unique id (which comes with flaws, as well), it is difficult to distinguish serial offenders in the system without manually searching for variations of a name (e.g. John Doe and John

¹⁷<http://www.opdv.ny.gov/statistics/nydata/2015/2015-dv-dashboard.pdf>

¹⁸<http://cityandstateny.com/articles/politics/new-york-city/nypd-response-times-up-even-as-%E2%80%99-crime-in-progress%E2%80%99-calls-see-major-drop.html>

Doe, Jr.). Using a variety of characteristics associated with a person could be significantly beneficial in connecting the dots that are often difficult to see when searching datasets in a manual, more traditional type of analysis.

The above example highlights an issue that is complicated not just in the digital world: quantifying a human relationship. Utilizing data science to look back in time with a variety of datasets with the aim to uncover IPV offending and offenders will not be a perfect solution. The problem rests in attempting to measure something that is elusive, as it does not have a universally established definition. However, the National Network believes that this is a ripe innovation that can have a direct impact on communities around the country.

Other more creative approaches to combining data science and IPVI are certainly possible. It is entirely possible to realize programs that run a list of offenders names through publicly available criminal history databases. In other jurisdictions where state criminal history databases are accessible, often times the output generated comes in difficult-to-use PDF format. Developing scripts using R or Python to scrape data from PDFs and other sources provide a ripe opportunity to fully flesh out IPV offending. Moreover, one could scour Facebook or Instagram (or other internal intelligence databases) to seek more information – based on their digital behavior – related to a potential connection between two individuals. To be absolutely clear, by no means does the National Network seek to or condone attempting to predict IPV behavior and/or future crimes. Leveraging data science for IPVI rests solely on looking backward. In other words, the Network does not seek to develop models to predict future IPV.

Utilizing the best practices of data science to tackle the extremely difficult challenge of identifying and establishing an intimate partner relationship has much promise and broad applications. While this paper focuses on quantifying relationships, one could easily seek data scientists to build out sophisticated tracking systems that enable an IPVI partnership to better understand the work and how it evolves and adapts to a locality.

This paper presents a real-world data problem that can have incredible social impact. The National Networks seeks the input and feedback on ways to devise data science methods that align with the fundamental values of the IPVI approach. Initially and quite simply, the National Network yearns for methods and approaches to disentangle data to better understand the potential relationship between two intimate partners, former or current. As David Kennedy postulated in his seminal book on focused deterrence, “we can imagine ways to know more about [IPV] offenders and make better use of that information.”¹⁹ It is now time to do just that.

¹⁹Kennedy, D. M. (2009). *Deterrence and crime prevention: Reconsidering the prospect of sanction*. Routledge, p. 180.

6 Appendices

6.1 Appendix A: National Network for Safe Communities

First do no harm. Criminal justice is strong medicine: it can help, but applied too heavily or in the wrong way, it can hurt. It's now clear that too much incarceration; aggressive, disrespectful policing; and other missteps can damage individuals, families, and communities and undermine relationships between neighborhoods and law enforcement. Law enforcement should do its work in ways that do not cause that harm.

Strengthen communities' capacity to prevent violence. Community norms and actions – not law enforcement – do most of the work of crime control. Community members can establish expectations for nonviolence and intervene directly with the few people at the highest risk. Direct communication through “call-ins,” “custom notifications,” and other practical steps can focus and amplify community crime control. Using this approach strengthens neighborhoods and keeps people out of jail.

Enhance legitimacy. Most people obey the law because it's the right thing to do, not because they're afraid of being arrested. Even criminals follow the law most of the time. Communities need to see law enforcement, especially the police, as fair, respectful, and on their side. Police should conduct themselves in ways that model their caring and respect for the communities they serve. Where legitimacy goes up, crime goes down. Offer help to those who want it. Many of the people at highest risk don't like how they're living and want a way out. Communities should meet them where they are and do everything possible to support them.

Get deterrence right. When law enforcement needs to act, it's usually best to let someone know that enforcement is coming, so they can step aside, rather than to arrest, prosecute, and incarcerate. The creative use of existing law, combined with direct communication with high-risk people, can make deterrence work and head off both violence and actual enforcement.

Use enforcement strategically. When arrest, prosecution, and incarceration are necessary, law enforcement should use them as sparingly and tactically as possible. Profligate enforcement can have terrible collateral consequences, alienate communities, and undermine legitimacy. Law enforcement should apply the minimum that is compatible with ensuring public safety.

6.2 Appendix B: National Network Background

The National Network’s principles have informed a variety of evidence-based interventions, of which the Group Violence Intervention (GVI) is the most seasoned. First implemented in Boston as “Operation Ceasefire,” the GVI produces rapid and substantial reductions in homicide and serious violence in America’s most troubled communities by communicating directly with street groups. A long and growing record of impact makes it one of the most powerful responses available to address this core problem. 18 This work is spreading nationally and many of the cities that have seen historic violence reduction over the past few years—including Chicago, New Orleans, Oakland, and Stockton, CA—are using this strategy or its basic framework. Cities such as Detroit, Birmingham, and Kansas City have also begun to use the GVI with promising results.

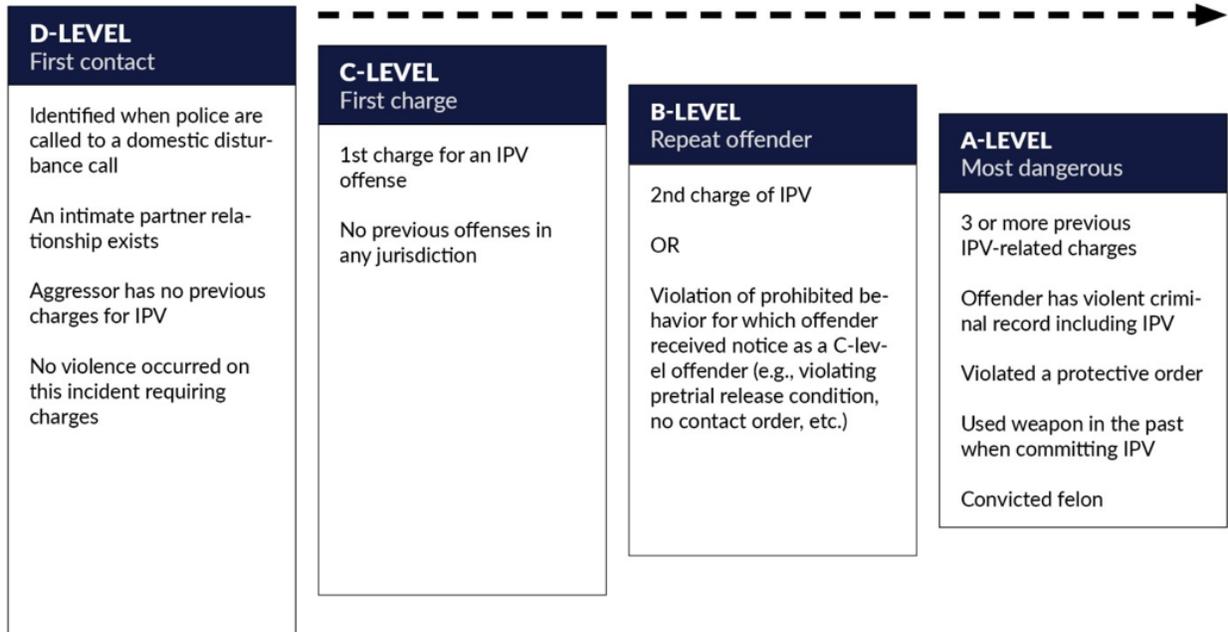
Real progress has been made in addressing violent crime using the National Network’s approach. That change has been driven by a deliberate set of ideas: that serious violent crime is driven by small numbers of exceptional offenders; that such offenders are responsive to clear signals from law enforcement; that some want to change their lives and will accept help in doing so; and that they will respect and comply with strong and clear community norms against violence.

This framework has also been used successfully to address overt drug markets through the Drug Market Intervention (DMI)²⁰; individual violent offenders through “Chicago PSN”²¹; and a host of other problem areas, such as robbery and prison violence. The National Network has recently seen indications from prosecutors’ offices nationally that they are open to contributing to violence prevention and reduction goals in accordance with the principles that underlie these strategies. Movement in this direction holds great potential to contribute to rapid and dramatic improvements in public safety and police-community relations.

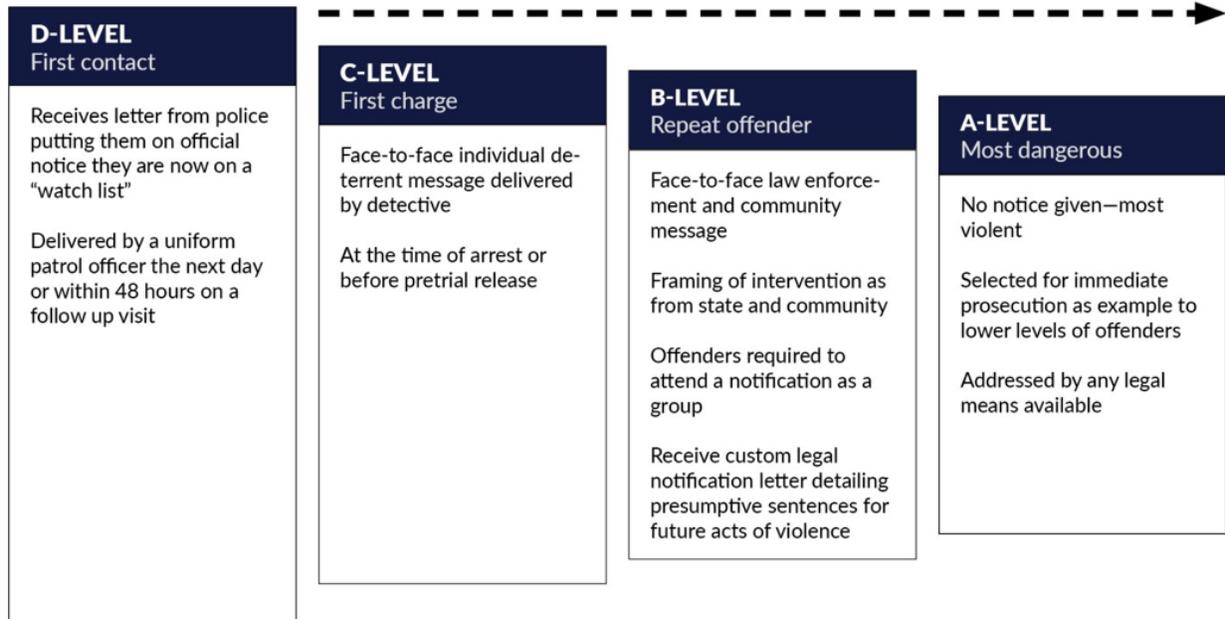
²⁰Braga, A. A., & Weisburd, D. L. (2012). The effects of focused deterrence strategies on crime: A systematic review and meta-analysis of the empirical evidence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 49(3), 323-358.

²¹Papachristos, A. V., & Fagan, J. (2007, July). Attention felons: evaluating Project Safe Neighborhoods in Chicago. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 4,223-272.

6.3 Appendix C: Offender Categories



6.4 Appendix D: Notification Type by Offender Category



6.5 Appendix E: Victim Services & Contact by Offender Category

